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# The cognitive empire, politics of knowledge and African intellectual productions: reflections on struggles for epistemic freedom and resurgence of decolonisation in the twenty-first century

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## ABSTRACT

What has been the contribution of African intellectuals to postcolonial and decolonial scholarship? This question arises because there is emphasis on privileging works of Diasporic scholars from the Middle East and South Asia for postcolonialism and Diasporic scholars from South America for decoloniality/decolonisation. This article contributes to the complex politics of knowledge in Africa through centring often-ignored contributions of African intellectuals to the decolonisation of knowledge and politics. Conceptually and theoretically, what is introduced are issues of how epistemology framed ontology, how the cognitive empire invaded the mental universe of Africans, and how the quest for epistemic freedom informs resurgent and insurgent decolonisation of the twenty-first century. Thus, the article performs four key tasks: (1) it explains how epistemology frames ontology as its entry into the topical politics of knowledge; (2) it introduces and defines the concepts of the cognitive empire and epistemic freedom as they enable a deeper understanding of the complex politics of knowledge; (3) it historicises African struggles for decolonisation as reflected in African decolonial scholarship and the quests for epistemic freedom; and (4) it makes sense of resurgent and insurgent decolonisation of the twenty-first century as embodied by the Rhodes Must Fall movements in South Africa.

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## Introduction

In her widely cited article 'Postcolonial and Decolonial Dialogues', Gurminder K. Bhambra attributed the origin of postcolonial studies to the Diasporic scholars from the Middle East and South Asia such as Edward Said, Homi K. Bhabha and Gayatri Spivak, and that of decoloniality/decolonisation to Diasporic scholars from South America, namely Anibal Quijano, Walter D. Mignolo and Maria Lugones.<sup>1</sup> The contributions of African and Black scholars such as Cheikh Anta Diop who challenged Eurocentric historiography, Edward Wilmot Blyden who coined the concept of 'African personality', Leopold Sedar Senghor who contributed to

the concept of 'negritude', Kwame Nkrumah who coined the concept of 'neo-colonialism', Ngugi wa Thiong'o who introduced the concepts of 'colonisation of the mind', 'moving the centre', and 'metaphysical empire', and Samir Amin who introduced the concepts of 'delinking' and 'extroversion', among many others, are totally ignored. With specific reference to North America, Jean M. Allman posited the question of why African studies was dominated by white scholars and revealed how since 1969 a storm has been brewing over marginalisation of black scholars at the African Studies Association (ASA).<sup>2</sup> This article poses a slightly different question of why the African genealogy of postcolonialism and decolonisation scholarship is often sidelined. Thus, this article delves into the African genealogy of decoloniality without necessarily delinking it from the broader 'black radical tradition' that is well documented by Cedric Robinson.<sup>3</sup>

Even the resurgence and insurgence of decolonisation in the twenty-first century embodied by the Rhodes Must Fall and Fees Must Fall Movements (2015–2016) in South Africa confirm Africa's continued contribution to decolonisation scholarship and struggles. Consequently, the last section of this article articulates the key issues in the resurgent and insurgent decolonisation of the twenty-first century. But to open the canvas wide on epistemic debates and politics of knowledge in general, the article begins with underscoring the primacy of epistemology as a creator of ontology. It proceeds to introduce the concept of the cognitive empire as it deepens an understanding of the politics of knowledge and dynamics of decolonisation. Key trajectories of African struggles for epistemic freedom since the 1960s and the heterodox African decolonial scholarship in the form of culturalist, Marxist, liberal and nationalist traditions are mapped out and historicised. This intervention helps in responding to such questions as what is the content of the current African call to 'decolonise' and what does that 'quest actually involve', that were recently posed by Christopher Clapham.<sup>4</sup> Clapham was troubled by what he saw as such 'a diverse and confusing range of claims that it becomes difficult to disentangle what decolonising African studies actually means, and what it is expected to achieve.'<sup>5</sup>

Clapham wished to see a singular understanding of decolonisation of African studies. This is why he crafted his own definition of decolonising the study of Africa, which reduced it to shifting

perspective from looking at Africa through a lens defined by institutions of colonial power, and the intellectual apparatus carried over from the global North and applied to other parts of the world, to looking instead at the indigenous origins of African societies and the patterns of thought that these embodied and other ways in which these have in turn been influenced by the impact of colonial rule and incorporation into a global system – political, economic, intellectual and indeed spiritual – derived from Northern dominance.<sup>6</sup>

Shifting the perspective is just one aspect of decolonising knowledge, and it does not exhaust the multifaceted meaning of decolonisation (see [Table 1](#)).

All this indicates that decolonisation is a vast enterprise and is multi-dimensional. Clapham also conflated 'Africanisation' with 'decolonisation'; hence, he is somewhat puzzled by the revival of decolonisation in the twenty-first century. At the centre of decolonisation are inextricably intertwined ethical, methodological, epistemological and political dimensions. This is so because of knowledge and power imbrications as well as knowledge and ontology dialectics. Therefore, even the achievements of the Ibadan Nationalist School in Nigeria which dethroned Eurocentric historiography did not resolve the question of the deeper

**Table 1.** The 'Ten-Ds' of the decolonial turn.

Decolonial turn	Elaboration
1. Decanonisation	Shifting from Eurocentric scaffold of knowledge to African and other subjugated knowledges
2. Deimperialisation	Changing the modern power structures which anchor and enable universalisation of European knowledge
3. Depatriachisation	Undoing the androcentrism in knowledge generation and opening up to feminist, queer and womanist scholarship
4. Deracialisation	Removing the colour-line and abyssal thinking in knowledge
5. Dedisciplining	Liberating knowledge from disciplinary empires and academic tribes
6. Deprovincialisation	(Re)placing Africa into the centre of knowledge and releasing it from marginality and peripherality
7. Debourgeoisement	Liberating knowledge from dominant white minority male elite intellectuals and opening it up to knowledge from African intellectuals, peasants, workers, and women
8. Decorporatisation	Confronting market invasion and colonisation of universities and challenging commercialisation and commodification of knowledge and education.
9. Democratisation	Opening up to mosaic epistemology and ecologies of knowledges
10. Dehierarchisation	Decentering hierarchies of thought and knowledge

*Source:* Diagram drawn by the author.

issues of the 'idea' and 'philosophy' of African history.<sup>7</sup> What is clear is that the Africanisation projects of the 1960s were about inclusion in the 'European game'. The decolonisation of the twenty-first century questions the very rules of the game and has escalated the issue to the level of rethinking and even unthinking thinking itself. Strangely, Clapham even posits that 'Africans must be left to decolonize themselves', as though they colonised themselves!<sup>8</sup> What seems to have eluded Clapham is the concept of 'coloniality', which enables a deeper understanding of colonialism as a global power structure which is not over but is all over the modern world.

## How epistemology framed ontology

Without a clear understanding of how epistemology frames ontology, the planetary case for decolonisation might be easily misunderstood. This entry point is important because most of the crises that manifest in society, politics, development and economy have their foundations in epistemology. This is underscored even by the Holy Bible in the Gospel of John, where it states that in the beginning was the 'word' (knowledge) before the envisioning of the universe and the physical creation of the world in seven days. The planting of a 'Tree of Knowledge' at the centre of the Garden of Eden is another indicator of the primacy of knowledge in enacting reality. Once Adam and Eve partook of the fruits they immediately realised that they were 'naked' (they became conscious of themselves). What emerges clearly is that the world is an epistemic creation. This is why Walter D. Mignolo and Catherine E. Walsh posited that 'Ontology is made of epistemology'.

Under Euro-American-centric modernity, epistemology was instrumentally and strategically deployed in accordance with the coloniser's model of the world, whereby Europe and North America were put at the centre. The worlds of indigenous people of Africa, the Americas, Asia, the Caribbean and other places became subjected to 'discovery' paradigm and colonisation. Epistemology became highly political in the service of the cognitive empire

(see the next section for details). Science became a tool of imperialism, which enabled capitalist extractivism. Economic, ontological and epistemological extractivism coalesced. This is why Fran Collyer et al. highlighted that the 'conquest of the world by European and North American power, over the five hundred years of modern empire and globalization, not only produced material wealth for the imperial powers. It also produced a rich dividend of knowledge.'<sup>9</sup> It was this raw data that was 'assembled in the museums, libraries, scientific societies, universities, botanic gardens, research institutes, and government agencies of what is now called the global North'.<sup>10</sup>

This is why the politics of knowledge cannot be discussed separately from the understanding of the empire and imperialism. This is why Ngugi wa Thiong'o posited that

how we view ourselves, our environment even, is very much dependent on where we stand in relationship to imperialism in its colonial and neo-colonial stages; that if we are to do anything about our individual and collective being today, then we have to coldly and consciously look at what imperialism has been doing to us and to our view of ourselves in the universe.<sup>11</sup>

Sampie Terreblanche concurred with Ngugi wa Thiong'o when he argued that: 'We cannot understand the challenges of our time without understanding the ways in which 500 years of Western empire building, often with the complicity of the elites of the Restern world, have shaped our world into the deeply unequal and gratuitously unjust place that it is today'.<sup>12</sup> Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper also emphasised that 'empire is a useful concept with which to think about world history', adding that 'empire-builders – explorers, missionaries, and scientists, as well as political and military leaders – strove to make "we/they", "self/other" distinctions between colonizing and colonized populations'.<sup>13</sup> All modern empires were underpinned by the problematic paradigm of difference and its politics of alterity, which expressed itself epistemologically. Even though empires were succeeded by modern nation states and direct colonial administrations were dismantled after 1945, their legacy endures. This is why Kalypso Nicolaidis, Berry Sebe and Gabrielle Maas underscored that 'Europe's colonial past is still ubiquitous: in monuments and cityscapes, but also in memories, symbols and political battles'.<sup>14</sup> This analysis takes us to the discussion of the cognitive empire, which forms the broader discursive terrain of epistemological colonisation, which is preoccupying the world today.

## The cognitive empire and the invasion of the African mental universe

The cognitive empire is known by various names. Ngugi wa Thiong'o defined it as 'the meta-physical empire' which, unlike the physical empire, had to 'bend the body', so as to compel 'a distorted consciousness of the relationship of their actual reality'.<sup>15</sup> Robert Gildea explained the cognitive empire as the 'empire of the mind'.<sup>16</sup> It would seem that Ashis Nandy was also concerned with the character and logics of the cognitive empire when he introduced the concept of 'the intimate enemy'.<sup>17</sup> The 'intimacy' was in its seductive appeals and rhetoric of progress, development, emancipation and salvation as well as its creation of secular orders. This is why Nandy explained that colonialism 'won its great victories not so much through military and technological prowess as through its ability to create secular hierarchies incompatible with the traditional order'.<sup>18</sup>

The core crimes committed by the cognitive empire is best described by Boaventura de Sousa Santos as 'epistemicides' and 'cognitive injustices'.<sup>19</sup> But it was only in his most recent book *The End of the Cognitive Empire: The Coming of Age of Epistemologies of the South* (published in 2018) that Santos directly used the term 'cognitive empire' – but without providing a clear definition.<sup>20</sup> Santos' book is more about epistemologies of the South than the cognitive empire. Santos pushes for an epistemological shift that guarantees cognitive justice (ie recognition of different ways of knowing by which people across the globe provide meaning to their existence) as a departure from the cognitive empire and a marker of its end (its demise). The best definition of the cognitive empire is provided by Ngugi wa Thiong'o, who explained that the cognitive empire operated through detonation of a 'cultural bomb' at the centre of victim societies, causing various dissonances and alienations.<sup>21</sup>

Ngugi wa Thiong'o explained that the cognitive empire (metaphysical empire) unfolded in terms of invasion of the mental universe of the colonised people. In *Something Torn and New*, Ngugi wa Thiong'o elaborated on the operative logics of the cognitive empire in this way: 'Get a few natives, empty their hard disk of previous memory, and download into them software of European memory'.<sup>22</sup> The key consequences of all these processes have been epistemicides (killing of existing endogenous knowledges), linguicides (killing of existing indigenous languages and the imposition of colonial languages), culturecides (killing of indigenous cultures and setting afoot cultural imperialism) and alienation (exiling of indigenous people from their languages, histories and cultures, and even from themselves).<sup>23</sup> At the centre of the cognitive empire is what the Peruvian sociologist Anibal Quijano named colonial matrix power, consisting of control of economy, authority, gender and sexuality, and subjectivity and knowledge.<sup>24</sup> Like Ngugi wa Thiong'o, Quijano highlighted how the cognitive empire (named coloniality) worked through repressing modes of knowing, producing knowledge and perspectives.<sup>25</sup>

The critical question which arises is whether it is possible for knowledge of a people to really die. It is these questions that led Mignolo and Walsh to problematise the concept of epistemicides by saying that colonialism could indeed kill people but could not kill ideas.<sup>26</sup> The point is that endogenous knowledges were subjugated, not totally eradicated. Just as some people survived genocides in the same manner, endogenous knowledges survived epistemicides. Thus, the 'resurgences' and 're-existence' initiatives and struggles flourishing across the Global South directly confronting the cognitive empire and its Eurocentrism ideology should not be used to deny colonial intentionality and practice of epistemicides and genocides.<sup>27</sup> Genocides are always preceded by epistemicides. Even indigenous languages survived linguicides, while African cultures and arts survived cultural imperialism. However, the very fact that languages and knowledges of the indigenous and colonised people are still struggling to fully recover from coloniality indicates the depth of the colonial practices of epistemicides and linguicides.<sup>28</sup> The crimes of the cognitive empire justify the importance and relevance of the concept of epistemic freedom.

### The primacy of epistemic freedom

The primacy of epistemology in framing ontology explains the primacy of epistemic freedom in African decolonisation. Steve Bantu Biko's dictum – 'I write what I want' – is partly a dramatisation of claiming epistemic freedom and partly a philosophical subversion of apartheid colonial invasion of the African mental universe.<sup>29</sup> Fundamentally, the recognition that all

human beings were born into valid and legitimate knowledge systems is the foundation of decolonisation and the assertion of epistemic freedom.<sup>30</sup> Today's struggles for epistemic freedom across the world are ranged against existing and resilient cognitive injustices cascading from colonialism and maintained by uneven global intellectual division of labour.<sup>31</sup> Cognitive injustice speaks to the failures in the domain of knowledge to recognise the different ways of knowing by which diverse people across the human globe make sense of the world and provide meaning to their existence.<sup>32</sup> Kwesi Kwaa Prah defined epistemic freedom as 'intellectual sovereignty' and articulated it as involving a process of 'domestication of knowledge production'.<sup>33</sup>

Thus, cognitive injustice is basically a social injustice that cascades from the denial of other people's humanity and, by extension, a refusal to recognise their epistemic virtue. Linking subjectivity and epistemology, Santos posited that 'Recognition precedes cognition'.<sup>34</sup> At the very centre of epistemic freedom are fundamental questions (questioning the very 'knowledge of knowledge'), resulting in what Catherine Odora Hoppers and Howard Richards termed 'rethinking thinking'.<sup>35</sup> What is being challenged is the very Western-centric scientific model of knowledge itself as well as the very privileged scientific practice itself. The moment is well captured by Immanuel Wallerstein in terms of 'uncertainties of knowledge' occasioned by systemic and epistemic crises, which invokes reopening of 'basic epistemological questions' and looking 'to structural reorganizations of the world of knowledge'.<sup>36</sup>

At the centre of struggles for epistemic freedom is the important issue of meaning, relevance of knowledge, and asymmetrical power configurations. The existence of a resilient uneven intellectual division of labour, which engenders what Paulin Hountondji termed epistemic dependence, makes the case for epistemic freedom even stronger today.<sup>37</sup> Europe and North America remains the centre from which what is considered valid and scientific knowledge cascades and circulates to the rest of the world. In this uneven division of labour, Africa in particular and the Global South in general exist as sites for hunting and gathering of raw data.<sup>38</sup> Europe and North America remain the key sites of professional processing of data for the purposes of formulation of social theories. These theories are voraciously consumed in Africa. What are considered to be prestigious and international peer-reviewed journals that easily earn African scholars recognition and promotion are based in Europe and North America. Hountondji termed this 'intellectual extraversion',<sup>39</sup> and Raewyn Connell explained it as involving reading 'the leading journals published in the metropole', learning 'the research techniques taught there' and gaining 'recognition there'.<sup>40</sup>

All these are clear hallmarks of intellectual/academic dependence that provoke the resurgence of struggles for epistemic freedom in the twenty-first century. Struggles for epistemic freedom are also ranged against present-day neoliberal illusions of a magnanimous liberal empire that has delivered a global economy of knowledge which every human enjoys. At the centre of the so-called global economy of knowledge is resilient Eurocentrism. In a fundamental sense, struggles for epistemic freedom were and are a direct response to denial of humanity itself (coloniality of being) which automatically resulted in denial of knowledge and epistemic virtue to those who became victims of colonialism.<sup>41</sup> Ramon Grosfoguel posited that the success of colonialism and coloniality in the domain of knowledge was and is always dependent on winning some of the colonised people and peripheralised people to its side to the extent that they then speak and write as though they were located on the racially privileged side of the colonial matrices of power.<sup>42</sup> This confused mentality is nourished by the seductive aspects of coloniality, particularly its time-perfected strategy of

always masquerading as a civilising enterprise while in reality it was a death project. Julia Suárez-Krabbe defined the 'death project' as 'the exercise of violence in coloniality, which targets the actual processes of life and the conditions for existence: in short, plurality'.<sup>43</sup> But to gain a deeper comprehension of the challenge of decolonising the humanities, it is important to historically situate it within the long-standing struggles for epistemological decolonisation.

### Trajectories of African struggles for epistemic freedom

African struggles for epistemic freedom often fell prey to the epistemologies and academic practices they set out to critique, largely because the immanent logics of colonialism always interpellated decolonisation. Thus, turning inherited colonial schools, colleges and universities into uncompromisingly African and inclusive institutions which embraced African traditions of knowing has not only been constitutive of the long African struggles for epistemic freedom but has also been fraught with ambivalences, ambiguities and even contradictions. The struggles for epistemological decolonisation are traceable historically to the early African educated elites like Edward Wilmot Blyden of Sierra Leone, James Africanus Beale Horton of Sierra Leone and J. E. Casely Hayford of Ghana. These educated Africans agitated and fought for the establishment of universities in Africa from as early as the 1860s and 1870s.<sup>44</sup> It was these early African educated elites who first toyed with the idea of an 'African university' (rooted in African cultural and intellectual soil and climate). They were opposed to the colonial regimes imposing foreign models of the 'university in Africa' as a transplant from Europe and North America. According to Eric Ashby, Blyden advocated for an 'African university' that was free from the grip of the 'despotic Europeanizing influences which had warped and crushed the Negro mind'.<sup>45</sup> Blyden became the leading advocate, if not the pioneer, of the philosophy of 'African personality', which he did not want Western education to destroy. Rather, he wanted it to be nurtured as part of the restoration of African cultural self-respect.<sup>46</sup> Teshale Tibebu posited that Blyden was among the first black intellectuals to articulate 'the idea of Africa as a single race nation'.<sup>47</sup>

Three tormenting questions that were initially posited by Aimé Césaire – Who am I? Who are we? and What are we in this world? – became a central part of African struggles for epistemic freedom and other freedoms.<sup>48</sup> It is, therefore, not surprising that these intersections of subjectivity, existentialism and epistemology made it possible for intellectuals like Blyden to formulate the philosophy of 'African personality', which was problematic because it was not free from race-thinking. African personality as a philosophy was predicated on five key issues: the unique destiny of black people, separate from that of Europeans; the development of a distinctive African mentality; religion's place of pride in African thought and life; the inherent socialist/communal nature of African society; and the strong idea of 'Africa for Africans'.<sup>49</sup>

Blyden was opposed to modern Western civilization, as he saw it as a carrier of 'race poison', and harked back to the Greek and Latin civilisations as classics that could nourish Africa intellectually without racism.<sup>50</sup> Blyden is also the earliest advocate to promote African languages, African songs and African oral traditions as part of higher education. His decolonial ideas were echoed by Reverend James Johnson of Sierra Leone, who wanted a higher education institution that would 'Leave undisturbed our particularities'.<sup>51</sup> The very question of



what was/is Africa occupied the minds of African educated elites and thinkers simultaneously as they toyed with the possibilities of epistemic freedom. On this issue, Pius Adesanmi wrote:

The question of what Africa means has exercised the minds of some of the continent's best thinkers in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. It stands unanswered at the ideological core of pan-Africanism, Negritude, nationalism, decolonization, and all the other projects through which Africans have sought to understand and restore their violated humanity.<sup>52</sup>

These ideological and intellectual productions emerged in response to 'the violence of Euro-modernity' and must be understood as part of African modes of self-writing and self-definition.<sup>53</sup> Their limits reflected how mission education inaugurated the first form of African intellectual dependency and acculturation/'cultural schizophrenia' through separating young Africans from their parents and enclosing them in mission boarding schools.<sup>54</sup> Colonial education at whatever level amounted to desocialisation of Africans and their miseducation. Thus, the African ideological and intellectual productions outlined in Table 2 below were as problematic as the colonial environment from which they emerged.

But instead of dismissing them, decolonisation/decoloniality demands that they be approached empathetically as products from battlefields of history and human struggles, which are never perfect. What they do project is how black and African people consistently struggled to project their voices through writing and production of ideas aimed at countering racism and colonialism as well as defining themselves. The 1960s and 1970s witnessed continued struggles to turn 'universities in Africa' into 'African universities'.

### Universities in Africa, nationalism, Africanisation and deracialisation

Francis Nyamnjoh noted that since the 1960s' attempts at decolonization of university education through promotion of perspectives grounded in African realities and experiences, African universities have almost without exception significantly Africanized their personnel but not their curriculum, pedagogical structures, or epistemologies in a systematic and productive manner.<sup>55</sup> The Africanisation and deracialisation initiatives were informed by African nationalism. At the centre of African nationalism is what Shiera S. el-Malik and Isaac A. Kamola termed the 'African anticolonial archive' – an embodiment of African suffering,

**Table 2.** Summary of African ideological production.

<b>Ideology</b>	<b>Core issues</b>
1. Negritude	Africanness, black consciousness, black being, African personality, African identity, black identity, recovery and restoration of Africanness from rootlessness
2. Garveyism	Blackism on a world scale, black consciousness, return to Africa, black self-reliance, black republic, black self-improvement, black racial pride
3. Pan-Africanism	Black consciousness, African unity, Africa self-determination, decolonisation, black power, African diaspora uniting with continental Africans, countering racism, building African institutions
4. African nationalism	Black territorial consciousness, territorial independence, self-determination, deracialisation, Africanisation, catching-up, indigenisation, decolonisation
5. African humanism	Restoration of human dignity, will to live, paradigm of peace, ethics of living together, anti-classism, anti-racism, rehumanisation
6. African socialism	African communalism, anti-classism, anti-capitalism, anti-exploitation of some human beings by others, egalitarianism, self-reliance
7. African renaissance	Rebirth of Africa, Africa regeneration, rebuilding African institutions, African unity, pan-Africanism, black consciousness, African solutions to African problems.

Source: Drawn by the author.

sacrifices, aspirations, possibilities, horizons and imagining futures.<sup>56</sup> This archive carried the promise of re-socialisation and re-education of African people after centuries of desocialisation and miseducation. It is, therefore, not surprising that the dawn of African political independence in the 1960s was accompanied by intensified struggles to Africanise existing 'universities in Africa' into 'African universities'.

At its deepest level, this struggle entailed formulating a new philosophy of higher education grounded in deep appreciation of African histories, cultures, ideas and aspirations as well as a fundamental redefinition of the role of the university. Nyamnjoh argues that Africanisation, de-corporatisation and academic freedom were some of the labels used to articulate the struggles for decolonisation of universities. He elaborated: 'Africanization challenges the colonial university as an institutional form. De-corporatization challenges a corporate model, while historically many of the struggles for academic freedom were against the development university under the repressive grip of a centralized and often despotic state.'<sup>57</sup> It is important to get a deeper understanding of the models of the university. Table 3 provides seven models of the university.

Stefan Collin, in *Speaking of Universities*, provided a good summary of the changing roles of universities in general:

Once upon a time their primary role was to teach true religion and provided learned men for the church; once upon a time it was to inculcate virtue or judgement or good manners or any of the other supposed attributes of a gentleman; once upon a time it was to select, equip and mould those who were to fulfil leading positions in state, empire or society; and often it was as much to keep the young out of mischief as to keep alive the flame of learning.<sup>58</sup>

In Europe, 'it was the Humboldtian ideal that did most to shape universities over the next 150 years.'<sup>59</sup> The Humboldtian model privileged the notions of a professional autonomous scholar protected by and enjoying academic freedom. With specific reference to Africa, the dawn of political independence in the 1960s was accompanied by efforts to create an African developmental university. Such a university was expected to be truly African and to play an active role in nation-building, socio-economic development and promoting African consciousness.<sup>60</sup> Thus, on another level, the 1960s constituted the 'golden age' of the African higher education sector. Not only did the institutions of higher learning multiply, but the Africanisation agenda was embraced by leading scholars such as Cheikh Anta Diop, who dedicated his entire career to producing Africa-centred knowledge and exploding the myths created by imperial colonial historiography.<sup>61</sup> A vibrant and respected African nationalist school emerged at the University of Ibadan in Nigeria, led by historians such as Kenneth Onwuka Dike and Jacob Ade Ajayi, and many others who contributed immensely to the Africanisation of history as a discipline, as well as to the African nation-building project.<sup>62</sup> African music, arts and cultures were boosted during the heyday of anti-colonial nationalism.

The formation of the Association of African Universities (AAU) in Rabat, Morocco, in 1967 revealed the continued commitment by African intellectuals and academics to decolonise and Africanise universities in Africa and make them truly African universities. It was the AAU that defined an African university this way: 'The truly African university must be one that draws its inspiration from its environment, not a transplanted tree, but growing from a seed that is planted and natured in the African soil.'<sup>63</sup> But unlike the nationalist political leaders, African intellectuals and academics never tired of defending so-called 'international standards' while engaged in Africanising and decolonising the university in Africa. The AAU

**Table 3.** Seven models of the university.

Alexandria Model	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• University of Qarawlyine/Karawiyyin in Fes in Morocco (859 CE)</li> </ul>
Timbuktu Model	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• University of Al Azhar in Cairo in Egypt (972 CE)</li> <li>• Sankore University/University of Timbuktu (982 CE)</li> </ul>
The Western Model	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bologna (1088)</li> </ul>
Kantian	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Oxford (1096)</li> </ul>
Humboldtian	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sorbonne (1150)</li> </ul>
Newmanian	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Salamanca (1218)</li> <li>• Coimbra (1290)</li> <li>• Paris Napoleonic University (1808)</li> <li>• Humboldt University (1811)</li> </ul>
The Colonial Model	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Colleges of the metropolitan universities. For example, University of London's Overseas Colleges: Makerere University, University College of Rhodesia and others.</li> </ul>
African Developmental University/Yusuf Model	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Inherited 'universities in Africa' that were subjected to 'deracialisation,' 'Africanisation' and 'indigenisation.'</li> </ul>
Popular Model of the University	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Popular education, non-elitist, people's university that privileged the interests of the workers/proletariat.</li> <li>• The Popular University of Turin (1900)</li> <li>• Universidad Popular Gonzales Prada (1921)</li> </ul>
Neo-Liberal-Bureaucratic-Corporate-Managerial Model	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Universities of Technology</li> <li>• Entrepreneurial Universities</li> </ul>
Decolonised Model of the University	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Aspired for indigenous, activist institution, accessible, multilingual, polyphonic, relevant, responsible and culturally anchored.</li> </ul>

Source: Drawn by the author.

expressed adherence to world academic standards and the development of a higher education in the service of Africa, and was in favour of linking the African spirit of the university with the pan-African spirit embodied by the Organisation of African Unity.<sup>64</sup> At its first general conference held in Kinshasa, Zaire, in September 1969, the AAU's chosen theme – 'The University and Development' – was revealing of the envisaged role of the university.

A 1972 AAU workshop, themed 'Creating the African University: Emerging Issues in the 1970s', which ran from 10 to 15 July in Accra, Ghana, demonstrated that the struggle for an African university was continuing even within a context where African economies were beginning to collapse. The workshop's purpose was to formulate a new philosophy of higher education and develop institutions of higher education that were truly African, drawing 'inspiration from Africa, and intelligently dedicated to her ideas and aspiration.'<sup>65</sup> Importantly, the workshop delegates agreed that tinkering with imported ideas was not enough and that what was needed was a fundamental re-conceptualisation of the very idea of the university in Africa. There was a clear agreement among the members of the AAU that the African university must be a developmental one. However, Wandira raised critical concerns about what he termed the 'Yesufu University Model' which emerged from the 1972 AAU workshop. Since the 1960s, African scholars have actively engaged with some of the problematic ideas about Africa and have exploded many of the myths and racial prejudices that masqueraded as knowledge.

The summary provided in Table 4 is by no means exhaustive of the research concerns of African scholars, but provides a glimpse into the names of leading African intellectuals and reveals the heterodox nature of the productions. What is not surprising is why African political activists, leaders and intellectuals became preoccupied with the subject of the empire and colonialism in the 1960s and 1970s and beyond. In 1965, Kwame Nkrumah, a leading advocate of decolonisation and pan-Africanism, formulated the widely used concept of 'neo-colonialism' and declared that 'Old-fashioned colonialism is by no means entirely abolished.'<sup>66</sup>

The concept of 'neo-colonialism' clearly described how a nominally independent African state had its economy controlled from outside. Nkrumah elaborated on its essence: 'Neo-colonialism is also the worst form of imperialism. For those who practise it, it means power without responsibility and for those who suffer from it, it means exploitation without redress.'<sup>67</sup>

Building on the concept of 'neo-colonialism' and neo-Marxist ideas of 'dependency', black scholars such as Walter Rodney explained how the rich countries of the Global North used enslavement of Africans, colonialism and capitalism to accumulate wealth while impoverishing Africa.<sup>68</sup> Samir Amin, a leading Afro-Marxist, introduced such concepts as 'unequal exchange', 'unequal development', 'maldevelopment', 'delinking' and 'extroversion' as he grappled with how Europe created a 'dependent' Africa without the freedom to pursue an independent epistemological and developmental path.<sup>69</sup> This rich African archive cannot be ignored in the understanding of the traditions behind the rise of decolonisation/decoloniality. In 1979, the Nigerian political scientist Claude Ake explained how colonialism produced what he termed 'knowledge of equilibrium' (knowledge for maintenance of the status quo of domination and exploitation of one world by another).<sup>70</sup> He elaborated:

Western social science continues to play a major role in keeping us subordinate and underdeveloped; it continues to inhibit our understanding of the problems of our world, to feed us noxious values and false hopes, to make us pursue policies which undermine our competitive strengths and guarantee our permanent underdevelopment and dependence.<sup>71</sup>

In the 1990s, Valentin Y. Mudimbe, in two classic works – *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy and the Order of Knowledge* (1988) and *The Idea of Africa* (1994) – dealt with how Europe invented and represented Africa, including how colonial thinkers and ideologues used a 'colonial library' to shape African world-sensing and world-views.<sup>72</sup> The epistemological and developmental consequence of all this is that studies of Africa have been shot through by a problematic analogical analysis – with African history and experience always compared with European and North American experiences.<sup>73</sup> Mahmood Mamdani captured the consequence for African politics and democracy this way:

A curious feature of current African politics is the prescription of solutions drawn from a context other than the one that gave rise to its problems. Whereas the source of demands is the existing African context, the framework for solutions is generally a received theory of democracy which has little to do with contemporary realities in Africa.<sup>74</sup>

What is often ignored is how concepts developed by Africans scholars have informed other scholars' work. For example, Mignolo acknowledged that his widely used concept of epistemic delinking and others were derived from Amin's concept of economic delinking, Nkrumah's concept of neo-colonialism and Ngugi wa Thiong'o's notions of colonisation of the mind.

The key point emerging from this analysis is that even though the African economies were hit by crisis in the 1970s, and despite the fact that some notorious dictators, such as Idi Amin, had ascended to power, African intellectuals and academics continued to fight for intellectual spaces, this time outside the declining universities. The formation of the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) in 1973 is a case in point. With the support of donor funding, CODESRIA emerged as a research council that became a comfortable home for exiled academics like Thandika Mkandawire from Malawi

**Table 4.** Summary of African intellectual production.

Intellectuals/academics	Issues/concerns
<i>Africa's long history predating colonialism</i>	Egyptian civilisation, precolonial African history, African civilisations, African agency, African inventions
1. Cheikh Anta Diop, Theophilus Obenga, Molefe Kete Asante, Jacob Ade Ajayi	
<i>How Africa grappled with African, Islamic and Western cultures and interventions</i>	African personality, intersections and synthesis of African, Islamic and Western/Christian civilisations/cultures/heritages; Concienscism; triple heritage (hybridity)
2. Edward Blyden, Kwame Nkrumah, Ali A. Mazrui	
<i>How Europe underdeveloped Africa and maintained its grip over the continent</i>	Slavery, colonialism, neocolonialism, unequal exchange, unequal development, maldevelopment, underdevelopment
3. Kwame Nkrumah, Samir Amin, Walter Rodney, Dani Nabudere, Bade Onimode, Patrick Bond	
<i>How Europe invaded the mental universe of Africa/colonisation of African minds</i>	Black existentialism, wretched of the earth, coloniser--colonised relations, colonial language, colonial education, colonial library, imperialism of social science, neocolonialism
4. Frantz Fanon, Albert Memmi, Ngugi wa Thiong'o, Chinweizu, YV Mudimbe, Claude Ake	
<i>How Europe ruled Africa and its implications for postcolonial reform</i>	Legacy of late colonialism, native question, colonial governmentality, political subjectivity, national question, define and rule, nationalism, decentralised despotism, direct rule, indirect rule
5. Frantz Fanon, Albert Memmi, Mahmood Mamdani, Issa G. Shivji, Achille Mbembe	
<i>How Africa governed itself after dismantlement of direct colonialism</i>	Ideology, class, constitutionalism, postcolony, authoritarianism/commandment, vulgarity, repression, looting, violence, national question, nation-building, state-making, neo-colonialism, democracy, human rights, labour and workers, civil society
6. Achille Mbembe, Mahmood Mamdani, Issa G. Shivji, Adebayo Olukoshi, Ibbo Mandaza, Dani Nabudere, Brian Raftopoulos	
<i>Conceptions of African social formations especially gender relations and womanhood</i>	Colonial invention of gender, sexism, patriarchy, religion, culture, knowledge, feminism, African philosophy, subjectivity, family, motherhood, patriarchy, misogyny, violence against women
7. Ifi Amadiume, Oyeronke Oyewumi, Nkiru Nzegwu, Amina Mama, Rudo Gaidzanwa, Patricia MacFadden	
<i>African struggles for development and African national projects</i>	African nationalism, national question, African state, African nation-state project, structural adjustment programmes, African development plans, African developmental states, governance, social policy, land question, land tenure, agrarian reform
8. Claude Ake, Thandika Mkandawire, Adebayo Olukoshi, Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, Tukumbi Lumumba-Kasongo, Dzodzi Tsikata, Rudo Gaidzanwa, Sam Moyo, Fantu Cheru	
<i>African transcendental identity</i>	African combative ontology, national question, nationalism humanism
9. Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, Archie Mafeje	
<i>Changing higher education landscape and crisis</i>	Africanisation, internationalisation, curriculum, autonomy, excellence, indigenisation, academic freedom, privatisation knowledge economy, knowledge dissemination
10. Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, Adebayo Olukoshi, Mahmood Mamdani	

Source: Drawn by the author.

and Archie Mafeje from South Africa. It also became a home for radical left-leaning intellectuals like Samir Amin from Egypt, Mahmood Mamdani from Uganda, Sam Moyo from Zimbabwe, Issa Shivji from Tanzania and many others. In the words of Mamdani, CODESRIA 'was a ready-made forum for public intellectuals'.<sup>75</sup>

What distinguished CODESRIA were the intense public debates it generated on topical issues affecting Africa. CODESRIA was characterised by its 'non-disciplinary' orientation.<sup>76</sup> CODESRIA produced some of the most groundbreaking research that directly confronted Eurocentrism. For example, the work of Samir Amin confronted Eurocentrism directly, while that of Archie Mafeje directly and consistently challenged anthropology as a handmaiden of colonial knowledge.<sup>77</sup> It was actually CODESRIA that published some of the most influential works on the university in Africa and politics of knowledge production.<sup>78</sup>

The 1980s and 1990s became crisis years for the university in Africa, and attempts to create an African university collapsed. New factors intervened to deepen the crisis. The World Bank introduced a negative attitude towards universities, discrediting them as agencies of development and public institutions worthy of government and international support. Just

like colonial regimes, the World Bank prioritised secondary education. The idea of creating African universities died as the powerful international forces of the Washington Consensus, neoliberalism and global finance invaded Africa, pushing forward the agendas of Europe and North America and emphasising the need for the rule of the global market forces.<sup>79</sup> But instead of the university in Africa dying, it was forced to mutate into a 'corporate university' in the 1980s and 1990s. Markets became the major agents of coloniality.

### Neoliberalism and the crisis in African decolonisation initiatives

Jeremiah O. Arowosegbe correctly noted that knowledge production in Africa was conducted within a historically determined context, asymmetrical power relations, and a particular global structure of knowledge production and distribution.<sup>80</sup> Thus, when the Washington Consensus, with its neoliberal philosophies and structural adjustment prescription, invaded Africa, corporatisation and commercialisation of knowledge emerged, cascading from changes in the capitalist cognitive demands. What emerged was the 'corporate university', underpinned by the logic of coloniality of markets with its privileging of business models, that became averse not only to the humanities but also to critical thinking in general. It was this reality that led Mahmood Mamdani to argue that the university became a 'market place'.<sup>81</sup> What distinguished the corporate university, in the words of Lewis R. Gordon, was the rise of the 'academic managerial class' using 'corporate analogs' as its basis of governing the institutions.<sup>82</sup> Gordon elaborated that the rise of this 'academic managerial class has been, perhaps the most catastrophic development in the modern university'.<sup>83</sup>

What has compounded the situation, according to Gordon, is that the emergent academic managerial class 'has folded onto itself as the object of its own preservation and the result is its proliferation'.<sup>84</sup> Gordon further characterises the composition of this academic managerial class as 'consisting of failed academics and scholars whose credentials do not extend beyond their doctorates' and who practise the 'sociology of revenge and entrenched resentment toward productive and influential scholars'.<sup>85</sup> It is this academic managerial class that 'seeks inspiration from the corporate world primarily because of a form of decadence of the imagination in which corporate management is equated with management itself'.<sup>86</sup> Adebayo Olukoshi and Paul T. Zeleza provided the most precise summary of the consequences and challenges of corporatisation and globalisation for African universities:

How to balance autonomy and viability, expansion and excellence, equity and efficiency, access and quality, authority and accountability, representation and responsibility, diversification and differentiation, internationalization and indigenization, global presence/visibility and local anchorage, academic freedom and professional ethics, privatization and the public purpose, teaching and research, community service/social responsibility and consultancy, diversity and uniformity, the preservation of local knowledge systems and the adoption of global knowledge systems, knowledge production and knowledge dissemination, the knowledge economy and the knowledge society?<sup>87</sup>

Up to today, the university across the world continues to suffer from triple crises of hegemony (failing to reconcile traditional purpose and new demands), legitimacy (cascading from complicity in slavery, colonialism and capitalism/corporatisation/commercialisation), and institutional character (redefinition in non-elitist terms and re-embedding in society).<sup>88</sup> It is these crises that have led to the resurgence and insurgence of decolonisation today.

## Resurgence and insurgence of decolonisation

The resurgence and insurgence of decolonisation have produced their own rich archive, with some denouncing them as preoccupation with an old question of colonialism and thus backward looking, and others embracing them as a return to the incomplete project of decolonisation and thus forward looking. What is clear is the imperative not only of re-founding and re-purposing the university but also of addressing the long-standing question of subjectivity, cognitive justice and epistemic freedom. Consequently, universities across the world have become the sites of struggles for decolonisation. Students and the youth are spearheading the decolonisation of the twenty-first century. Racism, patriarchy, sexism, Eurocentrism, and capitalist logics of exploitation are once more put in the public space for critique. The advent of the Rhodes Must Fall (RMF) and the Fees Must Fall (FMF) movements in South Africa in 2015 and 2016 symbolises this resurgence and insurgence of decolonisation in a country that is still struggling to emerge from neo-apartheid colonialism. These movements demanded not only free education but also wholesale decolonisation of the universities. They made clear demands such as decommissioning of colonial/apartheid iconographies; the restoration of African indigenous languages in teaching, learning and research; and the changing of alienating institutional cultures that bred patriarchy, sexism, racism, elitism and other forms of exclusion and discrimination; and they also picked up the labour issue of casualisation of workers and demanded that they be given secure employment.<sup>89</sup> Table 5 provides a summary of key demands of the Rhodes Must Fall movements.

**Table 5.** Summary of the key demands of Rhodes Must Fall movements.

Demand	Elaboration
1. Idea of the university	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Free from Eurocentrism and colonialism</li> <li>• Anchorage on African soil</li> <li>• Responsive to African aspirations</li> <li>• Non-elitist</li> <li>• Promotion of education as public good</li> <li>• De-corporatisation</li> </ul>
2. Iconography	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Decommissioning of offensive colonial/apartheid symbols and statues</li> <li>• Renaming taking into account African realities and histories</li> </ul>
3. Funding of education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• De-corporatisation</li> <li>• Accessibility of education</li> <li>• Free, quality and relevant education</li> <li>• De-commodification of knowledge</li> </ul>
4. African languages	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Removal of colonial languages</li> <li>• Use of indigenous African languages in learning, teaching and research</li> <li>• Multilingualism as recognition of African linguistic realities</li> </ul>
5. Institutional cultures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• End to racism</li> <li>• End to patriarchy and sexism</li> <li>• End to alienating elitist and foreign cultures</li> <li>• End to culture of corporatisation</li> </ul>
6. Knowledge, curriculum and pedagogy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Africa-centred education that is globally competitive</li> <li>• Banish Eurocentrism</li> <li>• Relevance of education</li> <li>• Changing of demographics of teachers (gender and race wise)</li> <li>• Use of African languages</li> <li>• Privileging of African indigenous knowledges</li> <li>• Democratised pedagogies</li> </ul>
7. Outsourcing of labour	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Liberation of poor black/African workers from exploitative and precarious 'casualisation'</li> <li>• Rehumanising of black/African workers through insourcing</li> </ul>

Source. Drawn by the author.

This is where the African struggles for epistemic freedom are today. What emerges poignantly is that the struggles to decolonise knowledge are never separate from other struggles against patriarchy, racism, sexism, capitalism and other repressive, exploitative and dehumanising modern logics that underpin the current world system and its shifting global orders. At the centre of resurgent and insurgent decolonisation of the twenty-first century is the broader issue of re-humanisation of the dehumanised. These struggles are made possible by the reality of the definitive entry of the descendants of the enslaved, colonised and racialised people into the modern academies, forcefully proclaiming that they were born into valid and legitimate knowledge systems and that their lives matter. It is perhaps the intensity of these struggles for epistemic freedom that led Boaventura de Sousa Santos to write about the end of the cognitive empire and the coming of age of epistemologies of the South.

## Conclusion

This article deployed the concepts of the cognitive empire and epistemic freedom not only to open the canvas on the primacy of epistemology in framing ontology but also to highlight the complexities of the decolonisation project and the concomitant African scholarship that emerged. This historicisation and, indeed, re-statement of the trajectories of decolonisation helped in revealing the complexities, ambivalences, ambiguities and contradictions while at the same time giving testimony to the African genealogies of postcolonialism and decoloniality which are often ignored by those who trace these intellectual interventions to Diasporic scholars from the Middle East and South Asia for postcolonialism, and Diasporic scholars of South America with reference to decoloniality. What emerges poignantly is that we have to continue the tasks of historicising both colonialism and decolonisation as they cannot be taken as self-evident in the first place, because they are both evolving and are not to be treated as past formations and movements. The article closed with a brief articulation of the resurgence and insurgence of decolonisation to underline the fact that colonialism/coloniality are not over but are all over, and they inevitably invoke new resistances and struggles, which this time around are privileging the epistemic and humanistic issues. Finally, it is hoped that this article succeeded in making a modest response to the important questions recently raised by Christopher Clapham.

## Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

## Notes on contributor

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Zimbabwe (Berghahn Books, March 2019) coedited with Busani Mpfu; and *Decolonization, Development and Knowledge in Africa: Turning Over A New Leaf* (Routledge, May 2020).

## Notes

1. Bhabra, "Postcolonial and Decolonial Dialogues," 115.
2. Allman, "#HerskovistsMust Fall?"
3. Robinson, *Black Marxism*.
4. Clapham, "Briefing: Decolonizing African Studies?"
5. *Ibid.*, 138.
6. *Ibid.*, 138–9.
7. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, *Epistemic Freedom*, see Chapter 1.
8. Clapham, "Briefing: Decolonizing African Studies?," 151.
9. Collyer et al., *Knowledge and Global Power*, 9.
10. *Ibid.*, 9.
11. Ngugi wa Thiong'o, *Decolonizing the Mind*, 88.
12. Terreblanche, *Western Empires*, 3.
13. Burbank and Cooper, *Empires in World History*, 3.
14. Nicolaidis, Sebe, and Maas, "Echoes of Empire," 1.
15. Ngugi wa Thiong'o, *Globalectics*, 28.
16. Gildea, *Empires of the Mind*.
17. Nandy, *Intimate Enemy*.
18. *Ibid.*, viii.
19. Santos, *Epistemologies of the South*; Santos, *Decolonizing the University*.
20. Santos, *End of the Cognitive Empire*.
21. Ngugi wa Thiong'o, *Decolonizing the Mind*, 3.
22. Ngugi wa Thiong'o, *Something Torn and New*, 21.
23. *Ibid.*; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, *Epistemic Freedom in Africa*.
24. Quijano, "Coloniality of Power"
25. Quijano, "Coloniality and Modernity/Rationality," 169.
26. Mignolo and Walsh, *On Decoloniality*, 191.
27. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, "Provincializing Europe."
28. *Ibid.*
29. Biko, "I Write What I Like"; Biko, *I Write What I Want*.
30. Mudimbe, *Idea of Africa*; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, *Epistemic Freedom in Africa*.
31. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, "Provincializing Europe."
32. Santos, *Epistemologies of the South*.
33. Prah, *Challenge of Decolonizing Education*, 24.
34. Santos, *Decolonizing the University*, 154.
35. Odora Hoppers and Richards, *Rethinking Thinking*.
36. Wallerstein, *Uncertainties of Knowledge*, 58.
37. Hountondji, *Endogenous Knowledge*.
38. *Ibid.*; Hountondji, *Struggle for Meaning*.
39. Hountondji, "Knowledge Appropriation," 26.
40. Connell, "Meeting at the Edge of Fear," 21.
41. Maldonado-Torres, "On Coloniality of Being."
42. Grosfoguel, "Epistemic Decolonial Turn," 205.
43. Suárez-Krabbe, *Race, Rights and Rebels*, 3.
44. Ashby, *African Universities and Western Tradition*.
45. *Ibid.*, 12–3; Blyden, *Aims and Methods of a Liberal Education*.
46. Blyden, *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*.
47. Tibebe, *Edward Wilmot Blyden*, 17.
48. Thiam, *Return to the Kingdom of Childhood*, 2.

49. Frankel, "Edward Blyden," 278.
50. Ashby, *African Universities and Western Tradition*, 13.
51. Wandira, *African University in Development*, 40.
52. Adesanmi, *You're Not a Country, Africa*, ix.
53. *Ibid.*, 75.
54. Mazrui, *Political Values*, 27.
55. Nyamnjoh, "Decolonizing the University in Africa," 1.
56. El-Malik and Kamola, *Politics of Anticolonial Archive*, 14.
57. Nyamnjoh, "Decolonizing the University in Africa," 8.
58. Collin, *Speaking of Universities*, 17.
59. *Ibid.*, 17.
60. Nyerere, *Freedom and Unity*, 219.
61. Diop, *Precolonial Black Africa; Diop, Civilization or Barbarism*.
62. Falola, *Nationalism and African Intellectuals*, 224.
63. Yesufu, "Emerging Issues of the 1970s," 23.
64. *Ibid.*, 15.
65. Yesufu, "Introduction," 5.
66. Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism*, xi.
67. *Ibid.*, xi.
68. Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*.
69. Amin, *Unequal Development*; Amin, *Imperialism and Unequal Development*; and Amin, *Maldevelopment*.
70. Ake, *Social Science as Imperialism*, 23.
71. *Ibid.*, ii.
72. Mudimbe, *Invention of Africa*; Mudimbe, *Idea of Africa*.
73. Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject*.
74. Mamdani, "Africa: Democratic Theory and Democratic Struggles," 2228.
75. Mamdani, "Between the Public Intellectual and the Scholar," 78.
76. *Ibid.*, 78–9.
77. Amin, *Eurocentrism*.
78. Zeleza and Olukoshi, *Liberalization and Internationalization*; Zeleza and Olukoshi, *Knowledge and Society*.
79. Zeleza and Olukoshi, *Liberalization and Internationalization*.
80. Arowosegbe, "African Scholars," 324.
81. Mamdani, *Scholars in the Market Place*.
82. Gordon, *Disciplinary Decadence*, 9–10.
83. *Ibid.*, 10.
84. *Ibid.*, 10.
85. *Ibid.*, 10.
86. *Ibid.*, 10–1.
87. Olukoshi and Zeleza, "Introduction," 3.
88. Santos, *Decolonizing the University*, 175–6.
89. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, *Epistemic Freedom in Africa*, 188–90.

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