Higher education mergers in South Africa

A means towards an end

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of the study is to investigate the extent to which the 2004 higher education mergers contributed to the post-1994 democratic government's broader transformation policy agenda of South African society in general. Accordingly, the mergers are then viewed as a mere quantitative reduction of apartheid-engineered higher education institutions from 36 to 21. Rather, a transcendent qualitative perspective is adopted, according to which "mergers" are conceptually nuanced as introducing a different academic nomenclature to advance access, redress, and equity; with the curriculum occupying a pivotal role. The study therefore, posits the higher education institutional mergers as a transition (means) towards the advancement of transformation (end), with access, redress, and equity as foremost policy variables.

The qualitative-descriptive model by Blumberg et al., (2005) provided the methodological approach according to which The Tshwane University of Technology (TUT) was viewed as a relevant research setting and case study. Since the conceptual novelty of the higher education mergers did not have the benefit of theoretically supported antecedence in SA, the case study approach facilitated the systematisation of a range of complexities induced by the erstwhile configuration based on race, geographic location, funding, missions, and institutional typology.

It is anticipated that the expected outcome of the study is the development of a policy framework to advance transformation beyond higher education.

INTRODUCTION

Mergers have historically been associated with private sector amalgamation or incorporation of business entities of varying sizes and organisational cultures. In the publicly funded higher education domain, mergers were relatively novel in South Africa. The creation of a single-coordinated higher education system was central to the reconfiguration of the post-1994 educational landscape.

The study's thematic argumentation proceeds from the perspective that the sphere of public policy administration is both cognate and inextricable from the influences of the prevailing political and *legal* environments. While it is noteworthy that *political* means were utilised between 2004 and 2007 to achieve an *educational* objective, it is critically more important to note that the higher education mergers were a transitional intervention to advance nation building (the *total* transformation of society in all spheres of post-apartheid development) (Makgoba & Mubangizi 2010:1).

De Clercq (1997:146) asserts that policies are conflict resolution mechanisms designed to resolve unequal power dynamics in society; that is, to "restore the cohesiveness, order and functionality of society". By their nature policies are substantive, procedural, material, symbolic, regulatory, or redistributive. Policies could also be hybrid, taking more than one form of the above *typology*. For instance, the state relies on its *substantive* power to develop and implement laws that *regulate* systems and mechanisms (*procedures*) for the *material* benefit of all citizens in order to redress (*redistribute*) any power dynamics that have been institutionalised by past injustices. The typology of policies manifests the policy value chain/cycle from conceptualisation to implementation (Cloete, Wissink & De Coning 2006:183).

It is therefore in the *policy* context that the higher education mergers are to be construed. (The term *higher education institutions* is opted for, since *universities* would exclude a phalanx of post-high school learning institutions (e.g. *colleges* and *technikons*) which constituted the apartheid government's language of *gerrymandering* the entire educational landscape from primary school to post-high school learning.

The higher education *curriculum* is the most contested *battlefield*, since it could be used to regulate access, equity, and redress past injustices (DoE 2001:5; Mkhonto 2007:445). The most notable structural difficulties inherent in the pre-1994 higher education dispensation related to, amongst others: skewed distribution of learning opportunities and resources along racial, gender, class, and geographic considerations; disjuncture between higher education curriculum output and economic imperatives; academic knowledge premised on white supremacist ideological hegemony; as well as prioritisation of teaching and research in such a way as to advance canonisation of subjects – academic insularity induced by elitist closed-system disciplinary programmes cultivated on Eurocentric epistemological values (DOE 1997:8; CHE 2000:3).

Liberating the higher education curriculum is inevitably a liberation from hegemonic disciplinary cultures and socio-economic inequality; therefore, institutionalisation of a developmental university premised on the RDP philosophy, as opposed to a purely market university (Nkondo 1998:24). A developmental university accommodates *Africanisation* in the curriculum, promotes liberatory knowledge ideologies, deconstructs societal insularity, and promotes programmatic differentiation (Cloete & Bunting 2000:60; Jansen 2004:101–102; Seepe 2004:179). The latter is particularly significant for the creation of different qualification pathways (progression routes) for different learning needs and backgrounds.



In this regard, the *gold standard* of academic performativity, economic inclusivity and participation is demystified (Naude 2003:74–75; Fataar 2003:34; Gibbon 2004:7).

The programmatic and financial sustainability of the merger project is reflective of the conclusion of the policy value chain from conceptualisation/development to implementation, since "policy implementation is regarded as the conversion of mainly physical and financial resources into concrete service delivery outputs" (Cloete *et al.* 2006:183). The study contends that a failure of the merger project to propel total societal transformation would render the state as having maintained policy symbolism and rhetoric, essentially designed to perpetrate unfulfilled promises and simultaneously garner support and consensus (Cloete, Maasen & Muller 2005:450; Fataar 2003:31). A policy vacuum may ensue from symbolism and rhetoric (Cloete & Maasen 2002:423).

METHODOLOGY/RESEARCH PROCESS

Mergers are a *dynamic* phenomenon, given that they are intended to herald a new unchartered organisational landscape (Fourie 2009:14). Therefore, any meaningful study on the subject necessarily requires a selection of commensurate and *context-driven* research approaches. The nature of the current study, its research problem, as well as the research objectives, have collectively influenced the manner and extent to which both the research design and methods have been developed.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

The study is essentially *qualitative* and *descriptive* in its nature and orientation, designed to examine and discuss higher education policy within the broader context of South African society's transformation from decades of apartheid domination and oppression to an era of democracy and freedom. For policy studies, any perceived quantitative deficiencies are superseded by qualitative and descriptive aspects; which consistently propose and describe the cause-consequence matrix of policy actions (Fox & Meyer 1996:36; Brynard & Hanekom 1997:6). Furthermore, the characterisation of the current investigation as a single-type case study is sufficient grounds for its critical value as a framework for longitudinal policy case studies (Blumberg et al. 2005:200). Despite its limited triangulation base (induced by a quantitative hiatus), eclectic data collection methods were adopted in order to develop a conducive symmetrical action plan for the optimisation of evidence-based analytic processes and the concomitant critical findings and recommendations of the study (Mouton 2001:55). The eclectically derived (mixed methods) research design and data gathering orientation enhances the rationale for the choice of Tshwane University of Technology (TUT) as a case study intended to examine the degree to which government's higher education policy objectives have (or have not) succeeded.

The predominantly qualitative and descriptive emphasis of the adopted research design aligns with Blumberg *et al.* (2005), whose qualitative design proposition is consistent with the aim and objectives of the study; provides answers to theoretically unanswered questions; and enhances the researcher's description and explanation of a phenomenon's occurrence

(mergers) by categorising groups of problems, people or events as the most critical units of analysis (Blumberg *et al.* 2005:188). Furthermore, the *inductive* approach of the preferred data collection instrumentation enabled the centrality of TUT in the study as a reference framework from which transferable variables could be deductively applied to other institutions affected by mergers in similar contexts (Mouton 2001:113).

CASE STUDY METHOD AND ITS RATIONALE/JUSTIFICATION

The merger project was neither a quantitative exercise (reducing institutions from 36 to 21), nor a normalisation of a cluttered (racial, cultural/ethnic, linguistic) lexicon (characterised by such a motley of nomenclature as: historically black (African, Coloured, Indian) or disadvantaged universities and technikons; historically white or advantaged Afrikaans or English universities and technikons). The new higher education organisational landscape was further reconfigured according to type and mission culture (programmatic differentiation), and involved namechanging in some instances in order to dissipate the erstwhile eminence of geo-political engineering (Bunting 2002:59). Examples in this regard include a typical university-technikon merger (for instance, the former Rand Afrikaanse Universiteit /RAU, Vista University, and Wits Technikon becoming the new University of Johannesburg/UJ); same-type institutions as the former University of Bophuthatswana/Unibo and Potchefstroom University incorporated as the new North-West University (NWU). However, other stand-alone types prevailed, such as Wits University and Stellenbosch University. Given the complexity of context-driven variables, the generalisability of these mergers according to patterns/trends, similarities, or dissimilarities, the replication of *logic* inevitably became transcendent to the findings themselves. The latter (logic replication) is most suitable to the single case study mode adopted in this study (Fourie (2009:1). The researcher has explored the case of the TUT (Tshwane University of Technology) merger in order to *explore* the extent to which the general replication of logic mode fits to the specific milieu of the TUT as basis for comparison with the broader merger processes in other merger processes in the country (Cant, Gerber-Nel, Nel & Kotzé 2003:30; De Vos 2002:274).

To the extent that its *stand-alone* flexibility allows for rigorous programme evaluation and development of appropriate interventions, the case study method is most suitable for *policy* research (Yin 2003: 88). Case study even enhances the intensive exploration of a single event or context for (dis)similarities with the same research problem being investigated in another context (Cant *et al.* 2003:30). Such intensive investigation necessitates detailed interrogation of the nature, historical background, physical setting, institutional and political contexts of TUT as an evolving merger case study.

TSHWANE UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY (TUT) AS A CASE STUDY

The merger period under review is from 14 November, 2003 to 31 December, 2007. During this period, elaborate efforts were expended by researchers of various disciplinary persuasions to investigate the unfolding merger processes in the nascent democratic country. For instance, Jansen (2003) investigated five merger cases, and Mfusi (2004) investigated three merger cases;



while Sehoole (2005) investigated another set of cases involving the University of South Africa (UNISA), Wits University and University of Venda (UNIVEN). Between 2003 and 2007, the researcher's review of mergers observed no concerted longitudinal study involving TUT.

TUT was selected as the preferred *single-type/stand-alone case study* in the *universe of universities*, as its evolvement typified the complexity of a classical merger process just emerging from the entire range of apartheid-engineered educational disequilibrium. Whereas multiple case studies may simultaneously focus on the verisimilitudes in more than one context, TUT singularly exemplifies the *involuntary* advent of previously disparate communities, languages, races, cultures, historical background searching for a common human identity. TUT is the outcome of three previously independent but racially and linguistically (*ergo*, culturally) segregated technikons, all of which were physically located in various parts of Pretoria (Tshwane). The former predominantly black Technikon Northern Gauteng (TNG) and Technikon North West (TNW) merged with the former predominantly Pretoria Technikon to form the current TUT and its *programmatically differentiated* multiple campuses defined by their *missions*, rather than by any other superficial considerations of race, language, or culture. All of these above-cited merger considerations in this single-type case study are to a large extent quintessentially representative of units of analysis in the multiple cases of the evolvement South African higher education mergers (Blumberg *et al.* 2005:200; Miles & Huberman 1998:195).

DATA COLLECTION PROCESS AND METHODS

The data collection processes *complementarily* focused on the theoretical and empirical aspects of the study. Accordingly, the review of pertinent literature and the utilisation of unstructured face-to-face interviews were instrumental in ensuring that both data and method triangulation were achieved by means of intense descriptive, analytic, interpretive, and evaluative investigation (Holloway & Wheeler 2010:275; Holtzhausen 2007:20). These multiple data perspectives collectively provided clarity and multiple scholarship perspectives on emerging themes, current trends and practices, as well as possible future policy imperatives in the realm of mergers in public higher education.

Literature Review

The literature review was *seminal* to the development of the subsequent empirical (interview) stage of the study (Holtzhausen 2007:20). The literature was eclectically derived from sources as diverse as archival and official government policy documents, peer-reviewed journals, academic books, conference proceedings, and reputable databases and search engines. By continuously paring the consulted literature, the case study perspective was clearly delineated as a research approach most suitable for enhancing the generalisability of emergent policy trends, themes and practices (Kaplan 1999:80).

Unstructured Interviews

Both the *contemporary* aspect and the conceptual novelty of the merger phenomenon highlighted the pre-eminence of the unstructured interviews as an *empirical* component

of the study. Additionally, the interview mode of data collection is critically relevant in Public Administration and Management, since *practitioners* and other directly affected constituencies participated with optimum understanding of their legal rights and informed consent (Brynard & Hanekom 1997:32). The multiple *social realities and experiences* of the stakeholders themselves provided practical realities and experiences, as opposed to the mostly theoretic and abstract knowledge and information derived from literature sources. The fact that both inductive and deductive reasoning approaches were applied by the researcher during the interview sessions facilitated a seamless empirical perspective of the collected data (Holosko 2001:266).

The *audio-recorded* informal interview sessions prompted some interviewees to redirect the investigation to other previously *inaccessible* informants. A case in point refers to Interview #26, in which the interviewee referred the researcher to an arbitration case involving NUTESA (National Union of Tertiary Education in South Africa) and TUT. The researcher was unaware of such a matter, which could easily prejudice perspectives from various merger constituencies. Subsequent to this revelation, the researcher obtained a copy of this legal wrangle – which could not be publicly shared due to ethical and legal considerations.

For objective purposes of the study, an interview guide was prepared ahead of the study's execution. The core questions herein were not divergent from the main research questions of the current study. The interview guide was delineated into a bibliographic background of the interviews, and the majority of non-bibliographic questions centred on *knowledge, experiences, and perceptions* of higher education mergers as the most critical research variable. In total, seven one-on-one semi-structured interviews were held at TUT, each lasting 45 minutes. Due to a variety of reasons, a number of respondents did not attend, despite their earlier commitments to do so.

Sampling of Participants

The nature of the study induced two forms of sampling frames – for the research setting (place/context), and the participants (people). The **justification** of TUT's selection as the applicable case study (outlined above) simultaneously ratifies the self-same research setting as a sampling choice. Since the single-case research method was opted for, TUT and its idiosyncratic research variables was considered as possessing representative tenets of the entire onstellation/population (universe of universities) in the South African higher education ecology.

In addition, the study benefited from the multiple social realities of a demographically and intellectually *heterogeneous* sample consisting of seven members from professions as wideranging as finance, policy development, quality assurance, administration/management, and collective bargaining. In this regard, the sampling of participants was the basis for drawing conclusions on any unknown population variables. It is the researcher's contention that the unprecedented number of pre-merger institutions and labyrinthine methodological characteristics entailed even after the mergers, posed challenges for a modicum of homogenous representativity outside of the single-type case study.

By means of purposive/judgement sampling, the researcher conducted individual face-to-face semi-structured interviews with seven high-profile TUT-based stakeholders. As a former



TUT employee in the senior management team, the researcher's professional knowledge of the sampled participants and familiarity with the history and culture of TUT influenced the choice of sampling method (Babbie 2001:179; Bless & Higson-Smith 2000:92).

The participants were high-profile individuals holding strategic positions prior and subsequent to the mergers. The sample consisted of three black males; three white Afrikaans-speaking males; and one white Afrikaans-speaking female. The three black males were the TUT Vice-Chancellor and Principal; Chairperson of the TUT Institutional Forum; and the Chairperson of NEHAWU (National Education Health and Allied Workers Union). The three white Afrikaans-speaking males were the TUT Deputy Vice-Chancellor for Teaching, Learning and Technology; the TUT Chief Financial Officer; and the Chairperson of NUTESA. The one white Afrikaans-speaking female was the TUT Strategic Planner.

An analysis of the sampled participants reflects both the pre- and post-merger racial, linguistic, cultural, organisational, historical, ideological, and governance dynamics; all of which are encapsulated in the ensuing discussion on the study's findings. Other than the TUT Vice Chancellor and VP, all the respondents were pre- and post-merger TUT senior staff members. It is mostly on this sample selection that the *accuracy* of the TUT merger could be based. The presence of one (white) female in the predominantly male group of seven represents the general skewed socio-economic inclusivity beyond colour and gender in the country, which has not changed radically since the mergers were concluded.

Validity

As a factor of validity, the study's generalisability was achieved by aligning the respondent-focused core interview questions to the primary researcher-focused questions of the study posed by the researcher (Gibbs 2007:93). Such alignment was imperative, in order to obviate any disjuncture between the study objectives and the empirical data collection processes; as well as prevent any deviation from the policy context of the study. In this manner, the study accurately achieved what it originally sought to achieve.

Credibility

Confidence in the truth value of the study was achieved by referring the findings back to the participants for verification of their original input. In this manner, the veracity of the quality of their input is ensured. None of the respondents refuted the findings as either an exaggeration or understatement of their initial input.

Reliability

The consistency of the collected data was achieved by the particularisation of specific research variables. In this regard, the interview questions repeatedly interrogated the participants' knowledge, attitudes, and experiences of mergers during their implementation and thereafter.

It is on the basis of the three afore-cited data analysis variables that the research process and its outcomes could be trusted as a quality control measure and representation of the extent and efficacy of stakeholder involvement in public policy formulation and implementation.

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DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The most critical factor in this area is the delineation of the main findings *firstly*, in respect of the broader analytic framework; and *secondly*, in the context of the seven sampled stakeholders' official designations and areas of merger-specific responsibilities.

Findings from the Analytic Framework

The international perspectives of the reviewed literature indicate that higher education mergers should be instrumentalised to engender inclusivity, and not promote elitism and ideological dominance. Furthermore, mergers are costly projects whose benefits are not immediately observable.

In the South African context, the mergers were more politically-driven, resulting in some resistance initially. All institutions were not politically neutral prior to the advent of the mergers. Furthermore, the measures were designed as a means to address responsiveness to the broader society's socio-economic advancement. With no recognisable precedence, the mergers were a learning curve, with many lessons learnt *on the go*, such as in the area of curriculum differentiation, funding, and new missions.

The post-democratic government developed an educational transformation policy agenda driven by access, equity, and redress in order to instil social justice, use resources effectively and efficiently, and institutionalise a culture of knowledge and information.

The study's empirical aspect highlighted the importance of research ethics in a study with numerous political ramifications.

Findings from Respondent Perspectives

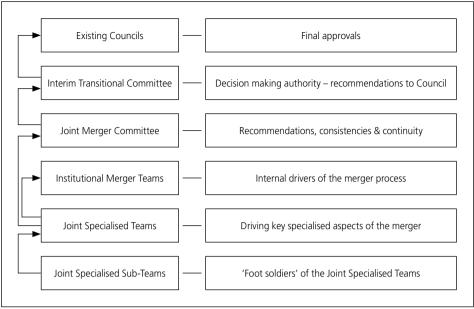
The TUT Vice-Chancellor and Principal's management perspective projected the initial fierce resistance that resulted in an involuntary merger process. Racial, historical, cultural, and linguistic factors characterised each former technikon's stance. One of the three Technikons preferred autonomy, while the others preferred racial mergers. Eventually task teams from each institution eventually paved the way for final mergers after rigorous and strenuous periods of bargaining and debate.

The Chairperson of the TUT Institutional Forum cited that the forum regarded the merger as a redistributive mechanism to redress past injustices within the higher education sector and society as a whole. In this regard, the mergers accurately represented government's policy imperatives and societal mandate.

The two main organised labour organisations represented at TUT projected views consonant with their racially-based political/ideological affiliations and divisions in the country. NEHAWU for instance was steadfast in its support for mergers as viewed by the Institutional Forum. NEHAWU viewed the measures as a democratically fair mechanism to restore the dignity of its predominantly black university-based membership at TUT and throughout the country. NUTESA – a predominantly white labour organisation – preferred the *status quo ante* and argued that mergers were a form of marginalising white higher education institutions. NUTESA's perspective was therefore more political than educational in its orientation.



Figure 1: Specialised Merger Task Teams and Communication Flow



Source: Researcher's observation adapted from TUT official documents on mergers

According to the TUT Director for Strategic Management the drafting, signing, and communication of a merger implementation agreement by the three merging technikons was the most critical factor in the eventual finalisation of the merger process. The role of communication was therefore sacrosanct. The only criticism of mergers was the lack of concomitant resources and an appropriate change management strategy by the Department of Higher Education.

Figure 1 depicts TUT's seriousness concerning the culture of efficiency. Merger task teams were established for purposes of implementing resolutions adopted by each merging partner.

In their entirety, the findings reveal interesting dynamics, especially from a single-type case study. All stakeholders were TUT-based, but unanimity on any single merger-related factor was rare. An observation looming large is that race is still a factor in South African society, notwithstanding the noble intentions of the higher education mergers. The internal dynamics at TUT are generally reflective of tensions, trends, and patterns that characterised almost all South African higher education institutions during the mergers.

CONCLUSION

Notwithstanding the disparate organisational cultures of both pre- and post-merger institutions of higher learning, the common historical background of each institution generates confidence in the capacity of the single-type case study to develop generalisable aspects across all or most South African institutions. To a large extent, the TUT merger reflects the democratically elected government's measured successes in its policy objectives.

This study's findings could be tested by other researchers conducting similar investigations in other contexts. Noting that the study focused on a research topic with no previous local precedence and immediate topicality of available literature, the empirical phase of the study was valuable in obtaining multiple stakeholder perspectives. The researcher argues that future studies on local higher education mergers should also focus more on participatory research methods in order to maximise data collection.

The absence of a number of stakeholders in the study was occasioned by factors beyond the researcher's control. These include students, curriculum practitioners, middle managers, other labour organisations, and members of civil society. These stakeholders' involvement would demystify the notion of higher learning as an exclusionary project.

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