A Quest for Decolonizing the African Universities

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Abstract

African universities have been largely dominated and shaped by the colonial trajectory and organized in accordance with the Occidental model. With remaining epistemologically subservient to the Western hegemony, they played a great deal in the practices of epistimicide in the continent. Their history of establishment, as an institute that produces the necessary manpower for the smooth functioning of the colonial enterprise, have still kept defining their essence in another form, i.e. alienation. Characterized by a weighty dismantlement of the local, the universities in the continent pronounced the modernization discourse that made Africa lose specificity rather an entity that shall be studied by analogy from a center that unduly assumed universality. Moreover, for its intrinsically alienated underpinning, the type of university that many African countries inherited and developed anew have only used them for being a periphery at the global stage of knowledge generation. Overcoming such a challenge, this piece, with the help of analyzing intensive literature and deployment of a discursive reasoning approach, invoke on the idea of decolonization. Fundamental to the notion of decolonization here is the epistemological decolonization of the continent via its institutions of higher learning and finding a discursive space where the universities assure subjectivity that allows them to harness the local context and respond to the demands thereof. To this effect, Philosophy, and perhaps African philosophy specifically, despite an endless debate of proving its existence, have assumed an indispensable role in empowering Africans through articulating a philosophical locus taking in to account the context and cultural idiosyncrasies of the African. It is further tasked in broadening the horizons of subjectivity, decolonization, and independence of the continent at large which still remained only at the flag level.

Key Words: **African Universities, Alienation, Decolonization, African Philosophy.**

Introduction

University, in the contemporary world is an intricate and multi-dimensional institution which assumed unprecedented importance due to its role in educating people for the new global economy and 21st century has been characterized by centrality of the knowledge economy. Though, its models differ from country to country but the goal of any education model, which university may not be an exception, Kariwo (2014) rightly argues is to "bring a sustained benefits that accrue not only to society as a whole but also to the individuals in that society" (p. 1). More importantly, any level of education claimed to be a "university" is supposed to advance inquisitive and open minds in the search of truth. In the African context, contrary to its alleged supposition, a university is a result of colonialism and founded with the purpose of creating personnel needed for the smooth operation of its enterprise.

Since the early years of Africa's independence, African intellectuals have been engrossed with the question of how to develop higher education within Africa that seeks a research alternatives to the dominant Western higher education model which understands the rest of the world as either conforming to or deviating from that model. Accordingly, many African countries, though inadequate, have underwent a rethink of their philosophy of university. *Ubuntu* or the African "worldview" of higher education, for instance is one among the perspectives. There is a continuous demand to call upon indigenous knowledge in defining African higher education. This enunciates an effort to depart from the "euro-centric view of higher education that subjugated the continent throughout colonial period and even much of the post-independence era" (Kariwo, p. 2).

Africa, in the words of Bekele (2015) "is neither poor nor powerless" (p. 30). The inability to use knowledge that is available locally and internationally in an appropriate manner, is the problem that is hindering Africa from using its wealth. The absence of subjectivity as it was pronounced by the "Hegelian and neo-Marxist traditions of Habermas and critical theory in general", he adds is crucial in addressing Africa's problems (p. 30). Put otherwise, the issue of an agency that can be entrusted with captivating responsibility for Africa's future and that has to do with subjectivity. The lack of will and determination are the factors that could explain the Africa's enigma if it's neither poor nor powerless. The African university can play an essential role in contributing to tackling these problems if it is allowed to become 'university', in its fullest sense

of the term. Both in terms of nurturing the spirit and knowledge required for the development of subjectivity and practical knowledge necessary for development, the African university needs to play an important role.

Historical Development of the African Universities

Higher education in Africa is among the oldest as the "pyramids of Egypt, the obelisk of Ethiopia, and the Kingdom of Timbuktu". While Africa claims an oldest academic tradition, the fact on the ground is that traditional centers of higher education in Africa have all but "disappeared or were destroyed by colonialism" (Damtew & Altbach, 2004, p. 23). As is the case of the developing nations elsewhere, higher education in Africa is an artifact of colonial policies and represents the Western model of academic organization. (Altbach and Selvaratnam 1989; Lulat, 2003). Most of them were established just before the end of colonialism. Training personnel that could be supportive in running the colonial machinery, possibly explains their establishment. Their history, Bekele (2015) argues, can therefore "explains their essence" (p. 31). The failure to disentangle themselves from their historical trajectory appears the major challenge that African universities are facing.

The fact that universities in Africa were not independent institutions that made to tackle real problems of the African peoples is a concern that is still following them like a shadow averting their independence and self-assertiveness. They remained institutions which were "forced to gnaw on bones left by the metropolitan universities" that made them to be 'extraverted' by their very nature (Hountondji 2002).

This is not however nullifying the relative achievements they attained. Africanization of their staff, educating persons that would be leaders and functionaries in the local bureaucracy and others of such a sort were marked among the modest achievements. In terms of producing new knowledge and relevance or with regard to becoming the public voice that the African masses require, their performance, Bekele (2015), contends is "lamentably dismal" (p. 32). Similarly, as universities were taken a key force for modernization and development, Damtew et.al (2004) argues, they faced failures in fulfilling the demands of their constituencies. Since their inception, Africa has remained basically a consumer rather than a producer of knowledge. Universities in Africa have rarely been a head of any reforms in the knowledge production process, as much of

the changes offered to them have "trailed behind those in Europe and North America" (Obasi & Olutayo, 2009, p. 160).

Such a reality has to do with historical emergence of universities in the continent and continuous nailing to the west, which brought them into life. Education in general and university education in particular came into existence in one way or another by the agency of the West, particularly at a time when many African countries were colonized. Even Ethiopia which vaunts to be the only non-colonized country, established its first college in 1950 just when colonialism was over in African countries too. But even then they were Canadian Jesuit missionaries that were entrusted with the task of establishing and molding an Ethiopian institution of higher learning (Bekele, 2007; Balsvik, 2005; Messay, 2008)

Viewed from knowledge production perspective, African universities are among the bottom bests. This is the result of many factors. Chief amongst which is the characteristic dominance of a Eurocentric orientation whereby the type of higher education that many African countries developed only enabled them to be marginalized in knowledge production. This obtained a resultant effect of the education system no to inspire independent thinking and theory building. Moreover, research and teaching in African countries are thought of in such a way that they emulate those of the west which hinders them from addressing the problems of the African countries for which the education is primarily designed. Overcoming such a challenge requires decolonizing the very idea of a university and redefining the goal of education in an African context with a program that could encourage change.

In the course of decolonization and redefinition, one has to be cognizant of the content of what was taught, how the curriculum was deliberated, its objective and the knowledge, skills and values that it was anticipated to instill in the 'educated' youth of these countries. These are the formidable tasks that need to be answered in order to understand the nature of the education and see the condition of alienation as it is.

Alienation[1]

Taking a look at the material taught in the newly established and the already inherited African universities, one may clearly see its alienated nature. The curricula were deliberated or merely copied from those of the universities of the metropole based on which countries the instructors were from. The youth of the African countries thus are expected to be trained on material fundamentally alien to them. It was from the outset designed in a way that can make sure alienating the youth from their culture and identity. Much of the subject matter that they would obtain both in the theoretical and practical fields were of little or no consequence to the objective realities of the country in concern. Moreover, the issue of the medium of instruction aggrandizes the alienation process. Hountondji (2009) in this regard writes of African academia as:

> *Too often do we tend to investigate subjects which are of interest first and foremost to a Western audience ... In this sense, our scientific activity is extraverted, i.e. externally oriented, intended to meet the theoretical needs of our Western counterparts and answer the questions they pose. The exclusive use of European languages as a means of scientific expression reinforces this alienation* (p. 8).

In addition to its practical and social irrelevance, the content of the education was Eurocentric, prejudiced against all the heritage that each one of these countries achieved. The Eurocentric philosophy of education is anchored on a hierarchy of cultures - the non-west values and culture are considered backward altogether. One of its fundamental tasks, Bekele (2007) argues is the realization of detachment - with local values, knowledge and cultures for they are considered to be "backward, particular and even barbarous and invoked a replacement with the progressive and "universal" forms of knowledge and culture" (p. 110). Hence, the mission of such education becomes unambiguous. Predominantly, it aims at mugging the African youth of its identity, pride and confidence when it affirms that your value or identity or culture or history is rather anomalous not the universal. Such alienation brought what Messay (2008) calls "Cultural Dislocation" among the 'educated' youth with reference to Ethiopia. Similarly, strengthening an

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[1]The theoretical basis of alienation has been widely popular in the Marxist reading to illustrate the proletariat invariably loses the capacity to determine life and destiny when deprived of the right to think of themselves as the manager of their own actions; to define relationships with other people; and to own those items of value from goods and services, produced by their own labour. It demonstrates the act of causing someone to become indifferent or hostile: the state of being withdrawn or isolated from the objective world, as through indifference or disaffection (Dictionary.Com). Alienation is used in the African university context as a way manifesting their extraverted nature.

alienated form of education Balsvik (2005) summed up the nature of Ethiopian education as follows:

> Modern education in Ethiopia was imported from Great Britain and the United States, was influenced by various other Western countries, and was not attuned to the country's needs. Patterns of education, curricula, and texts intended to further the interests of most highly industrialized countries were transplanted into one of the least developed rural countries in the world. There was little relevance to the basic and immediate needs of Ethiopian society. To the average child the school was essentially an alien institution about which his own parents were usually ignorant. What was learned in school could not be related to the environment (p. 9).

Disclosing the alienated nature of the education system in Ghana, Adjei (2007) wrote:

> ...Western control over what constitutes valid knowledge became increasingly and worryingly noticeable as schools were structured and restructured to validate only Western Knowledge. This knowledge became the cultural capital by which individuals could access employment in both state and private organizations in Ghana". (pp. 1047-48)

In most Sub-Saharan African states education, Tekeste (2006) argues, "is a phenomenon that has a strong colonial legacy & the curriculum was impervious to local, national or regional specificities" (p. 7). With reference to Zimbabwe, Shizha (2006) has the following to say in manifesting the alienated from of Post-colonial education:

> in postcolonial states, like Zimbabwe, the reification of Eurocentric knowledge, which promotes the "superiority" of Western knowledge, is still perpetuated by the education system and schooling practices that negate ideals on cross-cultural education and the role of indigenous knowledge in students' school experiences (p.20).

It is the overall purpose of such an education that ought to be examined. Listening to a fascinating statements by political leaders about education is not uncommon in Africa. They often declare the indispensable role of education in development. They unanimously pronounce

the fundamentals of education in nation building. Apparently however, nobody thought deep on the kind of education that is suitable for rendering African development possible. The type of education that is exported at best, Bekele (2007) maintains, allows the "young generations to unlearn what they have learned from their cultures and at worst to develop self-hatred that lead to self-denial" (p. 111). It facilitates in the words of Fanon (1952) "*epidermalization of inferiority*" where colonized peoples participate in their own subjection through internalizing inferiority.

Such an epidermalization of inferiority deprived them of the means and confidence to think independently. Africans committed an original sin when they started to believe that development in a different situation could be helpful as their model, too. This is not undermining the prominence of Western science and technology to Africans. But, a condemnation of the 'one-size fits all' approach. It only refers to the weakness of African countries by extension universities, in indigenizing knowledge produced elsewhere to address African problems. This ultimately caused the educational undertaking in the African case largely superfluous since Africans limited themselves to serving only as Southern garrisons of the metropolitan universities and research institutes. With remaining passive to understand typical problems residing and formulating proper questions regarding the problems, Africans kept on believing that somebody else has already done the thinking and it is only sufficient for us if we could copy from that. With this, African universities kept busy echoing what has been said elsewhere, "something which is not as painful and exacting as trying to find out new methods and approaches to our problems" (Bekele 2007, p.111)

We are found at a specific juncture with our cultures, languages and the whole breadth of psychosocial attributes that make African what they are. The first expression of an alienated type of education was an assault on the things and traits that constitute Africans, as Africans. It was an assault on Africans very being and Africans have naively accepted as universal and scientific truth. The uncritical acceptance, including prejudices that others hurled at the continent, defines the key to Africa's perpetual dependence and economic and intellectual extraversion. With this, Africans started to take important steps towards their alienation and self-denial. African universities, remained champions of propagating this alienation pronouncing the 'universal' and 'scientific truth' which unduly downgrade the African place.

One of the chief reasons for alienation lies on the fact that African universities inclination in perceiving truths, the prejudices and abuses of others against Africans, as unconditional truths. Following Kant and Hegel, Africans convinced themselves that they were outside of history and humanity. African universities teach that the noble path to achieving history and humanity lay in denouncing the historical heritage and embracing the philosophy of true humanity as the European. The uncritical acceptance led the destruction of many of our essential attributes. How is it possible then to expect something valuable in a condition where Africa lost its self-respect nor respect for its values and its essential attributes? This indeed possibly explains, notwithstanding of course other factors, such as economy and other structural issues, the type of alienation in many fields.

This is not suggesting that Western knowledge is useless for Africans. For it definitely is useful, though not as a whole package. There are undeniably matters that Africans need to copy but there are also others that Africans should audaciously attempt to develop anew. It might be right in studying and applying the one or the other principle of Western science and method as well. Africans however should also realize that they have obtained their own idiosyncrasy. Perhaps, the receipt of foreign curricula, for example, incorporates accepting the philosophy of education of the country from which it has been copied. A country however needs a philosophy of education that takes into account its "specific history, culture, identity, needs and goals. It is without taking into account all these that we have been copying" (ibid. p.114).

There is another dimension of this fact that has always been overlooked naively. Africans have copied and amalgamated into their education all the prejudices that the ex-colonial powers had against their former colonies. There were theories based on the hierarchy of cultures, "races," and ways of life. To what extent the intellectuals doubted and debunked the veracity of the racially motivated negative statements that gave a lower status to the Africans?

Each one of these in one way or another inculcated among the African youth about the pervasiveness of a single genuinely universal humanity worthy of emulation i.e. the Western one. Other philosophies, religions, cultures etc. were the particulars or simply "others" that eventually ought to catch to the universal. The colonialists' assertion to universalism in all respects is the assault by which they actually malign and dehumanize the 'others'. The colonization of the mind through via various avenues has somehow succeeded in convincing many African elites that the

prejudices of the colonialists are scientific truths. African universities are not made way outs to the aforementioned predicaments. Owing to their birth defect, they remained the advocators of the universalism discourse.

The Idea of Decolonization

One can approach decolonization from its political nature where Africans achieved from their colonizers. But, this may not display the full picture since the colonial enterprise is perpetually affecting the way in which people learnt to think about themselves and others, and that this way of thinking is not necessarily changed through political change alone (Messay, 2004; Oelofsen; 2015; Nyoni, 2019).

Decolonization in its broader sense is an umbrella term for diverse endeavors to resist the distinct but intertwined processes of colonization, to endorse transformation and redress in reference to the historical and ongoing effects of these processes, and to generate and keep alive, Stein and Andreotti (2016) contends, modes of "knowing, being, and relating that these processes seek to eradicate" (p. 2). Colonization undeniably resulted in both material and epistemic dimensions, which together shape social relations and preserve categories that are then used to justify: occupation of the colonized; expropriation and expendability of African life; claims about the universality of modern Western reason; objectification and exploitation of "nature"; capitalist property relations and modes of production; militarism; possessive individualism; and the very concept of race (ibid).

For a better apprehension of such a conceptual decolonization, Fanon's (1952) work proves useful. Fanon writes "the juxtaposition of the black and white 'races' has resulted in a massive psycho-existential complex" (p. xvi). His book, *Black skin, white masks* "is meant to liberate the black man from the arsenal of complexes that germinated in the colonial situation" (Fanon 1952, p.14). Put otherwise, Fanon believes that it is "necessary for the black person to overcome the psychological effects of colonialism" (Oelofsen, 2015, p. 131).

Decolonization, includes the disruptive effort of ending colonialism in its all frontiers; liberation and de-caging of the colonized is its pillar. It also involves discourses that envisages acknowledging Africa as one of the regional centers of knowledge generation, having its own developmental intricacies, and as such worthy of being viewed as an equal global partner. The

attainment of this, Nyoni (2019) argue "requires dismantling of the colonial mentality and its entire social fabric, upon which control and exploitation are based" (p. 2). For it to have a profound effect, the process of destroying the colonial pathogens that have kept the African mind chained must be instituted.

Decolonization vis-à-vis the African Universities

Decolonization of African universities is an expression of the changing geopolitics of knowledge where the modern epistemological foundation for knowing and understanding the world may no longer be interpreted as universal. Thus, the African critical thought on decolonizing universities need strive in addressing questions of genuine transformation, such as how radical education curriculum reform at the academic, cultural and psychological levels. The challenge for the African academia is to learn how to teach or facilitate beyond the distorted cultural and/or historical imaginary and impoverished subjectivity of the modern horizon of thought where everything is hierarchically ranked according to Eurocentric concepts, standards and epistemological frameworks. Decolonization assures the way in which African content should be one of the "multiples of global centers of epistemological origins and underpinnings of social reconstruction of reality and dissemination" (Nyoni, 2019, p. 2).

As explained earlier, the west has, for centuries, developed a body of knowledge that the rest of the universities must copy in compliance with the standards thereof. This in turn resulted in the post-colonial curricula of African universities to largely reflect Eurocentric conceptualization and continue to reinforce western dominance and privilege whereby it has been laced with stereotypes, prejudices and patronizing views about Africa and its people. Thus, a thorough rethink, deconstruction, reframing, reconstructing the Eurocentric and colonial curricula as well as teaching methods at universities, for Africa may not be taken a matter of choice.

Western institutions in practice are deeply involved in the colonial cataloguing of non-western knowledges and the generation of knowledge in support of scientific racism and other racialized and colonial classifications used to justify forcible assimilation, military occupation, and even annihilation of non-western populations (Said *1978*; Smith *2012*). As a consequence, some have suggested that the emergence and eventual dominance of the modern, western, secularized, and supposedly universal episteme was only made possible in the context of Europe's projects of

conquest and enslavement (Wynter *2003*). Western epistemological dominance in the non-West is highly reflective, where Western institutions are often viewed as the model for the ideal university (Nandy *2000*). This has led many to emphasize the importance of "decolonizing the mind" (Ngugi *1986*) and the pursuit of '*cognitive justice*' in higher education research and curricula (Sousa Santos, *2007*).

History became the sole product of the West in its actions upon others. It promotes and imposes the idea that modernity was endogenous to the West, and "therefore "removed the very notion of the 'other' in history" (Nyoni, 2019, p. 4). By so doing, it also naturalized and justified the West's material domination of the 'other'. In fact, mental colonization has its ardent prophets and proponents among the Africans themselves. It is an outcome of one-sided education based on the "superiority" of the West. Africans stayed too innocent with receiving all that the Eurocentric education wanted to tell them, as scientific truths, while in reality what was portrayed as depicted only meant to keep us inferior to the Europeans. The assertion of Western superiority might have not obtained a base unless one wants to argue that their current superiority in science and technology attests to this. A metaphysical superiority of the West as it was portrayed by Kant, Hegel, and Hume is, Bekele (2007) argues, "a self-serving myth" (p. 118). How can, then Africans accept this and keep on denigrating themselves? It is in this area that decolonization of the academia, specifically universities, is needed most.

Decolonization of African universities is 'about justice that addresses the epistemic violence of colonial knowledge and colonial thought' (Pillay 2015). It is also a project that many have rightly interpreted as an act of defiance against all Eurocentrism. Derrida (1982) states that, 'this act of "defiance" is deconstruction itself'. It therefore matters little, Nyoni (2019) contends, "if one is labelled academically dissonant and dissident, if Africa is locating or claiming its own indigenous or native centre for knowledge production and dissemination" (p. 2). African epistemology and underlying philosophies need to underpin African centered developmental efforts as the focus as well as project Africa as one of the centers of knowledge production. What is important in this complex decolonization strive is the analysis of African intellectual voices through texts, and their conceptualization of the decolonization of African centered knowledge production and dissemination despite the embeddedness of conflictual caged colonial mentality.

As Africans and their higher institutions continue to experience polygonal sociopolitical and economic shifts of being as influenced by a variety of global ideologies, their voices stayed in regurgitating western epistemologies consistently and impactful decolonization efforts remain negligible and mentally captured. Concerted decolonial efforts therefore is crucial in managing shifts in these matrices of material-social constructs such that contamination and decapitation of true African education curricula, identities, cultures, values, ethos and principles are prevented. African voices should be allowed to correct the toxic, as Nyoni (2019) avers, Western inspired nuances and narratives underpinning Western induced education curricula (p.4).

A constitutive paradox of the colonial construction of knowledge thus rendezvous any effort to decolonize existing institutions i.e. claims about the universality of western knowledge can only be sustained in contrast to the particularity and partiality of non-western knowledges. Currently, African universities continue to reproduce an epistemological hierarchy wherein western knowledges are presumed to be universally relevant and valuable, while non-western knowledges in the words of Stein et.al (2016) "are either patronizingly celebrated as 'local culture', commodified or appropriated for Western gain, or else not recognized as knowledge at all" (p.3).

African Philosophy and Decolonization

For, "race" is still essential in our "place", as a result of the symbolic hierarchy evident in our societies, inferiority and superiority complexes could therefore still be evident, and philosophy, can do much to heal these pathologies in our societies. As Tabensky (2008) captures

> *The discipline of African philosophy originates in tragedy, out of pain, confusion and rage stemming from colonial destruction; destruction that is responsible for what Fanon calls the 'negro neurosis' caused by what Biko would describe as the unbearable fusion of colonized and coloniser… [T]he birth of African philosophy as an academic discipline is largely responsible for its character and, crucially, for its distinctive creative possibilities* (p. 285).

African philosophy thus has a distinctive aim, namely the quest for reclaiming humanity which Tabensky sees as intimately related to the quest for a disentanglement from the colonial past. African philosophy, as a consequence, has duty to lead the decolonization effort in empowering

Africans through enunciating philosophical positions which considers the context and cultural specificities of African places into account. This empowerment in turn, (Oelofsen, 2015) contends, "lead to a reclamation of the intellectual space denied to Africa during the racist project of colonialism" (p. 136).

What is usually referred to as western philosophy, according to Tabensky, has as its primary aim the search for truth. African philosophy also aims at truth, but puts the search for truth to work in its main project of the restoration of normalcy. Therefore, projects in African philosophy have as their aim the restoration of African normalcy lost by the colonial heritage of violent oppression and exploitation, through exploring truths articulated within the context of Africa. Philosophy ought to cast new light on old issues rife on this continent, problems which arise and are the effects of the continent having had a rupture with its past when the colonial project so violently, yet indifferently, carved the continent up into pieces of the pie meant for European consumption.

In addition, viewed from the decolonization discourse, African philosophy also has, another central and related feature. As Janz (2004) argues:

> *...the core of philosophy, [is] its ability to bring…life to the surface and reflect on it, creating new territory, extending the range of life by creating new concepts. Concepts do not so much point to the past (or, not only to the past), but also to the future, as they open the possibility of new forms of expression and new self-understandings. And, they also point to the present, to the place on which we stand and the life that matters* (p. 111)

African philosophy, thus draws and creates concepts from the place of "Africa". Consequently, it can be instrumental in the decolonization of the African mind. This is possible through providing an alternative framework for knowledge, which "de-centers" the assumed centers of knowledge. Concepts need to be created through an engagement with the African past and present. However, arguing that African philosophy ought to focus on African concepts is not advocating a return to a romanticized pre-colonial past and a [re-]"discovering" of old concepts. These pre-colonial concepts may not in a wholesale be relevant unchanged in the world today as a result of the drastic rupture between the pre- and post-colonial states of being. Rather, in engaging with concepts rooted in Africa, we ought to take them as a starting point for reflection. This would

mean that concepts such as *ubuntu* should be engaged; "not as a static concept from Africa's past but rather as a dynamic concept with its roots in the past" (Stein & Andreotti, 2016, p. 137). Concepts should be developed and acknowledged as having meaning which is fluid and changing in order to take into account present and future situations and contexts.

Conclusion

For most countries of Africa in particular, given the histories of slavery, colonization, apartheid, and inequitable economic development - often interpreted by some as expressions of collective racial and/or cultural inferiority - genuine intellectual self-determination is a political, economic and cultural imperative. Here, intellectual self-determination refers to relatively autonomous and self-conscious capacities to meaningfully assess one's situation, take positions determined by one's interests and their relevance in particular situations, and to be sufficiently confident about the decisions so as to mobilize and deploy the necessary resources to achieve desired outcomes. Years of colonization, inept and corrupt postcolonial leadership, and different types of collective servitude, have contributed to undermining and eroding such capacities.

In spite of over a half century of interventions and series of "reforms," today African universities consists of institutions, systems, and practices that lack authentic values and goals, or a mission and vision attaching them to the major challenges of their local and global contexts. What is necessary in African universities, is a true decolonization in its holistic sense, which may encompass practical and epistemological ruptures with the old ways of doing things and a reconstruction of structures, relations, cultures, and institutions.

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