

DECOLONIALITY: THE PATH TO AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT

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Abstract

When Kwame Nkrumah told his compatriots in the nationalist anticolonial struggle to 'seek first the political kingdom and all else shall be added unto them', he was convinced that dismantling colonial political structures would rid the continent of exploitation and usher in the desired freedom and development. Six decades into political independence, almost all African countries are still suffering from the influence of colonization. Thus, contrary to the assumption of anti-colonial nationalists, what Africa needs is not just colonization but also coloniality, that is, dealing with the gamut of colonial metaphysical processes and epistemic projects that have imprisoned the minds of the people and held the continent down from self-actualization. This has led to renewed calls for the decolonization of a decolonized Africa. While majority of African scholars agree that there is need for decoloniality in Africa the bone of contention is how to go about it. Some have called for a wholesale return to African traditional ways of life while others insist that Africa can only develop by fully adopting and implementing the principles of Westernization. Using the documentary and content analysis methods this study explores the best approach to resolving the problem of African coloniality. It argues that returning to African past or a wholesale adoption of the values of Westernization will not bring about the prerequisite freedom and self-actualization that Africa seeks. The study therefore, recommended a psycho-epistemological theory or methodological democracy that frees the African mind from colonial pin fall and allows him to approach problems that arise with open mind and resolving them objectively as the most effective way of freeing Africans from inferiority complex.

Keywords: colonization, colonialism, decolonization, knowledge, Africa, West, Afrocentricism, Eurocentricism.

Introduction

Many African anti-colonial scholars believed that dismantling physical the political, colonial structures would bring an end to the exploitative colonial influences which held Africa down and put the continent on the path of freedom and economic development. This belief inspired the now famous and often quoted saying by one of Africa's foremost anti-colonial scholars and activists, Kwame Nkrumah: "seek ye first the political kingdom and all else shall be added unto thee." However, five decades after the political decolonization of all African states, the "all else that shall be added unto thee" including freedom, self-actualization and economic development which Nkrumah dreamt of still remain a mirage. Rather Africa's mental slavery to colonial values has even deepened and instead of economic development, Africa is today the poverty capital of the world

(Acemoglu & Robinson, 2013, 45). Thus, contrary to the wish and expectations of most anti-colonial scholars, the dismantling of physical colonial structures did not end the negative influence of colonization in Africa. In fact, the stranglehold of colonial values and influence in Africa seem to have increased with the passage of time.

However, this should not come as a surprise to anyone schooled in imperialism, especially in the history of the rise and fall of empires. For instance, those conversant with the transition from the Greece to the Roman Empires would know that Greek culture and civilization had continued to exert control and enormous influence on Rome even in the heydays of the empire. Therefore, far beyond and above the imposition of colonial or imperial political structures, (as the case may be), colonization involves a whole lot of other power relations: including imposition of values, religions, languages, indirect economic and political controls, etc., that do remain long after political structures are dismantled.

In the light of this background, this study proposes to use the methods of documentation and content analysis to investigate the recommendations of African development scholars on the various parts the decolonization of decolonized Africa can adopt to bring about African actualization. The study recommended what it describes as methodological democracy or open mindedness as what will allow Africa to evolve its own value system that in line with current local and global challenges it is confronted with. To actualize this, the paper is divided into three major sections. The first, the conceptual framework will operationalize some basic concepts in the study. Part two will examine the recommendations made by other scholars while part three will discuss the proposals of the present researcher before making recommendations.

Conceptual Framework Colonization and Decolonization

Decolonization is derived from the word colonization. Therefore, an appreciation of the former requires a little insight into the latter. Nevertheless, defining colonialism is not a straightforward task. A variety of forms of historic and contemporary interaction between different peoples have been described as colonial or neo-colonial in character, and this poses problems: define the term too narrowly, and particular communities who have experienced injustice which they characterize as colonial are excluded; too broadly, and almost any form of relation featuring inequality of power between different international parties appears to be an instance of colonialism.

Also, a recurrent problem concerns the relation between the terms “colonialism” and “imperialism.” For some, “colonialism” refers to a particular model of political organization, typified by settler and exploitation of colonies, and is best seen as one specific instance of imperialism, understood as the domination of a territory by a separate metropole. Others use the term more broadly to refer to the general imperial policy of, in particular, Western states from the sixteenth century onward, reflecting an oppressive attitude which, some claim, still persists in the present day, albeit in different institutional forms (Young, 2001, 17). Thus, attempts to establish general theories of colonialism encounter problems similar to those found in systematizing liberation ideologies such as feminism, which are rooted in the “experiential plurality” of those who have experienced different forms of oppression (Mansbridge, J. & Susan Moller Okin, S. M. 1993, 269).

In other words, the range of different forms of political organization which are routinely

described as “colonial” means that overly stipulative definitions should be resisted. Instead, as Ronald Horvath observed, there is need to identify three characteristics which regularly emerge in descriptions of colonialism: domination, cultural imposition, and exploitation. First, colonialism is typically described as a form of domination which involves the subjugation of one people by another. On this, Horvath writes, “it seems generally, if not universally, agreed that colonialism is a form of domination – the control by individuals or groups over the territory and/or behaviour of other individuals or groups”(Horvath, 1972, 47). This domination has taken varied institutional forms, but in general has involved the denial of self-determination, and the imposition of rule rooted in a separate political jurisdiction.

Second, colonialism has frequently involved an attempt to impose the colonial power's culture and customs onto the colonized, whether as a result of a belief in the racial and/or cultural superiority of the colonizing power; an evangelical desire to spread particular religions or cultural practices; or as a mechanism for establishing and consolidating political control. Finally, the history of colonialism is deeply linked to the exploitation of colonized peoples. This exploitation has taken many different forms, but the most frequently mentioned among other policies include, the slave trade, the misappropriation of cultural property and natural resources, the establishment of exploitative trade relations, and the forcible introduction of capitalist forms of production. Looked at from this backdrop, decolonization therefore becomes a liberation struggle by the colonized to free himself from these identified colonial impositions. When this is seen in the context of Africa, it becomes the long struggle by Africans to liberate the continent from political and cultural imposition by the West.

Coloniality/Neo-colonization/Decoloniality

Scholars often make distinction between colonization and neo-colonization or coloniality. Ndlovu-Gatsheni in an interview with Omanga (2020) captures this distinction in an interview where he distinguished colonization from colonialism (coloniality). According to him, colonization is an event—that is in terms of people (colonists) coming, conquering, and dominating other people at a particular moment, and administering people colonially, until the colonized fought and pushed them back. This definition of colonization can be dated, in terms of when it started and when it came to an end. However, colonization institutes colonialism. “A very complex power structure that transforms a people's way of life”, colonialism is the invention of asymmetrical and colonial inter-subjective relations between colonizer (citizen) and colonized (subject); and it economically institutes dispossession and transfers of economic resources from those who are indigenous to those who are conquering and foreign.

The project also creates institutions and structures of power that sustain colonizer-colonized relations of exploitation, domination, and repression. Even when you push back colonization as a physical process (the physical empire), colonialism as a power structure continues as a metaphysical process and as an epistemic project, because it invades the mental universe of a people, destabilizing them from what they used to know, into knowing what is brought in by

colonialism, and it then commits 'crimes' such as *epistemicide* (where you kill and displace pre-existing knowledges), *linguicide* (killing and displacing the languages of a people and imposing your own), *culturecide* (where you kill or replace the cultures of a people).

Ndlovu-Gatsheni's claim here is that if you remove colonialism physically without removing it epistemically, it will not disappear and this is exactly what many African anti-colonial nationalists failed to understand.

In 1965, Kwame Nkrumah introduced the concept of “neo-colonialism” to name the continuation of exploitative economic relations long after attainment of political independence (the sought-after political kingdom). Later, Walter Rodney articulated how Europe underdeveloped Africa and this intervention also underscored the continuation of exploitative relations, which made it possible for development to materialize in the Global North and mal-development to ensue in the Global South. And to reverse such a process, carrying a gun is not sufficient. It requires dealing with the consciousness, the psyche of the people because colonialism (neocolonialism) is internalized and routinized. Frantz Fanon warned that colonialists are not satisfied by mere physical domination, but they go on to destroy the colonized's history, making the colonizers history the colonized with the consequence of making the latter lose confidence in their language, names, cultures, histories, etc. This situation is aptly captured by an Indian psychologist Ashis Nandy (2009) who posits that colonialism operates like an intimate enemy; it sits within you, like a parasite. He suggests that perhaps something that starts in people's minds must end in their minds in the first instance. In other words, if you remove colonialism physically without removing it epistemically, it will not disappear. Decoloniality is this cultural, ontological, epistemological, etc., removal of colonization and its influence.

One area where colonization has continued to perpetuate itself in Africa and from which its epistemic influence has continued to endure and make Africans docile for exploitation is African value system. In this system, Africa is not just excoriated and in most cases discarded but Western values are exalted and used as the only valid logic for civilization. The motive of this study is the desire to contest and possibly destabilize the logic behind the inferiorization of African value system and in doing so recommend the way Africans can negotiate the question of development in this era of globalization.

Theories of Decolonizing the Decolonized Africa

As already accentuated, there is some sort of consensus especially among African scholars of development that political decolonization is not enough to place Africa on the part of freedom and enable it compete favourably with other parts of the world. However, problem arises when it comes to mapping out how decolonization should be pursued. Basically, there are two advocacies in this regard: the Africanist theory and the modernist theory. These theories will be taken in turns.

The Africanist Theory

The Africanist theorists call for delinking Africa with modernism, especially

globalization which they see as the instrument of imposing Western hegemony on the rest of the world. Some in this group affirmed that with the racist distortion of the African humanity, by the western colonial Anthropologists and philosophers, Africa was inflicted with a stigma and has been the “Other” of humanity who required liberation and caused to have a marginal place among peoples and nations.

Furthermore, many who advocate this position are not ready to concede that Africans have gained or achieved the often proclaimed material prosperity said to have been triggered by the westernization modernity as most of Africa continues to wallow in grave socio-economic and political crisis and paralyzing dependency, created by her appendage to the western world. In the westernized modernity, societies are divided between winners and losers, coexistence of superfluity and penury, misery and extreme opulence which are taken to be the natural ways of things. Though there was poverty in traditional African societies, but the poor in western liberal modernity is of another nature and species. This is a more degrading type, for unlike in the traditional society, where the poor has some dignity surrounded by caring relations and benefactors, the poor and even the rich of the western modernity lack the contentment of being, dignity in being, stability and joy in living, and the common celebration of a common humanity in the presence of the other, due to the suffocating, calculating and materialistic values, and individualism which have defined liberal Western modernity.

From the womb of Westernizing modernity were born many dangerous ideologies and tools of destruction that have wounded humanity, especially African humanity, like the theories of social Darwinism, which brought the survival of the fittest mechanism into human society; Neo-Malthusianism which endorses neglect of the vulnerable by allowing the natural process to blindly eliminate whoever must be eliminated; Nazism which produced the holocaust; and Apartheid, which was a special application of racism in South Africa. The critics especially the Afro-centricists lay the blame for the disorientation or deforming of the African mind squarely on the westernization agenda in Africa, brought about through colonialism and her new forms of neo-colonialism and imperialism.

They argue that this attempted westernization and Europeanization of Africa tried and will continue to squander the African original and indigenous civilization and obliterate the unique historical riches and genius of the African people. They blame today's abysmal and prostrate state of Africa to an externally induced paradigm of development and conceptualization which Africans have followed since the eruption of the Whiteman in the African world. This made African destiny in the world to be tied to that of the European, where Africans have no weight or relevance and which condemned Africans to imitation and dependence through which Africans lost their originality and in which the seed of inferiority complex was sown and continued to flourish. The further consequence which is equally paradoxical is that the more Africans tried to be more European, the more they have been alienated from themselves and also the less European they have become, only to assume a condition that is at best confused, producing a society that is chaotic and rudderless and a quality of life which in general has been less progressive or more depreciative. Westernization for the critics shortchanged Africans proper destiny in the world and substituted for it an imposed destiny, and lost its self-directed destiny and her

proper freedom.

What has emerged is a culture of slavish imitation of the western world and because it is an imitation, it lacks originality and because it lacks originality, it will always at best be a second best and a second rate. This is second best and an imitation which robbed Africa of her dignity and identity and turned her into a slave of an alien world with an alien way of thinking, naïve and consumption-oriented. This alienation constitutes a basic disorientation which Franz Fanon calls Black skin white mask. A situation which makes Africans neither good photocopies nor authentic originals: a state of double corruption and double jeopardy and hence double disorientation. Thus westernization through the agencies of colonialism and neo-colonialism did damage to the African psyche especially in her self-confidence and self-appreciation. Africans were turned into copycats, echoing the master's voice in all spheres of life. Some call it mental alienation, or enslavement of consciousness, the consequence is a beggarly mentality of the elite and almost the worship and adulation of everything European among Africans no matter the rank and the level of education, the elites rejection of everything Africa leading to a dependency mentality. Lamenting on this self-depreciation of the African occasioned by colonialism and her ideology of westernization, Nyasani (1997, 29) said:

We have adopted and assimilated wholesale whatever the west has to offer. The end result is not just a cultural betrayal but a serious case of self-dehumanization and outright subversion both in terms of dignity and self-esteem. Indeed there is no race on earth that abhors its own culture and is so easily prepared to abdicate it and flirt with experimental ideas which promise no more than vanity to a large extent like the African race... African is simply overwhelmed and decisively submerged by the never-receding tide of cultural imperialism.

This alienation in the name of the Enlightenment Afrocentrists argue, deprives African societies and people's foresight and understanding and the local interpretation of phenomena. This led to what some call the mimicry agenda in African societies. This agenda lies in doing like the master. However, neither the master fully understands the complex values of either the servant nor the servant deeply captures the supposedly absolute objective verities of the master's western values. Susan George (1992, xv-xvi) commenting on this mimicry agenda said "it mimics without understanding and copies without controlling. Lacking roots in local cultures or environment it quickly drops and withers" Thus Africans have become a mimic people who mimic other societies and their life-styles, use borrowed phrases, jargons as terminologies which have no real meaning to them and merely becloud the issues. The "mimicry of the centre" is used to qualify those who immerse themselves in the imported culture, denying their origins. It is highly believed that knowledge deprived of the assimilating elements which makes it natural to the one taught makes the person but a mere imitator.

Westernization then has been described by Chinweizu (1978, Xiv) as a rampaging hurricane of barbarism from Europe which struck the African people and which swept through the continent disrupting and destroying many things, especially the people's

culture in all its dimensions both material and cognitive. For him, we are where we are today because the strong African cultural, religious, scientific, educational system and cosmogonies were destroyed or kept in state of suspended animation.

Thus, it is claimed that African indigenous knowledge systems suffered for years from the several strategies of disinformation embedded in the western (Eurocentric) colonial and post-colonial education, western religion, science and technology, as Africa was declared almost as a “terra incognita”, cleaned the mind of Africans of any inherited knowledge in the name of reformation of the African mind and because of the brutal neglect of whatever belong to local genius and knowledge, inhibited the development of indigenous technology in Africa. It equally destabilized some of the existing process of technical growth, and indigenous manufacturing capacity was deliberately undermined to facilitate European productivity.

The crux of the contention of the critics here is that westernization has created the syndrome, in which having been dazzled by the wonders of the white man's creativity, Africans seem to have surrendered their own mental capacities, declaring it as irrelevant or incapable or superfluous, forgetting, it is argued, that if only Africans could regain their intellectual courage, self-belief and call of destiny, they can make their own unique contribution from their own unique situations, gifts and endowments to invent an African modernity. In essence, westernization took the African intellectuals and elite captives and made them what some have called mental clones of the West or cultural “zombies”. Historically, intellectuals of any civilization are the voices of that civilization to the rest of the world, as instruments of the development of the higher culture. Hence some hold that the tragedy of Africa is that her intellectuals were conquered by the West and by and large absconded and abdicated their roles as developers of African civilization, of which the grave consequences are the abysmal lack of creativity and originality in their thinking. This means the need for a thorough review and re-invention of African mental ecology, philosophies and human cultural rationalizations which were hitherto neglected, or condemned as irrational and backward. The Africanists solution to the problem of coloniality or neo-colonialism therefore is a call for a reinvention of African values. However, the question they failed to answer is how? We shall return to this.

The Modernist Theory

The advocates of this position equate westernization project with the inevitability of human progress. Thus, the Eurocentrists and their African converts argue that for Africa to survive and develop, it must embrace the revolutions of European modernity: the intellectual revolution of materialism, the political revolution of equality and above all, the scientific and technological revolution. In a warning to cultures and societies which would fail to follow this western epistemic, socio-economic and developmental paradigm. C.E. Ayres (1944, 2) said:

. . .the technological revolution is itself irresistible, the arbitrary authority and irrational values of the pre-scientific, pre-industrial cultures are doomed. Three alternatives confront the partisans of traditional values and beliefs. Resistance if sufficiently effective though it

cannot save the tribal values can bring on total revolution or ineffective resistance may lead to sequestration like that of the American Indians. The only remaining alternative is that of intelligent voluntary acceptance of the industrial way of life and the values that go with it.

The problems of Africa today are therefore laid on the door of the unfinished project of westernization. They claim that African problems must be blamed on the relics of traditional culture which has continued to disorientate the African mind making it impossible to adopt or face the realities of our world today.

Most of the African intellectual converts have tested the western life style and called for the adoption of western culture and mental categories and even language as the authentic African way. These Western-oriented elites who still constitute an overwhelming majority of the African Elites today and those who direct affairs in the continent came to represent a mentality that would not like to identify with most of the African ways which for them symbolized the state of savagery. MwhiteMugambi (1998, 11) said it all:

Colonization and westernization have brought a permanent and irreversible change in Africa . . . As long as we continue talking of Africanity and going back to the root, yet we remain quiet on the reality of modern society, we will sound foolish, outdated and out of touch with reality . . . what African writers and scholars should do is deal with issues that are afflicting our society . . . than waste time on the issue of Africanness ... then the effects of westernization are here to stay and the faster we adapt to living with them, the better for us and the generations to come.

This fascination and longing for whatever is western still remains the dominating attitude and mentality of the African Elite and the aspiration of the younger folk. This manifests their conviction that African cultures and epistemic categories are far inferior and cannot meet the standards of a high culture. The white man himself is almost regarded as a spirit, the model and quintessence of a true human being whose values, mannerism and even his mistakes must be assumed without much ado. Corroborating the above, Themba Sono (1994, 17) declared: "Our intellectual environment is deformed". He goes on to say that this deformity is based on "traditional forms of superstition, intolerance, sloth, indolence...."

For these African westernizing modernizers, the extirpation of tradition is the first step towards freedom. Through such changes they argue, Africans are fortifying their universalist abilities to the detriment of particularism and getting ready to embark in a similar process of empowerment which makes them unexploitable and uncolonizable (Masolo, 1994, 107-167). Thus for a true progressive march in Africa, it is then proposed that Africa has to adopt the values of Eurocentricism.

Evaluation

No one can raise the arguments of the pessimists of Westernization as a paradigm for the progress, re-orientation and re-invention of the African mind and world without admitting that westernization or western liberal modernity and civilization as a wholesale

engineering or transformation of Africa in the image and likeness of the western man, world and culture or a de-Africanisation process, is not only a generous idea, but very counterproductive and very unrealizable. Most of the arguments against the westernization paradigm is its attempt to transform itself to a de-Africanisation process so that in order to be modern or progressive, one must be western in all its dimensions, economic, cultural, political, scientific etc. Surely, no one historical process, culture or civilization is the natural history of man, or the philosophy for man, as such; no one culture or civilization is perfect nor could exhaust the human reality or human possibility and capability. Thus western liberal ideas, civilization, values and methodologies are not the only ones possible for human consideration and for the progress of our societies and cultures. In fact, all historical process and civilizations are contingent.

However, it would equally be naïve and myopic for anyone not to recognize that our world, culture and configuration today bears an enormous and dominant influence and mark of western liberal modernity. Liberal West modernity wields enormous power, scientific power, technological power which permeates almost every area of our world culture and learning, including Africa. Are we to talk of her liberal political ideas which have almost become the political orthodoxy for modern states? Her liberal economic model in its varieties, which dominate the world economic Order that some like Francis Fukuyama (1992) declared some years ago with the fall of communism, that we might be witnessing “the end of history as such, that is the end point of ideological evolution and the universalization of western democracy as the final form of human government?

It is even in the western scientific-technological prowess that the secret to her domination and achievements, through which they have discovered a big secret and to an extent the workings of nature and the capacity to harness them for man's good. Thanks to these, it is no longer debatable that the fate of humanity has remarkably improved and in a comparatively shorter period: the eradication of much disease, an unprecedented material prosperity within a space of 200 years which made a good portion of the world to escape poverty, since all were judged to be poor at the threshold of liberal modernity (Sachs, 2005). Hence it is impossible to imagine any group of people in the world as it stands today that could pretend to turn its back totally on western liberal civilization and her achievements and still expect to offer her people a prosperous and dignified living in the world.

The argument then is that, there is some way in which we can talk of some irreversibility of some aspects of our human world today. Talk of any configuration and modern web of primordial, idyllic and original Africa in which one can work out an African modernity untouched or untainted by western modernity, belong to the mythic mind, and completely disconnected from reality. There is no pure African primordiality and pure African man that has not drunk some dosage of westernization. Thus, a big chunk of the African world has been affected or changed irreversibly, for there is no way, Africans can undo all the historical encounters and influences of the western interventions in Africa, religiously, politically, intellectually, culturally and economically. Some of these have been permanently engraved within the structures of African society, culture and consciousness. Modern technology has come to impose its imperatives.

It must equally be asserted that the westernizing influences have not obliterated all of the African past, all about her culture and all about her indigenous endowments and genius. Some culturally, socially, technically and epistemic way and modes of doing and interpreting things are still very much alive in many segments of African society especially among the rural populations who had no access to formal education. In this respect C. Acholonu (1995, 125) said:

Africans must harness her indigenous resources... through promotion of research and rural literacy drives, collation and organization of materials from the remotest rural areas focusing on the lifestyles of rural people – their farming, hunting, crafts, healing, cooking, techniques. For these are the people, who still possesses the wisdom of our ancestors: the wisdom of the ancients.

Even among a big chunk of the educated, one notices the influences of traditional beliefs, prejudices and world views in their actions and attitudes to things, peoples and events. Many African languages are alive and progressing and one cannot underrate the import of languages in creativity and in the construction of the philosophy of progress. The tragedy is that, most traditional ways of acting, doing, and thinking have stagnated and have never been properly articulated and developed.

The truth however about the promotion of knowledge growth and the reinvention of the African mind and a progressive orientation for the future lay neither in a westernization process that de-Africanizes the indigenous worth, capacity, and capabilities nor in a combative world-view, full of rancour and hatred and well entrenched anti-western rhetoric, venting anger on western objects which results, in an off-handed dismissal of all that is western and which hinders the African mind from engaging in a somewhat impassioned and honest analysis of the issues and events about the western world and her contributions to humanity.

The way forward for Africa then is to face the reality of our world and the African world as it has historically emerged, and then articulate the best way forward from what we have. This means a critical, realistic approach, discernment and selection and eventually the synthesis of progressive methodologies, techniques, values, ideas that are capable of making Africa prosper and procure for her the best available in the order of thought, and action, from both internal and external sources, from the western civilization and other civilizations and from the indigenous African experiences. This means a critical openness to external sources, discoveries, intuitions, visions especially those that have been widely approved and attested to have been very beneficial to humanity at all times, especially those impossible to find a better or more efficient valuable and progressive local alternative.

The openness to the external has been one of the greatest catalysts that have propelled almost all civilizations and cultures to greater heights of achievements and excellences. For no one, people or culture has all the answers, or exhaust all the circumstances of human opportunities, creativity and possibilities. All peoples and cultures suffer from man's anthropological ignorance and limitedness of our existential horizons and hence the awareness that there is more to what we see and experience, more than we can learn.

Hence the awareness that our best ideas and actions could always be perfected and there can always be a better way of doing or seeing things. Improvement always carries the potentiality of more improvement.

Even many of the elements of western liberal civilization which we tend to classify as European, were not originally of European origin. Western liberal civilization and achievements are a clear model and example of this critical openness to external resources. In the early part of this millennium, Europe learned much from the highly advanced science and technology of the Arabic, Indian and Chinese cultural areas, a process which included abundant examples of imitation and borrowings, the most important of which was the adoption of Arabic numerals (Appiah, 1994).

Conclusion

This study investigated the reason why almost three decades after and institutional or political decolonization almost all African countries are still suffering the negative influences of colonization, including political instabilities, economic underdevelopment and the inability to evolve a system that is authentically African. To actualize this; the work was structured in three parts. The first part which is the conceptual operationalization distinguished between colonization and neo-colonization/colonialism. While colonization involves direct control through political institutions, colonialism encompasses all the gamut of controls that remained even after colonization was dismantled. The section also conceptualized decolonization as all the efforts that go into ending both colonization and colonialism.

The second part discussed the Africanist and the modernist theories of decolonization and found them wanting. In the third part, the two approaches were criticized and a via media which involved not just the integration of the good in African and Western principles but an open mindedness that approaches African problems with pragmatism was proposed: the psycho-epistemological theory or democratic methodology. The study in this context is recommending adoption of this via media in African institutions especially African education system as the best approach to solving African problem of decolonization.

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