

Decolonizing the lasting impact of colonization on Africa's economic and political terrain through the integration of indigenous African knowledge.

Authors:

Chibuzor Chigozie Nweke,
Okafor, Jude Chukwuemeka,
Eze, Osmond Ikechukwu,
Osita James Igweike

Affiliation:

Department of Political
Science, Faculty of Social
Sciences, Nnamdi Azikiwe
University, Awka, Anambra
State, Nigeria.

Dates:

Received: 2024-04-29

Accepted: 02/05/2024

Citation:

Nweke, C.C., Okafor, J.C.,
Eze, O.I. & Igweike, J.O.
(2024). Decolonizing the
lasting impact of
colonization on Africa's
economic and political
terrain through the
integration of indigenous
African knowledge. *Nigerian
Journal of Sustainability
Research*, 2(1), 1-16.
[https://njsr.com.ng/index.p
hp/home/article/view/11](https://njsr.com.ng/index.php/home/article/view/11)

Abstract

This study investigates the enduring impact of colonialism on Africa's development challenges, focusing on economic and political spheres. Three research questions directed the study. The research employs a qualitative case study approach to explore the historical, cultural, and economic factors shaping economic narratives in specific African countries. This approach acknowledges the unique circumstances of each region and their specific encounters with colonialism. The study concludes that Africa's current economic and political struggles stem from the historical roots of colonization. It emphasizes the need to decolonize economic narratives and political structures to achieve sustainable development. This involves rectifying historical injustices, recovering and valuing indigenous knowledge, respecting cultural diversity and empowering communities to determine their own economic and political trajectories.

Key words: Decolonization, Economic narrative, Africa-Centric, Indigenous knowledge, Sustainable development, Colonialism.

Introduction

Africa still grapples with liberating itself from the enduring global colonial matrices of power established since the era of colonial rule. Brought about by European countries like Italy, Britain, France, Germany, Spain, Belgium, Portugal, et cetera. The dependence observed in the African development process reflects the tangible manifestation of the influence exerted by the overarching global imperial designs and entrenched colonial power. The contemporary predominant role of African states in the global economic arena, characterized by their function as primary suppliers of raw materials and substantial consumers of manufactured goods, is a typical case of protracted periods of colonial subjugation and imperialist influence (Ocheni & Nwankwo, 2012).

Even after achieving independence from colonial rule, many African states still struggle to disentangle themselves from the deeply entrenched roles ascribed to the state during the colonial era. This difficulty arises from the systematic disarticulation of the indigenous economy and its intrinsic integration with the external economy established by colonial powers. Furthermore, the pervasive corruption within African states and the enduring tendency of some political leaders to perpetuate their tenures beyond the point of public utility are attributed to the enduring effects of colonialism and imperialism. The occurrence of successful coups in West African states, exemplified by events in Niger, Burkina Faso, Sudan, Guinea, and Mali, provides substantiation to this claim.

The discourse on colonialism in Africa pertains to a historical phenomenon spanning the years 1600 to the 1990s. Within these periods, Ndlovu-Gatshen (2015) provided a comprehensive framework for understanding how Africa's development has been intricately shaped across eight distinct eras, each leaving an indelible mark on the continent's trajectory. The first epoch, spanning from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, encapsulates the paradigm of discovery and the mercantilist order, marked by the dominance of the slave trade and mercantilism. Following this, the post-1648 Westphalian order ushered in an era that excluded Africa from sovereignty. The subsequent epoch, marked by the 1884-5 Berlin consensus, witnessed the scramble for and conquest of Africa, solidifying the dismemberment and fragmentation of the continent.

Colonial governmentality, characterized by the production of African colonial subjectivity, emerged as another epoch, shaping the socio-political landscape. The post-1945 United Nations decolonization normative order positioned Africa within the lowest echelons of the modern world system. The Cold War era introduced ideological polarization and positioned Africa as a theater of proxy wars. Post-Cold War triumphalism embraced the neoliberal order, famously articulated by Francis Fukuyama as 'the end of history and the last man.' The post-9/11 era ushered in an anti-terrorist order, giving rise to a new securitization paradigm. This subtle historical analysis reveals the complex interplay of forces that have shaped Africa's development, offering insights into the persistent challenges faced by the continent.

Even as the world entered into a new dispensation of globalization, the problem of achieving sustainable development in the new global socio-economic and political dispensation, happen to be one of the major problems still facing Africa. The integration of peripheral economies of African nations into the global capitalist system has encountered numerous hurdles, as highlighted by Osaro (2022). Institutional changes, exemplified by the structural adjustment programs of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the second-generation reforms of the World Bank, represent crucial shifts in the regulatory framework governing business and social interactions (Constantine, 2017). These reforms wield substantial influence over economic performance by reshaping the fundamental structures of economies.

The impact of these policies is particularly notable in Africa, where premature disruption of economic activities has been observed, resulting in increasing returns. Although not leading

to global technology, it is important to note that many African countries experienced higher growth rates in the 1970s and 1980s compared to the post-reform period (Chang, 2011; Khan, 2009; McMillan & Rodrik, 2012).

History bears witness to the fact that many African states have been compelled to yield to more powerful entities, often due to a lack of technological expertise, political stability, economic efficiency, and their incapacity to preserve their unique ideas and reasoning (Gulati, 1990). Contrary to expectations, globalization has not resulted in development in Africa; instead, it has presented elements that, if applied by resource-rich nations, could potentially foster development in the region. This reality is starkly reflected in the persistently poor living standards experienced by the people of Africa.

Continuing from the acknowledgement of persistently poor living standards in Africa, the call for decolonizing economic narratives and advocating for an Africa-centric political economy gains added urgency in literature. This imperative stems from a profound recognition of historical injustices and power imbalances that have perpetuated the challenges faced by African nations. Hence, decolonizing economic perspectives aims to dismantle these imbalances, fostering self-reliance, and empowering African nations to determine their economic trajectories. African nations face unique challenges that require locally crafted solutions (Nyoni, 2019; Heleta, 2016). Embracing an Africa-centric political economy will therefore encourage the challenge of Eurocentric perspectives and embrace indigenous knowledge, wisdom, and economic practices that may better resonate with the socio-cultural context of African societies.

Going by the historical backdrop of enduring global colonial matrices of power and the resulting challenges faced by Africa, there is an urgent need to conduct an exhaustive examination of the ramifications of both historical legacies and contemporary global economic frameworks on the continent's development. This study is thus designed to meticulously unravel the multifaceted layers of economic challenges confronting Africa, with a particular emphasis on advocating for the decolonization of economic narratives and the establishment of an Africa-centric political economy. The overarching goal is to formulate indigenous strategies that empower African nations to carve out distinctive economic trajectories and surmount the enduring effects of colonialism and imperialism.

Research questions

From the above discussion, the following research questions emerged:

1. What are the economic and political challenges confronting the African States as a result of the historical legacies of colonization?
2. How can the economic and political challenges confronting Africa be comprehensively unraveled, with a focus on the imperative for decolonizing economic narratives and advocating for an Africa-centric political economy?

3. What indigenous strategies can be proposed to empower African nations in overcoming persistent barriers to sustainable development, particularly addressing the enduring effects of colonialism and imperialism?

1.2 Purpose of the study

The main purpose of this paper is to critically examine and contribute to the process of decolonizing economic and political narratives by developing a framework for an African-centric political economy. In particular, the study:

1. examine the economic and political challenges confronting the African States as a result of the historical legacies of colonization;
2. provide a comprehensive rationale for the decolonization of economic and political narratives; and
3. proposed African-centric political economy strategies that can be used to empower African nations in overcoming persistent barriers to sustainable development, particularly addressing the enduring effects of colonialism and imperialism

The paper is divided as follows: Section 2 offers a scholarly examination of the literature pertaining to the economic and political challenges faced by Africa as a consequence of colonization. It also delineates efforts undertaken to address these challenges through the processes of decolonization and empowerment. Section 3 presents the theory upon which the paper was anchored. Section 4 is on the methodology deployed. Section 5 highlights the results and findings of the paper. Section 6 concludes the paper. Finally, section 7 provides recommendation.

2.0 Literature review

2.1 Economic and political challenges confronting Africa due to colonization

The economic impact of colonialism on Africa can be understood as a process of integrating the continent into the global capitalist system, wherein Africa predominantly served as a source of raw materials for Western industrial production. This economic arrangement led to the diversion of agriculture toward the production of primary products and cash crops, contributing to hunger and starvation. The perpetual focus on raw material production resulted in unequal exchange and imbalances in trade (Farah, Kiamba & Mazongo, 2011).

Rodney (1983) argues that the exploitation and corrupt businesses set up in the colonies to exploit natural resources hindered Africa's progress and bolstered Europe's advancement. In Alkali's (2003) view, colonization required a complete overhaul of Africa's economy. This economic plan, persisting into the present, altered the way people in Africa produce, create, and consume. The introduction of neo-liberalism further transformed African economies, shifting from communalism to capitalism and then to neo-liberalism (Farah et al., 2011).

Beyond economic consequences, colonialism exerted a profound influence on the political landscape of Africa, shaping the present political system as a direct reflection of the colonial regime. Foreign administrations replaced indigenous institutions, eroding the democratic culture established in the pre-colonial era. The contemporary state in Africa is identified as a remnant of a colonially imposed system, characterized by a centralized state system that produced ethnic and authoritarian-based political culture (Farah et al., 2011; Wyk, 2007).

The legacy of colonialism is evident in the persistence of undemocratic and authoritarian rule inherited by post-independence African leaders. The notion of ethnicity left by colonial powers led to persistent rivalry, conflict, exclusion, and marginalization in African political societies. Additionally, colonialism influenced the structure of Africa's political party system, giving rise to a top-down organizational structure that tends to be autocratic (Alemazung, 2010; Kidane, 2011; Salih, 2007). Democratizing Africa remains challenging due to the historical perpetuation of corruption, a trait traced back to the colonial era, where leaders exploited political power for personal wealth accumulation (Gordon, 2013; Njoku, 2005; Wyk, 2007). The contemporary nature of African rulers' greed and selfishness can be linked to the deeds of colonial powers, creating a vicious cycle of corruption and poverty (Wyk, 2007).

2.2 Decolonizing economic narratives via Africa-centric perspectives

Decolonization is the disruptive endeavor to end colonialism; it is the liberation and de-caging of the colonized, caged mind by shifting the focus away from Western perspectives as the center for development (Nyoni, 2019). Deconstructive decolonization discourse envisages acknowledging Africa as one of the regional centers of epistemology generation, with its developmental intricacies, and as such worthy of being viewed as an equal global partner. Africa must be allowed to reassert its own native knowledge and socio-political and economic systems (Nyoni, 2019).

True decolonization means getting rid of the colonial government and the social systems it created to control and exploit people. It is not enough for independence, there needs to be a deep change in thinking to remove the negative colonial influences that have been holding back progress. .Fanon (2008, p. 13) writes: ‘The juxtaposition of the black and white races’ has resulted in a massive psycho-existential complex’. 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 2008, p. 14) in other words, Fanon (2008) underscores the need for the black person to overcome the psychological or mental effects of colonialism.

The preservation of true African education requires collective decolonial actions to prevent the corruption of cultural values, identities, and curricula (Nyoni, 2019). The toxic, Western-inspired nuances and storylines that underlie Western-induced education curricula should be given room to be corrected by African voices. Therefore, the creation of knowledge is essential to the Third World's development to achieve peaceful coexistence, economic

prosperity, self-determination, and many other "concrete manifestations of freedom" (Gordon, 2011, p. 101), which can be used to identify the beginnings of a genuinely "decolonized world."

2.3 Indigenous strategies for empowering African nations

To address persistent barriers to sustainable development in Africa, scholars propose a two-fold strategy. The first aspect involves dismantling the enduring effects of colonialism and imperialism, as highlighted by Fanon's emphasis on overcoming the psychological impacts of colonialism (Fanon, 2008). The second aspect focuses on fostering self-determination and locally crafted solutions, emphasizing the importance of embracing indigenous knowledge, language, and cultural practices as foundations for an Africa-centric political economy (Nyoni, 2019; Heleta, 2016).

Successful decolonization efforts, witnessed in post-Cold War periods, offer valuable insights into potential pathways for African nations to assert their agency and reshape their economic trajectories (Ndlovu-Gatshen, 2015). Strategies to address the historical impact of colonialism on education are crucial, emphasizing a more inclusive, culturally sensitive, and locally relevant approach to learning in African societies (Nyoni, 2019; Ezeanya-Esiobu, 2019). A number of strategies, have been proposed in literature.

Incorporating Afrocentric Perspectives: Develop curricula that incorporate diverse African perspectives, histories, and cultures. This approach aims to highlight the contributions of African civilizations and challenge the Eurocentric bias present in educational materials (Nyoni, 2019).

Community Engagement: Establish stronger connections between educational institutions and local communities. Involve community members in curriculum development to ensure that education aligns with the needs and values of the community. Education, as a vehicle for cultural transmission, can contribute to transforming prevailing social paradigms. Overhauling the formal curriculum across sub-Saharan African countries is essential for fostering real mental and intellectual independence. Additionally, non-formal learning situations, such as conferences and workshops, should be utilized to re-educate citizens on the importance of sound moral values (Ezeanya, 2012).

Global Perspectives: While focusing on Afrocentric content, promote a global perspective that recognizes the interconnectedness of cultures and histories. Encourage students to understand global issues from various cultural viewpoints. This approach aims to create a well-rounded understanding of global affairs while preserving and celebrating the rich diversity of African cultures (Nyoni, 2019).

3.0 Theoretical Framework

This study is grounded in the Afrocentric philosophy articulated by Asante in the 1980s. Asante (1980) posited that individuals of African descent, both within their homelands and in

the diaspora, should approach knowledge through an African lens. This perspective involves scrutinizing issues from an African vantage point, contending that a true understanding of Africa can only be achieved when employing African viewpoints and terminology in its study. By situating themselves at the core of their historical narrative, Africans can perceive themselves as active agents and participants rather than marginalized entities on the periphery of political and economic realms.

Key proponents, including Patricia Hill Collins, have engaged with Afrocentrism within the context of feminist critique, highlighting its complexities and internal debates. The philosophy also finds support from scholars like Marcus Garvey, Frederick Douglass, and David Walker, as well as movements like Negritude, Pan-Africanism, and the Black Power Movement (Chukwuokolo, 2009; Early et al., 1994). Afrocentrism, in its exposition, advocates for a reevaluation of economic narratives, cultural practices, and historical interpretations in line with African perspectives. The theory underscores the importance of dismantling colonial and Eurocentric ideologies embedded in economic theories. Additionally, Afrocentrism calls for a comprehensive understanding of African experiences, both on the continent and in the diaspora, and urges a shift toward alternative economic models that align with indigenous African values and societal structures.

Asante's Afrocentric philosophy constitutes a pivotal element within the theoretical framework of this study, as it underscores several facets pertinent to the research objective of decolonizing economic narratives toward an African-centric political economy. Central to Afrocentrism is the advocacy for the acknowledgement and exaltation of African cultural values and histories. In the realm of economic narratives, this necessitates a reconsideration of economic practices and theories through the lens of African cultural values and historical experiences. In the context of economic narratives, this translates into an exploration of how Africans can actively assert control over their economic systems, resources, and trajectories of development. Moreover, Asante's Afrocentrism catalyzes contemplating alternative economic models that align more harmoniously with African values and societal structures.

While Afrocentrism has its proponents, it has faced criticism from various quarters. Eurocentric scholars and critics, including Diane Ravitch, Arthur Schlesinger, George Will, and Mary Lefkowitz, have attacked Afrocentrism, alleging that it threatens national unity and perpetuates myths. Some internal critics, such as feminists like Patricia Hill Collins, raise concerns about Afrocentrism's handling of gender issues in Africa. Additionally, critics question the academic rigour of Afrocentric scholarship and argue that the movement risks fragmenting societal unity. The critique extends to the foundational premise of collective African consciousness, with scepticism about its existence given the diverse experiences and languages across the continent and diaspora (Allen et al., 2007; Early et al., 1994). These critiques prompt a nuanced examination of Afrocentrism's implications and limitations within the broader academic discourse.

4.0 Methodology

Conducted an in-depth qualitative case study focusing on a specific African country or region to explore the historical, cultural, and economic factors influencing the development of economic narratives. This approach takes into account the specific circumstances of each region and can help one see how the history of colonialism has influenced their economic beliefs.

5.0 Results

5.1 Economic and political challenges confronting the African States as a result of the historical legacies of colonization

A growing body of empirical research attributed corruption to historical factors, notably colonization. One of the main factors that determines corruption, as argued in the literature, is history, particularly that of colonization (Treisman, 2000; Acemoglu & Johnson, 2005). Many people believe that one of the primary causes of Africa's development problems is corruption (Svensson, 2003; Platteau, 2009). Corruption hinders economic, political, and social development (Svensson, 2005; Olken, 2007; Aidt, 2009). Corruption is not unconnected to the power structures instituted upon Africans by colonial powers. Empirical literature on African colonial history reveals that the legacies of colonial institutions shaped the precolonial power structures, due to indirect control of local populations through influential figures like chiefs (Merima, Odd-Helge & Abdulaziz, 2020).

It was established that indirect colonial rule was associated with chiefs' enhanced control of landed resources facilitated by their loyalty to colonial masters at the expense of their people (Abdulaziz, 2020). This assertion is still obtainable in the contemporary time. A most recent instance was the way and manner France, the US, and the EU mounted pressure on ECOWAS to use every means possible, even if it will require force to reinstate Bazoum as the president of the Niger Republic. This came after a military coup in Niger, which the people of the country so welcomed wholeheartedly. Because they are tired of the long-time suffering meted upon them by the said regime of Bazoum. What can be drawn from this event is that nations such as France and the US were benefiting from the power structure of indirect rule.

The arbitrary drawing of national borders, which resulted in the division of numerous ethnic groups among several nations, is another notable aspect of colonialism. The division of ethnic groupings signifies a substantial upheaval from the political structure existing before colonization. The partitioning of ethnic groups is shown to be significantly correlated with worse outcomes, particularly with violent conflicts and political instability witnessed in most of the African States (Englebert et al., 2002; Michalopoulos & Papaioannou, 2016). In the area of trade, Africa predominantly served as a source of raw materials for Western industrial production. The dependence on primary commodities, especially fuel, exposes the continent to external shocks due to volatile commodity prices. Africa's export potential is

hampered by its heavy reliance on primary commodities, which make up over 70% of its exports outside of the continent; manufactured goods only make up 15%. The dependence on primary commodity exports makes the continent vulnerable to external shocks such as volatile commodity prices (International Trade Centre and UNCTAD, 2021). Fuel exports constitute more than half of most African exports, and crude oil prices are a strong driver of overall export value. The value of the total exports of Africa, at \$400 billion, has decreased since 2010, mainly driven by lower fuel prices.

5.2 Rationale for the decolonization of economic and political narratives

The decolonization of economic and political narratives is driven by various rationales rooted in principles of historical injustice, neglect of indigenous knowledge, homogenization of culture, and denial of the right to indigenous sovereignty and self-determination. Historical injustices form the backdrop against which contemporary economic and political narratives unfold. These narratives are often deeply entrenched in colonial histories characterized by exploitation, oppression, and dispossession. Decolonization, as a transformative process, aims to reckon with and redress these historical injustices, particularly as they pertain to indigenous peoples, marginalized communities, and colonized nations. As Tuck and Wayne (2012) assert in their collaborative work "Decolonization is not a Metaphor", that decolonization should not be reduced to a metaphorical framework but must address the material realities of historical injustices. Tuck and Yang (2012) emphasized that genuine decolonization demands the repatriation of land, restitution of resources, and the recognition of indigenous sovereignties. This perspective underscores the tangible and transformative dimensions of decolonization, aiming to rectify the economic and political imbalances entrenched in colonial legacies.

Reclaiming indigenous knowledge within the realms of economic and political narratives was also another pivotal aspect of the decolonization agenda. This involves challenging the historical tendency to marginalize or overlook indigenous knowledge systems and integrating them into broader discourses. Smith (1999) shed light on this crucial aspect of decolonization: In her work "Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples". Smith (1999) emphasizes the significance of reclaiming indigenous knowledge. She argues that traditional Western research methodologies have often ignored or subjugated indigenous ways of knowing. Smith advocates for a decolonized approach to research that acknowledges and incorporates indigenous knowledge systems. This is particularly relevant in the economic and political spheres, where dominant narratives have tended to exclude indigenous perspectives.

Further findings from the literature show that decolonization acknowledges and celebrates cultural diversity. It challenges narratives that homogenize cultures or promote a single dominant worldview, fostering a more inclusive understanding of different cultural, social, and political contexts. This discovery corroborates the assertion of Pérez (1999) who contends that decolonization requires acknowledging and valuing the diversity of cultural

experiences. The work highlights the danger of imposing a singular narrative on diverse cultural groups and advocates for a more nuanced and inclusive understanding of history.

It was also discovered that decolonization supports the right of communities to determine their own economic and political futures. It rejects paternalistic approaches that impose external economic and political models, emphasizing the importance of self-determination and autonomy. Smith (1999) argues that decolonizing methodologies in research involve recognizing and respecting the autonomy of indigenous communities. Smith (1999) underscores the importance of decolonization as a process that empowers communities to reclaim their voices and narratives, shaping their economic and political trajectories based on their values and aspirations.

5.3 African indigenous ways of overcoming the enduring effects of colonialism and imperialism

Cultural revitalization through community-led educational programs has been recognized as a crucial strategy for preserving and using indigenous cultures and languages in solving African problems. This approach is grounded in the belief that maintaining and transmitting traditional knowledge is essential for the well-being and identity of indigenous communities. Africans have been pushed to reclaim their organic epistemological center by creating Afrocentric curricula using their culture, language, and knowledge (Nyoni, 2019; Heleta, 2016). The Maasai people in East Africa provide a tangible example of the strategy in action. According to a report by Survival International, the Maasai have established community schools that focus on teaching traditional knowledge, language, and sustainable practices to younger generations. These schools aim to ensure the transmission of cultural values, pastoralist skills, and indigenous wisdom to maintain the Maasai way of life. The emphasis on education as a means of cultural revitalization aligns with the broader global recognition of the importance of preserving indigenous languages and traditions. The Maasai example illustrates how community-led educational programs can serve as effective tools for cultural resilience and sustainable development rooted in indigenous values. By prioritizing indigenous cultures and languages in education, communities and Africans in general can enhance their cultural resilience and promote sustainable development.

Another similar illustration of the use of African indigenous ways of overcoming the long effect of colonialism is the Igbo apprenticeship system in Nigeria (Ekekwe, 2019; Alake, 2018). The Igbo apprenticeship system is a distinctive indigenous socio-economic and cultural institution among the Igbo people of Nigeria. This traditional practice has been a fundamental aspect of Igbo society for centuries, contributing to economic development, social cohesion, and the preservation of cultural values. The Igbo apprenticeship system of Nigeria exemplifies how indigenous practices can contribute to economic empowerment, community development, and the preservation of cultural heritage. While it has deep historical roots, the system remains relevant and continues to shape the economic landscape in Igbo communities. An effective economic equilibrium with significantly reduced

inequality can be easily achieved under the Igbo apprenticeship system (Ekekwe, 2019). The United Nations did confirm Ekekwe's assertion in its most recent report that Southeast Nigeria is the most balanced and economically stable part of Nigeria, with the least hunger and economic stress on the citizens. The report further highlights the existing gap in human security across the geo-political zones of the country; the most human security secure geo-political zone is the Southeast.

6.0 Conclusion

The present economic and political problems encountered by the African states spring from the historical roots of colonization. Seeking to extract resources, and maintain subjugation. European powers planted the seed of corruption down the lines of authority. The indirect controls of colonial power over local populations, particularly through influential figures like chiefs, further encouraged corruption, leading to the limitation of economic, political and social development of the African States. It cannot be contested that throughout the world political instability grew because of the peaceful redrawing of national borders, which can also be said for Africa as seen in the frequency of violent conflicts. Furthermore, the high degree of ex-export trade inequality associated with colonialism has made Africa excessively dependent on these primary product exports, especially fuel, which has made the continent overly susceptible to external shocks. The need for the decolonization of the economic and political narratives is based on the desire to rectify historical injustices, recover indigenous knowledge, respect cultural diversity, and empower communities in determining their destiny. Cultural revitalization through community-based educational program initiatives becomes a critical anti-colonial sustainable strategy. As observed with the case of the Maasai community and Igbo apprenticeship system in Nigeria, such preservation of indigenous knowledge and cultural practices leads to the economic growth of these communities and eventually brings social stability and sustainable development.

7.0 Recommendations

1. Tackling corruption requires addressing the historical power structures inherited from colonialism. Governance reforms should focus on dismantling corrupt practices and empowering local communities.
2. Efforts should be made to reconsider and, where necessary, redraw national borders to align more closely with ethnic groups. Additionally, promoting regional cooperation can mitigate the negative consequences of arbitrary borders.
3. Ensure that economic and political narratives are inclusive by integrating indigenous knowledge systems. This involves challenging Western-centric research methodologies and acknowledging diverse perspectives in policymaking.

4. Advocate for policies that celebrate cultural diversity and grant communities the autonomy to determine their economic and political trajectories. Reject paternalistic approaches that impose external models.
5. Support initiatives that prioritize indigenous cultures and languages in education, enabling the transmission of traditional knowledge and values to younger generations.
6. Encourage the adoption of indigenous socio-economic practices, such as the Igbo apprenticeship system, as models for economic development and cultural preservation.

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