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The Case for Locating the New Universities in Mpumalanga and the Northern Cape within Urban Areas

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Executive Summary

The South African government through the Ministry of Higher Education and Training has taken a decision to establish two new universities, one each in Mpumalanga and the Northern Cape.

Public universities are primarily established to address issues of access. In developing countries there is often the dual objective of access and equity as the main motivating factor. However, when considering the creation of new higher education institutions, their potential contribution to development more broadly, and economic development specifically, must also be taken into account.

There are several (mutually-inclusive) ways in which higher education can impact on economic development. These include the following: human capital formation; economic growth; development of the Knowledge Economy; and regional and local development. Focusing on these issues is vital for the development of such provinces as Mpumalanga and the Northern Cape so that they can address the various socio-economic challenges facing their regions.

There are very good “equity” reasons for the establishment of universities in rural areas. These relate primarily to ensuring increased access for students from rural and/or low-income backgrounds. In countries in which rural university development has been relatively successful (e.g. USA, Finland), such institutions have been closely linked to the widespread development of primary sector economic activities, mainly agriculture and mining.

However, a common feature relating to the establishment of rural universities is the relatively high degree of subsidisation required for the establishment and continued effective functioning of such institutions.

In Sub-Saharan Africa, the experience with rural universities generally has not been encouraging. This is due mainly to the fact that higher education is almost everywhere seriously underfunded and within this sub-sector, rural universities and other higher education institutions, are unfairly disadvantaged.

Of the rural universities in South Africa, only Rhodes University could be described as making reasonable progress towards achieving all of the goals of a university including effective teaching and human capital formation, research, and contributing to regional and local development.

With the possible exception of Rhodes, the rural universities in South Africa face a number of apparently insurmountable challenges, foremost amongst which are the following:

inadequate funding; inability to attract and retain highly qualified staff; and geographic isolation inhibiting broader economic and social development.

Urban universities, on the other hand, almost always find themselves in circumstances in which it is much easier to develop effective 'symbiotic' relationships with the regional economy and the broader community. This is due, inter alia, to the better economic (e.g. roads, rail, air transport, IT connectivity) and social infrastructure (e.g. good schools, health facilities, housing) prevalent in urban areas, the higher concentration of economic activity including in particular a greater preponderance of activities that require high levels of 'human capital' for research and innovation, and the greater ability to attract and retain high quality academic and administrative staff.

The 'symbiotic' or mutually beneficial relationships that universities and other higher education institutions develop with the industry and the broader community will be dependent on a number of economic and social factors, foremost amongst which are the following: employment, procurement, research and innovation, university-industry linkages, and university-community linkages.

One of the great economic advantages held by urban universities is their undoubted ability to generate larger "multiplier" effects in the local economy as a consequence of:

- a) direct employment and income generation (academic and administrative staff);
- b) indirect employment (e.g. through student spending and university procurement);
- c) human capital formation, through teaching and research; and
- d) regional and economic growth, through human capital formation, research, university-industry linkages.

In Mpumalanga, the factors favouring Nelspruit as the site for the new university are numerous and weighted heavily in favour of a greater potential for growth and development. These include a high density population; excellent economic and social infrastructure; seat of the provincial government; greater potential to attract and retain high quality staff; greater student employment opportunities; lowest levels of poverty by municipality; and a high level of economic activity together with the greatest potential for growth given the greater diversification of its economy into services, trade, and manufacturing.

The case **against** a selection of Mpumalanga rural towns - Secunda, eMalahleni, Barberton, White River and Bushbuckridge - rests on the following factors:

- a) small populations – difficult to draw appropriate university (especially administrative staff; to a lesser extent academic staff as well, but it is expected that most highly qualified academic staff will be drawn from outside the province, especially in the short term);

- b) relatively high levels of poverty and underdevelopment, especially Bushbuckridge and Emalahleni;
- c) local economies dominated by one sector – mining or agriculture;
- d) relatively unsophisticated retail and wholesale sectors vis a vis procurement requirements of a university;
- e) employment prospects for students and graduates are relatively low; and
- f) lower quantity and quality of economic and social infrastructure.

Similarly, in the Northern Cape, the following factors favour the selection of Kimberley: excellent economic and social infrastructure; close proximity to other regional centres and higher education institutions; the greatest concentration of population in the province; seat of the provincial government; established commercial and tourist centre; greatest potential in the province for attracting and retaining staff; lowest level of poverty by municipality; and relatively high potential for growth given the greater diversification of its economy particularly into services. Even though the mining sector is declining in Kimberley, the potential for growth with a more diversified economy than any other town in the province is inherently greater.

The case **against** locating the university in Colesberg or Upington rests on the following factors:

- a) small populations – difficult to draw appropriate university (administrative and academic staff);
- b) local economies dominated by one sector – mining or agriculture;
- d) relatively unsophisticated retail and wholesale sectors vis a vis procurement requirements of a university;
- e) employment prospects for students and graduates are relatively low; and
- f) lower quantity and quality of economic and social infrastructure.
- g) harsh semi desert climate in Upington, which detracts from attracting academic and administrative staff as well as students.

In conclusion, the case for establishing the new universities in Kimberley and Nelspruit is a very strong one compared to Colesberg and Upington on the one hand (Northern Cape), and Barberton, Bushbuckridge, eMalahleni, Secunda, and White River (Mpumalanga) on the other. This case can be made on both economic and social grounds.

On all the criteria listed and evaluated here, Kimberley and Nelspruit demonstrate much greater potential for ensuring the success of a university in the short and long terms in comparison with their respective counterparts.

With regard to the long term viability of rural universities, there may be lessons to be

drawn from the plans being developed by the University of Fort Hare to develop its urban campus in East London. Recently, UFH has been putting in place ambitious plans to raise the profile of its urban campus in order to exploit the potential for enormous student growth as well as cultivating linkages with the Buffalo City Metro. In moving from a primarily rural focus to a rural-urban one, the potential for the university, on the one hand, and the local and regional economies, on the other, to derive substantial benefits, is immense. It would appear therefore that Fort Hare has recognised the value for its longer term survival of locating at least part of its institution in an urban environment.

Finally, in considering the location of the universities in Mpumalanga and the Northern Cape, there is no doubt, for the reasons enunciated earlier, that Nelspruit and Kimberley respectively are the best available options. For the longer term, however, consideration should be given to developing a decentralized model that incorporates the comparative advantages of the other towns. For example, there could be a college relating to the Square Kilometre Array in Colesburg and a college of Agriculture in Upington. Similarly, in Mpumalanga, consideration could be given to a Mining College in eMalahleni/Secunda, geology and earth sciences in Barberton, and so on, taking into account the possibly unique economic characteristics of some of these towns.

1. Introduction

The South African government through the Ministry of Higher Education and Training has taken a decision to establish two new universities, one each in Mpumalanga and the Northern Cape.

The Department of Higher and Training (DHET) has set out the rationale for the creation of the new higher education institutions. Specifically, the new institutions are required to advance the “national goals for higher education, particularly:

- Enrolment growth and increased participation in absolute numbers and in proportion to the population demographics of the country; and
- Growth in teaching and academic capacity in order to support sustained national development” (DHET, 2012, Annexure 01:2).

Moreover, at the regional and local levels, the new institutions are expected to:

- “Create a strong hub in each province, characterized by strong main campuses that promote a regional focus on higher education;
- Enable maximum access within the country, the province, and, indeed internationally;
- Contribute to the economic growth and cultural development of the respective provinces; and
- Draw on the individuality and strengths of each province to develop a unique academic focus” (DHET, 2012a, Annexure 01:2).

Section 2 examines the relationship between universities and economic development. It raises important aspects relating to the potential of higher education in general, and universities in particular to contributing to economic development, and more specifically to economic growth, the knowledge economy, and regional and local development.

Section 3 delves into the rationale for establishing rural universities, the associated challenges faced by such institutions, and why urban universities almost always are able to develop effective ‘symbiotic’ relationships with the regional economy and the broader community.

Section 4 notes the recommendations of the DHET-appointed Project Management Team (DHET-PMT) while section 5 evaluates the proposed sites in both provinces by comparing them with a set of other towns, also examined by the DHET-PMT. Section 6 concludes by a) reinforcing the case for Nelspruit and Kimberley; b) drawing some lessons from developments at the University of Fort Hare; and c) proposing the development of a decentralized university model for the medium to long terms.

2. Universities and Economic Development

Public universities are primarily established to address issues of access. In developing countries there is often the dual objective of access and equity as the main motivating factor. However, when considering the creation of new higher education institutions, their potential contribution to development more broadly, and economic development specifically, must be taken into account.

This section provides a short, illustrative exposition of the role of higher education in economic development. The purpose here is to highlight the important role which universities and other HE institutions can play in stimulating economic and broader sustainable development.

There are several (mutually-inclusive) ways in which higher education can impact on economic development. These include the following: human capital formation; economic growth; and the Knowledge Economy.

Most higher education institutions (HEIs), specifically universities, undertake two core functions: education and training; and research. In the former role, universities create “human capital” through producing graduates in various disciplines. These graduates can contribute to economic growth and development through employment in the labour market.

Focusing on human capital formation, economic growth, and the development of the knowledge economy, is vital for the development of such provinces as Mpumalanga and the Northern Cape so that they can address the various socio-economic challenges facing their regions. In addition, the role of universities in enhancing regional and local development is absolutely critical.

Recent OECD research shows that rich countries are putting considerable emphasis on meeting regional development goals particularly in developing knowledge-based industries. As key sources of knowledge and innovation, HEIs are regarded as central to this process.

To be able to play their regional role, the research suggests that HEIs must do more than simply educate and research – they must engage with others in their regions, provide opportunities for lifelong learning and contribute to the development of knowledge-intensive jobs which will enable graduates to find local employment and remain in their communities. This has implications for all aspects of these institutions’ activities – teaching, research and service to the community and for the policy and regulatory framework in which they operate.

Finally, a severely under-researched area is the relationship between tertiary education institutions (TEIs), especially universities, and local economic development. An important question in this regard is how TEIs can contribute to the capabilities of local firms to take up new technologies and market knowledge and to apply it effectively.

The comparative advantage of certain universities to complement teaching with research is behind the gathering interest in university-industry linkages (UILs) as a vehicle for supporting, if not accelerating technology development. Virtually every industrial country is moving to make university-industry links a centerpiece of its innovation systems, and the notion of a “triple helix” – representing the symbiotic relations linking the government, the universities, and the business community – has acquired wide currency.

Also important is the speed with which industrializing countries (such as China and India, which are constructing innovation systems) have embraced technology as the key to development and, with it the utility of research-oriented universities as a means of augmenting the innovation capability of the economy.

In the context of Mpumalanga and the Northern Cape, the question of where the new universities are located should be determined in the context of these universities’ potential to contribute to all of the economic issues raised here, namely economic growth, the knowledge economy, and regional and local development.

3. Rural vs. Urban Universities

There are very good “equity” reasons for the establishment of universities in rural areas. These relate primarily to ensuring increased access for students from rural and/or low-income backgrounds. In countries in which rural university development has been relatively successful (e.g. USA, Finland), such institutions have been closely linked to the widespread development of primary sector economic activities, mainly agriculture and mining.

However, a common feature relating to the establishment of rural universities is the relatively high degree of subsidisation required for the establishment and continued effective functioning of such institutions. In the USA, for example, the Land Grant Act ensured substantial funding for the creation and continued effective maintenance of rural universities. In Finland, given its strong commitment to equity in all its forms, including regional equity, the government provides full subsidies for the entire higher education system including those in rural areas.

In Sub-Saharan Africa, the experience with rural universities generally has not been encouraging. This is due mainly to the fact that higher education is almost everywhere seriously underfunded and within this sub-sector, rural universities and other higher education institutions, are unfairly disadvantaged.

South Africa has several universities that may be described as rural. These include University of Fort Hare in Alice; Rhodes University in Grahamstown; University of Zululand; and Walter Sisulu University in the former Transkei. Of these institutions, only Rhodes could be described as making reasonable progress towards achieving all of the goals of a university including effective teaching and human capital formation, research, and contributing to regional and local development.

With the possible exception of Rhodes, the rural universities in South Africa face a number of apparently insurmountable challenges, foremost amongst which are the following:

a) **Inadequate funding** relating to inter alia, insufficient state funding, a student base drawn largely from low socio-economic households, and an inability to attract 'third stream' funding from research, industry linkages, and other commercial activities.

b) **Inability to attract and retain highly qualified staff** with the ability to teach, research and develop effective linkages with industry and the broader community.

c) Often these institutions remain isolated in their geographic enclaves both because of their own inability to enhance regional and local development but also because the low level of formal economic activity (given the urban bias of growth in South Africa) is itself a major stumbling block to any efforts that such universities may wish to make to broaden their activities beyond teaching and narrow academic research.

Urban universities, on the other hand, almost always find themselves in circumstances in which it is much easier to develop effective 'symbiotic' relationships with the regional economy and the broader community. This is due, inter alia, to the better economic (e.g. roads, rail, air transport, IT connectivity) and social infrastructure (e.g. good schools, health facilities, housing) prevalent in urban areas, the higher concentration of economic activity including in particular a greater preponderance of activities that require high levels of 'human capital' for research and innovation, and the greater ability to attract and retain high quality academic and administrative staff.

The 'symbiotic' or mutually beneficial relationships that universities and other higher education institutions develop with the industry and the broader community will be

dependent on a number of economic and social factors, foremost amongst which are the following:

1) **Employment:** Universities are generally large employers and must be able to attract and retain high quality academic and administrative staff both from the local and regional economy as well as from the country more broadly. In addition, the local economies should ideally be able to offer both short-term and long-term employment to students and graduates respectively. If graduate employment is possible, the regional economies will undoubtedly benefit in the medium and long terms from this continuous injection of high level skills.

2) **Procurement:** the university must be able to procure all its supplies in the most efficient way possible, that is, at lowest cost. To enhance local and regional development, procurement ideally should be from local suppliers, rather than from 'big city' suppliers. In this regard, rural universities are often at a significant disadvantage, given the huge distances to many suppliers.

3) **Research and Innovation:** Beyond the narrow academic research that most academics undertake (e.g. for journal publications), a much greater need in economies that are aspiring to move towards the knowledge economy, is that of contributing to research and innovation on a much larger scale in areas such as health, agriculture, and industrial development to mention a few sectors.

4) **University-business linkages:** Mutually reinforcing relationships between the university and the local business sector can result in increased revenue for the university, high value-adding products for businesses, and growth in the local and regional economies.

5) **University-community linkages** – universities can contribute inter alia, to improving the quality of teacher education; adult literacy programmes; and community health care.

One of the great economic advantages held by urban universities is their undoubted ability to generate larger “multiplier” effects in the local economy as a consequence of:

- a) direct employment and income generation (academic and administrative staff);
- b) indirect employment (e.g. through student spending and university procurement);
- c) human capital formation, through teaching and research; and
- d) regional and economic growth, through human capital formation, research, and university-industry linkages.

4. Recommendations of the DHET Project Management Team

The DHET-PMT appointed to advise on the sites for the new universities made the following recommendations:

- **Mpumalanga** – The government-owned Lowveld Agricultural College in **Nelspruit** to accommodate 15000 students, with potential for further growth;
- **Northern Cape** – The inner city of **Kimberley**, based on the assembly and consolidation of a number of publicly owned sites in order to accommodate 5000 students, with some potential for further growth.

In the view of the DHET-PMT, the “decisive factors” for selecting Nelspruit were the following:

“The selection of “the seat of delivery” must be based on the ability of the **selected town** to ensure the success of the new university, now and into the future. In this context, the town must provide an appropriate supporting fabric and environment for the university. The selected town must be accessible to the largest possible population, provincially and nationally. It must have attractive social, cultural and recreational amenities and be able to attract and retain top academics. It must be economically and commercially vibrant, able to facilitate some student jobs and internship experience. The prestige and viability of the new institution would be enhanced by a town that is host to important government institutions, research institutes and other public entities.

Within the preferred town, the **selected site** must be well located. It must provide an iconic setting for the university with strong visibility and a prominent presence. It should be of suitable size and shape for current plans as well as future expansion over many decades. It should be able to be quickly and cost effectively serviced and should be unencumbered by complex environmental, land, legal or geotechnical constraints.” (DHET, 2012: 2-3).

In the view of the DHET-PMT, the following factors favoured Nelspruit:

- A prominent growth point, located at the junction of two major development corridors – the R40 and N4 corridors;
- Provides maximum access opportunities to high density populations along both these corridors;
- Modern and effective rail and air infrastructure., e.g boasts an International Airport, providing ease of access for visiting academics and dignitaries;
- Offers environmental quality – with excellent amenities for staff and students

is a pre-eminent centre for tourism and recreation;

- Seat of Provincial Government;
- Offers the most integrated urban system, particularly movement, infrastructure, civic amenities and green structure; and
- Boasts an established and growing commercial, manufacturing and business sector;
- Offers student job and internship opportunities; and
- Offers a broad spectrum of housing opportunities for students and staff. (DHET, 2012a:3).

Similarly, the following factors were put forward to justify the selection of Kimberley as the selected site for the Northern Cape:

- Provides maximum integration with national infrastructure – on the Cape Town to Gauteng route – by both road and rail infrastructure,
- Has an airport;
- In close proximity to other regional centres and higher education institutions – Bloemfontein (170km), Potchefstroom (350km);
- Greatest concentration of population, namely 30% of the total province;
- well developed civic bulk infrastructure;
- broad educational base, namely well respected primary and secondary education, which is important for staff retention;
- offers environmental quality – with good amenities for staff and students, and good potential to attract and retain staff;
- Seat of Provincial Government;
- established commercial centre with a variety of retail and community facilities;
- established tourism centre and gateway to the province;
- offers student job and internship opportunities;
- best offering of housing and student accommodation in the province;
- enjoys a measure of inner city regeneration, in the wake of decreased activity by the mining industry (DHET, 2012: 5)

5. Evaluating the Sites in Mpumalanga and the Northern Cape

An important fact keep in mind is that universities cannot be established to alleviate poverty and stimulate development. The capacity of a university to unilaterally drive development in a context of severe deprivation and underdevelopment is extremely limited. In a context of limited public resources, ideally universities should be built in areas where there is an established and preferably growing regional/local economy. The university can then easily play a role in enhancing economic and social development both by its very presence (e.g. through employment and procurement) and through contributing to local and regional development in the medium and longer terms through human capital formation, research, and potential university-industry linkages. In turn, the university can benefit from easier access to labour, goods and services, and productive linkages with local industry.

5.1 Mpumalanga

The DHET-PMT considered the following towns as sites for the new university: Barberton, Bushbuckridge, eMalahleni, Nelspruit, Secunda, and White River.

In addition to the factors already cited by the DHET-PMT in favour of Nelspruit (also quoted in section 4 above), the following could be added:

- a) relatively high and growing population;
- b) lowest levels of poverty by municipality; and
- c) high level of economic activity together with greatest potential for growth given the greater diversification of its economy into services, trade, and manufacturing.

The case against Secunda, eMalahleni, Barberton, White River and Bushbuckridge rests on the following factors:

- a) small populations – difficult to draw appropriate university (especially administrative staff; to a lesser extent academic staff as well, but it is expected that most highly qualified academic staff will be drawn from outside the province, especially in the short term);
- b) relatively high levels of poverty and underdevelopment, especially Bushbuckridge and Emalahleni
- c) local economies dominated by one sector – mining or agriculture;
- d) relatively unsophisticated retail and wholesale sectors vis a vis procurement requirements of a university;
- e) employment prospects for students and graduates are relatively low; and

f) lower quantity and quality of economic and social infrastructure.

Table 1 shows how Nelspruit fares against the other set of towns on a range of indicators.

Table 1: Comparing Nelspruit and other Mpumalanga Towns

Indicator	Nelspruit	Barberton, Bushbuckridge, eMalahleni, Secunda, White River
University's potential to maximize economic growth	High	Low
Diversification of the local economy	Highly diversified	Low – one or two sectors dominate
Employment: a) providing skills to the university b) providing employment to students and graduates	Does have capacity Does have capacity	Low capacity Low capacity
Quality and quantity of economic infrastructure	Very good	Moderate to poor
Quality and quantity of social infrastructure	Good	Moderate to poor
University's ability to attract and retain high quality academic and administrative staff	High	Low
Costs of procurement	Potentially Low	High
Adequacy of recreational amenities	Good	Moderate to Poor
Capacity to attract private sector investment	High	Low
Poverty levels	Moderate	Moderate to high
Capacity of university to contribute to knowledge economy	Good	Low
Capacity of university to contribute to regional (provincial) development	Good	Low
Capacity of university to contribute to local economy	Good	Good
"Multiplier" effect of establishing a university, creating employment and generating income	High	Low

5.2 Northern Cape

The DHET-PMT considered the following towns as sites for the new university: Colesberg, Kimberley, and Upington

In addition to the factors already cited by the DHET-PMT in favour of Kimberley (also quoted in section 4 above), the following could be added:

- a) relatively high population compared to any other municipality in the province;
- b) lowest levels of poverty by municipality; and
- c) relatively high potential for growth given the greater diversification of its economy particularly into services. Even though the mining sector is declining in Kimberley, the potential for growth with a more diversified economy than any other town in the province, is inherently greater.

The case against locating the university in Colesberg or Upington rests on the following factors:

- a) small populations – difficult to draw appropriate university (administrative and academic staff);
- b) local economies dominated by one sector – mining or agriculture;
- d) relatively unsophisticated retail and wholesale sectors vis a vis procurement requirements of a university;
- e) employment prospects for students and graduates are relatively low; and
- f) lower quantity and quality of economic and social infrastructure.

Table 2: Comparing Kimberley with Colesberg and Upington

Indicator	Kimberley	Colesberg, Upington
University's potential to maximize economic growth	Good	Low
Diversification of the local economy	Fairly diversified	Low – one or two sectors dominate
Employment: a) providing skills to the university b) providing employment to students and graduates	Some capacity Some capacity	Little capacity Little capacity
Quality and quantity of economic infrastructure	Good	Moderate to poor
Quality and quantity of social infrastructure	Good	Moderate to poor
University's ability to attract and retain high quality academic and administrative staff	Good	Poor
Costs of procurement	Potentially low	High
Adequacy of recreational amenities	Good	Moderate to poor
Capacity to attract private sector investment	Good	Low
Poverty levels	Moderate	Moderate to high
Capacity of university to contribute to knowledge economy	Fair	Poor
Capacity of university to contribute to regional (provincial) development	Good	Poor
Capacity of university to contribute to local economy	Good	Good
"Multiplier" effect of establishing a university, creating employment and generating income	High	Low

6. Conclusions

The case for establishing the new universities within urban areas is strong. The key issue is not what the university could do for the town but rather what the town can do to support a thriving university. The argument for Kimberley and Nelspruit is thus very strong compared to Colesberg and Upington on the one hand (Northern Cape), and Barberton, Bushbuckridge, eMalahleni, Secunda, and White River (Mpumalanga) on the other. This case can be made on both economic and social grounds.

As stated earlier, universities cannot be established to primarily alleviate poverty and stimulate development. The capacity of a university to unilaterally drive development in a context of severe deprivation and underdevelopment is extremely limited. In a context of limited public resources, ideally universities should be built in areas where there is an established and preferably growing regional/local economy. The university can then easily play a role in enhancing economic and social development both by its very presence (through employment and procurement) and through contributing to local and regional development in the medium and longer terms.

On all the criteria listed and evaluated here, Kimberley and Nelspruit demonstrate much greater potential for ensuring the success of a university in the short and long terms in comparison with their respective counterparts.

There is substantial evidence especially in Sub-Saharan Africa that rural universities are relatively unsuccessful as sites for both educational and broader economic and social development. This is due to a number of factors including low levels of public subsidy, the inability to attract and retain high quality academic and administrative staff, and the often uni-dimensional nature of the local economy.

In this regard, there may be lessons to be drawn from the plans being developed by the University of Fort Hare to develop its urban campus in East London. Even though UFH has had this former campus of Rhodes University for some time, it has preferred to continue with development of the campus at Alice which has a focus on agriculture and rural development. More recently, UFH has been putting in place ambitious plans to raise the profile of its urban campus in order to exploit the potential for enormous student growth as well as cultivating linkages with the Buffalo City Metro. In moving from a primarily rural focus to a rural-urban one, the potential for the university, on the one hand, and the local and regional economies, on the other, to derive substantial benefits, is immense. It would appear therefore that Fort Hare has recognised the value for its longer term survival of locating at least part of its institution in an urban environment.

Finally, in considering the location of the universities in Mpumalanga and the Northern Cape, there is no doubt, for the reasons enunciated earlier, that Nelspruit and Kimberley respectively are the best available options. For the longer term, however, consideration should be given to developing a decentralized model that incorporates the comparative advantages of the other towns. For example, there could be a college relating to the Square Kilometre Array in Colesburg and a college of Agriculture in Upington. Similarly, in Mpumalanga, consideration could be given to a Mining College in eMalahleni/Secunda, agriculture in Barberton, and so on, taking into account the possibly unique economic characteristics of some of these towns.

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