

CHAPTER 2

LIS LANGE: TEN APPRECIATIONS OF A SCHOLAR AND LEADER IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Saleem Badat

Department of History, University of the Free State

Introduction

The death of Maria Lis Lange is a huge loss—not just to her family, friends, comrades and colleagues but to the South African higher education sector more generally. Colleague and friend Mala Singh observes that her death diminishes something important in our lives: solidarity, friendship and conversations on serious political and theoretical questions as well as on our mundane daily struggles. In this tribute I express my appreciation of Lis as an intellectual, scholar, policymaker and leader in higher education. To appreciate someone is to recognise, value and admire their qualities; to express approbation and gratitude for their contributions, actions and the example they set; to hold them in high esteem, to rate them highly. Drawing on personal experience, I share some of Lis’s critical insights, dispositions and skills. I show how over time she organically transitioned to new sites and posts, mastered their requirements and challenges, and brought to bear on them her imagination, knowledge, expertise, resourcefulness

and capacity for hard work. Indeed, ‘in each setting she excelled at the post as defined and then re-defined the post, broadening its reach, strengthening its foundations, and tuning it to the larger setting’.¹ While she was diligently focused on the responsibilities at hand, she was also always attentive to broader issues such as the wider political economy and social structures and conjunctures. At different moments she researched, monitored, evaluated, reviewed, recommended and reported with great professionalism and technical competence and she could be extremely severe with muddled thinking, incompetence and those she considered slackers. She ‘would sometimes let loose with a well-placed “f*ck” and the church aunties and oomies would reach for their smelling salts’ (Jansen 2025). She could be abrasive, even if, overall, she was sensitive and caring.² In light of all this and because she would scorn hagiography in remembrance of her, the appreciation that follows is much more than mere adulation.

My appreciation begins by recognising, first, that Lis’s contribution over more than half of her life and for thirty-four years of her adult life in South Africa as a permanent resident was a practical expression of social and political commitment, solidarity and internationalism by an Argentinian who had known authoritarianism and repression in her own birth country. Arriving in South Africa in 1991 at age thirty, Lis embraced the profound and formidable challenges that a society in a negotiated transition from authoritarian apartheid to democracy faced: sustainable economic and social development, social equity and the extension and deepening of democracy in a unipolar world in which a hegemonic USA had become a rogue state that posed a significant threat to global justice. For her, the initial seven years in South Africa, reading for a PhD and working, ‘involved an emotional as well as intellectual transition’. For her, ‘thinking and writing in English and learning to live in a different cultural setting’ was a great challenge

1 My thanks to the two peer reviewers of this tribute for their careful reading, pertinent comments and very useful suggestions. I quote here the pithy summation of her role, based on my comments, by one of the reviewers.

2 The latter part of this opening first paragraph and its phrasing was suggested by one of the reviewers.

and she had to rely on ‘friends full of sympathy, sense of humour and patience’ (Lange 1998: v). She dedicated herself to helping build a new society in South Africa and came to do so admirably on diverse fronts: educational, cultural, social and political.

Lis was born on 22 May 1961 in Argentina. After receiving a BA Honours in History from the University of Buenos Aires (1984) and a MA in African Studies from the El Colegio de Mexico (1988), she taught the history of Africa at the University of Buenos Aires. In 1991, she registered for a PhD in History at the University of Witwatersrand supported by various scholarships and institutions. Her supervisor was Charles van Onselen, who she writes ‘lived up to his reputation as a person of intractability, intellectual obsession, acerbic humour and high standards’ (Lange 1998: v). She credited her becoming a historian to van Onselen’s ‘guidance, his often-brutal criticism and, in particular, his patience’ as well as ‘his trust in the value’ of her research. She benefitted ‘greatly from [van Onselen’s] talent as a writer and his genius as historian craftsman’ and from him ‘never lowering his intellectual demands on [her] despite [her] status as a foreign language speaker’ (Lange 1998: v). Lis makes two important points here that are pertinent to contemporary higher education: first, about the challenges faced by non-English language speakers reading for postgraduate degrees, and second, about intellectual demands not being lowered because of language. Friends and colleagues contributed generously to helping her write in English and editing her work.

Lis dedicated her PhD thesis to her parents Erik and Amelia Lange. In it, she observes that her ‘parents and brothers encouraged and supported [her] work in innumerable ways’ and ‘repeatedly reaffirmed their trust and their respect for [her] as a person. She writes that ‘much of the courage and sense of freedom’ associated with her work and life emanated ‘directly from [her] family’ (Lange 1998: vi). Lis’s thesis looks at ‘the economic, social and political processes that shaped the lives of Johannesburg’s white working class’ between 1890 and the 1922 Rand Revolt (Lange 1998). It investigates ‘white working class families, working class accommodation, the constitution of social

networks and the problem of unemployment' and argues that the 'white working class experience in Johannesburg had an important role in fostering a sense of community between English and Afrikaner workers and their families' and that this was the basis of 'English and Afrikaner workers solidarity and organisation during the 1922 Rand Revolt' (Lange 1998: i). While Lis obtained her PhD in 1998, she had already in 1993 taken up a lecturing post at Khanya College in Johannesburg, a radical experiment in equitable access and opportunity to universities established in 1986 by the South African Committee of Higher Education (SACHED) under the leadership of John Samuel. With its progressive and non-racial staff, Khanya innovated a liberatory curriculum that also prepared talented Black students for access to historically white universities. The Khanya enterprise sought to act as a model for transforming universities.

In 1997 Lis joined the Centre for Science Development (CSD) of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) as its liaison officer from where she moved on to become manager at the National Research Foundation (NRF) until 2000. I met Lis in 1998, when she was at the CSD. Her work there exposed her to the world of newly emerging national science and research policy and of forging equity-oriented programmes to promote research and strengthen research-capacity development in a way that would not compromise quality and the intellectual, social and economic development needs of South Africa. As the first chief executive of the Council on Higher Education (CHE), the policy advisory body to the minister of education, I was attracted by Lis's PhD in History, her Khanya pedigree and her intellect, commitment and energy. In 2001 I headhunted her for the position of CHE project manager. She was a godsend. Her commitment to social justice, innovative and incisive thinking, thoughtfulness, her principled and engaged approach, scholarship, accomplished administration, energy and capacity for hard work combined with a caring humanism enriched my life academically and intellectually and eased the burdens of the leadership challenges I faced as a mid-career scholar tasked with building the CHE. And that is my second great appreciation of her. These qualities would win her the

respect of scholars, administrators, students and specialists nationally and internationally. Jonathan Jansen has observed that ‘she was not everybody’s cup of tea, to put it politely’ (Jansen 2025). Formidable intellect and committed scholar and activist that she was, Lis did not suffer foolish thinking and conduct and said it as it was, often with wit. I found her great honesty and straight talking most endearing—which is my third reason for appreciating her. She was, as Jansen says, ‘a tough, forthright woman with an extraordinary capacity for “crap detection”’ (Jansen 2025). These same qualities would lead her to the CHE.

In her contribution to this *Festschrift*, Mala Singh conveys well our understanding of the CHE’s task in the founding years of 1999–2006, namely to ‘translate progressive values and principles into enabling systems and implementable strategies, programmes and projects for higher education transformation’. This assumed the form of building a new institution from scratch, forging its intellectual, institutional and organisational capacities to effectively and efficiently undertake its extensive and important mandate, winning recognition from universities, the state and other stakeholders and ensuring its institutional reproduction and financial support and sustainability. Lis thrived in and contributed to the CHE’s radical, committed, critical, democratic, enabling, informal and frugal culture and soon (2003) became its pioneering first director of Policy Monitoring and Evaluation. Her seminal policy research and coordination work included producing the discussion document ‘Towards a Framework for the Monitoring and Evaluation of South African Higher Education’ and helped to develop the 2002 ‘New Academic Policy’. Her work and oversight extended to publications on access and throughput, postgraduate studies, community engagement, the state of private higher education, the state of MBA provision, students with disabilities, as well as the seminal ‘Governance in South African Higher Education’ and ‘The Governance of Merger in South African Higher Education’.³ Supporters of her CHE projects included the Carnegie Corporation, the

3 See the Council on Higher Education website, <https://www.che.ac.za/>

Ford Foundation, the Fulbright Program and the Dutch organisation Nuffic.

Lis's great versatility and hands-on-deck approach meant that, alongside Mala Singh, she played a significant role in building the Higher Education Quality Committee (HEQC) of the CHE and theorising and building a national quality assurance system for university education. The complex design and oversight of the programme-accreditation, digital-portal interface between universities and the CHE was almost entirely her work. She was extremely resistant to the idea that the interface could be designed and overseen by corporate consultants and volunteered to lead and direct its design, something which saved the CHE millions of rands in consultancy fees. Lis had great institutional loyalty, albeit of a critical nature that did not compromise honesty and truth. Her commitment, readiness to take on institution-building work and work outputs constantly went beyond the call of duty. There were, as a matter of policy, no performance bonuses or travel and other perks for CHE managers, which Lis approved. She was simply not motivated by material benefits. And that is my fourth reason for appreciating her. It is a matter of great satisfaction for me that the largely successful creation and institutionalisation of the HEQC and national quality assurance and development were undertaken by a historian-philosopher and sensitive and critical humanists as opposed to engineers and management specialists.

As Singh points out, Lis's research-intensive work in preparing institutional profiles for the HEQC's institutional audits, her analysis of institutional self-evaluation reports and preparation of HEQC audit reports gave her unparalleled insight into teaching, research and management at universities. Not always in the public eye, Lis was an indispensable member of the team that led and built the CHE in its formative years. She was a key back-room dynamo within the organisation, undertaking thoughtful, creative and pioneering initiatives and making valuable contributions in a range of areas, from policy advice, monitoring and evaluation to quality assurance, promotion and development and internal systems and

staff development. In 2006, she rightly succeeded Singh as Executive Director of the HEQC and between 2007 and 2008 briefly served as Acting Chief Executive of the CHE.

My fifth appreciation of Lis is that, while the original leadership team moved on from the CHE in 2006, she remained behind to ensure continuity and to help consolidate the CHE and HEQC. Her new responsibilities involved closely interacting and engaging with diverse national and international universities, higher education organisations and colleagues, dealing intellectually and practically with critical academic and policy questions, and leading and shaping discourse and practice locally and internationally. The CHE years gave Lis a rare vantage point from where she could observe universities and how they performed their core activities and equipped her to subsequently transition to various universities where she assumed management and leadership positions.

Lis was an impressive thinker and practitioner in the domains of teaching and learning, curriculum development, academic programme accreditation and reviews as well as pedagogy and assessment, in addition to which she possessed intimate institutional, national, and international knowledge and experience of these issues. Today, teaching and learning seem to be considered just another management portfolio, as if leadership and transformation in these areas do not have to be theoretically informed, critical, imaginative and grounded in empirical research and analysis, of which Lis was the living embodiment. Critically, and as my sixth appreciation of her, Lis's scholarship and practice were informed by important moral and social imperatives related to equity, social justice, democracy, and by nuanced notions of epistemic and epistemological transformation, equity, and quality. This stood her in good stead when she had to lead efforts in transforming learning and teaching in the interests of greater student opportunities and success, and ultimately of greater social justice. She was acutely aware that questions of access, opportunity and success were not just matters of efficiency but that they related to issues of justice and democracy and the achievement of constitutional imperatives in South Africa.

My seventh appreciation of Lis is that she engaged deeply with the critical questions of the purposes and roles of universities and higher education as a public good. She held sophisticated ideas on questions of 'race', class, gender, sexual orientation, their social determinations and how they articulated and intersected. She thought critically about questions of difference, diversity, and inclusion and was acutely sensitive to social and cultural contexts. Rather than clinging to trite conventional wisdoms, she thought about social equity, quality and development (and their relationship) in complex and multi-dimensional ways. Lis understood that at the heart of the transformation and decolonisation of universities had to be the transformation of curriculum and pedagogy appropriate to the mission of a South African university, as opposed to a university in South Africa that is an imitation or replica of institutions in the colonial metropole. She was well placed to lead such an intellectual venture and practical effort, which requires theoretically minded and empirically grounded scholar-administrators who can not only hold their own in difficult debates and exchanges with deans, other scholars, and students, but who can also lead and guide.

Eight, I appreciate that Lis did not abandon research, writing and publishing. In 2003, drawing on her PhD thesis, she published a monograph titled *White Poor and Angry: White Working Class Families in Johannesburg* (2003/2017) in which she makes 'ingenious use of demographic evidence, church records, and other contemporary material to depict working class communities in Johannesburg' who in the early twentieth century 'were understood in neither class or ethnic terms but rather as a social problem' (Moodie 2004: 453). Focusing less on 'the sphere of production' as sites of 'inequality and oppression' and more on 'the sphere of reproduction', allowed her to 'tackle ... neglected' issues such as the erosion of ethnic divisions because of commonly experienced problems like harsh living conditions, the lack of housing, living together as neighbours and intermarriage (Morrell 2004: 453). In his endorsement of the book Albert Grundlingh notes its value for demonstrating 'that Afrikaners [had] a much more complex

social history than the narrow ethnic stereotype often paraded in much of the literature’ and as making ‘a significant contribution to a fuller understanding of the ambivalent nature of the formation of social identity in Afrikaner circles’ while highlighting ‘the multilayered nature of ethnicity’. Similarly, Van der Walt (2005: 115) considers the book a ‘rarity in African studies: a monograph on the social history of white yet working-class South Africans’ and ‘an evocative and important contribution to our understanding of South African labour and social history’, with the ‘experience of the white working class revealed by Lange leading to questioning of Frantz Fanon’s assertion in *The Wretched of the Earth* that colonialism was neatly split between native and settler’.

Lis penned over twenty-five peer-reviewed book chapters and journal articles and several newspaper opinion pieces. She delivered invited keynote addresses at numerous universities on questions of leadership, quality, curriculum and student activism. She was an external examiner for several universities and supervised PhD students. Her knowledge and expertise resulted in her being invited to join the advisory boards of *Critical Studies in Teaching & Learning* and *Acta Academica*. Lis’s special interests were in the philosophy and politics of education. She worked from a critical social theory perspective and used an interdisciplinarity approach to conduct research in the humanities. She researched change in higher education and the meanings and possibilities of transformation, especially at curriculum level. At the University of the Free State (UFS) her work explored Hannah Arendt’s thinking in the context of higher education.

I was a referee for Lis’s applications for the HEQC Executive Director post, the Vice-Rector (VR) post at UFS, the Rector post at UFS, and the Deputy Vice-Chancellor (DVC) post at University of Cape Town (UCT). My ninth appreciation of her is that Lis only applied for posts that she was confident she had the capabilities to succeed in. Her CHE and subsequent posts made it easy for her to demonstrate that she indeed had the intellectual knowledge, expertise and wisdom as well as the practical experience to provide leadership in the different

posts. Departing the CHE in 2011, Lis entered university management as senior director of the Directorate of Institutional Research and Academic Planning at UFS, soon becoming its Vice-Rector: Academic (2014). She used her familiarity with university data, policy monitoring and planning processes to craft, in Vice-Chancellor Jansen's words, 'a world class institutional research capacity' and evidence-informed academic planning framework (Jansen 2025). As VR she drew on her work on access, opportunity and quality to guide academic programme and curriculum development and to enhance teaching and learning. In 2017, she was unsuccessful in becoming the fourteenth rector of the UFS, although she was suitably, indeed supremely qualified. As her predecessor Jansen notes, because she was a 'woman, gay, foreigner, non-Christian, straight-talker and standard setter, lesser men (*papbroeke*, in colloquial Afrikaans) could not see her full value for higher education' (Jansen 2025).

Lis joined the staff of UCT in early 2018 as DVC: Teaching and Learning. As one of her referees, I supported her application with complete confidence. I observed that it was one of those rare occasions where I had no hesitation and could express my unreserved support for her application, adding that her curriculum vitae showed that she more than met all the necessary requirements. I wrote that Lis was 'a person of rare intellect and great integrity' and that she had 'a personality and approach that promote mutually respectful relations with colleagues and healthy interpersonal dynamics within an organisation'. I expressed the belief that, given the opportunity and the requisite support, her significant contributions in academic, student and institutional matters were still to come, and that UCT would do well to provide her with an opportunity to do so. Lis was appointed but regrettably her appointment was contested on various grounds, some parochial and dubious. UCT, especially in the aftermath of #RhodesMustFall and #FeesMustFall, faced critical and urgent issues related to teaching and learning, especially around curriculum, pedagogy, and institutional-cultural change. They required immediate, intellectually informed, theorised, bold and practical responses of

the kind that Lis could provide given her intellectual and scholarly character, profound commitment to equity and social justice in and through higher education, great administrative competence and personal qualities.

As DVC: Teaching and Learning, she was responsible for curriculum transformation, quality assurance, academic planning as well as student and senior academic staff support. She led discussions on the decolonisation of the curriculum, diversity and inclusion, and epistemological and epistemic transformation. Much to her frustration, she was unable to see this work to fruition. Toxic institutional conditions at UCT and serious lapses in governance, leadership, management and integrity resulted in Lis stepping down as DVC. She was subsequently vindicated by the 'Final Report of the Independent Investigation into UCT Governance' of 11 October 2023. Although saddened by the turn of events, she remained committed to the tasks at hand until she left UCT. Although the experience took its toll on Lis, it did not break her spirit. She was all too aware that the failings in governance, leadership, and management were neither specific nor limited to UCT. They also existed at other universities where they resulted from inadequate leadership and management capabilities, weak institutional and organisational capacities, patronage and corruption of different kinds, and a lack of accountability that accompanied the increasing corporatisation, commercialisation and commodification of universities.

Lis moved to Stellenbosch University (SU) in an advisory capacity in the hope of putting her intellect and expertise to good use. If UCT was beset by governance, leadership and management problems, Stellenbosch offered a different institutional space and a very different challenge. A leading research university, SU was then as it is now characterised by a corporatist, technocratic and entrepreneurial culture, limited deracialisation of the staff and student bodies and, despite much discourse on the issue, rather modest ideas on academic and institutional transformation. These were the structural and conjunctural conditions within which she had to act, advise and guide.

They could not be wished away; they were a given, a necessary part of her life. She did not, however, make a virtue of necessity. It was the terrain on which she would have to struggle and win support for her ideas. She confessed to being tired and ‘struggling intellectually and politically at Stellenbosch’ and needing ‘some help’. The ‘help’ that she sought at this difficult moment was leftist critique of decolonial discourse in South Africa. It highlights, and this is my tenth and final appreciation of Lis, how seriously she took ideas and intellectual work in thinking thorough the challenges of transformation and decolonisation, in this case at SU.

Our last face-to-face conversation was in late 2024, after I had delivered a keynote address on matters related to transformation and accountability at the Stellenbosch University Transformation Indaba. Afterwards, Lis and I mused on the antinomies, ambiguities, contradictions and antagonisms of transformation at SU and other universities, both locally and internationally. We concurred that in the face of the rampant commodification, commercialisation and corporatism of our universities, increasing nepotism and corruption and a complicit there-is-no-alternative discourse that lacked imagination or will, or both, one had to retain an optimism of the will and hope. We agreed that the neoliberal policies that were corroding higher education and universities were not immutable to change and that they had to be changed through critique and action. We hoped that the contemporary period, which in Gramscian terms could be seen as a ‘war of position’, of fighting under adverse conditions for improvements and reforms, would give way to a ‘war of movement’ when more radical and substantive changes would become possible again. Lis understood that while one had to continue to speak truth to power, power tended to be deaf and blind, to repress and to domesticate, and that one had to confront, erode and overcome power in additional ways.

I have one great regret regarding Lis, and it is that in 2014 I did not remain in the race for the University of Western Cape (UWC) vice-chancellorship following Brian O’Connell’s retirement. Unfortunately, chauvinists who considered UWC a ‘coloured’ university prompted

me to take up a position at the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation in New York. If I had been appointed at UWC, I would have invited Lis to join me there. Crain Soudien, then DVC at UCT, also pledged to avail himself to UWC. I imagined it a dream team. Sometimes, I wistfully ponder some of the exciting trajectories and achievements that were possible at UWC, the impact this could have had on the wider university system and the potential innovations in institutional leadership and management that could have been introduced working alongside intellectuals, scholars and leaders like Lange and Soudien.

It is a great pity that a similar parochial mindset prevented Lis from becoming the vice-chancellor of UFS. For, without doubt, she would have made even more innovative and significant contributions to higher education and universities as a vice-chancellor.

Many institutional settings and conditions wear down and take a toll on those who are committed to social transformation and who give their all for that ideal instead of just settling for improvement, reconstruction and reform, important as those may be. Lis maintained a critical edge in these settings, never entirely despairing or, more dangerously, becoming cynical. She understood that the goal of ‘social revolution, the transformation of the existing order’ could not be counterposed ‘to social reform’ (Luxemburg 1970: 8). Rather, for her, ‘the daily struggle for reforms, for the amelioration of the conditions of [students, academics, workers and others] within the framework of the existing social order’ was a means of working towards an egalitarian society. This highlights the importance and value of her contributions.⁴

In *How the Steel was Tempered*, socialist activist and writer Nikolai Ostrovsky (1952: 105) urges us to live ‘so as to feel no torturing regrets for wasted years’ and without ‘the burning shame of a mean and petty past’ so ‘that, dying, [you] might say: all my life, all my strength were given to the finest cause in all the world—the fight for the liberation of [humankind]’. Lis Lange did that, making the university, research

⁴ My thanks to one of the peer reviewers for highlighting this.

and science arenas her particular domains of activism. In Lis, those with similar commitments that remain and follow have a spirit and example to animate them.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adorno TW (1973) *Negative Dialectics*. Bloomsbury Academic
- Aguila G (2006) Dictatorship, society and genocide in Argentina: Repression in Rosario, 1976–1983. *Journal of Genocide Research* 8(2): 169–180
- Arendt H (1948) *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. Penguin
- (1998 [1958]) *The Human Condition*. University of Chicago Press
- (1990 [1963]) *On Revolution*. Penguin
- (2005) *The Promise of Politics*. Schocken
- (2006) *Between Past and Future*. Penguin
- Badat S (2004) Transforming South African higher education, 1990–2003: Goals, policy initiatives and critical challenges and issues. In N Cloete, P Pillay, S Badat & T Moja (eds) *National Policy and a Regional Response in South African Higher Education*. James Currey and David Philip
- (2009) Theorising institutional change: Post-1994 South African higher education. *Studies in Higher Education* 34(4): 455–467
- (2010) *The Challenges of Transformation in Higher Education and Training Institutions in South Africa*. Development Bank of Southern Africa
- Barnett R (2017) *The Ecological University: A Feasible Utopia*. Routledge
- Barolsky V (2013) Interrogating social cohesion: The South African case. In C Moore (ed) *Regional Integration and Social Cohesion: Perspectives from the Developing World*. Peter Lang
- Baudrillard J (1987) *Forget Foucault*. Semiotexte
- (1994) *Simulacra and Simulation*. University of Michigan Press
- Beerkens M & Van der Hoek M (2022) Academic leaders and leadership in the changing higher education landscape. In CS Sarrico, MJ Rosa & T Carvalho (eds) *Elgar's Research Handbook on Academic Careers and Managing Academics*. Edward Elgar

- Bell LA (1997) Theoretical foundations for social justice education. In M Adams, L Bell & P Griffin (eds) *Teaching for Diversity and Social Justice: A Sourcebook*. Teachers College Press
- Benjamin W (1968 [1940]) *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections* (H. Zohn, trans.). Houghton Mifflin Harcourt
- Bhengu T, Cele N & Menon K (2006) Value for money and quality in higher education. *South African Journal of Higher Education* 20(6): 843–858
- Brown W (2015) *Undoing the Demos: Neoliberalism's Stealth Revolution*. Zone
- Bunting I (2006) The higher education landscape under apartheid. In N Cloete, P Maassen, R Fehnel, T Moja, T Gibbon & H Perold (eds) *Transformation in Higher Education*. Springer
- BusinessTech (2017, 16 November) UCT could lose its law degree unless it transforms
- Chakrabarti P (2016) Hoping against hope: Walter Benjamin and the politics of history. *Convergia* 5 (5): 12–24
- Chankseliani M (2022) International development higher education: Looking from the past, looking to the future. *Oxford Review of Education* 48(4): 457–473
- Christodoulidis E (1993) Self-defeating civic republicanism. *Ratio Juris* 6(1): 64–85
- Cobbing J (2023) *Growth, Growth, Growth: Human History and the Planetary Crisis*. Mvusi Books
- Council on Higher Education (2000) *Towards a New Higher Education Landscape: Meeting the Equity, Quality and Social Development Imperatives of South Africa in the 21st Century*
- (2001) *Higher Education Quality Committee Founding Document*.
- (2004a) *Higher Education Monitor: The State of the Provision of the MBA in South Africa*
- (2004b) *Towards a Framework for the Monitoring and Evaluation of South African Higher Education*. Discussion Document
- (2007) *Review of Higher Education in South Africa: Selected Themes*.
- (2008a) *Higher Education Quality Committee Audit Report of the University of the Free State*
- (2008b) *Higher Education Quality Committee Self-evaluation Report*
- (2014) *Quality Enhancement Project: The Process for Public Higher Education Institutions*
- (2016) *South African Higher Education Reviewed: Two Decades of Democracy*
- (2021a) *A Quality Assurance Framework (QAF) for Higher Education in South Africa*
- (2021b) *Framework for Institutional Audits*

- Davis R (2017, 16 November) UCT's law programme under existential threat. *Daily Maverick*
- Department of Education (1997a) *Education White Paper 3: A Programme for the Transformation of Higher Education*. Government Printers
- (1997b) *The Higher Education Act, Act 101 of 1997*. Government Printers
- (2001) National Plan for Higher Education
- (2008). *Report of the Ministerial Committee on Transformation and Social Cohesion and the Elimination of Discrimination in Public Higher Education Institutions*
- Derrida J (2002) *Who's Afraid of Philosophy?* Stanford University Press
- Eckel, PD & Kezar, A (2011) Presidents leading: The dynamics and complexities of campus leadership. In PG Altbach, PJ Gumpert & RO Berdahl (eds) *American Higher Education in the Twenty-first Century: Social, Political and Economic Challenges*, 3rd edition. Johns Hopkins University Press
- Gevers W (2016) Helping to lead a university: A job not what it seems. In Council on Higher Education, *Reflections of South African University Leaders 1981–2014* (pp. 17–42). African Minds. <https://www.africanminds.co.za/reflections-of-south-african-university-leaders-1981-to-2014/>
- Gqola PD (2025) True Love Magazine and Lebo(gang) Mashile. In CJ Lee & A Offenburger (eds) *South African Cultural Studies: A Safundi Reader on Media, Contexts, and Identities, 1999–2024*. Taylor & Francis
- Hall M, Symes A & Luescher TM (2002) *Governance in South African Higher Education. Research report for the Council on Higher Education*. Council on Higher Education
- (2004) *The Governance of Merger in South African Higher Education*. CHE
- Harvey L & Green D (1993) Defining quality. *Assessment and Evaluation in Higher Education* 18(1): 9–34
- Higgins J (2013) *Academic Freedom in a Democratic South Africa*. Wits University Press
- Hönig B (1991) Declarations of independence: Arendt and Derrida on the problem of founding a republic. *The American Political Science Review* 85(1): 97–113
- Human Sciences Research Council Transformation Oversight Committee (HSRC-TOC) (2023) *The State of Transformation in South Africa's Public Universities: Research Report of the Ministerial Oversight Committee on Transformation in the South African Public Universities*. Department of Higher Education and Training
- Jansen J (2009) *Knowledge in the Blood*. Stanford University Press
- (2025, 16 October) An educated guess: Farewell to formidable academic. *The Herald*
- Judin JM (2020) The King Reports and the common law in South Africa. *Journal of Global Responsibility* 11(2): 167–172

- Khampepe Commission (2022) *Commission of Inquiry into Allegations of Racism at Stellenbosch University*. The Judicial Commission of Inquiry. <https://files.su.ac.za/public/documents/2025-09/khampepe-report.pdf>
- Keet A & Rafaely D (2026) Outsides: Reframing the social legitimacy of the university. *European Review*, 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1062798726100775>
- Keet A & Staphorst L (2026) Racism's knowledge. In A Keet & SA Tate (eds) *Racism's Knowledge: Disciplines, Decolonisation, and the Renewal of the Academy*. African Sun Media
- Klare KE (1998) Legal culture and transformative constitutionalism. *South African Journal on Human Rights* 14(1): 146–188
- Kofman A (2018, 25 October). Bruno Latour, the post-truth philosopher, mounts a defense of science. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/25/magazine/bruno-latour-post-truth-philosopher-science.html>
- Lange L (n.d.a). Rethinking the university: Notes for an epochal critique (Lange personal draft)
- (n.d.b). Re-engaging governance praxis at African universities (Lange personal draft)
- (1998) The making of the white working class: Class experience and class identity in Johannesburg, 1890–1922. Unpublished PhD, University of the Witwatersrand
- (2003) *Critical Reflections on the Notion of Engagement*. Council on Higher Education
- (2003/2017) *White, Poor and Angry: White Working Class Families in Johannesburg*. Routledge
- (2006) *Symbolic Policy and Performativity: South African Higher Education Between the Devil and Deep Blue Sea*. CHE
- (2010, 21–27 May) The trouble with transformation. *Mail & Guardian*
- (2012) Understanding and action: Thinking with Arendt about democratic education. *Perspectives in Education* 30(4): 1–12
- (2013, 6–12 September) Transformation by numbers skims the surface of tertiary realities. *Mail & Guardian*
- (2014) Rethinking transformation and its knowledge(s): The case of South African higher education. *Critical Studies in Teaching and Learning* 2(1): 1–24
- (2016a) Epilogue: Students, politics and universities. In TM Luescher, M Klemenčič & JO Jowi (eds) *Student Politics in Africa: Representation and Activism*. African Minds
- (2016b). Thinking academic freedom. *Arts & Humanities in Higher Education*, 15(2): 177–186
- (2016c) Transformation as an ethical and intellectual project. Interview in J Ambrosio (ed) *Educational Leadership for Transformation and Social Justice: Narratives of Change in South Africa*. Taylor & Francis

- (2017) 20 years of higher education curriculum policy in South Africa. *Journal of Education* 68: 31–57
- (2019a) Curriculum in times of decolonisation: Reflections on knowledge, power and identity at the University of the Free State. In L Praeg (ed) *Philosophy on the Border*. UKZN Press
- (2019b) The institutional curriculum, pedagogy and the decolonisation of the South African university. In J Jansen & Z McDonald (eds) *Decolonisation in Universities: The Politics of Knowledge*. Wits University Press
- (2021) South African universities between decolonisation and the fourth industrial revolution. In C Brink (ed) *The Responsive University and the Crisis in South Africa* (pp. 272–299). Brill/Sense
- (2023) Rethinking the university: Notes for an epochal critique. *South African Review of Education* 28(1): 52–69
- (2024) Address to the Transformation Strategy Group. Paper presented at the USAf 3rd Higher Education Conference, South Africa, 9 October 2024. <https://usaf.ac.za/imperfections-in-the-transformation-of-south-africas-higher-education-lis-langes-perspective/>
- (2025) Thinking the university in the aftermath of the decolonial turn. *Comparative Education* 61(1): 1–17
- Lange L & Kriel L (2017) *Integrating Internal Quality Assurance at a Time of Transformation: University of the Free State, South Africa*. Unesco. <https://policycommons.net/artifacts/8206840/integrating-internal-quality-assurance-at-a-time-of-transformation/9117509/>
- Lange L & Luescher TM (2003) A monitoring and evaluation system for South African higher education: Conceptual, methodological and practical concerns. *South African Journal of Higher Education* 17(3): 82–89
- (2016) Governance. In *South African Higher Education Reviewed: Two Decades of Democracy*. CHE
- Lange L, Reddy V & Kumalo, SH (2021) #MustFall: Aporia, doubt and possibility on the border. In L Lange, V Reddy & SH Kumalo (eds) *University on the Border: Crisis of Authority and Precarity*. African Sun Media
- Lange L & Singh M (2010) Equity issues in quality assurance in South African higher education. In M Martin (ed) *Equity and Quality Assurance: A Marriage of Two Minds*. Unesco-IIEP
- (2011) Where do the Humanities come from? In *Consensus Study on the State of the Humanities in South Africa: Status, Prospects and Strategies*. ASSAf
- Luescher TM (2008) Student governance in transition: University democratisation and managerialism. A governance approach to the study of student politics and the case of the University of Cape Town. Unpublished PhD, University of Cape Town

- (2016, 14 September) Candidates for Vice-Chancellor & Rector post at the University of the Free State. <https://thierryluescher.blogspot.com/2016/09/candidates-for-vice-chancellor-rector.html> (Accessed 10 March 2026)
- Luescher TM, Klemenčič M & Jowi JO (eds) (2016) *Student Politics in Africa: Representation and Activism*. African Minds
- Luescher TM, Loader L & Mugume T (2017) #FeesMustFall: An Internet-age student movement in South Africa and the case of the University of the Free State. *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies* 44(2): 231–245
- Luescher TM, Makhubu N, Oppelt T, Mokhema S & Radasi MZ (2021) Tweeting #FeesMustFall: The online life and offline protests of a networked student movement. In L Cini, D della Porta & C Guzmán-Concha (eds) *Student Movements in Late Neoliberalism: Dynamics of Contention and Their Consequences*. Palgrave Macmillan
- Luescher TM, Wilson Fadji A, Morwe K, Erasmus A, Letsoalo TS & Mokhema S (2022) *#FeesMustFall and its Aftermath: Violence, Wellbeing and the Student Movement in South Africa*. HSRC Press
- Luxemburg R (1970) *Reform and Revolution*. Pathfinder
- Maart R (2020) Unpacking decoloniality and decolonial education: South Africa and the world. *Alternation* 33: 14–44
- Materu P (2007) *Higher Education Quality Assurance in sub-Saharan Africa: Status, Challenges, Opportunities, and Promising Practices*. World Bank
- Matsuda MJ (2017) Liberal jurisprudence and abstracted visions of human nature: A feminist critique of Rawls' theory of justice. *Gender and Justice* 47–64
- McKenna S (2025, 17 October). Lis [Facebook post]. <https://www.facebook.com/share/p/1CEmGCnTsc/>
- McKinney W & Westbury I (1973) *The Gary, Indiana Public School Curriculum, 1940–1970: A Local History. Final Report*. ERIC Document Number ED075940
- Menon K & Castrillón G (2019a) Making windows where there were once walls: Curriculum transformation in South Africa. *South African Journal on Higher Education* 33(3): 26–44
- (2019b) Reimagining curricula for the fourth industrial revolution. *The Independent Journal of Teaching and Learning* 14(2): 6–19
- (2022) 'Reschooling' higher education: The dynamics of curriculum in South Africa. *International Encyclopaedia of Education* 48–56
- Menon K & Motala S (2022) Pandemic disruptions to access to higher education in South Africa: A dream deferred. *South African Journal of Higher Education* 36(4): 47–65
- Ministerial Committee (MCTHE) (2008) *Report of the Ministerial Committee: Transformation, Social Cohesion and Elimination of Discrimination in Public Higher Institutions*. Department of Education. <https://pmg.org.za/policy-document/162/>

- Ministry of Education (2001) *National Plan for Higher Education*
- Mkandawire T (1995) Three generations of African academics: A note. *Transformation* 28: 75–83
- Mkhize N (2018, 12 October) Tackle greed and power mongering in South African universities. *Daily Dispatch*. dailydispatch.co.za/news/opinion/2018-12-10-opinion--tackle-greed-powermongering-at-varsities/
- Mogomotsi OK (2023) Rainbow nationalism as a philosophy of national unity in South Africa. In F Dokman & A Kankindi (eds) *Beyond the Spirit of Bandung: Philosophies of National Unity: Secular or Religious?* Radboud University Press
- Moodie TD (2004) Review of *White, Poor and Angry: White Working Class Families in Johannesburg* by Lis Lange. *Contemporary Sociology* 33(4): 453–454
- Morrell R (2004) Review of *White, Poor and Angry: White Working-Class Families in Johannesburg* by Lis Lange. *African Studies Review* 47(2): 154–156
- Morrione DD (2006) When signifiers collide: Doubling, semiotic black holes, and the destructive remainder of the American un/real. *Cultural Critique* 63: 157–173
- Mpati L, Cachalia Z, Johnson B & Hanekom P (2023) Independent investigation into UCT governance: Final report. https://www.news.uct.ac.za/downloads/2023/Independent-Investigation-into-UCT-Governance_Final-Report.pdf
- Mugume T (2025) Creative governance and university response to student protest demands to decolonise the curriculum: A South African case study. Unpublished PhD, University of the Free State
- Musara E, Grant C & Vorster JA (2021) Inclusion as social justice: Nancy Fraser's theory in the South African context. In CA Mullen (ed) *Handbook of Social Justice Interventions in Education*. Springer
- Nyamnjoh A-N & Luescher TM (2022) Academic freedom, students and the decolonial turn in South Africa. In R Watermeyer, R Raaper & M Olssen (eds) *Handbook on Academic Freedom*. Edward Elgar
- Osiel MJ (2001) Constructing subversion in Argentina's dirty war. *Representations* 75: 119–158
- Ostrovsky N (1952) *How the Steel was Tempered. A Novel in Two Parts*. Foreign Languages
- Pillay S (2013) Decolonising the Humanities. *Mail & Guardian*, 5 April. <https://mg.co.za/news/education/2013-04-05-decolonising-the-humanities/>
- Pillay S (2024) *Predicaments of Knowledge*. Wits University Press
- Pogge TW (2004) The incoherence between Rawls's theories of justice. *Fordham Law Review* 72(5): 1739–1759
- Power M (1997) *The Audit Society: Rituals of Verification*. Oxford University Press
- Praeg L (2019) *Philosophy on the Border*. UKZN Press

- Price M (2018, 16 May) Resignation of Dean of Law, Prof Penelope Andrews. *UCT News*. <https://www.news.uct.ac.za/article/-2018-05-16-resignation-of-dean-of-law-prof-penelope-andrews>
- Readings B (1996) *The University in Ruins*. Harvard University Press
- Reichert S (2008) Looking back—looking forward: Quality assurance and the Bologna process. In A Beso, L Bollaert, B Curvale & A Sursock (eds) *Implementing and Using Quality Assurance: Strategy and Practice*. European University Association
- Saunders S (2016) The challenges of politics and collegial relations. In Council on Higher Education, *Reflections of South African University Leaders 1981–2014* (pp. 1–15). African Minds. <https://www.africanminds.co.za/reflections-of-south-african-university-leaders-1981-to-2014/>
- Singh M (2011) The place of social justice in higher education and social change discourses. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education* 41(4): 481–494
- Siswanto I, Wu M, Ma H, Arifin Z, Solikin M, Widyianto A et al. (2023) The characteristics of efficacious leader in higher education: A literature review. *Journal of Education and Learning* 145–157
- Soudien C (2007) Quality assurance in higher education and the management of South Africa's past: Some paradoxes. *Perspectives in Education* 25(3): 1–12
- Soudien C (2010a) Who takes responsibility for the 'Reitz four'? Puzzling our way through higher education transformation in South Africa. *South African Journal of Science* 106(9/10)
- (2010b, 13 August) Bridging the racial divide preferable to strident abuse. *Times Live*. <https://www.timeslive.co.za/ideas/2010-08-12-bridging-racial-divide-preferable-to-strident-abuse/>
- South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) (2016) *Transformation at Public Universities in South Africa*. <https://www.sahrc.org.za/home/21/files/SAHRC%20Report%20-%20Transformation%20in%20Public%20Universities%20in%20South%20Africa.pdf>
- Stensaker B (2003) Trance, transparency and transformation: The impact of external quality monitoring on higher education. *Quality in Higher Education* 9(2): 151–159
- UCT Historical Studies (2021) HST Seminar: Decentring academics: Preliminary reflections on the impact of COVID- 19 on academic identity, 7 April - A/Prof Lis Lange (DVC: Teaching and Learning, UCT). https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sWlPn5_c3zE. Timestamp: 4min4s
- UCT News (2017, 16 November) UCT Law Faculty challenges alarmist CHE report and is confident of retaining LLB accreditation
- UCT News (2018, 20 July) Adopt Mbembe's 'pedagogies of presence' – Lis Lange. <https://www.news.uct.ac.za/article/-2018-07-20-adopt-mbembes-pedagogies-of-presence-lis-lange>

- Undercommoning Collective (2016, 4 June) Undercommoning within, against and beyond the university-as-such. *Roar Magazine*. <https://roarmag.org/essays/undercommoning-collective-university-education/>
- Unesco (2024) International Perspectives on the Use of External Quality Assurance in Higher Education. <https://www.iesalc.unesco.org/en/2024/02/28/international-perspectives-on-the-use-of-external-quality-assurance-in-higher-education/>
- University of the Free State (UFS) (2012) University of the Free State Strategic Plan 2012–2016. <https://www.ufs.ac.za/docs/default-source/all-documents/strategic-plan-931.pdf>
- (2015) University of the Free State Strategic Plan 2015–2020. <https://www.ufs.ac.za/docs/default-source/all-documents/ufs-strategic-plan-2015---2020.pdf>
- Universities South Africa (USAf) (2024) Imperfections in the transformation of South Africa's higher education – Lis Lange's perspective. <https://usaf.ac.za/imperfections-in-the-transformation-of-south-africas-higher-education-lis-langes-perspective/>
- Van der Walt L (2005) Review of *White, Poor, and Angry: White Working Class Families in Johannesburg* by Lis Lange. *International Review of Social History*, 50(1): 115–117
- Van Marle K (2019) A 'right' to the university. *Acta Academica: Critical Views on Society, Culture and Politics* 51(1): 109–124
- Williams R (2001) Writing, speech and the classical. In J Higgins (ed) *The Raymond Williams Reader*. Blackwell
- Zinn D & Rodgers C (2012) A humanising pedagogy: Getting beneath the rhetoric. *Perspectives in Education* 30(4): 76–87