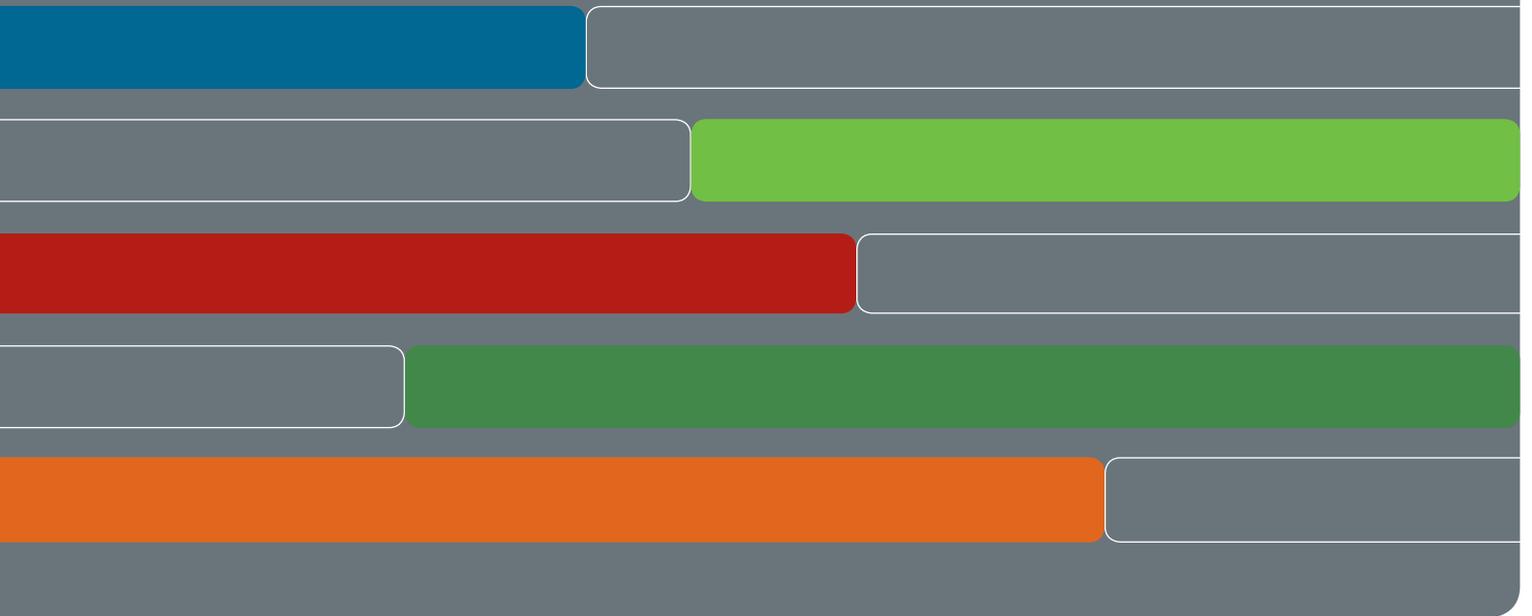


Perspectives on REGIONAL IDENTITY and the role of HIGHER EDUCATION in Southern Africa



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South Africa

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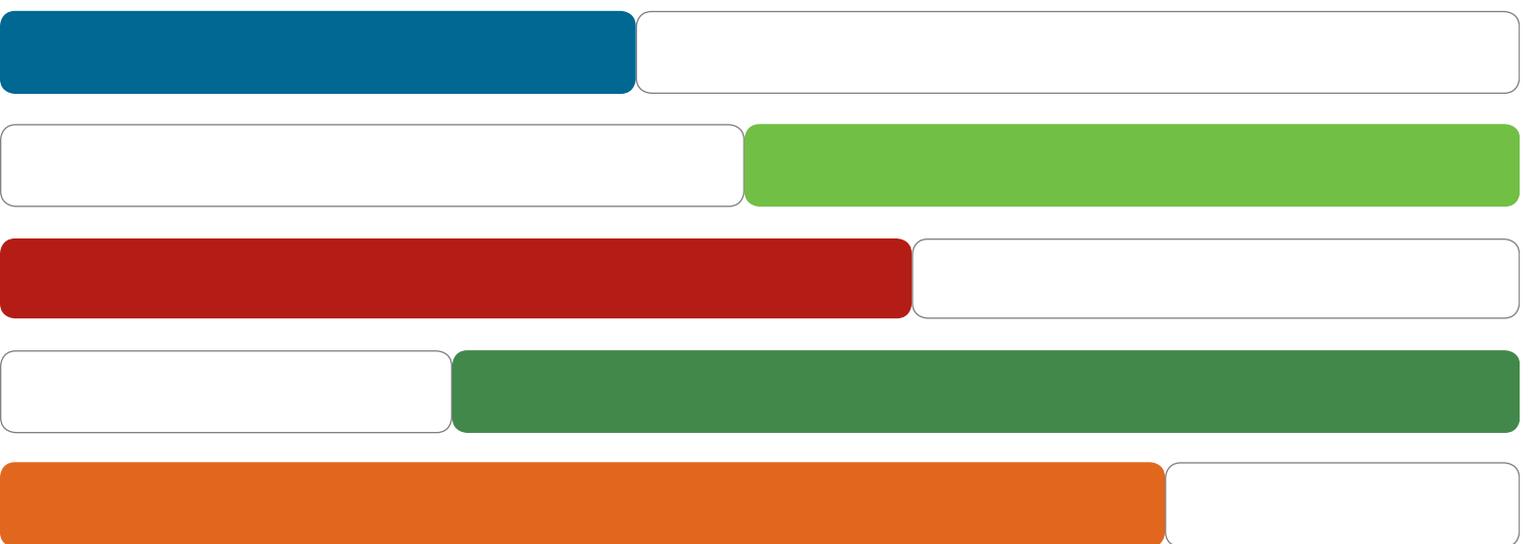
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SARUA is a not-for-profit leadership association of the heads of the public universities in the 15 countries of the SADC region. Its mission is to promote, strengthen and increase higher education, research and innovation through expanded inter-institutional collaboration and capacity-building initiatives throughout the region. It promotes universities as major contributors towards building knowledge economies, national and regional socio-economic and cultural development, and for the eradication of poverty.

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Acronyms

AERC	African Economic Research Consortium
AfDB	African Development Bank
AIDS	acquired immune-deficiency syndrome
APEC	Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation
APIC	Africa Policy Information Centre
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
AUN	ASEAN University Network
AU	African Union
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa
CHE	Council on Higher Education
CHET	Centre for Higher Education Transformation
CODESRIA	Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
DUI	doing, using and interacting
EAC	East African Community
EC	European Commission
EU	European Union
GDP	gross domestic product
GER	gross enrolment ratio
GNI	gross national income
HDI	Human Development Index
HE	higher education
HIV	human immune-deficiency virus
IANYS	International Association for National Youth Service
ICT	information and communication technology
IMF	International Monetary Fund

ISI	Institute for Scientific Information
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MIS	management information system
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NREN	national research and education network
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
QA	quality assurance
R&D	research and development
REC	regional economic community
REN	research and education network
RISDP	Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAP	structural adjustment programme
SARUA	Southern African Regional Universities Association
SET	science, engineering and technology
STI	science, technology and innovation
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
US	United States
USD	US Dollar

Foreword

Regional integration has been an important aspect of economic, social and political development in Europe, Africa, South America, the Caribbean, Southeast Asia and the Arab world. Over the last two decades in Southern Africa, however, integration has been viewed primarily in terms of economic and trade integration. *Perspectives on regional identity and the role of higher education in Southern Africa* contends that meaningful regional integration involves more than this. In particular, it requires the development of a common identity amongst citizens. The contributions in this book explore the role of higher education in developing this common identity and the implications this holds for higher education institutions in Southern Africa.

While there is an abundance of literature on the question of regional integration in Southern Africa and elsewhere, the literature on regional identity and identity formation is limited. This limitation is particularly evident when it comes to regional higher education identity.

A stronger southern African regional identity that is rooted in and representative of the diversity of the region will provide greater possibilities for integration and development. Until now, SADC's regional identity has been largely a structural construct in the minds of policy-makers and is not evident among citizens of the region. This book highlights the importance of social factors in the process of regional integration. It examines the role of higher education in fostering regional identity both within the higher education sector and in broader society.

Higher education institutions throughout the world are undergoing considerable functional and structural change as they adapt to meet the needs of a global and knowledge-based economy. New approaches are being used in teaching, learning and research, and national boundaries are losing their significance. Relations are being redefined between the higher education sector and the labour market, between universities and vocational training, between public and private educational institutions, and there is a growing emphasis on community engagement as a core function for universities, alongside teaching and research. As universities internationalise, competition for prestigious academic rankings threatens to eclipse the benefits of collaboration.

For Africa, these changes are taking place in the context of under-resourced national institutions, a severe skills shortage, insufficient funding and contested governance systems. As higher education institutions in Southern Africa struggle to meet new challenges, issues affecting their impact include questions concerning access and quality, specifically at tertiary

level, but also for education generally. Changing patterns of student and staff mobility, more diverse student bodies and brain drain – both internationally and within the region – are just some of the critical issues faced by higher education leaders in the SADC region.

As sites of cultural diversity, international exchange, knowledge production and innovation, higher education institutions are well-placed to become centres of regional identity formation. As it is, however, they are often preoccupied with institutional or national agendas, or with research interests that do not reflect a balanced mix of the local and global. This trajectory holds the risk that instead of promoting values of inclusivity and democratisation that reflect our geo-political realities, such institutions may not benefit from the many rich possibilities that pertain in our region.

In order to play its role in regional integration, higher education in Southern Africa is in need of new visioning, transformation and revitalisation. In a context of rapid change for universities in the region, this publication provides a starting point and a stimulus for higher education leaders, academics, practitioners and policy-makers to take the debate further and define the types of higher education institutions that are needed in the region.

The first chapter by Piyushi Kotecha, “Engaging universities in the regional integration project in Southern Africa”, argues that a shift is overdue from the exclusive and dominant trade paradigm, and that social engagement needs to be central to the way universities function. It contends that state-led regional integration has had limited impact and that regional identity and citizenship need to develop from the “bottom up”. Universities could play a role in broadening participation by engaging with regional policies and programmes, building African scholarship and innovation and fostering active citizens and socially responsible leadership.

The second chapter by Lucienne Abrahams and Titilayo Akinsanmi, “Revitalisation of higher education in Southern Africa: Key themes and issues for the attention of policy-makers and university leadership”, positions the revitalisation of higher education within a knowledge economy paradigm, describing the starting point for higher education renewal in relation to poverty and low knowledge intensity. It discusses key themes in higher education revitalisation, including research and innovation-based activities, human capacity development challenges, infrastructure investment and financing issues.

The third chapter by Glenda Kruss, “Conceptions of higher education, development-oriented social engagement and innovation in the SADC context”, offers a critique of conventional models of the role of universities and explores conceptions of university engagement and innovation relevant to Southern Africa. The chapter reflects concerns about the relevance

of international conceptions of higher education, leadership and management within the conditions framing higher education development in the region and identifies gaps in the innovations study literature that limit its application to the SADC context.

The fourth chapter by Kwandiwe Kondlo, "Regional identity for higher education in SADC and its implications for higher education governance, leadership and management", provides an historically-based account of higher education development in the region within the context of the political economy of state formation. It describes the development of higher education through four phases, highlights the urgent need for transformation of African higher education institutions and argues that the university system needs to be fundamentally re-configured.

The final chapter by William Gumede, "Fostering a regional higher education identity in the Southern African Development Community", reviews the literature on higher education identity in the context of regional integration, arguing that a regional identity based on inclusive economic development and democracy has been severely undermined in Southern Africa. It reflects on how higher education can facilitate the formation of regional economic clusters and assesses the implications for governance, leadership and management of higher education institutions.

The publication forms part of an occasional series of publications that analyse and comment on matters of strategic importance to higher education in Southern Africa. Individual chapters are not representative of the views of SARUA member institutions or its leadership, but rather provide a set of independent perspectives to stimulate debate and discussion about critical issues.

Piyushi Kotecha

CEO: Southern African Regional Universities Association

September 2012

Chapter 1

Engaging universities in the regional integration project in Southern Africa

Piyushi Kotecha

Integration has historically been viewed as an important pathway to development and poverty reduction in Africa. Increasing regional co-operation and integration is viewed as a key strategy for enabling individual states to overcome challenges such as political fragmentation, small markets, poor terms of international trade and the legacy of colonialism and post-independence conflict, thereby paving the way for greater economic growth and social development.

Countries in the southern African region differ notably in size and levels of socio-economic development, but they share a number of geographical, historical, cultural and linguistic ties. They also share challenges of persistent poverty, unemployment and under-employment, environmental concerns and health crises such as the HIV epidemic.

Universities have a potentially vital role to play in contributing to the economic and social development of the region, both through the regional impact of “normal” university activities and more active engagement in the regional integration process (European Commission 2011). The purpose of this chapter is to explore the potential for promoting the active engagement of universities in regional development and integration in Southern Africa.

Such a discussion requires an understanding of the rationale for regional integration and the associated challenges. It also requires a consideration of the core mission of universities and how this impacts on their interaction with broader social processes. The first section of the chapter, therefore, briefly reviews some of the development challenges facing the region and discusses integration in the region. The second section considers the role of universities in society, highlighting various external pressures on universities to

engage more actively as well as some internal debates relating to community engagement as a function of universities. The third section brings the two together and considers the potential role of universities in contributing to regional integration and development, highlighting specific mechanisms through which this can be achieved.

Regional integration and development

The southern African context

In a rapidly changing world in which information, technology and innovation is increasingly important for participation in a global knowledge-based economy, the southern African region continues to face many challenges. Poverty is endemic, and while South Africa and Mauritius have sizeable manufacturing sectors, other member states are predominantly underdeveloped with economies dependent on agriculture and mining. The marginalisation of southern African countries in the global economy is evident in the rankings of the World Economic Forum's 2011 Global Competitiveness Index, which measures the productivity of 142 states. With the exceptions of South Africa (ranked 50th) and Mauritius (54th), the 11 other Southern African Development Community (SADC) states for which rankings were given fell in the lower half of the index¹. Botswana (80th) and Namibia (83rd) were followed by Zambia (113th), Malawi (117th) and Tanzania (120th). The other six member states were to be found in the 130 to 139 range (World Economic Forum 2011).

This is perhaps not surprising given the low levels of human development in the region. Human development refers to the ability of people to live the lives they value by expanding their freedoms and building their capabilities (UNDP 2011). The 2010 Human Development Index (HDI) ranked 172 countries using a measure based on life expectancy, education levels and income. Using this index, Mauritius (ranked 74th) is the only SADC state considered to have "high" levels of human development (United Nations Development Programme 2010). Botswana, Namibia, South Africa and Swaziland fall in the "medium" category, while the majority of SADC members are classified as having low levels of human development. Mozambique (168th), the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) (171st) and Zimbabwe (172nd) currently have amongst the lowest levels of human development in the world².

¹ SADC consists of 15 member states. No data was given for the Seychelles or the DRC.

² No ranking was given for the Seychelles.

Almost all countries, including those in the SADC region, have seen some degree of improvement in human development over the last forty years³. However, a recent review of 135 countries found that only three countries have a lower HDI today than in 1970 and all three – the DRC, Zambia and Zimbabwe – are SADC member states (UNDP 2010).

These low levels of human development are in part a reflection of the impact of the health and education challenges in the region. Southern Africa remains the region most severely affected by the HIV epidemic. In 2009, a third of all people living with HIV worldwide lived in just ten SADC countries (UNAIDS 2010)⁴. With regards to education, substantial progress has been made in increasing access to primary education in the region, but significant challenges remain in ensuring the quality of teaching and learning. Enrolment in tertiary education is low, a particular concern in light of the central role of high-level skills in enabling regions to compete in an increasingly knowledge-based global economy.

In addition to widespread poverty, the region suffers from high levels of inequality, both within and across countries. Namibia, Lesotho, Botswana and South Africa have some of the highest levels of income disparity in the world (UNDP 2010)⁵. This inequitable development, together with severe economic imbalances among the member states and the dominance of the South Africa economy in the region, does not bode well for social cohesion in the region.

Regional integration as a strategy for development

The proliferation of regional groupings and economic communities in Africa over the last half century is evidence of the belief that greater regional collaboration and integration is vital to enable states to tackle the economic and developmental challenges they face.

This is explained by the potential benefits of regional integration, which include combining small, fragmented markets into a larger market that can better attract foreign investment and which, together with regional production chains, can enable economies of scale for production and trade, thereby boosting economic growth. Co-operation on socio-economic issues such as food security, health and environmental issues has the potential to improve social welfare in the region, while a regional platform may provide the region with greater voice and influence on the international stage if member states take a common stand on shared concerns such as environmental issues and foreign policy. In short, increased co-

³ SADC member states: Angola, Botswana, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe

⁴ Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

⁵ This is based on Gini coefficient calculations.

operation allows countries to share knowledge and resources, solve common problems, increase efficiencies and compete more effectively in the global economy.

The trend worldwide is towards the development of regional blocs and Africa is no exception. Early integration initiatives, most notably the creation of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) by independent African states in 1963, were rooted in a political desire to fight colonial rule and an early recognition of the benefits of cooperation. During the post-independence period there was a mushrooming of regional groupings or economic communities, which included the establishment of the East African Community (EAC) and the re-launching of the Southern African Customs Union⁶.

In Southern Africa, the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) was formed by “frontline states” in 1980 to promote political liberation and counter the influence of apartheid South Africa in the region. It was replaced in 1992 by the creation of SADC, which currently consists of 15 member states. The Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) was established in 1995. Overlapping memberships of a number of states in SADC, COMESA and EAC poses a challenge for the region.

Political and economic motivations have traditionally played a strong part in integration in Africa, but in recent years there has been an increased emphasis on the social dimensions. By 2001, regional economic communities (RECs) had begun to clearly articulate the link between regional integration and social and economic development, as evidenced by the adoption of the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD) by the newly established African Union (AU)⁷.

However, despite the existence and efforts of numerous RECs in Africa – viewed as the building blocks for creating a broader future African economic community – as the OAU or AU over the last fifty years, there are relatively few success stories with respect to regional integration and development in Southern Africa. Why has this been the case?

Africa is increasingly focusing on regional integration as a strategy for achieving sustainable economic growth as there is a consensus that by merging its economies and pooling its capacities, endowments and energies, the continent can overcome its daunting development challenges.

Deeper integration would allow it not only to achieve sustained and robust economic growth, but it will also ensure poverty alleviation, enhanced movement of goods, services, capital and labour, socio-economic policy coordination and harmonisation, infrastructure development as well as the promotion of peace and security within and between the regions.

United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, 2010

⁶ Established in 1967, the East African Community collapsed in 1977, but was revived in 2000. The Southern African Customs Union was originally established in 1910 under colonial rule and was re-launched by independent states in 1969.

⁷ The AU was established in 2001 and replaced the OAU.

Challenges of regional integration

The Economic Commission on Africa (2010:7) notes that the continent's slow pace of integration "has been largely attributed to Africa's many extraordinary challenges, including inadequate financial resources, macro-economic instability, poor governance, conflicts and war, the prevalence of HIV and AIDS, and numerous sub-groupings". Other problems specific to regional integration include multiple memberships of different RECs, lack of political commitment and poor private sector and civil society participation.

Integration is a complex process and the desired developmental outcomes are by no means automatic, particularly when trade creation and diversification are the key drivers of the process. Within Southern Africa, an ambitious timeline for trade integration was laid out in SADC's Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP), but as of 2010, the free trade area (set for 2008) had not been fully implemented and the goal of establishing a customs union by 2010 had not been met (tralac 2011). The suitability of a linear model of regional integration for addressing development challenges in the southern African region has been questioned, with its central focus on trade in goods and negotiating trade tariffs rather than the "real challenges to regional integration [which] lie behind the border" (tralac 2011:2). These challenges include infrastructure deficits, poor regulatory regimes, and high-cost and inefficient services.

In a review of the challenges and opportunities for regional integration in Africa more broadly, Ngwenya (2011) also questions the notion of African economic integration taking place along "neo-classical lines of linear progression" and argues that integration in Africa has been "ill-fated" because it has been driven by a deterministic liberal market economy approach rather than the pragmatic approach of countries in East Asia and Europe. Ngwenya contends that neo-classical economic theory is unsuitable for the African context, where modernisation and structural transformation is required to move Africa beyond its dependence on the export of primary commodities. Noting the focus on trade as a key driver of regional economic integration in Africa, he argues that given the lack of industry to process primary commodities, "it is a leap of blind faith to expect that regional integration on the basis of trade liberalisation will result in increased intra-regional trade. This is simply because there is nothing to trade in due to the absence of product complementarities among countries" (2011:262). Ngwenya proposes that Africa would be better served by a production-based model of integration.

Furthermore, regional integration is complex and requires considerable support from a range of parties. Ngwenya points to the need for regional integration to be based on national institutions and legal reforms that expressly provide for such integration, but decisions taken at a regional level are rarely subject to popular debate in member states. This lack of broader engagement and accountability on the part of the leadership

means that integration processes remain “elitist and bureaucratic” (Ngwenya 2011:259). Furthermore, the exercise of national sovereignty by member states has meant that decisions taken at regional level are often difficult to implement. In a monitoring report on regional integration in Southern Africa, the Trade Law Centre for Southern Africa (2011:4) notes that “regional integration in Southern Africa needs fresh commitment and political will to deliver economic, social and political benefits for the people of Southern Africa”.

Despite such challenges, it is generally agreed that closer co-operation and increased integration of the African market is required if Africa is to take advantage of the opportunities offered by globalisation. In addition, regional integration that goes beyond primarily economic (or trade) considerations has the potential to provide greater social and economic benefits, as elaborated below:

Expanded integration could also create opportunities for resilience by pooling capacities to respond to vulnerabilities. Although tariff reductions and the creation of customs unions across the region are steps in the right direction, deeper levels of integration involving investments in infrastructure, technological upgrading and policy harmonization are likely to lead to the largest human development benefits. This can further enhance competitiveness, productivity and employment, especially for young people in a region severely challenged in these areas. (UNDP 2011)

Prerequisites for furthering regional integration

Bearing in mind these challenges and drawing on a review (Weideman 2011) conducted for this chapter of the strategies, visions, missions and programmes of various African RECs, organisations and signatory groups, it is possible to identify several broad areas that must be addressed for further progress on regional integration to be achieved:

- Political will is required to implement agreed treaties and mandates and to prioritise regional integration and development over other competing interests such as national agendas, north-south linkages and bilateral relations (e.g. with the BRIC countries) that “bypass” the RECs. Peace and political stability, the rule of law, good governance, accountability and credible institutions are other aspects of governance that are prerequisites for furthering regional integration.
- A comprehensive review of the economic obstacles that must be addressed is beyond the scope of this chapter, but they include challenges such as underdeveloped financial markets, unstable macro-economic contexts and foreign debt service burdens as well as the implications of inefficient African industries.
- Moving beyond economic concerns, the formulation of regional integration initiatives should include opportunities for broader consultation and engagement across several

sectors and an effective social dimension. The latter would include, for example, devising strategies to address unemployment and under-employment in the region.

- Operational issues include the harmonisation of policies, regulations and procedures governing investment, trade and infrastructure development at a regional and continental level, and ensuring that specific plans are developed to implement development agendas. Given the dominance of a few countries in several of the RECs, attention should be paid to adequate mechanisms for the equitable sharing of the costs and benefits of regional arrangements.
- An untangling of the “spaghetti bowl” of regional affiliations and commitments is required – six of 53 African countries are members of a single REC, 26 belong to two RECs and 21 are members of at least three (Economic Commission for Africa 2004).
- Other issues requiring attention include building institutional capacity within regional bodies; addressing physical infrastructure constraints such as a lack of transport, energy and information and communication technologies and linking infrastructural resources on a regional level; and encouraging the involvement of the private sector.

Regional identity

A further point for consideration is the extent to which the regional integration process is underpinned by a southern African identity that is meaningful to those living in the region.

The SADC RISDP refers to the “common values and principles and historical and cultural affinities that exist between the peoples of Southern Africa”. These close cultural and linguistic links are the result of a long and complex history of migration that in the modern era goes back 150 years. Modern cross-border migration has taken several forms, from the highly regulated system of contracting migrant workers from across the region to work as cheap labour in the South Africa mines, to the informal and unregulated movement across borders in the region for purposes such as cross-border trading or visiting relatives. Many countries in the region also share experiences of colonialism, struggles for political liberation and prolonged periods of political instability and, many cases, conflict.

However, these links and common experiences do not necessarily translate into a strong regional identity or a sense of social cohesion at a regional level. While people continue to travel between SADC countries and have kinship, friendship and community ties that span country borders, there is little evidence of a “southern African” identity.

An example of the limited strength of such an identity amongst ordinary people, particularly when competing for scarce resources, is the xenophobic attacks that took place against foreign nationals in South Africa in 2008. Although there were instances

of solidarity both during and after the attacks and the violence went beyond a simple “foreign versus indigenous” distinction, most of the attacks were directed against foreign, primarily African, migrants, many of whom came from neighbouring SADC member states (Human Sciences Research Council 2008). One of the recommendations of a study conducted shortly after the violence was to promote “cultural interventions to foster a new consciousness and identity” that goes beyond national borders (HSRC 2008).

South Africans are not alone in their anti-immigrant attitudes. An earlier study comparing the attitudes of South Africans with citizens from Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland and Zimbabwe found that “citizens across the region consistently tend to exaggerate the numbers of non-citizens in their countries, to view the migration of people within the region as a 'problem' rather than an opportunity and to scapegoat non-citizens” (Crush and Pendleton 2007). The intensity of these feelings varied significantly from country to country.

From a political perspective, Kornegay (2006:6) argues that the “real, if limited, sense of being part of a common political space and of holding common political values in southern Africa ... is shared more by governments, and in particular heads of state and government, rather than by the average person”.

State-led regional integration is limited; instead, the regional integration process should involve both government and civil society. Furthermore, regional identity and citizenship must be developed from the “bottom up” if it is to have meaning in the lives of ordinary Southern Africans. This approach requires the active involvement of a range of civil society actors, including universities.

Higher education and development

As centres of learning, universities have a potentially vital role to play in the social and economic development of the region. Before discussing the role of universities in regional development and integration in more detail, it is worth taking a step back to consider the role of universities in society more broadly.

The role of universities in society

Much has been written about the purpose and role of higher education institutions in society (e.g. Boulton and Lucas 2008). Three core functions of higher education are generally identified as teaching and learning, research and community engagement. The latter, however, has been the subject of much debate.

While the first two pillars – teaching and research – are widely accepted as being part of the core mission of universities, the third pillar of community engagement is something of a “Cinderella mission” (MacGregor 2011) and has been implemented inconsistently. A recent study by the Southern African Regional Universities Association (SARUA 2008a) found that while its 51 public university members place 65 per cent of their focus on teaching and learning and 22 per cent on research, only 11 per cent of their focus is on community engagement⁸.

Assessments of the extent of community engagement among universities are complicated by the different interpretations of the term “engagement” (to be discussed further in a later section). Simply put, however, community engagement refers to the engagement of higher education institutions with the broader context in which they are located and is often linked to discussions of the relevance and responsiveness of universities.

In the developing country context of Southern Africa, higher education is generally viewed as having a clear role in contributing to socio-economic development in the region by strengthening human capacity and skills and conducting research. This has been a recurring theme in the history of higher education in the region. In discussing the Millennium Development Goals and the role of universities in the Caribbean, Downes (2010) suggests four routes through which universities contribute to development processes:

- providing academic leadership through high quality research into critical areas of national development (knowledge creation)
- providing professional development through the teaching and training of students for the labour market and other endeavours
- providing advisory or outreach services to government, private sector organisations, non-governmental organisations
- providing general higher education through the development of analytical skills, critical and creative thinking.

In addition to addressing development needs, universities also fulfil other roles including developing “the ability to think critically; the ability to transcend local loyalties and to approach world problems as a ‘citizen of the world’; and, finally, the ability to imagine sympathetically the predicament of another person” (Nussbaum 2008).

⁸ This is based on the perceptions of responding universities rather than objective measures.

Boulton and Lucas (2008:4) caution that when considering issues of relevance and responsiveness, higher education as a public good must balance short-term needs (building skilled human resources) with a longer-term view (fostering thinking and ideas):

Thus, universities operate on both the short and the long horizon. On the one hand, they train students to go out into the world with both general and specific skills necessary to the wellbeing of society; they work with contemporary problems and they render appropriate the discoveries and understanding that they generate. On the other hand, they forage in realms of abstraction and domains of enquiry that may not appear immediately relevant to others, but have the proven potential to yield great future benefit.

In this context it is useful to review the roles that higher education has been called upon to play in the southern African region over the last half century.

An historical overview of higher education in Southern Africa

Although centres of scholarship existed in Africa prior to colonisation, the roots of today's higher education sector in Southern Africa, as in most of sub-Saharan Africa, lie in the few universities established in the region by colonial powers. These tended to be elite institutions, catering to a privileged few (usually in preparation for roles within the colonial administration) and operating along the lines of western universities, with little interaction with communities or indigenous systems of knowledge.

With independence came a revised focus on higher education and a new role for African universities as a resource for meeting the human capital needs and development goals of the newly established states. However, this model of a "development university", guided by the state to meet national development priorities, proved unsuccessful as it was characterised by state interference, limited development planning and inadequate funding. As a result, academics and states alike became sceptical of the role of universities in development (CHET 2011).

With the onset of fiscal crisis and economic decline in the late 1970s, public funding to higher education was drastically reduced. This trend continued under the structural adjustment programmes of the 1980s, as governments came under pressure from the World Bank and IMF to limit public spending on higher education in favour of basic education, on the grounds that investment in primary education would yield greater individual and social returns. Although this position was reversed by the mid-1990s, it resulted in significant decline in the higher education systems of many southern African countries.

Since the late 1990s, expectations of the role of universities in society have changed once again and universities have moved from the periphery to the centre of government

agendas once more. In light of technological advances, increasing globalisation and a growing recognition of the essential role of higher education in the new knowledge economy (Castells 1994), effective higher education is now regarded as an essential development tool.

There have therefore been increasing calls for the revitalisation of higher education in Africa. The 1997 SADC Protocol on Education and Training committed SADC countries to improving the standard of higher education and research by promoting co-operation and creating regional synergies. The World Conference on Higher Education hosted by UNESCO paid special attention to the revitalisation of higher education in Africa and noted the need for higher education to work towards a “comprehensive transformation to sharply enhance its relevance and responsiveness to the political, social and economic realities of African countries” (UNESCO 2009:6).

Today there are a range of complex and often contradictory factors, both externally and within the university environment, that are prompting increased engagement and responsiveness. The following section considers the broader societal forces that are driving more proactive engagement, referred to by Watson (2005:2) as “those externally driven, reactive aspects which represent a wider societal and economic system demanding change”. This is followed by a brief review of some of the internal debates regarding the way in which engagement relates to the other core functions of a university.

Engaging with a changing world

Economic factors

The forces of globalisation and the information and communication technology (ICT) revolution that accompanied it have transformed the world economy over the past two decades. The world has become ever smaller and better connected through the emergence of transnational corporations and technical advances in communication such as the Internet and cell phones. Access to knowledge, technology and innovation has become integral to conferring competitive advantage, and therefore the production of knowledge and the application of that knowledge have taken on a new significance. Although research and development is increasingly taking place in industrial and commercial settings, higher education institutions remain an important site of knowledge production. In the words of Castells (1994:16), “if knowledge is the electricity of the new informational international economy, then institutions of higher education are the power sources on which a new development process must rely”.

Higher education is therefore increasingly a part of development agendas, with higher education institutions being viewed as playing a key role in delivering the knowledge requirements for development as well as being sites of research and innovative thinking.

Research has suggested a strong association between higher education participation rates and levels of development. The “East Asian Tigers”, China, India and European countries such as Ireland are often cited as examples of countries that have reaped the economic benefits of investing in education in general and higher education in particular, although they differ in other aspects of their development strategies. However, while higher education participation rates in many high-income countries are well over 50 per cent, in most cases in sub-Saharan Africa they are below 5 per cent (Bloom et al. 2006)⁹.

The importance of high skills levels in promoting development is highlighted by the fact that emerging economies such as China and India have not followed the expected traditional growth path and have been able to “leap-frog” stages of development by investing in higher education (CHET 2011). Countries and regions with the skills and competencies to engage with new technologies have the opportunity to build new development pathways, since “we cannot assume that future development will mimic past advances: in many respects, opportunities are greater today and will continue to be so in the future” (UNDP 2010:102).

Calls for higher education to engage more actively are therefore increasingly being driven by economic imperatives, leading to concerns about the “commodification of knowledge” (Bawa 2003) and ever more instrumentalist approaches to higher education. Boulton and Lucas (2008:17) argue against a narrow focus on the potential benefits of higher education for economic development, stating that “universities are not just supermarkets for a variety of public and private goods that are currently in demand, and whose value is defined by their perceived aggregate financial value”.

... There is a danger that the current approach to universities is undermining the very processes that are the source of those benefits so cherished by government. It may stanch the universities’ capacities to look beyond today’s concerns in order to prepare the thoughts and the ideas that the future will need. Ultimately, they would be left as universities only in name.

Boulton and Lucas 2008:5

Mamdani (2011) considers these issues in light of Africa’s historical context and identifies two post-independent visions of the role of higher education – the first being state-driven and the other (later) vision, being market-driven. He argues that the market-driven model, with fee-paying students (privatisation) and market-driven curricula (commercialisation) is dominant in African universities and has led to a “corrosive consultancy culture”, in which research revolves around finding answers to problems defined by a client, rather than critically thinking through or formulating a problem. He argues that the formulation

⁹ Enrolment of students at tertiary institutions in Southern Africa increased between 1999 and 2005, but overall tertiary enrolment ratios in the region remain low. Research by SARUA indicates that gross tertiary enrolment ratios (GERs) in the region ranged from 0.4 per cent in Malawi to 17 per cent in Mauritius (SARUA 2008b). This is compared to an average GER of 17 per cent for developing countries in general, 56 per cent for countries in transition and 66 per cent for the developed world (Global Monitoring Report cited in SARUA 2008b).

of research problems in the humanities and social sciences in universities in the region today tends to be externally driven, and this does little to build African scholarship and local knowledge production.

Social factors

At the same time as globalisation requires governments and higher education institutions to look outwards to meet the demands of a new global economy, there is also a pull for higher education to respond to and engage directly with local, national and regional social-economic concerns, particularly in developing country contexts. It is argued that, as a public good, there is an ethical duty for higher education to promote local socio-economic development. It is from this perspective that community engagement in higher education is often promoted, as a means to serve local communities in the form of extension services, service learning and community outreach.

A further reason for engaging more actively with the local relates to the arguments that the dominant intellectual paradigm in most African universities is a product of a particular western experience, and that local scholarship tends to be steered by external agendas such as that of donors, northern universities and the markets, among others (Mamdani 2011, Fowler 2011, Muchie 2009, Assie-Lumumba 2006). As Muchie (2008:50) notes, “central to the peculiarities of the evolution of modern higher education, research and knowledge in Africa is the lack of indigenous authenticity and identity”.

There is therefore a need to draw closer to the concerns and values of the local context and to develop an African scholarship. However, building endogenous knowledge does not necessarily require replacing one form of knowledge with another. In describing a postgraduate course at the Makerere Institute for Social Research which is intended to counter some of the challenges faced by African scholars, Mamdani (2011) describes the balancing of the local and global as follows:

MISR will seek to combine a commitment to local (indeed, regional) knowledge production, rooted in relevant linguistic and disciplinary terms, with a critical and disciplined reflection on the globalisation of modern forms of knowledge and modern instruments of power. Rather than oppose the local to the global, it will seek to understand the global from the vantage point of the local.

Political factors

A further external factor in increasing the responsiveness of southern African universities is the move towards the establishment of competitive multi-party democratic governance structures in the region. While some systems may be more democratic in name than in practice, this shift has brought with it an emphasis on equity of access to higher education and the opportunities it provides. As a result there has been an observed increase in

enrolment in tertiary institutions in the region between 1999 and 2005 (SARUA 2008b) and an increasing interest in the role of community engagement in higher education as a means of increasing broader access to knowledge.

The external pressures on higher education to engage with the local, regional and global context are therefore complex and varied. At the same time, within academia there are varying notions of the form such engagement should take and how (if at all) community engagement fits into the epistemological mission of higher education.

Engagement as a university function

While community engagement is often cited as one of the three core functions of higher education, research by SARUA (2008a) suggests that in practice it is not always treated as such. This is in part because there are different understandings of what constitutes community engagement and how it fits into the process of producing knowledge that is central to higher education institutions. There is also little publicly available information about the nature of community engagement in practice at southern African universities at present, making it difficult to build a picture of community engagement in higher education in the region. This is an area for further discussion and research at a regional level.

The reference to “community” in community engagement can be somewhat misleading as the term has variously been used to describe engagements with stakeholders ranging from government and the private sector to poor communities in rural and urban areas. This reflects the diversity of the contexts and missions of higher education institutions, as well as the array of partners with which different departments within a single institution may be engaging.

A recent debate about the nature of community engagement in South African higher education institutions (CHE 2010) highlights the challenges of agreeing on a common interpretation. No agreement was reached on a definition and several alternatives to community engagement were suggested. At one end of the spectrum was the “third sector” approach, which narrowed the focus to engagement with civil society alone (Hall 2010). At the other end was the “social responsiveness” approach, which takes into account the broad sweep of university responses to social, economic, cultural and political development needs (Favish 2010). Given the lack of agreement, several participants suggested that an inductive process that builds on an understanding of what is already taking place in higher education institutions may be the most appropriate strategy for achieving consensus on a broad and flexible conceptual framework for community engagement in higher education (CHE 2010).

The debates about definitions reflect a deeper concern, namely the relationship between community engagement and the other core functions of higher education. Some of the resistance to a focus on community engagement comes from two polar opposite positions. The first views community engagement as “activities on the periphery of higher education, performed by well-meaning souls, not quite on a par with the main core functions of teaching and research” (Slamat 2010:109). The second, perhaps more common, is that community engagement is in fact not new to higher education and forms an integral part of the teaching and research functions of universities. Bawa (2003) gives an example of universities engaging with communities and civil society organisations as part of the struggle for social justice and political freedom under apartheid.

Bawa (2003:52) also notes that it is risky to propose that community engagement (understood as a separate and distinct function) is the only way in which universities interact with the “real world” and asks “what physicist or engineer or actuarial scientist or anthropologist does not engage with the ‘real world’?” Similarly, Muller (2010) notes that in the context of technological advances and the knowledge economy, research-active universities need no prompting to engage with the public domain. In his view, “the ‘ivory tower’ has these days little more substance than the unicorn” (Muller 2010:81).

Support for integrating engagement into the teaching and research activities of universities has been assisted by recent contributions to debates about how new knowledge is constructed through community engagement. The work of Gibbon and his colleagues (1994) on the new “knowledge society” juxtaposes *mode 1* knowledge generation (expert-led, discipline-based, hierarchical) with the increasingly prevalent *mode 2* knowledge generation (applied, problem-oriented, demand-driven, networked and trans-disciplinary) and has been highly influential in these discussions. Another contribution has been the concept of engagement as scholarship, which is based on Boyer’s (1996) work on the redefinition of scholarship. This paradigm of scholarship outlines four interlocking forms – the scholarship of discovery, integration, application (or engagement) and sharing knowledge. This conception places community engagement at the heart of the knowledge work of universities and connects the engaged university with pressing social challenges.

Engaging higher education in regional integration

As community engagement receives greater attention in the higher education sector, there is increasing scope for exploring the role that universities may play in advancing social and economic development within the region. Successful regional integration promises a number of potential benefits for economic growth and social development, but obstacles remain.

Universities ... are a critical 'asset' of the region ... successful mobilisation of the resources of the university can have a disproportionately positive effect on their regional economies and achievement of comprehensive regional strategies.

European Commission 2011

The role of universities in regional integration

Although Europe is at a very different stage of economic and political development from Southern Africa, considerable work has been carried out in the region on conceptualising and integrating the role of higher education and regional growth. Some of the work by the European Commission (2011) provides a helpful structure for understanding the potential roles of universities in regional development. It also goes further to identify a range of specific mechanisms through which this might be achieved¹⁰.

At a minimum, universities can be seen as “anchor institutions” in a region, as they provide employment, purchase local goods and services and contribute to the cultural life of the area, thereby contributing passively to regional development. However, there are also at least four areas in which universities can actively engage in the regional development process:

- regional (business) innovation – this is linked closely but not exclusively to the research function of the university
- human capital development – linked to the teaching function
- social and cultural (community) development – linked to the public service or community engagement function
- regional institutional capacity building through the engagement of university staff and students in local civil society.

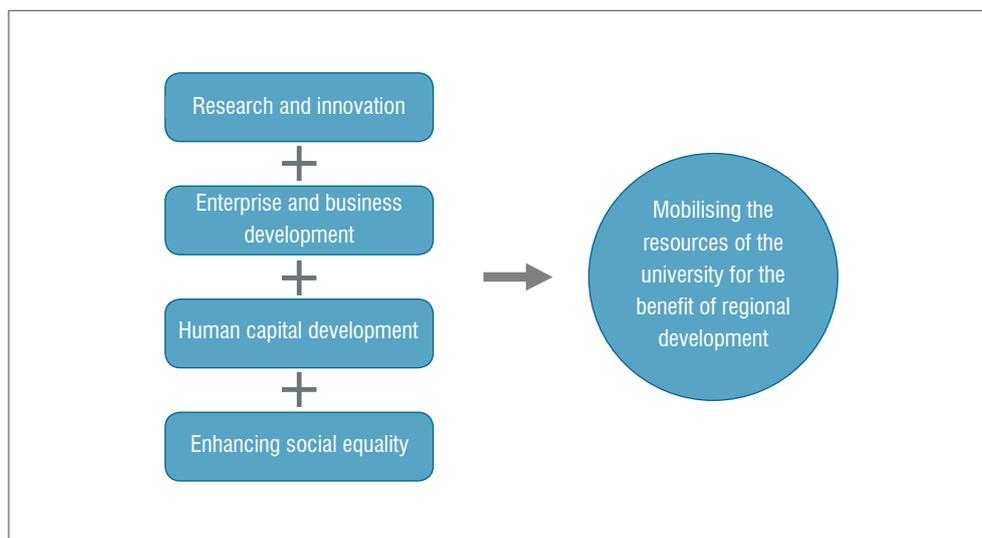
These roles echo the roles of universities in development more broadly as discussed earlier and are means by which higher education institutions can promote a “bottom up” approach and foster broader participation in the process of regional integration.

¹⁰ The rest of this section (until the conclusion) draws heavily on the European Commission’s 2011 guide to *Connecting Universities to Regional Growth*. Ideas discussed here are drawn from this document, unless otherwise specified or unless reference is made to the southern African context, in which case the ideas are those of the author.

Potential mechanisms for regional development

Within these broad roles, there are also a range of specific and practical mechanisms through which universities can contribute to regional development. Drawing on previous work, it is possible to identify four broad categories of mechanisms:

Figure 1: Categories of mechanisms for university engagement in regional development (European Commission 2011)



- enhancing regional innovation through research activities
- promoting enterprise, business development and growth
- contributing to the development of regional human capital and skills
- improving social equality through regeneration and cultural development.

These mechanisms can be employed either as individual elements or as part of a wider regional development strategy or programme.

Across these categories, a distinction can be drawn between the regional impact of “normal” university activities financed as part of the core business of teaching and research on the one hand and purposeful regional interventions (often initially funded from a source outside of higher education) on the other. Interventions can therefore range from straightforward “transactional” services in response to a stated need or demand, to more complex “transformational” activities that recognise latent needs (European Commission 2011).

The following section discusses some of the potential mechanisms in each category in more detail, drawing on previous work. Additional mechanisms that may be relevant to the southern African region have been included where appropriate.

Enhancing regional innovation through research

Much of the work on promoting active university engagement in more established regions has been driven by their potential contribution to regional innovation systems, since research and development are essential for developing a knowledge base to underpin innovation. It is useful to consider at least two ways in which universities can contribute to regional development and innovation: firstly, through the translation of research into a form that can be taken up and used by private and public sectors; and secondly by responding to demand from these sectors in the region for expertise relevant to business and household activities.

This “translation” and engagement can vary in duration and complexity, ranging from the provision of consultancy services on the transactional end of the scale, through to the establishment of science parks and research and technology centres which have transformative potential (European Commission 2011). Innovation vouchers and knowledge transfer partnerships are further possibilities.

Many of the mechanisms identified in this category refer to business-university interactions, as research and development is increasingly taking place in industrial and commercial settings. However, universities remain an important site of research and learning, particularly in regions where active private sector research and development is limited. Furthermore, Boulton and Lucas (2008:5) caution against viewing higher education as a driver of innovation. Rather, they suggest, universities have a role to play in creating the conditions required for innovation to flourish (see box). In reviewing previous work on this issue, Goddard and Vallance (2008:11) note that what various commentaries point to is that “the relatively narrow function assumed of [universities] – as a source of knowledge generation and dissemination within a local economic innovation system – is overstated” and suggest that it would be more beneficial to better understand the multidimensional contributions that universities can make.

While the dominant paradigm of innovation systems worldwide has been a scientific or technological one, universities also have a role to play in promoting social and cultural innovation, as well as innovation in public policy in the region.

Universities can and do contribute to the innovation process, but not as its drivers. Innovation is dominantly a process of business engagement with markets, in which universities can only play a minor active role. They do however contribute to the fertility of the environment that innovation needs if it is to flourish.

The university role in innovation is in developing human capital, at bachelors, masters and doctoral levels; in contributing to the intellectual, social and cultural resources of a region in ways that encourage inward investment of knowledge intensive business; in helping to stimulate entrepreneurial activity; and in collaborating with business to create mechanisms of interaction.

Boulton and Lucas 2008:11,12

In the southern African context, universities can contribute to advancing local innovation (broadly defined) by fostering a southern African scholarship that re-thinks old questions and formulates new ones from the “vantage point of the local” (Mamdani 2011).

Promoting enterprise, business development and growth

This second category of mechanisms relates to the role of universities in contributing to the regional business and entrepreneurial environment. Mechanisms include activities that encourage a more entrepreneurial culture amongst staff, students and graduates, efforts to stimulate business start-ups or “spin-outs”¹¹ amongst graduates and staff and measures to help build a more favourable business environment for both new and existing firms.

Promoting graduate enterprise also contributes to regional development by adding to the pool of skilled human resources in regional business and retaining these skills in the region. Universities that are able to attract students from other countries have access to cross-border networks and linkages that can be of benefit to the region and can provide a basis for future cross-border co-operation and investment.

At the more transformational end of the scale, encouraging patenting and intellectual property protection can provide a source of revenue for institutions and act as a stimulus to further research and innovation.

Contributing to the development of regional human capital and skills

The third category of mechanisms relates to developing human resources and improving skill levels and is traditionally viewed as the primary means by which universities contribute to development in the region.

One of the most direct mechanisms is the explicit engagement of universities with regional integration policies and processes by, for example, offering courses on regional integration issues (AUN 2006 cited in Wambua 2008). Such courses promote awareness of regional policies and build capacity for participation. Furthermore, local scholarly expertise can be drawn upon to engage with regional strategies and programmes, either in the form of advising, providing input or conducting formative or evaluative research into critical areas of regional development; or in the form of policy analysis, robust critique and debate around regional strategies, policies and programmes. Both approaches increase the participation of civil society in the process of regional integration and strengthen the grounded nature of the policies and programmes.

¹¹ A university “spin-out” differs from a “spin-off” in that it is independent of the university financially and legally.

A further contribution may be to design teaching or research programmes around issues of regional interest, such as health or natural resource management. This may range from ad hoc collaborations on specific issues through to formalised regional collaborations. In an analysis of the potential role of universities in East Africa, Wambua (2008) suggests setting up regional academic centres to teach, research and discuss issues of common concern.

A less direct mechanism relates to contributing to the level of skill of the workforce in the region by producing an “educated cadre that has the requisite knowledge and skills for the economy” (Ngwenya 2010:276). Movement of staff and students between the university and the private and public sector in the region (as in the case of internships or secondments) can also contribute to the level of skill in regional business. It has been noted that the development of skills and “knowledge assets” in the workforce is a critical tool for many regions in achieving their regional innovation strategy, and there is evidence of a clear correlation between productivity growth and educational achievement in the OECD and others (European Commission 2011). This has prompted actors in various regions to seek ways to draw on the presence of universities as a means of building skills in the region, but the track record of the “development university” model in Africa demonstrates that this is not a straightforward task and requires a strong partnership between universities, businesses and the public sector.

A further mechanism relates to academic mobility. Staff and student exchanges encourage a cross-pollination of ideas and networking across borders which is vital for fostering collaborations and promoting the dynamic exchange of ideas and experiences at a local, national and regional level that can in turn spark and nurture new approaches. Regional exchange programmes at universities provide opportunities for increased mobility and reciprocal learning, building a regional knowledge base and identity and creating the conditions for social and economic cohesion within the region.

In addition, universities have the potential to attract external talent, whether staff or students, to the region. This can be particularly advantageous to regions in which skills are in short supply and targeting of people with specific sectoral skills can help build a critical mass. Universities can also play a role in establishing proactive programmes to retain graduates in the region.

Improving social equality through community development and engagement

The final category of mechanisms refers to the contribution of universities to the social and cultural development of their local communities and the implications this has for regional development and integration.

Universities can make a significant contribution to the cultural life of a region by providing cultural programmes and activities and building or providing infrastructure such as theatres and museums. In the southern African context, however, such “cultural” influence may extend beyond the support of traditional forms of arts and culture to a broader process of exploring and drawing upon indigenous systems of knowledge in a range of fields. Furthermore, universities may contribute to building endogenous knowledge and supporting and strengthening southern African scholarship by seeking to “understand the global from the vantage point of the local” (Mamdani 2011).

A further means of strengthening the local – and regional – is through activities aimed at widening access to higher education and increasing participation in higher education within the region. Within the southern African context, the spread of democracy in the region has led to an emphasis on equity of access to higher education. This in turn has the potential for increasing social cohesion.

Community engagement and student volunteer programmes at universities provide opportunities for young people to become involved in wider social issues, engage with others they may not otherwise have contact with and develop a sense of social awareness. Literature on civic engagement suggests that student participation in community engagement activities has the potential to build self-worth and empowerment (Gillette 2003); promote norms of solidarity and reciprocity (Alessi 2004); build tolerance for diversity (Dobbie and Fryer 2011, Brewis, Russell and Holdsworth 2010) and foster active citizenship in adulthood (Hart, Donnelly, Youniss and Atkins 2007). Community engagement activities expose young people to environments that value engagement, social responsibility and helping others (IANYS 2010), all of which are values that promote social cohesion locally and – potentially – at a regional level.

Lastly, a widely recognised role of higher education as a public good is the role that it plays in strengthening democracy by fostering public debate and contributing to a critical and engaged citizenry through the development of analytical skills and critical and creative thinking. Higher education is in a unique position to foster democratic values, active citizenship and leadership skills amongst youth in the region.

In discussing the place of party politics on university campuses, Jansen (2011) describes the ‘training ground’ role of student politics:

- A university is, without question, a place that should accommodate and give expression to the range of political ideas and ideals of the broader society. It is a place where such ideas should be articulated, defended and contested without fear.
- Indeed, student politics is and should be a mechanism through which to learn the habits of democracy and to learn the duty of service to the disadvantaged.

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter has been to explore the potential for engaging universities in promoting greater regional integration in the southern African region. Integration has historically been viewed as an important pathway to development and poverty reduction in Africa and as the notion of community engagement gains ground in the higher education sector, there is increasing scope for exploring the role that universities may play in advancing social and economic development within the region.

The preceding discussion demonstrates that universities do indeed have a role to play in contributing to the economic and social development of the region, both through the regional impact of “normal” university activities and through more active engagement in the regional integration process. While conversations around the engagement of higher education in supporting regional integration are still relatively new in the southern African region, the experience and conceptualisation of the role of universities in other regions of the world can provide some useful pointers for consideration.

In closing it is worth noting two final observations from previous work on the role of higher education in supporting regional development in other regions. The first is that while there are some universal mechanisms, what is found to be effective in practice is highly contingent on regional and national circumstances. The second is a cautionary note: that “too often partnerships fail because university managers do not understand the challenges of regional development and regional authorities do not understand the core mission of universities and the constraints within which they work” (European Commission 2011:1).

This chapter aims to provide some insight into the challenges of regional development as well as the debates around the core mission of universities. However, both of the above observations point to the need for any initiative that aims to engage universities in the regional integration project in Southern Africa to place particular emphasis on opening up a dialogue, both within higher education in the southern African region and across a broader range of public and private sector stakeholders.

Such a dialogue would support the identification of mechanisms that are already in place in the region and those that are potentially relevant and through an ongoing conversation with a range of stakeholders, begin to build a distinctly southern African process of engaging universities in contributing to the social, economic and cultural development of the region and promoting greater regional integration in Southern Africa.

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Chapter 2

Revitalisation of higher education in Southern Africa: Key themes and issues for the attention of policy-makers and university leadership

Lucienne Abrahams and Titilayo Akinsanmi

For the decade (2011-2020), higher education institutions in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region will focus on revitalising their capacities for teaching and learning, for academic and postgraduate research, for investment in 21st century infrastructures (including advanced technological infrastructure) and for governance and leadership of their diverse institutions.

Development in Southern Africa is occurring at a time when increasing numbers of countries across the world are moving from efficiency-driven to innovation-driven economies, often termed “knowledge economies”¹². Southern Africa’s economies are mainly factor-driven, with a few being efficiency-driven (African Development Bank 2009). Where these economies undergo transitions, the nature of development in these geographic contexts will influence, to a greater or lesser degree, the nature of institutional advancement in universities.

This chapter outlines the relevance of the knowledge economy paradigm to southern African universities, within the regional context. It explores the historical roots of universities, the regional socio-economic context and systemic issues (such as governance, co-operation and collaboration), and presents a list of related challenges. The chapter draws on the multiple research publications of the Southern African Regional Universities Association (SARUA) and discusses key themes in the revitalisation of higher education, including research and innovation-based activities, human capital development challenges, infrastructure investment and financing issues.

¹² The World Economic Forum Global Competitiveness Report separates countries according to three stages of economic development, factor-driven, efficiency-driven and innovation-driven (see www.weforum.org).

The themes for revitalisation are considered in the context of regional development priorities and an agenda is proposed for pursuing higher education revitalisation in the SADC region with particular reference to:

- policy, governance and leadership
- research and capacity development within and across borders
- academic teaching, learning and capacity development
- university networking for regional development
- creating value in higher education through research and ICT infrastructure
- effective planning and financing for revitalisation.

Higher education institutions in Southern Africa require a focused agenda for institutional and sector governance and leadership. Southern Africa's universities have made a small but important contribution to development in the second half of the 20th century and in the early 21st century, particularly with respect to producing graduates who have played a variety of roles in shaping the history and the future development opportunities for the region.

For the next two decades (to 2030), new tasks and responsibilities are emerging, including the need for a much greater investment of time and money in scholarly research across the sciences and the humanities. This research is a vital contribution to the region's knowledge about itself, as well as a contribution to human knowledge in general. Future research can be utilised by communities and by practitioners in many fields of endeavour and by future generations of undergraduate and postgraduate students. To create new knowledge about the region, for the region, will require a multiplicity of resources, intellectual, financial and infrastructural, all of which can enhance the role of universities in development through effective governance and leadership.

Higher education research and scholarly activity can be analysed with respect to its contributions to (a) the commercialisation of knowledge (innovation-driven research for commercial markets) and the socialisation of knowledge (linking knowledge to engagement with communities and society for development purposes); (b) knowledge for socio-economic development in countries where highly urbanised centres co-exist with sparsely populated rural localities, as well as in small, developing states in "less favoured regions" (Sotarautu and Kosonen 2004); and (c) levels of higher education system formation with respect to research impact, graduate throughput and community engagement. This chapter draws together the main issues identified and discussed in the annual cycles of SARUA studies, addressing these three items where possible.

Comprehensive, comparable and up-to-date information on higher education in the SADC region is difficult to access, as recognised in the Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP). Such data can do much to inform higher education decision-making at all levels, including national and regional policy and institutional strategy. A significant volume of data has been collected, and many themes and issues with respect to the revitalisation of higher education have arisen from the research undertaken by SARUA between 2007 and 2010. The chapter proposes a clustering of these themes and issues for the purpose of presenting a focused agenda for higher education revitalisation at the institutional, national and regional levels.

The knowledge economy and southern African universities

It is appropriate to discuss the revitalisation of higher education in a knowledge economy context, because, in the 21st century, all countries are moving towards a reality in which knowledge plays a critical role in socio-economic development. Whether a country's economy is based primarily on agriculture, industry or services, the application of knowledge in these economic sectors influences the rate of growth and the degree of advancement of the particular sector and therefore the economy as a whole.

Four key elements of knowledge economy formation can be derived from the extensive literature (Houghton and Sheehan 2000):

- applied knowledge is derived from research and innovation
- knowledge requires highly developed human capital for its application
- knowledge is often mediated and diffused through institutional networks and across countries by ICTs and electronic media
- the effective diffusion of knowledge requires policies and strategies to promote the realisation of value from knowledge-based activity.

Knowledge economy formation and regional development

Southern Africa operates at a relatively low level of knowledge intensity in global terms. With respect to the knowledge economy, we can pose the question: "Are we in it?" It is important to consider Southern Africa's potential in terms of four key elements of knowledge economy formation.

Research and innovation: The creation of indigenous scientific knowledge pertains to scientific enquiry, discovery and technological production aimed at addressing problems which have previously defied a solution. In Southern Africa, poverty, health, food security, availability of infrastructure, availability of locally-produced consumer goods and effective environmental management present such problems. Research, and its translation into commercial or social innovations, occurs largely in the business sector and to a more limited extent in the publicly-funded science sector and the higher education sector. The non-governmental development sector is an important contributor to innovation efforts, focused primarily on innovation in social processes and in societal culture.

Human capital development: Advances in scientific endeavour or social change require significant numbers of people in each generation to be highly educated in a wide range of fields – in the natural sciences, in the health sciences and in the social sciences and humanities. Each successive generation can build on the knowledge of the previous generation, accumulating knowledge and knowledge artefacts for the society. This accumulation of knowledge can enrich the society within which it exists and may diminish (although not necessarily eliminate) inequalities or poverty.

ICT, electronic media and knowledge networks: Electronic media has become a powerful social force. Previously, access to electronic media was restricted to businesses and to high-income households, but since the beginning of the 21st century very large numbers of households (across income levels) have gained access to some form of global communications, whether through a mobile phone, the Internet or the broadcast media. These electronic media have linked business with business, business with consumer, and universities with each other, making the possibility of high-bandwidth, high-speed communications a global phenomenon in which every country participates. This pushes knowledge from one space to another at unprecedented speeds.

Enabling policy for knowledge economy formation: In order for countries to make their way through the complexities of social and economic change, they often introduce a wide range of national policies, strategies, plans and other measures to chart a specific course, based on each country's particular attributes, strengths and weaknesses. Hence, policy for an agriculturally-based country such as Tanzania is likely to differ from policy for a small island state such as Mauritius or a small land-locked country such as Lesotho. Similarly, policy and strategy for future higher education system formation will differ from country to country with respect to the size and shape of research output, as well as the needs of academic and student populations.

In the foreseeable future, a few issues will emerge as vital for countries desiring to make the transition to a knowledge economy. This includes the economic strength of cities with very large populations as global hubs of knowledge production. In Southern Africa,

there are only a few cities with moderately large populations, while many people remain dispersed in rural areas, so the large-city model of knowledge economy formation will not be sufficient to address the region's knowledge needs. The region's universities must connect to the cities, but must also define themselves as knowledge producers aiming for rural inclusion in a knowledge-driven future. Such an approach can be beneficial for universities, as they can do research and advanced educational programmes historically done largely by donor-driven organisations in the past few decades, but with a stronger focus on sustainable outcomes not usually associated with donor-driven efforts. The knowledge-engendering university in Southern Africa must be both city-facing and rural-facing.

What the knowledge economy means for universities

It is important to consider the historical roots of African higher education, the regional context over the past decade, the current situation and new challenges for regional co-operation and cross-regional education.

Historical roots of African universities

In Africa, higher education has a history rooted in colonialism, in the pre- and post-independence movements that arose across the continent, in often neo-colonial development efforts and (in many cases) in post-conflict reconstruction efforts. In some countries, conflict (or the legacy of conflict) remained present for many decades after formal independence, requiring the leadership to rise to the challenge of radical change. The early years of democratisation across the continent were marked by an enthusiasm for higher education, leading to the establishment of institutions modelled on those in the colonial countries. These institutions were required to support newly formed democratic states by creating the capacities to manage resources, address poverty and run public administrations (Sawyer 2002: 1-59). Often these challenges were not met. This is perhaps unsurprising and suggests the need for a new quest for relevance in the 21st century.

... African Universities are the result of a complex mix of past experiences and influences from their European colonial origins and their continued dependence on the ideas and the practices in higher education in Europe and North America in the post-independence era, to the ravaging effects of economic recession, structural adjustment programmes, war, social upheaval, the debt crisis and the HIV/AIDS pandemic in recent times. (Association of African Universities 2004:10)

African higher education institutions, especially universities, have been institutional sites for the reproduction of European cultural domination of African societies and institutions, both in the colonial and neo-colonial contexts. Through the dynamics of European colonial education and African leaders' own well-meaning but misguided demand for the

integral transfer of European education into their respective societies, African education was caught in a dependency trap. Thus, even the institutions created after independence have been modelled on the systems of colonial powers and their extensions in the west. (Assie-Lumumba 2005:11)

Later, the question of the place of African identity emerged and this led to the redefinition of the purpose of universities to include their taking account of African specificities.

The 1997 SADC Protocol on Education and Training recognised the role of education (and in particular higher education) in the region's development and therefore committed SADC countries to improve the standard of higher education by promoting co-operation and creating regional synergies (SADC 1997). It emphasised the important role of universities in supporting research and development within the region. According to Hahn (2005:13):

... the meta goal of the protocol is to improve the standard of higher education and research by promoting co-operation and creating intra-regional synergies in different areas ... targeted to progressively achieve a regional equivalence, harmonisation and standardisation of the sector within a period of 20 years. (Article 3)

Fourteen years later, there is little evidence of progress towards regional equivalence, harmonisation or standardisation, with many historical challenges still requiring attention, even as new challenges emerge.

The African Union's Plan of Action for Higher Education Renewal for the second decade of education is an important continental effort to develop education in Africa. It argues for:

Complete revitalisation of higher education in Africa, with the emergence of strong and vibrant institutions profoundly engaged in fundamental and development-oriented research, teaching, community outreach and enrichment services to the lower levels of education; function(ing) in an environment of academic freedom and institutional autonomy, within an overall framework of public accountability. (African Union 2006, section 2.4, paragraph 42)

The existence of some comparatively stronger and some comparatively weaker higher education systems within the SADC region means that revitalisation is a necessity for the entire region, rather than for individual institutions. Some institutions may offer models of good practice, but the risks and consequences attendant on skewed development across the region need to be addressed (Kotecha 2008:6). These risks include the potential for mirroring the failures and divisions of the 20th century, where rapidly-growing economies bred universities with high graduate and innovative research output contributing to strong

economic growth, while those economies that experienced only a gradual increase in gross domestic product (GDP) over time witnessed low levels of research productivity and limited graduate and postgraduate throughput.

Across the region there are 20 cities, of which 13 have populations of more than one million people. A few cities with populations of less than one million are located in countries with medium to high gross national income (GNI) per capita, in particular in Botswana, Mauritius, Namibia and Seychelles (see Table 1).

Relative population size and relative per capita incomes are an important foundation for contemplating higher education revitalisation in the 21st century, as they hint at possible futures for higher education and its role in the region's economic growth and integration. Large populations in high-income cities with relatively well-developed industry and services sectors will have the greatest advantage, while smaller populations in sparsely populated rural areas will confront significant challenges in advancing their socio-economic development outcomes.

Table 1: Key statistics for cities in the SADC region

	Mid-year population estimate 2008 (millions)	Cities in SADC region	Population in largest city (millions)	Gross national income (GNI) per capita 2007 (USD)	Life expectancy at birth
Angola	17.5	Luanda	4.0	2 560	43.1
Botswana	1.9	Gaborone	0.224	5 840	51.0
DRC	64.7	Kinshasa	7.8	140	46.8
Lesotho	2.0	Maseru	0.210	1 000	43.0
Madagascar	20.2	Antananarivo	1.6	320	59.8
Malawi	14.2	Lilongwe	0.732	250	48.7
Mauritius	1.2	Port Louis	0.150	5 450	73.0
Mozambique	21.8	Maputo	1.4	320	42.4
Namibia	2.1	Windhoek	0.313	3 360	52.9
Seychelles	0.087	Victoria	-	8 960	73.1
South Africa	48.8	Cape Town, Durban, Ekurhuleni, Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth, Pretoria	3.4 (Johannesburg)	5 760	49.5
Swaziland	1.1	Mbabane	0.078	2 580	39.7
Tanzania	41.4	Dar es Salaam	2.9	400	52.9
Zambia	12.1	Lusaka	1.3	800	42.8
Zimbabwe	13.4	Harare	1.5	340	44.3

Source: Abrahams, Burke and Mouton (2009) and African Development Bank (2009:26, 31, 40, 50)

The modalities employed for revitalisation of universities or creating 21st century universities in Southern Africa, must emerge from the view that higher education will play a central role in regional development, not just in the next decade, but in the next century, a role which must foster more rapid development in more economic nodes than at present.

Regional context: Future focus versus historical focus

Established in 1992, the main purpose of SADC¹³ has been to improve economic growth and development, alleviate poverty, enhance the standard and quality of life of the people of the region and support development through regional integration. Southern African countries are relatively poor compared to other parts of the developing world, with low GDP per capita and low human development index (HDI) rankings. This informed the establishment of a free trade area as a key element of SADC’s regional integration strategy, with the acknowledgment that the wider approach should include the building of economic capacities equitably across the region. This approach has been aptly described as “deep integration” (UNDP 2000: 18).

A good starting point for examining what the knowledge economy means in Southern Africa is to review baseline data from each country’s competitiveness profile (see Table 2).

Table 2: Country competitiveness profiles

Country	Sectoral value added (%GDP)	Global competitiveness index (rank out of 134 countries)
Botswana	agriculture (2), industry (55), services (43)	56, in transition from factor-driven to efficiency-driven economy
DRC	not included in the data tables	Not included
Lesotho	agriculture (12), industry (47), services (41)	123, factor-driven economy
Madagascar	agriculture (26), industry (15), services (58)	125, factor-driven economy
Malawi	agriculture (34), industry (20), services (45)	119, factor-driven economy
Mauritius	agriculture (5), industry (25), services (70)	57, efficiency-driven economy
Mozambique	agriculture (28), industry (27), services (45)	130, factor-driven economy
Namibia	agriculture (11), industry (30), services (59)	80, efficiency-driven economy
South Africa	agriculture (3), industry (31), services (66)	45, efficiency-driven economy
Tanzania	agriculture (45), industry (17), services (37)	113, factor-driven economy
Zambia	agriculture (22), industry (38), services (40)	112, factor-driven economy
Zimbabwe	agriculture (19), industry (24), services (57)	133, factor-driven economy

Source: African Development Bank (2009:166-237)

¹³ SADC has 15 member states: Angola, Botswana, Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Taking a more detailed view of the current state of the region, Kotecha (2008: 10-11) highlights key data confirming a legacy of relative poverty and low knowledge intensity in the economy as the starting point for higher education renewal:

- GDP per capita in SADC countries is low, at between USD175 (Malawi) and USD5 720 (Botswana) (2006 data)¹⁴.
- Measures of life expectancy, education levels and per capita income put SADC countries between 65 (Mauritius) and 172 (Mozambique) out of 177 countries, and hence SADC countries fall almost entirely into the lower half of the human development index (2007-08 data).
- As regards a knowledge economy rating, sub-Saharan Africa scored a low 2.78 in 2006, down from 3.12 in 1995, according to the World Bank's knowledge economy index.

According to more recent data presented in the Africa Competitiveness Report 2009 (African Development Bank 2009), only South Africa, Botswana, Mauritius and Namibia are ranked 80 or higher on global competitiveness out of 134 countries, with these being the only economies regarded as being in the efficiency-driven stage or in transition to efficiency-driven economies. The other economies are all ranked between 110 and 134. More importantly, they are factor-driven economies, meaning that they are at a stage of economic evolution in which value added is comparatively low. In efficiency-driven economies, value added is greater than in factor-driven economies, enabling the surplus income to be deployed for further economic development. Applied knowledge is an important contributing factor to the transition from factor-driven to efficiency-driven and innovation-driven economies. Hence, the countries of Southern Africa need to create and intensify their local knowledge production, both for domestic consumption and for export. The following charge can therefore be applied to southern African universities as knowledge producers and diffusers:

It is high time that universities, in the North and in the South, become more active and self-conscious participants in the struggle for a more balanced order of knowledge creation and for the authenticity of knowledge ... meeting this challenge would also re-connect higher education to a particularly important item on the agenda of national unification: the creation and the nurturing of a national identity of knowledge that both recognises the power and the inevitability of the international knowledge order and serves as a catalyst for re-legitimizing local and national traditions of knowledge. (Weiler 2008:13)

¹⁴ This report uses the data presented in the original SARUA reports.

It has been argued that Southern Africa's history, particularly in the latter part of the 20th century, predisposed it to become a low-income geographic region or what Sotarautu and Kosonen (2004) refer to as a "less-favoured region", with concomitant challenges in education:

As the economic realities of complex and unequal trade relations and the declining value of primary products in international trade began to impact on African economies from the 1970s, African countries tended to rely increasingly on aid from developed countries to meet their resource requirements. So began the complex cycle of debt and related economic and social crises that has had such a great impact on African countries. In the 1980s and 1990s various structural adjustment programs (SAPs) were introduced with the stated aim of resolving these economic and social crises. However, SAPs also called for downsizing of the state and reductions in spending, including education spending (Sawyer 2002) ... Thus African higher education found itself in a situation of vastly diminished resources together with increasing enrolments as demand for higher education increased precisely at a time when the knowledge economy began to emerge and global demands on higher education intensified. (Butcher, Wilson-Strydom, Hoosen, MacDonald, Moore and Barnes 2008:70)

Southern Africa requires research to introduce innovation in agriculture and industry. It requires human capital for conducting research and for advancing the quality, size and efficiency of its services economy from whence comes the largest proportion of GDP. It requires better ICT access, electronic media and content for knowledge sharing and increasing democratisation. It also requires enabling policy and governance environments to support all of the above.

Major economic formations in the 21st century knowledge economy are cities, large services sectors and knowledge-intensive industrial and agricultural sectors. Southern Africa has few of these. It therefore needs to grow its cities, services sectors and knowledge intensity in its industrial and agricultural sectors. It needs to give attention to climate change and the negative environmental impacts following decades of neglect of water and other natural resources. It needs to find alternative forms of energy for heating, cooking and economic activity. All this requires the application of knowledge, a high proportion of which should originate in and be deployed from the region's universities.

Southern Africa's current reality is in stark contrast to the rapidly evolving trend, in which the rate of indigenous knowledge production is a key ingredient in the economic success of countries and economic regions in a globalised world. This trend observes countries assimilating their available knowledge, both tacit and explicit, as well as building their comparative knowledge advantage in selected areas where such knowledge may be

of local value or of value in producing goods, services, technologies and knowledge for global export. Such rapidly increasing indigenous knowledge production can aid in reshaping economic production in the services, agricultural and small industrial complexes in the region.

For southern African socio-economic development, local knowledge must be made explicit through publication of local research data and analysis, both as inputs to economic innovation and as inputs to the survival of households, firms and small informal businesses. Survival in the region is often threatened by natural disasters or health pandemics, requiring increased sophistication and innovation in local knowledge and its application. Furthermore, it is argued that higher education can inject value into the complex processes of democratisation, social justice and the region's competitiveness, reinforcing the view that "the link between higher education and economic development is inescapable" (Kotecha 2008:3).

One possible strategic consideration that arises from analysis of the relevant studies is the potential for cross-regional collaboration in higher education, which can be directed towards treating higher education as a shared enterprise for regional upliftment through "deep integration". This will require a regional consensus on the strategic importance of higher education to regional development policy. Significant increases in regional research output, with increased commercialisation and social dissemination of research, as well as producing large numbers of graduates and postgraduates, can change the regional economic dynamics towards higher levels of development.

Advocating for cross-regional collaboration in higher education research and teaching should be high on the SADC region's and SARUA's agenda and should not prove difficult. SADC already acknowledges the need for "deep integration" and capacity development based on "commonality of evolving values, systems and institutions; self-sustaining development, collective self-reliance and inter-dependence; complementarity between national and regional strategies and programmes; and consolidation of historical, social and cultural affinities among the peoples and member states of the region" (Kotecha 2008:10).

These perspectives on higher education in the SADC region present a great challenge to policy-makers and institutional leadership. Dominant factors of the 20th century included failed efforts at massification, lack of accountability and inefficiency, low levels of public funding (leading to the adoption of market mechanisms such as commissioned research), poor infrastructure and slow development in an economically insulated and globally isolated sector (Kotecha 2008:11). These must be explicitly acknowledged as unacceptable practice for 21st century development. While increasing graduate numbers and good governance will remain essential elements of good practice, this must coincide

with bidding for increased funding from public and private sources, investing in better infrastructure, ensuring a high proportion of academic and postgraduate time spent in conducting and disseminating scholarly research and creating a leadership milieu for all-round regional higher education revitalisation. Failure to grasp this nettle will perpetuate the historical trajectory of knowledge impoverishment in Southern Africa relative to other regional higher education systems, regional economies or global networks and compacts (such as the European Union, OECD, APEC and BRICS).

Governance, autonomy and regulation of higher education

System-level governance of higher education in SADC is diverse, but typically includes strong systems of state control or “state supervision” with relatively low levels of autonomy in governance, decision-making and action. This threatens the future of the higher education system and its revitalisation as a 21st century agency. Systems without the relative autonomy to foster their own development will fail and will therefore also fail the societies they are meant to support. The emerging trend of the establishment of statutory bodies responsible for accreditation and quality assurance of higher degrees, through guiding and monitoring systems, is an important trend in moving from state control or supervision to greater autonomy. However, specific arrangements are highly uneven, differing from country to country, and include the absence of explicit quality assurance systems in some cases and uneven participation of stakeholders in national policy processes in others. Only 42 per cent of SARUA member institutions regard themselves as playing a significant role with regard to policy and quality assurance (Butcher et al. 2008). The regional objective should be for 100 per cent participation in policy-making and the application of and compliance with good quality assurance systems in all countries throughout the region.

Co-operation and collaboration

The extent of collaboration amongst universities, and between universities and other research institutions, is moderate to low, with most collaboration occurring at national level (Kruss and Petersen 2008). In some countries, there are only isolated instances of collaboration between universities and industry, while in other countries collaboration occurs on a moderate scale. The research shows that wide-scale collaboration with industry occurs only with respect to technical evaluation and feasibility studies and education of work-ready students. The limited collaborations suggest the need for a regional research and academic collaboration programme. Existing collaboration could be intensified and extended to the mutual benefit of the parties. Areas of university-firm collaboration that will require attention in the context of an emerging regional knowledge economy include agricultural advice services, engineering services, design and prototyping, short- and long-term research and development (R&D), and R&D for small and micro business innovation.

The majority of universities have wide-scale to moderate collaboration with public and development organisations including government, while a minority have isolated or no collaboration. The sector most negatively affected by lack of collaboration is agriculture (Kruss and Petersen 2008:345-354). Further research is required on collaboration between universities and the community development sector.

University engagement with the public and development sectors can be greatly enhanced through better collaboration amongst universities themselves, as this would generate greater capacities for research oriented towards the needs of industry, of the public and development sectors and of society in the region.

Collaboration between higher education and public research institutions

Cooperation and collaboration is acknowledged in principle as being necessary to cross-regional improvements in higher education, but in practice this requires much greater leadership commitment and practical action. Co-operation and collaboration in research and academic exchange, in producing graduates, and in mentoring postgraduates through regional graduate programmes and student exchange, remains either undeveloped or under-developed. Sharing of advanced infrastructures is another area that could benefit many research-producing universities in the region, who are currently operating with weak or aging infrastructure. Co-operation and collaboration on regional as well as national research priorities requires the formulation of an explicitly regional research agenda.

In practice, co-operation and collaboration is sub-optimal. The most common form of university collaboration is amongst local universities, with isolated cases of collaboration with other sub-Saharan African and foreign universities. The second most common form of collaboration is with public research institutions. This is recognised as important and requires further strengthening. According to the regional public science study (Mouton, Boshoff, De Waal, Esau, Imbayarwo, Ritter and Van Niekerk 2008:31), only eight of the eleven respondent ministries reported that regional development priorities influenced national education planning. Attention to development priorities does not inform co-operation and collaboration efforts in any systematic way; instead collaboration tends to be ad hoc in nature. Only 63 per cent of SARUA member institutions can provide examples of collaborative academic or research work (Mouton et al. 2008:32), laying an important but perhaps as yet ineffectual, foundation for regional collaboration. Movement of higher education staff and students tends to be predominantly from other SADC countries to South Africa, and higher fees are charged by several countries for students from SADC countries, despite the provisions for equal treatment of students from SADC countries as per the regional Protocol on Education and Training Article 7(A)5. This hinders regional exchange in the teaching and learning sphere, as movement is typically uni-directional rather than multi-directional.

Interactions with private research institutions and sub-Saharan African academic institutions and associations, such as CODESRIA or the African Economic Research Consortium, is isolated (Kruss and Petersen 2008) and presents a significant opportunity for building African continental research networks around themes of common interest to regional and continental academics and researchers, and by extension to the communities of the continent.

Collaboration with industry and with communities

According to the baseline research on collaboration, some SADC public higher education institutions can provide examples of collaborative projects with business and industry, while many have plans in place for collaboration with industry rather than effective collaboration (Kruss and Petersen 2008:345-393). The study finds a positive propensity and orientation on the part of SADC universities towards research, innovation and interaction with firms. In practice though, interaction exists primarily in isolated instances or on a small scale. It would appear that the desire for collaboration requires translation into formal projects and programmes that can generate value in the short, medium and long term.

All forms of university-firm interaction are low, except for the education of work-ready students and consultancy. Other forms of collaboration include donations, sponsorship, technical evaluation and research and development-focused interactions. Interactions around software development and agricultural services were ranked particularly low. Of the sample, 60 per cent reported no involvement with technology transfer, 40 per cent were not involved with research and development for firm innovation, and 52 per cent were not involved in software development or design (Kruss and Petersen 2008:349-350). This data raises questions about the specific nature of the activities of those universities that are engaged in technology transfer and innovation.

Channels of interaction that were rated most important include public conferences and meetings, graduates being hired by firms, publications and reports in the public domain, individual consultancy, R&D co-operative projects and informal information exchange. The growing trend of universities as centres of commerce, as is the case in some universities in the developed world who are engaged in the development of patents, hosting of technology incubators and serving as science and technology parks, is very low on the scale of priorities in SADC universities. This suggests that the phase of development of most universities in the region is very basic, but also almost certainly reflects low levels of industrial development in most SADC countries.

It is probable that where university-firm interaction is high, as with the education of work-ready students and consultancy, industry may benefit more than the universities,

even though individual academics may gain considerably. This view would seem to be supported by the greater value attributed to interactions like consultancies, than to agricultural advice. Universities are beginning to see benefits from these interactions, including access to knowledge on which to build research, reputation-related benefits and potential new roles for universities. It is therefore critical to create a future basis for university-firm interactions that emphasises, supports and benefits industry, universities and the wider higher education system. This is necessary for regional progress. It is important to note that this idea does not translate into universities in the region taking on the task of producing high-tech research which they may not be ready for. What needs to be prioritised, encouraged and adequately supported is a focus on low-technology or low-medium technology incubation for agriculture, small business and the informal business sector, as well as continuous knowledge building to support technology applications in development.

There are many obstacles to university-firm interaction, including lack of understanding of each other's activities and potential, inadequate research capacity and infrastructure, and the dominance of foreign-driven research agendas. Other critical obstacles include issues associated with intellectual property rights and the distant geographic location of some universities in relation to the centres of economic activity.

Cross-border higher education

Regional development priorities do not necessarily feature strongly in national higher education planning, but most institutions in the region understand that value can be added by widening the skills set available in each country and by creating regional networks for research. Attention to development priorities at the regional level (in other words, creating a future regional higher education system where academics resident in one country may either temporarily relocate to another country for teaching and research or alternatively conduct research with respect to problems in a country other than their home country) will require attention to a range of barriers that currently exist. These barriers include the lack of mutual recognition of qualifications across the region and the absence of formal acknowledgement of the value of staff and student mobility to regional collaboration and fostering a greater knowledge flow to countries other than South Africa:

... under the SADC protocol, co-operation in higher education and training plays an important role. Higher and tertiary education is the area where collaboration is most needed and most possible, and indeed this is taking place but generally on an ad-hoc basis, depending on individual ... initiative rather than on nationally and regionally based systems. The higher and tertiary education systems within SADC have been evolving and expanding quite rapidly. However, in this process there appears to be, in general, a lack of close co-ordination and collaboration, with a few notable exceptions. (Umlilo weMfundo 2007:58)

Challenges for higher education collaboration

Major challenges for regional higher education collaboration in SADC, whether amongst universities, between universities and private firms or university engagement with the public and development sectors, include:

- regional asymmetries (e.g. South Africa has relatively stronger integration into global markets than other SADC countries) and the challenge of minimising asymmetrical integration, as well as strengthening regional integration into global higher education (Hahn 2005)
- rapid technological advancement in the global knowledge economy as compared to the low levels of technology adoption and advancement including ICT adoption and usage (Kotecha 2008:5) creating a knowledge and digital divide prevalent in universities
- lack of ownership of the SADC Protocol on Education and Training within the higher education sector, since it was debated and agreed at the political level with minimal involvement of stakeholders from higher education
- lack of concrete strategies to operationalise the collaboration envisaged by the SADC Protocol
- lack of funding and human resources applied explicitly to effective systemic collaboration
- lack of systematically generated and centrally stored higher education data for the region.

It is noted that in all SADC countries reviewed, except Malawi, South Africa and Zimbabwe, private sector institutions outnumber public sector institutions. This presents a particular challenge for policy-makers as private higher education institutions are for-profit institutions, which often do not have a development-oriented mission.

Key themes and policy issues in higher education revitalisation

Knowledge has come to be regarded as a key driver of productivity and economic growth, and hence greater emphasis is being placed on the role of learning, information and technology in economic performance (Kapur and Crowley 2008). Consequently, societies and governments are seeking to foster economic development by, amongst other strategies, sustained investment in education, improving education levels and increasing knowledge production. Higher education is thus accorded a greater role in society and an explicit mission in supporting economic growth and development.

How then should higher education (HE) fulfil such a mission? What actions and activities must it undertake?

To play a regional role HE institutions must do more than simply education and research – they must engage with others in their region, provide opportunities for lifelong learning, and contribute to the development of knowledge-intensive jobs, which enable graduates to find local employment. This has implications for all aspects of their activities: teaching, research and public service. (OECD 2007:1)

Three widely accepted roles of higher education are teaching, research and community service, with the proportion of focus varying according to institutional history, capacities and mission. The data indicates that a majority (65 per cent) of higher education institutions in the region focus almost exclusively on teaching and learning, 22 per cent also focus on research, and 11 per cent also focus on community service. Community engagement is often not seen as a core role of the university, given resource constraints. Yet if the university is to be a real actor in development, it will need to balance short-term (and often long-term) societal needs to address specific problems against its long-term agenda of teaching, research and learning, in order to enable society to regenerate itself in socio-cultural terms and to take advantage of the many opportunities presented by the knowledge economy (Ramphela 2004:17). This role in regional development requires higher education institutions to strengthen the Africa-specific and SADC-specific paradigm, building locally relevant knowledge (Assie-Lumumba 2005, Brock Utne 2003), on the basis of which they can make contributions to global knowledge. Promoting local relevance in higher education will require extreme dedication, because this does not yet attract as much funding, for universities or individual academics, as international agendas do.

Theme 1: Research and innovation in higher education

Research and innovation has become a key attribute of leading universities across the world in the late 20th and early 21st centuries, but such endeavours do not form the greater volume of SADC university activity. Rather activity is focused on undergraduate and postgraduate degree teaching, although the proportion of research at postgraduate and upper postgraduate levels has increased in proportion to the sum of all teaching and continues to increase in response to the demand for new knowledge whether applied or theoretical.

In Southern Africa, any effort to integrate research as a component of the core higher education focus will require greater attention to building and participating in public science, to increasing the numbers of scientific research staff, to regional scientific co-

operation and collaboration, and to research capacity development. Research capacity includes human capacity, research infrastructure and environmental factors (such as research-related policy and resource allocation, as well as a culture that supports tolerance and divergent views). Human capacity includes abilities for research design, data collection or experimentation and analysis, working with more experienced researchers or leading research and requires extensive postgraduate-level researcher development programmes.

Africa needs a strong pan-continental community of researchers to discover resourceful, timely ways to deal with poverty's many causes. This requires the development of strong research universities – institutions with a strong emphasis on graduate research, as opposed to undergraduate teaching, and where graduates are taught by lecturers who themselves are expanding the frontiers of knowledge. (Muchie 2008)

The approach advocated by Muchie and others will require strong leadership by governments and the regional leadership community of higher education.

Table 3: Total number of annual research publications reported by SADC public higher education institutions (most recent year for which data is available¹⁵)

	Internationally accredited journals	Locally accredited journals	Books	Other	Total
Science, engineering and technology	2 215	1 134	80	1 931	5 359
Business, management and law	314	721	902	423	2 359
Humanities and social sciences	609	1 193	346	826	2 973
Health sciences	937	491	23	489	1 940
Other	533	166	83	196	979
Total	4 608	3 704	1 433	3 865	13 609

Source: Butcher et al. (2008:78)

When the data in Table 3 is assessed in relation to the increasingly important role of research in global knowledge production, the challenge of generating African “contextually relevant” (Castells 2001, Brock Utne 2003, Assie-Lumumba 2005) research output is apparent. Knowledge must not merely be consumed in Africa, but must be created in Africa, made available, and shared as widely as possible in order to encourage a

¹⁵ Data provided by institutions was mostly from 2005-2008, with the majority of data being for 2006-2007.

rapid increase in knowledge production and publication. It is noted that in the science, engineering and technology and the health sciences fields, there is greater publication in international journals, while in the humanities and management fields there is greater publication in local journals. While publication in international journals confirms the quality and sophistication of the work of African researchers, it seldom enables the work to be accessed, understood and used in the contexts in which it was written (Abrahams, Burke, Gray and Rens 2008).

In order to create greater regional value from the region's knowledge stocks, higher education institutions will need to continuously build their research strategies at the research team, school, faculty and institutional levels. They will need to consider placing a greater emphasis on publishing in locally accredited journals, improving their quality over time, and making the region's knowledge available in a multiplicity of forms, through multiple channels and multimedia rather than publishing mainly in internationally accredited journals. At the same time, significant efforts must be made in the next two decades to include more African journals in the international journal lists.

What can be said is that every society needs to ensure the existence of viable indigenous knowledge systems, i.e. local institutions, structures and cadres which in combination, are able to access knowledge from all sources – external and home grown, traditional and modern – synthesize it, adapt it, and generally make it usable by local communities and agencies under local conditions. The inadequacy of such systems in Africa is both a cause and an effect of the continent's knowledge-poverty and deepening material deprivation. (Sawyer 2004:216)

While research publishing is reported for southern African universities in the SARUA studies, there is no available data on innovation-based activities in universities, except for a few research-based universities in South Africa. Innovation is the next step in the higher education research journey and while it may yet be at an early stage, its progress must be reported, tracked and understood.

The state of public science and the future of the research mission

It cannot be over-emphasised that Southern Africa needs knowledge about itself. Researchers of SADC countries have published in ISI journals, the top ten fields of focus being in health sciences (human and animal) and the natural sciences (tables 4 and 5).

Table 4: Comparative hierarchy of papers, South Africa and SADC (top 12) – 2002-2007

	Scientific field	South Africa	SADC
1	Plant sciences	3 760	755
2	Ecology	2 830	954
3	Medicine, general and internal	2 756	1 212
4	Medicine, research and experimental	2 482	-
5	Zoology	2 259	481
6	Public, environmental and occupational health	2 286	1 240
7	Multidisciplinary sciences	1 997	347
8	Environmental sciences	1 914	794
9	Surgery	1 841	144
10	Veterinary sciences	1 835	1 003
11	Tropical medicine	-	1 817
12	Marine and freshwater biology	1 801	358

Source: Mouton et al. (2008)

This data requires further investigation to describe and catalogue the detailed focus of the research, and research strengths need to be nurtured and advanced at regional and national levels.

Table 5: Main fields of scholarly publication in Southern Africa (top 21) – 2002-2007

	Scientific field	South Africa	SADC	Total
1	Plant sciences	3 760	755	4 515
2	Medicine, general and internal	2 756	1 212	3 968
3	Ecology	2 830	954	3 784
4	Public, environmental and occupational health	2 286	1 240	3 526
5	Medicine, research and experimental	2 482	-	2 482
6	Veterinary sciences	1 835	1 003	2 838
7	Infectious diseases	1 281	1 473	2 754
8	Zoology	2 259	481	2 740
9	Environmental sciences	1 914	794	2 708
10	Multidisciplinary sciences	1 997	347	2 344
11	Geosciences, multidisciplinary	1 647	686	2 333
12	Immunology	1 198	975	2 173
13	Marine and freshwater biology	1 801	358	2 159
14	Biochemistry and molecular biology	1 756	325	2 081
15	Water resources	1 585	467	2 052
16	Surgery	1 841	144	1 985
17	Pharmacology and pharmacy	1 534	411	1 945
18	Tropical medicine	-	1 817	1 817
19	Microbiology	1 287	396	1 683
20	Entomology	1 241	343	1 584
21	Engineering, chemical	1 203	102	1 305

Source: Mouton et al. (2008)

When reviewing the major scientific fields for scholarly publishing in ISI journals, what stands out is the similarity of focus among SADC countries, being on particular areas of the health sciences and the natural sciences. The plant sciences, medicine, ecology and public health are in the top five fields of research publishing for all SADC countries, with other important fields being pharmacology, tropical medicine, microbiology and entomology. An analysis of these broad fields of study is necessary as the basis for contemplating the formation of research networks in these fields, as a mechanism to “reverse the decline of institutionalised scientific research in the region” (Mouton et al. 2008).

There is already some foundation for building research networks. As can be seen from the data in Table 6 below, there is a degree of collaboration in research design, execution and publishing, although often these are individual collaborations between researchers and are seldom based on formalised SADC research networks.

Table 6: Research activities performed jointly with other scientists or researchers

Research activity	South Africa (%)	Other SADC (%)
Joint writing of funding proposals	38.6	61.4
Joint conceptualisation/planning of research	43.3	56.7
Joint execution of research	39.6	60.4
Joint publication of research (such as writing reports, articles)	41.4	58.6

Source: Mouton et al. (2008)

Notable by its absence from the main categories of publishing is economic and management science, which may also benefit greatly from the formation of a regional research network. Other opportunities that require further exploration are the leveraging of participation in academic conferences, utilising membership of scientific or professional societies to foster research and strengthening regional academic journals.

Some of the existing modalities of research are undesirable, including the prevalence of private individually driven consultancy or forms of international scientific collaboration which reduce the region's researchers to playing a supporting role. Donor-driven research requires renegotiation of the terms and conditions of research funding, from meeting primarily the interests of the donor to meeting the knowledge needs of the region. These knowledge needs must be more explicitly defined by individual researchers, by institutions and by the relationships established between the researchers and particular knowledge-seeking communities. The review of the SADC framework should include specific objectives and measures to further encourage African cross-border research, noting that researchers and knowledge communities in Southern Africa seek knowledge about the region and the continent. These endeavours will provide a stronger foundation for higher education institutions to attract support and research funding, including from government and industry funding streams.

University-firm interaction: Implications for scholarly research

It is possible, though not certain, that university-firm interaction may breed opportunities for research and knowledge exchange. This will require the determined attention of a few top universities in the region, including those in South Africa, where leading academics, full-time postgraduate students and research are currently concentrated. It may be necessary for each country in Southern Africa to place at least one university on a research footing (including those countries that have only one public university), while at the same time making a strategic choice about which areas of research to focus on. Some guidance on this may be gained from the Mouton et al. (2008 and 2009) and the Kruss and Petersen (2009) studies, but further investigation is needed.

It is not known if the limited interaction between universities and firms is producing significant outcomes, as insufficient research has been conducted. Several large firms (in banking, tourism, retail and mobile communications) operate in many of the countries of the region, and this may be an appropriate starting point to foster future university-firm interaction. Further research is required to investigate the complex, multiple tacit and codified forms of knowledge that may already be flowing between universities and firms in Southern Africa in order to shed light on the view that there is:

... a positive propensity and orientation towards research, innovation and interaction with firms. It is on a small scale or primarily isolated instances driven by individuals across the institutions sampled. This is shown in a widespread understanding of the potential benefits of interaction with firms, and a strong positive evaluation of the importance of a range of forms and channels of interaction. (Kruss 2008:306)

One motivation for encouraging university-firm interaction is that all research or innovation conducted in the region may have value in another part of the region, if presented through regional research and scholarly publishing platforms.

Theme 2: Human capital development challenges

Higher education enrolments, graduations and qualifications awarded

Core higher education focus and enrolments

There are 66 public universities in the SADC region, with a total enrolment of more than one million students (see Table 7). The capacity of higher education institutions in the region to produce highly-skilled graduates is constrained by, amongst other things, low enrolments in essential fields of study such as in science, engineering and technology, in the health sciences and in postgraduate study. Other capacity challenges include critical academic and supervision staff shortages, deteriorating knowledge production and a declining focus on scientific research. Due to these and other capacity constraints, only 11 per cent of these institutions focus on community engagement. Community engagement is not yet seen as a core function of the university (Butcher et al. 2008:19), presenting an opportunity which universities can tap into in their efforts at revitalisation. Higher education study is predominantly based on contact provision (72 per cent of students enrolled), while distance education is increasingly being considered. Angola, DRC, Lesotho, Malawi and Mauritius provide no distance higher education. Each country in the region should aim to build a level of excellence in at least one of its universities, setting the pace and direction for the other public and private higher education institutions to emulate.

Table 7: Regional higher education institutions and overall enrolments (most recent year)

Country	Number of public universities	Number of publicly funded polytechnics or specialised colleges	Number of private universities or colleges	Total enrolment public higher education
Angola	1			47 373
Botswana	1	21	5	15 710
DRC	4			31 478
Lesotho	1	7	0	8 508
Madagascar	6	2	21	41 691
Malawi	2	7	4	7 869
Mauritius	2	7	30	9 720
Mozambique	4	3	12	46 865
Namibia	1	2	2	8 378
South Africa	23		79	746 538
Swaziland	1	1	4	5 785
Tanzania	8	13	12	33 420
Zambia	3	43	6	14 395
Zimbabwe	9	8	4	52 453
SADC total	66	114	170	1 070 183

Source: Butcher et al. (2008:71)

Higher education outputs

Data on graduations shows a similar pattern to data on enrolments in terms of the fields of study for which qualifications are awarded (Table 8); 40 per cent of qualifications are awarded in the humanities and social sciences, and 74 per cent of qualifications are awarded at undergraduate level. The proportions of business, science and health science graduates will need to be increased and the number of masters and doctoral graduates will have to increase significantly over the next decade as a major component of the revitalisation project.

Table 8: Regional overview of qualifications awarded (most recent year for which data available)

Major field of study	Qualifications awarded					
	Total	Undergraduate degrees/diplomas	Postgraduate diplomas	Masters degrees	Doctoral degrees	Other
Science, engineering and technology	38 389	28 854	3 363	3 053	536	3 583
Business, management and law	51 729	38 166	7 125	3 625	124	2 690
Humanities and social sciences	69 729	53 556	9 721	3 482	529	2 441
Health sciences	13 507	8 985	2 626	994	114	788
Other	5 910	3 805	455	99	23	1 528
Total	180 264	133 366 (74.0%)	23 289 (12.9%)	11 253 (6.2%)	1 326 (0.7%)	11 030

Source: Butcher et al. (2008:93)

Strategies to improve enrolment in the fields of science, engineering and technology (SET) and in health sciences are important to address major regional needs. These strategies need to address the following (Butcher et al. 2008):

- attract more young women and men into science and technology enrolment
- improve opportunities for postgraduate study to grow the regional expertise and research base
- plan and manage staffing patterns and resolve critical staff shortages
- develop cross-border education opportunities and regional centres of excellence
- expand the funding base in key research fields to keep academics in the higher education system and increase the value of research to society.

Capacity for academic teaching and scientific research

The development of the capacities of incumbent and new academics is vital with respect to all three core functions of higher education (Butcher et al. 2008:19). Lack of attention to revitalising the capacities of academic and research staff can promote continued inequity in enrolments and graduations, as staff struggle to meet the needs of the student community. Addressing this inadequacy requires institutional leadership to put in place an optimal self-development environment for academic and research staff.

Inequity is a major factor in enrolments, based on societal factors. The SARUA study of funding frameworks (Pillay 2008) cites three important determinants of inequities in higher education enrolments: gender (to the disadvantage of women), socio-economic status (to the disadvantage of low-income groups) and region (to the disadvantage of rural areas). With the exclusion of South Africa, female enrolment stands at 36.8 per cent. Gender disparities are particularly evident in certain major fields of study such as science, engineering and technology, even in South Africa (Pillay 2008:185-186). Universities need to design educational approaches that will not further disadvantage students who succeed at university entry, and this includes addressing academic staff capacities.

Research data (see Table 9) reveals that there are larger numbers of academic staff in proportion to the number of graduates in science, engineering and technology and health sciences, than in the humanities and social sciences or business, management and law, suggesting a more significant workload amongst the former group. There is also a slightly larger absolute number of SET and health sciences staff, as well as a preponderance of academics with masters and doctoral degrees. From a strategic point of view, these are important factors for further examination, in order to understand how best to utilise the available SET resources for building a research-driven culture in teaching and learning, as well as in university-based research.

Table 9: Summary of academic and research staff patterns (most recent year)

Major field of study	Total academic and research staff	Gender		Staff qualifications				
		Female (%)	Male (%)	Undergrad degrees/diplomas	Postgrad diplomas	Masters degrees	Doctoral degrees	Other
Science, engineering and technology	10 336	25.2	74.8	1 623	823	2 908	3 487	834
Business, management and law	5 804	34.8	65.2	834	562	1 633	922	915
Humanities and social sciences	9 941	38.3	61.7	915	655	2 363	2 623	1 130
Health sciences	5 437	46.5	53.5	1 130	376	1 275	975	719
Other	956	50.4	49.6	719	106	481	434	0
Total	32 474	39.0	61.0	5 221	2 522	8 660	8 441	3 598

Source: Butcher et al. (2008:99)

Butcher et al. (2008) report a range of constraints with respect to academic staff capacity, including brain drain due to inadequate or unattractive working conditions in their home countries, compared to more attractive environments for teaching and research abroad. Other constraints include student migration from other SADC countries to South Africa and abroad for postgraduate studies, creating a narrowing knowledge base for postgraduate study elsewhere in the region. There is a reported preference for academic consulting rather than academic research as a strategy to counteract low academic salaries, usually linked to individual research interest and thus weakening the “fragile base” (Mouton 2009) of many scientific institutions by reducing available institutional capacity. Furthermore, many donor-funded development projects come with conditions, by virtue of which project expertise is provided or arranged by the donor institution, while academics in the SADC region are denied academic or research leadership opportunities.

Theme 3: University-community engagement

The goal of the global higher education community has, over recent years, grown to include providing solutions to development challenges, often by taking a leading role in conducting research and making recommendations for health, or local economic development, or other challenges posed in the immediate locale of a particular higher education institution. The work is often multidisciplinary, bringing together academics from different disciplines to promote contextually-relevant research and training. This role is not prominent in the SADC region and occurs largely on an ad hoc basis.

Community engagement has a variety of meanings. It includes engagement with communities according to their specific geographical location and local knowledge needs. It also includes engagement with communities according to their knowledge needs without particular reference for location, for example, epistemic communities or communities of practice, such as in the fields of HIV-AIDS care or subsistence agricultural production. Community engagement is also sometimes coded language for reference to interaction with the non-governmental, not-for-profit sector. Communities and their specific knowledge needs are sometimes explicitly identified, but often they are not, in favour of general public interest research. Both these forms (explicit and tacit) of research engagement and dissemination are necessary for Southern Africa at the current stage of socio-economic development of its cities and rural localities and because of the often small scale of economies (and hence also the small size of their researcher populations). Here again, cross-border community engagement can benefit many epistemic communities and communities of practice across the broad regional not-for-profit development sector, including local government.

The resource challenges of higher education contribute to this ad hoc approach. Remedies include the building of a co-operative and collaborative culture amongst institutions in the region and with other role players including governments, development agencies, the private sector, the non-governmental sector and local communities.

The work of Kruss and Petersen (2009) provides some evidence of and a strong argument for collaboration. However, this is an area that requires further research, to better understand the particular modalities of community engagement in different countries, to offer a comparative analysis of community engagement in cities and rural areas and to inform future engagement strategies. This is also an environment in which organic formation of relationships should be encouraged through multiple means, including but not limited to funding.

Theme 4: Investments in infrastructure, ICTs and networks

Physical and research infrastructure

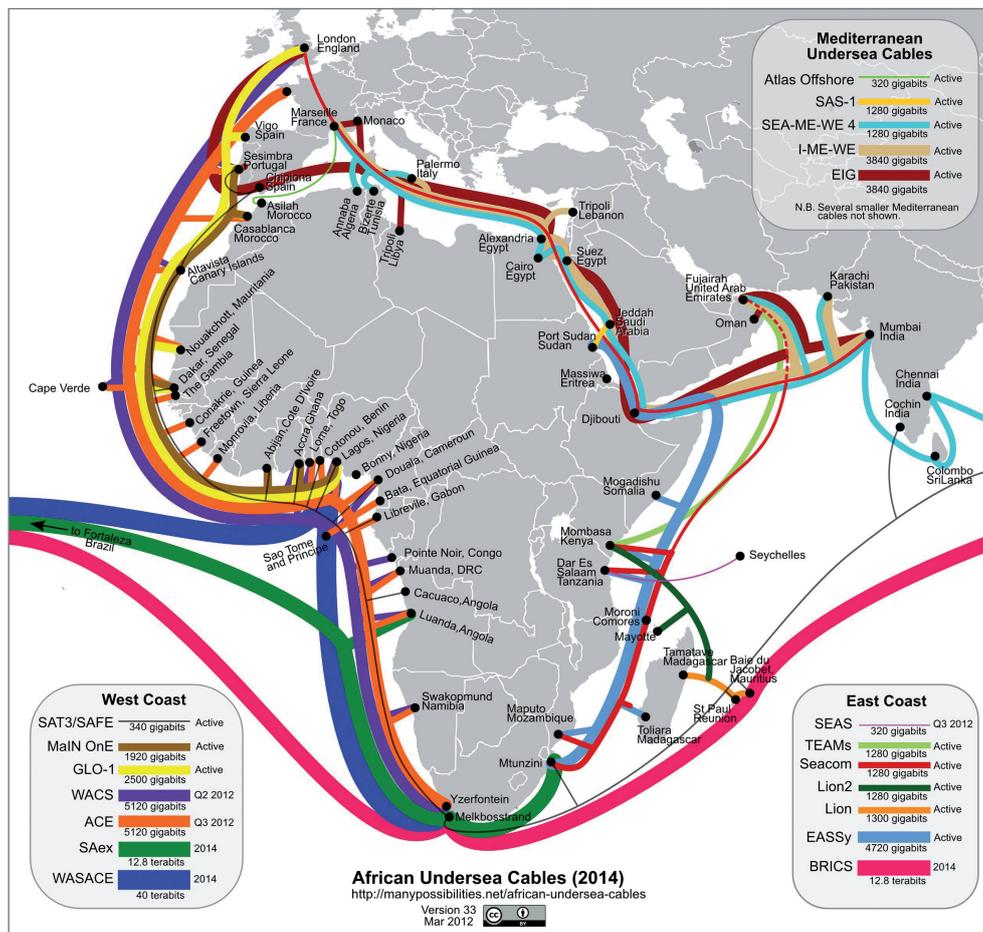
The themes of revitalisation and value are mutually reinforcing, as revitalisation can only occur within the context of activities that are valued by society. In the 20th century, southern African institutions of higher education saw only limited, if any, investment in physical and research infrastructure. This trend is unlikely to change in the short term. It is more likely that funding communities will change their funding behaviour when universities change their productive behaviour. Universities will therefore need to marshal their resources to more vigorously promote the maintenance and industrious use of their aging physical infrastructure, while turning their attention to the means for generating funds to invest in 21st century infrastructure. Such infrastructure includes technologies for research in the SET, health sciences and digital arts fields and advanced information and communication technologies (ICTs) for higher education research, publishing and teaching. This will require constant and extensive planning to inform financing strategies and the effective use of incoming funds.

ICT infrastructure and connectivity

Access to affordable ICT infrastructure is a necessity for the revitalisation of higher education teaching, learning and research. Textbook and teacher-based approaches can no longer provide access to the broad range of knowledge required by students at either undergraduate or postgraduate level. Twinomugisha (2007) reports that in 2007 only three SADC countries (South Africa, Angola and Mauritius) had access to international fibre optic cable, whilst the remaining eleven countries relied on satellite and dial-up connections. Since then, three new fibre-optic submarine cables have become operational on the east coast of Africa (Seacom, Lion and Eassy). As of July 2010, these cabling systems have added four terabits per second of new bandwidth capacity,

creating a relatively adequate fibre infrastructure and connectivity to SADC countries and by extension to higher education institutions. However, investments will be required in creating high-speed connectivity between institutions and the international cables, as well as in campus-based broadband infrastructure.

Figure 1: Map showing existing and planned submarine fibre cables for Africa 2013



Source: Song (2011)

Internet download speeds for dial-up are no longer sufficient for accessing materials via the internet and institutions will need to plan for investing in campus fixed or wireless broadband. Broadband access can liberate access to knowledge, given the availability of open access journals and other research resources, freely available on the public internet. As at 2007, only two national research and education networks (NRENs) were operational: South Africa's SANReN (the first sub-Saharan gigabit-capacity NREN) and Malawi's MAREN. There is no indication that any new NRENs are operational in other SADC countries (Twinomugisha 2010:8).

Content management and access to scholarly works

Levels of research production in the southern African region are generally low and fall behind other regions in the world, while the means of dissemination are highly restricted, resulting in limited access to knowledge for students, practitioners and academics. Restrictions previously included traditional copyright for scholarly publications, but the increasing use of approaches referred to as 'open knowledge', 'open access' using 'creative commons licensing' are gradually changing the landscape. Over the last five years, the internet and other collaborative technologies have significantly increased avenues of distribution and access, particularly with the growing networks of NRENs across the world.

The main constraints to increasing access to knowledge (production, publishing and dissemination) are awareness of open access alternatives to traditional methods such as formal libraries, as well as limitations of broadband access and scarce availability of the skills needed to use these alternative electronic media platforms. Innovative, low-cost infrastructure options, including wireless campus hotspots, should be explored to create significantly greater access to scholarly works in research journals and international research databases. Entrenched methodologies such as traditional academic peer-review processes can be well supported by electronic media platforms. Universities will need to adapt their policy frameworks for research and scholarly publishing to reap the benefits of new open knowledge approaches using these platforms.

Theme 5: Governance, funding and generic priorities for higher education revitalisation

Key governance issues include system-level governance, institutional governance and leadership, the size and shape of the system and its constituent parts, and quality assurance issues. This means that the attention of the region's higher education leadership must be directed and organised around building and advancing a regional system of higher education, which grows stronger in its quality and significance – with respect to countries and communities and with respect to the impact of its ideas on the continent and beyond.

Higher education governance issues

Issues which require attention as part of a revitalisation agenda include participation and leadership in the public science system, higher education quality assurance, knowledge flows from higher education to society, major adjustments to sectoral funding for advancements in infrastructure and services, measures to counter the brain drain and the continuing isolation from the continental and global higher education environment.

Only a few of these issues are discussed here. Good statistical data held in a regional management information system (MIS) is needed to support decision-making in these and other critical areas.

A major issue is that universities are either connected to or disconnected from the broader public science system. Typically, public science systems are governed only at the national level, not at the regional level. In Botswana, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa and Tanzania, science policy dates from the 1990s, while Angola, DRC, Mauritius and Swaziland have no science policy. A few countries have set goals of expending at least one per cent of GDP on research and development, but only South Africa is remotely close to achieving this goal and is the only country to have a well-articulated innovation system. The absence of regional science policy compromises scientific collaboration, as there is no indication of common interests or programme funding prospects. In the European Union, research framework programmes have been implemented for several successive years and are now part of that region's science governance arrangements.

In many countries in the region, statutory bodies are tasked with guiding and monitoring system development and policy implementation and with supporting higher education quality, but practices differ from country to country. Five countries (Angola, Botswana, Malawi, Namibia and Swaziland) did not have national quality assurance systems in place in 2008 (Butcher et al. 2008), and it is not certain whether any initiatives have been taken in this regard since then. An encouraging 78 per cent of SARUA member institutions report the existence of internal quality assurance systems, but only 48 per cent indicate the availability of budgets for quality assurance purposes. Among SARUA member institutions, 64 per cent participate in peer review processes, 78 per cent conduct internal reviews of academic programmes, 67 per cent conduct evaluations of teaching staff, 75 per cent seek student feedback on academic issues, and 19 per cent indicate that they do not use external moderators for examinations (Butcher et al. 2008:109-113). It is not clear from the data whether these quality assurance systems incorporate reporting systems or whether remedial action is being taken based on the reports. The review of the regional SADC quality assurance framework¹⁶ can be beneficial to all countries including those who have and those who do not have national quality assurance systems. Revisions to the framework can create the necessary foundation for educational value to be gained through cross-border teaching and research and through greater mobility of scientists and researchers amongst the institutions in the region.

¹⁶ See www.nqf.org.za/page/news/142061-SADC-regional-qualification-framework-closer-to-reality (accessed 14 July 2011).

For higher education institutions to participate more actively in regional development and foster their own revitalisation through such participation, governance and leadership capacity will have to be strengthened at multiple levels – at system level, at institutional level, at faculty level and at school or departmental level. Existing systems of higher education governance at country level tend to exhibit strong state control, with the state often taking a supervisory role in relation to universities (Butcher et al. 2008, Pillay 2008). Revitalisation is highly unlikely to occur under conditions of state control or state supervision.

While higher education governance training programmes are necessary for revitalisation, the practice of good governance is even more important. The set of issues for governance attention is large and requires the formulation of a set of topics which will need to be prioritised and addressed over the next decade. Consideration should be given to a SADC regional higher education governance code as a key feature of a new regional protocol. The 1997 protocol is now sufficiently out of date to require a major overhaul or the formulation of a new protocol. Some of the matters that can be addressed in the protocol include higher education's perceived role in addressing regional developmental priorities.

Funding trends and challenges in higher education

Adequate higher education financing, tied to specific objectives in a regional higher education agenda, can be leveraged to address many of the challenges discussed in reports on higher education in the SADC region. In particular, the historical features of "inadequacy, inequity, inefficiency, poor oversight and poor integration with planning" (Kotecha 2008:36) must be remedied through the design and implementation of a regional strategic plan for higher education financing. The bulk of funding currently comes from government subsidy and student fees. Third-stream income is largely untapped and not well understood as a potential source, although it is an important element of a financing strategy. Table 10 illustrates the predominance of government subsidy and student fees.

Table 10: Sources of higher education financing in the SADC region

Country	Sources of funding (%)				
	Student fees	Government subsidy	Donations	Loans	Other
Angola	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data
Botswana	26.0	74.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
DRC	48.3	33.3	4.5	0.0	0.0
Lesotho	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data
Madagascar	19.6	75.4	0.2	0.2	3.8
Malawi	7.7	91.3	0.5	0.0	0.5
Mauritius	58.5	39.5	0.0	0.0	2.0
Mozambique	1.3	88.5	0.5	0.0	10.8
Namibia	21.0	62.0	13.0	0.0	4.0
South Africa	29.3	46.0	2.6	3.4	13.9
Swaziland	20.0	66.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Tanzania	18.9	62.6	14.1	0.6	3.0
Zambia	31.5	62.0	0.0	0.0	6.5
Zimbabwe	12.4	82.4	0.2	1.3	4.2
Regional average	24.6	65.3	3.0	0.5	4.1

Source: Kotecha (2008:15)

While Namibia and Tanzania exhibit a higher proportion of income through donations than other countries, the quantum of that income is possibly very low. It is also noted that there is a declining proportion of core public funding, owing to fiscal constraints or low prioritisation in government budgets. The challenges (e.g. competing demands for public funding, expanding student numbers and the need for financial aid, aging infrastructure) are well known and require attention in the agenda of the region and the university association, SARUA. The objective here should be to apply innovative thinking to the design of future financing arrangements, hence the need for a funding and financing strategy.

Pillay (2008) identifies a range of good practices, including public-private partnerships, differentiated public funding, the introduction of cost-sharing approaches, loan schemes and funding formulas as elements of a way forward, but this is not yet formulated into a strategy. If a strategy were to be formulated, SARUA and institutions in each country could advocate to education ministries, industry and other parties for advancing new financing arrangements more suited to the needs of higher education in the early 21st century. Such advocacy would have to be based on a reconceptualisation by universities of the role that higher education can play with respect to national and regional development priorities.

Table 11: Good practices for SADC higher education financing

Good practices	Existing country examples	Some issues and cautions
Financing practices to counter inadequacy of public expenditure		
Public-private partnerships in the establishment of new higher education institutions	Botswana, Zambia	
Differentiated funding model for public higher education institutions	Mauritius	
Cost sharing through the introduction of tuition fees	Mauritius, Namibia, South Africa, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe	Mechanisms required to manage inequities of access.
Other forms of cost sharing and cost recovery e.g. raising tuition fees, special fee-paying track for some students, user charges (e.g. registrations fees), reduction in grants, scholarships and subsidies on student loans		Split of cost difficult to establish. Measures must be compatible with access and equity of opportunities.
Financing practices to address equity		
Provincial (rural) scholarships	Mozambique	
Loans (grants) to low-income students in private higher education institutions	Botswana, Tanzania	
Loan (financial aid) schemes	South Africa, Namibia (scheme benefits relatively few students)	Substantial initial investment required. Difficulties of cost recovery through loan repayments from graduates.
Financing practices to address efficiency		
Linking higher education planning to budgeting	South Africa	
Dedicated funding facilities for quality enhancement	Mozambique	
Funding formulas to promote effective and efficient utilisation of financial resources	South Africa	Simplicity is preferable to complexity. Appropriate consultative mechanisms needed for formula development. Effective data management systems needed to support implementation.

Source: Pillay (2008:129-130)

The SARUA studies on the current state of higher education, the needs and requirements to underpin revitalisation and existing funding challenges and sources of funding, all point to the absence of (and the need for) an extensive planning function to support regional

higher education revitalisation. This planning function should not seek to manage the academic function. Established or new planning structures should act as a service to all levels of the institution in promoting greater organisation of the institution within the broader higher education system, providing a stronger foundation for raising institutional funds and directing these funds to areas of productivity and revitalisation, based on sound planning and financing strategy.

Theme 6: Higher education policy priorities

A few policy priorities appear to be common across the region (Butcher et al.2008). Amongst these are:

- the trend to establish “open university” or open and distance learning formats in order to address existing barriers of access to tertiary education
- focus on the education, training and capacities of academics, while also addressing under-staffing issues
- instilling principles of good governance, transparency and accountability, including the establishment of national qualifications authorities to regulate the sector
- the desire to increase sustainability of research, publication and engagement beyond the formal higher education environment, whether with industry or government
- the intention to foster regional and international understanding and co-operation while addressing social development needs.

A number of countries have or are setting up funding mechanisms and investment frameworks to support increased student enrolment, research and adoption of technology. Policy also indicates the existence of, or in some cases the intention to create, a central research funding structure.

There appears to be a wide recognition that governance and leadership of higher education needs an immediate revamp and continuing support. Thus there exists a multitude of policies, strategic plans, frameworks, commissions and other forms for promoting some degree of advancement. The continuing challenge is to make the revitalisation successful, which means paying attention to the enabling and constraining features summarised in Table 12.

Table 12: Key factors influencing higher education potential in the SADC region

Factors influencing higher education potential	Enabling features	Constraining features
Regional policy frameworks	Various regional policy frameworks are in place to guide higher education development, including the SADC Protocol on Education and Training, Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan and the SADC Quality Assurance Framework.	Protocol on education and training is out of date and lacks practical implementation details. Quality assurance framework needs review and revision to address the needs of cross-border higher education and academic mobility.
National policy frameworks	The majority of SADC countries have national higher education policy frameworks in place, though in some cases these policies are contained in long-term vision and planning statements.	Objectives of national policy frameworks differ across countries, but are typically focused on the basics of access and quality, with very limited focus on or funding for research and innovation.
Enrolment patterns	Enrolment is reported to have increased over the five years up to 2008, and most countries provide some higher education programmes in fields of study essential for regional development.	Increasing enrolment places constraints on institutional capacity and impacts on quality. Enrolments in science, engineering, technology and the health sciences are insufficient to meet regional needs. Very few students are enrolled at postgraduate level, and significant gender disparities in enrolment remain.
Staff capacity	Ministries have recognised this challenge and are seeking ways to improve staff numbers and capacity. Most institutions report having staff development mechanisms in place. Regional collaboration and exchanges can help to build staff capacity.	Critical staff shortages have been identified, particularly in science, engineering and technology. Lack of resources prevents institutions from attracting well-qualified and experienced people into higher education employment. Brain-drain and HIV and AIDS further impact on staff numbers and capacity.
Research output	Low research output is recognised as a major challenge by both ministries of education and higher education institutions and various interventions are planned.	Research output is low across the SADC region and the low number of postgraduate students is likely to exacerbate this problem in the future if not addressed promptly.
Funding	Governments have recognised the need to increase higher education funding, and some governments have established dedicated research and science-based innovation funding agencies. Most of the institutions reviewed reported having strategic plans in place to generate additional funding.	In all countries, insufficient funding for higher education is noted, and this limits the potential for expansion and impacts negatively on quality. Most higher education institutions in the region remain heavily dependent on government subsidies. While external donor funding is available for research, these funding programmes often meet the needs of donors more than they contribute to society.

Factors influencing higher education potential	Enabling features	Constraining features
Quality assurance	More than half of the SADC countries have quality assurance frameworks in place at a national level, and most of those that do not are in the process of setting these up. Initiatives such as the SADC Qualifications Framework and the AAU Quality Assurance Project can provide additional support. Most institutions report having some form of internal quality assurance process in place.	The need to expand access and to improve quality creates a tension that universities need to manage carefully. It is unclear how well national and institutional quality assurance frameworks and processes are being implemented. Further research is needed to understand this better.
Regional co-operation and cross-border education	Most ministries of education and higher education institutions report a high value being placed on regional co-operation, and various examples of co-operation efforts were presented. Regional policies such as the SADC Protocol and Qualifications Framework, as well as the establishment of SARUA (which is focussed specifically on higher education in the region) are positive developments, but will require ongoing investment of effort in their advancement.	Regional co-ordination efforts appear to be ad hoc rather than co-ordinated at institutional and national levels, although some examples to the contrary were found. The funding challenges faced by all national higher education sectors limits focus on regional collaboration. In several countries, lack of (or poor quality) ICT infrastructure limits the communication required for successful regional peer-to-peer research collaboration or online regional postgraduate interaction.

Source: Adapted from Butcher et al. (2008:120, Table 37)

Development priorities and the future role of higher education

This section will undertake a basic mapping of the requirements for higher education revitalisation against national policy priorities for the effective contribution of higher education to economic development, with particular attention to the emergence of knowledge economies in Southern Africa. It should be noted here that knowledge economies may be conceptualised in different ways for different economic regions – as knowledge-based agricultural economies, knowledge-based industrial economies or knowledge-based services economies. All of these forms could exist in the southern African region.

Co-operation and collaboration

Higher education revitalisation requires co-operation and collaboration amongst higher education institutions within each country and across the region. Such co-operation and collaboration is needed in the academic teaching environment in order to produce stronger cohorts of graduates entering society and the economy and a stronger pipeline of graduates for postgraduate study up to masters, doctoral and post-doctoral levels. Similarly, co-operation and collaboration in research is essential to introducing innovative responses, particularly to the disease burden in tropical medicine, to managing plant and animal species for effective environmental sustainability, in engineering infrastructure to address the major backlogs in transport corridors and other forms of infrastructure and in the business and management professions. Many of the challenges in the region require multidisciplinary responses, involving both intra-university and inter-university collaboration.

SADC framework programmes

A revitalisation strategy may work best when connected to creating value in the economy and society in the short term, while simultaneously focusing on building the teaching and research infrastructure and curricula in universities and hence the long-term value of the human capital knowledge base. While universities have found it difficult to raise funding in the past, a revitalisation mission linked to economic and social transitions (for example, research into efforts at transitioning from a factor-driven to an efficiency-driven economy or recording of indigenous cultural heritage) creates a new foundation for funding. A regional framework programme for research could present a major opportunity for local-international funding in a variety of focus areas. This could also be the basis for increasing academic and postgraduate research. Some potential areas for the design of framework programmes include those presented below, although these are only a few of the possible areas for attention.

Regional economy and economic development strategy

Each country in the region has its own particular economic profile (Table 13 below), development challenges, objectives and policy priorities. However, there is currently no regionally-based academic research into the region's economic activities, dynamics, strengths and weaknesses; or research being conducted to comment systematically on its policy requirements and regional trends in growth and development.

Table 13: Economic profile of southern African countries

Country	Population (million)	GDP (USD billion)	Economic profile
Angola	17	60.8	Data not available
Botswana	1.9	12.4	Industry including mining (55%), services (43%), agriculture (2%)
DRC	62.6	10.5	Data not available
Lesotho	2.0	1.6	Industry (47%), services (41%), agriculture (11%)
Madagascar	20.2	7.7	Services (58%), industry (26%), agriculture (15%)
Malawi	14.3	3.6	Services (45%), industry (34%), agriculture (20%)
Mauritius	1.3	6.9	Services (69%), industry (25%), agriculture (5%)
Mozambique	21.8	8.1	Services (45%), agriculture (28%), industry (26%)
Namibia	2.1	7.4	Services (58%), industry (30%), agriculture (11%)
South Africa	48.8	283.1	Services (66%), industry (32%), agriculture (2%)
Swaziland	1.1	2.7	Data not available
Tanzania	41.5	16.7	Agriculture (45%), services (37%), industry (17%)
Zambia	12.2	11.4	Services (40%), industry (38%), agriculture (21%)
Zimbabwe	13.5	4.7	Services (57%), industry (23%), agriculture (19%)

Source: African Development Bank (2009:176-237) and African Development Bank (2008:82-3)

As pointed out above, little research is published (based on analysis of ISI journals) in the management, legal and economic sciences, yet this is a broad field in which scholarly publishing can be of significant benefit to individual countries and to the region as a whole. Of the 15 countries in the region¹⁷, ten have large services sectors which contribute between 40 and 69 per cent to the GDP. In only two countries does small-scale industry or agriculture dominate the contributions to GDP. Agriculture is a major contributor to GDP in all countries except Botswana, Mauritius and South Africa. Agricultural research is important for all countries because it relates to national food security and economic development through engagement in agricultural activities. Similarly, research into industry and industrial development can benefit all countries in the region, where the contribution of industry is between 17 and 25 per cent. Another area of economic activity of great interest is the services sector, in particular banking and finance; travel, tourism and hospitality; and government services.

¹⁷ Noting that no information is available in the African Development Bank reports for Angola, DRC or Swaziland and Seychelles is not included in this discussion.

Research in all these sectors can promote greater understanding of existing economic challenges and greater application of knowledge to finding responses and solutions, and at the same time contribute to the creation of future generations of graduates and scholars who are knowledgeable with respect to national and regional economies.

Infrastructure development

A large proportion of the countries of Southern Africa lack the infrastructure required for transition from factor-driven to efficiency-driven economies. This includes large-scale economic infrastructure like roads and transport hubs for efficient transport of goods and people across the region. But, more importantly, it is country infrastructure for internal usage that is most lacking. Countries such as Mozambique and Angola require major infrastructure investment to create the foundations for efficiency-driven economies, where goods and labour can get to market quickly, thus enabling the working population to spend a greater proportion of time on productive activities. Infrastructure development is also needed for tourism, health and education.

But, the challenges of attracting investment are many. Research into historical and current infrastructure investment, as well as making knowledge available to design programmes for future infrastructure investment, would be very beneficial to the region. This would support the work of institutions such as the Development Bank of Southern Africa who seek to lend to southern African countries for infrastructure investment, but who may not be maximising their investment portfolios due to, amongst other things, limited in-country knowledge about infrastructure investment issues.

Education and health

Primary, secondary and tertiary education all present major challenges for the region. The education sector will be the most important sector for the SADC region in the 21st century. Yet, there is no regional programme of study systematically assessing its strengths and weaknesses and offering ideas to address the challenges. Similarly, the primary, secondary and tertiary health systems appear to be in decline in many countries, raising questions about how this can be reversed.

A regional research programme undertaken by a research network built on the collective expertise of the region's educational researchers and public health scientists working with management academics could provide a set of studies that would be useful to decision-makers in these sectors.

Science, technology and development

Most countries in the region have explicitly stated development priorities, including poverty reduction, science and technology research and higher education advancement (see Table 14).

Table 14: Policy priorities in the SADC region

	Ministry	Higher education policy priorities	Policy priorities: socio-economic development, science and technology
Angola	Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology (created 2010)	National Plan of Action on Education for All (2004) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • training higher education staff • five private higher education institutions • public university, Universidade Agostinho Neto, unbundled since 2010, now multiple universities in various provinces. 	Development of the social sphere, eradicating hunger and poverty, promoting well-being. Institutes for agronomic, veterinary, forestry and medical research, as well as geological and mining research. University-based research in chemical and environmental engineering, phitogenetic resources, population studies, petrophysics and other areas.
Botswana	Ministry of Education	Tertiary Education Policy (2008) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • increased access for students • relevant education that supports the economic and social needs of the nation • improved research capacity • integrated, single HE system. 	Platform programme for the ecosystem, manufacturing, engineering infrastructure, processing and mining, geometrics and the biosciences.
Congo (DRC)	Ministry for Higher Education and Universities	Pact for the Modernisation of Higher Education, PADEM (2003): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • upgrade professional and teaching careers • reform and modernise • make the university a centre of excellence. 	Focus areas include biomedical research, tropical agriculture, medicine and pharmacy, veterinary medicine, geological and mineral research.
Lesotho	Ministry of Education and Training	National Indicative Plan and Country Strategy Paper (2008-2013) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • science and technology identified as a priority area for higher education • regional collaboration. 	Priority focus is poverty reduction. Very limited academic or scientific research, but attention to renewable energy, ICT, biotechnology, traditional and indigenous technologies, animal products, horticulture, other.
Madagascar	Ministry of National Education and Scientific Research	Madagascar Action Plan (2007-2012) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • promote competitiveness and employability of graduates • scientific and technological research and innovation. 	Research foci include pharmaceutical, environmental, veterinary vaccines, nuclear sciences, oceanographic research and rural development.
Malawi	Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture	Vision 2020: National Long-term Perspective Study <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • equitable access • quality in teaching and learning • improve governance • incentives for research. 	Priorities include poverty reduction, health education on HIV and AIDS, rapid industrialisation through science and technology adoption. Research foci include veterinary sciences, water and community health.

	Ministry	Higher education policy priorities	Policy priorities: socio-economic development, science and technology
Mauritius	Ministry of Education and Human Resources	National Strategic Plan for Education and Training (2008-2020) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • develop the country into a regional hub for higher education. 	Focus is mainly on food and agricultural research.
Mozambique	Ministry of Education and Culture	National Strategic Plan for Higher Education (2006)	Focus is on poverty reduction; Science and technology (S&T) is a policy priority, with ICTs seen as an accelerator for economic and social development
Namibia	Ministry of Education	Education and Training Sector Improvement Programme (2005-2020) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • strengthen institutional capacity • enhance relevance, quality and effectiveness • provide equitable access and lifelong learning. 	Limited research funding for universities. Wide focus of research on animal products, wildlife, fisheries and marine research, agriculture, mineral resources, renewable energy, policy research and indigenous technologies.
Seychelles		Limited information available.	Limited information available.
South Africa	Ministry of Higher Education and Training	National Plan for Higher Education (2001) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • increase access and promote equity of access to reduce inequalities • build high-level research capacity • build new institutional identities for effective democratisation • meet national and regional knowledge and skills needs. 	Priority is to build a non-racial democracy and competitive economy. Policy aims to increase innovation output in all fields, including biotechnology, space science, health sciences; and to increase numbers of PhDs and hence numbers of R&D personnel.
Swaziland		No higher education policy.	Some agricultural and health research.
Tanzania	Ministry of Education	Tanzania Vision 2025 + Mkutuka Goals <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • enable access • develop professionals and create greater gender balance in the economy • develop intellectual and technological excellence. 	Science and technology foci include agriculture and livestock, natural resources and environment, medicine and public health, energy. University-based research in forestry, chemistry, geology, animal science, engineering, microbiology, maths and science.

	Ministry	Higher education policy priorities	Policy priorities: socio-economic development, science and technology
Zambia	Ministry of Education	Ministry of Education Strategic Plan (2003-2007) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • strengthen research capacity • improved policy formulation, planning and information management environment • sufficient, skilled and motivated human resources for the education system • a properly financed, professionally managed, accountable, cost-effective and decentralised education system¹⁸. 	Focus is on tropical diseases research, sustainability of agricultural production and aquaculture, veterinary diseases research, technology development and commercialisation, export-oriented manufacturing.
Zimbabwe		National Action Plan: Education for All – Towards 2015 (NAP) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • NAP aims to increase enrolment and improve the quality of all levels of education • improving the quality of education and training • student financing plan. 	Research focus areas include agriculture and food security, medical, biosafety and other areas.

Source: SARUA country reports on higher education and country profiles on science and technology

At least five major trends are apparent from the SARUA higher education and science and technology country profiles:

- The main areas for scientific and university-based research across the region include agricultural, veterinary, fisheries and marine research; renewable energy, water, health and medical research; geological, mining and minerals research; and research into indigenous technologies.
- Documented higher education policy priorities appear to be focused internally on the institution's needs rather than externally on society's needs, thus limiting the potential value of higher education to society.
- Higher education institutions do practice research, although not all institutions identify research priorities at the institutional level. Researchers often operate outside of a structured context for research or in a structured context created by donor agencies.

¹⁸ See www.nuffic.nl/pdf/cb/npt/Zambia-npt-country-information.pdf (accessed 14 July 2011).

- Many countries in the region do not have specific science and technology or research and innovation policies aimed at addressing identified socio-economic development priorities.
- Where countries have both higher education and science and technology policy, the priorities do not necessarily align with each other, and higher education institutions are not explicitly invited to participate in national research programmes.

A few countries stand out in terms of their policy priorities, in that these priorities are outward-looking and are directed towards participation in a global science-based economy. These countries include Zambia which has linked higher education to its intentions to participate in global markets through technology commercialisation and export-oriented manufacturing in selected areas; Tanzania, explicitly seeking intellectual and technological excellence; South Africa, where the higher education system is strongly linked into the national innovation system; Malawi, considering industrialisation through science and technology adoption; and Mauritius, which has the declared intention to become a regional hub for higher education. In these countries, higher education will have a more strongly urban agenda. In Angola, the DRC, Lesotho, Mozambique, Namibia and Swaziland, knowledge economy formation may require a more definitively rural focus, addressing poverty reduction and basic infrastructure, while still aiming to capitalise knowledge for development.

Cross-border higher education

While cross-border higher education may be desirable, it is associated with many complexities. Most prominent amongst these is mechanisms which hinder students from either commencing or continuing their studies at institutions in the region, outside their home country. These include financial and non-financial impediments, such as constraints on student visas, and will need to be addressed by the governments of the region.

A further matter that will require SARUA's attention is addressing the relative attractiveness of different destinations in the region and exploring the potential for active recruitment of students to less well-endowed universities, where opportunities for research may not be as rare as they seem. Furthermore, the recognition of qualifications across the region will require mutually agreed quality assurance arrangements.

SADC higher education future: Priorities and implementation

The most important lessons drawn from the series of SARUA studies conducted between 2007 and 2010 are that:

- universities must build and exercise their capacities for change now, thus creating the basis for profound change in research, teaching and learning in the next nine decades – this should be the legacy of the current generation of academics and university leadership
- universities must synergise their own needs for revitalisation with the region's development needs
- universities should adopt an agenda for directed change and revitalisation, which can perhaps be captured in the mantra “We do research on our region for our region”
- governments and industry in the region must foster their contributions to higher education revitalisation in order to reap the sought-for social and economic benefits.

Item 1: Policy, governance and leadership

- 1(a) This item requires a comprehensive review of the 1997 SADC Protocol with particular attention to building the regional higher education system, to cross-border research and educational collaboration and to engagement with knowledge communities. Effective governance and leadership is needed to establish a suitable protocol for the revitalisation of higher education and training to make a contribution to the formation of small, urban-rural knowledge-based economies in an economically stronger SADC region in the 21st century.
- 1(b) Regional higher education institutions should establish a bi-annual academic conference programme aimed at sharing the region's academic and scientific research with a range of local and international audiences.

Item 2: Research and capacity development within and across borders

- 2(a) Research can be advanced through the agency factor associated with multiple contributions from many institutions acting together. This requires the establishment of a Southern Africa framework programme for individual and collaborative research, incorporating those areas of study where researchers are most active and those areas of study which fit with regional development priorities, especially where there is currently a low concentration of research activity.

2(b) This will require a plan and funding arrangements for a shared research infrastructure programme co-hosted and co-funded by all governments in the region.

Item 3: Academic teaching, learning and capacity development

3(a) This item requires a regional degree programme accreditation and quality assurance service, in order to promote the progressive harmonisation of academic standards at undergraduate and postgraduate levels across the region over time.

3(b) It further requires an initiative for a virtual regional teaching and learning academy to be hosted by a higher education institution selected through an open bidding process or located simultaneously across multiple institutions.

3(c) It is necessary that higher education leadership training programmes are run sequentially in each of the countries in the region, noting that each year one country would have the opportunity to send a significant component of its higher education management on the programme, while also ensuring participation from other SARUA member countries.

Item 4: University networking for regional development

4(a) Networking with communities and industry is a vital component of the next stage of development of universities in the region. Universities that are city-facing may network more strongly with industry, while universities that are rural-facing may network more strongly with communities.

Item 5: Creating value through research and ICT infrastructure

5(a) This item requires attention to designing a regional research infrastructure programme aimed at improving existing research infrastructure and investing in new infrastructure in specific universities on a 20-year programme (2012-2032), then seeking funding through a multilateral development financing programme.

5(b) A regional ICT infrastructure and services programme must be established, aimed at creating an electronic platform for information exchange, academic co-operation and research collaboration and partnering with the UbuntuNet Alliance and other relevant supporting agencies.

Item 6: Effective planning and financing for revitalisation

- 6(a) A strategy for regional higher education financing should be formulated, which provides a framework for countries and institutions to better consider the available opportunities for financing with respect to the three higher education missions and potential financing sources. The strategy and planning functions are paramount to achieving effective financing.
- 6(b) This item requires background research into models of university financing and identifying those models most applicable to the different types of universities in the region and their particular needs (which may include third-stream income and development financing approaches).
- 6(c) Successfully seeking financing requires the publication of up-to-date data on the state of higher education in the region, including graduate success rates, scholarly publishing and scientific endeavour.

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Chapter 3

Conceptions of higher education, development-oriented social engagement and innovation in the SADC context

Glenda Kruss

There have been substantive shifts in the relationship between higher education and society. Universities are now expected to be more accountable to society, the state and the market. In particular, they are expected to be more responsive to the demands of a global knowledge-based economy (Kotecha 2009, Maassen and Cloete 2006, Audretsch and Phillips 2006, Jacob and Hellstrom 2000, Delanty 2001). Southern African universities have a challenge to respond to these changes in a way that is appropriate to the distinct conditions and development imperatives that they and their countries face.

At the time of independence from colonial rule, southern African universities were amongst the critical institutions driving economic and social development. After decades of underfunding of higher education, influenced by global agencies that prioritised basic education, the challenge now (in a global knowledge-based economy) is to define a new developmental role for universities.

A flurry of new initiatives is unfolding within and between countries, driven by national governments, development agencies and international funding agencies. Many of these new initiatives are based on building capacity and strengthening networks (University Leaders' Forum 2006). In an era of global policy borrowing and imitation, there is much uncritical policy adoption from universities in developed economies. These policies, it is clear, are often unsuited to the southern African context. Higher education associations are researching and debating how universities can best harness their expertise for wider social and economic benefit (SARUA 2008, SARUA 2009, AAU 2009). The unfolding body of research on the changing role of universities in development can inform strategic debate within the Southern African Development Community (SADC) higher education community.

This chapter examines two distinct bodies of literature and argues for a synthesis to inform development-oriented social engagement. The first section sets out the main conceptual frameworks and methodologies of the innovation systems literature in relation to developing countries and the role of higher education in university-industry interaction. The next section presents a conceptualisation of community engagement from the perspective of higher education studies and identifies key strands in the debate around the civic role of higher education. The final section identifies the implications of this discourse for higher education governance and leadership in SADC.

Universities and national systems of innovation

The literature on national systems of innovation has paid increasing attention to the central role that education and knowledge institutions play in the ability of a country to catch up with (or fall behind) the leading economies (Nelson 2007, Fagerberg 2007). The innovation systems approach proposes that innovation is the driving force behind growth, with an interactive, inter-dependent and non-linear role for higher education institutions. Investment in research and development and a high level of skill are widely hypothesised to explain the ability of some developing countries (typically industrialising countries such as South Korea, Taiwan and Malaysia) to succeed in catching up with leaders in the developed countries (Nelson 2007a, Abramovitz 1986).

Conceptualising innovation systems in developing countries

A small but growing body of work focuses on whether (and how) the national innovation systems approach can be adopted to conceptualise innovation and development in developing countries, specifically in sub-Saharan Africa (Arocena and Sutz 2000, Lall and Pietrobelli 2002, Lundvall, Vang, Joseph and Chaminade 2009, Lorentzen 2011, Kraemer-Mbuli and Wamae 2010). This work emphasises the incremental, informal and tacit nature of innovation in developing countries.

Innovation systems research adopts two approaches: a narrow approach, in which the focus is on institutions and processes related to science and technology only; and a broad approach that goes beyond science and technology to focus on learning, innovation and competence building at different levels in a range of institutions (Lundvall et al. 2009). This difference is expressed in two distinct modes of innovation. The science, technology and innovation (STI) mode focuses on research and development (R&D), codified and formal knowledge and is associated with a limited set of research institutions. The “doing, using and interacting” (DUI) mode of innovation is associated with tacit informal knowledge, referring to interactive learning through experience (typically in the workplace) and through relationships (Jensen et al. 2007). Debate rages in the literature about the

veracity of these narrow and broad approaches, about the definition and measurement of the broad approach and about whether the broad approach is equally relevant to developed economies.

An inclusive approach to innovation systems that takes into account both STI and DUI modes of innovation, is particularly suited to analyse innovation and devise policy in developing countries. Lundvall et al. (2009) propose a useful definition of the national system of innovation appropriate for southern African countries:

... an open, evolving and complex system that encompasses relationships within and between organisations, institutions and socio-economic structures which determine the rate and direction of innovation and competence building emanating from processes of science based and experience based learning.

Lundvall et al. (2009) make the critical point that in less developed economies, an evolutionary perspective is important since innovation systems are emerging, and only a few key institutions and organisations may exist. Interactions between them are still in the process of forming. As a result, there may be varying degrees of alignment or misalignment between them and the system may appear fragmented. Capability-building is critical for the generation, absorption and adoption of knowledge, but in developing countries, not only research capabilities are key, but also experience-based learning, developing engineering and design capabilities, and managerial capabilities. In fact, these engineering and managerial capabilities may be a greater constraint at early stages of development than the lack of STI research capabilities and context-specific combinations of DUI and STI forms of learning remain critical at all stages.

Theoretical and policy debate continues on how to conceptualise innovation systems and define policies appropriately in different developing countries, but this approach provides a starting point for our purposes.

An emergent literature on university-industry interaction

Academics and policy-makers using the systems of innovation approach began to formulate the role of universities in economic catch-up in developing countries (Mazzoleni 2008, Albuquerque 2001, World Bank 2009, Schiller 2008). Their primary focus was on economic development and growth. In order to compete in a global knowledge economy, it is increasingly important for countries to develop the capacity for technological learning, to “know why”, and not simply to “know what” or “know how”. Passive reliance on existing technologies or simple assimilation of widely- and easily-available knowledge, will mean that a country may fall further behind. The interest is in how knowledge institutions may be a source of innovation and change for industries in distinct sectors and how this interaction plays a role in catch-up (Malerba and Nelson 2007, Whitley 2002, Schiller and Brimble

2009, Saad and Zawdie 2011). The pursuit of industry interaction poses challenges for universities in developing countries as it changes their traditional roles. Universities in developing countries are challenged to find a balance between teaching, research, social and economic development needs and the need to develop new capabilities in resource-poor contexts. The research literature on university-industry interaction in developing economies is growing to complement the vast literature on university-industry interaction from developed economies.

One comparative study of universities in developed and developing countries used the notion of a “third mission” (Göransson, Maharajh and Schmoch 2009, Mwamila and Diyamett 2009) to describe the new demand on universities beyond their traditional mission of teaching and research and to define the concept of a “developmental university” (Mwamila and Diyamett 2009, Bortagaray 2009). A lively debate is evident on the third mission of the university, extending beyond teaching (the first mission) and research (the second mission) into different forms of outreach, interaction and engagement (Gregersen, Linde and Rasmussen 2009, Maculan and Carvalho de Mello 2009, Zawdie 2010). Göransson and Brundenius (2011:349) point out that the third mission is a rather amorphous term that can be interpreted in many ways, but generally referring to a call for universities to be more relevant to society. At its core, the third mission is about the role of universities in “stimulating and guiding the utilisation of knowledge for social, cultural and economic development”. There are two interpretations of the third mission: firstly, a narrow economic role related to technology transfer between university and industry and secondly, a broader role related to social and economic development. These two roles are differently represented in national policies, but in practice the economic interpretation tends to prevail, evident in a policy emphasis on university-industry interaction in most countries.

Another more systematic and large-scale comparative study focused on university-industry interaction in relation to “catch-up” and economic development in the south. This project adopted an innovation systems approach, involving 12 developing countries in Asia, Latin America and Africa (Adeoti and Odekunle 2010, Arza and Vazquez 2010, Dutrénit, De Fuentes and Torres 2010, Dutrénit 2010, Eom and Lee 2009, Eun 2009, Fernandes et al. 2010, Intarakumnerd and Schiller 2009, Joseph and Abraham 2009, Orozco 2010, Rasiyah 2009). The research focused on developing a methodology to survey the scale and forms of interaction in terms of their benefits and constraints. The types of interaction ranged from those that were indirect, tacit, informal and not knowledge-intensive, to those that were direct, codified, formal and very knowledge-intensive. Benefits to the individual firm and university and to the fragmented national systems of innovation, were assessed (Arza 2010).

One key finding was that the scale of university-industry interaction was largest in Asian countries and smallest in African countries. In African countries, the DUI modes of innovation prevailed. The pattern of interaction in two African countries (Nigeria and Uganda) differed substantially from the developing countries in Asia and Latin America. These trends were corroborated by a subsequent small-scale study of university-industry interaction in the SADC countries. This study was informed by the same innovation systems approach and adapted the methodology and instruments of the large-scale study (Kruss and Petersen 2009). With the absence of empirical research on university-industry interaction in Southern Africa, combined with policies that promoted the role of universities in technological upgrading, the study attempted to investigate the potential interaction in SADC universities. The aim of the study was to militate against the formulation of policy informed in a simplistic manner by models from developed economies. The study identified a strong propensity and desire to promote research, innovation and firm interaction, but found that in practice this interaction occurred only on a small scale. The study identified directions for intervention, as well as existing collaborations between local universities and public research institutions and a range of public sector and development partners (such as the education of work-ready students and research consultancy). The study also showed that universities have few internal and external interface structures to support and facilitate interaction and innovation, which tend to be driven by individuals. Universities need to build research capacity and infrastructure for such interaction and overcome the influence of donors on research agendas.

Gaps in the innovation studies literature

These empirical studies suggest that the role of universities in innovation in sub-Saharan Africa needs to be extended and deepened beyond the approaches used in developed or advanced developing economies. Low- and middle-income countries experience the global imperatives to contribute to knowledge-based economic growth, innovation and development under very different, unequal and disadvantageous conditions (Sagasti 2004, Lundvall et al. 2009, Conway and Waage 2010, Mwamila and Diyamett 2009, Szogs 2008, Lundvall 2007).

A key difference is that the economies in many low- and middle-income countries in the SADC region remain strongly resource-based, particularly focused on small-scale and subsistence agriculture or the export of raw material. Some argue that many African countries suffer from "dutch disease", in that they have abundant natural resources, but the export of these raw materials cannot bring sustained economic development

(Nabudere 2009, Subramanian and Matthijs 2007, UNU-Merit 2010). Sub-Saharan African countries have not been able to share the productivity gains and expansion of large-scale manufacturing that has allowed some East Asian economies to catch up with high-income countries. A new economic development consensus is emerging for African economies: that the challenge is to accumulate productive and innovative knowledge and to develop the capability to harness science and technology to diversify and produce globally competitive goods and services (UNU-Merit 2010, Conway and Waage 2010).

The historically small industrial base of these countries means that the significance and nature of university-industry interaction differs. A narrow research focus on university-industry interaction only is questionable (Lorentzen 2009, Kruss, Adeoti and Nabudere 2011). The range of partners with which universities interact is wider than firms in industrial sectors and includes economic actors in the informal sector, co-operatives, communities, small-scale farmers, individuals and households (Kruss 2009, Lorentzen 2011). Conversely, a policy focus that excludes mechanisms to promote and grow university interaction with emerging manufacturing and service firms is problematic.

A second key difference is that for countries that have not attained threshold conditions in health and education, it is impossible to ignore issues of human and social development, of poverty reduction and equitable distribution. It has been argued that national innovation research in such contexts should focus on the manufacturing, agriculture and health sectors, in terms of building the capability for technological improvement and the capability to address food insecurity and disease. Mobilising science, technology and innovation to address problems of health, environmental sustainability and agricultural productivity is a priority and a key challenge (Conway and Waage 2010). The university's role in social and economic development, and not only in economic development, should be considered more systematically and in an integrated manner.

A third aspect is "relative scarcity" (Srinivas and Sutz 2008), meaning that many of these countries have not reached threshold conditions to support fragile innovation systems. There may be missing or outdated higher education and science and technology infrastructure, inadequate access to resources, materials and equipment, lack of institutional support for capability building or lack of appropriate skills. One of the main conclusions of a recent study on the new role of universities in economic development in Africa was that the academic core (and especially the capacity for knowledge production) needs to be strengthened and that this should be at the heart of all university development activities, as well as networking with external agencies (Cloete et al. 2010). How universities respond in such contexts, in which they are trying to strengthen research and SET capabilities in order to build national innovation systems, differs significantly and requires further research and policy attention.

A fourth difference is that DUI modes of innovation may be more prevalent than STI modes, whether in relation to firms or to farms. This means that universities need to rethink their roles and modes of interaction in relation to technology and innovation diffusion and focus on organisational change.

Science, technology and innovation in rural development

Some critics of the view that innovation models from developed countries are inappropriate in developing countries build on the existing agricultural extension tradition to focus on the application of high level science and technology in rural systems of innovation.

Bortagaray and Cozzens (2008) analysed the interaction between genetic engineering technologies (which are claimed to hold great promise for agriculture in developing economies) and the institutional environment of policy objectives, instruments and interventions. Through a case study of genetically-modified (GM) maize in Argentina, they show that the ability of a country to make successful use of these new advanced technologies depends very much on the national capability to adapt, diffuse, modify and translate these technologies over time. A 2010 United Nations (UN) report proposes that building agricultural innovation systems appropriate to African contexts and needs can address declining agricultural productivity and enhance food security. Identifying and linking locally relevant research, technology and innovation priorities with each other and with international research priorities is critical for re-orienting approaches to agricultural development. The ability of an agricultural innovation system to be able to access, use and diffuse knowledge depends on the presence of enabling frameworks that support the emergence of technological capabilities by strengthening existing linkages, promoting new linkages and fostering inter-organisational learning that leads to capital accumulation and technical change (UN 2010:xii).

A study on the state of technology transfer to promote poverty reduction in South Africa (one of the most technologically advanced economies in SADC) illustrates the challenges of institutional environments (Mazibuko et al. 2008). The study found very little evidence of technology transfer in most economic sectors, except for many programmes and activities in the agricultural sector. The institutional weakness and lack of alignment within national science and technology systems in many SADC countries is thus a major challenge. Diyamett (2008) provides a useful analysis to show that the scientific community faces a dilemma caused by a dichotomy between the universal internal logic that drives science systems and the local technology demand (at a much lower level) within African countries. She identifies the coexistence of two distinct sub-systems of innovation that have not co-evolved to be aligned with one another. The predominant one utilises low technology in production systems and the other commercialises scientific

research (through technology transfer). Diyamett argues that the priority should be on strengthening the role of universities in innovation and expanding knowledge frontiers appropriate to local conditions. She proposes that other research institutes, and not universities, should be involved in the lower-level technology development activities.

In contrast to Diyamett's position, there is an emerging body of literature that argues for a more holistic approach, for universities to be involved in the full spectrum of knowledge and technology capability building. The National Advisory Council on Innovation in South Africa has promoted the concept of "broad-based innovations" that "cover[s] the interface of commercialised formal (high level) and potentially commercialisable informal (grassroots and indigenous) innovations (including technological and non-technological ones)" (NACI 2009).

The approach is influenced by the work of Jamison (2009), who argues for a move towards an age of technoscience – a blend of science, technology, traditional wisdom and grassroots innovation. Debate at a conference on the role of universities in Southern Africa as catalysts for sustainable rural development, likewise adopted the position that a commitment to the development of the local communities in which a university is situated, should become part of that university's core business of teaching, research and community service (CEPD 2008).

The theme of collaboration for innovation and of linking university research and capability building in communities and local settings, was the subject of a network and workshop organised between universities in Holland and South Africa (Wageningen, Ghent and Western Cape). In practice, a wide range of projects exists in which universities co-operate to promote local development in relation to different fields (such as water, conservation of indigenous species, regional development and the humanities).

In a variation on this theme, Surie's (2010) work on the incubation of low-cost technologies to create new rural markets in India reflects an important attempt to show how it is possible to create mechanisms for university-industry interaction to address the dual challenges of improving global competitiveness and promoting rural development. She argues for a three-fold process of system reconfiguration: embedding technological solutions developed in universities to address the distinct problems of a target rural area, which facilitates the reconfiguration of the rural system, which in turn leads to the recombining of existing technologies and innovation at low cost and a process of dissemination of entrepreneurship, thus creating opportunity for new ventures to spread. She argues that this process can lead to new low-cost technologies, address poverty through income-generation opportunities and improve education and healthcare at the local level, but also allow for the scaling-up of new ventures and technologies to access global markets with similar needs. This research suggests that rural innovation can include global

competitiveness as a core element, alongside the development of local capabilities and networks, and that universities can have a key role in embedding and recombining existing technologies to address the needs of rural sectors.

Likewise, Hall (2007) attempts to bridge this dichotomy in the debate around approaches to rural systems of innovation. The debate revolves around whether to support local innovation by farmers and traditional plant breeding on the one hand or private sector development of high-value commodity chains and science-intensive biotechnology strains on the other hand. Hall argues that “we need all of these and more” and proposes an approach characterised by “a diversity of collective intelligence mechanisms for organising interaction for innovation” (2007:20). A set of scholars working alongside Hall are attempting to develop these ideas of rural innovation further in order to inform policy and intervention (World Bank 2006, Hirvonen 2008). The term “rural” is used because it involves more than agricultural innovation and includes (for example) water use, health issues and environmental sustainability in rural areas. Likewise, the term “capacity” is not narrowly defined as scientific or research capacity or technological expertise, but rather as “the ability to meaningfully and equitably participate in the joint learning processes ... that characterise innovation”. This in turn implies “the need for institutional or attitudinal change and empowerment among a broadened set of stakeholders” (Hirvonen 2008:19). The adoption of DUI modes of innovation is thus critical in low- and middle-income countries.

One large research project developed and assessed an intervention framework for rural development in developing countries based on the innovation systems concept (World Bank 2006). The core argument was for an integrated approach. Missing research capacity should be developed in a way that encourages interaction between research organisations, universities and science councils, private sector organisations, firms and farms, and civil society organisations, development agencies, community organisations and the like. Rather than build separate research and rural development networks and then attempt to build links between the networks to harness research for rural innovation, interventions should unite research-based and community-based capacity development interventions.

This emergent body of work on rural innovation and development provides promising conceptual and policy directions for further exploration, particularly for those countries and regions where universities are situated in rural contexts. Whether universities should focus on the knowledge frontier or across the spectrum of knowledge generation, application, diffusion and adaptation, is a theme widely debated and one that recurs throughout this chapter. The theme of a range of social partners for universities (not only firms) and how these can be conceptualised in innovation systems research, is firmly established, as is the complementary significance of the DUI and STI modes of innovation.

Universities and community engagement

A distinct literature from higher education studies on universities and the knowledge society (rather than the knowledge economy) focuses on the university's role in promoting the public good, democracy, equality and social development. There is very little concern with "innovation" as a concept or with "interaction" in this literature, which instead centres on the concept of "engagement" in various forms – community engagement, civic engagement, community outreach, social engagement and so on.

The literature indicates that innovation is a small and under-researched theme in the field of higher education studies. Brennan and Naidoo (2008) argue that the higher education literature tends to focus on social justice and equity in relation to access and participation in an inward-looking manner, typically in terms of local-level studies of interventions to promote institutional access to specific marginalised groups. There is not a large body of work that has an outward focus on how different social groups access and benefit from the knowledge produced within universities. Moreover, if the publication dates of the material reviewed is examined, it is evident that engagement is a very recent focus of research in higher education, reflecting recent strategic changes in universities. As a result, much of the available literature is produced by universities themselves to disseminate good practice, rather than published in scholarly journals. And it is strongly shaped by the challenges of accountability and responsiveness to society that universities in developed countries face – particularly the US and UK – dealing with how universities should, can and do respond. Three main strands in this literature are identified below and their significance in the SADC university context is discussed: whether universities should engage at all, what forms this engagement should take and how to engage more effectively.

Should universities engage with external constituencies?

The first relevant strand of research considers the "whether to" – normative expositions of whether universities should engage with firms (or other external constituencies), in the context of globalisation and multiple new demands for accountability and responsiveness. The debate on whether universities merely exist in a community or whether they should be part of that community, has historical precedents, but as Bond and Paterson (2005) claim, it has a new intensity dominated by issues around usefulness to industry and potential threats to the traditional academic project. Indeed, there is a critique of the role of the university in economic development, which is taken to imply the marketisation of the university and which is considered a threat to the integrity and the critical voice of the academic (McEldowney et al. 2009, Bond and Paterson 2005, Johnson and Hirt

2010). Some academics and universities challenge the perception that they should be producing narrowly effective economic agents and propose that they should be creating well-rounded and effective civic agents. Others debate how best to manage these tensions and how to be more responsive to these new multiple demands (Morris and Rip 2006, Salmi 2007).

Emotions run high in this debate, which affects each academic's daily activity:

Once upon a time, university leaders had a cozy life ... Today, however ... less dignified preoccupations... increasingly interfere with the noble pursuit of scholarship and knowledge transmission. Much to the chagrin of many members of the academic community, growing dependence on the market has become a fact of life. (Salmi 2007:223)

This literature typically does not focus on problematising the university's role in economic development or on issues of innovation, but prioritises accountability to the public good and social development. Some have argued against the notion of the entrepreneurial university and in favour of higher education's role in social or community development and the public good (Subotzky 1999, Waghied 2002). In a review of the role of the university in human and social development in different regions, Sanyal and Segrera (2008) argue that the main role of higher education in sub-Saharan Africa is to identify solutions and policies to address "sustainable human development with equity". A minor strand of literature proposes a radical new vision for the university in the face of a dominant neo-liberal agenda and globalisation. For example, Slocum and Rhoads (2009:85-105) argue for a "democratic and emancipatory" vision of the university by analysing how universities in Argentina were involved actively in social transformation projects, supporting a "grassroots rebellion". Addressing private sector and public good interests, therefore, tend to be posed as contradictory. Swartz (2008:11) for example, argued that universities need to align two contradictory tensions: the spread of democracy places demands on the university to expand interaction with a wide range of "social spheres to promote the public good and build social capital", but at the same time, the demand is to pursue more lucrative interaction with the private sector to ensure institutional viability in the face of government funding constraints.

However, a counter-argument can be made, that the two are not contradictory. Interaction with industry or other economic agents may lead to economic development and hence have benefits in the interests of specific social groups or even the public good (Nayyar 2008). As Sanyal and Segrera (2008:190) propose, the global consensus is to "make higher education oriented towards a balance between economic development on the one hand and social and human development on the other".

Nevertheless, a major trend is to dichotomise the university's responsiveness to the public good or to private interests and its role in economic or in social development, as mutually contradictory. These arguments are significant in that they continue to shape the viewpoint of many academics and influence the direction of much academic activity within higher education institutions (globally and in SADC). Understanding the terms of such debate will be critical for managing a new approach to development-oriented social engagement and intervention in the SADC context.

How to conceptualise a “scholarship of engagement”?

A second strand of debate centres around the most appropriate concept to encompass the focus and nature of the university's new role in promoting human and social development. Here the argument is that universities need to respond to complex human and social development challenges in partnership with civil society (Tandon 2008). This higher education literature also debates the changing core missions of the university as a starting point (Altbach 2008, Moja 2008) and investigates the forms that the third mission takes in distinct institutional or national contexts (Newcastle University 2009) or conceptually in taxonomies of engagement. Whether the third mission consists of social or community outreach, service, extension, interaction or community engagement is debated, as is the nature of the most important partners or stakeholders – local, national or global, communities, civil society, public or private sector. Watson (2008), for example, proposes that there are three orders of engagement with the stakeholders and communities of the university, which imply distinct roles that are regulated in different ways.

A core influence is the work of Boyer (1996, 2004) in the US, who proposes a vision of the “scholarship of engagement”:

We proceed with the conviction that if the nation's higher learning institutions are to meet today's urgent academic and social mandates, their missions must be carefully redefined and the meaning of scholarship creatively reconsidered ... Boyer (1996:19)

Boyer's work shifts the terms of debate from whether universities should engage, to focus on the forms that such engagement should take. More significantly, it shifts the notion of extension (or service or outreach) as a third mission alongside teaching and research, to develop a more integrated notion of a scholarship of engagement. The key argument is that the very notion of what counts as scholarship, which was traditionally bound up solely with research and creating new knowledge, now has to be expanded to include teaching and outreach. Boyer's work presents teaching and outreach, like research, as scholarly activities that advance knowledge (albeit in different ways).

Boyer's concept of a scholarship of engagement has been taken up in diverse ways and to varying degrees, particularly in relation to the recent movement towards community and civic engagement in many countries. In the UK, the term "public engagement" has been promoted by the Association of Commonwealth Universities (2002):

Engagement implies strenuous, thoughtful, argumentative interaction with the non-university world in at least four spheres: setting universities' aims, purposes and priorities, relating teaching and learning to the wider world, the back and forth dialogue between researchers and practitioners and taking on wider responsibilities as neighbours and citizens.

A resurgence of the tradition of land grant universities in the American context has seen universities reasserting their vision of community engagement over the past ten years. A common definition is:

The application of institutional resources to address and solve challenges facing communities through collaboration with these communities. (Stanton 2008:22)

Academics debate the forms and nature of community engagement in relation to the missions of teaching, research and outreach or service (Stanton 2008). A distinction is made between community engagement and community-engaged scholarship, which involves a mutually beneficial partnership with a community, often trans-disciplinary, and integrating in multiple ways the scholarship of teaching, application, discovery or integration and engagement. In some institutions or disciplinary fields, the concept of "civic engagement" is promoted (Watson 2008:13), strongly influenced by the tradition in the US of a civic mission that "calls on faculty, students and administrators to apply their skills, resources and talents to address important issues affecting communities, the nation and the world" (Stanton 2008:19).

American research universities have been less involved than other community colleges, liberal arts colleges and state universities, which points to institutional differentiation. There are particularly strong roots in the land grant universities, which provide historical models of relationships between universities and their immediate local communities. Institutions such as Michigan State University (MSU) and California State University (CSU) provide two key examples, but in recent times there has been a shift in prestigious research institutions such as Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), to adopt an engaged mission. The box on page 91 provides an extract from a 1999 charter by an association of state universities and land grant colleges on what becoming an engaged institution entails. This extract provides a useful insight into the key themes and issues debated within American universities.

US Association of Public and Land Grant Universities

Returning to our roots – the engaged institution

- Engagement brings the university's intellectual resources to bear on societal needs.
- Engagement is a form of scholarship that cuts across teaching, research and service.
- Engagement implies reciprocity, whereby the institutions and partners in the community both benefit and contribute.
- Engagement blends scientific knowledge from the university with experiential knowledge within the community to establish an environment of co-learning.
- Engagement involves shared decision-making.
- Engagement is a practice that enables faculties to be better scholars; enhances the learning experience for students; and multiplies the institution's impact on external constituencies.
- Engagement is actively listening to all stakeholders that reflect the diversity of our communities – especially those stakeholders who have not been engaged before.
- A university is engaged when stakeholders see the institution as the “resource of choice” when dealing with an issue or problem.
- Engagement documents and evaluates its effectiveness through traditional measures of academic excellence.

The civic engagement approach tends to link university engagement with city and regional development more directly and explicitly and with the immediate urban context in which many universities exist. The aim is to enhance competitiveness globally, while addressing local demand and problems (Goddard 2009, Goddard and Vallance 2011). This echoes the rural system of innovation literature, but has its own challenges that potentially reproduce the dichotomy between academic values and industry interests:

From an urban and regional policy perspective the university is sometimes seen as providing the answer to all manner of urban ills from a shortage of jobs through to the inclusion of marginalised communities in the socio-economic mainstream. From a higher education policy perspective engagement with a city can provide an outward and visible sign of the university's contribution to civil society. But there are potential tensions here between internationally acknowledged academic excellence and societal accessibility to knowledge that urban engagement implies. (Goddard and Vallance 2011:2)

In that it intersects with innovation systems research on regional development and regional systems of innovation (Cooke 2002, OECD 2007), this is a potentially rich literature, which is discussed further towards the end of this chapter.

Higher education practice in the US has shifted to the extent that in 2006, the Carnegie Higher Education Classification System developed a new elective index for assessing community engagement (Zuiches 2008). The new classification system defines community

engagement as collaboration between universities and their communities (from local to global levels) “for the mutually beneficial exchange of knowledge and resources in a context of partnership and reciprocity” (Driscoll 2008:39).

National networks (such as Campus Compact, a coalition of university and college presidents committed to civic engagement) have been established in the US (Anderson and Douglass 2005, University of California 2005, Watson 2008), and individual universities are working on renewed visions and missions to prioritise civic and community involvement (Stanton 2008). A new academic field is developing around community engagement globally, which draws actively on the American experience. Co-ordinating and collaborating organisations have been formed, such as the Taillores Network, a member organisation that promotes university-community engagement and civic responsibility and which is increasing its global reach (see www.tufts.edu/tailloresnetwork). In addition, new international journals have been established (such as *Gateways: International Journal of Community Research and Engagement*, established in 2008).

The impact of these ideas has spread widely, including to Southern Africa. For example, Phuthi et al. (2009) reflects on how university-community partnerships can be used to promote community development in Zimbabwe, involving multiple interventions across different university departments with a specific rural community. An emergent literature in South Africa reflects the changing policy and institutional practice and the attempts to develop more systematic and conceptually rigorous approaches (CHE 2010).

The debate around the term that best describes such engaged activity, around what engagement means and around what changes it entails to higher education missions, knowledge and academic identities, is complex. There are diverse forms of engagement activity, all of which lead to governance and leadership challenges, in order to change and manage institutional and academic practice.

Promoting engagement within the university

A third strand in the literature comes from recent research that considers the “how-to” of community engagement, focusing on how universities can best respond to the shifting pressures and policy expectations about the way in which they are organised and in what they do.

A more pragmatic literature has emerged on community service and academic service learning, which elaborates on the scholarship of teaching engagement, advocates for recognition of engaged teaching activities and informs academic practice. It reflects on practice that extends the boundaries of the university and engages with individuals,

households and community groups. Various forms of service-learning, university-community partnerships and student volunteer initiatives are critically reviewed and reported by practitioners (Osman and Castle 2006, Bender 2008, Oldfield 2008, Sowman 2009, McMillan 2009). Engagement in research and research on the scholarship of engagement, are further themes.

This research focuses on the response of distinct disciplines to community engagement (Salmi 2007) and to changing academic teaching cultures (Roxå, Mårtensson and Alveteg 2010). There is a move to change curricula and adopt new forms of pedagogy in order to respond to human and social development issues, evident in an:

... emphasis on student service activities and service learning programmes that put university resources towards understanding and correcting social problems; inclusion of the study of poverty production factors in curricula; integration of participatory action research within curricula and as a pedagogical approach; and the rising prominence in academic institutions of individuals who are recognised as both academics and practitioners. (Taylor 2008:93)

There are those who are working to systematise community engagement in an attempt to gain official recognition of engagement as part of the core academic work of universities. A key issue is how to promote community engagement given that academic reward systems favour research and publications. For this, indicators of good practice and criteria for evaluation are required. In the UK context of assessment, benchmarking and evaluation that drive much higher education activity, there are few widely accepted measures to evaluate the impact of engaged scholarship:

Despite many examples of imaginative practical activity and a tradition, both in the UK and internationally of the 'socially purposeful' university – rooted in the Victorian civic universities and the US land grant universities – evaluation of the engagement work has been largely neglected. (Hart et al. 2008)

As with the debate around the impact of industry interaction on the core academic project, criticism of the new emphasis on academic-service learning in communities has been articulated in terms of the risks to teaching, learning and knowledge in higher education (Muller and Subotzky 2001). The notion of partnership and reciprocity implicit in new visions of engagement is a key shift from the past, in which service, outreach or extension work (which was more “philanthropic” and uni-directional) moved from the university outwards. The conceptual shifts required from academics are substantial:

Few could conceive of education for a university degree as including learning from and with people without degrees, or of advanced research as including average citizens and officials in formulating research questions, let alone in the devising of methods and the analysis of results. Much of the professorial activism at the time was in the form of their lending to political movements their superior knowledge and intellectual credence – a kind of intellectual *noblesse oblige*. (cited in Tandon 2008:146)

The conceptual shift from such an intellectual *noblesse oblige* to a scholarship of engagement raises issues, therefore, of the value of and the intersection between academic and local knowledges and new ways of engaging other than the traditional knowledge dissemination from the expert academy. Further issues of concern in the literature relate to governance and stakeholder selection (Jongbloed, Enders and Salerno 2008, Favish and Ngcelwane 2009), on how engagement impacts on institutional boundaries (Vakkure 2004) or on enhancing stakeholder impact in distinct disciplines (Benneworth and Jongbloed 2009). A few studies have begun to investigate the factors that constrain and facilitate individual academic involvement with communities (Boehm 2008, Oldfield 2007, 2008), the impact of power relations and the different organisational cultures of academics and communities on partnerships (Strier 2010).

In applying this recent higher education literature to the SADC context, how are we to proceed? What is the most appropriate concept for African universities and how can they learn from the experience of diverse types of higher education institutions in developed economies? A recent study of the role of the university in economic development in Africa inadvertently echoed the significance of the Boyer notion of scholarship of engagement as a central principle. The study of the nature of higher education policy, the nature and strength of the academic core and the degree of connectedness of universities in eight African countries concluded that there is a primary need to strengthen the academic core in African universities:

Concepts such as ‘community service’, ‘third mission’ and ‘engagement’ either tend to reflect an instrumentalist service notion of the role of higher education or have become clichés that obscure more than clarify this role. A more useful direction might be to investigate the relationship between core knowledge activities and connectedness to external stakeholders. (Cloete, Bailey and Maassen 2010:xix)

Such a wholesale dismissal of the higher education engagement literature is oversimplifying somewhat. However, the emphasis on the academic core, on building scholarship and understanding interaction with external stakeholders, highlights important principles towards a relevant approach.

Aligning economic and social development agendas

The innovation studies literature has a gap in that it does not sufficiently take into account the substantive role and interests of universities or the need for universities to engage with the public and to interact with a wide range of social partners. The higher education literature has a gap in that it does not sufficiently take into account the key roles of universities in innovation and technology transfer and diffusion towards economic development. The challenge is to link the conceptual insights of the higher education literature with the systemic insights of the innovation studies literature. The former contributes insights regarding commitment to the public good, social justice and social development; higher education knowledge imperatives; broad conceptions of interaction; and a wide range of external partners. The latter contributes insights regarding interaction, capabilities and concepts to understand the relationships between knowledge producers and users. The civic engagement tradition has a useful conceptualisation of engagement with place and region that reintroduce the concept of innovation (OECD 2007). The assertion is that universities have key roles in social (and not only economic) development, particularly linked to regional development. Social engagement is conceptualised as a complement to the growth in university-industry interaction. A broad concept of engagement with the wider society in the form of a spectrum of partners and modes of engagement within a single institution is promoted (Newcastle University 2009). Goddard (2009) has called for the reinvention of the “civic university”, based on a broad conception of innovation as more than simply leading to commercial profits for firms. His argument draws on an OECD (2007) concept of a multi-level and multi-modal civic engagement agenda, providing a useful model to shift debate:

The ‘civic university’ has a key role to play in fostering such system-wide innovation and tackling the big challenges that confront the modern world, for example, the need for sustainable cities ... It can do this by serving public as well as private interests and embracing business and the community found outside its front door, connecting these communities to the global arena. (Goddard 2009)

This work offers the possibility of an integration of the innovation and engagement agendas that is significant to the southern African context. What is required is an interaction between these two agendas and recognition that both may be valid for distinct purposes, to address the full variety of university goals.

We are now at the point of a more widespread recognition of the need for integration and the promotion of a broad encompassing notion of social innovation or social engagement, but there is not yet a great deal of conceptual or empirical work on exactly what is entailed. An attempt will be made in the final section of this chapter to identify the implications and possibilities for southern African universities.

One key source that may suggest a way forward is that of the eminent higher education scholar, Burton Clark. In a retrospective of his work (Clark 2008), he argues that the notion of the “entrepreneurial university”, so often cited in relation to his work, has been widely misunderstood. It does not mean “entrepreneurial” in the sense of promoting commercialisation or a revenue-generating or profit-seeking third mission for the university. Rather, it means entrepreneurial in the literal sense of enterprising – the common sense meaning of innovative (i.e. that of a university that is able to continually find new ways to proceed). The ability of a university to respond to change and to be flexible and adaptive in how it organises, is critical to higher education’s role in innovation and development.

Higher education, social engagement and innovation in the SADC context

An integrated and broadly-encompassing conception of the role of universities in innovation and socio-economic development can extend and build on the framework to study university-industry interaction outlined earlier in this chapter. At its core, it provides a conceptual basis to identify forms of interaction and their associated benefits or risks for institutions and the national system of innovation as a whole, for private benefit and public good. We can extend this framework to include both social and economic development imperatives and a wide range of external social partners, not only firms. We can deepen this framework by adding a stronger conceptualisation of the university as a knowledge-based institution driven by substantive or reactive sources of growth and characterised by reputational competition. We can add concepts to understand organisational changes within universities. We can develop a way to define engaged and non-engaged academic activities in an integrated and interdependent way, particularly in the SADC context.

Forms of interaction, benefits and risks

The research on the interaction between universities and industry in developing countries described above proposes a conceptual framework to identify forms of interaction and to link channels with the associated benefits and risks of interaction (Arza 2010, Dutrenit and Arza 2010). Channels of interaction may be classified into four broad types, distinguished by the combinations of goals that motivate firms (passive or proactive

innovation strategies) and universities (economic/ financial or intellectual strategies) to interact. This can be extended to include the strategies that motivate interaction for other economic agents (such as farmers or co-operatives) or other social partners (such as communities or development agencies). Interaction motivated by the economic strategies of universities and the passive strategies of firms is more likely to take the form of “service” channels (whether scientific or technological), where knowledge flows mainly from the university to the firm/farmer/community group. Examples are consultancy or testing or quality control and are more likely to feed into DUI modes of innovation. In contrast, interactions motivated by the intellectual strategies of the university and the proactive strategies of firms are more likely to take bi-directional forms, where knowledge flows are two-way and there is a high potential for joint learning. Examples are joint R&D projects or networks, which are more likely to involve STI modes of innovation. “Traditional” forms of interaction are driven by the intellectual imperatives of the university and the passive strategies of firms/farmers/community groups, with knowledge flows to firms/farmers/community groups, but defined strongly by academic functions. Examples are the hiring of graduates, attendance at conferences and academic or popular publications. They may also take the form of financial flows from firms or development agencies to support the academic function, such as endowments of facilities, or chairs, or scholarships. Finally, “commercial” forms of interaction are driven by the economic strategies of universities and the proactive strategies of firms/farmers/communities, taking the form of spin-off companies or incubators that (like the bi-directional channels) require direct personal interaction at critical stages.

The university-firm literature typically focuses on the private benefits or risks of interaction – for the firm or for the academic, research group or university involved (Kruss 2006). Arza (2010) points to research highlighting that benefits and risks may be social and may impact on knowledge generation and dissemination in the national system of innovation, particularly in developing countries (Nelson 2004, Lundvall et al. 2009). Certain channels of interaction may lead to the risk of diverting research agendas from topics that may be more socially useful. In health research, for example, this may mean a focus on lucrative clinical trials for pharmaceutical companies to deal with “lifestyle diseases” of the rich, rather than research on clinical interventions to deal with resistant strains of tuberculosis amongst the poor. Another instance is where time devoted to interaction reduces the time available for teaching students or conducting basic research, impacting potentially on the academic system.

A framework that can identify and help to balance the benefits and risks of different types of interaction for an institution (and for the national system of innovation as a whole) is a potentially important strategic tool for higher education institutions. It can begin to address the prevailing dichotomisation and the concern to protect the core academic project.

Universities as knowledge-based institutions

A weakness of the national systems of innovation literature is a tendency to focus on universities in relation to their roles in firm learning, technological upgrading and innovation (whether in the form of human resources, R&D, training or technological expertise). Universities have broader and very distinctive characteristics that need to be taken into account. The significance of a focus on the substantive nature of universities is increasingly recognised (Whitley 2003, Kruss 2011, Schiller and Brimble 2009). Mowery and Sampat (2005) are among those who emphasise that it is difficult to conceptualise universities in the same way as economic institutions, because of their distinct forms of governance and the multiple roles universities play. They argue that current analytical frameworks like the Triple Helix Models or Mode 2 forms of knowledge or even a national system of innovation framework, may shed some light but downplay the very real tension among the different roles universities are expected to play within a knowledge-based economy and hence provide limited guidance. Mowery and Sampat call for a stronger analytic framework to understand the roles of universities within a national system of innovation – and especially, the influence of the structure of the national higher education system on these roles.

Clark (2008) provides important guidance to understand the distinctive nature of universities. He argues that what is absolutely essential about the nature of higher education that any research cannot ignore is the “knowledge-base” of universities and particularly the discipline-centred nature of academic work. Disciplinary fragmentation is the source of rapidly growing complexity and “substantive growth” in higher education systems, as opposed to the “reactive growth” driven by increases in students or labour market demand: “academic territories are first of all subject territories, even while they are clientele territories and labor market territories” (Clark 2008:452). Substantive growth is led by knowledge and research generation, requiring postgraduate expansion and academic specialities, while reactive growth is led by student demand and enrolment, relating to massification of higher education and the accompanying demand for undergraduate education, remedial and introductory teaching. These may be in tension within parts of an institution (different faculties or academics and management). Or they may lead to growing segmentation within a differentiated national higher education system, a growing knowledge gap between research-centred universities and those that respond to mass demand for access. The situation of individual institutions within the national system and as a national system with other countries, thus becomes more competitive.

A similar conclusion is reached by Whitley (2000, 2003), who argues that universities are fundamentally “reputationally controlled work organisations”, in that their production of

knowledge is structured by academics' competitive pursuit of intellectual reputations, judged by their peers – and Clark would add, their disciplinary peers. National systems can be distinguished depending on the intensity of reputational competition and the extent of intellectual pluralism and flexibility – which impact on the degree to which research is co-ordinated between different kinds of institutions (those with stronger or weaker reputations) and the openness to new research goals, approaches and programmes to address new kinds of (social) problems. In a highly differentiated and segmented system with strong reputational competition between research universities and applied research or technology transfer institutions, for example, hierarchies of institutions typically limit and restrict what is possible in setting new research agendas; novelty is restricted, the flow of knowledge between different kinds of institution is limited, and mobility between institutions is difficult without loss of reputation. As Whitley explains:

In highly concentrated and hierarchical academic systems, the best researchers are not only recruited and trained in the leading organizations but are also likely to remain in them for most of their careers because of their superior status and resources. More peripheral universities are rarely able to improve their standing through attracting leading scientists, or by acquiring better facilities through competitive processes. (Whitley 2003:1023)

These competitive dynamics weaken the development of capabilities and interaction across the system and hence the national system of innovation as a whole. The nature of differentiation and what is possible for different kinds of institution within a public science system, is significant for understanding the scale and forms of interaction that exist (and that are possible) in a specific country.

Engaging with external social partners is of greater value when it is driven by substantive growth, rather than reactive growth – when it is integral to the expanding knowledge-base of a discipline, to the work of scholarship (Boyer 2004) and research-based teaching and learning. And it is of greater value for the national system of innovation when there is more pluralism and flexibility and less restrictive “reputational competition” between institutions.

Universities responding to change

Individual universities are responding to the changing imperatives in different ways and are challenged to change their missions, policies, structures and incentive mechanisms to promote interaction and responsiveness. Here, the higher education literature reviewed above can complement the innovation studies literature. One useful focus is on the ways in which universities organise internally to facilitate change (Roxå, Mårtensson and Alveteg 2010). Another is the role of disciplines in responding to new institutional

pressures (Reale and Seeber 2010). A particular focus is the structures and mechanisms required to facilitate interaction with external social partners, to “cross boundaries” more effectively (De Wit 2010, Vakkuri 2004, Jongbloed, Enders and Salerno 2008).

The conceptual work of Clark is useful here too and has been widely used to inform institutional responses. Clark (1998, 2004) suggests a framework of five elements by which universities can develop the necessary strategic capabilities to respond to the multiple new demands of government, industry and social groups, while maintaining their traditional roles as knowledge-based institutions. They need a diversified funding base (a spread of different sources of support), a strengthened steering core (from central management to faculty and departmental levels), an expanded outreach periphery (the units and centres that typically move across boundaries to bring in external social partners), a stimulated academic heartland (that is, strong departments that are committed to change) and an integrated entrepreneurial culture (an institutional culture that is shared widely).

Including such analysis of the elements required for an institutional “change-orientation” provides a complementary component for an integrated framework.

Defining a new term – external social partners

The advantage of an integrated framework is that it reflects the complexity and diversity of the role of the university as a knowledge-based institution in a knowledge-based society. What is needed is a concept to describe interaction – community engagement, social responsiveness, community service, civic engagement, public engagement, academic engagement and so on. The term needs to reinforce the concept of substantive academic growth. A definition of “engaged academic scholarship” developed by a top American land grant institution, Michigan State University (see Cooper 2011), suggested a useful way forward:

... a form of scholarship that cuts across teaching, research and services. It involves generating, transmitting, applying and preserving knowledge for the direct benefit of external audiences in ways that are consistent with university and unit missions.
(Michigan State University 1993)

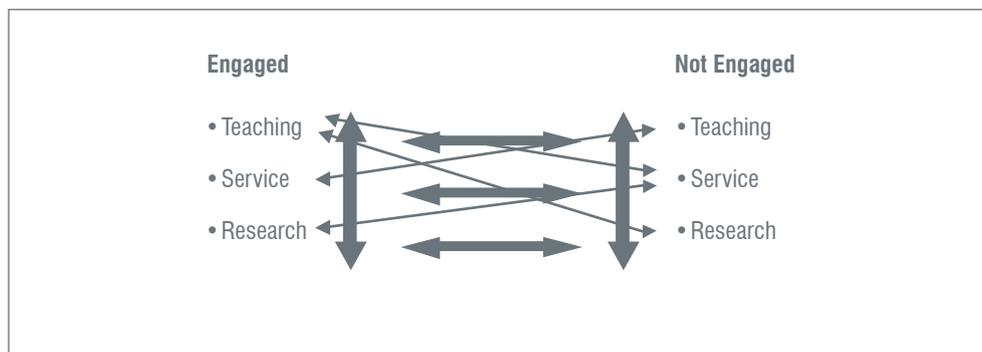
The definition stresses that academic scholarship is central and that engagement is about “extending knowledge resources”. It is not an activity that academics engage in as citizens, but is core to their disciplinary commitments and reputational identity as academics. Nor is it an add-on to “normal” academic work, in that it cuts across teaching, research and services in an integrated manner. Nor is it driven solely by external demand – whether from markets or governments or communities. The notion that engaged scholarship

should be related to the mission of the unit or university, and to substantive growth, is important for analytical purposes. It introduces a nuance to the normative dimension typical in the higher education debate, in that it highlights the possible differentiation and segmentation between institutions or knowledge fields.

Figure 1 reflects the distinction that can be drawn between engaged and non-engaged forms of scholarship, using this definition. Academics engage in core tasks of teaching, research and outreach, but each of these may take engaged forms when they are to the benefit of external social partners – a term preferred to the more passive notion of “external audiences”. They take non-engaged forms when they relate to “audiences” or partners internal to the institution or solely to the academic profession.

As others have argued, engagement often occurs in integrated “bundles of activity” (Newcastle University 2009:71), a research-teaching-study nexus (Clark 2008:455). The notion of “cutting across” or nexus is illustrated in Figure 1, in that teaching and research may feed into one another and likewise into service, in various combinations (depicted in the arrows between the activities on the left-hand side or the activities on the right-hand side). In addition, non-engaged research may form the basis for engaged service or teaching or be linked to new forms of engaged research, whether directly or indirectly (depicted in the arrows joining the left- and right-hand sides).

Figure 1: A model of engaged scholarship



Engaged and non-engaged activities overlap, influence and contribute to each other. For institutions, however, the major organisational challenge is to strategically balance these activities and manage potential tensions in prioritisation, allocation of resources and reward (both internally and externally).

Such an approach is extremely useful in distinguishing different academic activities, while showing how they are integrated through scholarship and interdependent on one another in mutually reinforcing ways. It informs a broad but focused term: “extending academic

scholarship to the benefit of external social partners”. And it highlights the need for strategic balance between academic activities appropriate to institutional or specific unit missions, whether disciplinary units within the academic core or units at the development interface.

A framework for SARUA

The approach and framework of extending academic scholarship to the benefit of external social partners can provide a useful set of strategic tools for individual institutions and across the higher education system in a SADC country. It enables an academic department, faculty or institution to map the balance of engaged and non-engaged academic activities and then the main forms of interaction that occur, the main type of external social partners and the main benefits and outcomes associated, relative to their academic mission in general or in different fields. On this basis, they can plan a new strategy or identify where further strategic intervention may be required to achieve that mission.

In relation to the national system of innovation as a whole, it is possible to assess the potential impact of the current balance of interaction on the knowledge production system or in relation to economic or social development and to identify targeted strategies accordingly. The implications for individual universities can be summed up as follows:

- at the most basic level, universities in each country need to understand their own local developmental challenges in relation to the global knowledge economy
- the aim is to determine the most appropriate balance between the missions of teaching, research and outreach in that context and how to build sustainable academic capabilities
- greater attention to building capabilities for innovation and knowledge diffusion is required, alongside capabilities for cutting edge “new to the world” innovation appropriate to specific contexts
- a balance between different forms of interaction in terms of their likely benefits and risks to the academic core and to the national system of innovation
- a framework of social engagement and social innovation can be elaborated on this basis
- a basic academic requirement is that institutions can meet (or develop and strengthen) the threshold conditions of academic scholarship, particularly in science and technology
- a basic organisational requirement is the ability to adapt and to be flexible to change, in order to meet the shifting demands of a knowledge economy

- a co-ordinated strategy across different parts of the university, to take into account disciplinary differences and different forms of interaction
- the recognition of and responsiveness to a wide range of partners in relation to development priorities, including:
 - industry
 - regional development
 - the informal sector
 - rural development
 - communities
 - civil society
- a focus on new mechanisms to ensure that knowledge is not locked into the university (boundary spanning)
- a focus on new forms of internal organisation that promote and incentivise socially engaged scholarship.

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Chapter 4

Regional identity for higher education in SADC and its implications for higher education governance, leadership and management

Kwandiwe Kondlo

There is a metaphorical saying in Xhosa-speaking communities in the former Transkei, that chasing the wind is the most exhausting business – because the wind goes in all directions and is everywhere. Perhaps the metaphor is appropriate to underline the difficulties one encounters when examining the future of the university in Africa, and even more so when trying to conceptualise identity for higher education in Southern Africa. The implications of identity for governance, leadership and management are wide and diverse, as the forms of leadership in higher education tend to evolve in line with fashionable paradigms of a particular period (e.g. transformatory leadership in South Africa, given the dominance of the transformation discourse in that country since 1994). There will probably never be an all-encompassing way of conceptualising the wide variety of issues in this area. This does not in any way suggest that the efforts or attempts to do so are a fruitless waste of time but it underlines the difficulties in getting to the bottom of all issues involved because they are either too broad or too inextricably interlinked to disentangle. Underlying issues of contextual specificity which also include the historical paths taken by various institutions of higher education in the region to get to where they are today require rigorous tracing and overall comprehension. The relationship between these institutions and the “fragile-state” (i.e. the post-colonial African state) further complicates the picture – this on its own is a matter which requires dedicated examination.

Higher education in the region resembles fragments without a firm centre, hence the numerous challenges for management, leadership and governance. The major complications are broad and varied; they are not only institutional and structural, but reside, in the first and last instances in the challenges related to state formation in Africa, institutional histories and the inherited *problematique* of western discourse – the latter being the greatest dilemma in higher education on the entire continent. Institutional histories are

conditioned by the histories of the societies and states in which the universities are located, whereas the dominant *problematique* of western discourse is an inadvertent articulation of the history of subjugation from which the modern states and societies in Africa emanated. The *problematique* of western discourse lacks roots in African experience and also lacks African authorship. Simply put, Africans tend to use knowledge that they don't create, or to reproduce knowledge forms that have been inherited. The western *problematique* is in essence a Eurocentric study of ourselves as Africans – it is the “enslavement of our being to Western imperialism” (wa Thiong’o 1997) – and is therefore a fundamental determinant of our entire relationship as an African people. The *problematique* of western discourse defines and limits; it confirms and validates and it sets the scientific standards which enjoy hegemonic status. It imposes its rationality and logic on the life of the mind and the intellectual cultures of African scholarship. Higher education in Africa has not transcended this fundamental predicament. On matters related to the life of the mind or in the court of intellectual excellence, people of colour, “the native intellectuals”, are usually the guilty ones, until proven innocent (i.e. acceptable to those who wield hegemonic power within the predominantly white mainstream scholarship). This is a negativity which rounds itself off and confers upon African institutions of knowledge generation a certain identity – an identity of intellectual subordination and dependence on northern and western intellectual paradigms, cultures and regimes of governance. In the final analysis, this subordination has a lot to do with the “savage” manner of Africa’s insertion into the global political economy (Saul 2008) – something which institutions of knowledge production in the region are perpetuating rather than breaking. The post-independence elites on the continent are largely to blame for the muted development of knowledge generation institutions and African higher education in general.

Given that identity is a shifting reality, regional identity for higher education in SADC is not permanent but changing. These changes are disparate and lack coherence and this attests to the challenge of leadership. Brilliant leaders who emerge in institutions in the region have a tendency to want to “go it alone”; they want to personify success rather than building a regional network of enduring successes.

Most importantly, there are historical elements around which a regional identity for higher education in SADC seems to coalesce, even though inconsistently. It is important to note that regional identity in higher education comprises only one layer of a sedimentary strata of issues that hardly receive exhaustive interrogation and straightforward answers in the region as whole. In other words, regional identity in higher education has to be located and understood in a multi-layered context. The contextual layers span issues such as fragile state formation, economic dependence, identities and citizenship, policies in higher education, institutional identities within one country and identities within the disciplines in one university.

Institutional histories and cultures are so important that in South Africa, for instance, one often still finds a clear distinction between formerly white universities and formerly black universities, and one can still distinguish formerly Afrikaans universities from formerly English universities. In some of these institutions, black intellectuals are merely an appendage and fit awkwardly in a game which is clearly white-controlled. In other words, in South Africa alone, it is difficult to talk about a coherent identity in higher education without reference to institutional histories, the surrounding society, the state and dominant intellectual cultures.

The unifying factor in SADC is that the entire higher education landscape in Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe is still dominated by the English liberal tradition. The language and educational culture of the English still has resonance in these polities and is crucial in ensuring international recognition and access to free market resources. In fact, even in Afrikaans universities English still enjoys hegemony as the language of the international community.

The implications of this situation in higher education governance, leadership and management are varied but essentially similar. They vary in the sense that governance, leadership and management in higher education is highly differentiated in terms of accountability to external organisational relationships, such as provincial and national governments, as well as business and corporate relationships. They are similar in the sense that they all share a common heritage – predominantly western, part corporate (hence the notion of entrepreneurial leadership in higher education) and part public (hence the emphasis on democratisation which infers shared and participatory governance). Today the manner in which institutions of higher education are managed and led in the region exhibits a governance paradigm which straddles corporate governance and democratic governance, both linked to the dominant paradigms of the state. But corporatisation is an increasingly dominant approach. The leadership and management echelons in all universities in the region have a corporate orientation which varies from institution to institution.

This chapter emphasises foundational issues, particularly the difficulties and failures to transform the post-colonial polities and education systems. The end of political colonialism in Southern Africa did not translate into the end of colonialism as a social relationship associated with specific forms of knowledge and power. As a result, identity for higher education in the region can be conceptualised in what appear as negative terms. Among its characteristics is a persistent failure to transform the “coloniality of power and knowledge” due to dependence on the state (De Sousa Santos, Nune and Menes 2007:xxxv). Despite the changes of form or structure which have occurred over the years, the higher education sector in the region still depends on the vicissitudes of the state and struggles to balance relevance with excellence as well as independence from the colonially structured and inherited state.

The implications for governance, leadership and management are similar in certain respects, but different in others. The similarity resides in the need to secure institutional viability, financially and academically (survival or flourishing), dealing with changes in composition of student and staff populations and ensuring a vibrant culture of research and teaching. These are old problems which leadership and management of higher education institutions have always had to tackle. The implications are different in the sense that the cultures and styles of leadership are different.

Higher education institutions in the region lack leadership which is not only transformatory but has organic social capital qualities. This kind of leadership enjoys the support of decisive community based networks; it is a kind of leadership with a prophetic mission as it reflects beyond the boundaries of today. In this leadership paradigm, individual institutional interests and survival imperatives become submerged in favour of a greater cause which balances autonomy with relevance and excellence. Leadership with a prophetic mission should be concerned about how to imagine and build an integrated regional knowledge block and a future grounded in the best of our diverse past. The study of leadership in the various institutions in the region over the four historical periods discussed below may need to be expanded at a later stage.

This chapter begins by outlining what ordinarily appear to be outstanding features of higher education institutions in the region, before discussing the evolution of higher education in Africa. The character of the SADC region is then discussed, to inform the understanding of regional identities for higher education in the region. The chapter then proceeds to frame the historical context of Southern Africa in order to capture the fullness of the dynamics of the region and to uncover aspects of the region's political economy and concomitant forms of knowledge that are being encouraged to support a particular dominant form of accumulation designed by and fitted to the imperatives of global corporate capital. This invokes issues about the relationship between knowledge, power and accumulation as anchors of identity formation.

Key features of higher education institutions

A quick overview of higher education institutions in the region discloses similarities at four levels:

- the operational level, which includes support services, marketing, student support and collaboration arrangements
- research, teaching and publications
- management of human resources, financial management, infrastructure facilities, external relations (government, corporate networks and community relations), general administration and faculty work
- leadership of strategy and overall policy orientation (governance).

The governance level is what matters most, as it defines how issues of institutional identity and autonomy are dealt with. The question is how these four elements relate, from institution to institution, to inform a collective identity in higher education in the region – how do the common elements cohere to galvanise higher education in the region towards a new prophetic mission.

One should not forget the contradictions implied by issues of institutional autonomy in higher education (especially in the case of universities) in light of the imperative to build a collective identity. The institutional autonomy of universities is both a blessing and a curse in the region. It is a blessing in the sense that it grants universities academic freedom, but the conditionality of the freedom in relation to the power of the state, economic powers and ideological and cultural powers, is what universities in the region have not collectively addressed. This is important in order to gauge the space universities have for the pursuit of a truly independent agenda. Are the universities in Southern Africa granted the freedom and space to be 'controversial'; a space in which "nothing is beyond question, not even the current and determined figure of democracy" (Derrida 2002:202). This raises the question whether universities in the region can be collectively identified by an unconditional freedom "to question and assert" the right to say publicly all that is required by research, knowledge and thought without risking being forced to sacrifice their independence¹⁹? Institutional autonomy is also a curse as it provides some racist scholars (and institutions with a predominantly white supremacist culture) a last refuge and a legalistic excuse to continue in the same old white ways – in some instances, course content and academic culture have not changed, except that there are now black faces in the scholarly community. The latter are expected, even though tacitly, to fit in with the established white culture of these institutions. These are institutions in which co-operation with other institutions in the region is conditional rather than an absolute imperative for developing integrated knowledge generation. Co-operation with other institutions in the region is on unequal terms – African institutions provide opportunities to access data through student fieldwork, and experts from historically white institutions do the analysis and authorship and also provide supervision and facilities. This is a co-operation of unequals in the generation of knowledge.

These broad trends have defined the nature of co-existence and co-operation among higher education institutions in the region. What seems to be the overall weakness in higher education is around "joined-up" strategy and policy to ensure an integrated regional

¹⁹ The argument is also made by Derrida (2002).

identity in knowledge production and institutional organisation. Preoccupation with individual institutional survival and performance tends to feature above inter-institutional collaboration. The disciplines within universities in the region perpetuate the status quo as they struggle to overcome their “silo” work tendencies; they cannot derive among themselves meaningful “co-opetition” (i.e. competition and co-operation) – a strategy of joined-up capabilities. They are quick to collaborate with scholars from outside the region (and outside the African continent) – they collaborate more with scholars from the north, and this has a lot to do with funding opportunities and the better facilities the northerners usually provide. But most importantly, higher education institutions in the region are marked by a pervasive failure to transform the content of the intellectual discourse so that African research is set firmly within African intellectual frameworks and is embedded in African approaches. This is where the failure of leadership in higher education institutions to provide vision and a new ethos is particularly apparent.

On the whole, the key feature of identity for higher education in the region is the dominance of continuities rather than discontinuities with the colonial past. These include individual institutional survival instincts, historical institutional cultures and symbols of the past. At a more serious level, higher education in the region (especially in the areas of knowledge generation) is still bound by the universalistic pretensions of western criteria for judging whether or not a given discourse is scientific, philosophical or not. The lack of African authorship (i.e. knowledge produced by Africans and addressing itself principally to their circumstances and their public) is a dilemma which continues to blemish the character of higher education in the region. This sector reproduces its own image, because its managers and leaders come from those who rose up the ranks of the same system.

The evolution of higher education in SADC

To understand higher education identity in the region, it is important to invoke an historical perspective to track how it was constituted and how it has changed over time. Identities, whether in education or politics, “like African languages, are inventions, mutually constitutive existential and epistemic constructions. Invention implies a history, a social process; it denaturalises cultural artifacts and practices, stripping them of primordial authenticity and essentialism” (Zeleza 2006:14). Hence the perspectival difficulties in dealing with the matter of identity for higher education in Southern Africa – it is difficult to keep a neat storyline. There are racial, representational, geographical and historical conceptions of identities in higher education in the region and to strike the balance of perspectives in all these areas can be very difficult.

The starting point is in understanding the difficulties in post-independence state formation in Southern Africa (and, indeed, on the rest of the continent). The crisis of internal fragility, both politically and economically, continues to define the process of state formation in the region (and on the continent), and higher education, as a public sector institution, remains tied to the vicissitudes of the state. The relationship between the state and the autonomy of higher education institutions (and universities in particular) has gone through phases which are important to understand in order to appreciate the identities for higher education in the region. Thandika Mkandawire (2005) is perhaps the only scholar who has examined this relationship extensively.

There are broadly four phases which have defined, conditioned and affected the identity of higher education institutions in Africa. The first phase began in the 1960s and lasted until the end of the 1970s. The context of the political economy during this period was one of development and nation-building. This period, broadly referred to as “the age of euphoria” (Mkandawire 2005:17), was characterised by a good relationship between intellectuals and the post-colonial state, higher education and government. There was remarkable expansion and funding at all levels of education. The relevance of higher education was largely in terms of providing governments with human resources for development and helping to indigenise the civil service. “And so the first wave of African intelligentsia was absorbed by the state and parastatal bureaucracies” (Mkandawire, 2005:23). Universities became “a national symbol of sovereignty as well as a yardstick of the state's commitment to fulfilling the people's aspirations for economic development”. As Mamdani puts it, “most colonies had no universities as they approached independence. When they became independent, just as sure as the national anthem, the national flag and the national currency, a national university too became an obligatory sign of real independence” (2009:209). In many countries in the region one university existed, and in some cases there was only one university to serve several countries, such as Makerere University in Kampala (Mamdani 2009), but potentially promising regional universities lost support in the general rush to set up national universities. States invested heavily in infrastructure and provided the financial support that university administrators, teachers and students needed for their work. This included “free education for students, who received stipends for books and social expenses, and social benefits such as housing and car allowances for teachers and top administrators” (Nzongola-Ntalaja 1977:10). Most university academics during this time accepted the modernisation paradigm, so African social and human sciences operated within this paradigm. Major schools of historical studies emerged during this period at the universities of Ibadan (Nigeria), Dakar (Senegal) and Dar-es-Salaam (Tanzania).

It is interesting to note that even during this period of enormous state support, very few scholars of international note emerged from the continent and especially from Southern Africa²⁰. This was because of the dominance of state-utilitarian views about the university, which dwarfed the development of critical scholarship.

Overall, even though there were some African scholars who maintained a critical distance and independence from the state, the dominant trend at institutional level was one of co-option into the post-colonial development project. The leadership and management of higher education institutions reproduced similar governance trends as those of the state and the originating institutions in metropolitan countries. “Most of the universities were modeled after similar institutions in metropolitan countries”, which makes true Frantz Fanon’s argument that the goal of anti-colonial nationalism was “quite simply to transfer into native hands those unfair advantages which are the legacy of colonialism” (Fanon 1966:152). If one employs the theoretical models suggested by Cornel West, one would say this period of the evolution of higher education in the region falls within the Booker T Temptation model, where the preoccupation is with the mainstream bourgeois liberal academic ideal. African universities and intellectuals wanted to prove their worth within the system rather than re-configuring the entire system. A number of universities in Southern Africa followed this model – the national university of Lesotho, the University of Botswana, the University of Swaziland and numerous universities in South Africa (where the 1960s and 1970s saw the ascendancy of “separate development”).

At least at the beginning, the state and the university sang from the same hymn book. The influences of leading African theoreticians of national liberation like Leopold Senghor, Cheikh Anta Diop, Kwame Nkrumah and Frantz Fanon were still fresh in the early post-colonial African state. As a result, the early African states could accept polemical elements of African scholarship which sought to discover the epistemological foundations of an African discourse (Mudimbe 1988:164).

The souring of the relationship started when the economies of post-colonial states began to be fragile, following the oil shocks of 1973 and 1979. The nationalist developmentalist project faced new sets of challenges, especially in the areas of the balance of payments, import substitution, democratisation of politics and the general economic health of their polities. As a result, African leaders, while talking on the one hand of a collective response and collective self-reliance (which marked the beginning of the idea of regional integration strategies, sealed through the Lagos Plan of Action in 1979), individually sought, on the other hand, assistance for their countries from Bretton Woods institutions and accepted

²⁰ Scholars of note in the region during the romantic period of state-university relationship included Ali Mazrui (Kenya), Ngugi wa Thiong’o (Kenya) and Archie Mafeje (an exile from South Africa).

structural adjustment programmes which made the 1980s a “lost decade” for the African continent. This generated heated debates in academic institutions and strained state-university relations. The universities had to cut down on staff and salary increases – they had to embark on various belt-tightening initiatives while the political elites continued their lavish lifestyles as if nothing had happened. The nation-building project of the early post-colonial period also ran aground as the few nationalists who remained in power during this period became tyrants and squandered the political trust and legitimacy they previously enjoyed. Military coups, one after another, became characteristic of post-colonial Africa, and “few of the men in uniform had the slightest idea of the role the nationalists had envisaged for the universities” (Mkandawire 2005:14).

As the post-colonial regimes experienced internal problems, as dictators took over the leadership of states and economic instability set in during the late 1970s, higher education institutions suffered economic and human resources constraints. Infrastructure became dilapidated and the brain drain, propelled by political push factors in African universities and economic pull factors in institutions abroad, began to hit hard. The effects of fragile economies and political processes affected higher education in very significant ways, and insufficient funding became a management nightmare for the leadership and managers of these institutions. Given the difficulties within both the state and the university, African scholars became greatly dependent on external grants and consultancies for research funds and personal income. “Consequently, they are very vulnerable to externally defined paradigms and research agendas” (Nzongolo-Ntalaja 1997:9). The world economic crisis and the pressure to democratise African states (which were increasingly authoritarian) deepened the financial crisis of African universities.

The positive side to the developments of the late 1970s which precipitated the end of the honeymoon between scholars and state power, was an escalation of the debate over the relationship between “excellence and the relevance of the African university” (Mkandawire 2005:23). This debate continued and became characteristic of the existential landscape of higher education in Africa.

The second phase began in the 1980s and continued until the beginning of the 1990s. The context of the political economy during this phase was one of structural adjustments and the ascendancy of authoritarian rule. The leadership styles in institutions of higher education tended to bear strong resemblances of this context. During this period things became worse for African higher education institutions. Their situation moved from political isolation and dilapidated infrastructure to one of squalor due to overcrowding and lack of maintenance. The dramatic expansion of secondary education, which created (and continues to create) an increasing demand for higher education, caused governments to fail – even with the best intentions – to provide the same levels of financial

support as in the past. The world economic crisis of the 1970s and the pressures to democratise authoritarian states deepened the financial crisis of African universities (Mkandawire 2005, Nzongola-Ntalaja 1997). “By depriving scholars of the capacity to lead a financially secure middle-class lifestyle and the ability to conduct serious research, governments have succeeded in making many of them willing collaborators” (Nzongola-Ntalaja 1997:11).

The lack of democratic ethos and conduct on the part of the state also affected the leadership and management of universities on the continent. The quality and performance of university administrators, virtually all of whom were scholars and intellectuals, declined. A growing politicisation of university administrations defined the character of leadership in these institutions, with people appointed to top positions on account of political loyalty rather than competence. Like state officials, most university authorities ran their campuses in authoritarian style, as though they were private domains (Nzongola-Ntalaja 1997). In some instances, to ensure full control, they also controlled appointments of deans and department heads so that only individuals in whom they had full confidence would hold these positions. Merit was thus relegated to secondary importance. Misuse of university property by officials, misappropriation of funds and serious flaws in the management of human, financial and material resources became rife in university life in Africa. The result of this mismanagement has been the breakdown of essential services and the death of vibrant intellectual cultures (Nzongola-Ntalaja 1997).

The second phase was the most painful for higher education in Africa and SADC was affected to varying degrees. In the 1980s an average of 23 000 qualified academics emigrated from Africa each year, and by 1995 the figure had risen to 50 000 a year (Zezeza 1998). But the period ended with a positive spin as unity among African scholars and universities against suppression of academic freedom (a major feature of this period) culminated in the Kampala Declaration, adopted by scholars from all over the continent at a major conference organised by the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) in 1990. This unity provided the next phase with a good starting point. A clear strategy which was emerging during this phase is what Cornel West (1994) calls the “Go It Alone Option”, which involved attempts by African scholars to shun the mainstream or the hegemonic establishment. As West (1994) argues, this route is difficult (if not impossible) to sustain, especially if the institutions are to grow and enter into a balanced relationship with the world. A good example of the “Go It Alone Option” was tried at the University of Dar-es-Salaam during this period. The decolonisation or Africanisation project at this university went beyond the superficial deracialisation of university leadership and management to a much deeper level of transformation of the intellectual discourse. This involved transformation of the curriculum across disciplines. “It was spearheaded by inter-disciplinary teams of academics who designed inter-

disciplinary courses meant to pioneer the study of development as part of a broader historical study of imperial expansion since the fifteenth century” (Mamdani 2009:2009). The intention was to undo the *problematique* of western discourse. But in the end this project failed as it put the university in direct confrontation with the state. The university’s reliance on the state as sole funder, while trying to be independent of that same funder, led to numerous confrontations, strikes and shutdowns (Mamdani 2009).

The second phase ended very bitterly in the case of the University of Lubumbashi in the Democratic Republic of Congo. The demands of academic independence from the state, the main funder of the university, were met with disdain by state-appointed university leadership. Ultimately, there was confrontation between the university academics and students with the coercive forces of government. Academic sessions were disrupted by state violence, the worst case of this being the May 1990 massacre of students by Mobutu’s death squads (Nzongola-Ntalaja 1997).

Then followed the third phase, a period of self-criticism and reflection, which began from the 1990s to early 2000. The period, according to Cornel West (1994), fits the model called “Talented Tenth Seduction”, a situation characterised by (among other things) group insularity, self-preservation and attempts to cope creatively within the university mainstream. The context of political economy during this period was dominated by the ascendancy of liberal democracy, economic liberalisation and corporatism, which affected management styles in business, the public sector and higher education. The period was gradually modified by the revival of renaissance scholarship. With each period, leadership and management styles adjusted and changed to fit in with the new tendencies of the state and the new policy landscape of government. The period of the 1990s, as Paul Zeleza (2003:101) puts it, “was one of bewildering extremes for Africa” as was represented by the miracle of South Africa’s peaceful liberation on the one hand and the genocide in Rwanda on the other. “The repertoire of responses by African intellectuals was wide-ranging, including self-criticism, withdrawal, re-engagement in democratic politics, participation in tribalistic politics and joining the guerrillas” (Mkandawire 2005:32). Issues which became key in reflections during this period (and which continue to be areas of concern about higher education in general on the continent) include the fact that the African university has served largely as a transmission belt for western high culture “rather than a workshop for the transfer of Western high-skills” in order to capacitate the much-needed productive techniques in the continent (Mazrui 1993:119). Mamdani added that these institutions have “nurtured researchers and educators who had little capacity to work in surrounding communities but who could move to any institution in any industrialised country and serve any privileged community around the globe with comparative ease” (1993:1,795). What tended to be the dominant feature of higher education (particularly in universities) was a fragmentation between being “usable” to the

“new democratic wave” of the 1990s (a situation where both basic and applied research in these institutions would start addressing key issues of democratic state formation) and managing a genuine autonomy that would ensure participatory involvement with society without defining themselves and their role only in relation to the state, as was the case during the first phase. This issue is not really resolved in the higher education sector in the region, so the relationship between the state and higher education institutions tends to vary from one institution to the other, beyond publicly known institutional frameworks.

What emerged as a challenge to African intellectuals and institutions in the region (and elsewhere on the continent) during this period was the “growing compradorisation of intellectual enterprise which came with greater compradorisation of the economy” (Mkandawire 2005:42). This emanated from economic liberalisation, which went hand in glove with the movement of liberal democratisation in the 1990s (starting with the independence of Namibia and then South Africa in 1994). There was then a dramatic rise of the consultancy industry and contract research initiatives, led largely by various “predominantly white intellectual” groups, in the case of South Africa and Namibia. The emphasis was on feasibility studies, impact assessments and evaluations, most of which were funded by international donors. The latter were increasingly mediating the relationship between intellectuals and government and were strongly influencing the new agenda of democratic development. During this phase, the notion of corporate governance increasingly became a more dominant approach to tertiary management. The rise of corporate governance in institutions of higher education inadvertently led to the decline of shared or consensual governance and promoted a strong tendency towards managerialism. This tendency continues to be dominant in the leadership, governance and management of many institutions in the region.

The strengths of this period were given prominence by the rise of new ideas about African renaissance and the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD) (which emphasises democratisation, accountability and human rights), and led to what may generally be referred to as the period of renaissance in African higher education – “a new era of pluralism and transparency” (Mazrui 2005), which confronts corporatist higher education institutions with fresh questions of representivity, deracialisation and democratisation, from 2000 onwards. This period has not ended, but its key features (reflected in higher education institutions in the region) include attempts to entrench the idea of African agency in development and an emphasis on regional integration. Higher education institutions in Africa seem to be locked in what Leon Tikly and Hillary Dachi call “a new regionalism movement” in African education, and the key feature of this is a concern with developing “regional identities” (2009:117). Of course Tikly and Dachi (2009) do not fully unpack the underlying (if not foundational) dynamic of the “new regionalism” and the character of its African tendencies. What one can observe is that

the new regionalism operates within a state-centric project, something which historically underlined the dilemmas of African higher education. The question is why is Africa, or at least SADC, shying away from the lessons of past experiences? This will probably be clearer when we examine the meaning and the problem of SADC. The period which continues up to now is characterised by a new striving. This is, in terms of Cornel West's models, the striving to be a "Critical Organic Catalyst". This is a striving to be attuned to the best of what the mainstream has to offer, but still maintain a strong grounding in the realities of African communities, to articulate their views, experiences and thoughts and also develop methodologies and strategies that best capture their knowledge.

In summary, all African countries have gone through the experiences reflected in these four periods in one way or the other: they have gone through the euphoria of independence, the post-euphoria realities of economic challenges (partly due to global circumstances, inept political leadership and bad policies); then reflection and rebuilding. The university tends to be affected by the vicissitudes of changes within the state and also by the character of political elites at the helm of government. The heavy reliance of universities in Southern Africa on government funding remains both a curse and a blessing, and it contributes to the difficulties of balancing relevance with scholarly excellence and independence.

The meaning of SADC

The evolution of what is now SADC can be traced back to consultations between African leaders of Tanzania, Zambia, former Zaire, Kenya, Uganda and Botswana (following the latter's independence) in 1966. The consultation led to the formulation of the Lusaka Manifesto in 1967 (Kondlo 2008) and evolved into a larger close-knit group after 1975, following the liberation of Mozambique and Angola and the emergence of the "frontline states". Liberation imperatives, anchored on pan-Africanist perspectives of African nationalism (as opposed to the civic nationalism of the post-independence period) were the driving force. The quest for a distinct regional organisation in Southern Africa and a distinctive regional identity was premised on the fight for national self-determination of African people. The radical content of commitments of forerunner structures of SADC set countries like Kenya, Zaire and Uganda wavering, and the three opted out of the processes long before SADC was formed. Towards the end of the 1970s, the activities of the frontline states went beyond the promotion of liberation and began to encompass issues of economic development, and in 1980 the Southern African Development Coordinating Conference (SADCC) emerged to address regional economic development.

The key tenets of the development approach which inspired SADCC were self-reliance, co-operation to rebuild shattered economies (of countries such as Zambia, Tanzania, Mozambique, Angola, Malawi, Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland) and

reduced dependence on South Africa and the imperialist powers. The problem was, from the outset, the reliance of SADCC on foreign donors and expert knowledge. As a result, African leaders modelled reforms of higher education sectors on the image of the former “masters” in metropolitan countries. Rather than encouraging the development of alternative paradigms in research, instead of fostering the decolonising methodologies and epistemic culture through sufficient funding and encouraging autonomous intellectual spaces, the state in Southern Africa continued along similar paths as the rest of Africa, where higher education institutions were used by ruling regimes as “ideological agencies of system maintenance” (Mkandawire 2005:29). The goal was to be like “them”, to compete with “them” or even to beat “them” at their own game.

The liberation of the entire region, following the negotiated settlement in South Africa, rounded off the character of SADC. This is now a region where the national liberation project is truncated by compromises made at the point of liberation. On the positive side, it is a region where most of the continent’s middle-income countries are concentrated, despite high levels of socio-economic inequality (especially in South Africa) and awkward democracies (such as in Swaziland, Zimbabwe and Botswana, where the president is known before elections). The legacy of colonialism and apartheid still shines the chains of the socio-economic subjugation of black people in the region, and higher education assists in the reproduction of the status quo as it is submerged and subjected to successive intellectual fashions born in the west. The energies of some scholars in the region are diverted towards the pursuit of peripheral problems such as the “global war on terror” (whose globe and which terror?). The real problem (and the real terror) is the spiritual subjugation of African people facilitated by education; the conquest of the African soul, not through the bullet but through the use of foreign languages (wa Thiong’o 1988). The “grounding of scientific knowledge in African realities”, the “regaining of African memory” and the “infusion of modernity with African cultural subjectivities” (wa Thiong’o 1988, Mkandawire 2005, Fanon 1966) are true priorities around which African scholars need to craft an integrated agenda which gives higher education in the region a positive identity. This should not be done in partnership with radical white scholars – it should not be racially exclusive, but it must appeal to a commitment to genuine liberation of knowledge to make it inclusive of diversity and to rid it of the dominance of western epistemic cultures. The problem is always where to start, and what it will cost, both financially and in terms of job security and opportunities.

The core of the problem in Southern Africa is well articulated by Dele Olowu, who argues that “the project of permanent white settler communities in most parts of the sub-region meant that a governance regime that would legitimise the inequalities associated with the colonial system had to evolve” (2003:7-8). This problem is more pronounced in the three former settler societies (South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia). “As is known, the

liberation struggle in all three countries was not so much against a colonial power but primarily against white settler racial oppression” (Mafeje undated:1). But liberation came in another form – as negotiated racial and class accommodation. Real power never changed hands. This has affected higher education transformation in the entire region, given that the economic survival of institutions such as universities is tied up with the state. Continuities with the past have dominated over discontinuities. The racial (and sometimes gender) composition of leadership and styles of management changed, but the language, power relations, institutional cultures and (most importantly) the nature of epistemology underlying the discourse, remained the same. Under these conditions, the “indigenisation of knowledge in Southern Africa” cannot be fully realised, and African scholars are too weak to unite and define for themselves a common programme which transcends the divisions of institutional affiliation and the colonially-defined boundaries which separate them.

Conclusion

One cannot define and identify higher education in the region outside the context of the state, society and the political economy of state formation. Forms of governance and leadership are also influenced by this context. The compromised nature of national liberation in the region has conditioned the identity of higher education in terms of leadership, management and governance. The resolution of political dimensions of colonialism and oppression without resolving the economic and (most importantly) social and epistemological dimensions, is also felt in the texture of higher education. Hence the question: “how much of colonialism remains in post-colonial higher education?” is imperative.

In many instances, higher education in the region is in cahoots with a particular dominant strand, i.e. English liberal hegemony, whose ideas still form the bedrock of dominant ideas in post-colonial societies. The English liberals have more intellectual capital and ideological influence than any other group. They are still the undisputed representatives of the international order in the region; they have the greatest and longest influence on the educational system in the region; “their political values have universalistic pretensions and enjoy supremacy in the region, as is shown by their general acceptance among what is considered to be more creditable black nationalists, i.e. those who fit into the liberal mode”; and they are the recognised custodians of western culture and civilisation, which is seen as the epitome of development globally (Mafeje undated:3). African higher education, both in terms of content and leadership, is not at war with the status quo but embraces it. Hence the content and orientation of academic knowledge produced in higher education institutions in the region is tinged and impressed with “this gross political

fact" (Said 2003:11) – the hegemony of the English and the dominance of permanent white settler communities in Southern Africa. This moulds the character, organisation and approach of higher education in the region. At the level of discourse, there are two key challenges: i) the re-establishment of indigenous social philosophical knowledge as a basis for engaging foreign intellectual fashions and impositions; ii) how to ensure balance and articulation between the local and universal knowledge without the dissipation of local and indigenous knowledge. One may also add how to deal with the fact that western knowledge constituted itself and now poses as the most advanced modern knowledge and therefore the measure against which all knowledge has to be judged – how should African scholarship in the region deal with this?

There is an underlying state-centric paradigm both in leadership and research in higher education institutions in the region. What happens at the level of the state affects higher education, but very rarely is the reverse true. One can hardly define the identity of higher education in the region without reference to the state. At the risk of producing too dogmatic a generalisation, one may argue that the identity of the higher education sector in the region is simple – it is an accomplice rather than an active opponent (or critic) of the project of a "deformed national liberation" now affecting the entire region. The liberation project in the region is "deformed" because political power, acquired through liberation struggles of the native majority, has not translated into socio-economic and knowledge power. The native intellectual, in a bid to be relevant, has allowed him- or herself to be "yoked with power" (Mkandawire 2005:2). These are intellectuals who cannot problematise government priorities, as if these priorities are sacrosanct, as if being relevant to "power and economic order" is the hallmark of education. This attests to the impossible balancing act that higher education institutions confront – trying to be relevant to the state; trying to be independent and critical of the state; and also trying to keep institutional coffers liquid. The dominant tendency is to try to be relevant to the state in order to secure fortunes in various areas.

The fragile character of the state in the region and a situation where national self-interests override multilateral interests, is a problem which makes regionalism ineffective both at political and educational levels. This attests to the character of the liberation project in Southern Africa, where many burning questions were shelved in order to reach settlements – the papering over the cracks which occurred during transitions to independence is the source of many problems. Liberation from colonialism and apartheid has not restored to the African people the anchors of "being African", and these anchors are in language and culture; they are in the restoration of connections between intellectuals and communities. This is what higher education in the region continues to miss – developing an epistemology which articulates the spirit and experience of the inclusive African self, without always seeking validation from the western epistemology. The groans and moans

and the hankering to be different which continue to weigh on the soul and spirit of SADC in the 21st century are shared by the higher education sector, hence the challenge of conceptualising its identity and the challenges it poses for leadership and governance. The soul (as the seat of power) and the spirit (as the will to transcend one's condition) are important metaphors in this instance. SADC is a region whose soul is depleted by new modes of subjugation – the colonisation of moral and spiritual spaces (Saddar 1998:13) – and it needs to change to realise its hope.

In the final analysis, questions around identities in higher education in the region are epiphenomenal reflections of a much deeper and underlying grid – a surrendered liberation struggle and a dis-articulated post-independence project due to the greed of African elites and the vice-like grip of global corporate interests. The solution is in the development of a new self-reflexive Afrocentricity and a new agenda of self-reliance, and this can start in the area of African languages.

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Chapter 5

Fostering a regional higher education identity in SADC

William Gumedde

In the Southern African Development Community (SADC), higher education will be crucial to foster a regional integration project that is based on the principles of democracy, participative citizenry, solidarity and inclusive economic development. Higher education is also crucial to forge a common regional identity, without which regional integration efforts will falter. Unless such a common regional identity is secured, it will be difficult to secure stakeholder participation across SADC for any regional initiative, whether for development or democratisation. “Collective identity is an essential variable in integration theory, since without changes in identity the most we can expect is behavioral cooperation, not community” (Wendt 1994).

This chapter analyses how higher education can help to foster a common regional identity, which is a pre-condition for building a more sustainable regional integration project. For higher education to play its role in fostering a broader regional identity, it also needs to foster a regional higher education identity. The chapter will analyse the role of higher education in securing a regional integration project that is centred on democratisation and economic development and then analyse the implications for higher education governance, leadership and management in the SADC region.

All states in SADC have higher education institutions. These are institutions of “shared learning”. This means that higher education institutions in the region are at the core of any project to secure common regional identity in SADC and are of cardinal importance for the success of a regional integration project. Higher education can play its role in the context of enhancing integration and building a common regional identity in one of two ways: it can be used as a tool to foster regional integration and identity either in its own right or by serving as a catalyst to help along the processes of identity formation and integration.

Traditionally, higher education institutions have played a crucial role in helping countries and regions to manage the complex challenges of changing societies, technology and the world. Higher education institutions have played an important role in “structuring the life and development of the community” (Jarab 2006:36) in other regional attempts at integration, such as Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the European Community. The challenge for SADC is to create a regional identity that is based on democratic values and inclusive economic development. Education is not only a vehicle for the transmission of values, but also reproduces values. The role of higher education in SADC should be to foster democratic values, be an active mediator in the discourse that seeks to advance these values and actively defend them.

Without economic or industrial development that is spread evenly – and not only to the benefit of narrow elites – efforts to foster a regional identity (and hence regional integration) will be undermined. Economic development in a region hinges not only on the “nature of a region’s historically embedded resources”, but also on the identity (industrial, cultural or political) that a region projects to internal and external audiences. Regional identities are based in “shared understandings, by both residents and external observers, about the salient features of life and work within a region” (Romanelli and Khessina 2005).

In our globalised world, knowledge has become the driving force of economic development. However, most developing countries (including countries in SADC) have an almost impossible catch-up game to play to acquire the kind of knowledge necessary for economic prosperity. Given its troubled history of colonialism, apartheid, the Cold War and internal upheavals, the SADC region falls among regions of the world that are considered “late developers”.

De Mello e Souza (2011:17) argues that “late developers” face considerable challenges in acquiring learning and applying technological innovations – a prerequisite for economic development. These challenges include weak financial markets and limited credit, inefficient regulatory institutions and insufficient funds for research and development promotion, higher costs of reproducing innovations as a result of the global protection of intellectual property rights, lack of human capital and poor educational systems and rampant corruption (De Mello e Souza 2011:17). Knowledge is produced to a large extent at higher education institutions.

Higher education is a catalyst narrowing the development gap and will have to do so in SADC as part of fostering a regional integration project which has equitable economic development as its pillar. This is essential if citizens are to identify with regional integration. Given the development gap in developing countries and the immediacy of their need

to become successful knowledge societies, the responsibilities of higher education institutions to spearhead the “development of sustainable and peaceful knowledge societies” (Barblan 2006:19), whose identities are based on the values of democracy, inclusive economic development, solidarity and social justice, are particularly urgent.

The wider societal role of higher education in building knowledge societies

The traditional role of higher education institutions is to be of service to society, through laying the basis of “sustainable employment, preparation for citizenship, personal development, (and) advancement of the knowledge base” (Jareb 2006:46). Perhaps the best description of the role of higher education, given the quest by most countries to become “knowledge societies”, is one that defines their role as including: “besides independent inquiry and free advancement of acquired knowledge (but also through these activities), steady contributions to developing social order and a sense of basic values in societies, cultivating of national identity as well as an open-minded understanding of international and universal merits, promotion of democratic citizenship and sensitivity to human and natural environment both locally and globally, setting of academic objectives, training for practical flexibility as well as teaching in critical thinking” (Jareb 2006:31).

Higher education institutions are also of service to their societies through “contributing to the solution of fundamental problems concerning the quality of life and by giving substance to a citizenship that is ethically based ... Thus universities (higher education) must teach, they must help produce technologies and create professional figures that are of use to the country. They must not only make a contribution to analyzing society in a critical way but also help solving its problems and improving its conditions” (Conference of Italian University Rectors 2011:4).

De Boer-Buquicchio (2006:172), the then Deputy General Secretary of the Council of Europe, addressing university leaders in that region, put the dual challenge for higher education institutions thus: How could higher education institutions “on the one hand ensure that universities (higher education) solve short-term problems in the societies of which they are part and on the other hand maintain sufficient distance to these societies to take a longer term view and work not only to solve short-term problems but also to solve fundamental concerns of societies – the concerns that define us as societies and human beings and not only as customers and economic actors?” Higher education institutions in SADC since independence have failed spectacularly in this broader societal role of solving the “fundamental concerns of societies”.

Higher education institutions in SADC have for most of this period either operated as “ivory towers”, standing aloof from the project of the overall development of SADC (or individual countries) or have merely followed the political leaders' often flawed dictates. After independence, southern African liberation movements became governments, and their leaders have failed to address the fundamental concerns of societies under their rule.

The social fabric of societies that come out of colonial and racial oppression or that wage liberation struggles or civil wars (as has been the case in SADC), is often brittle, and the concerns that define us as societies and as human beings are more pronounced. In the failure of the political leadership in SADC, higher education's leadership role has become even more significant. Higher education institutions in SADC will have to become developmental institutions integrally linked to their societies. To do so, higher education institutions in the region will have to move away from their focus on conducting research removed from societies they come from. Developmental higher education institutions should fully appreciate the needs of the communities, society and regions in which they reside. Higher education in SADC will have to foster the ideal of “learning as a process of personal development in active interaction with the social and cultural” and political world (Chisholm 2005:51). They should align their research to the social agenda of the region, while at the same time producing “relevant knowledge” (Neave quoted in Meira Soares 2000), boosting the region's development and democratisation while balancing this with the ideal of pursuing knowledge for its own sake.

Regional identity in SADC has been partially based on common experiences of colonial and racial oppression, a persistent colonial legacy of underdevelopment, continued ethnic divisions and limited (if any) democracies. Anti-colonial and anti-apartheid movements, once in government, have failed to move individual SADC nations (and the region) from a common identity based on this common negative experience towards a positive identity of quality democracies, inclusive societies and sustainable economies. Given the failure of liberation movements to take a lead on this (and the fact that they seem unlikely to come up with solutions to these problems in the immediate future), and given the urgency of finding solutions, higher education institutions will have to provide leadership in forging a new common identity for SADC.

Higher education identity in the context of regional integration

Conceptions of identity formation

Using identity as a tool to explain political and development processes, one is faced immediately with the complexity and possible ambiguity of the term, as well as a “plurality of definitions” (Baki 2009:2). Identity is mainly seen as a property of individuals and collectives that “expresses important features of self-definition and belongingness” (Romanelli and Khessina 2005). Brubaker and Cooper (2000) argue that identity could be understood as sameness among members of a group or category, where the sameness is either “in itself” or is experienced (or “felt” or “perceived”). Identity is a social construct²¹. It is a formal social category. It is not static, but an “experience in process” (Tomlinson 2005:22).

Identities can be looked at as self-definitions and external definitions, based on “specific differentiations: gender, sexuality, class, religion, race and ethnicity, nationality” (Tomlinson 2005:22). Social identities, for example, “are sets of meanings that an actor attributes to itself while taking the perspective of others” (McCall and Simmons 1978). Identity is multi-layered, multi-faceted and can overlap with other identities. One researcher refers to a “portfolio” of identities (Tomlinson 2005:22). Often identity is “non-territorial and non-geographical” (Mundy 2005:47) and may be more a community of interest – professional, social or sexual (Mundy 2005:47).

Identity has increasingly emerged as an attribute of organisations and other social entities (Albert and Whetten 1985). In this view, identity does not only come “from the personal identifications of individuals, which affect their perceptions of similarity or membership in groups, organisations or other social entities, but also from the shared understandings of audiences, especially external audiences, about key features of the social entities” (Romanelli and Khessina 2005). Such external audiences, in their interaction with members of an organisation or entity, “develop shared understandings about the key features of the entity through direct sharing of information or common exposure to information and the perceptions of other observers” (Romanelli and Khessina 2005). Such understandings have been described as a “social code” that identifies the key features of the members of the organisation or social entity (Polos et al. 2002).

²¹ Social constructivists take a more sociological (rather than economic) view on identity, arguing that identity is a social construct, forged by the environment, norms, ideas and values (Wendt 1999, Devetak 2007). These elements are not rigid, but are flexible and changeable; they are constructed by perceptions, imaginations and social constructions.

The formation of national identity

Ideas on collective identity have played a large role in explaining the formation of national identities. Works on collective identity have largely developed within the context of nation-building or the formation of national identity. In this context the units being collected are the “different racial, social and cultural groups within the boundaries of a nation-state” (Baki 2009:2). A nation is a prime example of collective identity²², which Melucci (1989, cited in Montserrat 1996:7) defined as “an interactive and shared definition produced by several interacting individuals who are concerned with the orientations of their actions as well as the field of opportunities and constraints in which their actions take place”.

National identity involves some shared social and cultural practices, certain historical memories, sometimes collective grievances and pride (Hadjipavlou 2005). Guibernau (2007) described national identity as having five dimensions – psychological, cultural, territorial, historical and political. Each of these dimensions can be interrogated by looking at the level of collective sharing (psychological– shared consciousness; cultural – shared values, beliefs, habits, conventions, customs and practices; territorial – shared areas and boundaries; historical – shared history and experience; political – shared political equity, membership, participation and allegiance.

Gellner (1983) has described national identity as a response to industrialisation and the feeling of rootlessness that came with it, as people were often dislocated from their areas of origin and their identities were starting to be less pre-determined on the basis of past social roles. A sense of belonging therefore “interrelated with membership of a political community that seems to offer protection against an internal threat” (Clarke 1996:xi) is therefore a key component of national identity. A sense of national identity among citizens is not purely based on emotional factors, but is also strongly functional; identification with the nation-state depends on it “fulfilling the basic requirements of security and welfare” (Flynn 1995:235-6).

National identities are institutionalised through various forms of political socialisation, whether through constructing myths of origin, establishing institutions or reinforcing certain types of behaviour, rules and customs (March and Olsen 1998:7). Foreign policy also plays an important role in the socio-political imagining of collective identity (Anderson 1991). Norms, values and beliefs influence foreign policy²³. “Ideas about who ‘we’ are

²² Collective identities can be classified beyond the traditional European dichotomy of “national”. Spohn and Ichijo (1998) outlined five dimensions of collective identity: ethnic-territorial, religious-cultural, socio-economic, political-legal and political-military.

²³ Domestic sources of foreign policy (whether social, political, cultural or economic) may change. The state itself is made up of diverse social groups with different interests and identities – depending on which group dominates, this may influence the domestic dynamic, and hence the foreign policy outlook. Furthermore, not everyone in a society supports its policies and institutions all the time, or sees national identity in the same way (Aggestam 1999). Historical myths may be contested by different groups in society. There may also be “credibility gaps” in interpretations of historical myths and meanings, as is the case in South Africa, and was the case for Germany after the Second World War (Aggestam 1999).

serve as a guide to political action and basic world views” (Aggestam 1999:42-3) and changes in national identity may alter foreign policy (Bloom 1990).

National identity has been increasingly associated with economic success. Many East Asian countries have since the Second World War dramatically transformed themselves from poor to highly industrialised states. Outsiders associate these states with economic success, and citizens of these states self-identify their states as based on economic success, calling themselves “Asian Tigers”. Similarly, the new developing countries (such as Brazil, India and China) are increasingly identified by outsiders and themselves on the basis of their economic success. These countries are identified as emerging markets, and their economic success has now been interwoven into their national identity (in the same way that national identity can be based on success in sport).

International relations scholars, basing their arguments on critical, reflectivist and constructivist elements, take a more sociological approach to the construction of national identities (Keohane 1988). Using an international relations framework, Goff and Dunn (2004) identified four key features of identity – alterity, fluidity, constructedness and multiplicity. They argue that alterity points to the relational nature of identity, with the “self” defined in relation to an “other”. In their scheme, fluidity refers to the evolving nature of identity, constructedness to the idea that identities are socially constructed and multiplicity to the multiple nature of identity.

Whatever their theoretical approach to identity, most scholars put emphasis on the idea of the “nation” as a flexible social construction which is changeable (Hobsbawm 1992). Importantly, identities can be conceived as both social process and political project (Katzenstein 1996). Ignatieff (1998:18) puts it succinctly: “National identity is not fixed or stable: it is a continuing exercise in the fabrication of illusion and the elaboration of convenient fables about ‘who we are’”. This means that it is possible to create new patterns of identification (Baki 2009). Finally, identities are central determinants of state behaviour. Katzenstein (1996) argues that changes in state identity may affect national interests and state policies directly. He points to the importance of socially constructed shared norms, culture²⁴ and values in the forging of identities (Katzenstein 1996). Brubaker and Cooper (2000) argue that identity can be the basis for the collective solidarity that makes collective action possible.

²² Throughout this chapter, the definition of culture is based on Vertzberger (1990:267). Vertzberger defines culture as “... a unified set of ideas that are shared by the members of a society and that establish a set of shared premises, values, expectations, and action predispositions among the members of the nation that as a whole constitutes the national style”.

Collective identity at supra-national levels

Researchers have mulled over how to resolve the collective action problem: how to “socialise” states to cooperate with other states in an international community. Those of the realist school in international relations have taken a materialist line, arguing that “power and human nature preclude significant cooperation” between states (Wendt 1994:384). Realists have argued that states are by nature self-interested and thus could never form collective identities, because they would not be interested in advancing the welfare of other states (Baki 2009). Idealists, on the other hand, have argued that co-operation is possible, with significant knowledge of each other and appropriate institutions (Wendt 1994).

Rationalists have based their arguments on Olsen’s (1965) thesis which takes self-interest as given, but looks at the kind of incentives that can be provided to persuade individuals or states to co-operate. Scholars using the constructivist approach reacted to neo-liberalism and neo-realism, making a case for the creation of regional communities to foster security and peace (Sudo 2002, Acharya 2001). Collective identity is a pillar of integration theory of the constructivist school.

Integration theorists argue that collective identification is crucial in creating a supra-national community (Deutsch et al. 1957). Collective identity makes collective “social or political action” possible (Brubaker and Cooper 2000). They argue that collective identity has the ability to induce actors (in this case states) to define each other’s welfare as part of their own welfare. Wendt (1994) argues that “interests are dependent on identities”. Katzenstein (1996) in turn argues that changes in state identities affect national interests and subsequently policies. The construction of collective identity helps to provide the “we-feeling”, a sense of solidarity and community which is crucial for any regional integration project to succeed.

Abad (2007), a director at the ASEAN Secretariat in Jakarta, argues that “social construction, in the form of (regional) identity and community building, is a far better way of promoting peace, stability and cooperation”, than approaches “such as the pre-occupation with balance of power or strategic equilibrium” (Abad 2007). In the context of Southern Africa, regional integration is obviously beneficial because countries “can pursue their social and economic development aspirations without their survival, independence and well-being being threatened by anyone” (Abad 2007) in or outside the neighbourhood.

What are the factors, actors, practices, processes and institutions at the heart of regional collective identity construction? Regions, which are more complex social entities, “acquire and maintain identities based on the degree to which both internal and external audiences develop shared understandings about the key features of life and work in a region” (Romanelli and Khessina 2005). Residents and non-residents could, for example,

through their shared understandings of the key features of life and work in a region, respond in similar ways, through either moving their investments there or relocating there, in order to secure the perceived benefits of the opportunities in the region. “Regional identity influences the developmental capacities of regions through informing the understandings of observers and directing their geographic targets of investment” (Romanelli and Khessina 2005).

Regions, such as SADC consist of multiple types of social and business activity and can (through political and economic agreements) transcend economic, political and physical boundaries. Regions may also be characterised in terms of “cultural, political and industrial characteristics”. Although the emphasis traditionally has been on external characterisations of a region, “the process of identity formation often starts with socially negotiated agreements” among individual countries who want to construct a supra-national identity. SADC is an example of such a negotiated regional identity construct (Romanelli and Khessina 2005).

Much of the literature on the formation of regional identity (especially those publications under the aegis of “new regionalism”) has looked primarily at economic integration, generally based on the premise that economic factors drive regionalism. Regional collective identity formation should be seen on three levels: as a social process, as economic development and as a political project. Seen as a social process, “identities flow through multiple networks and create new patterns of identification” (Baki 2009). Some researchers argue that “positive identification and interaction between the members (of a regional body) would lead” to a positive “we-feeling” (Aggestam 1999). Deutsch et al. (1957) argue that different social-communicative processes between states may affect their identities and interests. High levels of interaction encourage “we-feeling” and common identity. The “mutual responsiveness and compatibility may... make possible new repertoires of action and behavior” (Aggestam 1999). Indeed, collective identity can form because of increased interactions (Buzan 1993) between states, for example through increased trade or capital flows (Wendt 1994).

A prerequisite then for a durable regional community is for member states to interact with each other, to socialise and cooperate with each other. Common regional institutions help to foster a sense of regional identity. The act of carrying out common decisions, voting in unison in international fora and so on (and the expectation by member states of the same regional grouping that they should vote as a collective and take common positions), in turn helps to foster the forces of regional identity and integration (Aggestam 1999). Community building at the inter-state level, where “cooperation in social and cultural spheres creates positive mutual perceptions, makes people identify with each other and addresses potential irritants among neighbouring states with adjacent borders and resources” (Abad 2007).

In some regions, leaders have tried to use symbols (such as a common regional flag, as in the case of ASEAN) or common currency (the European Union is one example) to forge regional identity and to help construct feelings of community. Individual leaders can attempt to foster a common regional identity and integration through speeches, documents and statements, but it is important that promoters of regional integration frame it to the broader public not as a threat to their national identity, but as an “enhancement of multiple identities” (Bull 1977).

Building “mutual understanding among the people” (Abad 2007) is core to regional identity formation. Fostering people-to-people solidarity has been a key element of most successful regional identity formation initiatives. Trust is crucial in the “development of common definitions of problems and appropriate actions” (March and Olsen 1998).

Regional identity can also be fostered by the establishment of common economic development projects, common policies on specific issues, free trade zones or allowing the free movement of people. Such common economic development projects must be seen as beneficial by both the elites and the ordinary citizens.

Another approach has been for countries in a region to create security communities, an argument that was first made by Deutsch (1953). He conceptualised a “security community” as “transnational regional in which the positive identification and interaction between members would lead to a decline of military force and a rise in the expectancy of peaceful relations”. This approach only became influential at the end of the 1980s, following the end of the Cold War (Sudo 2002, Acharya 2001). SADC, the European Union and ASEAN were all examples of this. Many projects of regional integration have been on the basis of how to avoid the recurrence of war and how to establish permanent peace (Acharya 2001).

Collective identity is also formed in relation to a common “other”, whether potential environmental disaster or threats of invasion by others or just the threat of a nearby big power. The emergence of what Wendt (1994) calls a “common other” may increase the incentive to identify with other states.

Lasting regional identity is built on specific norms and values. An important ingredient for collective identity is for social learning to take place, where the different “actors involved begin to reassess their fundamental beliefs and values” (Aggestam 1999). In this process, states embrace a common new set of values and norms agreed upon by the collective. Acharya (2005) argues that the creation of new identities based on new norms, values and cultures in a region, in themselves promote regional order.

Regional identity formation in SADC

It will be crucial for SADC to create a collective identity for the regional integration project to succeed. The region will have to Southern Africanise on the basis of democracy and inclusive economic development. Such Southern Africanisation could refer to “processes of (a) construction, (b) diffusion and (c) institutionalisation of formal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, ways of doing things and shared beliefs and norms which are first defined and consolidated in the making of (SADC) decisions and then incorporated in the logic of domestic discourses, identities, political structures and public policies”²⁵. Clearly, SADC is far from this scenario.

Many of the divisions and separations imposed by colonial rule and apartheid still remain. Groups of countries in the region were colonised by different colonial powers – Britain, Portugal, France and Belgium. Institutions (including those involved in higher education) were modelled on those in the “mother country” and moulded in the distinct “mother country” identity. Like elsewhere on the continent, most SADC countries were carved up arbitrarily by colonial powers, with national borders running through existing communities.

Many of the region’s peoples have interacted for centuries. During the colonial and apartheid periods, migrant work was common, with many of the region’s men either voluntarily or forcibly recruited to work on mines in South Africa. The interaction between the peoples of the region before and during colonialism and apartheid means that, despite their many differences, most SADC cultures overlap substantially. The basis of collective regional identity is their “interconnected differences”.

SADC was initially set up as a security community to protect members against apartheid South Africa and to create alternative economic development options separate from South Africa. Not all regional countries were then members. Some rallied behind apartheid South Africa or stayed neutral. At the core of the anti-apartheid regional community were countries led by radical liberation movements. Within these core countries new political identities were formed that in some cases transcended the colonial country’s political identities. Members of the South African Customs Union were locked into South Africa’s economic and political ambit. When SADC was constituted these political differences ran deep. This legacy has meant that, on occasion, members of SADC still see their common collective identity as being against South Africa.

Individual SADC leaders have tried to create a sense of solidarity and community for the regional integration project by agitating for it in speeches, documents and statements.

²⁵ This is based on Radaelli’s (2000) definition of Europeanisation.

Linked to that, regional leaders have often rhetorically attacked big powers, former colonisers and “imperialists” as opponents of the region – as part of a “them against us” narrative, aimed at fostering a common regional identity, replacing apartheid South Africa as common enemy against whom the region should defend itself. In this narrative of “us” (SADC) and “them” (former colonisers and imperialists), the idea of a regional identity based on democracy has been severely undermined, as SADC leaders regularly band together to protect local autocrats or to dismiss outside criticism of undemocratic behaviour.

SADC leaders and political elites have attempted to forge a common regional identity through regular meetings, voting as a collective and socialising as a collective. Member states expect each other to carry out decisions, vote in international fora, and so on, as part of SADC. Such expectation (and performance) helps to further foster the forces of regional identity and integration (Aggestam 1999).

SADC institutions have adopted policies and attempted to harmonise individual country policies to these, but so far, collective identity through regional policies has had uneven success. Individual countries routinely ignore implementing policies that they themselves voted for. For example, most of the SADC regional policies talk about “constitutionality”, “gender equality” and “human rights”, yet individual governments regularly ignore these concepts. Although transparency, press freedom and openness are ostensibly SADC policies, almost every country in SADC has secrecy laws that date from the colonial era, which set high penalties for individual journalists and activists who blow the whistle on official wrong-doing (Gumede 2011).

The challenge for SADC has been that the process of regional integration has so far produced uneven behavioural co-operation between states – this is the case even between the national elites who have mainly driven regional integration so far – resulting in an uneven sense of community and solidarity between both states and communities within the region. Progress on collective action has been minimal. The region has had no uniform and mutually beneficial policy towards interacting with outside powers and no common foreign policy.

China picks and chooses its policies for different member countries – buying off individual leaders, to prevent a united SADC response. SADC countries are divided on how to respond to the European Union, with some countries rejecting EPAs and others embracing them (for self-preservation). A common response from SADC would have made it difficult for the EU to punish those not signing or to play countries off against each other. A common response to other regional problems (such as the HIV and AIDS crisis or the devastating impact of the global financial crisis) has been lacking. Individual countries often do not vote according to SADC agreements in international fora, but according to their individual interests.

SADC leaders remain preoccupied with the idea of national sovereignty, the so-called “non-interference” principle, which effectively means that SADC cannot intervene in member states when they rule badly. As a result SADC cannot effectively deal with problems such as undemocratic behaviour, corruption or human rights violations by member states, even though domestic strife in one country threatens the stability and well-being of the whole region. SADC often operates using the lowest common denominator approach, which results in inertia in decision-making. Unless, SADC moves away from the national sovereignty model, towards one that is more collectively beneficial, progress on regional integration (Hill and Wallace 1996), peace and development will remain a distant dream.

A regional identity will only be possible if insiders perceive some benefits and if outsiders see this. In order to entrench regional integration, there must be a significant degree of trust among member states (Adler and Barnett 1998). The depth of mistrust between member states in SADC is high, and co-operation between states has not been institutionalised.

SADC’s principle of independently seeking regional solutions to regional problems has had limited success. SADC could not stop members from fighting a proxy war in the DRC in the late 1990s, although military conflict between countries in the region is not as prevalent as in the past, and the use of force to settle disputes is less frequent.

SADC’s regional integration was initially started as a political process through the formation of a security community, at the heart of which is the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation, which was supposed to play “a vanguard role” in promoting peace and stability. Although SADC signed a mutual defence pact in 2004, the organ has fostered a regional identity based on the defence of human rights abuses.

Apart from the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation, seven regional institutions have so far been created:

- Summit of Heads of State and Government
- SADC Tribunal
- Council of Ministers
- Sectoral/Cluster Ministerial Committees
- SADC Secretariat
- Standing Committee of Senior Officials
- SADC National Committees.

In these regional institutions, elites of the member states interact and socialise, and a sense of community and identity is supposed to develop. Most of these institutions have

ended up as jobs-for-pals networks. They are ineffective talk-shops that have little popular legitimacy (let alone participation), and this has undermined the formation of a common regional identity.

Some leaders have attempted to build “a regional awareness and fostering mutual understanding among the people” (Abad 2007:3) of SADC, but this process has been uneven, and the development of “we-feelings” among the general populace of SADC has been even more uneven. The xenophobic attacks against Africans in South Africa in 2007 are a case in point. “We-feelings” appear to be restricted to political leaders, who express solidarity primarily by supporting each other’s undemocratic behaviour. Any regional identity appears to have been at the level of the elite and not at the grassroots level.

There is an absence of shared values among SADC member states. Members range from absolute monarchies run along despotic lines (such as Swaziland) to reasonably well-functioning democracies (such as Mauritius). This lack of shared values (specifically shared democratic values) undermines co-operation between the member states. Regional dictators are happily in power, looting their countries and clobbering their citizens, while SADC remains conspicuously silent. It is clear that the governance system of SADC has not yet been institutionalised. Regional institutions have not been fully stabilised, with individual leaders often (as in the case of the security organ) using them for self-interest.

Instilling democratic values in SADC must certainly rank as the least successful aspect of regional integration. The domination of SADC institutions by undemocratic leaders has on occasion created the perception of a regional identity characterised by undemocracy. “Social learning” (Aggestam’s reassessment of “fundamental beliefs and values”) appears not to have happened to any great extent among the political leadership of SADC. The region does have a core of democratic governments – South Africa, Botswana and Mauritius – but the “fundamental beliefs and values” of non-democratic governments appear to dominate the political culture of SADC.

If regional integration is to be a success, democratic values will have to underpin regional identity construction. Most of SADC’s liberation movements have been dominated by military wings. As a result the undemocratic political culture in individual SADC countries has spilled over into SADC.

Regional institutions in SADC will only “generate their stabilizing properties” once leaders consistently adopt democratic roles and behaviours, and the expectation of democratic behaviour is generated among all leaders (Barnett 1993). Any regional identity initiative must go beyond elites and limited leadership circles to include ordinary citizens. It needs to be based on the common values, norms and political culture of democracy. Crafting

an inclusive regional identity for SADC will be at the heart of any effective attempts at regional integration.

Finally, regional integration will not be successful, unless it “makes a positive impact on the lives” (Abad 2007:2) of citizens. Economic prosperity that is spread across the region will certainly “reinforce a sense of community” (Abad 2007:3) and regional identity. Not much economic development trickles down to ordinary citizens. The challenge for SADC is to narrow the “development gap” (Abad 2007) within and between individual states. Just as the extreme variations in development between ASEAN member countries undermined regional integration there (Abad 2007), wealth in SADC varies from relatively better-off (South Africa, Mauritius and Botswana) to very poor (Lesotho and Swaziland).

Regional identity has been fostered by the establishment of common regional economic development projects (such as the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park which includes South Africa, Mozambique and Zimbabwe), stated ambitions to set up a free trade area, a regional energy pool, infrastructure development corridors and proposals to allow for the free movement of labour between countries, but many common regional economic development projects have been hamstrung by disagreements between individual countries or their leaders. Travel between countries remains cumbersome. The movement of labour between countries is restricted, and the movement of goods is obstructed by red tape. There has been no attempt to create a common industrial policy.

As a political project, political leaders, elites and regional institutions have attempted to foster a sense of regional identity and integration through a “top-down” process (Baki 2009). Political leaders have attempted to communicate the merits of regional integration to their citizens and to external audiences, but crafting a more bottom-up regional identity has rarely been on the official agenda. Non-governmental groups, civil society, organised business, labour or communities have generally been on the margins of decision-making. Not much progress has been made in the development of “we-feelings” among ordinary citizens and communities in the region (Sudo 2002, Acharya 2001).

Among the core challenges for the SADC region is to turn the negotiated regional identity that has been constructed into a thriving industrial development and democratic identity. Human security – fostered by both democracy and economic development at domestic level in each SADC member state – will provide a strong foundation for stability and harmony, not only for individual states but also at regional level. These challenges undermine not only the formation of a more sustainable common SADC regional identity, but also undermine the kind of regional identity formed.

Instead of a regional identity that is based on democracy and inclusiveness, an identity based on the negativity of exclusion, human rights abuses and ethnic division has

taken root in significant parts of SADC. Economic development has largely taken place along lines that benefit small elites rather than a wider majority. Only inclusive economic prosperity across the region will promote a common sense of identity in individual countries and on a regional level.

Regional identity and democratisation

National identities in the context of diverse societies

Most SADC countries have had to build national identities within the context of ethnically, culturally and linguistically diverse societies with politically divided pasts. The diversity bequeathed by colonialism and apartheid means that nationhood in most SADC countries cannot but be a “layered”, plural and inclusive one, involving “self-enforced communities, always potentially – and in the absence of the (colonial or apartheid) state, actually – in gruesome conflict with one another” (Khilnani 1999).

Centuries of colonialism and apartheid have meant that SADC country cultures are not “gated communities” with fixed borders, but more often than not overlap considerably (Khilnani 1999). National identity in individual SADC countries is one of “interconnected differences”. The challenge for individual SADC countries is how to build a common identity on the basis of their ‘interconnected differences’. The fact that individual SADC countries are so ethnically, culturally and linguistically diverse should be a central plank of the unique national identity of each country, and the multiple identities of individual SADC countries should be the basis of their shared nationhood. At the same time, the basis of SADC’s regional identity must also be based on multiple identities, which may be diverse, but which are also “interconnected”.

The fact that most SADC countries are so diverse means that common national identities will have to be based on a political construct. Such political constructs would be based on democratic constitutions, values, rules and political culture. This common national identity would have to be woven around the idea of an inclusive democracy, which means that the conduct of political leaders, institutions and cultures must also be based on democratic values. Such political constructs will have to be continuously reinforced by leaders, parties and institutions consistently and actively upholding a democratic political culture. Common national identity is unlikely to come by decree, by good intentions or by public statements.

This also means that political leaders and parties must govern inclusively at all times; they cannot favour one ethnic, language or regional grouping over another. Many regional leaders and parties have stayed in power by playing off ethnic groups against each other.

Some have based their rule on favouring one ethnic group, faction or regional grouping over others, either through appointments in the civil service, government tenders or business licences, or through selected development of areas and people allied to particular ethnic groups, political factions or favoured regions. Economic development will have to lift people out of poverty across the ethnic, political and regional divide, not only enriching the elite (which has been the case in all SADC countries, with the possible exception of Mauritius and Botswana). If the poor majority in SADC countries remain poor while small elites become fabulously prosperous, an inclusive collective identity is unlikely to take hold.

Since democracy should be at the heart of individual national identities, undermining democracy necessarily undermines the formation of a common collective identity. Because collective identity in individual SADC countries will be based on the idea of a political construct, there are some obvious pitfalls. A democratic identity necessitates widespread public trust in the democratic system, institutions and the state itself. Democratic institutions (such as the courts, the media, civil society and higher education institutions) are critical watchdogs to ensure that the values of democracy are lived out in everyday routines. Some of the liberation movements now in government have ruled by manipulating institutions that were supposed to advance democracy (such as the judiciary, elections and constitutions). This has undermined the idea of a national identity based on “interconnected differences”.

A democratic state is central to building a collective national identity based on democracy. The democratic state and its related institutions are central unifying symbols around which diverse citizens can rally. The legitimacy of the state in SADC countries will hinge on whether it delivers public services fairly to all its citizens. A combination of lack of delivery, a non-democratic state and the perceptions that only a few elites connected to the top ruling party leaders benefit will erode the legitimacy of the state as a common symbol of national identity. Absolute loyalty must not be to a party, leader or tribe, but to democratic constitutions.

Another prerequisite is for the talents of all citizens (and not only those of the same colour, party or faction) to be used. Otherwise too many people are left marginalised or excluded. Seeking exclusive definitions of who is an African undermines national and regional identity formation.

SADC leaders will have to govern more democratically and follow the rules applicable to everyone else. Public corruption that appears to go without punishment (or with selective punishment) undermines the legitimacy and credibility of governments.

Common national identities in SADC countries will have to be built as a mosaic of the best elements of societies' diverse past and present, histories and cultures. This does not mean committing cultural suicide, but cultures must be practiced in such a way that they do not conflict with democratic values, human dignity and respect for others. Democracy must always trump cultural practices. For example, individual cultures cannot undermine gender equality.

Effective, equitable public services are one of the key institutions which could unify diverse nations. This means that public services in SADC countries will have to be effective and professional, and appointments based on merit. Where affirmative action is necessary, it will have to be scrupulously fair and done in such a way that there is a clear endpoint. This has rarely been the case in SADC countries, where public services have been used as platforms to bestow patronage, undermining effective public service delivery. An effective public service, where individuals are fairly appointed, can serve as a pillar around which diverse societies can rally.

Freedom of expression is also critical. Tolerance for differences (whether ethnic, cultural or differences of opinion) is crucial in diverse societies – in fact it may be the glue that holds such societies together. Unfortunately, a defining aspect of SADC's post-independence period is that most ruling parties and leaders have been highly intolerant of differences. Higher education institutions – many of whom were highly critical of the human rights abuses under colonial and apartheid rule – have in the post-independence dispensation been silent in the face of autocratic, corrupt and incompetent ruling parties and leaders.

It is crucial for higher education institutions in SADC to have the autonomy to dissent. Autonomous higher education institutions that can and do express dissent when they perceive wrongdoing deepen democracy and open the space for others to do so also. It has been argued that "the active presence of various autonomous bodies enhances democracy in society and the level of citizens' participation, thus reducing the risk of authoritarian tendencies", and that freedom and autonomy of higher education should be seen as a universal value that is "one of the fundamental elements for social existence", whether for institutions or individuals (Berlinguer 2006)²⁶. Depriving higher education institutions of freedom (as has been the case in most SADC countries since independence) deprives them "of their significance and destroy[s] their creative capacity" (Berlinguer 2006).

Higher education institutions have a "uniting function" (Jarab 2006) in diverse societies. Carducci (2006) has provided a powerful example of how higher education institutions played a key role in forging a new united Italy from a "diverse past, that shared a culture

²⁶ Sen (1999) has strongly made this argument of freedom as a universal value.

disseminated by one institution similar all over the provinces of the peninsula, the university” (quoted in Jarab 2006). All citizens of a country should have access to higher education, and higher education institutions are one of the places where all groups in a diverse society converge to acquire new knowledge. At such institutions representatives of divergent communities form one common community – they offer living examples of unified communities formed out of diverse backgrounds, which could be replicated in broader national and regional terms.

Economic development, if it is done in an inclusive way, could itself unite the region. Successful economic development after the Second World War became part of the national identity of many East Asian nations, with both citizens and outsiders viewing successful economic development as core to the country’s collective identity. Building sustainable democracies, if pursued genuinely in individual countries, will also in itself be a binding agent and foster national collective identities among diverse nations.

Individual states will have to focus on economic development, progressive social welfare and justice if they want to build greater social harmony, a sense of belonging and a common identity. Solidarity for the vulnerable must cut across the ethnic and political divisions, and social justice must underpin governing. At the heart of any economic development must be policies that genuinely uplift not only the poor, but the widest number of people at the same time.

Finally, this model of a common identity based on a political construct (underpinned by a common security community for all within the boundaries of a nation, inclusive economic development, public services and delivery and sustainable democracies) must also be extended to the regional level. SADC itself, in its diversity, is a reflection of the diverse individual nations of the region.

The role of higher education in democratisation

Rodolfo Severino (2006), the former General Secretary of ASEAN, once said about the Southeast Asian grouping that a “sense of regional identity will not be possible unless it is based on some common values” (Severino 2006). Clearly, the challenge for SADC is how to create a regional common identity based on democratic values. As argued earlier on, the domination of SADC by undemocratic leaders and undemocratic states since its inception has created a regional identity to insiders as well as outsiders of SADC as a regional grouping that may in rhetoric claim to operate on democratic principles, but which in reality operates on an undemocratic basis.

A regional identity that is based on the values of democracy is the most sustainable way to build an inclusive common regional identity for SADC groups, based on the “interconnected differences” of the member states. The regional governance system of SADC itself will have

to be built on genuinely democratic principles, solidarity and inclusion, and individual SADC countries will need to be governed along these democratic lines also. Ordinary citizens will have to be more closely involved in regional integration processes.

What will be the role of higher education in fostering this ideal of a democratic regional identity for SADC? So far, higher education institutions have not been seen by regional leaders as regional institutions on a par with SADC institutions (such as the SADC Secretariat). At places of higher education citizens interact, socialise and learn together. This should make higher education institutions ideal places to foster a common regional identity, solidarity and community based on democratic values.

Higher education institutions are sites of education for “democratic citizenship” (Virgilo, former Rector of Lisbon University, quoted in Jarab 2006). They should be “giving substance to a citizenship that is ethically based” (Conference of Italian University Rectors 2004). Citizens in SADC have often not engaged with the political structures of society, in part because ruling parties and leaders have discouraged such engagement through autocratic and self-interested behaviour. Producing graduates who are both engaged and critical thinkers is crucial for the region’s democratisation and development.

One of the challenges in SADC countries is that citizens are not always informed, which undermines their participation in public life. Higher education institutions play a crucial role, fostering an informed cadre of citizens who can play an active role in civil life. Higher education can be a “catalyst of changed individual and collective self-understandings” (Jarab 2006) and can take the lead in questioning “received values” (Sen 1999) which are undemocratic. Higher education institutions will, for example, have to change the “received values” by which women are discriminated against, often under the aegis of “culture”.

Higher education institutions often train the decision-makers who “define the ways of social behaviour” (Barblan in Jarab 2006) of citizens. In most SADC countries, leaders and elites have at times behaved appallingly, going on luxury spending sprees in western capitals while ordinary citizens live in grinding poverty. SADC higher education institutions will have to produce graduates who are more socially conscious, with a greater sense of public duty, empathy and solidarity with society’s vulnerable and disadvantaged.

Higher education must be the place where democratic values are lived, practiced and promoted – it must be a vehicle for the transmission of values (Chisholm 2005:51). Higher education institutions in SADC must pro-actively transmit democratic values, rather than just producing individuals with degrees of competency. Higher education will have to produce critical minds and graduates who have the ability to self-reflect and self-criticise (Hadjipavlou 2005).

Higher education institutions play a critical role in building tolerant societies, a prerequisite for collective identity formation in diverse societies. In order to build tolerant societies, higher education institutions must themselves be tolerant communities. Higher education institutions in SADC have unfortunately mirrored the intolerance of their societies, rather than being exporters of tolerance to the rest of society. Instead they must play the role of transmitting democratic values in their own immediate communities, in the societies of which they are a part, and across the region. Such an expanded role will mean that higher education institutions will be active in broader societal and political discourses and be actively involved in the non-formal learning of democratic values as well as everyday life learning (Chisholm 2005:51).

Traditionally, higher education institutions have tended not to get involved in politics, although during the struggle against apartheid in South Africa, some higher institutions actively participated in the public realm, promoting democratic values and opposing the apartheid government. In the post-apartheid (and post-colonial) period, higher education institutions in SADC will have to stand clearly and publicly for the values of democracy. This does not mean aligning themselves with political parties, but they must clearly oppose undemocratic practices by ruling parties, opposition forces and civil society.

Higher education institutions will have to challenge (and provide platforms for others to challenge) outdated undemocratic practices in individual SADC countries and in the region as a whole. They must offer platforms where democratic values, the inclusivity of development and diversity and the quality of freedom are constantly reassessed, evaluated and debated. In most SADC countries democracy is viewed very narrowly (as only elections), or has been dismissed as “unAfrican”, or has been embraced only in public rhetoric. It is the role of higher education institutions to shift this limited discourse on democracy towards one that interrogates how to foster quality democracies.

Higher education institutions must also lead the debate on culture in the region, where elites often hide behind “culture” to dehumanise citizens and oppress women. Elites have in some cases built a discourse against outsiders criticising undemocratic behaviour, arguing that their behaviour is part of indigenous culture. Any individual criticising such “culture” is then dismissed as an agent of the former colonial powers. This abuse of culture has undermined both democracy and inclusive economic development throughout the region. Higher education institutions have to lead the debunking of this abuse of culture for the purposes of self-enrichment.

Finally, higher education institutions will have to promote the idea of “interconnected differences”, based on respect for diversity and for the equality of treatment of different communities. The regional integration project in SADC and the nation-building projects in

individual nations have in most cases repeated the patterns of apartheid or colonialism which favoured one ethnic, political, regional or gender group. This has often been reflected in higher education, with higher education institutions in some cases dominated (whether in management or in the student body) by one ethnic group, region or class. The democratic project within SADC nations and the region will go nowhere unless a meritocratic culture, which balances those historically disadvantaged, is actively promoted and lived.

Regional identity and economic development

Over the past two decades, specifically in the area of regional economics, there has been an emphasis on the non-market factors important to regional economic development (Anderson 2007). Storper (2007) called these factors “untraded interdependencies” (quoted in Andersen 2007), which are social institutions and networks that exist in the regional context and support knowledge-based economic development. Higher education institutions are examples of such social institutions which support the development of knowledge-based economies (Scott 1996).

Economic theory has traditionally focused on how market forces generate new systems of production. However, since the dramatic advent of economic globalisation, new perspectives look at the economic system (Hirst with Thompson 1996) in terms of “flexibility, specialisation and innovation and knowledge accumulation” (Andersen 2007). Rather than emphasising comparative advantage, the question now is how each production unit can create a “unique competitive advantage” in relation to other units in the market (Fujita, Krugman and Venables 1991). This new system²⁷, often referred to as “post-Fordism”, describes the way the labour market is now organised around knowledge specialisation (Storper 1995:204).

Globalisation has also brought about a second phenomenon (Scott and Storper 1992:219-33), the idea of an economy based on spatial “agglomeration of knowledge dense production units” (Andersen 2007:6) or knowledge clusters. In regional economic theory of the 1960s, the cluster phenomenon was referred as “regional growth poles” (Keating 1998:47-8). Regions can be described in economic terms in relation to the cluster. Important is the agglomeration of local factors (transport, training, exchange of know-how and so on) and how these “relate to each other and support and affect each other within the specific spatial setting” (Andersen 2007). The emphasis is that the

²⁷ Economic clustering in economics has a long tradition. The first theory of economic clustering was in the 1890s, with Marshall’s studies of early British industrialisation. The new research on clustering builds on that (Amin 1999, Storper 1995, Andersen 2007).

production system becomes more intelligent, and the regional production chain is based on the kind of human, social and economic resources available in the region. One very obvious role for higher education institutions in SADC is to make an assessment of the kind of human, social and economic resources available in the region and to assess how to develop new production chains around these, and so spur economic development.

The industrial cluster (Carroll and Swaminathan 2000) is “a group of organizations producing similar products or services that are located” within a region (Romanelli and Khessina 2005:346). Clusters are a visible feature of a region’s industrial face, both because they generate significant amounts of the economic wealth of a region and because they are the features of regional industrial activity most easily perceived by external audiences (McKendrick, Jaffee, Carroll and Khessina 2003). Romanelli and Khessina (2005) have postulated that regional economic development, and more specifically cluster development, depends on the perceptions of regional economies (including their capacities for future economic development) held by observers, including both the residents of a region and external audiences. They argue that regional industrial identities influence investors’ decisions about where to invest and that industrial clusters are the “principal, observable features” of regional industrial identities.

Industrial clusters develop, fostering regional industrial identity, initiated (if it did not exist before) through the inflow of new investments. The challenge in SADC is to more effectively use the comparative advantages of existing local industries and resources as a basis to transform the regional economy. New clusters are built from “focused, local attention and investments” (Romanelli and Khessina 2005). Higher education institutions are crucial in this model as both a catalyst and a support for the creation of knowledge-based regional economies. Higher education can influence the initiation of new industrial clusters by securing the necessary attention.

Higher education institutions in SADC can devise the appropriate industrial clusters for specific areas within SADC, creating a network of exchange between the different actors in the knowledge economy – companies, governments and employees. A number of things need to happen if a series of industrial clusters are to be initiated in the region. Firstly, “path dependencies” or “trajectories” of the historical experience of the region, which forms a “unique foundation for future economic developments in a spatial setting” (Storper 1995:204), will have to be determined. Secondly, the existing and the potential economic clusters in the region will need to be mapped. Thirdly, there will have to be a review of traditional industries in SADC, to see what needs to be done to make them globally competitive, or how to develop new strategic sectors, introduce value-added services (Andersen 2007) and find avenues for beneficiation. In all this, the role of higher education looms large.

The idea is for initial investments in a dominant industry cluster and then its extension through innovation into multiple and inter-related clusters (Romanelli and Khessina 2005:355). From such extensions “come the potential for change in the economic development of regions, as some clusters grow old and outdated, other clusters may grow to establish a new basis of internal and external regional industrial identity”. The idea in such a cycle of industrial renewal and innovation is that “the seeds of change and the bases of future economic development are sown through the creation of new industry clusters that are related to (but not the same as) the older clusters”. New clusters are initiated locally, but their success depends on attracting external investments (Romanelli and Schoonhoven 2001).

In many of the successful industrial clusters in Europe, US and Asia, the “mediator” (Andersen 2007) in the industrialisation process has been local, national or regional government. However, higher education and research institutions are increasingly successful mediators in such industrialisation, especially when there is opposition or slackness from governments (Andersen 2007:15). Higher education and research institutions in regional economic development initiatives can adopt a number of positions (Andersen 2007:19). One position is that of outsider: the institutions which conduct research and teaching are removed from both industry and government and from the nitty-gritty of regional economic development. An alternative position is that of mediator, in which institutions understand their role “as not being just central but absolutely essential to the economic developments in question” (Andersen 2007:19).

Higher education in SADC cannot afford to remain an outsider. It will have to play a mediating role in producing the knowledge in specific economic clusters, providing the necessary ideas about management and innovation (Andersen 2007:19). This means that higher education will have to strategically position itself between government and industry, to influence both and to steer the trajectory of economic development in the region. Higher education and research institutions will have to communicate better with governments and industry, to explain the innovations that are produced in research, their value and how they can be used or adapted for industry (in the short or long term).

Shared regional industrial or economic identity is “more robust” when “grounded in interaction among actors, both within and across regional boundaries” (Romanelli and Khessina 2005:347). Higher education can facilitate the interaction between businesses (for example) across SADC and help foster “socially negotiated agreements among individuals who are engaged in similar kinds of business activities” (Romanelli and Khessina 2005:347).

Traditionally, higher education institutions in SADC have either been pressurised to focus on so-called “relevant” research as defined by governments or controlled by businesses

or foreign donors who insist on specific foci as a condition for funding. SADC higher education will have to be more assertive vis-à-vis all these forces and set the agenda rather than follow other people's agendas. This must be done without losing the traditional *raison d'être* of research. Higher education institutions will have to do much more to focus on the kind of research that will boost industrial cluster development in the region.

Higher education institutions and researchers often have vast global networks (Andersen 2007), which could include important allies in the campaign to develop the region, based on its specific historical endowments and the global supply chain. Andersen (2007:15) argues that to develop a reasonable level of consensus on the need to transform the regional economy in a specific way, does not depend on the stabilisation of relations between the actors (governments, industry, higher education and so on), but on the "dynamic interactions between varieties of actors" – even if conflicting, because conflict may open "new possibilities".

The formation of regional economic development clusters

Higher education institutions can play a key role in closing the development gap between industrialised and developing countries. To do this, they will have to work closely with governments, the private sector and civil society to establish regional economic development clusters, based on the comparative advantages of the region. Higher education institutions in the region could be organised (in terms specialisation, niche research and teaching) according to these clusters, which could include the following.

Wildlife and marine cluster

The region is home to abundant and diverse wildlife and unspoiled nature. The challenge is to conserve these resources and leverage them in a sustainable way to create decent jobs in partnership with communities. The transfrontier park between South Africa, Mozambique and Zimbabwe is only in its infancy, but this model can be expanded and developed across the region.

Minerals cluster

The region has an abundance of minerals, but has so far been unable to leverage this as a source of broad-based poverty alleviation, job creation and economic prosperity. Instead, mineral wealth has often become a source of instability and conflict, has benefited a small elite or has been exported. Most SADC countries rely on exports of commodities (often single commodities) rather than benefiting, diversifying or adding value locally.

Agriculture and rural cluster

One of the major problems confronted by the region is food insecurity, despite rich soil, abundant water and excellent weather. The region depends heavily on traditional farming methods, which yield poor crops. Higher education institutions must find innovative ways to boost the agricultural sector. A neglected focus has been on how to bring small-scale farmers in the rural areas into the supply chain of major retailers (as in Japan and South Korea).

Pro-poor infrastructure cluster

The unreliable and under-developed infrastructure in Africa is one of the main impediments to economic progress. Over the next ten years, Africa will need USD480 billion for infrastructure development to meet its development needs (see Zuma 2011). This infrastructure development will have to be specifically pro-poor in orientation, as in Japan in the 1980s (and replicated by other Asian countries). This can be done by twinning infrastructure expansion to agricultural, rural and informal sector logistics and distribution networks and bringing the informal sector and small-scale farmers into the supply chain of major public and private producers (see Gumede, Monyae and Fukunaga 2011).

Informal and small business sector cluster

SADC's informal sector is massive. This is an area that is often neglected within academic circles (and the mainstream economy) although many people depend on it. It is crucial to find ways to bring the informal sector (both urban and rural) into the supply chain of private and public companies, as in Japan and South Korea (where, for example, families working from home make components that go into the manufacturing of a motor vehicle).

Manufacturing cluster

SADC still imports most manufactured goods. The potential is huge (but unexploited) for SADC to expand and diversify its manufacturing sector, specialising in specific products and trading these within SADC and other parts of the continent. SADC itself is a substantial market for indigenous manufactured goods, as well as goods from the informal and small business sectors.

Green economy cluster

Africa has an energy deficit, despite having vast sources of natural power (including hydro, solar, wind and geothermal). The region has the potential to play a leading role in developing green technologies and energy which can be used to narrow the development gap. The region's climate and geography makes it ideal to use more sustainable energy sources (such as solar and wind).

Practical steps for higher education institutions in their economic development facilitating role could include:

- the identification of areas of specialisation by higher education institutions themselves
- aligning higher education institutions into clearly-defined industrial clusters around specific comparative advantages in terms of natural resource, economic activities and renewable energy
- securing a partnership between governments, business, donors, civil society and communities for a financing model for economic development clusters
- strengthening existing relationships with higher education institutions in the developed countries in a much smarter way and establishing new sustainable relationships with emerging markets (especially those in Brazil, Russia, China and India).

The role of higher education in regional identity

Interpreting a common SADC regional identity

Higher education, “more than other social actors”, has the “potential to interpret” (Berlinguer 2006:123) a common southern African regional identity. The kind of southern African identity that higher education in SADC should forge would be based on promoting inclusive economic development and democracy. Such a regional identity will be reflected “in our economic structures, our cultural traditions and our political foundations” (Berlinguer 2006:123). However, SADC higher education institutions have lagged behind in interpreting the outlines of a common regional identity (and national identities), leaving this to the politicians – with clearly disastrous effects.

Functioning as core institutions of common regional identity

Higher education institutions in the region could be the core institutions of common regional identity in SADC. As institutions of “shared learning” they are cardinal for the success of a regional integration project. So far, SADC higher education institutions have not seen themselves as core institutions of regional identity and integration and have therefore not effectively played this role.

Critical partners in the regional identity project

Higher education institutions should be critical partners in the project of shaping regional integration, development and democratisation. Thus far, this project has been driven by heads of state rather than by citizens, communities, civil society and non-government institutions. The partnership must be based on the independence of higher institutions, because little

effective development will come from higher education institutions being just “servants” of governments, implementing policies that they have little say in designing (Jarab 2006:39). Higher education will have to be a critical partner of SADC institutions, policies and programmes, furthering democratic, economic development and social justice values.

Higher education institutions should continually question, dissent and search for truth, questioning the political and development policy choices of governments and leaders. In the post-independence era many SADC higher education institutions preferred to stick with the “national consensus” and the “accepted truths” (of ruling governments and leaders) – which have in most cases been flawed. Dissent, “the willingness to stand back”, is the “motor of change, of transformed values that could shake and shape new forms of ‘living together’” (Jarab 2006:50) and new identities. SADC higher education must produce the critical thinkers who are an essential ingredient for building democratic societies and sustainable economies.

Fostering values that underpin the regional integration project

Higher institutions in the region can articulate and foster the values that should underpin the integration project of the region. These values include the rule of law, constitutional rule, freedom of expression, gender equality, tolerance of diversity, respect for human rights, empathy and solidarity for the vulnerable. To this could be added the “values of dialogue and mutual understanding, of open-mindedness and critical thinking, of honesty” (Berlinguer 2006:139). The end goal is for graduates who are not only fit for the labour market, but who are able to contribute to society socially, economically (Berlinguer 2006:139). Education creates values, “not only in its capacity to shape individual subjectivities and generational perspectives but also because it is embedded in everyday experience and action” (Chisholm 2005:51). Higher education institutions in SADC will have to provide the spaces where these democratic values are lived, practiced, promoted, defended and infused into broader society.

Providing ideas and direction

Higher education institutions have a dual role as sites for “convergence as much as divergence from national consensus” (Jarab 2006:60). This applies at the regional level also. Higher institutions in the region can play an important role in helping to turn the political construct of SADC into a regional industrial development and democratic identity, by providing the ideas to construct such identities.

In this role, higher education institutions will be the think-tanks that could “negotiate the cross-fertilization” (Jarab 2006:61) between the stating and the making of economic and

industrial development and democracy. Higher education institutions play a common role in the “shaping of living communities of intelligence” (Jarab 2006:38). They have the potential to play a catalyst role in development because they are “centres of culture, knowledge and research” at a time when the prosperity of nations depends “largely on scientific, cultural and technical development” (Magna Charta Universitatum 1988:Preamble no.1).

Higher education has a role to play in providing direction, especially in societies where governments and political movements appear to be at a crossroads. African and other societies are undergoing dramatic social change: it is the role of higher education to search for new meanings, to make sense of “our day and our time” (Jarab 2006:48). In our increasingly uncertain, dangerous and complex times, SADC higher education institutions should help us differentiate between the “meaningful and the meaningless” and provide us with “enlightened knowledge, in order to help us frame new solutions to both old and new problems (Jarab 2006:47).

In “differentiating between the meaningful and the meaningless so that original new developments can occur” (Jarab 2006:48), some understandings, meanings or received culture may have to be jettisoned in order to “consider new understandings of (individuals’) place in the world” (Jarab 2006:48). Innovation, “putting new (meanings) into existing”, is the “driving force” (Jarab 2006:49) of national and regional prosperity. Unfortunately, in post-independence Southern Africa (and in most of Africa), higher education has not sufficiently helped societies to “consider new understandings” in a world where the old cultural and traditional moorings are often meaningless.

Serving as platforms of dissent

Higher education institutions in SADC should (as institutions) become spaces of dissent within society. To do so, they must also allow dissent and tolerance for opposing views and criticisms within the institutions themselves. SADC countries desperately lack institutions that can freely dissent against the cultural, political and economic choices of ruling elites. Higher education institutions must be able to “question and review the accepted features” (Jarab 2006:60) of the kind of collective, national or regional identity being promoted by ruling elites.

When “groups are insecure – unsure about their basic commonality of purpose” (Jarab 2006:60), as has been the case with most of the ruling elites in SADC countries since independence – political leaders often feel threatened and “suppress the questioner” (Jarab 2006:60). In the face of potential or real suppression by governments and political

leaders, most higher education institutions in SADC have preferred to maintain silence rather than point out official wrongdoing. This has undermined SADC's development and democratisation and hampered the formation of durable collective national and regional identities.

Providing mediation platforms

Higher institutions in SADC could act as the mediation platforms where states, industry, civil society, institutions and citizens could structure the development and democracy building of individual countries and the region. Up to now, higher education institutions in SADC have rarely played this role effectively. To create a common SADC identity that is based on democracy, inclusive development and social justice, presupposes that there is continual dialogue among and within states to clarify the most immediate, medium- and long-term social agendas. Higher education institutions should serve as the places where such dialogue takes place.

Providing common references for identity discourses

Higher education institutions are well placed to provide the "common references" that could "frame" (Barblan 2006:15) a national and regional discourse on the social agenda that will be the basis of common national and regional identities. Higher education institutions in SADC have rarely played this role effectively. The national and regional discourses informing the social agenda for common national and regional identities in SADC currently lack substance, are often outdated and disjointed and lack common reference points – and credible institutions to frame such reference points.

Providing the long-term view on transformation

SADC is undergoing dramatic transformations. In spite of the desperate need for southern and African countries to overcome crippling under-development, inadequate (and sometimes irrelevant) institutions and rapidly changing societies that struggle to make sense of their place in the world, ruling parties have failed "to guide and steer the overall development of society" (Jarab 2006:58). Higher education institutions have not taken charge or provided "dissenting views on the existing development" (Jarab 2006:58) of member states.

Higher education institutions in SADC will have to be "close enough to society to be able to contribute to solving fundamental problems, yet sufficiently detached to maintain a critical distance and to take a longer term view" (Jarab 2006:29). One of the development weaknesses of southern African (and African) countries since independence has been their inability to plan long-term. Transformation in SADC countries (and in the region) has

often been short-term or driven by self-interest. Higher education institutions in SADC will have to provide the long-term ideas on how to transform countries and institutions, given the poor political leadership and the weak state institutions.

Building trust between social partners and stakeholders

Higher education institutions in the region can be the catalysts for building trust between partners – between the state, civil society, business and citizens, within and across countries in the region. In SADC there has often been insufficient trust between social partners within individual countries and at the regional level. Higher education institutions, because of their special position as “both of their countries – partners in nation-building – and in their countries – the representatives of interests and ideas transcending the nation” (Jarab 2006:58), have a crucial role to play as builders of trust between the social partners within individual nations and within the region.

Shaping the idea of “interconnected differences”

Higher institutions can play a role in helping individual SADC countries and the region to move away from narrow ethnic identities, towards inclusive notions of common belonging. As Lynne Chisholm (2005) puts it (referring to the potential role of European universities in creating a European identity), universities needed education contexts, formal, non-formal and informal, “which not only invite diversities in on equal terms, but which also foster a critical, agile, engaged, confident and active citizenry” (Chisholm 2005:51).

The “interconnected differences” in individual SADC countries and the region is the basis of our shared common identity. Higher education institutions are not only sites where interconnected differences are lived, but also sites where these interconnected differences form a common identity that supersedes the different identities. Higher education institutions in SADC must publicly agitate for the concept of “interconnectedness” as the basis for regional integration.

Fostering a belief in the idea of SADC

A major obstacle to regional integration and identity has been that ordinary people and influential components of society in individual SADC countries (including some among higher education institutions) do not believe in the idea of SADC. This disbelief is partly due to the continued legacy of colonialism, which means that influential sections of the elites still view integration with former colonial countries as a better option. More importantly, disbelief in SADC is because the political leaders and governing parties who have driven regional integration have done this on the basis of an undemocratic political culture and exclusive regional economic development that has mostly benefited small elites. As a result, most ordinary people see few benefits to regional integration.

There will be no regional integration unless citizens believe in it, and this can only happen if there are clear advantages for citizens. Higher education could promote the belief in regional integration, even though political leaders behave in a way that discourages popular belief in integration as broadly beneficial. Higher education institutions can consistently make the argument in wider society that regional integration is of strategic importance to all people in SADC, although only if integration is based on democracy and inclusive economic development. At the same time, higher education institutions could more pro-actively point out to SADC leaders and governing parties that their self-interested actions undermine the formation of a common regional identity and thus regional integration.

Implications for higher education governance, leadership and management

Foster greater independence

Higher education institutions will have to be autonomous, but also have a mutually beneficial relationship with the state, society and other stakeholders. The underlying principle of such co-operative relationships must be academic freedom. Higher education institutions in SADC must propose that laws are introduced in all countries which entrench the institutional independence of higher education institutions. In some countries, such as Germany, academic freedom is entrenched in the national constitution. Autonomous higher education institutions deepen democracy, “reducing the risk of authoritarian tendencies” (Berlinguer 2006:111).

To use Evans’s (1995) concept of “embeddedness” (Granovetter 1985), higher education institutions must be developmental in that they are both autonomous and have close ties with society, the state and other stakeholders, in order to be in tune with the problems of society and responsive enough to deal with the problems. So far, this has not predominantly been the case in higher education institutions in SADC. In fact, there has been a tendency in the region for political leaders and governments to control institutions of higher education along partisan lines. In such “embedded autonomy”, higher education institutions can agree with social partners on common objectives, but can also question the purpose and actions of partners (Jarab 2006:59). The “tension between dissent and consent” is the “motor of the dynamics of change” (Jarab 2006:59).

According to the Magna Charta Universitatum (1988: Fundamental Principles 1): “The university is an autonomous institution at the heart of societies differently organised because of geography and historical heritage; it produces, examines, appraises

and hands down culture by research and teaching. To meet the needs of the world around it, its research and teaching must be morally and intellectually independent of all political authority and economic power". Yet there has to be a "beneficial balance" between academic freedom and the university's public responsibility (Jarab 2006:35). "Accountability, transparency and quality assurance are pre-conditions for granting (higher institutions) academic freedom and institutional autonomy" (Jarab 2006:27).

Often higher education institutions in the region have either docilely followed what politicians said their resource output should be or to prove their independence have stayed aloof (often not only from governments but also from society itself). In many cases, institutions in the region have slavishly followed the research agendas of institutions of the former colonial power, even if these are not very appropriate to local needs, to prove their dedication to "excellence". Identification with the educational institutions of former colonial powers has often been the dominant identity of higher institutions in the region, displacing a regional identity.

The challenge is that identity in SADC will have to be plural, so higher education institutions cannot reject all identification with institutions in the former colonial power. The "home country" phenomenon will most probably remain a part of the identity of regional institutions in the foreseeable future. SADC higher education institutions need to stay abreast of global trends (whether in the former "home country" institutions or in new emerging powers) and adapt such trends to local conditions, but also innovate locally. Higher education institutions will have to be intelligent enough to respond in terms of research output to the problems of the region (which will make them more relevant) while staying abreast with the universal research debates.

Academic freedom at individual and institutional level

Higher education institutions in the region will not be able to play their full roles in development, democratisation and regional identity formation unless academic freedom at individual and institutional levels becomes a reality (Jarab 2006:35). Academic freedom should "guarantee freedom of expression and of action, freedom of disseminating information, as well as freedom of unrestricted inquiry in the pursuit and distribution of knowledge and truth" (Jarab 2006:28).

One cannot argue for institutional independence and then reject freedom of expression at the individual level (which has often been the case in the region). One critical problem in SADC countries that has undermined democratisation is that liberation movement culture (and the various interpretations of "traditional" culture) have not seen freedom of expression, critical reflection and different opinions as public goods. At the same time, in

some countries in the region, laws and regulations do not allow for sufficient autonomy of higher education institutions, sometimes tying these institutions tightly to the state (as just another appendage of the state).

When higher education institutions in SADC start to “question national routines” (Jarab 2006:47), it is likely that they may come under attack from politicians and entrenched interests in society. Most governments in SADC are in practice opposed to criticism from their own citizens. As one researcher aptly stated “there is a close relationship between the attitude of a government toward free thought in general and the willingness of that government to grant autonomy to higher education institutions” (Isaxanli 2010). Higher education institutions will have to be prepared to robustly engage, but not from a position of aloofness. Adopting the notion of “embedded autonomy” – independent, yet deeply embedded in society – institutions will be better insulated from such attacks.

Need for a free movement of academic labour

Regional integration cannot work unless there is a free movement of labour within the region. The first step should be to make the free movement of students, researchers and staff within the region a real possibility. Higher education institutions should lobby SADC governments to introduce a free pass system for students, researchers and academics. There needs to be greater student, academic and staff mobility between higher education institutions in the region. Institutions will also have to be more involved in the non-formal learning process (where a large part of learning takes place, particularly among the young) through exchange and mobility programs.

Spending at least a quarter at a SADC higher education institution in another country could be made compulsory for postgraduate degrees, and undergraduate students could be encouraged to spend time in another country during the study period. The free movement of labour is crucial in building a common regional education identity – it is important not only for people-to-people bonds, but also at the broader level to strengthen regional integration itself. As a concrete idea, SARUA could champion the creation of a southern African higher education area and a southern African research area, within a specific time-frame, which would set the framework for the free movement of researchers, staff and students across the region²⁸. This will need legislative changes at the SADC political level.

²⁸ Europe has already pledged to create a European higher education area and a European research area, which aims to tightly integrate higher education institutions in Europe. The aim there is to harmonise degrees, qualifications, curricula, mobility of researchers, staff and students, and so on.

Common programmes, curricula and “equivalent” status

Common programmes and exchanges of students, academics and staff are fundamental. Degrees, qualifications and skills must be made more comparable and transferable between higher education institutions in the region²⁹. Given the acute skills deficit in the region, lifelong and continuous education must become one of the pillars of the higher education system in SADC. There needs to be a move towards a policy of “equivalent” status, standards and examinations in the region and the harmonisation of curricula content and qualification structures. All these are crucial in developing a common regional higher education identity.

The lack of standardised curricula has been a major impediment to the free movement of academic labour within the region. Some institutions are better resourced in terms of access to finance, quality staff and so on. The unequal distribution of resources between higher institutions within the region impacts on the status of higher education institutions – the more the resources, the higher the status – and better-resourced institutions have often sought to enhance their status by forging closer ties with institutions in the mother country.

Standardising curricula will help to break down the current SADC higher education identities, which are often based on identification with institutions in the former “home” country, rather than with other institutions in the region. Greater exchange between institutions, the use of technology to make knowledge available to poorer-resourced institutions and ensuring that equivalent exchanges from more industrial and emerging markets’ institutions takes place with poorer-resourced institutions will go a long way in boosting these institutions. Finally, standardising curricula, the creation of common programmes and increasing exchanges are crucial in forging a common higher education identity in SADC.

The changing value system of research and teaching

There will have to be a debate on the value system of research and teaching, “which varies from one group to another”, and on which subject-centred sciences are based (Jarab 2006:49). Firstly, higher education institutions must stay true to the values of truth, integrity and quality. When European universities signed their Magna Charta declaration

²⁹ See the European debate in Berlinguer (2006:126).

in 1988, they declared that higher education institutions “must give future generations education and training that will teach them to respect the great harmonies of the natural environment and of life itself” (Roversi-Monaco 2006:9).

Higher education institutions in SADC must collectively decide on the standards – one of the key values, of research and teaching. Perhaps higher education institutions in SADC must come up with a code of conduct for research and teaching, which commits them to basic ethical practices and principles³⁰. One problem in SADC is how to get young people from poor backgrounds, where in most cases their parents have had no higher education (or in some cases no education at all), to first of all enter and then successfully navigate higher education. Perhaps higher education institutions can be rewarded for successfully steering students from such backgrounds through higher education, in the kind of fields crucial to the region's development.

Curricula that are relevant to the needs of SADC societies

SADC higher education curricula have to be adapted to societal needs. It is obvious that graduates coming from higher education institutions in the region must be employable. In some countries (such as Austria), proposals for new curricula must argue the case for the “content, prove the labour market needs, evaluate the competing programmes proposed ... and balance the cost-benefit analysis” (Felt and Glanz 2005:10). This is an extreme example, but it is nevertheless useful to make the case for curricula that meet societal needs, without sacrificing the ideal of learning for the sake of knowledge. Higher education institutions will have to (together with governments, business, civil society and communities) determine what kind of skills are needed in the region and what kind of skills higher education needs to produce. Higher education institutions in SADC will have to actively promote interest and support for subjects deemed crucial for the region's development.

SADC higher education institutions may have to move to produce more “fit-for-labour” graduates – balancing this with the traditional higher education focus of giving students a broad education. Higher education institutions may have to consider “practical training on the labour market” (Felt and Glanz 2005:16) as part of graduate training. Furthermore, a higher education culture of lifelong learning must be fostered in the region, a structuring of higher education in such a way that continual skills upgrading can take place and the flexibility to introduce the new skills required in rapidly changing economies. One researcher has pointed out how in Denmark the textile industry was decimated by

³⁰ Higher institutions in Europe have established a European Charter for Researchers and a Code of Conduct for the Recruitment of Researchers, which states: “Researchers should focus their research for the good of mankind and for expanding the frontiers of scientific knowledge, while enjoying the freedom of thought and expression, and the freedom to identify methods by which problems are solved, according to recognized ethical principles and practices” (Commission of the European Communities 2005:576).

outsourcing to cheaper Asian competitors. However, although the country does not produce textiles and clothes anymore as in the past, it still has as many people working in the industry (Ostergaard 2006). The country's education system has been flexible enough to upgrade the existing clothing and textile skills into design skills. Perhaps, the Denmark example may not be entirely appropriate to SADC (given the vast differences in resources and skills in the higher education system in Denmark compared to SADC), but the underlying idea remains valid.

Improving the position of women in higher education

Throughout the SADC region, women are generally worse off than men, including in terms of higher education. Gender inequality in SADC is high, with "culture" often used to legitimise the subjugation of women. Higher education institutions will have to change the received values that perpetuate gender inequality. On this score, higher education institutions will have to educate not only their own immediate constituency, but also broader society. More women must obviously be appointed to critical positions in higher education institutions, but (as importantly) critical subjects which are in most cases inaccessible to women must be opened up. For example, special programmes must be set up by SADC higher education institutions to bring women into scarce skills programmes, such as science and engineering.

Using technology better

To expand higher education, institutions will have to dramatically upscale e-learning activities. There has been much talk about using technological innovations, such as information and communications technologies to expand the reach of higher education in SADC. However, so far there is very little development of such infrastructure. Higher education resources in SADC are unevenly distributed and concentrated in specific centres. Effective e-learning can help bridge the resources gap by sharing resources and e-learning could be a solution to the overcrowded lecture rooms and large class sizes characteristic of SADC of higher institutions. It is therefore imperative for SADC higher education institutions to "mainstream e-learning in education, training and research in a sustainable way" (Felt and Glanz 2005:22).

A new arrangement of higher education institutions

Higher education can only be the central motor in regional integration if higher education institutions are more tightly integrated at the regional level. Close co-operation between higher education institutions would also boost the effort to foster a common higher education identity in the region. Successful integration of higher education institutions can provide a practical example of effective regional integration (Berlinguer 2006). So

far, the co-operation between higher institutions within SADC has been weak, diffused and mostly at the level of rhetoric. There is little compatibility between higher education institutions in the region, with differential levels of resources, different curricula, different traditions (based on different colonisers) and so on. Examples elsewhere have shown that establishing tight “networks of cooperating universities and colleges within a country or a larger region ... will improve the quality of research and education” (Isaxanli 2010). Research institutions, infrastructure and policies in SADC have been fragmented, leading to inefficiencies.

Higher education institutions in the region may have to be restructured on a differentiated model, with a core group of large metropole universities and locally specific subject-based regional or local ones. This would be augmented by virtual campuses in areas where there are no higher education institutions. Furthermore, within the higher education system of SADC there will have to be a better alignment between universities and vocational institutions³¹. In this new model, higher education institutions in the region would be linked strongly to the locally identified development and industrial clusters.

At the centre of these would be strong specialised research institutes, each having a regional centre with country chapters. In this way scarce resources could be secured, allocated and directed more efficiently. Research needs and foci aimed at the overall development of the region and individual countries could also be better determined. Foreign donors have often provided funding to SADC countries more focused on the donors’ research and development agendas and priorities, than those of the region and individual SADC countries. Thus far in SADC there has been a lot of duplication of funding, research and exchanges.

The first task would be to identify the areas of specialisation of higher education institutions. The second task would be to align higher education institutions into clearly defined industrial clusters around specific comparative advantages. The existing relationship of local higher education institutions with their equivalents in developed and developing countries must be strengthened in a much more coherent way and new relationships of knowledge exchange and collaboration established with emerging markets.

³¹ In Austria, Germany and the Netherlands, vocational institutions offer more hands-on education to prepare students to enter the labour market immediately. “Their curricula are generally more clearly structured, follow stricter time schedules, involve more actors from outside academia and offer the advantage of shorter study times” (Felt and Glanz 2005:19).

South Africa, Mauritius and Botswana to take leadership

Regional identity formation (and hence regional integration) is difficult in situations where there is a huge disparity in resources between member institutions. Higher education institutions in South Africa, Mauritius and Botswana are currently better-resourced than others. The rationale of the original southern African regional entity was to oppose apartheid South Africa and, beyond apartheid, South Africa has been viewed with suspicion by its former enemies. Other SADC countries have often worried that South Africa and its institutions dominate SADC, either intentionally or by virtue of its bountiful resources compared to other states.

However, lessons from other attempts at regional integration, underscore the fact that regional integration efforts should be spearheaded by core countries. The fact that some higher education institutions are relatively better resourced puts the onus on them to give direction to the higher education regional integration processes. Perhaps it would be more strategic for SADC higher education regional integration processes to be proactively steered by a troika, made up of South Africa, Botswana and Mauritius (and perhaps Namibia). Such an approach would ease suspicions from other members of South Africa's leadership.

Overcoming financial constraints more innovatively

There is a huge gap between SADC higher education institutions in terms of resources and finances (although the better-endowed institutions also face financial and resource constraints). Within individual SADC countries, there is also a resource divide between higher education institutions. The inequality in resources between institutions in the region undermines trust and co-operation and hence undermines the forging of a common higher education identity.

Higher education institutions in SADC will have to overcome financial, resources and prestige challenges that have undermined their international competitiveness. They will have to be more innovative in terms of securing funding beyond the traditional model of predominantly getting funding from governments. Because of the chronic lack of finances higher education institutions have often been submissive to those institutions that fund them (whether government, donors or business), and donors have forced many SADC higher education institutions to undergo restructuring (along the same lines as individual SADC governments) under the tenets of the neo-liberal public management reforms.

A new partnership will have to be developed between higher education institutions and governments, business, donors, civil society and communities to secure additional funding and resources for higher education. Joint projects between higher institutions and the private sector, government, donor agencies and civil society, must become more

widespread. Social partners of higher education institutions may need to give input into the restructuring of curricula (without of course impinging on the autonomy of higher education institutions) to ensure that courses remain relevant.

Higher education institutions in SADC do not need to adopt a begging-bowl approach to securing funds. They have many things to offer: generating knowledge, producing democratic citizens and leaders, unifying societies and so on. Emerging markets, especially Brazil, Russia, China, India, South Africa, offer new sources of financial partnerships, funding and collaboration for higher education in SADC. However, these can only be effectively exploited if there is closer integration between SADC higher education institutions, more efficient division of focus and a clearer vision of regional integration based on inclusive economic development and democratisation.

Stronger internal governance of higher institutions

To respond effectively to the challenges of democratisation and economic development, higher education institutions will need stronger internal governance systems. The internal governance systems of higher education institutions must highlight key values, including a real commitment to promoting democracy, the “value systems of research and teaching” (through, for example, quality assurance and control systems) and commitment to good corporate governance, accountability and efficient management.

The challenge is to “reconcile autonomy over teaching and research choices with managerial responsibility” (De Boer 2006:175). SADC higher education institutions will have to show a “firm commitment to the principles of democratic governance, genuine respect for equality and non-discrimination and responsiveness to the needs of all members of the academic community, including students and administration” (De Boer 2006:175). Crucially, higher education in SADC will have to show greater “personal accountability of leadership, performance management based on peer review and student satisfaction, (and) independent audit(s)” (De Boer 2006:175). Furthermore, higher education institutions will have to “show democratic attitudes of openness . . . , transparency, communication and feedback, critique and debate, dispute resolution, thus proving an absence of idiosyncrasy, arbitrariness and privilege” (Meira Soares quoted in Jarab 2006:54).

If higher education institutions are to be aligned in the context of “embedded autonomy”, to become more relevant they will have to become more accountable to a wider constituency. Effective internal governance of higher institutions is crucial to establish trust between them and society – a prerequisite if society is to agree on self-regulation and autonomy for higher education institutions. “A desirable balance between rights and responsibilities (of higher education institutions) is best established on the basis of mutual trust between universities (higher education institutions) and society . . . and when

the quality of the performance (of higher education institutions) can be judged openly and transparently” (Jarab 2006:23).

New relationships and alliances with social partners necessitate strong accountability from the leadership of higher education institutions (Felt and Glanz 2005:7). Securing funding beyond the traditional sources will not only require more innovative financing arrangements, but will also demand greater accountability from the leadership and management of higher education institutions.

Developing a “knowledge society” in SADC

Some scholars of higher education are increasingly making an argument for a contract between higher education institutions and societies in which they are located, to jointly build a “knowledge society” (Jarab 2006:33). In such a social contract, higher education institutions will pledge their commitment to responsively address the needs of society and govern themselves on the principles of good corporate governance, while social partners will commit themselves to respect academic freedom and institutional autonomy.

Such a social contract would combine in “a useful and harmonious way the demands of academic liberties and requirements of responsibility and accountability of universities (higher education institutions) to the society at large” (Jarab 2006:29). SADC higher education institutions will have to rework their relationship with their governments and societies. In doing so they will have to redefine “the boundaries between state, society and higher education institutions so that higher education and research have the autonomy to meet best, on their own terms (off course in constant consultation with their states and societies), the objectives of a re-engineered (southern African) society” that is based on genuine democracy, equitable economic development and social justice.

Conclusion

Regional identity formation is a pre-condition for sustainable regional integration. SADC suffers from the same challenge as other attempts at regional integration: how to get citizens within the region to identify with the cause of regional integration – or to put it differently, how to create a common regional identity. Right now what is common in SADC is based on a narrative of countries being colonised, or fighting in the anti-colonial and anti-apartheid struggles, of fighting “imperialism” or “neo-colonialism” and of common underdevelopment. Such an identity is not sustainable.

The discourse on regional integration and identity in SADC needs “new objectives, new concepts” and “new words” (Roversi-Monaco 2006:11). The challenge is how to base SADC’s common identity on democracy and sustainable economic development. Higher

education has a critical role in both, as catalyst, mediator and critical partner – yet, so far, the role of SADC's higher education institutions has been limited. Most SADC countries will have to build national identities within the context of diverse societies, and this also applies at the regional level. This makes forging national and regional identities difficult, but not impossible. Centuries of colonialism and apartheid have meant that individual southern African countries overlap considerably. The challenge for SADC is how to use the “interconnected differences” as a basis for common national and regional identities. Higher education institutions are sites where such “interconnected differences” are lived, and promoters of common identity on the basis of such “interconnected differences”.

Going forward, the role of higher education institutions in SADC must be radically revamped. The identities of individual higher education institutions in SADC will have to be transformed as a prerequisite to upscale their role in forging sustainable regional integration. At the moment, higher education in SADC is still grounded in specific national and institutional cultures and traditions (Felt and Glanz 2005). Higher education institutions have yet to effectively play their role as pro-active critical partners and mediating platforms in fostering a democratic and economically sustainable regional integration project. Yet, they “represent communities whose talent and leadership in knowledge creation must be unleashed” (Jarab 2006:58) if Southern Africa (and Africa) is to prosper.

Higher education institutions in SADC must be transformed into active developmental and democratisation agents. SADC (and Africa) needs new ideas, a new direction and a new meaning of what it is to be Southern African (or even African), beyond the usual post-independence interpretations. Higher education institutions in SADC (and in Africa) are challenged to make new sense of our complex, morally confusing and seemingly directionless times. In this process, old individual, national and regional “routines” and “identities” will be questioned (Jarab 2006:47), which may cause individual and collective disturbances. It is apt, in the context of higher education in SADC, to note the words of CK Prahalad, former Advisor to the President of India, who said: “If we keep on doing the things we always did, we will keep on getting the things that we always got” (quoted by Luthje 2006:160).

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