

# Humanity before wealth: reclaiming the centrality of man and community in Igbo African cultural values

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**Abstract.** The Igbo culture has a rich heritage that traditionally prioritizes communal well-being, respect for elders, and interconnectedness. However, modern Igbo society is experiencing a shift where material wealth takes precedence over these cultural values, resulting in negative consequences such as declining respect for elders and a rise in crime. This study delves into this cultural transition, examining its impact on relationships and community, and emphasizes the need to uphold Igbo cultural values for a more equitable and just society. It delves into the Igbo ontology, showcasing the profound significance of man in Igbo spiritual beliefs, social structures, and the evaluation of everything based on its relevance to human well-being. Moreover, it elucidates the Igbo perspective on life, emphasizing its sacredness and the interconnectedness of human relations. The value system encompassing respect for elders, regard for life at all stages, commitment to health, and the significance of procreation exemplify the Igbo's holistic approach to human existence. Nevertheless, the article laments the shift in modern Igbo society, where material wealth supersedes the significance of relationships and community. This transition manifests in various adverse effects, including declining respect for the elderly, neglect of traditional values, and a rise in crime and disregard for human life. It concludes by reinforcing the importance of Igbo cultural values in emphasizing the essence of relationships, communal well-being, and the holistic understanding of wealth beyond material possessions. The Igbo cultural ethos serves as a guiding principle in redefining happiness, wealth, and societal well-being for a more equitable and just world.

**Keywords.** Humanity, community, centrality of man, Igbo values, wealth, poverty.

## 1. General Introduction

This article takes us on a profound exploration of Igbo-African cultural values, delving into the essence of humanity, the significance of community, and the pivotal role of relationships within the Igbo worldview. It examines the concept of "Ubuntu," emphasizing our interconnectedness and shared humanity, challenging the prevalent glorification of individualism. The paper then delves into the centrality of humanity in Igbo spirituality, economic practices, and societal structures, offering insights into their anthropocentric perspective.

Moreover, it meticulously unravels the Igbo values pertaining to life, respect for elders, health, procreation, and the pursuit of happiness, elucidating the cultural significance embedded within these beliefs. There's a compelling discourse on the redefinition of wealth and poverty in Igbo culture, moving beyond material possessions to encompass relationships, community ties, and social support networks.

The article highlights the consequences of modern shifts in Igbo society, where materialism often overshadows the intrinsic value of human relationships. It discusses the repercussions on family structures, attitudes towards life, ethical considerations, and societal cohesion.

Ultimately, the discourse offers a unique perspective, illuminating the wisdom embedded within Igbo cultural values, advocating for a return to the intrinsic importance of human connections, and redefining wealth beyond mere material acquisitions.

## 2. We Discover Our Humanity in the Community of Persons

Every single person is born human, but each individual person discovers their humanity in the community of persons.[1] Outside the community of persons, one will automatically lose one's humanity. Other people's presence assured one of one's personhood and one's being in the world (beingness). This point is bringing us to African Philosophy of "Ubuntu" I am because we are. Hence, the expediency of fellow human beings.

Humanity is not an innate quality, but rather a social construct that is discovered and nurtured within the context of relationships and community.[2] Just as a seedling cannot grow into a flourishing tree without sunlight and water, an individual cannot fully realize their humanity in isolation.[3] It is through our interactions with others that we learn empathy, compassion, and the ability to connect with others on a deep and meaningful level.[4]

Outside the embrace of community, an individual's sense of self becomes fragmented and incomplete.[5] Without the affirmation and validation of others, we can easily lose sight of our inherent value and worth.[6] The presence of others serves as a mirror, reflecting back to us our own humanity and reminding us of our interconnectedness.[7]

The African concept of "Ubuntu" beautifully captures this essence of shared humanity.[8] Ubuntu, expressed in the phrase "I am because we are," underscores the profound impact that others have on our sense of self.[9] It is through our relationships with others that we become fully human, our identities shaped by the tapestry of shared experiences, emotions, and values.[10]

In a world that often glorifies individualism, Ubuntu offers a refreshing perspective, reminding us that we are not solitary islands but rather interconnected threads in the fabric of humanity.[11] It is in our interactions with others that we discover our true potential, our capacity to love, to learn, to grow, and to make a meaningful impact on the world (Anyanwu, 1981; Ezenwa-Ohaeto, 2000; Uchegbu, 2004).[12]

Ubuntu is not merely a philosophical concept; it is a way of life, a call to action.[13] It invites us to embrace our interconnectedness, to extend compassion and understanding to others, and to recognize that our individual well-being is inextricably linked to the well-being of the collective.[14]

In a world grappling with conflict, division, and isolation, Ubuntu offers a beacon of hope, a reminder that our humanity is not found in isolation but in the shared experiences, connections, and love that bind us together.[15] It is a call to rediscover our interconnectedness, to bridge divides, and to create a world where we truly embody the spirit of Ubuntu – "I am because we are".[16] This will bring us to the fact of the centrality of man in Igbo ontological framework.

### **3. The Centrality of Man in Igbo Ontological Framework**

Man is the centre of the Igbo world-view. Everything is valuable and important in so far as it is beneficial to man.

In the Igbo worldview, humanity occupies the central position, and the value of everything is determined by its relevance to human well-being. In this regard, therefore, Onwuaturgwu maintains that in Igbo cosmology, there is a homocentric view of the cosmos. Man is the centre of the world and, therefore, everything including God is meant to serve man's purpose.[17] This anthropocentric perspective permeates various aspects of Igbo culture, from their spiritual beliefs to their social structures.

#### **3.1. The Centrality of Humanity in Igbo Spirituality**

The Igbo spiritual realm is a dynamic interplay between humans, the spirit world, and the divine. Humans are considered active participants in this cosmic drama, capable of influencing spiritual forces and seeking guidance from the spirit world. Hence, Onwuaturgwu succinctly writes that the ancestors benevolently assist the living while the living pays back through offerings, sacrifices, and libations.[18] This belief in human agency is exemplified in Igbo religious practices, such as divination, rituals, and offerings to deities and ancestors.

#### **3.2. The Value of Everything in Relation to Human Benefit**

The Igbo worldview emphasizes the importance of utility and practicality. Everything in the universe is assessed based on its contribution to human well-being. This perspective manifests in various aspects of Igbo society, including:

**Economic and Agricultural Practices:** The Igbo engage in agriculture [19] and resource extraction, focusing on activities that provide sustenance and material needs for the community.

**Craftsmanship and Artisanship:** Igbo artisans value skills and techniques that produce items beneficial for daily life, such as pottery, woodwork, and blacksmithing.

**Social and Community Structures:** Igbo society emphasizes cooperation, kinship ties, and the collective good, recognizing the interdependence and mutual benefit among individuals and groups. Naturally, an Igbo man desires so much to maintain always a close link with the members of his or her own community starting with the members of his or her family.[20]

#### **3.3. Implications of the Igbo Anthropocentric Perspective**

The centrality of humanity in the Igbo worldview has several implications for their comprehension of the world and their interactions with it:

**A Sense of Responsibility and Stewardship:** Recognizing the value of all things in relation to human needs, the Igbo feel a responsibility to manage resources sustainably and ensure the well-being of future generations.

**A Drive for Innovation and Progress:** The emphasis on utility encourages the pursuit of knowledge and the development of new technologies that enhance human life.

**A Strong Sense of Community and Social Cohesion:** The recognition of interdependence fosters a sense of collective responsibility and promotes cooperation within Igbo communities.

The Igbo worldview, with its emphasis on the centrality of humanity and the value of everything in relation to human well-being, has, therefore shaped their culture, spirituality, and approach to life. This anthropocentric perspective continues to influence Igbo society and their interactions with the world around them.

### **4. The Centrality of Man in Igbo Ontology be-clouds Igbo Values**

#### **4.1. Value for Life**

The anthropocentric nature of the Igbo worldview is one where life is considered sacred and greatly valued. Owing to the value and sacredness life, the Igbo worldview is that life must be preserved, respected, protected and treated with dignity.[21] Accordingly, it is an abomination for one to commit suicide or intentional murder. This implies that the

Igbo society abhors the taking away of human life with impunity or from a malicious state. To the Igbo people, life has innated, intrinsic value and thus, no man can willfully take the life of another man.[22]

The sacredness, dignity and value of life amongst the Igbo people are demonstrated in the forms of names which are given to individuals.[23] For example:

Ndubuisi: This name signifies that life is the first basic thing and the most important thing. It is based on such conception of life, that the Igbo people preserve and protect life.[24]

Ndukaego or Ndukaku: This name signifies that life is more important than money, thus, life is seen as the most important asset any one could have. Thus, one would not in quest to make money disregard the dignity and sacredness of life.[25]

Ndubuaku or Akubundu: These names signify that life is wealth or wealth is life. Therefore, the greatest wealth anyone could accumulate is to have life. In as much as one protects and tends to preserve their wealth; the Igbo worldview is that life should as well be protected and preserved.[26] This does not imply that the Igbo people abhors wealth or do not pursue wealth in terms of working, trading or engaging in legitimate activities that would bring wealth. The implication here is that no one should in the pursuit of wealth disregard the importance and the protection of life.[27]

The Igbo value for life is depicted in the phrase ‘Onye di ndu ka onye nwuru anwu nma’, meaning that a living person is better than a dead person. To the Igbo, ‘Onye nwere ndu, nwere olileanya’, one who has life, has hope (hope of better things, progress, successful endeavours, etc.).[28] For better comprehension of the Igbo’s value for life, the discourse on value for life will be discussed in three subsections below:

#### **4.1.1. Sacredness of Blood**

In the Igbo worldview, the sacredness of life is evidenced in the sacredness of blood. The Igbo's value of life is not limited to when one has scuffled life out of another or majorly on the seizure of life; the value of life extends to sacredness of blood. Accordingly, it is considered abominable for one to intentionally cause his blood or that of another to flow with no just cause.[29] So one, who intentionally causes the blood of another person to flow on malicious intent will be bound to face similar or grave consequences. There are circumstances in Igbo norms and values where a person could be cut, thus leading to blood flow. Such circumstances are mainly during the circumcision of a male child or in some communities, the initiation processes involved in the Nze na Ozo institution.[30]

#### **4.1.2. Respect for life at whatever stage and condition**

In the Igbo worldview, life is perceived to begin upon conception till death. Thus, the Igbo people believe that life has different stages: conception, birth, childhood, puberty, youth, adulthood, elderly-old-age, and death. Irrespective of the stage of life, equal regard, respect and value are given towards the protection and preservation of life.[31] The value for life evidenced in respect for life at whatever stage and condition is owed to the fact that the Igbo have a unique and special regard for the conception and the transmission of life from procreation till death as well as the need to perpetuate the family lineage and name.[32]

#### **4.1.3. Respect for elders**

To the Igbo people, there is an absolute value placed on life. The absolute value and regard placed on life are depicted in the levels of respect placed on old age.[33] In respecting elders (people of old age), the Igbo people believe that “Onye fee Eze, Eze e ruo ya aka” literally meaning that if one obeys the king, one would become a king- one who respects the elders would also be an elder. In the Igbo socio-cultural milieu, attaining old age is a celebrated feat that if one dies at old age, the funeral is tagged as a ‘celebration of life’. The Igbo’s value for life in form of respect for elders is shown in conducts as it is considered a misnomer for a younger person to be sitting while an elder has no place to sit. In Igbo social value, a young person who sees an elderly person carrying a load is expected to help the elderly person to carry such load. Elders are expected to retire from participating in active work life and services as their children or younger ones are meant to provide for them while elders take a deserved rest.[34]

#### **4.2. Value for Health**

The Igbo worldview holds health in high esteem. The value for health in the Igbo worldview is conveyed in the saying ‘Mgbochi oya ka ogwugwo mma’ meaning that prevention of sickness is better than cure. In accordance for the value of health, Igbo people regard some foods as more beneficial to the human health.[35] Therefore, when one suffers from one ill-health or the other, the person may be advised to eat a particular kind of food or herbs for the restoration of one’s health. Owing to the value for health, when one is engaged in activities that would put one’s health in risk, the person is warned ‘Ndu ka mkpa’ meaning that life is more important than such activity.[36]

#### **4.3. Value for Procreation (Offspring)**

In the Igbo worldview, there is a strong belief in the numerical strength and power of large family size, ‘Igwe bu ike’ which could be interpreted as the larger the better or the belief that our strengths or powers are embedded in our

large number.[37] It is based on the said belief that procreation is valued. Also, the Igbo people believe in 'Ahamefuna' or 'Amaechina' which mean that one's name would not be lost as there would always be someone to bear the family name or a clan should not cease to exist. Therefore, the value the Igbo people have for procreation is owed to the fact that procreation ensures that a family's name is sustained or preserved and procreation ensures that a clan has a future as its existence is assured.[38]

#### **4.4. Value for peace and happiness (harmonious life)**

In the Igbo worldview, harmonious living in peace and happiness is valued. Little wonder man has been imbued with language as to reveal the complex nature of man. Language as a means of communication clearly demonstrates, as no other phenomenon does, the interaction and interdependence of the physical and conceptual in human existence. [39] Thus, the aim of the people is to live in peace, harmony and happiness with one another. This value is depicted in the manner in which the Igbo people set their homesteads. Homes are built in manner that people especially children of different families could gather together and play under the moonlight. Such gatherings of the children for folktales and other kinds of play, aid in improving the level of peace and happiness in the community or clan.[40]

#### **4.5. Value for Commitment or Conscientiousness**

The Igbo worldview holds that one must put considerable rate of interest and high level of commitment in any activity one is engaged in. Any activity carried out has to be done in a conscientious manner, as one through one's actions is either contributing to the life of the community or becoming an added problem to the community.[41]

#### **4.6. Value for Selflessness (Self-Sacrificial Life)**

Igbo people's value for selflessness is established on the Igbo belief of 'onye aghala nwanne ya' and 'onuru ube nwanne agbala oso' meaning no one should abandon his brethren and one who hears his brethren crying should hasten to help and not run. The Igbo highly regards the quality of showing care and love to other persons even amidst scarcity. In the Igbo worldview, one is expected to also put into consideration the welfare and interest of others.[42]

In the Igbo worldview, a complete man is one who is not selfish but altruistic in nature. Thus, it is common to see a farmer who upon completing the harvest of his tubers of yam, would share some of the tubers to his neighbours.[43] Also, it is common in the Igbo society for a woman to send out her child to go to a neighbour's house to get salt or oil for cooking and verily, the neighbour would oblige. The Igbo value for selflessness also extends to child upbringing as children are considered as belonging to everyone, therefore, morally-wise, no one would watch another's child go astray nor watch another's herds of goat go astray. Igbo worldview expects one to act in common interest and not in selfish interest.[44]

### **5. The Source of Real Happiness in Igbo Cultural Milieu**

There is no doubt that everyone wants happiness. Every single person wants to be happy. The salient question is "where do that happiness comes from?" According to a study by Okafor (2022), happiness is not found in material possessions or power, but rather in relationships and helping others.[45] This is in line with the Igbo worldview, which emphasizes the importance of community and communal well-being.

Generality of people might be thinking that happiness comes from having more money, having more power, or having more control over things. One will be disappointed to discover that those things are very far from contributing to one's happiness. Instead, those things might even make one unhappy and depressed if one is over obsessed with those things that might be considered vanities.

The Igbo concept of "madukaaku" (human being is more important than money) and "madubumbu" (human being first) reflects the belief that people are the most valuable resource. This is further evidenced in Igbo sayings that "onye nwere madu ka onye nwere ego" (he who has relations is far better than he who has money) and "madu ka eji aka" (he who has relations is rich). Caring for others, sharing with others, doing things to help others brings the real happiness.

This brings us to job ethics. In any job or business, one finds oneself, the primary focus is on the common good, to serve others, the community. Hence, I derive construed happiness from my job or business because I realized that I am contributing to the welfare of my people, my community. In this case I will always aim at rendering the best service through my job or business. So, whatever you do, the first question you ask yourself is "How can I contribute to the happiness of another person?" This, to borrow the words of Chief Sir Ikenna Okafor (Ide Akwaeze) demands patience and process. The traditional Igbo doesn't believe in short cuts.[46] They believe so much in patience and process. They are not just simply interested in your wealth, but are more concerned about how you get to your wealth.

There is a saying that happiness cannot be pursued, but it must ensue. Acts of kindness or acts of generosity expands one's being. Okafor also found that people who are kind and generous tend to be happier than those who are self-centered.[47] This is because acts of kindness and generosity expand one's being and make them feel good about themselves. Conversely, when people are self-centered, they contract into themselves and their ego, which leads to unhappiness.

It is not just important but very expedient that the Contemporary Igbo youths are led to gradually rediscover from their lives experiences that being kind to others, being concerned about the welfare of others, respecting the dignity of others are the surest path to true happiness.

We are in an age in which materialism and the massification of the merely ephemeral and merely temporal pleasures of life have taken the greater part of the modern man.[48] Hence, man is satisfied with the merely legalism and merely externalism to such an extent that life is lived on the periphery.[49] Therefore, the knowledge of reality and the interior manifestation of reality is gradually eluding the modern man.[50] Consequently, as the modern man lacks the interior knowledge of things, he is solely dependent on the mere speculations and superstitions.[51] Modern man, therefore, needs that grace that will enable him to open up to the divine spark that will in turn ignite his rational mind into creativity and productivity.[52] This can be achieved by redefining some of the Igbo conceptions and ontological order to the young people as to bring them face to face with the truth of life and reality.[53]

## **6. Urgent Need for Redefinition of Wealth and Poverty in Igbo Culture**

In Igbo culture, wealth is not just about money. It also includes parents, children, siblings, relatives, farm produces and products, economic trees, strengths, and so on.[54] The Igbo worldview value for wealth is embedded in the belief "Onye ruo, ya rie" (he who works should eat). This means that people should work hard to accumulate wealth so that they can take care of themselves and their families.[55]

However, wealth in Igbo culture is not just about material possessions. It is also about having a strong network of relationships and being a respected member of the community.[56] A person who has no parents, children, or relatives is considered to be poor, even if they have a lot of money. This is because they lack the social support and connection that is essential for happiness and well-being.

Hence, man's real poverty is when he has no parents, children or relatives. Such a person becomes an ogbe-nye. One can be ogbo-nye nne, ogbe-nye nna, ogbe-nye nwanne, ogbe-nye ana (ala), or ogbo-nye nkwu na ukwa. This implies that as far as the Igbo communalistic system of life is concerned, there is no real poor ones in Igbo cultural perspective. The Igbo communalistic system of life ensures that everyone has access to the resources they need to survive. The community provides for those who are unable to provide for themselves, such as orphans, widows, and the elderly. This system of social welfare helps to prevent poverty and ensures that everyone has the opportunity to live a happy and fulfilling life.

The community is a one large family in which every single individual feels belonged and appreciated. In a situation where a man has no father, mother, child, relatives, land, or plants, the community will surely provide for him. That is why no sane Igbo would love to sever his relationship with his community. Hence, the worst punishment that can be meted out to an Igbo man is to excommunicate him from his people. In this regard, therefore, no one will ever think of using his wife, parent or any human being at all for money ritual because they are the sources of one's wealth. Without such relations, one is in abject poverty in the real sense of the word. Hence, the urgent need to redefine many of the Igbo concepts, such as wealth and poverty.

## **7. The Consequences of the Present-Day Igbo Man's Replacement of the Centrality of Man with the Centrality of Money**

The Superior Value of Relationships Over Material Wealth has been overturned in the present-day Igbo Society.[57] Material accumulation has now primacy over the human person and human relationship. This has thrown the modern youth into the quagmire of hopeless and aimless pursuit of pleasure while the real happiness has eluded him. Bearing in mind this thirst for wealth and pleasure, therefore, materialism is crowned as the be all and the end all.[58] There are many adverse effects of this shift in the primacy of relationship. We shall here discuss some of them.

(1) The elderly people are no longer regarded and respected. Children are no longer retirement benefits.[59] This is the changing role of the family in Igbo society today. The traditional family structure is gradually and systematically breaking down, and this, without our knowing it, is smoothly leading to a decrease in respect for the elderly and a decline in the importance of children as retirement benefits.

This is because majority of the young generation have little or no time for their elderly parents.

(2) Modern day parents now give much of their attention to their businesses and not to their children.[60] Consequently, the present-day youths are lacking in the fundamental principles of human beings which can only be inculcated in the family. The young generation are in turn taking their revenge on the society to borrow the words of Mr Greg. Peter Obi.

(3) Human life has become nothing in the sight of the present-day youths, not to talk of the sacredness of blood.[61] There is an increase in violence and crime in the present Igbo society. This is due to a number of factors, including the breakdown of traditional values and the rise of materialism over the dignity of human beings. For instance, in an accident scene, instead of people making efforts to save the wounded, they will instead be taking pictures with their phones and posting with captions: "live and direct" "it is real, happening now at Ugwunchancha". Life matters nothing to them, they are just interested in being the first to post the news.

(4) In those old good days, an Igbo man would prefer to be poor than to die prematurely. In the contrast, the present-day youths will prefer to die prematurely if that will make them stinking rich. Little wonder the modern man is

prepared to do anything to "make it ". The means, therefore, doesn't matter anymore. What matters is the end. Money has taken the central position in the ontological conception of the modern man.

(5) Following the misconstrued understanding of wealth, the modern man is ready to kill or sacrifice anything including his parents, wife, children, relatives or friends and even his part in order to get rich quick.

(6) Life is becoming more mechanical that modern man is lonely even in the cloud of people.[62] This is part of the psychological effects of social media on Igbo youth. The social media is increasingly leading to loneliness and isolation.

The real happiness has eluded the modern man resulting in the high rate of alcoholism, drug abuse, smoking of marijuana and Indian hemp, with their accompanying incessant cases of rape, destructive behaviours, depression, mental illnesses, suicide, kidnapping, yahooism, Yahoo-plusnism, oke-iteism, multiplication and duplication of Pentecostalist syncretic churches, neo-paganistic cultism and syncretic neo-paganistic Religion and a host of other things.

(7) The political mantra of "akurue uno" is thrown overboard by the new generation.[63] It doesn't take much effort to notice the decline of communalism in the present Igbo society. This is due to a number of factors, including the rise of individualism and the influence of Western culture that is centred on the massification of wealth and power.

(8) The original Igbo political system that is grounded in the communalistic system of life is totally forgotten and the "efulefuleic alabuotunism" (develop wherever you see) is taken up in its place. Hence, the modern Igbo people think that money is everything instead of pursuing money with the political mantra of "nwaokuko na-akpa nri anya uhie akola ya" (wherever and in whatever one is doing, one should never forget one's origin) and "agwo gbaa gbaa o ghaara ogwurugwu" (to always remember the hare days).

(9) Man is a political animal. Any tribe that is not political is not moving forward and, therefore is not going anywhere. The political systems of "igwebuike", "ibuanyidanda", "ayirigwe" and "madukaejiaka" are nowhere to be found in the modern Igbo society. Consequently, the modern Igbo man is hopelessly and aimlessly gyrating in a breakneck speed like a planet that has missed its orbit. Instead of travelling away to get money and come back to better his community, the modern Igbo man is brain draining his community to move away from his community to develop a foreign place.[64] There is a serious brain draining of Igbo professionals. This is due to a number of factors, including the lack of opportunities in the local communities and the desire for a better life abroad. The ancient wisdom of "onye ije na-eje odi ka onwero be" is no longer taking for guide. Little wonder the Igbo people are being regarded as people that have no place of their own, and can be toyed with anyhow.

## 8. Conclusion

At this juncture, it is deemed necessary to reiterate the main points of this paper. The following are the main points raised in the paper:

a) The Igbo people believe that life is sacred and should be protected and preserved. This belief is reflected in the Igbo worldview, which emphasizes the importance of community and the value of relationships.

b) The Igbo people also believe that wealth is not just about money, but also about having a strong network of family and friends. This belief is reflected in the Igbo saying, "Onye nwere madu ka onye nwere ego," which means "He who has relations is far better than he who has money."

c) The Igbo people believe that happiness comes from caring for others and contributing to the common good. This belief is reflected in the Igbo saying, "Onye aghala nwanne ya" and "onuru ube nwanne agbala oso," which mean "No one should abandon his brethren" and "One who hears his brethren crying should hasten to help and not run."

d) The Igbo people believe that everyone has a responsibility to work hard and make an honest effort to survive in their lives. This belief is reflected in the Igbo saying, "Onye ruo, ya rie," which means "He who works should eat."

e) The Igbo people believe that true poverty is not about having money, but about being alone and having no one to care for you. This belief is reflected in the Igbo saying, "Onye nwere madu ka onye nwere ego," which means "He who has relations is far better than he who has money."

In conclusion, the Igbo cultural milieu offers a unique perspective on happiness and wealth. The Igbo people believe that happiness comes from relationships and helping others, and that wealth is not just about money but also about having a strong network of relationships and being a respected member of the community. These beliefs can help us to create a more just and equitable world for all.

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