RESEARCH ARTICLE:

Towards a Decolonial Higher Education: Praxis and Theoretical Foundations

Mpumelelo Ennocent Ncube[1]

Received: 27 July 2024 | **Revised:** 01 April 2025 | **Published:** 06 June 2025

Reviewing Editor: Dr. Theophilus Adedokun, Durban University of Technology

Abstract

This paper critically examined the praxis of decoloniality in higher education through theoretical and practical lenses, emphasising the need for an epistemic shift from colonial oppressive knowledge systems to indigenous frameworks. Grounded in critical race theory, the study explored historical and contemporary dimensions of coloniality and its persistent influence on education, knowledge production, and institutional structures in Africa. It interrogated the impact of colonial power dynamics on curriculum design, language policies, and institutional leadership, highlighting barriers to decoloniality such as Eurocentric curricula, linguistic hegemony, epistemic injustice, and structural inequalities. Furthermore, it advances a conceptual framework for decoloniality in higher education, incorporating race, narrative storytelling, critique of liberalism, commitment to social justice, interdisciplinarity, and leadership. It argued that sustainable decoloniality necessitates a restructuring of academic disciplines, integration of indigenous knowledge systems, and inclusive leadership committed to transformative change. The paper further advocates for policy shifts that support equitable access to education. By proposing actionable strategies for institutional transformation, this study contributes to ongoing scholarly and activist discourses on decolonial education, emphasising the urgency of dismantling colonial oppressive legacies and fostering a higher education system that is responsive to African contexts.

Keywords: *coloniality of knowledge systems; decoloniality; critical race theory; higher education transformation*

Introduction

The concept of decolonisation has been touted for many years as an intonation for the resistance to colonisation. Scholars such as Dubois (1903), Memmi (1957), Fanon (1967), Biko (2004), and Wa Thiongo (1986), among others, commented about colonisation and the coloniality of power as an anomaly that needs to be resisted and reversed. Despite many forces against colonisation through wars of resistance and scholarly work (Mellet, 2020), it is evident that the determination to colonise was stronger than the will and means to resist and decolonise. This resulted in the institutionalisation of the colonial matrix of power, whose impact is seen in every aspect of the life of the previously disenfranchised groups as evidenced in the healthcare, cultural, educational, political, and religious systems (Gatsheni-Ndlovu, 2013). Recent generations are born into this distorted situation and in their quest for intergenerational solidarity, they realise the extent to which colonisation has alienated them from their identity (Said, 1994; Smith, 2012). This gave rise to a mass movement of students and academics in South Africa referred to as the #Fallists. It was named after its demands for the fall of colonial architecture and the total emancipation of the racially dominated (Masoga, 2025; Nathane and Harms-Smith, 2017; Mavunga, 2019). The movement was established in 2015 and among its demands, was the scrapping of tuition fees with a social media tagline #Feesmustfall (Griffiths, 2019).

Taking a closer look at the undergirding thoughts and feelings of the protesters, the understanding was that tuition fees in their exclusionary nature is an affront to the poor and an impediment to the strides towards decolonial higher education. The broader view of the protest sought to have statues of colonial and apartheid-era leaders removed from public spaces, such as universities and city centres, among others. Statues of Cecil John Rhodes

[1]University of the Free State, ncubeme@ufs.ac.za | https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4611-149X

at the University of Cape Town and Oxford University in London were targeted against the backdrop that Rhodes is considered one of the architects of colonialism, who should not be displayed at respected institutions or public places. It was argued that these objects remain symbols of oppression that inflict pain on the descendants of oppressed nations (Mutekwe, 2017). The move was a symbolic gesture for the decolonisation of public spaces, and the protest action reached global stature. This movement amplified the call for education that is decolonised, in response to concerns regarding the quality and local relevance of education within South African higher education institutions. The movement also understood the centrality of decolonised knowledge production in the broader decolonial project, hence, the call for attention to the process of knowledge production and dissemination in institutions of higher learning.

The efforts of decolonisation and decoloniality should be emancipatory, cultural, political, economic, educational, and spiritual. In line with this proposition, Ocheni and Nwankwo (2012: 46) conclude in their article that "…there is the urgent need for the people and the leadership of [former colonies] to create their own indigenous identity, culture, technology, economy, education, religion, craft, etc. that would be interwoven in good governance." It has been many decades since the calls for decolonisation gained momentum in the African context. So far, the only tangible impact has been the racial swap in political administration in many countries on the African continent. Little has changed in terms of decolonising higher education, as Africa's people are plunged into mimicry of European and North American cultures (Ferguson, 2002). While a significant amount of empirical work and discussions have been done on various aspects of decolonisation, it appears that decolonisation has not taken root. Gatsheni-Ndlovu (2013) posits that:

> "…what emerged from the decolonization process was not a new world dominated by new humanist values of freedom, equality, social justice, and ethical coexistence. African people found themselves engulfed by a 'postcolonial neo-colonized world' characterized by myths of decolonization and illusions of freedom."

This paper examines the praxis of decolonising education and, by extension, knowledge production in Africa as a strategic thrust within the broader decolonial project. Through a comprehensive review of the literature, it explores the calls for decoloniality and the practical approaches to decolonising education. In this context, critical race theory (CRT) serves as an analytical lens for informing both pedagogical approaches and institutional transformations in higher education. It provides a framework for initiating disciplinary-specific discussions and actions aimed at decolonising teaching and learning practices. Furthermore, CRT underpins policy recommendations that support systemic change. To advance the decoloniality agenda in higher education, the paper presents a conceptual framework designed to guide practical implementation efforts. The study seeks to answer the question – how can decoloniality be effectively integrated into higher education to address coloniality, systemic inequalities, and promote inclusivity through curriculum transformation and IKS?

Methodology

This study adopts a qualitative and conceptual approach, relying on critical analysis of existing literature to explore decoloniality in higher education. It employs CRT as a theoretical lens to examine institutional power dynamics, curriculum transformation, and knowledge production. The overarching aim of the study is to explore the integration of decoloniality in higher education by examining the impacts of coloniality, the role of CRT in addressing systemic inequalities, and strategies for curriculum and institutional transformation to promote inclusivity and the incorporation of IKS. The study conducted a systematic review of scholarly literature on coloniality, decolonisation, and education reform to develop a conceptual framework for decoloniality in higher education. Relevant sources were identified through academic databases, focusing on key theories such as coloniality of power, postcolonialism, and CRT. The literature was critically analysed to extract themes related to historical and contemporary impacts of colonialism on education, curriculum reform, and the inclusion of Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS). Insights from these sources were synthesised to create a conceptual framework that guides the integration of decoloniality in higher education, aiming to promote inclusivity, equity, and systemic change. The objectives sought to explore coloniality's historical and contemporary impacts on higher education and knowledge production. It analysed the role of Critical Race Theory (CRT) in understanding and challenging systemic inequalities within academic institutions. The study also sought to develop a conceptual framework for integrating decoloniality into higher education, with a focus on curriculum transformation and the inclusion of Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS). Furthermore, it proposed strategies for transforming institutional structures to support decoloniality, inclusivity, and equitable representation within higher education.

Unpacking the Concepts of Coloniality and Decoloniality

The need to decolonise is a direct acknowledgement of colonisation, which Böröcz and Sarkar (2012) describe as both a practice and a worldview. They argue that as a practice, colonisation involved the use of power by settlers to dominate society and usurp the land for their purposes. On the other hand, as a worldview, colonisation is a "global geopolitical, economic, and cultural doctrine rooted in the worldwide expansion of Western European capitalism that survived until well after the collapse of most colonial empires" (Böröcz and Sarkar, 2012: 229). In their definition of colonialism, Ocheni and Nonkwo (2012) echo similar sentiments to those of Böröcz and Sarkar. They describe colonialism as a historical event whose legacy is still evident in the current world order, be it from the side of the coloniser or the colonised.

> "Colonialism is the direct and overall domination of one country by another based on state power being in the hands of a foreign power (for example, the direct and overall domination of Nigeria by Britain between 1900-1960). The first objective of colonialism is political domination. Its second objective is to make possible the exploitation of the colonized country" (Ocheni and Nonkwo, 2012).

Colonisation cannot be viewed in historical terms as if it ever ended. Notwithstanding the early colonial encounters (15th to 18th centuries) (Mjema, 2024), Ocheni and Nonkwo (2012) argue that colonisation started and ended at a defined historical epoch, between 1800 to 1960 in the case of Africa as a whole, and 1900 and 1960 in the case of Nigeria. Others would argue that it took longer than that, taking into consideration South Africa's transition from apartheid to a democratic dispensation in 1994 (Inman, 2013). The defined period of colonisation is a popular view from which terms such as 'postcolonial' emanate to suggest a period 'after' colonisation. Bhambra (2014) posits that colonisation refers to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and, therefore, agrees with earlier definitions of colonialism with a lapse date beyond that which began the postcolonial era. The term 'postcolonial' may be understood to describe a historical phase in the colonial-decolonial continuum (Majumdar, 2007). However, since the term is used in different fields to refer to different situations (from the forces that usurped the land of colonies, a period after decolonisation, to a body of critical theory), Majumdar (2007) argues that this renders it ambiguous. Gatsheni-Ndlovu (2012) posits that the term 'postcolonial' should be viewed synonymously with 'neo-colonialism'. He argues that it "captures a normalized abnormality whereby issues of African identity formation, nation building and state construction, knowledge production, economic development and democratization remain unfinished projects mainly because of their entrapment within colonial matrices of modern global power" (2013: xi).

Furthermore, he uses the term to reflect on the ensuing power dynamics between the coloniser and the colonised (Gatsheni-Ndlovu, 2012). For this reason, the term 'postcolonial' is looked at through the historical legacy of colonisation, decolonisation, coloniality and decoloniality. On the other hand, the antithesis of colonisation would be decolonisation, a political process of reverting to the original state of sovereignty, where the colonised rediscover themselves without any form of colonial influence. It can also be argued that with difficulties in reverting to an unfettered state of sovereignty, decolonisation could be re-examined to suggest a process of advancing to a new state of sovereignty. Such an advancement would simultaneously take into consideration, the original state of sovereignty and the influences from the exposure to colonisation. Whether one reverts or advances to a state of sovereignty would require an active role by the coloniser (including those privileged by the act of colonisation) and the colonised, including the secondary victims of colonisation. Such a purposeful act would require clarity of mind on the matrices of power that stand to influence the position from which they want to act. Harms-Smith and Nathane (2018) contend that having clarity of mind on issues of decolonisation and decoloniality should resonate with the description of critical scholarship that is concerned with the analysis and transformation of power relations at every level of engagement.

Gatsheni-Ndlovu (2012) asserts that although interrelated, the concept of coloniality differs from colonialism. He argues that colonialism is an encapsulation of political and economic relations in which the sovereignty of one nation rests on the power of another nation, which advances to establish direct colonial administration over those colonised (Gatsheni, 2012). Conversely, coloniality is based on the long-standing patterns of power that emerged during colonialism and define culture, labour, intersubjective relations, and knowledge production after the end of colonialism. Maldonado-Torres (2007) states that these power relations are hidden in discourses, books, cultures, common sense, academic performance, and self-images. Chatterton and Goddard, (2000) reflects on Aníbal Quijano's conceptualisation of coloniality, where he states that it is the reference to the power matrix that defines the modern, colonial world. "Coloniality is a constituent and a specific element of the pattern of capitalist power. It is based on the imposition of racial/ethnic classification on the world's population as a cornerstone of the pattern

of power and operates in each of the planes, spheres and dimensions, material and subjective, of everyday social existence and societal level. (Chatterton and Goddard, 2000: 342)." In contrast, Mignolo and Walsh (2018) and Maldonado-Torres (2007) posit that decoloniality is an epistemological process aimed at averting continued influences of coloniality. The establishment and perpetuation of the colonial matrix of power encompasses the coloniality of power, the coloniality of knowledge, and the coloniality of being (Mignolo, 2007). Within this complex framework, race assumes a pivotal role.

Race as a Foundational Structure of Coloniality: Quite evidently, the concept of "race" played a fundamental role in the establishment of colonisation in Africa, serving as a foundational pillar. It was through the Eurocentric perspective of race that coloniality gained dominance and became the organising principle of various aspects of colonial society. This encompassed labour relations, resource distribution, sexual and reproductive dynamics, gender and sexuality, subjectivity, knowledge, and authority, as highlighted by Quijano (2000). He further argues that race did not have a known history before colonisation but rather emerged as a social construct based on biological characteristics, specifically skin colour, to differentiate between the conquered and the conquerors. This constructed notion of race was subsequently employed to legitimise racial domination. The colonisers formulated racial hierarchies that positioned themselves as racially superior while subjugating those deemed inferior. A notable example of such thinking can be inferred from the controversial work of Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray, whose data have, partly, been interpreted as suggesting intellectual and cognitive disparities among racial groups and implying the inherent superiority or inferiority of certain races based on genetic traits (Herrnstein and Murray, 1994). Similar ideologies influenced the Holocaust in Germany under Adolf Hitler's reign (Hitler, 1925-1926) and, to some extent, the beliefs of Hendrik Verwoerd in South Africa (Dubow, 2014). These same ideologies may also be driving Israel's actions in Palestine.

In addition to racial domination, colonialism involved the appropriation and erasure of indigenous cultures, languages, and identities. Smith (2012) criticises research methodologies that perpetuate the dominance of Western epistemologies at the expense of local knowledge and knowledge systems. This notion is further supported by Tomlinson (1991), who explores how dominant cultures exert their influence over marginalised cultures, ultimately leading to the eradication of the latter. This is evident in the higher education sphere, where coloniality took a stronghold on the production of new knowledge. In corroboration, Krabbe (2009) reflects on the continued existence of structures of racism in the production and development of knowledge, referred to as the coloniality of knowledge. In the discourse of the coloniality of knowledge, Bennett (2007) comments on the tendency to erase certain domains of knowledge to advantage others. She argues that this is a consequence of the territorial expansion of certain types of knowledge, a process during which the rival knowledge systems are either pushed to the periphery or obliterated. Bennet (2007) refers to this process as "epistimicide", the systematic destruction of rival forms of knowledge. de Sousa Santos (2008), as the originator of the term "epistimicide", argues that it refers to the consequence of globalisation. The nexus of globalisation and epistimicide is where globalisation, driven by technological advancements and increased connectivity, has been a vehicle through which dominant Western knowledge epistemologies are spread globally. His view is confirmed by Ndlovu (2018), who argues that "the triumph of Western-centred modernity negated the legitimacy of "other" knowledge and ways of knowing outside the Western purview of seeing, imagining, and knowing the world" (Ndlovu, 2018: 95).

Colonisation, with its historical origins predating the onset of globalisation, emerged as a practice that predates the Second World War, while the phenomenon of globalisation gained traction in the aftermath of this global conflict (Steger, 2003; Young, 2016). Consequently, when considering the chronological sequence of historical events, it becomes apparent that globalisation served to reinforce an ongoing process of epistimicide that had been set in motion through the practice of colonisation. The work of Ndlovu (2018) elucidates the profound and devastating repercussions of epistimicide, as it effectively strips people of their knowledge systems, leading to a void in their historical consciousness and potential future trajectories. Epistimicide was an intended consequence of colonisation and coloniality (Maldonado-Torres, 2007). Furthermore, colonialism facilitated the racialised exploitation of indigenous populations through practices such as slavery and indentured servitude, among others. Beckert (2015) argues that these exploitative systems reinforced racial hierarchies and economic subjugation, which continue to influence the contemporary dynamics of colonialism. Consequently, colonialism engendered a range of racialised dynamics that are shaped by belief systems and ideologies, which persistently justify and perpetuate colonial practices (Bhabha, 1994; Fanon, 2004; Said, 1979). In pre-1994 South Africa, racial politics significantly influenced the landscape of higher education through the implementation of a myriad of policies, including the policy promoting separate development. The apartheid government introduced the Bantu Authorities

Act in 1951, which established the concept of Homelands or Bantustans, including Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ceskei, and the Republic of South Africa. This policy, while framed as self-governance, effectively disenfranchised and perpetuated colonial subjugation of the black population. This approach was later entrenched through the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act No. 46 of 1959.

Despite some semblance of self-governance, the development of Homelands was destined to fail due to their severe economic underdevelopment and unsuitable agricultural land (Pienaar and Von Fintel, 2014). Subsequently, the Bantu Education Act of 1953 was enacted, which some argue, that due to its inferior Bantu education, and the insistence on Afrikaans and English as primary languages of instruction for African students, was designed to create a cheap and unskilled labour force for white South Africa (Moore, 2015). These policies had a detrimental impact on the higher education institutions established within these Homelands (Habib, 2001; Mamdani, 1998), reinforcing and perpetuating racial hierarchies (Davies, 1996). The forced relocation of the black population to the Homelands directly aimed to establish a white-dominated South Africa and maintain total control over the black population.

The Coloniality of Being

The coloniality of being is a phenomenon concerned with the lived experiences of colonisation and its impact on language (the element of language will be revisited later in this section). Furthermore, the coloniality of being reflects the intersubjectivities of the colonised peoples. In the context of coloniality of being, intersubjectivities reflect the lived individual experiences of the colonised on the impact of colonialism, which shapes their subjective formation, self-perception, and collective identities. At the same time, the colonised people are viewed as having the agency to assert their subjectivities and reclaim their agency within the colonial context (Fanon, 2008; Bhabha, 1994; Anzaldúa, 1987). Mignolo (1995) indicates that the coloniality of being is a manifestation of the colonial relations of power that left profound marks not only in the areas of authority, sexuality, knowledge, and the economy but also in the general understanding of being. The imposition of a foreign religion, foreign languages, Western-centric education, and depersonalisation of black people as subjects left indelible marks on the psyche of black people that continue to influence their perception of self and their worldviews.

These colonial influences should not be viewed as legacies but as continued experienced realities. An example of the sustained impact of colonialism is how language was strategically used to create the world as a comfortable place for the coloniser while marginalising the colonised (Abu-Lughod, 2004). It disabled the colonised from critically thinking about their development or even developing new technologies. The importance of language in development can be seen through education, without which one cannot conceptualise, comprehend, and innovate (Rovira, 2008). Essentially, efforts to reclaim and revitalise indigenous languages are important steps towards decoloniality and the restoration of knowledge systems that were marginalised by the colonial system. It is for this reason that critical race theorists argue that any education system that demands students to be taught in a language other than their mother tongue needs to be rejected as it is alienating and demeaning (Ledesma and Calderion, 2015; De La Garza and Ono, 2016). Such cannot be in the best interest of the developmental aspirations of a nation.

> "'Science' (knowledge and wisdom) cannot be detached from language; languages are not just 'cultural' phenomena in which people find their 'identity'; they are also the location where knowledge is inscribed. And, since languages are not something human beings have but rather something of what human beings are, coloniality of power and knowledge engendered the coloniality of being" (Mignolo, 2003).

The People's Republic of China (PRC) could be a case in point where language has been pivotal in the country's developmental trajectory. China has risen as a global power culturally, economically, and politically (Odinye and Odinye, 2013). Odinye and Odinye (2013) posit that in the past two centuries, the PRC was in the worst economic position following the collapse of its last dynasty in 1911. However, in the last 40 years, the country has seen a rapid growth of its economy, which they attribute, partly, to its language policy reforms. In 1955, the government implemented a language policy to promote Mandarin as a unifying force in the nation. To this end, Mandarin is taught in all schools and used as a medium of instruction for all academic subjects, including Science, Mathematics, Technology, and Social Studies (Zhou and Sun, 2004). Notwithstanding its limitations, Ji (2018) and Zhou (2004) explain that the standardisation of Mandarin as the official language in all spheres of society has contributed positively to turning China's fortunes. One other element of the language policy focuses on education. It ensures that the standardised version of Mandarin is used as an official language of instruction in schools. It is

argued that the language policy of the PRC has accorded the country a linguistic advantage internationally, which has seen more than 40 million foreigners outside China learning Mandarin (Odonye and Odonye, 2013). Although the PRC was never a colonial subject, it suffered colonial influence mainly from the United States of America, Britain, Russia, and Germany in various parts of the country at different times. Thus, revitalising indigenous languages with a specific focus on education by the formerly marginalised people would be a positive step towards their emancipation. This is supported by the works of Wa Thiong'o (1986), where he speaks of the importance of reclaiming indigenous languages and challenging the dominance of colonial languages in education. Such a move will neither be easy to achieve nor a panacea to decoloniality, but certainly the right step towards the attainment of the aims of the decolonial project. To this end, one could argue that the process of decolonising education, which includes many workshops, conferences, speeches, and literature, among others, has been slothful. This is chiefly due to the cathedral thinking that was invested in the architecture of colonisation and undoing such would require concomitant planning that would result in concrete and feasible plans of action to tackle its various thrusts. Some of the key impediments to the decoloniality of education include the Eurocentric curriculum, the hegemony of the colonial languages, power structures and representation in institutions of learning, epistemic injustices, resource allocation, as well as resistance and backlash (Freire, 2005; Fanon, 2004; Hooks, 2003; Wa Thiong'o, 1986).

One major impediment to decolonising the curriculum has been the perpetuation of the European and North American-centred curriculum (Smith, 2012). Fanon (2004) and Freire (2005) argue that a Eurocentric framework of the curriculum centres the European epistemologies, perspectives, and histories while ignoring the IKS, perspectives, and histories. This approach advertently engenders power imbalances between the local and the foreign, giving supremacy to the latter. No wonder that the educated fail to make meaningful changes in their localities and ultimately migrate to Europe and America, where they assist in growing their economies (Capuano and Marfouk, 2013). Quayson (2014) argues that this "brain drain" is partially resulting from the history of colonisation. One argues that education should, at all material times, respond to its contextual dictates. After all, formal education emerged as a response to societal needs and aspirations, including economic development, social mobility, social cohesion, democracy and citizenship, and personal development (Chatterton and Goddard, 2000). The rising number of graduates in South Africa and Africa in general (Cloete, Sheppard and Bailey, 2015), coupled with a rising unemployment rate (Mahadea and Kaseeram, 2018; Van Aardt, 2012) may be indicative of an education system that is insensitive to the prevailing economic conditions. Perhaps, one that, like the Bantu Education Act (1953), reinforces the social, political, and economic inequalities between the racial groups, hence the exodus of African graduates to Europe after graduation.

Another aspect pertains to the issue of linguistic hegemony. Colonial powers imposed their languages on their colonial subjects as a tool for control and domination. This is evident in the education system across Africa, where the official languages and languages of instruction are still largely those of the former colonisers. Africa was mainly categorised as Anglophone, Francophone, and Lusophone colonies/regions whose colonial languages were English, French, and Portuguese, respectively (Mbembe, 2001). To date, the former colonies still generally use these languages as official languages of instruction in their education systems (Wa Thiong'o, 1986). The linguistic hegemony of colonial languages remains despite evidence of the essentiality of the use of the mother tongue in education. In South Africa's higher education, English remains the predominant medium for teaching and learning, even though the 2002 Language Policy encourages institutions to embrace a multilingual approach (RSA, 2002). Paradoxically, this policy designates English as the primary language of instruction in higher education and many secondary schools, thereby perpetuating colonial influences (RSA, 2002). Prah (2009) observes that since 1964, numerous UNESCO conferences have consistently reaffirmed the importance of mother tongue approaches in literacy education and language of instruction policy. However, despite these repeated declarations, colonial legacies continue to shape language policies in many African countries. As Wa Thiong'o (1986) argues, language played a fundamental role in establishing and sustaining colonial power structures, reinforcing dominance through the imposition of foreign languages. This historical imposition extends into the present, undermining broader developmental opportunities for oppressed communities.

Power structures and representation are also critical factors. The endeavour to decolonise education has, in most cases, been dampened by the inflexible power structures that are devoid of the representativeness of the previously colonised people. Thus, Freire (2005) underscores the need to transform oppressive power structures in education and promote a liberatory pedagogy. This would entail diversification of the teaching staff composition, as well as the leadership of academic institutions. Questions such as, "Who possesses the power?"; "How do they

use it to create a liberatory environment?"; "To whom do they account?"; and "On whom do they exercise the power?" should preoccupy institutions of education in their quest to decolonise. Ladson-Billings (1995), in her work on critical race theory, reflects on the significance of representativity by marginalised students. The importance of opening the doors of learning to the marginalised sections of the population and centring them in the teaching philosophy is emphasised. Once students have gained entry to academic institutions, they ought not to be impeded by structural obstacles like language barriers, institutional inequality, inadequate student support, and financial constraints, among other challenges. Such access should be accompanied by a commitment and actions to remove all barriers, without which they would fairly develop and have equal opportunity of success as all their counterparts.

Concerns pertaining to epistemic injustices are other forms of impediments. In their efforts to centre the colonial perspectives, narratives, and knowledge systems, the colonisers devalued and marginalised all non-Western knowledge systems, wisdom, and practices (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2020). Instead, they introduced the Eurocentric knowledge systems as superior. In the process and gradually, the IKS began to lose relevance and were seen as inferior, unscientific, and primitive (Kuokkanen, 2007). Despite the huge and complex impact of epistemic injustices, the resilience of the indigenous people cannot be underestimated. There has been a resurgence of indigenous intellectualism as part of the signs of resilience by the marginalised people. Some of the leading scholars in this regard include Musila (2022), Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2020), Falola (2005), Mamdani (1996), and Mda (2013), among others. Smith (2012) focuses on the decolonising methodologies of acquiring knowledge to centre the indigenous perspectives. Similarly, Wilson (2008) provides insights into indigenous research methodologies and the importance of integrating indigenous ways of knowing into the research process. These scholars, and others, have played a critical role in the revitalisation of IKS and in reversing the tide of epistemic injustices that have recurred since the advent of colonialism. Their work generates a reservoir of knowledge that educators and educational administrators can draw upon with confidence as they embark on the journey of decolonising education.

In terms of resource allocation, the sustainability of institutions of learning is largely dependent on the availability of financial resources to support their operations, infrastructure, research, and academic programmes. Numerous studies have been conducted that indicate the importance of financial resources supporting the key business of the academic institution and thereby influencing their rankings (Hauptman Komotar, 2020; Marginson, 2014; Hazelkorn, 2009). The extent of their financial dependency varies between institutions. Adequate resources and funding are pivotal in decolonial practices. Institutions that are privileged with resources stand a better chance of successfully implementing their decolonial practice plans in education. However, the availability of resources should be accompanied by a strong institutional will to embrace decoloniality in the true sense. Conversely, it is essential to consider the source of the institution's resources, as any misalignment with the decolonial agenda could pose a significant obstacle to decoloniality.

There is also the concern of resistance and backlash. If those who benefit from the status quo are disinterested in the decolonial agenda, there may be a backlash and resistance to decolonise. More so, if they are in the levers of power, they may strategically sabotage the efforts to decolonise. Giroux (1997) states that the role players in education who may resist change include policymakers, educators, communities, and at times, students who are accustomed to the existing educational framework. Resistance may be justified depending on the subjective feelings and experiences of an individual irrespective of their status, including those from marginalised populations. However, critical theorists indicate that "reason" may need to be liberated from oppressive conditions (Freire,2005; Fanon, 2004; Foucault, 1982). As such, proponents of decoloniality need to be cognizant of various elements that may resist the decolonial agenda and the reasons that may be advanced for this purpose and plan accordingly to circumvent them.

Theoretical Perspective (Critical Race Theory)

CRT is a theoretical perspective emanating from the Critical Legal System (CLS) or CRT and is adapted to other fields by scholars including Antonio De La Garza and Kent A. Ono (2016), Delgado Bernal (2002), and Quijano Aníbal (2000). De La Garza and Ono (2016) posit that CRT looks at white supremacy as an immutable fact of the neo-colonial state, as well as a praxis for changing it. They further state that race and racism should be understood beyond the specific acts of an individual but as a social condition ingrained at institutional, economic, political, social, and historical levels (De La Garza and Ono, 2016). The paper employs an adaptation of De La Garza and Ono's (2016) conceptual framework of CRT as the foundation for constructing a theoretical framework aimed at

facilitating the practical implementation of the process of decoloniality within the sphere of higher education. At a macro level, the Fundi wa Africa theory corroborates the CRT. The Fundi wa Africa theory uses the State as a unit of analysis to understand the state of Africa (Muiu, 2002). It argues that without centring the State, any attempts to understand the status quo of Africa will always deal with the form rather than the substance. It is for this reason that the proposed framework of decoloniality in higher education through the CRT, as provided in this article, identifies the State as one of the key role players. Below are the tenets of the CRT: race, narrative storytelling, critique of liberalism, commitment to social justice, and interdisciplinarity. Lastly, the article brings to the fore 'leadership' as an additional tenet of interest in decolonising higher education.

Race

Race as a tenet for decoloniality is a hallmark of CRT. Thus, the theory views race as an organising force of colonialism and coloniality in that power dynamics were established and sustained through racial lines. The status quo remains unabated to date, where white supremacy is viewed as a constitutive feature of the life of all in Africa and beyond. It organises the context and content of all aspects of life between people of colour and mainstream ideological apparatus such as the media, and the religious and educational systems. Moreover, whiteness is reproduced as a cultural centre as can be seen and experienced through the media content, religion, politics, economics, and education, as well as the narratives attached thereto. For this reason, the practice of dismantling white supremacy would require a deliberate focus on race. The higher education sector, encompassing various stakeholders such as government and private institutions, communities, families, educators, and students, must be acutely aware of the pervasive influence of white supremacy and its detrimental impact on educational content and processes. Without deliberate efforts to counteract its effects, white supremacy can impede the realisation of equitable and inclusive education. To address this challenge, all stakeholders should prioritise the integration of IKS as a central component of their educational practices, informing their thinking, planning, and actions.

Recognising the significance of IKS in local contexts requires ongoing scholarly endeavours to generate a robust body of knowledge that can rival and complement other knowledge systems. Moreover, the infusion of IKS into all levels of education, from early childhood to tertiary institutions, should be embraced as a guiding framework through which the world is perceived and understood, ultimately affirming the dignity and worth of historically oppressed racial groups. Some of the practical strategies for incorporating IKS into education include curriculum development, teacher training, resource creation, community engagement, multilingual education, interdisciplinary approaches, cultural awareness programmes, research initiatives, policy enforcement, assessment methods, public advocacy, collaborations with indigenous communities, and international partnerships. These measures, when aligned with broader development goals, enrich the educational experience for all students, affirming the significance of indigenous knowledge. To facilitate this process, strategic utilisation of various platforms, including mainstream and social media as well as religious spaces, can serve to recentre educational content on IKS and promote a more inclusive and decolonial perspective.

Narrative and storytelling

The application of CRT in the conceptualisation of decolonial higher education space includes a key tenet focused on narratives and storytelling. This tenet plays a crucial role in integrating people of colour and their perspectives into the academic discourse surrounding IKS. To fully embrace this tenet, it is essential to actively seek out a diverse range of narratives from indigenous individuals, regardless of their educational background or socioeconomic status, to inform the field of education. The underlying aim is to provide platforms that empower indigenous peoples to share their stories and validate their experiential knowledge. By doing so, this tenet indirectly challenges institutional tendencies to uphold a colourblind façade within the education system. It emphasises the importance of recognising and amplifying marginalised voices, ultimately contributing to a more inclusive and authentic educational landscape. Every academic institution should find ways of inviting people, especially from the local communities, including students, to provide testimonies of their experiences. Furthermore, indigenous people, especially those from the surroundings of the academic institutions, should be given space to share stories as handed down to them by earlier generations. The space should accommodate narratives of people on various phenomena. Although the tenet applies to all academic programmes, the participation may vary, as some programmes may come naturally as part of everyday life, while others may need skilful facilitation to solicit fruitful participation. The narratives are what create one's worldview and determine the decisions one takes about their life. In this way, the community as a role player is brought into the fold to influence a decolonial space in higher education. Affording people space not only validates their experiences and narratives but also their being. For this

reason, such experiences and narratives should be provided in the policies of academic institutions and find expression through the various modules of the academy. Lastly, inviting the indigenous people as guest lecturers should be normalised in the quest for decolonising the space of education, as well as the content thereof. Their contributions, simultaneously recorded, processed by researchers, and written into scholarly publications to build a body of indigenous knowledge and contribute to the academy.

The critique of liberalism

According to CRT, liberalism is often associated not with progressivism, but with incrementalism. Progressivism, in contrast, challenges the existing status quo and advocates for radical changes, while incrementalism aims to maintain the current structure while introducing gradual societal changes (Soyinka, 2002; Addams, 1910). CRT and its application to the decoloniality of education utilise this conceptual framework to delve into underlying causes and structural issues to achieve transformative and long-lasting solutions. This approach seeks more profound institutional changes as opposed to mere reformist measures. Liberalism, on the other hand, places significant emphasis on reform and the legislative enactment of human rights (Mill, 2001; Addams, 1910). These ideas are often critiqued and rejected by critical race theorists due to their failure to acknowledge the profound nature of structural racism faced by people of colour. Due to the structural nature of racism, liberalism uses multiple platforms to masquerade as progressivism. Consequently, people of colour are lured to liberalism as a plausible ideology at the expense of their ways of life that may be pertinent to their contexts. It may begin with the government facilitating a bottom-up process of mapping the national ideals. In response to the drafted ideals, the tenet calls for institutions of education to radically change their approaches to education and adopt those that would culminate in nationally desirable outcomes. Both the State and its institutions ought to be cognizant of the depth of structural racism and commit to addressing it through legislative and policy frameworks. In a liberal world, the multiplicity of voices and freedom of speech should be the cornerstone of any society. However, in the context of decolonising education, the freedom of speech should be sensitive to the feelings and experiences of the colonised. As such, the context of education should be equally sensitive to such experiences. Removing symbols of oppression should be seen and understood as part of decolonising the spaces where education takes place.

Commitment to social justice

Within this framework, all stakeholders must perceive decolonisation as an endeavour dedicated to the advancement of social justice. CRT serves as a guiding principle, urging these stakeholders to actively engage in the pursuit of social justice by scrutinising and contesting the pervasive entrenchment of race and racism within social structures, notably education. Simultaneously, it is crucial for the stakeholders, while directing their attention towards education, to recognise the interdependent nature it shares with various other social structures, including the political system, the economy, family, religion, and media, to name a few.

A commitment to the voices of the marginalised should inform all scholarship and content of modules in the classroom. Voices of the marginalised would also include the uneducated people of colour who may not be conversant in the colonial language. For that reason, the marginalised should be invited to express their experiences and narratives in their languages on all platforms, including in research as participants, and the classroom as guest lecturers. While a colonial language can be used to alienate and subjugate the marginalised, indigenous languages affirm the dignity of the marginalised and can be used to recreate a new centre. For this reason, policies need to prioritise teaching indigenous languages. Even in the absence of knowledge of indigenous languages, lecturers who are driven by the conviction that decolonising education is a social justice imperative issue should encourage students to discuss and explain in their languages. Lack of knowledge of the indigenous language by the educator should not be a hindrance, as the educator can seek translation from other students who may be conversant in the language. This is an appeal to embrace multilingualism as outlined in the Language Policy for Higher Education (RSA, 2002).

Furthermore, a requirement of tuition fees in a context where most students come from poor communities (Naidoo and Mckay, 2018), which is a direct consequence of colonisation and shortcomings of the successive democratic governments, should be viewed as unjust. In such a situation, the state and applicable institutions should develop legislation and policies that accommodate poor populations. None should be deprived of education due to their economic deprivation. In this context, it is important to acknowledge the efforts made by the democratic government to alleviate financial challenges faced by students from disadvantaged backgrounds. These efforts encompass a range of initiatives, including the comprehensive National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS)

(Matukane and Bronkhorst, 2017), which offers loans and bursaries to help cover various student expenses. Additionally, the availability of bursaries and scholarships from various government departments to support needy students, the implementation of learnerships and internship programmes that provide practical training and financial assistance as students gain valuable work experience, and the crucial backing of skills development through the National Skills Fund (NSF) (Mabeba and Mamokhere, 2021), including bursaries for students pursuing skills identified as critical to the South African economy. These measures represent a positive and commendable step forward.

Interdisciplinarity

CRT recognises a historical relationship between the production of scholarly research and the maintenance of white supremacy. De La Garza and Ono (2016) argue that research in CRT occupies a marginalised position in academic journals, driven both by necessity and intentional design. Thus, CRT research gets marginalised, hence the need to move across disciplinary boundaries to find opportunities to connect with relevant bodies of literature and platforms for the dissemination of information. Some of these disciplines, especially within the context of higher education, may include class, gender, and disability (Gillborn, 2015). Advocacy for decolonising education may take lessons from the adaptive nature of the CRT against adverse conditions to silence it. All role players, within their spaces of influence, should find ways to advocate for decolonising education. Concerning research, scholars need to centre the scholarly work on the marginalised. The Western body of knowledge is embraced on equal if not lesser terms to the voices of the marginalised. Deliberate research projects should be conducted, especially in disciplines where the marginalised voices are absent. This should be done with the intent to gradually develop a body of work that centres the voices of the marginalised. Furthermore, De La Garza and Ono (2016) advance that, for this marginalisation in certain academic spaces, scholars in CRT should continuously develop the skill of crossing disciplinary boundaries to seek opportunities for engaging with other pertinent fields of literature and disseminating their research to broader and more diverse audiences.

In developing module study guides, encompassing both prescribed and recommended readings, it is imperative to intentionally prioritise the inclusion of marginalised voices within the provided lists. The compilation of these study guides and their content should exemplify a concerted endeavour that acknowledges and incorporates the body of work from indigenous people as well as the perspectives and experiences of students, fostering an interactive relationship between lecturers and learners. In this context, educators should perceive students as individuals who possess intrinsic knowledge, experiences, and perceptions. Furthermore, it becomes essential to reconfigure academic disciplines in a manner that is responsive to the challenges that education seeks to address. This may necessitate the amalgamation of certain disciplines, the establishment of novel disciplinary domains, and the discontinuation of existing ones. Such restructuring should be an ongoing process aimed primarily at ensuring the contextual relevance of education and, to a secondary extent, its global applicability.

Leadership

Leadership style within higher education is an enduring factor that significantly influences an institution's stance and direction on various matters, including the critical issues of decolonisation and decoloniality. In the context of higher education, leadership plays a central role, given that these institutions have a fundamental responsibility to nurture students who will eventually become leaders in society (Frantz, Marais and Du Plessis, 2022; Du Plessis, 2021). Du Plessis (2021) suggests that tensions exist regarding how social issues are represented within universities, and there is a pressing need for leadership development deeply rooted in South African knowledge and lived experiences. These tensions may, at times, arise from the fact that the higher education leadership now includes descendants of those who were historically marginalised, tasked with leading alongside descendants of those responsible for marginalisation. Additionally, tensions may stem from challenges in understanding the practical application of decoloniality, coupled with a reluctance to depart from established comfort zones. Consequently, there is a compelling necessity to construct leadership frameworks that can effectively respond to the demands of contemporary and future educational environments (Du Plessis, 2021). Such a framework should focus on cultivating leaders who are adaptable to the evolving educational landscape, including the adoption of progressive pedagogical approaches. It should also be acutely aware of epistemic colonial power dynamics and be willing to progressively work towards changing the landscape to benefit the previously marginalised and the broader benefit of the institution. In this context, the notion of leadership encompasses a spectrum of influence, ranging from the formulation of state policies, which establish the overarching parameters within institutional contexts, to the involvement of senior leadership within educational institutions of higher learning, extending from

executive leadership at the institutional level to faculty and departmental leaders at the microcosmic levels of these organisations. In addition, this leadership framework should champion inclusivity, ensuring equitable support for all students and staff. Furthermore, it should actively encourage collaborative partnerships among institutions, educators, and stakeholders to address the intricate challenges within education. Lastly, it should be unwavering in upholding ethical standards and values, serving as a beacon of exemplary conduct for the institutions it leads.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this article engages with the complex concepts of colonisation, decolonisation, coloniality, and decoloniality to shed light on the current state of Africa and the pressing need for decoloniality in higher education. It underscores that while colonialism can be understood as a historical phenomenon, the enduring patterns of power stemming from its practice give rise to coloniality, which is a web of intersecting power dynamics characterising the contemporary relationship between the coloniser and the colonised. This reality permeates all aspects of the daily experiences of the colonised, thus necessitating the imperative for decoloniality to rectify the prevailing power imbalances. With a specific focus on higher education as a vital dimension of individuals' lives and a crucial arena for the decolonial project, this article examines various factors within the context of higher educational institutions that hinder the successful implementation of the decoloniality project. These factors include the perpetuation of a Eurocentric curriculum, linguistic hegemony, power structures and representation, epistemic injustices, resource allocation disparities, and resistance and backlash from those privileged by the status quo. Once the content of the curriculum has been aligned to the suggested tenets, various forms of assessments that align with the framework need to be considered. In the quest for a culturally inclusive and decolonised education, a multifaceted approach to assessment reform needs to be explored. Such an approach should advocate for assessments that honour diverse cultural perspectives and IKS, enabling students to showcase their grasp and application of this knowledge.

Furthermore, the approach should emphasise experiential learning, reducing the heavy reliance on traditional exams in favour of practical, contextually relevant assessments. It should come with a provision for diverse assessment panels to ensure fairness and inclusivity. The approach makes provision for reflective assessments that address structural racism and coloniality, interdisciplinary projects for practical application of knowledge, and the sensitive facilitation of freedom of speech. Also, the article employs the CRT to develop a framework that guides thinking and action towards decoloniality in higher education. Drawing upon the pillars of the CRT, which are race, narrative and storytelling, critique of liberalism, commitment to social justice, and interdisciplinarity, with leadership as an additional tenet, the practice framework presented in this article fills a significant gap in the existing body of literature, providing a structured approach to advancing decoloniality in institutions of higher education. By critically examining and addressing these challenges, embracing a decolonial framework rooted in the experiences and knowledge of marginalised communities, and adopting a commitment to social justice, stakeholders in the field of education can work towards transformative change. This transformative change entails recognising and valuing diverse knowledge systems, cultures, and languages, empowering marginalised populations, and fostering inclusive and equitable educational environments. Through the collective efforts of scholars, educators, policymakers, and communities, a decolonised education system can contribute to a more just and inclusive society, paving the way for the empowerment and liberation of previously marginalised individuals and communities in Africa and beyond.

Declarations

Interdisciplinary Scope: The study is grounded in Critical Race Theory, providing a lens through which to examine decolonisation in Higher Education across various academic disciplines, including the administration and leadership of higher education institutions.

Author Contributions: The paper is sole authored.

Conflict of Interest: None

Funding: N/A

Availability of Data: N/A

References

Abu-Lughod, L. 2004. *The Language of Empire: Abu Ghraib and the American Media.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Addams, J. 1910. *Twenty Years at Hull-House.* Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Anzaldúa, G. 1987. *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*. San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books.

Beckert, J. 2015. Reimagining Economic Sociology: Fictional Expectations and Capitalist Dynamics. *Tempo Social*, 29(1): 165.

Bennett, T. 2007. The Work of Culture. *Cultural Sociology,* 1(1): 31–47.

Bhabha, H. K. 1994. *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge.

Bhambra, G. K. 2014. *Connected Sociologies*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.

Böröcz, J. and Sarkar, M. 2012. Colonialism. In: Anheier, H.K., Juergensmeyer, M. and Faessel, V. eds. *Encyclopedia of Global Studies*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, 229–234.

Capuano, S. and Marfouk, A. 2013. African Brain Drain and Its Impact on Source Countries: What Do We Know and What Do We Need to Know? *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice*, 15(4): 297–314.

Chatterton, P. and Goddard, J. 2000. The Response of Higher Education Institutions to Regional Needs. *European Journal of Education*, 35(4): 475–496.

Cloete, N., Sheppard, C. and Bailey, T. 2015. South Africa as a PhD Hub in Africa? In: Cloete, N., Maassen, P. and Bailey, T. eds. *Knowledge Production and Contradictory Functions in African Higher Education*. Cape Town: African Minds, 75–108.

Davies, J. 1996. The State and the South African University System Under Apartheid. *Comparative Education*, 32(3): 319–332.

De La Garza, T. A. 2016. Critical Race Theory. In: Jensen, K. B. ed. *The International Encyclopedia of Communication Theory and Philosophy*. John Wiley and Sons Inc., 1–9.

De Sousa Santos, B. 2004. *The World Social Forum: A User's Manual*. Madison: University of Wisconsin.

Du Bois, W. E. B. 1903. *The Souls of Black Folk: Essays and Sketches*. Chicago: A.C. McClurg and Co.

Du Plessis, P. 2021. Decolonisation of Education in South Africa: Challenges to Decolonise the University Curriculum. *South African Journal of Higher Education*, 35(1): 54–69.

Dubow, S. 2014. *Apartheid, 1948–1994*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Falola, T. 2005. *The African Diaspora: Slavery, Modernity, and Globalization*. Rochester: University of Rochester Press.

Fanon, F. 2004. *The Wretched of the Earth*. Trans. Philcox, R. New York: Grove Press.

Ferguson, J. 2002. Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse. *Cultural Anthropology*, 17(4): 551–569.

Foucault, M. 1982. The Subject and Power. *Critical Inquiry*, 8(4): 777–795.

Frantz, J., Marais, J. and Du Plessis, M. 2022. Exploring the Views of Academics on an Academic Leadership Programme in Higher Education. *South African Journal of Higher Education*, 36(1): 136–153. Freire, P. 2005. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Trans. Ramos, M. B. New York: The Continuum International Publishing Group.

Gillborn, D. 2015. Intersectionality, Critical Race Theory, and the Primacy of Racism: Race, Class, Gender, and Disability in Education. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 21(3): 277–287.

Giroux, H. A. 1997. *Pedagogy and the Politics of Hope: Theory, Culture, and Schooling: A Critical Reader.* New York: Routledge.

Griffiths, D. 2019. #FeesMustFall and Decolonized University in South Africa: Tensions and Opportunities in a Globalizing World. *International Journal of Educational Research*, 94: 143–149.

Habib, A. 2001. Structural Disadvantage, Leadership Ineptitude and Stakeholder Complicity: A Study of the Institutional Crisis of the University of the Transkei. Commissioned by the Centre for Higher Education Transformation, South Africa Available: www.chet.org.za/papers.asp (Accessed 25 March 2025).

Harms Smith, L. and Nathane, M. 2018. #NotDomestication #NotIndigenisation: Decoloniality in Social Work Education. *Southern African Journal of Social Work and Social Development*, 30(1): 1–18.

Hauptman Komotar, M. 2020. Discourses on Quality and Quality Assurance in Higher Education from the Perspective of Global University Rankings. *Quality Assurance in Education*, 28(1): 78–88.

Hazelkorn, E. 2009. Rankings and the Battle for World-Class Excellence: Institutional Strategies and Policy Choices. *Higher Education Management and Policy*, 21(1): 1-22.

Hitler, A. 1925–1926. *Mein Kampf*. Munich: Eher Verlag.

Hooks, B. 2003. *Teaching Community: A Pedagogy of Hope*. New York: Routledge.

Inman, R. P. and Rubinfeld, D. L. 2013. Understanding the Democratic Transition in South Africa. *American Law and Economics Review*, 15(1): 1–38.

Ji, F. 2018. Language Planning and Policy in China: Unity, Diversity and Social Control. In: Andrews, E. ed. *Language Planning in the Post-Communist Era*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 47–66.

Krabbe, J. S. 2009. Introduction: Coloniality of Knowledge and Epistemologies of Transformation. *KULT. Postkolonial Temaserie*, 6(Special Issue): 1–10.

Kuokkanen, R. 2007. *Reshaping the University: Responsibility, Indigenous Epistemes, and the Logic of the Gift*. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Ladson-Billings, G. 1995. Toward a Theory of Culturally Relevant Pedagogy. *American Educational Research Journal*, 32(3): 465–491.

Ledesma, M. C. and Calderón, D. 2015. Critical Race Theory in Education: A Review of Past Literature and a Look to the Future. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 21(3): 206–222.

Mabeba, S. J. and Mamokhere, J. 2021. The Impact of Financial Aid Services in the Institutions of Higher Learning in South Africa. *African Perspectives of Research in Teaching and Learning*, 5(1): 178–193.

Mahadea, D. and Kaseeram, I. 2018. Impact of Unemployment and Income on Entrepreneurship in Post-Apartheid South Africa: 1994–2015. *The Southern African Journal of Entrepreneurship and Small Business Management*, 10(1): 1–9.

Majumdar, M. A. 2007. *Postcoloniality: The French Dimension*. New York: Berghahn Books.

Maldonado-Torres, N. 2007. On the Coloniality of Being. *Cultural Studies*, 21(2–3): 240–270.

Mamdani, M. 1996. *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Mamdani, M. 1998. Is African Studies to be Turned into a New Home for Bantu Education at UCT? *Social Dynamics: A Journal of African Studies*, 24(2): 63-75.

Marginson, S. 2014. University Rankings and Social Science. *European Journal of Education*, 49(1): 45–59.

Masoga, M. 2025. Reflections on Lessons Learnt from #FeesMustFall a Decade Later. https://gsmn.co.za/2025/03/13/feesmustfall-a-decade-later/ (Accessed 26 March 2025).

Matukane, M. M. and Bronkhorst, S. 2017. Student Funding Model Used by the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS) at Universities in South Africa. *The Journal of Internet Banking and Commerce*, 22: 1–20.

Mavunga, G. 2019. #FeesMustFall Protests in South Africa: A Critical Realist Analysis of Selected Newspaper Articles. *Journal of Student Affairs in Africa*, 7(1): 81–99.

Mbembe, A. 2001. *On the Postcolony*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Mda, Z. 2013. *The Sculptors of Mapungubwe*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Mellet, P. T. 2020. *The Lie of 1652: A Decolonised History of Land*. Cape Town: Tafelberg.

Mignolo, W. 1995. Decires Fuera de Lugar: Sujetos Dicentes, Roles Sociales y Formas de Inscripción. *Revista de Crítica Literaria Latinoamericana*, 11: 9–32.

Mignolo, W. D. and Walsh, C. E. 2018. *On Decoloniality: Concepts, Analytics, Praxis*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Mill, J. S. 2001. *Utilitarianism*. Sher, G. (ed.). Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company.

Mjema, E. 2024. Indigenous Persistence and Change During Early Colonial Encounters on the Tanzanian Coast: Ceramic Evidence. *Azania: Archaeological Research in Africa*, 59(2): 179–200.

Moore, N. L. 2015. *In a Class of their Own: The Bantu Education Act (1953) Revisited*. Master's Thesis, University of Pretoria.

Muiu, W. M. 2002. Fundi wa Afrika: Toward a New Paradigm of the African State. *Journal of Third World Studies*, 19(2): 23–42.

Murray, C. and Herrnstein, R. J. 1994. Race, Genes, and IQ–An apologia. *The New Republic*, 211(18): 27–37.

Musila, G. 2022. East and Central Africa. *The Journal of Commonwealth Literature*, 57(4): pp.807–820.

Mutekwe, E. 2017. Unmasking the Ramifications of the Fees-Must-Fall-Conundrum in Higher Education Institutions in South Africa: A Critical Perspective. *Perspectives in Education*, 35(2): 142–154.

Naidoo, A. and McKay, T. J. M. 2018. Student Funding and Student Success: A Case Study of a South African University. *South African Journal of Higher Education*, 32(5): 158–172.

Nathane, M. and Harms Smith, L. 2017. #FEESMUSTFALL #DECOLONISEDEDUCATION FRONTLINE. *Critical and Radical Social Work*, 5(1): 115–118.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. 2012. Coloniality of Power in Development Studies and the Impact of Global Imperial Designs on Africa. *Australasian Review of African Studies,* 33(2): 48-73.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. 2013. *Coloniality of Power in Postcolonial Africa: Myths of Decolonization*. Dakar: CODESRIA.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. 2020. *Decolonization, Development, and Knowledge in Africa: Turning Over a New Leaf*. New York: Routledge.

Ndlovu, M. 2018. Coloniality of Knowledge and the Challenge of Creating African Futures. *Ufahamu: A Journal of African Studies*, 40(2): 94–112.

Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, 1986. *Decolonizing the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature*. London: James Currey Ltd.

Ocheni, S. and Nwankwo, B. C. 2012. Analysis of Colonialism and Its Impact in Africa. *Cross-Cultural Communication*, 8(3): 46–54.

Odinye, S. I. and Odinye, I. E. 2013. Rise of China and Spread of Mandarin in 21st Century. *Quarterly Journal of Chinese Studies; Xiamen University, China*, 1(4):136–144.

Pienaar, L. and von Fintel, D. 2014. Hunger in the Former Apartheid Homelands: Determinants of Convergence One Century After the 1913 Land Act. *Agrekon*, 53(4): 38–67.

Prah, K. K. 2009. Mother-Tongue Education in Africa for Emancipation and Development: Towards the Intellectualisation of African Languages. In: Brock-Utne, B. and Skattum, I. eds. *Languages and Education in Africa: A Comparative and Transdisciplinary Discussion*. Oxford: Symposium Books, 83–105.

Quayson, A. 2014. *Oxford Street, Accra: City Life and the Itineraries of Transnationalism*. London: Duke University Press.

Quijano, A. 2000. Coloniality of Power and Eurocentrism in Latin America. *International Sociology*, 15(2): 215–232.

Republic of South Africa. 2002. Language Policy for Higher Education. Available: https://www.dhet.gov.za/HED%20Policies/Language%20Policy%20for%20Higher%20Education.pdf (Accessed 11 June 2023).

Rovira, L. C. 2008. The Relationship Between Language and Identity: The Use of the Home Language as a Human Right of the Immigrant. *Remhu – Revista Interdisciplinar da Mobilidade Humana*, 16(31): 63–81.

Said, E. W. 1979. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books.

Said, E. W. 1994. *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Vintage Books.

Smith, L. T. 2012. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. London: Zed Books.

Soyinka, W. 2002. *Death and the King's Horseman*. London: Methuen Drama.

Steger, M. B. 2003. *Globalization: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Tomlinson, J. 1991. *Cultural Imperialism: A Critical Introduction*. London: Continuum.

Van Aardt, I. 2012. A Review of Youth Unemployment in South Africa, 2004 to 2011. *South African Journal of Labour Relations*, 36(1): 54–68.

Wilson, S. 2008. *Research Is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods*. Halifax: Fernwood Publishing.

Young, R. J. C. 2016. *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction*. Oxford: Wiley Blackwell.

Zhou, M. and Sun, H. 2004. *Language Policy in the People's Republic of China: Theory and Practice Since 1949*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.