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Chapter 15

Marketisation in higher education in Africa: new directions for a decolonising continent

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The marketisation of higher education is an idea that originated in the west and was promoted to serve specific purposes. Based in a neo-liberal philosophy of free markets and originating in the declarations of Sorbonne 1998 and Bologna 1999 and the World Trade Organisation's General Agreement on Trades in Services (GATS), 1995 marketisation was conceived as a strategy for encouraging free movement of goods, services and knowledge across the countries of the west, especially those in Europe. This, it was argued, would improve efficiencies and effectiveness, encourage comparability of standards across countries and provide large sections of the population with greater access to services and programmes. The idea sounded appealing and no sooner than it had taken off in Europe, did African countries join the bandwagon. This chapter argues that marketisation in African universities should seek a different moral compass and be based on different sets of assumptions and rationales to those operating in the west. The conceptual field discussed in the first chapter is used to provide critical analysis of the claim that has been made about misdiagnosis and wrong prescriptions. The chapter also argues that, at the moment, Africa cannot afford the freemarkets model proposed for Europe but requires a highly regulated market, which responds to and seeks to interrogate issues of poverty, inequality and unemployment, and corruption, which blight the entire continent. The chapter is concluded with a proposal for rethinking the marketing of higher education in Africa.

Keywords: Marketisation, marketing, decolonisation, coloniality of knowledge, coloniality of being

The colonial imprint on the African continent

Except for Liberia and Ethiopia, all other 52 countries on the African continent were once colonised by European countries, notably England, Spain, Portugal, France, Belgium and Italy. Colonisation was an integral part of the expansionist, imperialist agendas of the rapidly industrialising nations of Europe. To maximise profits from the booming industries back home, colonisers had to secure cheap resources, both material and human, from elsewhere. Africa, the so-called Dark Continent, was identified as a resource-rich continent, waiting to be exploited. Force, persuasion and ideological transformation, including religious indoctrination, were used as the major weapons to win over the locals' acquiescence and support for the plunder and exploitation, which visited the continent for centuries. Racial supremacy, discrimination, separate development and unequal deployment of resources for development were legalised in colonial law and enforced through combinations of brutal force and subtle indoctrination. Africans were taught to hate each other, to hate themselves, and to discard their African dreams and replace them with white ones. The white wedding was presented as the only acceptable form of marriage union while traditional marriage systems were discarded as barbaric, backward and ungodly. Local languages were not encouraged nor highly prioritised in the curriculum. Locals were forced to speak in English or other European languages. To be found speaking a local language was a highly punishable offence. The separateness of the races was visibly demonstrated in that there were toilets and bars, just as there were schools and hospitals, for whites only and in Zimbabwe, for example, only those Black Africans who had acquired a university education were permitted to walk on pathways meant for whites only. In Zimbabwe, percentages of students who would proceed to higher levels of education were strictly adhered to. For example, when the corresponding author was in standard six - the secondary qualifying year, only 12 and half per cent of primary graduates were allowed into secondary schools while only 3% of Ordinary Level graduates could proceed to do Advanced Level studies. The only university in the then Southern Rhodesia could accommodate only three African students for every 100 white students. Mbembe (2016) uses the term 'epistemic violence' to describe the utter destruction of the knowledge bases of society through a process of substitution with other more preferred knowledge bases.

Several forms of violence have been associated with the settler regimes in Africa. Césaire (2000, 32), a leading decolonial theorist, suggests that colonialism is:

...a disruptive, 'decivilising,' dehumanising, exploitative, racist, violent, brutal, covetous, and 'thingfying' system.

Achebe and wa Thiong'o (2015, 16) have noted:

Colonialism imposed its control of the social production of wealth through military conquest and subsequent political dictatorship. However, its most important area of domination was the mental universe of the colonised, the control, through culture, of how people perceived themselves and their relationship to the world. Economic and political control can never be complete or adequate without mental control.

Different forms of colonial violence against local people are described in the literature. Apart from military intervention, which resulted in the loss of life and limb, four other forms of colonial violence were routinely and strategically exerted on local indigenous populations. The first was mental or intellectual violence. This relates to the capture of the minds of the indigenous people through the inculcation of western epistemologies and epistemological

values. In colonial universities, the stringent control over the number of blacks who could enter higher education institutions was meant to cultivate a belief that the black mind is generally incapable of high order thinking skills while the rewards lavished upon the selected few was a subtle reminder of the power of western civilisation over indigenous knowledge systems. The insistence on the use of foreign languages and the parallel sanctions imposed upon students caught using indigenous languages in both formal and informal settings were designed to locate foreign languages as the vehicle to civilisation and development and to dump into the dustbins of knowledge all indigenous linguistic competences and achievements. The learning epistemologies were also carefully crafted to ensure the predominance of western historical forms and achievements. For example, the history of the world wars was the main subject of study in schools and universities. Local histories were only ever taught to students if they depicted the so-called indigenous barbarism and their conquest, defeat and humiliation by the colonisers.

The second form of colonial violence was cultural violence. This was closely linked to mental or intellectual violence. It was the incessant and unrelenting pressure on local indigenous cultures to give way to the cultures of the so-called cultured colonisers. While language was the key instrument for cultural domination, the entire presentation of the idea of modernity was designed to present western culture as more superior to local ones. So western music forms, artefacts, forms of entertainment and behaviour quickly replaced traditional cultural values and practices. In 'Black Skin, White Masks', Fanon (2008) observes that a key strategy of colonisation was to dislocate the indigenous culture and render it dysfunctional and uncivilised while championing for the ascendancy and prioritisation of western cultural forms.

Spiritual violence constituted the third form of colonial violence. This is largely represented by the fracturing of indigenous religious practices, which were described as barbaric and anti-God and their replacement with Christian values and practices. The missionaries were, in every sense, an extension of the settler governments' machinery for total domination and subjugation of local indigenous populations. What settlers successfully achieved was to equate African traditional practices with evil and with the devil, and to convince the local indigenous populations that God would not save them on judgement day.

The final form of colonial violence was economic violence. This was the utter destruction of indigenous economic systems based on productive, small-scale labour practices, which prioritised conservation, respect and intimacy with the environment. These were replaced with mechanised, large-scale, environmentally unfriendly practices, which prioritised productivity and which are substantially responsible for climate change, a phenomenon that has the potential to annihilate our planet in the coming decades. The economies of the occupied states became monetised, and the value of money was set against gold, silver and platinum. This led to an uncontrolled search for these minerals through mining activities rendering vast tracts of land agriculturally unproductive while contributing to desertification of land and increased levels of pollution. The mineral wealth of the continent was expropriated to banks in the global north, and the control of global economies by colonising countries was well underway. Today, about twenty (G20) countries of the global north control more than 80% of the net global economic value of the world. Africa's riches were thus used to create and to strengthen the global capitalism project. Structurally,

instrumentally and epistemically, colonisation unleashed untold violence that has left the entire continent of Africa dislocated and completely underdeveloped.

To overcome these forms of violence in the post-colonial era, the ideas of decolonisation and decoloniality have exercised the minds of many post-colonial thinkers and policymakers. This chapter does not have sufficient space to deal exhaustively with these notions. However, I shall briefly turn to these.

Decolonisation

Calls for decolonisation started as early as the settlers arrived on the continent with subtle and quiet resistance, subdued largely by the fear of death as settlers brought guns with them (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013). On the contrary, all the locals had was their spirit and each other. As time went on, this resistance escalated into an organised struggle, through well-executed armed guerrilla warfare. As the Cold War set in after World War Two, the issues between the east and west remained unresolved. These struggles were transferred to colonies with the east, mainly China and Russia, supporting the armed struggle against the western sponsored colonisers. From 1957 to 1994, countries on the African continent gained their independence, marking significant progress in the decolonisation process. However, no sooner than countries became independent did it dawn upon post-colonial nations that the process of decolonisation could not end with the change of government. The second phase of decolonisation thus became the transformation of societies and institutions to get rid of the deeply ingrained effects of colonialism. Poverty, inequality and unemployment, and now corruption appear to the biggest and persistent challenges in the post-colonies. The next phase of decolonisation was aimed at tackling these issues mainly through education. The third stage of the decolonisation process is when the post-colonies realise that there is a strong tendency to return to the colonial state. This phenomenon is what authors of post-colonialism and decolonisation (Mignolo, 2015; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013; Quijano, 2008 among others) refer to as coloniality.

Coloniality and decoloniality

Related to these forms of violence and despite the end of colonisation mainly achieved through armed struggle and negotiation, the colonial form continues to rear its ugly head in many, if not all, post-colonial countries. This tendency to revert to the colonial form has become the greatest obstacle to transformation in post-colonial states. Four forms of coloniality have been described in the literature (Mignolo, 2015; Quijano, 2008).

The coloniality of the mind/intellect

This is the tendency of a liberated people to prioritise and value western epistemological forms over their own. Manifest in both practice and belief and western epistemological forms continue to dominate and to be valued, especially in post-colonial countries. People educated abroad tend to be found in positions of power and influence in many countries. The most highly valued education systems continue to be those in the west. Mbembe (2016) observed that almost three decades following the fall apartheid in South Africa, the curricula in higher education institutions in the country resembled those used before democracy. English remains a compulsory subject for anyone aspiring to go to university, while local indigenous languages are mere electives and do not necessarily count towards a university entrance qualification.

The coloniality of power

Power is the exercise of influence and authority of others, and this can be achieved through force, negotiation and establishing ways in which power dynamics favour some and disadvantage others. The former coloniser tends to do everything in its power to maintain this status quo. This can be achieved through acts of sabotage, the imposition of sanctions and the withdrawal of development aid if the post-colonial country ceases to conform (Kamugisha, 2019).

The coloniality of being

This relates to the relative power of human identities over each other. The post-colonial beings continue to look upon themselves as lesser beings concerning the former colonisers. In South Africa, for example, the phenomenon of xenophobia provides an interesting analogy. Africans become archenemies, rising against each other, while former colonisers continue to be idolised and revered. Becoming rich, staying in plush suburbs, driving the latest vehicles and eating caviar for breakfast are some of the values associated with past colonisers, which local people continue to aspire to and to value most (Kamugisha, 2019).

The coloniality of dreams

The dreams of liberation evaporate soon after countries gain independence or become self-ruling and democratic. The dreams of equality, equity and social justice that brought local indigenous people together dissipate on the altar of amassing wealth and the aspiration towards the ideology of 'it is our time to eat'. Soon, the liberated people create their own rich and poor classes, subtly encouraged along the way by the former coloniser, and stop at nothing to become super-rich, even at the expense of their people. This replacement of dreams that once fuelled the liberation struggle with dreams that feed into the global capitalism psyche takes nations back several decades as they recoil into economic and financial servitude (Mashau, 2018).

This chapter has provided an in-depth exploration of this discussion as it speaks to the reality of post-colonial higher education systems. If this context is not brought into the discussion, we run the risk of losing the gains of independence, as we become conduits of a western neoliberal race towards increased westernisation and marketisation. However, before we get to this, let us examine the status of the knowledge and research in the marketisation of higher education in Africa, which can be gleaned from the chapters sampled in this book.

Connectedness to the conceptual framing

In Chapter 1, we identified six conceptual areas around which the field of marketisation in higher education is developing. Table 1 maps out the connectedness of the work covered in this book to these conceptual ideas.

Table 1: Connectedness to the conceptual framing

Conceptu al/themati c area	Author/s and country	Topic	Methodological emphases	Contribution to the field	Omissions
Markets	Sunday Olaleye, Dandison Ukpadi and Emmanuel Mogaji, Nigeria	Public vs private universities in Nigeria: market dynamics perspective	A largely theoretical chapter, providing a generalised analysis of the market forces in the Nigerian higher education sector.	Exploring the relationship between supply and demand in higher education and the factors which control both variables in Nigeria.	The focus is largely on the supply and demand for higher education. The nature of demand in terms of mitigating national developmental challenges is largely ignored.
	Adam Sirajudeen, Thomas Wayne and Emmanuel Mogaji, Africa-focused	Towards an Understanding of Islamic Private Universities in Africa.	A largely descriptive and analytic paper based on both primary and secondary data analyses.	The paper provides an interesting analysis of the challenges faced and on the survival strategies of a religious university in a multi-faith continent context.	
Marketin g	Chasi Samia, South Africa	Partnerships with universities in South Africa: challenges and opportunities for student and staff mobility	Based on a doctoral study, the research utilised in- depth interviews with a range of people within a single university.	This chapter offers solutions for improved partnerships between universities in the north and their counterparts in the south utilising a global south perspective.	A focus on a global south perspective provides a lens into aspects of post-coloniality in higher education even if the issues are marginally referenced.
	Lovisa Nghipandulwa, Elina Amadhila and Ezekiel Kwembeya, Namibia	Marketing higher education through work-readiness programmes	Utilises a case study approach based on the experiences of the work-readiness programme.	The study utilises a questionnaire adapted from the work-readiness programme to identify the extent of satisfaction with the purposes and	A key African problem of unemployment is tackled in the context of Namibia. The analysis makes little reference to historical antecedents and thus does

Otilia Chiramba and Felix Maringe, South Africa	education: creating value for refugee	The research utilised multiple qualitative indepth interviews to	accomplishments of the work-readiness programme. Due to a wide range of reasons and despite the provisions by law to	the coloniality of the phenomenon. The non-conformance of institutions with legal requirements for social
	students	discover how refugee students experience higher education services in a university.	in the higher education market.	justice merits should be investigated further.
John Boateng, Ghana	Tenets of a successful education marketing: views of respondents from an education marketing change workshop at the University of Ghana	Following a two-day workshop, a sample of 63 respondents was drawn from the participants to complete a paper-based survey questionnaire. Additionally, ten individuals were selected from the different levels of employees to participate in an in-depth interview.	Critical factors that influence education marketing included quality of service rendered, customer satisfaction and levels of staff expertise and competency. Findings also reveal that needs and process-based motivation play an essential role in reducing resistance to change and engendering employee support for the new market change process and strategy.	broad-based reflection on issues that facilitate change and change management in universities.
Elizabeth Ndofirepi, Temitope Farinloye and Emmanuel Mogaji, Africa-focused	Marketing mix in a heterogeneous higher education market: a case of Africa	A largely theoretical study using secondary data from published works.	The paper uses Ivy's 7P framework and, to a large extent, endorses the framework, although it adds a few more criteria across the elements of the	about the broad contexts of universities across the continent to yield a continental framework for

				framework.	education in the African university.
Branding	Savdeep Vasudeva and Emmanuel Mogaji Africa -focused Temitope Farinloye,	Paving the way for world domination: analysis of African universities' mission statement Typology of Nigeria	A content analysis of the vision and mission statements on institutional websites of Africa's top 30 Universities. Data extracted from the	The need for African universities to become world-class. The paper is leading and researchintensive. The chapter contributes to	
	Ogechi Adeola and Emmanuel Mogaji, Nigeria	universities: a strategic marketing and branding implication	National University Commission of Nigeria	a typology of university brands in Nigeria.	
Customer service and/or satisfactio n	Taiwo Soetan Africa-focused	Addressing the challenges of higher education in Africa: The role of African governments, the African Development Bank, and business corporations operating in Africa	A largely theoretical paper drawing from evidence in previous literature.	This paper provides a perspective on the contribution that multiagencies play in marketised higher education environments.	contradictions could have been raised to showcase the realities of multi-

Emphases and omission in the marketisation of higher education in Africa

Although the chapters in this book do not constitute a representative sample of research on the marketisation of higher education across the African continent, they nevertheless represent some of the latest offerings on the subject. The following observations need to be read in this light.

Persistent coloniality of knowledge systems

The research sampled in this book does not focus on specific or uniquely African problems. The agenda set out in the west, where the concept emerged, has remained intact both in terms of the marketing practices and conceptual fields but more importantly, concerning the objectives of marketisation. Primary objectives for the marketisation of higher education have tended to focus on creating value around the profit dimensions of education, strengthening the management aspects of education to reflect the new business trajectories and orientation in universities, and strengthening international student recruitment to build revenue and profit (Kotler, 2012). Above all, marketisation became the basis for surviving in the increasingly competitive higher education environment.

In post-colonial environments, although these objectives remain essential, they are nevertheless lower down in the hierarchy of challenges that institutions in Africa face. In Africa, we cannot compete fairly with western universities on the student recruitment market for example (Maringe, 2003). Student or talent mobility in Africa is mostly characterised by outward mobility because of pressure exerted by push factors. Political instability, poor economic performance, wars and unemployment are some of the factors that drive talent out of Africa. Within the continent itself, South Africa seems to be the most favoured destination, despite its xenophobic record (Maringe and Carter, 2007).

Most, if not all, of the colonial universities, were established on templates of western institutions in Europe. In Zimbabwe, the then University of Rhodesia started as a college of the University of London, offering the degrees of that university. Although these links have been officially severed following political independence, the models of western universities continue to dominate and influence thinking, strategy, practice, knowledge generation, partnerships and even the nature and assessment of programmes. Chasi (2019) has noted that a clear majority of all partnerships in African universities are with overseas institutions with significant numbers being with universities in the previous colonising country.

This coloniality of knowledge in the African university is partly responsible for the replication of models of marketisation in post-colonial universities. The tendency to reproduce everything that is happening in the west is overwhelmingly endemic in African universities. At the same time, this tendency to copy western models has effectively shifted the mindset away from the real problems and challenges that we face in Africa.

Coloniality of being in the African University

Cartesian logic can be contextualised as 'we (I) know, therefore we are (I am)'. In other words, our identities as scholars (what we are) are defined substantially or wholly by what we know. Because research is considered the route to new knowledge, it plays a substantial role in defining our professional identities. However, the assumptions we hold about research have tended to replicate those of the broader colonisation project. The assumption of a mostly

ignorant local indigenous population, which needs redemption through the civilising intervention of the west, appears to be consistent with the assumptions of the status of western models of knowledge over the local ones. The fact that existing models of knowledge generation were discarded and peripheralised suggests that the essence of being for the local indigenous populations was seen only in terms of the extent to which this would be evaluated against the criteria of worthwhile research in the western canon.

In the marketisation of higher education, locals in the post-colonial university continue to see themselves as second-best concerning their counterparts in western universities. When partnerships are formed, there is an almost unwritten rule about the location of leadership in participants from western universities. This is entrenched by the requirement placed by funding agencies, which expect funds to be deposited in and controlled by the western universities. This usually becomes a de-facto leadership strategy for running north-south partnerships, thus contributing to the tendency towards the entrenchment of coloniality of joint or collaborative project management in the north-south context.

The coloniality of markets and marketing

Because education markets are manipulated by a wide variety of forces and factors, including, among others, governments, global forces and regional formations, they tend to behave in the ways intended by those who manipulate them. Markets and marketing in the global north are driven by four essential desires: competitiveness, dominance, superiority and profitability. While these intentions carry no harm in themselves, the excessive and blind focus on them often leaves a trail of peripheralisation of everything that stands in the way. When organisations blindly pursue competitiveness and profits, for example, anything that detracts from those ambitions is dealt with accordingly. Universities sometimes undertake fierce talent recruitment, where so-called intellectual stars are pursued with vigour and determination, with little thought given to the consequences that will befall the institutions where these talents come from. In South Africa, for example, 'A' rated researchers are enticed to individual institutions through attractive contracts and conditions of service, which the smaller universities are unable to offer. The pursuit of profits is a recent phenomenon in the education sectors, but one, which has been embraced with enthusiasm and passion despite widespread criticism. In a sense, the phenomenon represents one of the critical planks of capitalism, itself an integral part of colonialism. If we accept that, then markets and marketing in higher education contribute to the exploitation of weaker institutions, many of which exist in the weaker and less developed economies, of which post-colonial countries comprise a big part.

The coloniality of global student recruitment and branding

International student recruitment and branding have become multi-million-dollar industries in their own right. Today there are profit-making companies that assist universities in recruiting from international markets. These companies tend to charge huge sums of money to prospective students in exchange for securing a place to study in a global north university. Poor students are generally excluded from this process while the more privileged children gain access to the best global and world-class universities. This, therefore, widens opportunity gaps in society while also creating unidirectional flows of talent from the poor countries of the global south to the wealthy nations of the global north. This fits the narrative of colonialism and capitalism. The world's biggest and most recognised higher education

brands are those of the US, the UK, Canada, Australia, some European countries such as Germany and France and, increasingly too, China and a few other Asian countries. Their sheer dominance in the global league tables entrenches and perpetuates the power of their brands. It is no coincidence that the location of the world's biggest education brands traces the contours of the distribution of global wealth and influence in the world. To this extent, marketisation, as it is currently understood and practised, strengthens coloniality in poor post-colonial settings.

The coloniality of internationalisation

The integration of international dimensions into the strategic functions of the university is based mainly on what people understand to be international. Again, the dominant international higher education brands feature prominently in the understanding of many people about what is truly international. So for a mediocre university in the global south, developing partnerships with universities of the global north becomes the essential condition of internationalisation. The tendency to reproduce the activities of the prominent global universities becomes a true manifestation of the integration of global dimensions. To this extent, understood and practised that way, internationalisation might indeed be a process of returning to the colonial state.

Omissions and new directions

The neglect of context and the blind mimicking of every fad that happens in the global north does more harm than good to our universities in Africa. This, however, does not mean that we should ignore developments in the global north. On the contrary, universities in Africa should be wide-awake to such developments.

However, whatever happens, we should not lose sight of the four greatest challenges we face in the post-colonial dispensation. Poverty, inequality, unemployment and corruption have become persistent and overarching challenges for African universities. The simple mimicking and replication of strategies that work for global north universities cannot solve problems for African universities.

African universities and their governments need more research, political will and policy redirection to help them deal with these challenges. A new marketisation is required in which:

- New partnerships are created, which bring together countries and universities facing similar challenges to confront these issues collaboratively. It is important to note that these problems could manifest in different ways in different countries. Under no circumstance should global south universities eliminate global north institutions from their partnership arrangements. However, new leadership forms and funding mechanisms, which leverage the careful and successful interrogation of our challenges, should be preferred.
- A global league table for African countries and other post-colonial nations needs to be defined, developed and applied in an exclusive ranking system, which is based on the evidence of how institutions are interrogating the key challenges of post-colonial development. This will assist in creating global distinctiveness that which will help African universities to stand out in a competitive landscape, which befits their contexts.

- African and post-colonial universities have to work on strategies that seek to reverse
 the deleterious effects of talent migration. Research, policies and political
 environments, which are aimed at attracting and promoting backward talent
 migration, have to become a priority in the higher education markets of the global
 south.
- New curricula developments, which integrate studies in the four areas, discussed above; African universities, markets and marketing, global student recruitment and branding and internationalisation together with ambitious and targeted research projects, need to be promoted and developed in universities across the continent and in other post-colonial spaces.
- African universities need to champion the redefinition of what counts as research and knowledge to rediscover lost knowledge forms and values, which help in the development of shaping new identities and a sense of being of the African university.

The terrain of marketisation of higher education in Africa is characterised by idle copycat scholarship seeking to replicate the developments in the global north. The strategies give meaning and substance to the global north context but have peripheral value to the higher education contexts of African universities. This chapter shows how the blind faith of African universities is creating conditions that drive the coloniality of knowledge and knowledge production on the one hand and the coloniality of being at both individual and organisational levels in the African university.

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