The changing racial profile of academic staff at South African higher education institutions (HEIs), 2005–2013

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Abstract

South Africa has undergone transformation since the end of apartheid governance in 1994. Legislatively enforced, this transformation has permeated most sectors of society, including higher education. Questions remain, however, about the extent to which transformation has occurred in Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) in general, and across the academic staff body in HEIs in particular. In this study, we examine the transformation of academic staff profiles at HEIs throughout the country. Initially, we graph the racial profile of academics across multiple positions (junior lecturer to professor) from 2005 to 2013. We

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then use correlational analysis to identify which characteristics of universities in South Africa can be used to explain the racial inequities evident in South African HEIs. Our results indicate that world university ranking; percentage black African staff; percentage black African student body; and whether the university is 'historically disadvantaged', all influence the racial profile of the academic staff body to varying degrees. The size of the overall staff and study body does not appear to influence the racial profile of universities' staff component. We conclude that transformation of the academic staff body of HEIs in South Africa is indeed occurring, albeit slowly. Rather than seeing this as a negative, we argue that the pace of 'academic' transformation in the country needs to be interpreted within the framework of academic governance.

Keywords: South Africa, higher education institutions (HEIs), racial profile, academic staff, transformation, governance

Introduction

The transformation of South African Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) has been at the forefront of the educational policy adopted by the African National Congress (ANC) since its inception to power in 1994. Over the past 20 years, various reports have been published and policies drafted which have aimed to advance, redress and seek social equity in higher education; particularly for those who suffered injustices under apartheid. The earliest overarching legislation governing transformation was the Employment Equity Act No. 55 of 1998. Whilst not confined to higher education, the Act implemented affirmative action measures to redress the disadvantages in employment experienced by designated groups (notably previously disadvantaged persons), and to ensure their equitable representation in all occupational categories and levels in the workforce. In 2000, the newly-formed Council on Higher Education (CHE) produced a report entitled '*Towards a new higher education landscape*' which again identified the inequitable racial distribution of students and staff in different fields of learning and teaching as a major challenge facing South Africa (CHE 2000). In response to these and other ongoing challenges facing transformation in higher education, the Ministry of Education published a report in 2008 which outlined the need to revisit transformation (Soudien, Michaels, Mthembi-Mahanyele, Nkomo, Nyanda, Nyoka, Seepe, Shisana and Villa-Vicencio 2008). The commonly referred to Soudien report employed primarily qualitative methods to conclude that transformation was indeed occurring, albeit slowly in higher education.

Most recently, a debate has been ongoing in South Africa regarding the meaning; measurement and interpretation of transformation in the country's higher education institutions (HEIs) (see Cloete 2014; Govinder, Zondo and Makgoba 2013; Moultrie and Dorrington 2014). Some scholars emphasise the need to adequately and accurately measure and document its implementation (Govinder et al 2013);

whilst other scholars are concerned with the measuring instrument recently devised to measure transformation (Dunne 2014; Moultrie and Dorrington 2014) as well as the overall meaning/definition and value of this concept to HEIs (Cloete 2014). The overarching issue in the literature pertaining to the transformation of the academic staff body in South Africa seems to relate to the two supposedly competing notions of equity and quality (Badat 2003; Nkomo 1992). In terms of the former, the aim of most policy documents governing transformation of HEIs in post-apartheid South Africa has been to bring academic staff profiles in closer alignment with student and national demographics. This has largely failed due to various factors including a lack of institutional will, as well as the fact that generally academic positions become vacant only when senior staff retire and relatively few new positions are created in a context of declining student enrolments (Gibbon and Kabaki 2002). Postgraduate throughput rates are also slow which means that the pool from which young black African academic staff could be recruited is small, and there is intense competition for well-qualified black Africans from the government, the private sector and amongst other institutions (Gibbon and Kabaki 2002). In terms of the latter, there is an unsubstantiated fear that overall quality and academic standards will drop if transformation occurs at HEIs, a notion alluded to in the recent online admissions policy debate at the University of Cape Town (UCT) (see Mangcu 2014; Price 2014a; Price 2014b). The equity-quality debate has been ongoing, with levels of dissatisfaction growing from both staff and students across the racial divide culminating in the much-publicised '#RhodesMustFall' movement at UCT in March 2015 as well as similar demonstrations about the lack of academic staff transformation at both the University of Stellenbosch and Rhodes University. In this work we contribute to this debate by examining the changing racial profile of academic staff across all academic levels at 23 South African HEIs. We extend the debate by using empirical data to provide insight into the *causes* of existing racial inequities in academic staff bodies. We address both notions of equity and quality in our analyses by illustrating how the academic staff profiles of HEIs are slowly beginning to reflect the existing national racial demographics; and we show how the existing pace of transformation, whilst slow, will not affect quality nor standards but rather embolden and elevate them.

Previous Work

Much has been written regarding the transformation of the South African higher education sector in post-apartheid South Africa. This body of work has mainly focused on the transformation of the academic student body (Govinder et al 2013), the disjuncture between transformation policy and implementation (Badat and Sayed 2014; Bozalek and Boughey 2012); the equity-quality (development) debate (Akoojee and Nkomo 2007); the student and/or staff experience of transformation (De Jager

and Soontiens 2009; Fourie 1999; Mabokela 2001; Mapesela and Hay 2006; Ramohai 2014; Seabi, Seedat, Khoza-Shangase and Sullivan 2014; Weber and Vandeyar 2004; Worger 2014); funding and the attainment of transformation goals (Wangenge-Ouma 2010); and whether international trends in higher education (such as massification, marketisation and managerialism) have compromised the transformation agenda in South Africa (Bundy 2005; Cloete 2014). Much less research has focused on the state of transformation of the academic *staff body* of HEIs; and even less employing empirical methods. One notable exception is Govinder and Makgoba (2013) who devised an equality index (EI) to determine the equity profile at South African HEIs. The index is based on a relatively straightforward Euclidean distance formula which can be used to gauge the change in the equity profile of an organisation over a defined period. Govinder et al (2013) applied this EI to 23 universities in South Africa with respect to student enrolments and graduation as well as staff employed. A total of 230 EIs were generated for both students and staff and were compared within and between universities. The researchers found large variability in the equity profile of South African universities with some institutions exhibiting 'good' equity whilst other institutions, mainly characteristic of the 'previously advantaged' universities, showing much poorer equity. Govinder et al (2013) concluded by emphasising the essential role of high-level knowledge production in the quality of equity during the transformation process. Despite receiving much criticism (see Cloete 2014; Moultrie and Dorrington 2014) the EI devised by Govinder and colleagues remains the only measurable instrument to assess transformation at individual institutions in the country.

In this article we add to this extant literature by examining the state of transformation of the academic staff body at 23 HEIs in South Africa. We chart the racial profile of academics across multiple academic positions from 2005 to 2013 and then use partial correlations in an attempt to explain the racial inequities evident in South African HEIs. In contrast to much previous work, we use existing empirical data and statistical analysis to first identify the trends over the past nine years, and second, begin to ascribe tentative explanations for the trends observed.

Method

The data used to analyse the racial distribution of academic staff at HEIs in South Africa were obtained from the South African Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET). The data obtained from the DHET included the racial breakdown of academic staff across five academic ranks: junior lecturer, lecturer, senior lecturer, associate professor and professor. The data were obtained for the years 2005-2013 inclusive and for all 23 universities in South Africa (see Table 1).

Table 1: The 23 South African universities examined in the study

University	Abbreviation
Cape Peninsula University of Technology	CPUT
Central University of Technology	CUT
Durban University of Technology	DUT
Mangosuthu University of Technology	MUT
Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University	NNMU
North-West University	NWU
Rhodes University	Rhodes
Tshwane University of Technology	TUT
University of Cape Town	UCT
University of Fort Hare	UFH
University of Johannesburg	UJ
University of KwaZulu-Natal	UKZN
University of Limpopo	UL
University of Pretoria	UP
University of South Africa	UNISA
University of Stellenbosch	US
University of the Free State	UFS
University of Venda	UV
University of the Western Cape	UWC
University of the Witwatersrand	WITS
University of Zululand	UZ
Vaal University of Technology	VUT
Walter Sisulu University	WSU

The racial profile of these institutions over this time period was then calculated. Next, we sought to identify which characteristics of universities in South Africa can be used predict the racial profile of academic staff using correlational analysis. Six characteristics of universities were selected in an attempt to identify any possible explanation for the profiles observed. The six characteristics are shown in Table 2, together with a short description of the characteristic and the source of the data used.

Table 2: Description of six university characteristics used in the study

Characteristic	Description	Source
QS Rankinga	Annual university rankings published by British Quacquarelli Symonds (QS)	http://www.topuniversities.com
Historically disadvantagedb	Institutions that were established with the intention of serving the disadvantaged majority community under apartheid	Rabe & Rugananan (2012)
% black student body	The percentage of the student body that classifies themselves as black African	DHET (2014)
% black staff body	The percentage of the staff body that classifies themselves as black African	DHET (2014)
Staff sizec	The staff size of the institution	DHET (2014)
Student sized	The student size of the institution	DHET (2014)

[a] *QS Ranking = 1; No QS Ranking = 0*
[b] *Historically disadvantaged = 1; Not historically disadvantaged = 0*
[c] *The staff size refers to the academic staff only*
[c] *The student size refers to both undergraduates and postgraduates*

The Times Higher Education-Quacquarelli Symonds (QS) ranking provides a global comparison of universities and measures their success against the notional mission of remaining or becoming world-class (Times Higher Education 2007). This measure was included to ascertain whether the stratification of academic staff across racial groups in HEIs in South Africa is skewed based on university ranking. We included the 'historically disadvantaged' characteristic because we were interested in examining whether black African staff in particular were more likely to be located at historically disadvantaged universities. Previous research has shown how black African students struggle to adapt and cope with cultural biases and preferences prevalent at historically white universities (see Sedlacek 1999; Sennett, Finchilescu, Gibson and Strauss 2003) whilst 'alienating institutional cultures' at historically white institutions have also been found to result in these institutions struggling to attract and retain black African academics (Cape Higher Education Consortium [CHEC] 2013, 10). We wanted to test these findings. We were also interested in examining whether the current profile of the academic staff body in South African HEIs reflects historical apartheid prescribed trends whereby non-white academics (across all rankings) were legislatively required to be employed at historically disadvantaged universities (see Bunting 2002). For this reason we included the percentage black student body, and the percentage black staff body in our analysis. Finally, we

included the size of the staff and student component to determine whether the size of the institution affects the institutions' racial academic staff profile. It could be that staff of a certain racial grouping are attracted to smaller/niche, or larger institutions. Currently, larger, traditionally white universities have various measures in place to change academic staff demographics by attracting non-white staff. Measures include reserving posts for designated groups; providing longer academic leave; offering financial incentives; and introducing a staff development programme (CHEC 2013). We were interested in whether this has any effect on the existing racial staff profile on HEIs in South Africa. Finally, a number of other characteristics were considered, for example the institutional type grouping of institutions, as well as their physical location. In these and other instances institutions transcend both administrative and physical boundaries - UNISA being a case in point - making data collection and associated statistical inferences prone to error. As a result we identified various characteristics that we believe are of scholarly interest to educators; using data that is accurate, public and freely available.

Partial correlations were undertaken to test the independent relation of each of the six identified university characteristics to each racial grouping per academic rank. The results of this analysis are shown in Tables 3a-d.

Table 3a: Partial correlations between per cent black African academics and various characteristics of South African universities

	Junior lecturer	**Lecturer**	**Senior lecturer**	**Associate Professor**	**Professor**
QS Ranking	.45	-.47*	-.44	-.20	-.25
Historically disadvantaged	.03	.06	-.14	.47	-.02
% black student body	.51*	-.38	-.35	-.16	-.05
% black staff body	.30	.91***	.85***	.54*	.64*
Staff size	-.40	.01	.14	.12	-.09
Student size	.42	.09	-.11	.37	-.29

*Note: *p<0.05 **p<0.01 ***p<0.001*

Table 3b: Partial correlations between per cent white academics and various characteristics of South African universities

	Junior lecturer	Lecturer	Senior lecturer	Associate Professor	Professor
QS Ranking	-.31	-.03	-.09	-.09	.00
Historically disadvantaged	-.14	-.42	-.42	-.38	-.21
% black student body	-.31	.19	.12	-.06	-.01
% black staff body	-.24	-.48*	-.33	-.37	-.39
Staff size	-.27	-.21	-.19	-.31	.11
Student size	.13	-.11	-.17	-.37	-.10

*Note: *p<0.05 **p<0.01 ***p<0.001*

Table 3c: Partial correlations between per cent coloured academics and various characteristics of South African universities

	Junior lecturer	Lecturer	Senior lecturer	Associate Professor	Professor
QS Ranking	-.24	-.28	-.19	-.16	.13
Historically disadvantaged	.09	.11	.27	.19	.33
% black student body	-.10	-.09	-.09	-.29	-.08
% black staff body	-.12	-.21	-.22	-.06	-.28
Staff size	-.15	-.11	.04	.15	.21
Student size	-.03	-.16	-.04	-.04	-.16

*Note: *p<0.05 **p<0.01 ***p<0.001*

Table 3d: Partial correlations between per cent Indian academics and various characteristics of South African universities

	Junior lecturer	Lecturer	Senior lecturer	Associate Professor	Professor
QS Ranking	.09	.48*	.40	.40	.21
Historically disadvantaged	.17	.46	.48*	.12	.14
% black student body	-.25	.04	.11	.32	.15
% black staff body	.23	-.39	-.44	-.18	-.14
Staff size	.02	.31	.27	.15	-.03
Student size	.43	.23	.09	.37	.41

*Note: *p<0.05 **p<0.01 ***p<0.001*

Results

The racial profile of HEIs in South Africa by academic rank reveals a number of interesting findings. First, there are more black African junior lecturers in South Africa than junior lecturers of any other racial grouping (see Figure 1a). In fact, it is the only academic rank where black Africans have a greater percentage representation than any other racial grouping. Encouragingly this trend has also marginally increased from 48 per cent in 2005 to 56 per cent in 2013. Given national demographics, black Africans are still, however, under-represented in this academic rank whilst whites are over-represented. Conversely, the percentage of white junior lecturers in South Africa has decreased over the same time period whilst the percentage of coloured and Indian junior lecturers has remained relatively stable. An interesting trend emerges between the percentage of black African and white lecturer rank in South Africa (Figure 1b). Similar to the junior lecturer trend, the percentage of black African lecturers in the country has steadily increased whilst the percentage of white lecturers has marginally decreased during the study period. The trend lines for the percentage of black African and percentage of white lecturers converge in 2013. If this trend continues, it suggests that from 2013 onwards the percentage of black African lecturers will surpass the percentage of white lecturers in the country for the first time. Again, similar to the junior lecturer trend the percentage of coloured and Indian lecturers has remained relatively stable and largely representative of their respective national demographics.

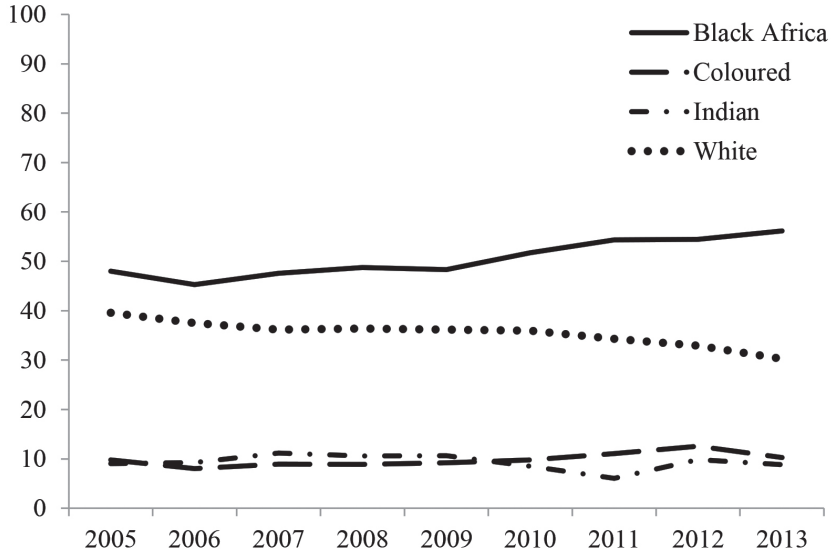

Figure 1a: The percentage of junior lecturers by racial group in South Africa (2005–2013)

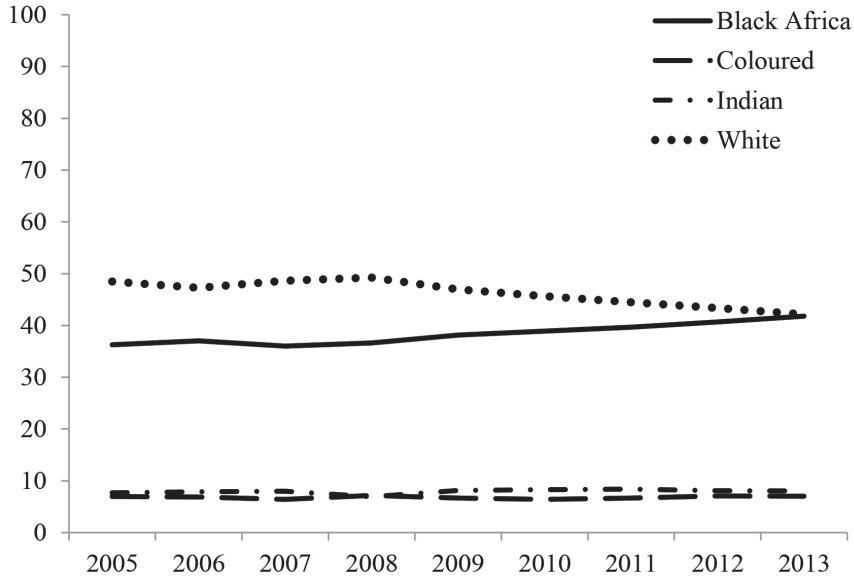

Figure 1b: The percentage of lecturers by racial group in South Africa (2005–2013)

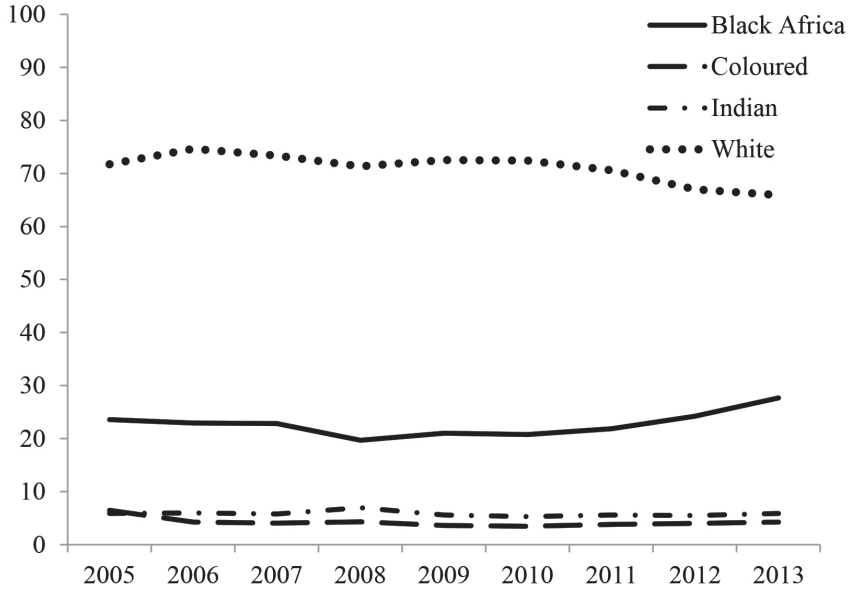

Figure 1c: The percentage of senior lecturers by racial group in South Africa (2005–2013)

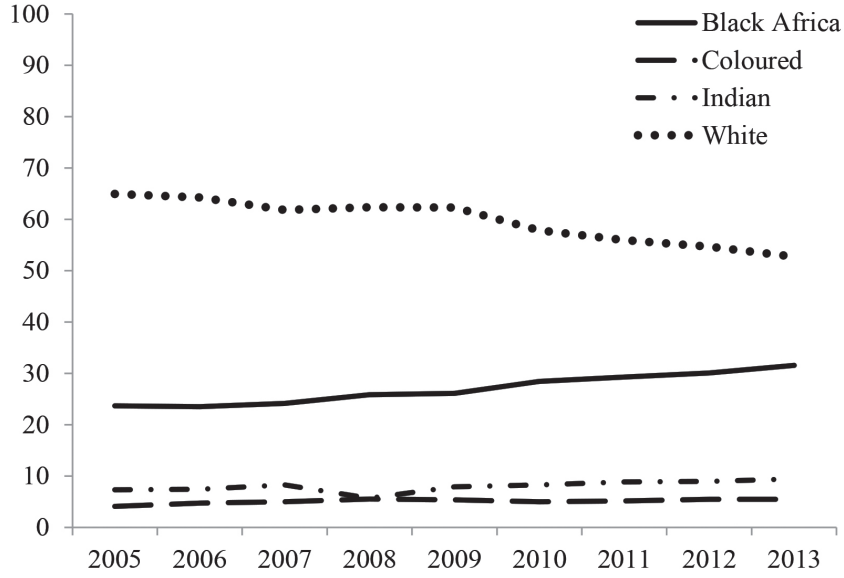

Figure 1d: The percentage of associate professors by racial group in South Africa (2005-2013)

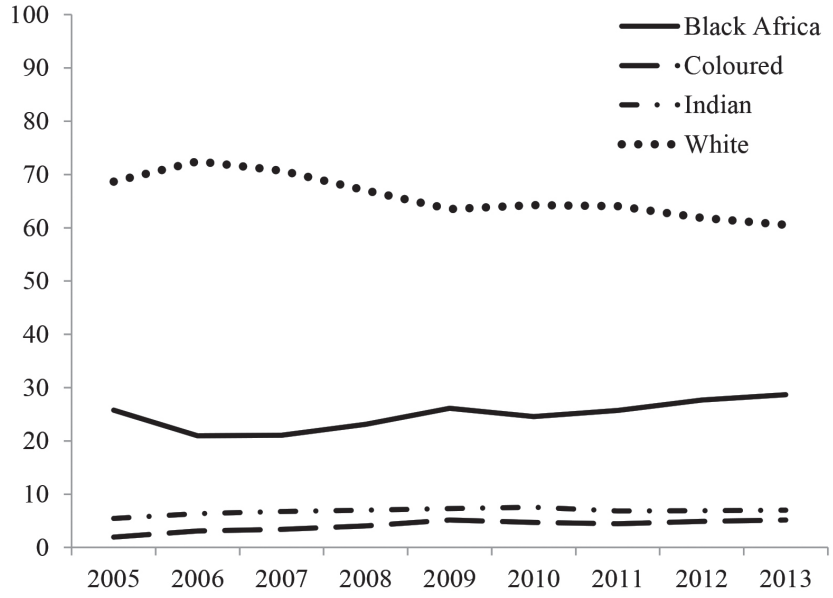

Figure 1e: The percentage of professors by racial group in South Africa (2005-2013)

From the senior lecturer ranking upwards the percentage of white academic staff is greater than any other racial grouping. The difference between the percentage of black African and the percentage of white academic staff is greatest at the professorial rank where 62 per cent of professors are white compared with 27 per cent for black Africans. At the senior lecturer rank again the trend line for the percentage of black Africans is increasing steadily whilst the percentage of white senior lecturers is decreasing; if the current trend lines continue they should converge in 2019. The percentage of Indian senior lecturers is marginally higher than the percentage of coloured senior lecturers but again these trends are largely consistent with national demographics. The trends found at both the associate professorial and professorial ranks are similar to those observed in the previous rankings (with the exception of the junior lecturer rank) with the percentage of white academic staff greater than any other racial grouping. What is notable, however, is that the differences between the percentage of white associate professor and professor academic rank and all other racial groups are greatest at the more senior ranks. These findings suggest that the limited numbers of black Africans within the South African professoriate are most concentrated at the lower levels of the country's academic prestige system. It should, however, be noted that the overall trend between the percentage of black African and the percentage of white staff, even at the more senior academic rankings, is consistent with the trends found at the more junior rankings with the percentage of black African senior academics trending upwards and the percentage of white senior academics trending downwards, although these trends are less pronounced.

Next, we sought to identify which characteristics of universities in South Africa can be used to predict the existing racial profile of academic staff across all academic rankings. As indicated in table 3a, when all other characteristics are controlled for the percentage of black African lecturers is not correlated 0.06 (p<0.001) with historically disadvantaged universities. The partial correlation analysis indicates that when the effect of the other characteristics is controlled, there is no association between percentage of black African lecturers and historically disadvantaged universities. However, when all the other characteristics are controlled, black African lecturers are still more likely to be in universities without a QS ranking. There are a number of other noteworthy findings from Table 3a. First, the results suggest that black African junior lecturers are more likely to be located in universities with a high percentage of black African students. This association is, however, only found at the junior lecturer rank for black African academics. Second, universities with a high percentage of black African staff appears to be the most important factor predicting black African academic participation in South African universities, particularly at the more senior levels.

The only significant association found between the percentage of white academics and the selected characteristics of South African universities was a negative association found between the percentage of white lecturers and the percentage of black African

staff (see Table 3b). This finding indicates that when all other characteristics are controlled, white lecturers are less likely to be located in universities with a high percentage of black African staff. None of the five other characteristics examined in this study were found to significantly predict the presence of any other white academics across all ranks. Moreover, no significant results were found between the percentage of coloured academics and various characteristics of South African universities (see Table 3c); suggesting that factors other than those examined here could possibly predict their employment in South African universities. Last, two significant results were found when examining the percentage of Indian academics and the selected characteristics of South African universities (see Table 3d). At the lecturer ranking, Indian academics are more likely to be located in universities that have a QS ranking, whilst Indian senior lecturers are more likely to be employed in historically disadvantaged universities, after controlling for the effect of the other selected set of characteristics.

Based on the partial correlation analysis the main findings suggest that the QS ranking; percentage of black African staff and student body and whether the university is historically disadvantaged, all influence the racial profile of the academic staff body. The size of the staff and study body do not appear to influence the racial profile of universities' staff component after the other characteristics are partialed. The results of this descriptive and analytical analysis warrant further attention.

Discussion

The topic of transformation can elicit an emotional response from residents of South Africa. The concept is clear yet contentious; multi-faceted yet simple. We do not intend to delve into the transformation debate here but rather seek to examine the state of transformation of academic staff at South African HEIs since 2005. We were also interested in identifying preliminary explanations for the existing racial profile of academic staff at HEIs. Not only did the results of our research show the changing racial profile of academic staff across all HEIs in South Africa from 2005, but we also identified preliminary explanations for the existing racial profiles at these institutions. In terms of the former, the overall trend for black African academics across all rankings from 2005 is upwards; that is, the percentage of black African junior lecturers through to professors is steadily increasing. In contrast, the overall trend for white academics is marginally downwards (and should cascade downwards based on the current trends). The percentages of both coloured and Indian academics have remained relatively stable across all institutions since 2005. Black African lecturers through to professors are, however, more likely to be employed at universities with a high percentage of black African academic staff whilst black African junior lecturers tend to be employed at universities without a QS ranking. White lecturers are more likely to be employed at universities with a low percentage

of black African staff while Indian lecturers are more likely to be employed at universities with a QS ranking, and Indian senior lecturers tend to be employed at historically disadvantaged universities.

It is difficult to compare the results of this research with work conducted elsewhere, given the contextual differences between South Africa and other countries. Locally, we are unaware of research that has examined the racial profile progression of HEIs in the country. Whilst numerous commentators bemoan the lack of transformation in HEIs in South Africa post-apartheid (see Govinder and Makgoba 2014; Mangcu 2014), often little cognisance is given to seeing the 'whole picture' of academic staff transformation and the focus is rather on the lack of transformation; particularly at the more senior levels.

Whilst we make no great proclamations here, the results of our research indicate that transformation of academic staff *is indeed* occurring in South Africa. This transformation is most noticeable at the lower academic levels where, for example, black African junior lecturers greatly exceed their white, coloured and Indian counterparts; and at the lecturer level where the percentage of black African academics should exceed their white counterparts from 2014 onwards. Whilst black Africans are still under-represented across all academic ranks, this under-representation is slowly declining. Numerous reasons have been identified for the supposed slow transformation of HEIs in South Africa; these include a lack of black African post-graduates (Price 2014a), lack of credible leadership (Jansen 2004), an outdated institutional culture at historically advantaged universities (Mangcu 2014) and a lack of suitable policy (Bozalek and Boughey 2012), among others. Whilst there is validity in each of these explanations, we believe another reason for the relatively 'slow' transformation of South African HEIs (as observed in this study) could lie in the nature of academia itself. It takes a number of years to acquire suitable and relevant qualifications to be considered for any academic appointment, regardless of race. Once employed, progression through the various academic ranks from junior lecturer through to professor requires considerable achievements and excellence in teaching, research, administration and community engagement, among numerous other key performance indicators. Quick progression to the professorial level is a rarity internationally with Wulff and Austin (2004) noting that it should take at least 15 years before a graduate student could be considered for a professorial position; and even that would be considered an exceptional achievement. Currently only 34 per cent of university academic staff in the country hold a doctoral degree (CHET 2012), a most basic academic prerequisite to progress up the academic ranks. Given the injustices of the past, this could possibly explain the disparity between white and black African academics, especially at more senior levels.

Researchers have outlined interventions to increase the number of black African academics, particularly professors, in the country (see Mabokela 2000; Mangcu, 2014; Price 2014b). These include accelerating the promotion of black African

academics; retaining existing black African academic staff; changing the institutional climate of HEIs and offering suitable black African candidates an appointment regardless of whether there is a vacancy or not. Whilst these interventions could eventually lead to an increase the number of black African professors in the country, we do not believe they are quite necessary if the Employment Equity Act No. 55 of 1998 is suitably enacted. Moreover, the results of this research show that overall transformation of academic staff in South Africa *is* indeed occurring and continuing. Pienaar and Bester (2006) report that between five and 18 per cent of academics leave the South African higher education sector annually. Thus, patience is required before the racial profile of academic staff bodies in South Africa more accurately reflects national demographics. The increasing trends in the percentage of black African academics in the lower academic ranks will, in time, translate into an increase in the number of black African academics in more senior ranks leading to a more representative academic staff body in the country. The resultant increase in black African professors will be a natural occurrence if the current trends continue as they are. This will occur despite the natural cessation over time of black African academics due to death, retirement, and the omnipresent allure of government and/or the private sector. Even at the post-graduate level the Centre for Higher Education Transformation (CHET) has highlighted the fact that in 2010, for the first time in history, there were more black African than white doctoral students enrolled in South African higher education (CHET 2012). Moreover, it is estimated that in the coming decade over 4 000 or 27 per cent of academics will retire, including 50 per cent of the most highly qualified professors and associate professors, the vast majority of them white males (DHET 2014). This knowledge, supplemented with the results of this work, suggests that South Africa does not need a quick fix to achieving overall academic staff transformation, only patience, understanding, and time.

There are a number of limitations in our study that are worth noting. First, we are aware that numerous other factors could potentially contribute towards the overall racial profile of an academic staff body; these include among others remuneration, status/prestige, institutional culture and climate, and other important location considerations (city/town; rural/urban; coastal/inland). We believe we have identified and examined a few main factors that could elucidate racial inequities among HEIs in South Africa. Future work could expand on this work and take other factors into consideration. Second, we only provided a nine year snapshot of the racial profile progression of HEIs in South Africa (i.e. 2005-2013). We believe, however, that this time period is long enough to witness the transformation that is occurring and enable us to speculate on future trends. It is important to note that DHET data pertaining to 2014 were unavailable to us at the time of writing. Third, the classification of universities now as being 'historically disadvantaged' can be problematic. In our study we classified a university as being a historically disadvantaged university if that institution was established with the intention of serving the majority black

African community under apartheid. The merger of 36 HEIs of South Africa into 23 at the start of the new millennium resulted in the dilution of both the academic staff and student bodies. For example, the merger of the University of the North-West, the Sebokeng Campus of Vista University and Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education into North-West University in 2004 resulted in greater equity among the student and staff profile. In our study, however, the North-West University was obviously not classified as being historically disadvantaged. Last, by aggregating academic positions we potentially mask important local differences in equity profiles that exist between universities. For example, the finding that black junior lecturers exceed their white, Indian and coloured counterparts across all universities provides an important overall picture of transformation at this academic rank, but it could be that the percentage of black African junior lecturers are especially high at only a handful of institutions and/or these institutions could be historically disadvantaged universities, although this was found not be to be case. Notwithstanding these issues, we believe that the results of this work contribute to the growing debate surrounding the transformation of HEIs in South Africa and lay the foundation for future empirical work in this area.

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