

Cultural Conflict and Integration

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The Crisis of African (Nigeria) Leadership and Development: A **Trans-Colonial Analysis**

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ABSTRACT

This essay contends that poor leadership results in poor development outcomes, whereas ethical leadership facilitates sustainable development, the hallmark of forward-thinking nations. The crisis of leadership in Africa remains central to understanding the continent's developmental challenges. Too often, leadership has produced individuals lacking agential integrity, thereby weakening the continent's global standing. Historically, African development has been analyzed through colonial and postcolonial lenses; however, this essay adopts a trans-colonial approach as a constructive framework for leadership transformation and societal advancement. We argue that development is not a passive invitation but an intentional and conscious commitment driven by visionary leadership. This work contends that leadership either ignites or cripples national development. To support this claim, a case study of Nigeria's leadership trajectory since 1999 will be used to demonstrate how poor leadership results in a disjointed and fragile developmental structure. From a trans-colonial standpoint, leadership must become the spark that activates a zealous love for Africa, expressed in creative and critical ways. We conclude that Africa needs visionary leaders who will catapult and pilot her affairs to the next level. Thus, this essay reimagines leadership as the foundation upon which transformative, humane, and sustainable development must be built. Keywords: Leadership; African Development; Trans-Colonial Approach; Global Economy

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Received: 2 February 2025 | Revised: 22 March 2025 | Accepted: 29 March 2025 | Published Online: 7 April 2025 DOI: https://doi.org/10.55121/cci.v2i1.561

Okeke, N.M., 2025. The Crisis of African (Nigeria) Leadership and Development: A Trans-Colonial Analysis. Cultural Conflict and Integration. 2(1): 26-35. DOI: https://doi.org/10.55121/cci.v2i1.561

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1. Introduction

The discourse on African development is inseparable from the question of leadership, as the course of the continent continues to be shaped by the philosophical, ideological, and historical forces that define how power is understood and exercised. Given this African development conversation, it has become imperative to interrogate the frameworks through which leadership and development have been conceptualized, particularly in light of the persistent structural crises afflicting many African nations. It is no longer sufficient to blame underdevelopment on external impositions or inherited colonial frameworks alone. Instead, what is required is a critical re-engagement with the philosophical foundations of leadership and a commitment to grounding development discourse in the realities of the African experience. This paper seeks to engage these concerns using a trans-colonial philosophical approach, a method advanced by Agbakoba, who calls for an intercultural framework sustained in Afro-constructivity, reasonabilism, and historical self-consciousness^[1].

Trans-coloniality, as Agbakoba proposes, is a philosophical standpoint that transcends the binary of colonial and postcolonial thinking by integrating elements from both indigenous and colonial legacies to construct a more contextually relevant and transformative path forward [2]. Such a framework insists on the creative use of Africa's epistemic resources while acknowledging the historical conditions that have shaped contemporary governance and development models. In this regard, leadership is not merely an administrative function or a colonial residue; it is a moral, cultural, and intellectual act that must derive its legitimacy and effectiveness from African worldviews. When examined through a trans-colonial perspective, leadership becomes a form of creative agency that resists epistemic domination and reclaims the capacity to shape development on African terms.

The relevance of this philosophical orientation is especially urgent when viewed against the backdrop of persistent leadership crises across the continent. Achebe famously remarked that the trouble with Nigeria and by extension Africa is fundamentally a failure of leadership [3]. This failure is not due to an inherent deficiency in African peoples or resources, but rather to an unwillingness or inability among many of its leaders to live up to the responsibilities and ethical demands of public office. These failures are compounded by institutional weaknesses that inhibit the implementation of

sound policies and ethical governance. Despite the richness of African intellectual traditions and indigenous governance philosophies, leadership structures remain captive to patterns of corruption, clientelism, and identity politics that erode national cohesion and frustrate development efforts. One would have expected African philosophy, which emphasizes communalism, moral responsibility, and the interdependence of individual and collective welfare, to offer valuable alternatives to the Western individualist models that dominate global development thinking. Why is it not happening? Wiredu and Gyekye have shown how African systems of thought prioritize dialogue, consensus, and moral accountability, all of which are foundational for building sustainable institutions and inclusive development strategies [4, 5]. However, they also point to the fact that these traditions have been undermined by centuries of colonial rule and post-independence governance that replicated colonial authoritarianism rather than reimagining leadership through African values.

This failure is starkly evident in areas such as penology, where colonial punitive frameworks remain largely intact across many African states. Instead of embracing restorative justice mechanisms grounded in indigenous traditions, many African penal systems reflect foreign legal systems that prioritize retribution over reconciliation. In the view of Mamdani and Alemazung, this disjuncture between imposed legal structures and indigenous practices has excavated social alienation and compromised justice systems [6, 7]. The result is a penal culture that lacks legitimacy and effectiveness, unable to serve the moral and rehabilitative functions that justice ought to fulfill in society. Moreover, the epistemic dimension of this crisis cannot be ignored. According to Eze and Mbembe, Africa's intellectual development has been distorted by neo-colonial systems that marginalize indigenous knowledge and valorize foreign paradigms^[8, 9]. This contributes to epistemic injustice that hampers the continent's ability to formulate authentic development models, as the knowledge that informs policymaking and leadership training remains disconnected from African historical and cultural realities.

Against this background, a trans-colonial analysis is therefore a philosophical and practical imperative. It calls for the deconstruction of inherited models of leadership and the reconstruction of new ones grounded in African metaphysics, ethics, and social visions. It demands the cultivation of leadership ideas as a moral agency and the transformation of institutions to reflect the values and aspirations of African societies. By drawing from indigenous knowledge systems, rethinking governance structures, and confronting epistemic injustices, Africa can chart a development path that is not only effective but also rooted in its philosophical heritage. This paper, therefore, aims to critically examine the interconnectedness of philosophy, leadership, and development in Africa using a trans-colonial framework. Through the application of African philosophical thought and the interrogation of contemporary leadership and institutional practices, the paper will offer constructive insights into how the continent can overcome its persistent developmental dilemmas and reclaim its agency in shaping its future.

2. Africa Development Polemics

African development has long been marked by polemical debates that seem to defy lasting solutions. Rodney, in his seminal work *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, identified several critical factors responsible for Africa's developmental crisis ^[10]. His arguments, laid out in six compelling points, expanded the intellectual horizon on the dynamics of Africa's economic and political decline. However, many of these arguments have lost explanatory strength in the face of contemporary realities. A critical reassessment of Rodney's framework, using a trans-colonial approach, reveals a deeper developmental dilemma, rooted not only in colonial exploitation but also in internal contradictions and missed opportunities.

In his first chapter, Rodney emphasizes the role of human development in shaping national progress. While this remains true, the question persists: what meaningful shifts have occurred in Africa since the formal abolition of the slave trade during the Industrial Revolution? If human capital development is pivotal to national transformation, what efforts have been made by African nations to enhance their own efficiency? Innocent Onyenwenyi's thesis on the African origin of Greek philosophy highlights the fact that knowledge and innovation can be borrowed and improved upon [11]. However, as Taiwo critiques, instead of borrowing and enhancing, many African leaders and thinkers replicate foreign models poorly [12], often ignoring what Agbakoba describes as the "radius of consistency"—a framework that stresses the need

for ideas to align with local realities [13].

Rodney also argued that the African economy thrived before European imperialism. This raises important questions about what changed after independence [10]. The idea of a lost intellectual and cultural legacy, as presented in James G.G.M.'s *The Stolen Legacy*, remains puzzling [14]. Why were Africans unable to reclaim or rebuild the masterful approaches they once employed? Both Africa and Asia endured colonization, yet countries like Malaysia and Singapore have made significant developmental progress. It is often said that Malaysia's booming palm oil industry traces its origins to palm fruit seedlings from eastern Nigeria. This comparison calls into question Africa's post-colonial recovery strategy and its handling of historical trauma. Has Africa failed to transform its past pain into future strength?

In chapter three, Rodney describes the exploitative relationship between Africa and the West, where Africa's resources and labour fueled European development [10]. He asserts that Africa developed Europe as much as Europe underdeveloped Africa. While this point is historically valid, it overlooks the reality that all relationships carry hierarchies and potential for exploitation. The more crucial point is the response to this imbalance. While African nations ousted colonial powers and filled leadership with inexperienced and often corrupt elites, Asian nations like Singapore learned from their colonial past and welcomed development under carefully negotiated terms. This adaptability is what Agbakoba calls *reasonabilism*—the capacity to derive sense from seemingly senseless circumstances [1].

Rodney's fourth chapter discusses the slave trade and the forced migration of millions of Africans between the ages of 12 and 30^[10]. He recounts how Africans were enslaved through warfare, deception, and kidnapping. While Rodney correctly stresses the importance of truth for liberation, there is a need for Africa to confront its own historical failures honestly. A courtroom metaphor is apt: no client wins a case without telling the lawyer the full truth. While Afrocentrism rightly resists Eurocentrism, Africans must avoid romanticizing the past. As Mondin observes, medieval Christian philosophers, when confronted with intellectual threats, responded with reason and built scholasticism, which later defined the era^[15]. Likewise, Africa must channel historical consciousness into practical strategies, not sentiment. Emotionalism cannot substitute for pragmatic development

planning.

In chapter five, Rodney describes the economic exploitation of Africans through colonial labour, especially in agriculture and mining [10]. He notes that Africans were underpaid and subjected to harsh working conditions. Thus far, the critical question remains: what lessons have been drawn from this experience? Despite the common saying that experience is the best teacher, the impact on Africa's developmental imagination appears minimal. Rodney's final chapter discusses the colonial distortion of African education, arguing that it was used as a tool of racial and cultural domination. In light of this, have Africans now reoriented education as a vehicle for liberation? The fact that many African youths still leave the continent in search of educational opportunities in the West suggests otherwise. The Igbo proverb *Onye ji onye no n'ala ji kwa onwe ya*—he who holds someone down also holds himself down-captures the selfsabotaging nature of underdevelopment^[16]. Africa cannot thrive while clinging to outdated paradigms or blaming external forces alone. Development theories must be evaluated on two fronts: whether they explain Africa's actual economic patterns, and whether their policy prescriptions align with historical evidence. Many theories, such as Dependency, Structuralist, Internalist, Endogenous, and Human Capital models, highlight different pathways to growth. However, none can succeed without ethical leadership and coherent institutions.

In summary, development is not just a function of economic design but of political will, cultural coherence, and visionary leadership. It requires a committed effort to align investments, human capabilities, and policy frameworks. Leadership remains the most decisive factor in Africa's developmental journey. Without it, even the most promising models will collapse under the weight of contradiction.

3. Leadership as the Engine of Development

Leadership plays a pivotal role in shaping the developmental destiny of any nation. Within Africa, the importance of leadership becomes even more pronounced, given the continent's persistent struggles with governance failures and institutional breakdowns. Perhaps the use of analogies can help to illustrate the point that leadership is the engine of development. One such analogy is that of the head and the body: the head, which houses the brain, functions as the control centre of the body. When the head is weak or confused, the entire body suffers. Likewise, when leadership is misguided or unethical, a nation's development falters. The Igbo proverb captures this clearly: "Onye isi adighi mma, ahu ya agaghi eme yali nke oma"—"If the head is not well, the body cannot function optimally." Development, therefore, begins with leadership because it inspires hope.

Another useful image is that of a shepherd and the flock. A society without firm, ethical guidance becomes scattered, vulnerable, and directionless. The leader, like the shepherd, must ensure unity, protection, and direction for the people. Without that, the nation becomes unproductive and insecure. The nation may also be viewed as a ship at sea, and the leader as the captain. A ship, no matter how well-built, cannot reach its destination without a capable hand at the helm. Leadership determines whether a country navigates safely through challenges or sinks under pressure. Poor leadership allows chaos, while good leadership fosters stability and growth. Similarly, development can be likened to a tree, and leadership to its root. Without healthy roots, the tree cannot bear fruit. Even where there is sunlight, rain, and fertile soil, a diseased root undermines growth. In the same way, poor leadership neutralizes the benefits of natural resources and international support. In terms of social harmony, the leader functions like the conductor of an orchestra. Even when individuals are competent, the absence of coordination produces dissonance. Leadership aligns sectors of society, giving them a common purpose and direction. It transforms scattered talents into collective achievement.

Finally, borrowing from Japanese thought, it is said, "There are no bad soldiers, only bad generals." The discipline, resilience, and creativity of a people reflect the quality of their leadership. In times of economic crisis, true leadership reduces its own privileges before placing burdens on citizens. Leadership must be anchored in ethical responsibility and visionary thinking. These analogies all point to one truth: leadership is not optional in the development process. It is the first and most vital condition for national progress. Without it, no policy, plan, or resource can yield sustainable results.

4. A Post-1999 Analysis of Leadership and the Nigerian Developmental Crisis

To understand the fragile state of Nigeria's development, it is essential to examine the trajectory of leadership in the country since the return to democratic rule in 1999. This period offers a critical case study on how successive administrations have contributed to the disjointed structure of Nigeria's economic, political, and social landscape. While democracy was expected to usher in stability, growth, and institutional development, the reality has been marked by inconsistency, corruption, insecurity, and poor policy implementation, hallmarks of weak leadership.

The democratic era began with President Olusegun Obasanjo (1999-2007), whose administration inherited a nation plagued by military misrule and economic decay. Obasanjo's efforts to reform the public service, establish anticorruption agencies like the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), and secure foreign debt relief were commendable. However, these gains were undermined by internal contradictions, especially the politicization of anticorruption efforts and the failed third-term agenda, which weakened democratic trust and institutional integrity [17]. His successor, Umaru Musa Yar'Adua (2007-2010), came into office declaring a seven-point agenda aimed at transforming Nigeria. He is often remembered for his humility and adherence to the rule of law, but his short tenure was characterized by administrative slowness and health-related absenteeism, which created a power vacuum. Though he initiated the Niger Delta Amnesty Programme, his impact on structural development was limited due to time constraints. Following Yar' Adua's death, Goodluck Jonathan (2010–2015) assumed office. His administration witnessed modest economic growth, largely driven by rising oil prices, and initiatives like the YouWin program to support youth entrepreneurship. However, corruption scandals, poor security management, especially the rise of Boko Haram, and excessive reliance on oil revenue marred his administration. The fuel subsidy scandal, the failure to rescue the abducted Chibok girls, and pervasive political favouritism weakened national cohesion and deepened public distrust.

The election of Muhammadu Buhari in 2015 was seen as a shift towards accountability, especially due to his reputa-

tion as an anti-corruption crusader. However, his administration (2015–2023) fell short of expectations. Although efforts were made to digitize government processes and implement infrastructure projects, the administration became synonymous with economic hardship, rampant inflation, youth unemployment, and insecurity. The End SARS protests in 2020 revealed deep frustrations with governance, police brutality, and the insensitivity of the ruling elite. Buhari's leadership was often criticized for being aloof, reactive rather than proactive, and for promoting a narrow ethno-religious agenda^[18]. The current administration under President Bola Ahmed Tinubu (2023-present) has inherited a fragile economy, a divided population, and weakened institutions. While it is early to make a conclusive judgment, public reaction to the removal of fuel subsidies and the introduction of new taxes suggests rising tension. The perception of recycling political elites rather than introducing fresh, competent leadership further questions the government's developmental capacity.

This leadership trajectory illustrates a consistent pattern of policy inconsistency, elite-centred governance, and failure to align national resources with the common good. Achebe rightly observed that the trouble with Nigeria is squarely a failure of leadership, not resources, land, or people. His argument remains profoundly relevant^[3]. Leadership in Nigeria has often lacked what Agbakoba refers to as "agential integrity"—the moral and intellectual capacity to prioritize the long-term public good over short-term personal or political gain^[13]. The cumulative effect of these administrations is a weakened state, where corruption thrives, institutions are undermined, and the citizenry becomes increasingly disillusioned. Each administration has made promises, yet failed to institutionalize systems that can sustain development. Instead of producing transformative outcomes, leadership in Nigeria since 1999 has contributed to the fragility of its democracy and the underperformance of its economy. For Eboh, "he who holds someone down also holds himself." [16] Nigerian leaders, by stifling institutional growth and resisting accountability, have not only limited national progress but also undermined their own legitimacy. Thus, development cannot be treated as an abstract event. It must begin with ethical, visionary, and responsive leadership that sees governance as a service to the people, not as a path to personal enrichment.

5. The Need for Ethical Leadership and Governance in Africa (Nigeria)

In his book *The Trouble with Nigeria*, Chinua Achebe famously declared that "the trouble with Nigeria is simply and squarely a failure of leadership." He argued that there is nothing fundamentally wrong with the Nigerian environment, character, or natural endowments, but rather a persistent unwillingness or inability of leaders to rise to the demands of responsibility and personal example, which are the hallmarks of true leadership^[3]. Achebe illustrated this point with a story from 1975, when General Murtala Muhammed took power and, through sheer personal integrity and authority, changed the behavioural pattern of Lagos almost overnight. This example demonstrates that leadership can produce rapid social transformation when it is ethical and purposeful.

Leadership and governance are essential pillars of any society's development. Their effectiveness shapes institutional resilience, national unity, and social progress. Philosophically, leadership is often rooted in ethics and communal welfare. In Japan, for instance, company presidents are known to take the first salary cuts in times of crisis, reinforcing the belief that responsibility begins at the top. As the Japanese proverb suggests, the fish rots from the head. By contrast, in Nigeria and many parts of Africa, leaders often insulate themselves from hardship while citizens bear the brunt of economic collapse. Lavish public spending and rising governance costs continue even during recessions, further widening inequality. The paradox of misgovernance is captured in sensational reports of public funds allegedly stolen by snakes and monkeys or exorbitant spending on vice presidential lodges during national economic decline. According to Agbakoba, trans-colonialism advocates for taking responsibility for Africa's future through positive constructivity^[2]. Yet in Nigeria, the form of constructivity on display is often negative, serving elite interests rather than the public good. Historically, politics in Africa was a noble calling, grounded in service, wisdom, and communal responsibility. Today, it has become transactional and self-serving. This shift represents a stark departure from the Platonic ideal of the philosopher-king, who rules not for personal gain but for the good of the polis. Reclaiming the nobility of politics is vital for rebuilding African governance structures.

African indigenous philosophies offer rich ethical

frameworks for governance. The concept of Ubuntu, for example, emphasizes communal interdependence and the moral obligation of leaders to prioritize collective welfare [19]. Ubuntu challenges the egoism and individualism that dominate modern African politics, advocating instead for inclusive and participatory leadership^[20]. Similarly, the Gada system of the Oromo people in Ethiopia provides a participatory model where leadership is earned and subject to strict accountability. Philosophical insights also guide practical governance models. Transformational leadership, which involves inspiring followers toward shared goals, aligns closely with ethical leadership practices. It fosters trust, collaboration, and vision^[21]. According to Carroll et al., ethical leadership empowers followers not only to achieve results but to act in accordance with shared moral values [22]. Emotional intelligence, which enhances empathy and organizational justice, is another critical dimension of leadership. Ravina-Ripoll highlights its role in improving job satisfaction and reinforcing ethical conduct in institutions [23].

The model of shared leadership offers another compelling approach. It promotes collective decision-making and shared accountability, moving away from rigid hierarchies toward more inclusive governance structures [24]. Sveiby argues that such models help organizations and societies respond effectively to complex challenges by harnessing collective intelligence^[25]. Shared leadership is particularly consistent with African philosophies like *Ubuntu* and *Gada*, which emphasize deliberation and shared responsibility in governance. In conflict resolution, ethical leadership plays a pivotal role. The principles of restorative justice, which prioritize healing and dialogue over punishment, resonate deeply with African traditions of reconciliation. These practices align with philosophical ideals that emphasize human dignity and communal well-being [26]. Adopting such ethical frameworks in political and social disputes can foster sustainable peace. Tideman points to the concept of Gross National Happiness (GNH), which integrates social, economic, and ecological dimensions to measure societal well-being [27]. GNH offers a holistic approach to leadership and governance, grounded not in profit or power, but in the happiness and welfare of the people.

Development must also be informed by philosophical insight. The translation of values into development strategies requires sensitivity to local contexts. Participatory governance, a central theme in African leadership traditions, ensures that development is inclusive, culturally relevant, and sustainable [20]. Leaders who embrace local knowledge and ethical traditions are better equipped to deliver meaningful progress. Education remains a key pathway to cultivating ethical leadership. Educational leadership that integrates philosophy can nurture critical thinking, empathy, and moral reasoning. Muhtar et al. argues that by embedding ethical principles in educational systems, societies can raise a new generation of leaders capable of navigating governance challenges with integrity [28]. Authentic leadership, which stresses transparency and accountability, is particularly crucial in this context. As Avolio and Gardner observe, leaders who are honest and self-aware inspire trust and legitimacy, essential for just governance [29].

It is therefore safe to say that Africa's development crisis is not a resource problem but a leadership problem. From Achebe's powerful critique to contemporary philosophical frameworks, the call is consistent: leadership must be ethical, visionary, and responsive. By rooting governance in African philosophical traditions and global ethical standards, leaders can rebuild public trust and foster sustainable development. The intersection of leadership, ethics, and governance holds the key to unlocking Africa's immense potential. As the continent faces increasing social and economic challenges, the urgency for thoughtful and principled leadership has never been greater.

6. A Trans-Colonial Analysis of African Leadership and Development

The crisis of African development cannot be fully understood without examining the quality of its leadership and governance. At the core of Africa's challenges is not the absence of ideologies, but the inability to implement them effectively. African thinkers have generated a wealth of ideas grounded in indigenous knowledge systems and philosophies that, if thoughtfully applied, could transform the continent. However, this potential remains unrealized due to a widening gap between theory and practice, a crisis of implementation that exposes the shortcomings of leadership and the fragility of institutions. Leadership in Africa has frequently been shaped by short-term interests, personal gain, and ethnic loy-

alties rather than a sustained commitment to national development. Leaders have often lacked not intellectual capacity but what Agbakoba terms "reasonabilism"—a grounded, rational sensibility that aligns visionary leadership with pragmatic steps toward development^[2]. This failure has resulted in the erosion of institutional integrity, where governance systems are manipulated, politicized, and stripped of accountability. Institutions designed to promote justice, planning, and policy enforcement have instead become tools for entrenching power and privilege.

Beyond poor leadership lies the deeper question of ideological clarity. While it is easy to dismiss African ideologies as outdated, they actually offer profound insights into governance, community, and sustainable development. Many of these ideologies, rooted in communalism and collective responsibility, remain highly relevant. However, they must evolve to meet contemporary realities. Communal resource management, for instance, can foster equity, but must be integrated with efficient administrative systems and modern economic mechanisms. African philosophical thought must be dynamic, open to critique, and flexible enough to absorb the best elements of other systems while retaining its unique identity. In this way, the dependency theory, though still relevant in explaining the continent's exploitative relationship with the Global North, must be balanced with strategies that prioritize self-reliance and innovation, rather than perpetuating victimhood. Another pressing challenge is the role of identity politics in the continent's stagnation. Ethnic loyalty and tribalism often override national interest, distorting leadership selection and policy priorities. Political power in many African countries is distributed along ethnic lines, fostering exclusion, inequality, and conflict. This not only weakens national cohesion but also disrupts long-term development planning. Coupled with this is what we describe as "epistemic suicide"—the systematic rejection of indigenous African knowledge systems in favour of foreign paradigms. This intellectual dependency suppresses innovation and displaces Africa's ability to offer original solutions to its problems.

Ekwuru's concept of *afrizealotism* offers a compelling antidote to this crisis. It calls for a zealous affirmation of African identity, culture, and self-determination^[30]. Afrizealotism promotes pan-African solidarity, anti-imperialist resistance, and cultural resilience.

These ideals form the philosophical backbone of a development model that is endogenous, ethically grounded, and people-centred. To actualize this, Africa must reclaim and refine its indigenous knowledge systems, harmonizing them with modern technologies and scientific practices. This process demands institutional support for documentation, education, and public discourse that centres African values and intellectual contributions. Some commentators, like Saul, have proposed recolonization as a solution to Africa's development malaise^[31]. Such a suggestion is not only intellectually lazy but morally bankrupt. It denies African agency and reinforces the colonial myth that Africans are incapable of managing their affairs. History proves that external domination prioritizes the interests of the colonizers, leaving the indigenous population disempowered. What Africa needs is not recolonization but a renewed commitment to authentic governance, internal accountability, and the harnessing of indigenous ideas for development. As Mazrui argues, Africa's salvation lies in endogenous responses crafted through introspection, cultural pride, and practical governance reforms that reflect African realities [32].

Equally problematic is the fatalistic view that Africa is destined for perpetual underdevelopment. This pessimistic approach, as critiqued by Wilderson, leads to despair and inaction^[33]. It dismisses the resilience and creativity of the continent's people and ignores the vast natural and human resources at Africa's disposal. Africa possesses a youthful, vibrant population, immense biodiversity, and deep cultural capital. The problem is not potential, but leadership, institutional weakness, and epistemic disorientation. What is required is a conscious shift in mindset. Africans must reject defeatism and take active ownership of their development destiny by addressing these internal contradictions. This responsibility extends to how Africa envisions its future. It must be a future where leaders view development not as an event, but as a sustained process requiring ethical clarity, strategic vision, and inclusive participation. Posterity will not judge the continent by its dreams but by its commitment to realizing them. That commitment begins with investing in education, building robust infrastructure, and fostering a culture of innovation. It also involves creating enabling environments for enterprise, creativity, and civic engagement, especially among young people. Africa must construct its development model on a foundation of indigenous philosophy, practical planning, and institutional credibility.

This also calls for a rethinking of the development models that African states have imported, often uncritically, from the West. These models, grounded in assumptions foreign to the African context, have frequently failed to deliver sustainable outcomes. Rather than wholesale rejection, Africa must approach these models with a critical eye, adapting what works and discarding what does not. Models inspired by African philosophy, communalism, ubuntu, and afro-constructivism must be integrated into the policy framework. These approaches place value on human dignity, community-driven development, and spiritual balance, challenging the narrow economic metrics often used to define success. African philosophy provides a rich, underutilized resource for building ethical leadership and sustainable development. Philosophies emphasizing collective responsibility, respect for the environment, and the inherent worth of every individual can inform more inclusive and culturally relevant policies. The concept of "I am because we are" fosters a spirit of interdependence and mutual accountability. Practical application of these principles can lead to policies that prioritize equitable distribution of resources, public health, and education. African humanism, with its focus on the individual's role in community wellbeing, can shift development discourse away from GDP obsession to a holistic appreciation of human flourishing.

Ultimately, the vision for African leadership must transcend the confines of political office. True leadership is rooted in service, merit, and moral purpose. It demands a break from systems that reward nepotism, patronage, and ethnic favouritism. Reforming political processes, ensuring fair elections, and promoting transparency are essential steps. Equally important is investing in leadership education that draws from African philosophies, equipping future leaders with the intellectual and moral tools to build a better continent. Institutions must be strengthened, insulated from political manipulation, and governed by principles of integrity and professionalism. Education must be restructured to promote critical thinking, indigenous knowledge, and innovation^[34]. Africa's development will only be realized through a conscious, homegrown process guided by ethical leadership, cultural affirmation, and institutional resilience. A trans-colonial analysis reveals that the continent's challenges are not simply remnants of colonialism, but are

exacerbated by internal failures that must be addressed headon. Through philosophical clarity, institutional reform, and visionary leadership, Africa can reclaim its future and assert its place as a respected, self-reliant, and thriving region in the global community.

7. Conclusions

In this work, we have undertaken a critical engagement with the question of African leadership and development through the lens of trans-colonial analysis. Drawing from African philosophies and intellectual traditions, we have examined the contradictions, crises, and latent possibilities within the continent's current trajectory. As an African proverb wisely puts it, "The trouble for the thief is not how to steal the chief's bugle, but where to blow it." The real crisis before us is not just about how to survive because many are surviving, but how to thrive with vision, integrity, creativity, and a shared purpose. The future of Africa hinges on the choices we make today, not tomorrow. It is no longer sufficient to critique systems or lament failures; the urgency of now demands action that is bold, deliberate, and deeply grounded in African realities.

First, leadership must be reimagined as a moral calling, not a means to power. Transparency, accountability, and the rule of law must no longer be optional. Second, education must be prioritized as the engine of innovation and critical consciousness. Third, institutions must be empowered, professionalized, and insulated from political interference. Fourth, African philosophies must guide development frameworks, making them both authentic and sustainable. Fifth, Africa must approach global partnerships not as a dependent actor but as an equal contributor, firm in its values and strategic in its goals. Lastly, ethnic and tribal divisions must be transcended through inclusive governance, shared narratives, and equitable distribution of resources. The time for philosophical rumination without action is over. Africa must rise with conviction, reclaim its agency, and build a future defined not by its colonial past but by its creative, ethical, and intellectual strength. The burden and the blessing of Africa's future lie with us all.

Funding

This work received no external funding.

Institutional Review Board Statement

Not applicable.

Informed Consent Statement

Not applicable.

Data Availability Statement

No new data were created or analyzed in this study. Data sharing is not applicable to this article.

Acknowledgments

The author wishes to acknowledge the mentorship and encouragement of Emerita Professor M.P. Eboh and Dr. M.F. Elechi, whose insights helped shape the development of this work.

Conflicts of Interest

The author declares no conflict of interest.

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