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To Be Is to Become: Defining the Concept of African Communalism

Abstract: Down through the ages, a true African would say, "You are who you are" only in relation to the community in which you live. It means that you cannot be without identifying yourself with others. Hence, the search into the nature and attributes of "being" has been a primary task of philosophy, beginning from the ancient times and down to the present era. However, as there are various conceptualizations of "being" from various schools of thought and from unique continental philosophical traditions, so also there is the unique understanding of "being" from the point of view of African communalism, which is the foundation of personhood in African philosophical thought. This paper seeks to discuss the contextual understanding of being in the theory and practice of African Communalism especially as Western individualism has taken over the core African communal living thereby causing the geometric speed erosion of African communality. Accordingly, in an attempt to proffer solutions to the above-stated problem, this article adopts the methods of hermeneutics and critical analysis which strategically digs into a typical metaphysical attribute of African understanding of man, not just as an inherently individual person, but also as that person whose life and purpose can only attain meaning and fulfillment as an intrinsic member of the community whose collective decisions and actions contribute to defining one's existence here on earth, and in the after-life. The paper concludes that an assessment of the inventions fueled by Westernization, especially "individualism," is necessary, since it is the only way the African community can bring back her core traditional practice of communal living.

Keywords: African communalism, community, philosophy, existence, human person, to be, become

Introduction

Generally, man is a being in potency because he moves toward actualization as he advances, and he is always in the process of "becoming." This means that humans are not stationary beings who come into the universe as infants and leave as infants; they grow, they move toward a point where they actualize their potencies. This is the reason why Maslow in his hierarchy of needs places self-realization at the apex of the hierarchy of human needs.[1] It must be noted that in African communities, people live a life of togetherness and this life becomes useful and meaningful within the enclosure of the society.[2] The African understanding of the concept of "being" finds its root in the communalistic structure of traditional African societies; in fact to "become" is a key concept of African communalism, since "becoming" defines one as being. One's interconnectedness with the community defines one's realization of being.

In contrast to the Western conception of the individual as an autonomous and independent entity, the African sees the individual as a being-in-relation, a being whose identity is deeply embedded in the community, and a being that becomes not in isolation but with the full participation of others in his life. This idea is well expressed in John Mbiti's popular dictum: "I am because we are, and since we are, therefore I am."[3] It emphasizes the notion that the individual exists and attains meaning only in and through the community. African communalism, as a social and philosophical system, places high premium on interconnectedness, relationships, shared values, mutual assistance, and solidarity. These features are foundational and undoubtedly important in the life of the African person.

It is of fundamental importance to note here that the African communal character is not merely an abstract ideal but is concretely lived out in daily experiences, from family life, rituals, farming and politics. It is within the community that one learns moral imperatives; attitudes and behavior, assumes responsibilities, and participates in the social, economic, and religious life of the people. Hence, this article reflects on the concept of "being" and "becoming" in the context of traditional African communalism and the problem of individualism fueled by Westernization, which is gradually finding

[1] A. H. Maslow: "A Theory of Human Motivation." *Psychological Review*, 50 (1943), pp. 370–396.

[2] V. S. Kabuk: "African Philosophy: An Introduction, Jos University Press, Jos 2023, p. 123.

[3] J. S. Mbiti: *African Religions and Philosophy*. Heinemann, Oxford 1969, p. 147.

its way into African society. Ultimately, it aims to demonstrate that communalism remains a vital source of meaning, identity, and self-realization for the African person, both in their traditional setting and in the Diaspora.

The Origins and Historical Development of African Communalism

It is very important to note that the communal understanding of being that this article describes did not originate as an academic theory; rather, it grew organically out of the lived, pre-colonial experience of the African people, whose survival in farming, hunting, defense, kinship, and religious life depended on cooperation and mutual obligation rather than isolated individual effort.[4] Long before the coining of the term "African communalism," this communal understanding of being was already encoded in African proverbs, myths, rites of passage, and kinship structures that bound the individual to the family, the clan, and the ancestors. The systematic, written articulation of this worldview within academic philosophy is indeed comparatively recent, and is usually traced to the missionary-ethnographic writings of Placide Tempels, whose account of a Bantu "vital force" running through persons and things gave the communal worldview its first sustained philosophical expression.[5] Tempel's work, together with similar projects by Alexis Kagame and later John Mbiti, gave rise to what has come to be called "ethno philosophy," an approach that presents the shared worldview of a people as an implicit, collective wisdom. This approach was famously challenged by Paulin Hountondji and Kwasi Wiredu, who argued that a genuine philosophy must consist of individual, critical, and argumentative reflection rather than the mere description of communal beliefs.[6] In response to this dispute, Henry Odera Oruka proposed a four-fold typology of African philosophical discourse, comprising ethnophilosophy, philosophic sagacity,

[4] M. Ifeanyi: "Person and Community in African Traditional Thought." In: *African Philosophy: An Introduction*. Ed. R. A. Wright. University Press of America, Washington DC 1984, p. 171.

[5] P. Tempels: *Bantu Philosophy*. Trans. Colin King. Présence Africaine, Paris 1959, p. 52.

[6] P. J. Hountondji: *African Philosophy: Myth and Reality*. Indiana University Press, Bloomington 1983, pp. 30–55.

nationalist-ideological philosophy, and professional philosophy, as a way of accommodating the diverse forms that African thought has taken and that can be spoken of.[7]

This article does not take a position in the wider dispute over whether ethnophilosophy qualifies as "philosophy proper." What can be said, following Oruka's own approach to sage philosophy, is that Africa possesses identifiable traditions of wisdom-thought, carried by folk sages, elders, and oral custodians of custom, which exist independently of the Western academy and are properly philosophical in the sense of offering reasoned, if orally transmitted, reflection on being, community, and morality. Whether one prefers to call the resulting body of thought "African philosophy" or, more cautiously, "philosophy in Africa," what remains uncontested is that African communalism constitutes a coherent and historically grounded traditional wisdom, one that continues to be defined and refined by contemporary scholars such as Gyekye, Mbiti, Okolo, and Odimegwu, and that is distinguishable both from Western individualism and from any single, static origin-myth.

Understanding the Concept "To Be"

The philosophical concept "to be" has the connotation of Being, which denotes existence and that "which is." The concept has been interpreted by philosophers of different epochs, but this article adopts the African definition of what it implies "to be." Pantaleon uses "belongingness"[8] in place of the word "to be" or "being," hence he defines belongingness as the synthesis of the reality and experience of the person. In this case, the recipient-subject of belonging is involved: something belongs and it belongs to something. Belongingness is a special noun from the verb "to belong." It means to be part of, or to be a member of a community. As Mbiti puts it, "A person is defined in reference to his kinship, and as such, the reality of communal world takes precedence over the individual… I am because we are, and since we are therefore I am."[9] For instance, the *Adara* people belong to the African

[7] H. O. Oruka: *Sage Philosophy: Indigenous Thinkers and Modern Debate on African Philosophy*. E. J. Brill, Leiden 1990, p. 101.

[8] I. Pantaleon: *Metaphysics: The Kpim of Philosophy*. IUP, Owerri 1995, p. 374.

[9] J. S. Mbiti: *African Religion and Philosophy. East African Educational Publications*, Nairobi 1969, p. 108.

community, and this gives them the rights and privileges that others who do not belong to that community do not have. There is also a possessive nuance of the verb "to belong."[10] As a person, I can say that the soap belongs to me. In the first nuance, to belong creates a situation of participation and in the second, it creates a situation of possession. There is an ontological nuance of belongingness, which specifies that a thing is because it belongs. To be is to belong and to belong is to be.[11] The community is a being in a different mode. The community exists as a community. And everything that exists lives! This living is not in the sense of having the capacity of breathing, growing, reproducing and dying as sensible living things do, but in the sense of existence. We can as well say that the community lives in existence.

Analyzing the Term "To Become"

The understanding of metaphysics makes it easier to discuss the term "to become." This phrase refers to the process of change or transformation by which something moves from potentiality to actuality; from a lower estate to a higher estate and from nothing to something. It denotes the dynamic aspect of being and the transition through which an entity or state that could come into *being*. This concept contrasts with *being* as static existence. Becoming emphasizes flux, growth, and emergence. In classical philosophy, particularly in Aristotle's metaphysics, becoming is the actualization of potential. For example, when a mango seed becomes a tree, its inherent potentiality is realized through a process of development within time.

Philosophers such as Heraclitus and Hegel deepened this notion, highlighting becoming as the fundamental nature of reality itself. For Heraclitus, everything is in a state of perpetual change, everything flows suggesting that stability is only an illusion. Hegel, on the other hand, saw becoming as the unity of being and nothing, a dialectical process in which contradictions resolve through synthesis and development. Thus, "to become" encapsulates the unfolding of existence not as a mere transition between two fixed states, but

[10] I. Pantaleon: *Metaphysics...,* p. 374.

[11] A. Andrew: "Belongingness: A Redefinition of Being." In: *Father Kpim: Philosophy and Theology of Pantaleon Iroegbu*. Ed. G. Ukagba. Hope Publications, Ibadan 2005, pp. 130–152.

as the essential, continuous movement through which reality, consciousness, and identity are constituted. In African communality, to become is simply the process of moving from potency to actuality, which requires the involvement and full participation of others in the society.

African Communalism as "Being With"

In African sociopolitical philosophy, communalism is frequently expressed through phrases, concepts, and principles articulated by a wide range of African scholars and political leaders. Julius Nyerere's concept of Brotherhood or *Ujamaa*, John Mbiti's well-known aphorism "I am because we are," Tom Mboya's characterization of the African individual as a "social being-in-community," and Placide Tempels' notion of the Bantu community as a chain of "vital force" are exemplary. These articulations, while differing in expression, reflect a shared metaphysical and existential orientation: the human person "is a person through the other person" at the same time finding meaning and fulfillment in and through the society.[12] The community defines him or her, and the person is incomplete without the community. Being-with serves as the *fulcrum* around which the ideas and principles expressed by other thinkers revolve. According to Okolo, the African person is not merely a being among others but a being whose existence is ontologically tied to others, such as persons, spirit beings, or entities through which he or she attains meaning, validation, and existential fulfillment.

In the philosophical search for authentic African identity, C. B. Okolo defines the African person as an entity who expresses being not in isolation, but as being-with. He writes: "Whether the African is one people or many are insignificant in this essay. We rather assert that the African is easily identifiable ontologically or as a being-in-the Africa-world. He is not just a being, but a being-with."[13] This metaphysical understanding implies that the African achieves self-knowledge, self-mastery, and full existential

[12] M. Battle: "The Ubuntu Theology of Desmond Tutu." In: *Archbishop Tutu: Prophetic Witness in South Africa*. Eds. L. Hulley, L. Kretzchmar & L. L. Pato. Human & Rousseau, Cape Town 1996, pp. 93–105.

[13] C. B. Okolo: *What Is It to Be African? Essays on African Identity*. Cecta, Enugu 1993, p. 6.

meaning not in individualistic withdrawal, but in communion with others.[14] Through shared existence with fellow human beings, ancestors, and even spiritual entities, the African person finds affirmation of life. This outlook aligns with the philosophical position of Socrates, who proclaimed that *the unexamined life is not worth living*, and who urged the pursuit of self-knowledge through the Delphic injunction, *Man, know thyself.* From an African perspective, however, the process of knowing oneself includes recovering the ontological insights that were distorted or erased by colonialism and imperialism. The colonial experience inflicted a psychological and cultural hegemony that displaced indigenous values and imposed alien worldviews.[15] Thus, Okolo's notion of "being-with" not only affirms African metaphysical principles but also challenges Africans to rediscover and assert their original existential worldview. "Being-with" closely parallels the core tenets of African communalism, where the community precedes and forms the individual. Within this context, the community is not a backdrop but the very ground of existence. The individual exists because the community exists, and apart from it, the individual loses meaning and identity.

Fundamental to African communalism is "belongingness," which stems from the deeply ingrained sense of unity and mutual identity found in traditional African communities. Communalism asserts that community is the foundation of political and social life. In African traditional society, participation in communal affairs is not voluntary but necessary, and it is based on the principle of belongingness. Pantaleon emphasizes that belongingness is both the starting point (*terminus ad quo*) and, in a provisional sense, the endpoint (*terminus ad quem*) of communal reflection. From this perspective, communalism begins with the affirmation of belonging and proceeds to form political and ethical structures that mirror that shared identity. Belongingness provides the existential basis for key African socio-political realities, including shared land ownership, collective historical memory, mutual responsibility, and kinship ties. It ensures that all members of the community have a stake and a role in the welfare of the whole, and it contributes to the realization of a just and stable society.

Africans exist in harmonious relationships with the community or the society. This union in African metaphysics refers to the ontological and existential harmony among beings. It implies that all beings – human, spiritual, and material – are related and interconnected. Within the communalist framework of being-with, both the unity of being and the community of existence are inseparable. Odimegwu, drawing on Iroegbu's "*Uwa* Ontology," highlights

[14] Ibid.

[15] C. B. Okolo: *What Is It to Be African?…*, p. 6.

this integrative worldview by examining concepts such as *Uwa*, *Ala*, and *Umunna*.[16] These concepts express the idea of one-in-the-many: *Uwa anyi* (our world) and *Uwammadu* (human world) are shared existential spaces. *Uwa* is not just the physical world; it is also *Ala*, the spiritual realm, from which life originates and to which it returns. Furthermore, *Ala* or *Ajala* is revered as the Mother Earth, which is a spiritual force that governs morality, law, fertility, and social cohesion. As a divine presence and guardian of the community's moral code, *Ala* symbolizes the ontological unity that binds all members of the community and connects them to their ancestors and to the divine. Thus, African communalism, as interpreted through being-with, belongingness, and the unity of being, represents not just a social or political ideology, but a comprehensive metaphysical system. It articulates the ontology of connectedness that defines human identity, ethics, and purpose in a shared world.[17]

What It Means "To Be" or "Being" in African Thought

To ponder is not the sole activity of a particular people or human race. That humans exist, have language and possess the totality of a way of life is enough to reason on everything reasonable. Many African scholars have continued to reflect on this matter. It is also very understandable that what is referred to as African thought or philosophy is immanent in the institutions, social practices, as well as the moral codes, metaphysics, religion, art, and oral literature of traditional society. It is contained in the folklore, proverbs, idioms, myths, festivals, and religious worship of the people.[18] As a critical pursuit of the truth, which employs the use of natural reasoning by Africans in quest for answers to their yearnings,[19] African philosophical thought gives an explanation on the meaning of being, in such a way that even the

[16] I. Odimegwu: "The Concept of the Human Person in African Communalism: A Philosophical Reflection." *Philosophy and Praxis: Journal of the Nigerian Philosophical Association* (2007), pp. 45–54.

[17] Ibid.

[18] U. T. Nwala: *A Modern Introduction to Philosophy and Logic*. Niger Books and Publishing Co. Ltd, Nsukka 2007, p. 113.

[19] V. S. Kabuk: *African Philosophy: An Introduction*. University Press Ltd, Jos 2023, p. 17.

average mind can understand.[20] Unlike the Western existentialists, who often define being through individuality, as in Descartes' "I think, therefore I am." African ontology is rooted in relationality. The Zulu maxim *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*, "a person is a person through other persons," expresses a communal understanding of being that is foundational to African thought.[21] This principle, often summarized as *ubuntu*, suggests that existence is not solitary but interdependent: one's humanity is realized through others. In this worldview, "to be" is to participate in community, in relationship, in life. John S. Mbiti captures this vividly: "I am because we are; and since we are, therefore I am."[22] This contrasts sharply with Western individualism, situating being as a shared reality that finds meaning in belonging.

The village, the family, and the ancestors are not external to the self; they constitute the self. In African thought, being is also deeply spiritual. Existence extends beyond the material to include the invisible realm of spirits and ancestors, who continue to influence daily life.[23] The boundary between life and death is porous; to exist is to be part of a continuum of life stretching backward and forward in time. Thus, being in Africa is ontologically expansive; it unites the living, the dead, and the unborn within a cosmic order. Being could also be seen as the point at which Africans meet, as it brings them together in communion. Hence, "to be" in Africa is simply to live in relation to others. This is because humans find meaning and fulfillment only in and through the community in which they live and through their involvement with others.

Being, Becoming and African Communalism

The phrase "to be is to become" as obviously explained above, is at the zenith of the rich tradition of African Communality. The idea of "to be" in Africa resonates with the fact that to be is to be human, it explains our "beingness" which finds its fulfillment only in becoming. As earlier stated, man is a being in the process of becoming, in the process of actualizing his potencies, and a being that strives to attain the highest hierarchy of human

[20] Ibid.
[21] D. Tutu: *No Future Without Forgiveness*. Doubleday, New York 1999, p. 34.
[22] J. S. Mbiti: *African Religions and Philosophy*..., p. 146.
[23] Ibid.

needs, which is self-fulfillment as explained by Maslow.[24] The whole idea of being, becoming and African communalism speaks volumes about the ideal African society where people cannot "be" in isolation but only through the participation of others. In fact, it is believed by Africans that one can only be termed a "being" when he reaches, grows and unfolds his potentials through relationship with others, because humans are not static beings, they ought to always be in motion toward their points of actuality, which defines their existence and gives meanings to their being.

It is pertinent to note that African philosophy was not borne out of hallucinations or speculations but out of the lived experiences of Africans. The African perception of "being" and "becoming" are things that are outlived daily within the ambience of Africa through the idea of community living and co-existence; core African practitioners live for others for a living, they see others in them and themselves in others. Hence, let us give a syllogism that explains "being, becoming and African communalism": To be African is to be; to be is to become; therefore, to become is to be African. To be African is to exist as a being in a community, and to exist is to continually become through that community. The human being for the African is at the center of the universe, and everything happens in relation to this central position they occupied. Every human being has a purpose and goal to fulfill in the world. The human being is not just an individual person, but someone born into a community whose survival and purpose is linked with that of others. The human being is first a member of a family, clan, kindred or the community.[25] In philosophical terms, the above syllogism identifies "Africanness" with the process of becoming itself, meaning to live in growth, relationship and to express the African essence of existence.

The Erosion of "To Be" in African Communalism

African communalism fostered cooperation, collective ownership, solidarity, and moral responsibilities, ensuring that each person's well-being was intertwined with that of the other or the community. The elderly, children,

[24] A. H. Maslow: "A Theory of Human Motivation…," pp. 370–396.

[25] I. A. Kanu: *African Philosophy: An Ontologico-Existential Hermeneutic Approach to Classical and Contemporary Issues*. Augustinian Publications, Jos 2015, pp. 100–101.

and the vulnerable were cared for, not out of obligation but out of a shared sense of humanity and spiritual unity. However, with the advent of colonialism and Western education, this communal framework began to erode. The imposition of capitalist economics and individualist values disrupted traditional modes of production and social organization.[26]

When a particular people do not understand the other people in their own terms and culture, the tendency or the danger is to define and stereotype them based on what the others feel about them. That was a big problem with colonialism. Colonial administrations defined African culture in their own terms, derogated everything except what they came for. They emphasized personal ambition and private property, thereby replacing the collective ethos with competitive self-interest. This led to the gradual displacement of the kinship systems, land communality, and traditional leadership structures that once ensured social cohesion. Western education, while valuable, often alienated Africans from indigenous values, creating a class of elites more aligned with Western ideals than communal ones.[27]

Notably, modernity and urbanization have further deepened this erosion. The migration of people from rural to urban centers in search of employment has fragmented extended families and weakened traditional communal ties.[28] Urban life promotes anonymity, materialism, and self-centeredness, which are all characteristics that are contrary to communal values. In addition, the rise of technology and globalization has exposed African societies to foreign lifestyles that emphasize personal success and wealth accumulation over collective welfare. The result is a cultural dissonance, where communal ideals survive only as nostalgia rather than lived realities.

More so, political corruption, nepotism, and ethnic chauvinism have replaced the moral foundations of African communalism with self-serving leadership and social inequality.[29] Instead of unity and mutual aid, many societies now face tribalism, ethnicism, greed and social injustice as in the case of Nigeria and other African countries. Religion, too, has at times been co-opted into this individualistic mindset, which focuses on personal prosperity rather than communal salvation.

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[26] J. Nyerere: *Ujamaa: Essays on Socialism*. Oxford University Press, Dar es Salaam 1997, pp. 3–5.

[27] K. Gyekye: *Tradition and Modernity: Philosophical Reflections on the African Experience*. Oxford University Press, Oxford 1997, p. 36.

[28] M. Ifeanyi: "Person and Community in African Traditional Thought…," p. 171.

[29] T. Metz: "Ubuntu as a Moral Theory and Human Rights in South Africa." *African Human Rights Law Journal*, 11, no. 2 (2011), p. 532.

Toward the Revitalization of African Communalism

Acknowledging this erosion, however, is not the same as conceding that African communalism has no future or cannot be revitalized. A number of scholars and communities have proposed, and in some cases already implemented, ways of strengthening communal values without a wholesale rejection of the benefits of modern life. Kwame Gyekye, for instance, distinguishes a moderate communitarianism, which still recognizes the individual's rights and personal achievement within the community, from a radical communitarianism that subordinates the individual almost entirely to the collective; he argues that it is the moderate form, rather than the radical extreme criticized by Fromm above, that offers the most defensible model for reconstructing African communal life today.[30]

Concrete efforts at revitalization can also be found at the level of governance and public morality. In post-apartheid South Africa, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission explicitly drew on the philosophy of *Ubuntu*, "a person is a person through other persons," as the moral basis for a restorative, rather than purely retributive, model of justice, demonstrating that communal principles can be translated into modern institutions rather than confined to nostalgia.[31]

Similarly, African Renaissance discourse, cooperative and communal land-tenure reforms, and the deliberate inclusion of indigenous values in school curricula have all been proposed as means of re-anchoring African societies in their communal heritage while still participating meaningfully in a globalized world. The task, therefore, is not to reject modernity outright, but to ensure that modernization proceeds in a manner that reinforces, rather than replaces, the African person's fundamental orientation toward "being-with."

[30] K. Gyekye: *Tradition and Modernity*..., pp. 154–157.

[31] M. B. Ramose: *African Philosophy through Ubuntu*. Mond Books, Harare 1999, p. 49.

Conclusion

Having come thus far, this article does not try to create an African utopian community, but tries to present the general understanding of the concept within indigenous African communities. One may ask the question of constant conflicts in African communities despite this communalistic worldview. African communality does not remove internal disagreements. However, major conflicts within African communities: the Nigerian Civil war, the Boko Haram, other militia operatives, the South African Apartheid, and of course, the Rwandan genocides, were caused by factors highlighted under "erosion of African communalism," among others.

It is significantly clear that most traditional African societies put more emphasis on communality or collectivity rather than on individuality. The group was regarded as supreme, taking precedence over the individual. Individual interests and desires were subordinate to those of the community. The welfare of the community was superior and could override even the most fundamental individual rights or interests. Individuals were compelled into strict communalism, to dependence upon one another, and to a fusion which reduced everyone to the same level. The community was duty-bound to ensure that the individual was part and parcel of his community. The individual had to abandon his own self-interests and desires in favor of the collective ones. The individual surrenders himself to the group, to its goals, values and standards.

In a strong philosophical anthropological expression, the "I" surrenders itself to the "We." Because it is said, "The I finds its relevance in the We." This surrender, according to Fromm, usually leads to the loss of the self in the other. This is because, "the kind of personality offered to him by cultural pattern,"[32] makes him to become exactly as all others are and as they expect him to behave.

The individual in such a case loses his autonomy as a distinct self very different from the others. Whoever sustains the primacy of the social and collective would make man a slave of society. Collectivity blocks man's self-realization. It stands in the way of the development of his reason and his critical capacities. Under such conditions, the development of an individual

[32] E. Fromm: *Escape from Freedom*. Ferrar & Rinehart, New York 1941, pp. 185–186.

as a free, self-determining and productive person is limited. The individual also loses the right to independent thought, action and expression.[33]

Indeed, African concepts remain traditionally significant, but philosophically under-theorized. In the words of one of Africa's great scholars, John Samuel Mbiti, reclaiming the essence of African communalism requires a conscious effort to re-incorporate values such as solidarity, hospitality, and the dignity of human interconnectedness into governance, education and spiritual life.[34]

One of the greatest African literary writers, Professor Chinua Achebe captures very fundamentally what African communal spirit is all about. For him, "when a man invites his kinsmen to a feast, he does not do so to save them from starving. They all have food in their own homes. When we gather together in the moonlit village ground, it is not because of the moon. Every man can see it in his own compound. We come together because it is good for kinsmen to do so."[35]

It must be noted that this discussion does not exhaust all that needs to be addressed in this paper. Further studies can be carried out in the areas of comparative analysis within different communities, as there may be other dimensions of communal lived experiences, with other non-African communities.

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[33] J. M. Waula: *Traditional African Communalism and the Neo-Communal Spirit in Africa: With Special Reference to the Bukusu Community in Kenya*. University of Nairobi Press, Nairobi 2003, p. 117.

[34] J. S. Mbiti: *African Religions and Philosophy*..., p. 146.

[35] C. Achebe: *Things Fall Apart*, Heinemann, London 1958, p. 125.

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