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# Western Intellectual Hegemony and Academic Research in Sub-Saharan Africa

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#### **Abstract**

In this study, the narrative literature review methodology was assigned to interrogate the western intellectual hegemony and the challenges in academic research in sub-Saharan Africa. The Marxist dependency theory of knowledge was commissioned as the lens for analysis. Despite the presence of vast literature indicating that sub-Saharan Africa is submerged in chronic challenges ranging from poverty and hunger to poor health services, this study found that the region continuously lags behind in knowledge production. The factors that facilitate western intellectual hegemony and stunted knowledge production are linked to knowledge imperialism and the digital divide. The study proffered strategies to reduce Western intellectual hegemony, such as investment in infrastructure and training that focus on decolonisation and empowerment of chronically disadvantaged African academics, such as women and early-career researchers.

**Keywords:** Academic research, Intellectual hegemony, Knowledge imperialism, Research output, Sub-Saharan Africa

#### Introduction

Africa is the second-largest and most-populated continent on earth. However, despite their size and population, Africans have remained underdeveloped. Apart from underdevelopment, Africa is home to the highest proportion of illiterate people, through formal or non-formal means, on the continent (Zhou, 2017). It is unfortunate that during the colonial period, formal education placed a premium on foreign languages to the detriment of indigenous peoples' languages, which were perceived as primitive and irrelevant (Mawere, 2017; Masaka, 2017). Moreover, even after achieving political independence, most African countries opted to stick to policies that maintain educational systems and research, which are irrelevant to the needs of the people (Vurayai, 2023a). Contemporary societies around the globe have been built and maintained by vibrant research. Apparently, sub-Saharan Africa has been for long a victim of underdevelopment, largely due to distorted research that can be traced back to the long-term effects of colonialism and neocolonialism. Compromised and distorted research for sub-Saharan Africa has been attributed to the demise of sustainable development and its indicators (Ngongalah, Rawlings, Wepngong, & Musisi, 2018).

The African continent has significant potential to overcome the consequences of colonialism, imperialism, and apartheid, such as poverty, malnutrition, and unemployment. However, there is very little information on the role of research in this regard (Fayomi, Okokpujie, & Kilanko, 2018). The statistical data on science and technology investment is very worrying, as is the very low impact of scientific publications and patents with inventors from African countries (Kumwenda, Niang, Orondo, & Chiwona, 2017). Even when international capital funds world-scale research projects in Africa, African countries do not receive adequate benefits. According to many analysts, the problem is Africa's exclusive focus on fundamental research rather than applied research and development, reflected by its low intensity of knowledge production and technological innovation.

Africa has been considered one of the continents of contrast, especially when it comes to academic research. Africa today is the only continent where the research output, including scientific publications, is steadily including (Moja, Kehinde, & Swanepoel, 2022). Many academic researchers implement research in Africa, contributing massively to changes and solutions for Africa's development problems. African

leaders in research and higher education have always fought intelligent and brave battles to create African solutions for Africans and even globally. Today's situation, however, is unprecedented in both the level and speed of the expected knowledge production during the coming decade (Adu, 2020). Africa is now the field of new knowledge production where the challenge can be addressed. Many (new) programmes and initiatives are being launched, often involving vast amounts of public but also increasingly private money, e.g., around Africa's key challenges such as food, water, energy, climate, industrialisation, and the demographic transition. However, there are limitations that hinder academic researchers from developing or establishing Africa and the academy's achievements.

After several decades since achieving national independence, most of the citizens of Africa are still wallowing in problems that they call the effects of underdevelopment. Communities in most rural places have no access to basic infrastructure like clean, dependable water supply, health centres and medical services, good roads, markets, schools, food, and credit services, and have been generally untouched by national development activities. However, as a means to solve the effects of underdevelopment, Africa needs to embark on training its young people as researchers (Ahmed & Shifraw, 2019). Each generation must, out of relative obscurity, discover its mission and fulfil it, and so, by and large, Africans should see the use of competently trained researchers as a means to solve their problems (Cox & Abbott, 2021). Thus, trained researchers are crucial in the process of development. However, for Africa, like any other developing continent, training its people as researchers is faced with further problems emanating from the absence of the basics for development. These are: western intellectual hegemony, the digital divide, internal resources, and irrelevant curricula. Western intellectual hegemony entails a condition where the developed countries marginalise African people and render their epistemologies aberrant and deviant (Finley, Gray, & Page, 2021).

Drawing from the background, the study sought to interrogate the western intellectual hegemony and the challenges in academic research in sub-Saharan Africa. The literature review study was guided by the Marxist dependency theory of knowledge to examine the manifestations of western intellectual hegemony, how they affect research, and ways of mitigating the research pitfalls. The study was guided by the research question: What are the manifestations of western intellectual hegemony? How does western intellectual hegemony affect research in sub-Saharan

Africa? What can be done to mitigate the effects of western intellectual hegemony on research in sub-Saharan Africa?

#### The Problem

The African continent has hordes of exciting opportunities and a bright future, albeit increasing research investment challenges and beleaguered scholars and students (Ngongalah et al., 2018). The strain on research in sub-Saharan Africa can be attributed to the tremors of western intellectual hegemony. Under this predicament, it was the aim of this study to interrogate the effects of western intellectual hegemony on research in sub-Saharan Africa with the aim of decolonizing it to reduce knowledge dependency.

#### Theoretical Framework

This study exploited the Marxist dependency theory of knowledge as an analytical lens. The Marxist dependency theory of knowledge states that advanced countries, known as the core, centre, or metropolitan states, have an advantage in the current global stratification system of knowledge production and dissemination (Harvold, 2023), to the detriment of poor developing countries, also known as the peripheral. Dependency in this context refers to a condition in which the economies and epistemologies of certain countries are constrained and swayed by others (Olatunji, & Udefi, 2018). For example, the technological-industrial, financial, and cultural dependency of sub-Saharan African countries is swayed by the first world countries in Europe and Asia. There is unequal exchange and participation in knowledge production, in which those in the Global North are producers and those in sub-Saharan Africa are consumers. In this case, dependency and western hegemony permeate the development, such as politics, economics, education, and culture.

# Research Methodology

This study used a literature review as its methodology. Literature review methodology has been defined as a more interpretive and carefully designed process of interdisciplinary and inter-category information synthesis. It can be identified as a way to integrate the conceptual and substantive findings in multiple domains and parts of knowledge, in

order for knowledge to become greater than the sum of its parts (Pandya, 2023). Guided by the Marxist dependency theory of knowledge, the review started by examining the manifestations of western intellectual hegemony and its effects on research. It further interrogated the strategies to decolonise western intellectual hegemony in sub-Saharan Africa. The reviewed literature included for study was selected on the condition that it was published between 2015 and 2014 and focused on western intellectual hegemony in Africa, particularly south of the Sahara. The search words that were used were 'western intellectual hegemony', 'epistemicism', 'linguicism', 'knowledge imperialism', 'digital divide', and 'research challenges' in sub-Saharan Africa. The researcher exploited search engines such as Research Gate, the Directory of Open Access Journals (DOAJ), Google Scholar, the Education and Resources Information Centre (ERIC), and Semantic Scholar.

# Western Intellectual Hegemony and Academic Research in Sub-Saharan Africa

This section interrogates the western intellectual hegemony and academic research in Sub-Saharan Africa. It examines manifestations and effects of western intellectual hegemony on academic research through issues like constrained research output, gender, mentoring of early-career academics, time constraints, funding, the digital divide, academic freedom, and knowledge imperialism.

## Constrained Research Output

Constrained research output in sub-Saharan Africa can be attributed to western intellectual hegemony and is a common trend. The scientific research does not match the plethora of problems and the population of sub-Saharan Africa (Fayomi et al., 2018, Vurayai, 2023a) in the fields of food security, health delivery, technology, and transportation. Research has assumed a pivotal role in the policy-making, development, and progress of any nation or region. It is through research that innovations are developed and ideas are transformed into sustainable development. Africa's economy, for instance, lags behind other countries of the world on the whole in terms of development. One of the ways of achieving developmental goals in any society is through the patronage and use of locally developed innovations that research brings. As compared to the

other regions on the globe, Africa is lagging and ranked at the lowest rungs of global research in webometrics and scientific publishing (Ahmed & Shifraw, 2019; Cox & Abbott, 2021).

Available literature reports that few books and research articles are produced in Africa, thereby showing limited knowledge production and dissemination in the region (Tarkang & Bain, 2019). Researchers have observed the role played by global commercial publishing companies in the core or metropolitan states of the world, as hinted in the Marxist dependency theory of knowledge. Global commercial publishing companies are the agents of western intellectual hegemony that dictate what shall be published and where (Olatunji, & Udefi, 2018). These publishing outlets are 'modeled' to define what constitutes the best publishing practices. Apparently, they are less concerned with African problems (Singh, 2015). On the other hand, African journals that are more receptive to Africa's pitfalls are viewed as far from ideal practices (Lages, Pfajfar, & Shoham, 2015). This renders sub-Saharan scholars invisible and African problems unsolved.

## Gender, Intellectual Hegemony, and Research

Hakura, Hussain, Newiak, Thakoor, and Yang (2016) observed that sub-Saharan Africa has more pronounced gender disparities, just behind the Middle East and North Africa. Bray-Collins, Andrade, & Wanjiru (2022) posit that the cultural practices and norms in Africa, which are reinforced by patriarchy, restrict the participation of girls and women in higher education and employment, thereby entrenching gender disparities. While women outnumber men in terms of population, they are underrepresented in terms of research output in Africa (Akala, 2018; Hailu, Lee, Halkiyo, Tsotniashvili, & Tewari, 2023). There are claims that knowledge production by women is often discounted and marginalised and this has been portrayed by high rejection rates (Chitsamatanga & Rembe, 2019; Vurayai, 2023b). A supporting case study carried out in one university at Zimbabwe found that eighty-three percent of the research output was produced by male academics.

The western intellectual hegemony is linked to the legacy of colonialism and the effects of neocolonialism, which tend to ignore gender imbalances. Research has documented that women's low productivity in research can be attributed to limited time, role conflict, childbearing, and patriarchy (Chitsamatanga & Rembe, 2019). Most decision-making positions in sub-Saharan higher education institutions

are male-dominated, and this has translated to low research output by underrepresented women. The limited mentoring and networking opportunities for women also restrict their increased research productivity.

## Mentoring and Training of Early Career Researchers

Early-career or novice researchers require rigorous training and mentoring so as to achieve high research outputs. In sub-Saharan Africa, where western intellectual hegemony has been restrictive with regards to research output, novice researchers require mentorship, networking, training, and motivation so as to balance research with other deliverables such as teaching and university service (Shinkaf, 2020). This is where peers, mentors, and other experienced researchers are needed in order to provide much-needed support.

Apparently, novice researchers in sub-Saharan Africa do not receive adequate training and mentorship from well-experienced academics (Adetimirin, 2021). The experienced researchers are also battling with the demands of western intellectual hegemony and other deliverables, to the point that they have limited time to assist the novice researchers (Kumwenda et al., 2017). The demands of western intellectual hegemony are sometimes stressful for novice researchers, to the point that if they lack mentoring and motivation, they are likely to underperform in research.

#### Time and role conflict

Time and role conflict affect all the academics' commitment to research and scientific publication. Apart from research, academics are expected to engage in teaching, university service, innovation, and industrialisation. Sub-Saharan academics struggle to parcel their time across all the required deliverables, and in most cases, research is the pillar that suffers most (Cox & Abbott, 2021). The academics have heavy teaching loads that consume most of the time that they are also spending on research. On the other hand academics are also required to fulfil administrative obligations (Adu, 2020; Shinkaf, 2020).

## Research Funding and Infrastructure

In the previously reviewed literature, it has been reported that investment in research in Africa has been chronically low. The sub-Saharan academics are beleaguered by the nonresponsive environment and limited infrastructure, and this weakens their potential to combat the western intellectual hegemony. According to the Marxist dependency theory of knowledge, peripheral states in sub-Saharan Africa are in a state of economic dependency to the point that they struggle with funding for key aspects like research. Funding is a fundamental part of investment in science and technology, and research in particular (Adu, 2020). The governments in most sub-Saharan countries do not have in place adequate and sustainable funding flows for their research programmes (Moja et al, 2022). Due to resource constraints, very few research programmes are funded fully, and at best may be partially funded. Research programmes, and in some cases their associated activities, have often suffered from shortfalls in funding in most countries, particularly in developing countries, especially in Africa.

Physical infrastructure is the other key prerequisite for research. Researchers need laboratories, libraries, internet access, power, and related equipment to produce and disseminate knowledge. There is an absence of key infrastructure in sub-Saharan Africa. Incentives for research and remuneration packages also determine the rate of research productivity. Poor remuneration and conditions of service deter researchers from fully committed research participation. Poorly motivated, experienced researchers have moved away from sub-Saharan countries seeking greener pastures, resulting in brain drain (Basedau, 2020). The trend is more prevalent across sub-Saharan African countries such as Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Malawi, Rwanda, Uganda, Zimbabwe, and Tanzania.

# Western Intellectual Hegemony, Linguicism and Research

Western intellectual hegemony can be manifested through linguicism and knowledge imperialism, in which the North dominates the research space at the expense of African epistemologies that are deleted and relegated. Under this condition, research on Africa is influenced by Eurocentric views that tend to undermine the strengths of African academics, including their knowledge and progress. This propagates the stereotypical view that African knowledge is subordinate to that of the global North. Apparently, the alien perspectives of Western

epistemology have shortcomings in terms of African problems and culture.

African languages have been maligned and disparaged in research. Despite the high linguistic diversity in sub-Saharan Africa, very few are used for research publications. Many African researchers may be required by the journals to publish in a foreign language, particularly English (Ahmed & Shifraw, 2019). Most journals demand that language editing be done before the accepted work is published. Language editing and proofreading services are done at a fee, and this adds more burden to the researchers, who are already underfunded in other aspects of research. Apart from the burden and costs of proofreading and language editing, non-native English speaking researchers need to get their work translated. The lack of understanding of the English language may result in an increased risk of receiving desk rejection (Lages, Pfajfar, & Shoham, 2015). In this case linguistic imperialismin sub-Saharan Africa is a serious handicap and a western intellectual hegemony tool that hinders research and development.

As posited by the Marxist dependency theory of knowledge, the continent has continued to be dominated and made a peripheral part of the whole system of social-economic and political structures that constitute present-day globalisation (Ekeanyanwu, 2022). This discussion about the trappings of globalisation is a manifestation that global knowledge production and dissemination are competitive, and disadvantaged countries could hardly rise above global stultifying architecture of knowledge (Cox &Abbott, 2021). Africa, with its status of political and cultural marginalisation as well as being a receptacle of colonial animus, is therefore marginal in the global knowledge flow.

International databases favor established journals and databases that are not predominantly African or from the Global South, and they index an insignificant percentage of African journals. African journals are traditionally published by a small number of well-established, former colonial publishers in predominantly print, low-cost editions. Most African academics publish in these local journals which are perceived to lack prestige and reputation (Lages et al., 2015). The perceived high quality internationally indexed journals make publication for African academics difficulty because they target mostly European and American audience. This makes the visibility of African academics low and also dwindles the citation impact score for Africa to below that of the world average (Vurayai & Ndofirepi, 2020). Furthermore, colonisation exempted the replaced, localized learned institutions to a lifeless

dependency on European centers of learning. This has also reduced the impact of the African perspectives in the international scientific community. The African epistemology has remained ignored in Europe, America and Africa itself resulting in knowledge dependency and xenophilia. This condition renders African academics more invisible and entrenches western intellectual hegemony.

### Western Intellectual Hegemony and Academic Freedom

Academic freedom is both the freedom to research and teach, and the freedom of the academic staff to manage the university without interference from the state (Moshman, 2017). Academic freedom is defined as the liberty to teach, study, and pursue knowledge and research without unreasonable interference or restriction from law, institutional regulations, or public pressure (Karran, Beiter & Appiagyei-Atua, 2022).

For researchers in southern Africa, the concept has special relevance because modern higher education on the continent is essentially a product of the post-colonial era that should be freed from western intellectual hegemony. The main aim was and still is to enable social and economic development by training people who are able to think for themselves and be critical of what is presented to them, not to produce more similar units of knowledge. The importance of academic freedom to researchers cannot be understated, as it guarantees researchers and institutions of higher learning the necessary autonomy and self-governance, thus fostering a conducive environment for knowledge production, critical debate, and innovation. This freedom is mainly important in three respects, namely teaching, research, and the material outcomes of research (Adu, 2020), that are free from intellectual hegemony.

Epistemological ethnocentrism the other indicator of western intellectual hegemony has negatively impacted the academic freedom of sub-Saharan African academics. The western intellectual hegemony creates a condition in which African academics should interpret their problems through the lenses of the Global North (Basedau, 2020). This is a recipe for knowledge dependency. Sub-Saharan academics are taken as consumers of knowledge that is produced in the Global North, a situation that has been raised by the Marxist dependency theory of knowledge (Adu, 2020). In this epistemological relationship, sub-

Saharan African universities are seen as peripherals in relation to participation in knowledge production.

The Poor remuneration of researchers in sub-Saharan Africa has also negatively impacted academic freedom. Poorly remunerated academics are demotivated to do vibrant research. Hence, low rewards have pushed talented and experienced academics to leave Africa for greener pastures in more industrialised states (Ahmed & Shifraw, 2019). Literature from Uganda, Rwanda, and Zimbabwe affirms that every year experienced academics migrate to countries in the global north seeking better remuneration, resulting in excessive brain drain. Loss of sub-Saharan academics to the Global North decimates the potential of these intellectuals to combat western intellectual hegemony.

# Western Intellectual Hegemony, Digital Scholarship, and the Digital Divide

Digital scholarship embraces information and communication technology (ICT) tools to facilitate the production, dissemination, and consumption of knowledge. Digital scholarship stimulates e-research and upholds the quality of research by utlising ICT skills and tools (Jacobs, 2023). In this case, digital technologies are supported by physical infrastructure, vibrant information systems, online content access, and management systems to facilitate research publication and scholarly communication (Goh & Sandars, 2019). However, in sub-Saharan Africa, technological dependency, coupled with western intellectual hegemony and the digital divide, militates against research productivity. The term 'Digital Divide' was coined in the mid-1990s to describe the gap that existed between those individuals or communities that had the resources to access information and communication technology and those that did not (Sam, 2019).

As spelled out by dependency theory, inequalities can take place at a variety of levels: locally, regionally, nationally, and globally. The digital divide focuses on national issues of inequality but also applies internationally (Anyanwu, 2019). Meanwhile, when examining inequality at different scales, such as within nations or between nations, this paper treats each factor as an aspect of the digital divide. In other words, the digital divide is broad, recognising that within a capitalist society, if there is inequality that is related to the lack of technology access in a given political-economic space (Adu). There is growing recognition in popular

and scholarly circles that overcoming the digital divide is not just about connecting every person in the nation to the internet.

Many studies and reports on the digital divide are fundamentally concerned with the disparity in access to technology, and policymakers often concentrate mainly on this issue. The term "digital divide" itself betrays the fact that it is seen in many circles as a technical problem, as opposed to a social and epistemological one. The content, software packages, technical skills, and overall digital culture are tilted in favour of the global north which uses this advantage to create dependency and suppress epistemological activities in sub-Saharan Africa (Cariolle, 2021). The digital divide in this context translates to the epistemological divide. The digital divide threatens the quality of research in sub-Saharan Africa because it is more pronounced in this region of the globe. Most universities in the region are poorly connected, the power supply is unreliable, the laboratories are not enough, ownership and access to computers are low, and the ICT support and software are deficient. The anecdotes presented above portray a dim picture in which the digital divide overrides digital scholarship, resulting in information and epistemological deficiency in sub-Saharan Africa.

## Western Intellectual Hegemony: Predatory Publishing

With the pressure to publish and the blocked opportunities created by western intellectual hegemony, sub-Saharan academics are, cornered hence they resort to predatory publishing. Predatory publishing refers to opportunistic practices carried out by publishers, often with open-access platforms (Saini & Saxena, 2022). They deceive authors and the academic community, accept anything that can generate profit (including pseudoscience and junk science), and engage in other unethical practices (COPE Council, 2019). This is a fraudulent 'pay and publish' approach that fast-tracks publications without meeting the best practices of publication, like peer review and proofreading.

The resultant effects of predatory publishing are devastating to the already vulnerable sub-Saharan academics who publish in predatory journals out of fear of job loss, failure to publish in Global North controlled and internationally indexed journals, and a lack of awareness. Predatory publishing is a scam that may result in a loss of money when the publishers disappear after receiving article processing fees. Predatory publishing also contaminates one's curriculum vitae, pollutes scientific

knowledge (Xia, 2021), and taints the reputation of the researcher, profession, and institution.

## **Findings**

The manifestations of western intellectual hegemony in research in sub-Saharan Africa are wide-ranging. Despite the multifarious problems that Africa is experiencing, such as hunger, armed conflict, disease, and climate change, there is profoundly stunted research participation in the region (Fayomi, et al., 2018). The research output for decades has been chronically low. The scholarly communication that is dictated by the powerful commercial publishers domiciled in the Global North has denigrated African academics in sub-Sahara (Vurayai, 2023b). The journals that are controlled by these publishing companies are less concerned with African problems, thereby rendering African epistemologies invisible in the recognised world databases.

Western intellectual hegemony has been more evinced by linguicism and epistemicism. Research has been a tool for cultural imperialism, in which African languages, cultures, and epistemologies have been disparaged and denigrated. The so-called internationally indexed and recognised journals are not receptive to African problems and languages (Shinkafi, 202; Ekeanyanwu, 2022). This situation increases the burden and pressure on the researchers, as they are required to do language editing and translation before publication. In most cases, the rejections that sub-Saharan academics suffer may not be a result of scientific weakness but are on account of linguistic, cultural, and epistemological biases and stereotypes.

Vibrant research demands the support of physical infrastructure and funding. As stated by the Marxist dependency theory of knowledge, the peripheral states, like those in sub-Sahara, are in a perpetual state of economic dependency, and this makes it difficult to secure funding and procure facilities and research supportive structures such as libraries, ICT tools, and laboratories (Moja et al., 2022). Also, the researchers are poorly funded, and this demotivates them to engage in meaningful and productive research. Poor funding and remuneration of African academics has resulted in excessive brain drain that depletes experienced and talented researchers that could have been capable of combating western intellectual hegemony.

Digital scholarship has been found to be compromised as a result of the hostile digital divide that bedevils sub-Saharan academics. The pathetic state of digital scholarship and digital culture has reduced African academics to intellectual beggars. Most libraries suffer from information deficiency and have compromised electronic databases that make it difficult to have digital publication, computationally engaged research, and use digital evidence to achieve scholarly goals (Sam, 2019). The digital divide reduces access to awareness and participation to the extent that most researchers become victims of fraudulent, predatory publishing.

#### Conclusion

Western intellectual hegemony is a fact in the 21st century; the impact and further evolution affect different regions of the world differently. In the case of Africa, the location of a profoundly rich, and diverse intellectual heritage, the intellectual hegemony has found various stratagems of expansion and dominance, all aimed at the denigration and disarticulation of indigenous African knowledge systems. Both the colonial and imperial eras have left African countries and communities with stereotypes and distortions regarding what they seem (and are important) in all territories of their knowledge.

As evidenced by several researchers, the ability to produce, possess, and disseminate knowledge is a powerful contributor to global power. For this reason, wherever knowledge is exchanged, generated, visualised, appropriated, threatened, or otherwise snubbed, power is consciously or unconsciously confronted, leveraged, disregarded, or lost. When it comes to Africa, the nature of these fronts is closely connected to power, intellectual hegemony, and knowledge imperialism. Global politics, economics, education, and cultures of the traditional continents, through their administrative practices, policies, representations, and aid, have been colonial and imperial. They have disrupted and continue to affect Africans, the continent, and people off-site in all areas of their knowledge production, exchange, acquisition, assimilation, This includes knowledge systematisation circumstances. disciplines in a broad and structural sense, knowledge of social flows, and knowledge of technology.

#### Recommendations

Sub-Saharan academics and institutions of learning cannot fold hands when they face hostility in the jaws of western intellectual hegemony. The governments need to upscale research funding and supportive infrastructure like libraries, ICTs, power supply, and laboratories to facilitate vibrant research to combat and decolonise western intellectual hegemony (Ngongalah et al., 2018). The marginalised groups in research, such as early-career academics and women, need strong financial support, mentoring, and networking (Kumwenda et al., 2017). Investing in women and young researchers adds strengths to the present pool of academics in combating western intellectual hegemony.

Diverse decolonial tools need to be put in place to equip sub-Saharan researchers to combat western intellectual hegemony. The policies to promote African languages in research and curriculum transactions need to be enforced (Mawere, 2017) with great support in funding, ICTs, and infrastructure. This will help to reduce the dependency on foreign languages, a tool that the Global North uses to entrench intellectual hegemony and knowledge imperialism.

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