BISHOP
GROSSETESTE
UNIVERSITY

BG Research Online

Conclusion

The State of Internationalization of Higher Education in Sub-Saharan Africa

HADIZA KERE ABDULRAHMAN, EVELYN C. GARWE,
JULIET THONDHLANA, AND SABELO J. NDLOVU-GATSHENI

INTRODUCTION

Internationalization has emerged as one of the most significant areas of change in higher education (HE) across the world in recent times (Maringe, Foskett, and Woodfield, 2013), with varying socio-economic, cultural, and technological impacts depending on context. Olukoshi and Zeleza (2004) state that as the twenty-first century unfolds, African universities are undergoing change and confronting challenges which are unprecedented. In this cross-cutting chapter, we discuss what can be gleaned, synthesized, and distilled from the six different thematic chapters representing particular Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) contexts as a contribution to the overall internationalization of higher education (IHE) debate. The main intention is to draw readers' attention to emerging themes and gaps regarding IHE in SSA contexts that are useful for benchmarking, comparative analysis, and guiding decision making for various higher education stakeholders, inclusive of higher education institutions (HEIs), academics, governments, quality assurance agencies, researchers, students, curriculum developers, and international personnel. Refer to the various thematic country chapters for a detailed exposé of IHE in each context.

This agenda of internationalization though appears to be entangled with other inextricably intertwined processes. This complexity and entwinement of issues is well articulated by Olukoshi and Zeleza (2004: 3) who, while stressing the need to redefine the roles of the African university, also laid out ten key issues that must also be considered during this process. The first of these issues is how to "balance autonomy and viability"; the second being how to balance "expansion and excellence"; the third, how to achieve "equity and efficiency"; the fourth is how to deal with "access and quality"; fifth, how to express "authority and accountability"; with the sixth being how to maintain "representation and responsibility." The seventh is how to balance "diversification and differentiation." The eighth is how to attain "internationalization and indigenisation" as well as how to balance "global presence/viability and local anchorage." Lastly, the tenth is how to attain "the preservation of local knowledge systems and the adoption of global knowledge," as well as keep a balance between "the knowledge economy and knowledge society" (Olukoshi and Zeleza, 2004: 3). They emphasize the importance of these universities needing to address the challenges of knowledge production and dissemination.
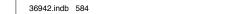
The issues outlined above show clearly that the agenda of internationalization has to be pursued while taking into account so many other variables, tasks, and challenges facing the higher education sector in any context, particularly in the SSA region, including aspects of "academic freedom and professional ethics, privatisation and the public purpose, teaching and research, community service/social responsibility and consultancy, and indeed 'diversity and uniformity'" (Olukoshi and Zeleza, 2004 :3). In fact, Maringe et al. (2013) find that despite the global rhetoric about an emerging isomorphism in HE, wide disparities continue to exist in various settings which entrench poverty differentials that have always existed between universities in the North and those in the South, with these disparities presenting very different internationalization challenges in different settings.

In many settings, Sub-Saharan Africa included, internationalization seems to be a response to globalization. Globalization has changed the ways that not only knowledge is disseminated but the way that research and teaching is undertaken. With Maringe and Foskett (2010) observing that internationalization appears to be a key strategy of the influence of globalization adopted by universities, with internationalization generally understood to mean the integration of an international or intercultural dimension into the tripartite mission of teaching, research and service function of higher education, Dzvimbo and Moloi (2013) add that internationalization and globalization are two sides of the same coin, sharing many common characteristics yet not synonymous with each other. They warn that in a shrinking world in which neo-liberal discourse has permeated Sub-Saharan African (SSA) higher education, critical reflection is required to assess its merits and demerits, adding that for far too long, SSA has been pressured by neo-liberal market economies and government policies into serving their interests before its own. Olukoshi and Zeleza (2004) highlight how the effects of globalization, the political and economic pressures of liberalization and privatization, both internal and external, are reconfiguring all aspects of university life and their public service function. Zeleza (2005) also observes what amounts to the trade in educational services for higher education under the auspices of the General Agreement of Trade (GATS) of the World Trade Organization (WTO), cautioning that insofar as GATS is an evolving process, it is imperative that African universities participate actively in constructing their legal, conceptual, and operational architecture.

The foregoing chapters on internationalization of HE in SSA also reveal the need for internationalization to be implemented in a strategic manner, which takes into account not only issues of globalization but also of decolonization, de-imperialization, and deracialization as articulated by Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2018). This is equally why the task of internationalization is always entangled with regionalization, "Africanization," as well as nationalization as part of the core objectives of the Association of African Universities (AAU). This therefore makes it imperative that Internationalization of Higher Education (IHE) from an African perspective, must be part of a decolonization which privileges notions of interdependent worlds and mutually respective sovereign nations.

As far back as 1963 when Julius Nyerere became the first black Chancellor of the University of East Africa (Makerere, Nairobi and Dar es Salaam), he reflected deeply on how to achieve international standards while at the same time not compromising on local imperatives, emphasizing that the African university has to "take active part in the social revolution we are engineering" predicated on nation-building, economic development, pan-Africanism and assertion of African consciousness (Nyerere, 1966: 219). The development of national and institutional IHE policies is therefore often seen as paramount in these contexts, though this has been generally characterized by an ad hoc approach to these developments in most of the contexts that this chapter looks at. It

appears largely, that there has been no real nuanced articulation of "internationalization" as a national approach supporting higher education in many of the different SSA contexts explored. Perhaps this is due to the fact that African HEIs are "born international" in outlook, but not anchored socially in the countries where they are born as "universities in Africa" rather than "African universities" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2018). Internationalization in many African contexts still appears very much accidental and incremental, often with policy occurring after the fact.

The discussion of the internationalization processes in the various African settings explored therefore centers around the balancing act of attempting to internationalize while at the same time trying to attain autonomy, viability, excellence, efficiency, maintaining representation, global presence, and local anchorage; all the while working at preserving local knowledge systems and adopting global knowledge in the various settings; while of course also bearing in mind the imperative of IHE being part of a process which privileges the key notion of interdependent worlds. Clearly a very complicated process but one which highlights the complexity at the heart of the task of internationalization.

So, this chapter is really about introducing the readers to emerging understandings and approaches, especially with several of the chapters having a strong focus on policy frameworks development, highlighting the ways that these frameworks are not only analyzed, but also used to theorize and understand the particular specificities of IHE in Sub-Saharan Africa. Especially with IHE being seen as multi-dimensional, multi-faceted and inextricably intertwined with other issues (including decoloniality) as mentioned earlier—looking at strategies, challenges, as well as its development and operationalization, appears a good starting point.

In the next section, therefore, this chapter looks at the various issues and processes of the internationalization agenda of different SSA contexts including South Africa, Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Ghana, Kenya, and Ethiopia.

INTERNATIONALIZATION STRATEGIES, ISSUES, AND PROCESSES

What this section tries to do is provide a cross-cutting understanding of the key commonalities across the region—in so doing, it highlights the differences, since the exploration of commonalities invariably articulates differences. As a strategy, this allows it to be useful as a synopsis of the internationalization processes happening in higher education institutions in several of the fore-mentioned contexts. The aim is to draw together all that has been written and view it through different lenses and theoretical constructs, especially with IHE increasingly being situated within a decolonial project. Decoloniality will therefore also be adopted as a major analytical lens for the exploration of internationalization strategies and processes.

Coloniality itself is not only a power structure but also an epistemological design. It therefore addresses epistemological questions of how colonial modernity has interfered with other ways of knowing, social meaning-making, imagining, and seeing; it also concerns the exertion of hegemonic power and oppression, resulting in the current asymmetrical global power structure that centers around countries in the Global North (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013), it is the darker side of modernity. Since coloniality works as a crucial structuring process within global imperial designs, sustaining the superiority of the Global North, part of the purpose here will be an attempt to unmask coloniality as a

possible underside of internationalization while still recognizing what positive aspects there may be of it.

All the various chapters reveal that in addition to the many structural and systemic challenges that these SSA countries have to deal with, they also must contend with the growing complexities of internationalization, which has been found to include a competitive knowledge society of global higher education, one in which African universities not only have to participate but are disadvantaged by structural and historic imbalances to be efficiently competitive, this clearly shows a problematization of "internationalization" itself. The argument by Jowi (2012) is that many African universities are being engulfed by internationalization, and this internationalization is happening at a time when uncertainty surrounds the potential of African universities to meaningfully utilize the opportunities while at the same time respond (meaningfully) to the challenges of their respective contexts. Looked at with a decolonial lens, this could be a reason why internationalization for these various countries has assumed a "vertical" character of universities in Africa seeking to connect with those in Europe and North America, rather than taking the necessary "horizontal" internationalization—enabling universities in African to connect with each other and those of the Global South before connecting with those in the Global North (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2018). Perhaps, what needs to be problematized in the first instance is the concept of "international" itself. Within societies emerging from colonialism and peripherization, the international commonly means Europe and North America. This is highly problematic and "colonial," making the whole push for internationalization even more complex.

The above was an issue highlighted in both Kenya and Ghana. In Ghana, internationalization is rightly considered against a backdrop of colonial legacies and neoliberal ideologies and their continued impact on the various processes. The chapter rightfully calls for an awareness of the new forms of power relations created and fostered through internationalization and also cautions against a new kind of dependency on the Global North, where the South goes "supplicating for funds from the North." The chapter also cautions that knowledge from the Global South does not need to be validated by the North. This call is decolonial in thinking and chimes with the need to constantly provincialize the North and Europe. In Kenya, the chapter also recognizes the pressures exerted upon institutions in the Global South to internationalize, often with the reason given that this makes the institutions "strong conduits" for "knowledge economies" flow. It asks the extent to which the internationalization process has been a one-sided imposed external practice, with the potential to corrode the capacity of national level institutions. It highlights the level to which promises of internationalization remain unexamined, wondering if the struggle to internationalize by Kenyan HEIs has diverted attention and money that could have been used to regenerate instead. Importantly though, the chapter also casts a critical decolonial light on these processes by charting a history of this "internationalization push" and the effects of globalization on its knowledge economy, Questioning the way that the whole process has a "Western face," and the effects of this in the long term. This lends itself to the argument by Maringe et al. (2013) that internationalization can be seen to be synonymous with the notion of "Westernisation"—the export of Western ideas, culture, language, and superior forms of humanity and existence, which can come with a deletion of other cultural forms of exchange and progress at the feet of the dominant Western forms. This remains one of the prime decolonial reasons for vigilance against what Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013) refers to as the trap of normalizing and universalizing coloniality as a natural state of the world.

In the case of Zimbabwe, the chapter asks that African countries like Zimbabwe with a colonial history should take into cognizance the potential tensions between IHE and decolonization, with a clear need to strategize around their particular contextual realities. Following the suspension of Zimbabwe from the Commonwealth and the imposition of sanctions, Zimbabwe's HEIs became isolated, with the country adopting a "look-East" policy towards East-Asian countries in response to the deteriorating economic stability. China now has a significant amount of outward-bound Zimbabwean students. This "look-East" policy is not new as it alludes to something deeper and recognizable as a "scramble for Africa," a move which exists in various forms as is evident in the Ethiopian context where there have been massive efforts made in terms of the mobility of people, programs, and collaborative research with China and Europe also getting in on this initiative.

The theme of student and staff mobility is also common as a key process of internationalization in all the contexts explored, though to varying degrees. In the case of Nigeria, the chapter tries to highlight three key themes: it gives an overview of what it calls "the IHE spectrum" in that context; it also provides us with a history of the development of higher education in Nigeria, and finishes off by exploring internationalization practices and activities as they currently apply. The way it does this is by examining the international office, the internationalization of classrooms, leadership training, research, quality assurance systems, and student mobility. It also presents results from aspirations and directions of graduate students and capacity development. The major argument that the chapter makes is that, when viewed through the concept of what it calls the "modern globalization system," the Nigerian higher education system is too localized with very few international staff and students. The resulting effect, it argues, is that Nigerian universities "compete very low" in the internationalization matrix. This chapter does not appear to scrutinize the very existence of the matrix, which would be more in line with key decolonial thinking, rather it appears to call for more of this common form of internationalization approach which centers heavily on student and staff mobility.

In the twenty years post-Apartheid, South Africa has experienced massive levels of inward student mobility and subsequently its HEIs are considered highly internationalized, all helped by what is seen as its unique geo-political position in that region and in the world and the quality of its HE. These are further enhanced by the role South Africa plays in the geo-politics of the region, the continent, and the world. A role especially endorsed by the "powers that be"—those considered high up in the global matrix of power—and which confers certain credence to South Africa and its affairs; all of which make South Africa an attractive destination for students. Set within a very recent history of domination and marginalization (with the Apartheid regime), though South Africa did start out less internationalized, the focus of the chapter is therefore on the progress that has been made in the twenty years since Apartheid. For Ethiopia, on the other hand, historically internationalization came in the nature of massive student mobility to America, and after the overthrow of its emperor, then with a shift in alliance from the West to the former Eastern Socialist Bloc. Student and staff mobility therefore, appears to be a strong recurring feature of the IHE terrain in SSA.

In most of the contexts explored, it also becomes apparent that internationalization is intertwined with globalization and that this globalization is the context of the economic and academic trend that is part of the current reality. Internationalization is also conceived to be mainly and largely about student and staff mobility. The movement of students and staff from one country to the other, often from Sub-Saharan Africa to richer, more technologically advanced countries in the Global North, is what has come to be known as

internationalization, and in many ways is the key to judging the efficacy of the process, not least because of its ability to be a huge income generator, which in the neoliberal era within which higher education now exists, is a massive advantage. The unexplored downside to this is what Maringe et al. (2013) argue to be the potential for the erosion of quality through talent migration to richer nations; with talented students also being attracted by richer Western universities. Internationalization though is still seen as beneficial for political and economic policies with the economic contributions cited as the key driver. For many of the SSA countries explored, these recognizable features of internationalization, including staff and student exchange, and knowledge exchange, are actually in the very DNA of universities in this region given their beginnings as colonial establishments. This is evident for Zimbabwe especially but also in Kenya, Nigeria, and Ghana which all developed strong links with their colonizers that have persisted to date. So, the kind of student and staff mobility that is regarded as the hallmark of internationalization here is not between neighboring African countries, or the "horizontal approach" to internationalization, rather it is the kind that encourages a "Look-North" approach in the direction of the global super powers. Coloniality it appears is also sustained in the asymmetrical knowledge structure, one that not only continues to make the North appear alluring to the South, but that cannot be separated from the overarching power structures and dynamics upon which the modern world is predicated.

The above is one of the reasons why internationalization processes in these settings have to be explored with an additional decolonial lens. Decoloniality is really about confronting coloniality in all domains of Power, Being, and Knowledge and will therefore always remain an unfinished business. It is more than just moving from one fundamentalism to another, rather it is about moving from one ecology of knowledge to multiple ecologies in service of the world. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2018) states that decolonization is not about revenge. It is important to keep what is useful while seeking to decolonize various things through, for instance: examining normative foundations of theory; re-provincializing Europe rather than the over-representation which exists and de-provincializing Africa; undertaking a decolonial critique of dominant knowledges and unmasking what is concealed; rethinking thinking itself, through the recovery of subaltern/other knowledges; and learning to unlearn in order to relearn. So really a paradigmatic shift from what was meant for colonization to what is meant for liberation and freedom. Zeleza (2005) points out that for African universities to be able to meet the challenges of "Internationalization," they must reconfigure Pan-Africanism: by strengthening the regional systems of student and faculty mobility and exchange; by setting up, streamlining, and strengthening regional quality assurance and accreditation bodies; by establishing centers of excellence; and by mobilizing Africa's academic diasporas, both historic and contemporary. This is in line with calls for the "horizontal approach" to internationalization that has been advocated in this chapter. It is also the thinking that is present in some of the settings explored, especially as we move on to review various other tensions of internationalization.

INTERNATIONALIZATION TENSIONS IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

In the countries explored, what quickly becomes apparent is the wide range of internationalization processes and approaches. Key to all of them though as mentioned earlier is student and staff mobility; and knowledge exchange and collaboration with

mainly countries in the Global North—what can be termed a "vertical approach" to internationalization, which places at the very center of this kind of internationalization the "Look North" approach. What is however also glaring is a lack of strategic and well-articulated internationalization policy, with much of it happening in an accidental and incremental nature, often with varying degrees of success. Zimbabwe, for example, has a well-established higher education system that has always had aspects of internationalization stemming primarily from its filial relationships to universities in Britain and so continues to engage in some form of internationalization on an ad hoc and uncoordinated basis, though this is changing with the increased role and visibility of ZIMCHE, its HEIs quality assurance body.

For Ghana, internationalization is only just becoming a key agenda for its universities, with this being seen as crucial for becoming globally competitive and more visible. Ghana has a well-developed higher education system made up of universities, colleges, polytechnics, and other professional and degree-awarding institutions, with the HE system having gone through several phases marked by various reforms, policies, and strategies including nationalization, "Africanisation," and development. Internationalization of Ghanaian higher education is not without its challenges though, especially in terms of a clear and coherent national strategy and policy formation. The country has no known national policy on internationalization to regulate and direct recognizable internationalization activities such as teaching, outreach programs or even what the chapter recognizes as a framework which promotes and showcases core national values. Only the University of Ghana was found to possess a stand-alone publicized strategic plan for internationalization, in the absence of very little national discourse, debates, and discussions on internationalization itself.

Like Ghana, Nigeria was also found to have no national policy on IHE, with internationalization largely being left to individual universities to pursue, often with mixed results. For South Africa, set within a very recent history of domination and marginalization (with the Apartheid regime), there is a slower uptake of IHE. Higher education institutions in South Africa started out less internationalized due to the effects of apartheid, including: boycott, sanctions, and censorship of curriculum. The focus therefore remains on what progress has been made in the twenty years since Apartheid, especially on different approaches to internationalization, the internationalization of research, and that of higher education and technology. Much of the change to HE in South Africa was in order to dismantle the architecture of the divided higher education system of the apartheid era and in order to create a single coordinated system. Democratization and globalization were found to be the twin challenges of HE, with little attention paid to internationalization itself. Historically, just as in the Ethiopian situation, internationalization was used by various superpowers as a political instrument in the form of international education exchange and cooperation, and really used to expand spheres of influence—in what this chapter recognizes as the "scramble for Africa."

A useful reminder at this point is that universities are part and parcel of the colonial project and are unapologetically Eurocentric. Mbembe (2016) argues that most universities in Africa still follow the hegemonic "Eurocentric epistemic canon," with Mamdani (1998) stating that a curriculum that "reconstructs" Africa from the historical, civilizational, political, economic, and political standpoint perspective will not happen until Eurocentric institutional cultures and staff demographics at universities fundamentally change. Therefore, decolonization of higher education is really also about the kind of justice that addresses the lingering epistemic violence of colonialism.

Many of the contexts, however, have awoken to the intricacies of internationalization with some paying attention to how best to maximize its potentials while watching out for its pitfalls; Zimbabwe is one such country, with Kenya and Ghana also. It appears that for many in these contexts, internationalization is actually favored for what is seen as its transformational capabilities, regarded as a beneficial tool for economic and political policies with its contribution. Maringe et al. (2013) related some other anticipated benefits of internationalization to four broad areas of value creation including: strategic and symbolic value; knowledge creation value; cultural integration value; and global market value. They observed that some of the associated risks of internationalization were "brain drain," the dominance of Western hegemony, commodification of HE, and perceived erosion of quality. Many of the fore-mentioned were noticeable in the contexts explored and really emphasize the complexity of internationalization as a double-edged sword.

Take the case of Ethiopia. Again, there is the common theme of awareness of IHE as a capacity-building tool in the realms of both teaching and learning. IHE in Ethiopia though, despite government efforts, is still characterized by a lack of clearly defined policies and fragmentation of efforts. For Zimbabwe, there is apparent progress. The chapter reviews the country's higher education system, especially the current drive to transform and reconfigure it to enhance innovation and development, through reviewing the baseline study by Thondhlana et al. (2019) that informed the process. That study was commissioned by ZIMCHE and Ministry of Higher and Tertiary Education and it found complexities of internationalization evident, especially when mobilizing diverse institutions to co-develop a national IHE policy that all institutions could identify with. The aim of ZIMCHE and the Ministry was to ultimately come up with a national policy framework that eventually includes the development of institutional policies and strategies and their operationalization, with the focus very much on intra and inter institutional collaborations to this end. This shows a purposeful move forward from the ad hoc approach to internationalization that is the key commonality across the various contexts.

In the case of Kenya, IHE was used as a clear strategy to generate funds after the effects of the Structural Adjustment program. In the light of this, the chapter notes two key responses to internationalization: the development of internationalization strategies; and an ambition to achieve "World-class Status" embedded as part of the institutions' mission statements.

Several of the settings allude to the earlier argument that many of the universities in these contexts are "born international." In the case of Ethiopia there appears to be a long history of what is now known as internationalization, although there is admittedly a limited understanding of what IHE really means because of a dearth of research. What exists as recognizable forms of internationalization can be traced back to the arrival of the missionaries and the introduction of Western education to the country.

For Zimbabwe, the colonial legacies are quite recent and still quite visible, and therefore really inform the analysis of this chapter. The review of internationalization of higher education here is therefore undertaken with an awareness of the decolonial, with its various processes and strategies including regionalization and harmonization viewed using this lens. IHE was found to exist somewhat, because of strong links with its former colonizers, Britain. The Nigerian chapter actually argues that because many countries in sub-Saharan Africa have a history of colonization, their institutions can naturally be regarded as internationalized, since they inherited the machineries and processes of higher education.

With all the universities reviewed in these contexts keen to develop partnerships with stronger universities in the Global North, as this is what is primarily considered as internationalization, there are strong (decolonial) warnings from Ghana and Kenya about the penchant to go seeking for funds and validation creating a new form of dependency, and especially the extent to which internationalization becomes a one-sided imposed external practice with eroding potentials. This warning is not baseless, given the global nature of higher education today, it is now legitimately viewed as a tradable commodity, and in many trades, there are often winners and losers. Borrowing from Tikly (2004), it can even be argued that internationalization is the new imperialism, incorporating low-income countries previously subject to older forms of European imperialism into a new regime of global governance, which serves to secure the interests of Global North countries and global capitalism more generally.

Maringe (2010) explains further this type of globalization and higher education using the "world systems theory," which assumes that the world is divided into three broad areas with a core group of super rich nations who dictate to the rest of the world. Similarly in higher education, are the elite universities like the Ivy League in the United States and the Russell group in the UK, who rarely enter into any equal partnership with universities outside of their league. In fact, the argument is that some leading universities can be seen as neo-colonialists, seeking to dominate not for ideological or political reasons but for commercial gains. Maringe also highlights what he calls the "neo-liberal theory" of globalization, which is about free trade between countries based on free market principles—except that this is not freely occurring as someone is always in control of major decisions; that "someone" being organizations such as WTO (World Trade Organization) with GATS, World Bank etc. He adds that the same can be argued for higher education, with similar international organizations created to oversee key decisions and monitor quality for the rest of the world. So even within a free market, there are inherent inequalities, with some having more power than others.

It then becomes clear that since we cannot really separate internationalization from globalization (especially its impact on higher education in developing countries), we need to pay particular attention to its underlying tensions, especially historical imbalances linked to Western colonization and dominance, which still persist cloaked in new terminologies. The Kenyan chapter especially starts with an acknowledgement of the challenges of internationalization and questions its promotion as an altruistic process.

Thus, the continuing task here is the continual exploration of IHE in Sub-Saharan Africa, always setting it within the context of the historical, socio-political, and decolonial. It is also the continued questioning of the grand claim that internationalization of higher education always begets sustainable development at the individual, institutional, national, and global levels, using the various cases cited here as examples; especially the "taken-for-granted" that internationalization contributes to capacity building in Sub-Saharan Africa's HEIs. It is this continual and continuous reflexive process that would allow HEIs in SSA to benefit from internationalization with sensitivity to their various complexities.

CONCLUSION

It becomes clear that the major arguments made in the various chapters point to a need for a more critical examination of the ongoing processes of what is regarded as internationalization in these Sub-Saharan African countries. They certainly call for a more coherent national strategy in the various countries rather than what appears to be a

piecemeal and ad hoc strategy adopted by individual institutions, often not in conversation with each other.

Further arguments are centered around the re-orientation of internationalization, especially in Africa and other developing contexts, with the need to be very strategic from the get-go. Perhaps more tailored with context in mind, rather than current attempts to play catch-up in an uneven playing field. The emergence of other countries such as China in the internationalization game points to a renewed "scramble for Africa," and questions therefore need to be asked of the motives of these different actors—both old and emerging. For instance, have the research capacity and knowledge generation of the various institutions in all the various countries improved with internationalization so far? What will be the likely impact of internationalization in the long run in these contexts? Will they strengthen or erode the capacities of local institutions? Attempts to answer these questions will be the key to fully unveiling the face of internationalization in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Also, given the links made between internationalization and globalization (with all its contentions), harder questions need to be asked of the internationalization project in African higher education—the role of neoliberal globalization as a form of global Western hegemony (Tikly, 2004) is one. Globalization contributes to a postcolonial education that glorifies Western education through portraying it as the universal best way of doing things says Shiza (2006). Any discussion of internationalization of higher education in the so-called Global South (itself a contentious term) must include an analysis of the deep inequalities that are part of the world system generally, both systemic and epistemic—coloniality of power and knowledge, specifically.

With all of the above, three poignant issues become clear for policy implication in terms of IHE in the Global South context:

1. The urgent task of creating universities that are anchored socially, not only geographically, in Africa.

2. The need for "horizontal internationalization" as the first task leading to the creation of a Pan-African education system, before escalating our efforts into "vertical internationalization."

3. The need to interrogate dominant concepts and models of internationalization and the possibility of an alternative internationalization politics in African higher education.

The second issue above makes it quite clear that the argument is not about decoloniality being against internationalization, rather it is about encouraging African HEIs to link up first with themselves, then with other parts of the Global South, and then open up to the Global North.

Universities have been established to have a political, economic, social, and cultural mission; a good understanding of global changes within these areas, Maringe and Foskett (2010) argue, will help shape both institutional response and strategy. For internationalization of African HEIs in particular, attention must be paid to the ways that higher education has been commoditized in service of the global neo-liberal machine and exactly where Africa fits in this behemoth. Is Africa sitting on the table or is Africa what is on the table? The potential and promise of internationalization to create more equitable relations cannot be achieved without a clearer understanding of all the fore-mentioned. While in many ways globalization can open access and make collaborations easier, in other ways existing inequalities can also be reinforced with new barriers erected.

Models of internationalization moving forward must take into cognizance the globalization context within which internationalization processes are being developed and within which they invariably exist, with many universities in the so-called "Global South" still playing "catch-up" in a game where the rules are set by others and are constantly shifting; and where they are constantly trying to conform to Western performative ideals. While a hierarchy of knowledge production still exists, universities in Sub-Saharan Africa have no choice but to aspire to their standards. Ideations of internationalization must take into cognizance the evident exhaustion of "northern epistemologies," and therefore privilege a new learning that is non-colonial; and open up the world to learning from the Global South. This is especially so as Africa and the rest of the so-called "Global South" constitute the majority of the world anyway.

REFERENCES

Dzvimbo, K.P., and Moloi, K.C. (2013). Globalisation and the internationalization of higher education in Sub-Saharan Africa. *South African Journal of Education*, 33(3).

Jowi, J.O. (2012). African universities in the global knowledge economy: The good and the ugly of internationalization. *Journal of Marketing for Higher Education*, 22(1): 153–165.

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.

Maringe, F. (2010). The Meaning of globalization and internationalization in higher education: Findings from a world survey. In Maringe, F., and Foskett, N. (eds), *Globalization and Internationalization in Higher Education: Theoretical. Strategic and Management Perspectives*. London: Continuum International.

Maringe, F. and Foskett, N. (eds) (2010). *Globalization and Internationalization in Higher Education: Theoretical, Strategic and Management Perspectives*. London, Continuum International.

Maringe, F., Foskett, N., and Woodfield, S. (2013). Emerging internationalization models in an uneven global terrain: Findings from a global survey. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 43(1): 9–36.

Mbembe, A.C. (2016). Decolonizing the university: New directions. *Arts and Humanities in Higher Education*, 15(1): 29–45.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S.J. (2013). Why decoloniality in the 21st century? *The Thinker*, 48: 10–15.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S.J. (2018). *Epistemic Freedom in Africa: Deprovincialization and Decolonization*. London and New York: Routledge.

Nyerere, J.K. (1966). *Freedom and Unity/Uhuru Na Ujoma*. Dar Es Salaam: Oxford University Press.

Olukoshi, A., and Zeleza, P.T. (2004). Introduction: The struggle for African universities and knowledges. In Zeleza, P.T., and Olukoshi, A. (eds), *African Universities in the Twenty-First Century: Volume 1: Liberalization and Internationalization*. Dakar: CODESRIA, pp. 1–18.

Shizha, E. (2006). Legitimizing indigenous knowledge in Zimbabwe: A theoretical analysis of postcolonial school knowledge and its colonial legacy. *The Journal of Contemporary Issues in Education*, 1(1), https://doi.org/10.20355/C5RP4J

Tikly, L. (2004). Education and the new imperialism. *Comparative Education*, 40(2): 173–198.

Zeleza, P.T. (2005). Transnational education and African universities. *Boston College and Council for the Development Social Science Research in Africa*, 3(1): 1–28.