

WIDOWS' PERCEPTION OF WIDOW INHERITANCE IN BENIN CITY, EDO STATE, NIGERIA

MICHAEL NDISIKA

ndismike2000@gmail.com, michael.ndisika@uniben.edu

+2348036578365

&

MONDAY ABIOLA

Department of Sociology and Anthropology,

University of Benin, Benin City

monday.abiola@uniben.edu +2348103630521

ABSTRACT

It is feasible to speculate that a widow's desire to be inherited or not is linked not only to their socioeconomic condition, but also to the nature of their perception of widow inheritance in light of their emotional and psychosocial yearnings. Against this backdrop, it is pertinent to examine widows' perception of widow inheritance. The one-shot cross-sectional research design was used in this study. The participants in this study were widows living in the city of Benin in Edo State, Nigeria, who had gone through widowhood arrangements. The purposive sample design and the snowballing sampling approach were used to collect the qualitative data needed for this investigation. The instrument of data collection was an in-depth interview guide. Virtually all the widows tendered a negative perception of widow inheritance. Their reasons were that the death of a husband severed all marital ties between a widow and her affines; it should not be encouraged and practiced in the 21st century; it was not a good practice at all especially for a young woman who has fundamental human rights. In conclusion, reasons bordering on modernity and fundamental human rights are the basis on which virtually all widows abhor widow inheritance practices which is no longer a cultural demand but a family demand. It is recommended that husbands and fathers should be sensitized to write 'will'. Members of the public should be sensitized about the professional services of social workers in Benin City and in Nigeria at large, who may help distressed widows seek redress.

Keywords: Perception, Widow, Widow Inheritance, Benin City, Culture.

Introduction

Most women's perceptions of widow inheritance, which comes with widowhood, might be better understood and addressed if their perceptions of the practice are understood properly and effectively. Widowhood is a degrading experience, especially when widows are exposed to immense suffering and maltreatment by their in-laws and society as a whole (Olukayode, 2015), either via their acts or inactions. Since a result, they are in a terrible predicament, as they are helpless and uncared for by those who are meant to help them (Olukayode, 2015). The loss of a husband is the most traumatic event in a married woman's life, and it is a transition that necessitates coping abilities, psychosocial readjustment, and socio-structural set up in order to align to the new condition of existence and improve living in society (Ushe, 2011).

Widow inheritance is a common cultural practice in Sub-Saharan Africa that has been linked to a number of social and health issues, including the risk of HIV transmission (Agot et al. 2010). For some widows, remarriage may be profitable or detrimental (Carr, 2004). Several studies, including one by Alliyu (2015), have linked widows' real inheritance and non-inheritance in cultures that allow widow inheritance to the widows' socioeconomic situation. However, it is feasible to speculate that a widow's desire to be inherited or not is linked not only to their socioeconomic condition, but also to the nature of their perspective of widow inheritance in light of their emotional and psychosocial longings. This gap in knowledge therefore needs to be filled by examining widows' perception of widow inheritance.

Traditional cultural practices span generations and reveal members of a community's values and beliefs, "some of which are good to all members while others are damaging to a single group, such as women" (Oluoch and Nyongesa, 2013). Furthermore, widowhood practices are inextricably linked to cultural and time-honoured beliefs about death, ghosts, transferred possession, gender roles, family structure, and family ties; this has strengthened and sustained widowhood customs across the world for centuries (Sossou, 2002). However, it is troubling that widow inheritance practices that target women are taken and justified as a result of local custom, and that these women are taught to think that they lack the authority and right to challenge the tradition's demands (Ezejiolor, 2011). Against this backdrop, it is therefore necessary to determine if the widows' perception of widow inheritance is in line with their respective traditional beliefs.

Literature Review

Perception of Widow Inheritance

The view of widow inheritance differs significantly among widows, as well as through time and among ethnic groups. Because it incorporates mindsets, attitudes, worldviews, and beliefs, perception is critical in understanding how and why people behave in certain situations. As a result, examining widows' perceptions of widow inheritance is an important tool for understanding widows' predicament and providing intervention help by experts in social care.

Among the Luo, widows' perception of widow inheritance guarantees that she has a say in the matter (Oluoch&Nyongesa, 2013). If the widow had a choice, it was honoured; if not, the family members chose who should be in charge of the home, with the 'brother' who assumed the deceased's tasks being designated as jater (inheritor) (Nyarwath, 2012; Oluoch&Nyongesa, 2013). In this case, the term "brother" has a broader meaning: it might refer to the deceased's brother, a paternal first cousin, a clan cousin, or an adopted stranger (Wilson, 1961 cited in Oluoch&Nyongesa, 2013). The Luo perspective of marriage and death informs our understanding of this behaviour.

The perception of a widow's inheritance might be altered. The Luo have entrusted the enforcement of widowhood customs to older married women and widows (Oluoch&Nyongesa, 2013). They have been brainwashed into believing that the ceremonies are for the widows' and their children's welfare. Young widows are muted into submission (Sossou, 2002) as they are carried through the ceremonies as "voluntary" participants (Oluoch&Nyongesa, 2013) and cajoled into having an objective sense of widow inheritance by other women in command of the situation.

It should be noted that the nature of perception that widows have of widow inheritance goes a long way to determine whether they reject being inherited or accept being inherited. Also, the nature of perception that widows have of widow inheritance is instrumental to their being happy widows or suffering either during their mourning period or post-mourning period. There is a paucity of literature on the perception of widows of widow inheritance. This situation provides justification for this present study as it will not only fill the gap in the body of knowledge in helping widows but will also boost the body of literature on widows' perception of inheritance.

2.4 Dispositions of Family Members towards Widow's Perception of Widow Inheritance

Several people have conceptualised and portrayed the world as a "men's world" in disparaging ways, implying that women can only play second fiddle to males (Ezejiofor, 2011). They are expected to be dominated and subordinated by men, and their participation in political, economic, and religious activities, as well as other power-concentrated domains, is severely limited (Ezejiofor, 2011); not just in Nigeria or other poor nations, but also in affluent ones, is this the case. Women in Western nations are restricted from obtaining specific positions and even earn less than their male colleagues, demonstrating how widespread discrimination against women is. Patriarchy is the idea that most accurately describes this realistic view of society (Ezejiofor, 2011). The literature focuses on the impact that a widow's perspective of widow inheritance has on the behaviour of the late husband's family members. Widows' perceptions of widow inheritance, particularly when subjective rather than objective, may inspire negative behaviour and emotions from members of the deceased husband's family. This is supported by Nwosa (2005), who notes that among the Igbo, widows have traditionally faced "persecution" from the husband's family if they refused to participate in the practice of widow inheritance; although the situation of Igbo widows has reportedly improved (Nwosa, 2005), it appears that widows' perceptions of widow inheritance are very likely to lack the needed support, given the ability of such perceptions, when respected and complied with. However, it should be noted that there are cases where widows, as a consequence of their view, wish to be inherited but are unable to do so because their late husbands' family members refuse to cooperate. As a result, it is crucial to figure out what is at the root of the problem.

Furthermore, there may be instances where widows' original perception of widow inheritance is changed with one that allows them to fulfill certain goals. Dimkpa (2006) describes a civil worker who first despised widow inheritance but eventually gave in owing to the dread of being accused of murdering her spouse after she was exposed to most of the heinous widowhood procedures after his death. Widows in rural regions are subjected to what is known as ceremonial cleansing, which is based on the belief in certain cultures that death is not a natural event (Dimkpa, 2006). According to von Struensee, reported in Dimkpa (2006), this might take several "forms, such as the widow bathing or sleeping with the husband's body, and the widow having sexual intercourse with her brothers-in-law." Widows in Nigeria are sometimes forced to participate in widow inheritance practices in order to "guarantee their husband's family's continued support" (Center for Reproductive Rights 2003). Women who refuse to engage in widow inheritance have faced "all kinds of deprivations," according to one source, with many resorting to prostitution to sustain themselves and their families (Daily Independent, 2005).

Traditionally, all widows were inherited, with only a few women objecting if they had reached menopause and were unable to conceive additional children (Potash,1986 cited in Oluoch and Nyongesa, 2013). This tradition is still practised among the Luo today. Chira was dreaded by women. Chira is a native sickness that serves to protect Luo moral ideals or to keep "social and moral control over family and lineage life" (Sindiga, 1995:68 cited in Oluoch and Nyongesa, 2013). Chira can influence the offender as well as everyone in his or her family, particularly children. Not only were widows forced to keep the rituals alive, but family members also pressed widows to finish them so that they or other members of the lineage would not be afflicted by chira (Oluoch&Nyongesa, 2013). In a nutshell, in-laws' perceptions of widow inheritance and widows' perceptions of widow inheritance appear to be at odds. As a result, the purpose of this research is to verify this estimation assertion.

Furthermore, while it is critical to determine how widows' perceptions of widow inheritance impact their in-laws' behaviour, it is equally critical to analyse the elements that influence the perspective. Apart from other elements that may impact widow inheritance, it was learned from the respondents using qualitative instruments that - the family, the widow's position, and the property combine to decide the fate of a widow in a patriarchal culture, according to Alliyu (2015). The family, for example, plays a dominant role when there is no 'will' and there is a lot to distribute from the deceased estate among the family members; when there are obligations to share, the family barely intervenes (Alliyu, 2015). The involvement of the family in this issue of inheritance, on the other hand, is dependent on how good or terrible the family is. If there is a 'will' administered by a legal practitioner, the role of the family may be greatly limited; such a 'will' does not consider the wife or wives as part of the property to be shared because if the dead were alive, he would not want to share his wife or wives (though they are 'property' to him!) with any other man (Alliyu, 2015). In the case of widow inheritance, the position of the wife (wives) is also highly essential, if not the most important factor.

Theoretical Framework

Cultural Interpretive Model

In the cultural interpretation model, Kleinman (1997) analyses people's interpretations of cultural phenomena transmitted to them through their networks of relationships and interactions within the community, as well as how they see, comprehend, and make meaning of such phenomena. The primary premise of this concept is that individuals do not just acquire cultural phenomena and perform them; rather, they actively engage in their development and transmission. As a consequence, what may have been passed down to members of a society may be rendered impracticable by changes in and development of living conditions, and as a result, they have devised acceptable and appropriate adaptation mechanisms that, in the long run, become part of their cultural value system.

With regard to widows who are experiencing issues engendered by widow inheritance practices, the cultural interpretive model could be used to explain the socio-psychological bases responsible for the perceptions widows have of widow inheritance, how they act out their perception, and how they live with the results of their perception. Based on the interpretive model, the customs and beliefs of widow inheritance that have been transferred to members of the ethnic groups of widows may have been made impractical or practical by the changes in, and evolution of the social circumstances and values. Hence, widows should have formed appropriate perceptions that have become part of their cultural value system.

Thus with the interpretation that widows give to widow inheritance practice in terms of the costs and benefits it holds for them, they may either be favourably disposed to getting involved in widow inheritance practices or not.

Research Methods

The one-shot cross-sectional research design was used in this study. This was due to the fact that those who were chosen for the study were only contacted once in order to capture the nature of widows' perception of widow inheritance in Benin City, Edo State. The participants in this study were all widows living in the city of Benin who had gone through widowhood preparations. Due to a paucity of records on widows, the entire population of widows in Benin City cannot be determined. As a result, the purposive sample design and the snowballing sampling approach led the sampling technique used to acquire the qualitative data needed for this investigation. The instrument of data collection was an in-depth interview guide. Accordingly, 15 interviewees participated in 15 in-depth interview sessions.

The qualitative data was collected with the use of a semi-structured interview guide and a discussion guide. The interviewees who had been purposefully chosen for the interviews were notified, and after their approval had been acquired, a convenient day, time, and location for the numerous interview sessions were agreed upon. The numerous interview sessions were moderated by the researcher and study assistants, and the working languages were English and Nigerian Pidgin. The events of the several interview sessions were tape captured using an audio recorder. The qualitative data was examined manually using the content analysis approach. Transcription of the recorded interview sessions, sifting of the replies, and manually looking for reoccurring themes and ideas were all part of this process. These recurrent motifs were presented, analysed, and inferred from.

Results

Perception of Widow Inheritance

Widow inheritance is a common cultural practise in Sub-Saharan Africa that has been linked to a number of issues, including the risk of HIV transmission (Agot et al. 2010). For some widows, remarriage may be seen as favourable or detrimental (Carr, 2004). Several studies, like Alliyu (2015), have linked widows' real inheritance and non-inheritance in societies that allow widow inheritance to their socioeconomic condition. However, it is fair to speculate that a widow's desire to be inherited or not is linked not only to their socioeconomic condition but also to the nature of their perspective of widow inheritance in light of their emotional and psycho-social yearnings. This gap in knowledge therefore needs to be filled by examining widows' perception of widow inheritance.

To extract the interviewees' perception, be it favourable or unfavourable, they were asked to express their view about widow inheritance practices. In response, virtually all the interviewees submitted unfavourable perception of widow inheritance based on different reasons. Hence, for this study, the reasons opined by the interviewees for their overt unfavourable perception of widow inheritance were classified as subjective reasons, and objective reasons. Reasons that were subjective were regarded as the personal constructions of the interviewees which were meant to buttress their opposition of widow inheritance practices; and the objective reasons were the interviewees' deductions from generally accepted philosophies for why seemingly obnoxious practices, widow inheritance in this case,

ought to be abolished. The responses of interviewees who expressed unfavourable perception of widow inheritance based on their subjective reasons are captured below:

For me, widow inheritance is not a good practice at all. I said this because it is repulsive to remarry one's late husband's brother most especially when one was in good terms with the late husband. Even in my place, Aninri LGA of Enugu State. So when the husband dies, the widow is allowed to stay if she wants or go and remarry outside the family if she so wishes. It is only those widows who were not good to their husband that are usually maltreated after the death of her husband. In my place, widows are usually given assistance according to the capacity of the family **(55-year-old Interviewee; Igbo; Primary school educated; 16th January, 2017).**

In the olden days in most African societies, widow inheritance was a normal practice. It is not the best of traditional practices. Though women in those days accepted to be inherited, but they did not have a choice. It is a bad practice, and I will not advice anybody to key into it. Once you are married and your husband dies that closes that chapter, because the Bible says till death do us part. When he is gone that closes and ends the relationship. So widow inheritance should not be practiced, and should not be encouraged in this time and this day **(59-year-old Interviewee; Benin; University educated; 16th January, 2017).**

Though widow inheritance is practiced in my home town - Ikeduru in Imo State, I was not pressed by anybody to be inherited. I got married to my late husband as a young teenager and throughout the life and time of my husband I had no problem with my in-laws and as wife to their brother. So, they did not disturb or give me stress after the death of my husband. However, widow inheritance is not a good practice at all especially for young woman **(58-year-old Interviewee; Igbo; Not educated; 25th January, 2017).**

I'm from Akumazi in Ika Local Government Area of Delta State, widow inheritance is not practiced. However, I must say that it is a very bad practice and should be done away with in places where it is still being practiced **(64-year-old Interviewee; Ika; Primary school educated; 28th January, 2017).**

From the foregoing responses, the above set of interviewees were unfavourably disposed to widow inheritance practices owing to the subjective reasons that, it was disgusting for a widow to remarry her late husband's brother; that death of a husband severed all marital ties between a widow and her affines; that it should not be encouraged and practiced in a modernize 21st century; that it was not a good practice at all especially for young woman; and that it was a very bad practice and should be done away with. These submissions suggest that more and more women, including widows, are personally opposed to the widow inheritance practices. Hence, against cultural demands, most widows would vehemently reject being inherited by an affines.

Basing their unfavourable views of widow inheritance on the fundamental human rights and right to self-determination was the position of another set of interviewees. Their respective opinions are contained in their responses presented below:

Among the Benin people which I originally belong to, widow inheritance is not practiced. Also, among my late husband's people – the Itsekiri- they do not practice it too. The practice of widow inheritance is very bad; a widow ought to determine how she wants to live her life, not her in-laws. A widow should normally mourn her husband for the culturally approved period, after that she should leave, and decide what she wants to do with life. If she wants to remarry she should pray, and God will grant her, her heart desire; but if she does not wish to remarry good for her. This will enable her take proper care of her children. In my opinion, a widow should not remarry because when she remarries her new husband will not give her chance to take good care of her children **(62-year-old Interviewee; Benin; Primary school educated; 18th January, 2017).**

In my place, Aniocha South Local Government Area in Delta State, widow inheritance practices is not done. It is quite a very bad practice that widows should not be forced to get involved in. When the husband dies, his widow should be allowed to decide on how to organize her future. The woman should be allowed to take good care of the children left behind by the late husband **(60-year-old Interviewee; Aniocha; Secondary school educated; 18th January, 2017).**

Widow inheritance is a bad customary practice. I would not like to be inherited by my late husband's brothers. However, for a brother of a late man to remarry the late brother's wife is not a practice among the Benin people. So, none of my late husband's brothers made an attempt to inherit me as wife. The only practice that followed the death of late married man among the Benin is to contend for his property. They are still struggling for his property with me. The practice of widow inheritance is a wicked practice. Women should not be forced to marry a particular member or any member of her late husband's family. If it is the choice of widow to remarry after she done with mourning her late husband it should be someone of her choice who is not from the late husband's family **(70-year-old Interviewee; Benin; Primary school educated; 15th January, 2017).**

I don't like widow inheritance practice, because it is shocking and immoral for a younger brother to use what his elder brother use as a wife. It will also amount to a situation in which the widow is being exchanged or passed around like sex object **(39-year-old Interviewee; Ika; Secondary school educated; 25th January, 2017).**

Comparison of Widows' View of Widow Inheritance and the Tradition of Widow Inheritance in their Ethnic Groups

Spanning generations, traditional cultural practices reflect values and beliefs held by members of a community, some of which are beneficial to all members while others are harmful to a specific group, such as women (Oluoch and Nyongesa, 2013). Additionally, widowhood practices are closely tied to cultural and traditional beliefs about death, ghosts, inheritance, feminine roles, family structure and family relationships; this has reinforced and perpetuated the old-age practices of widowhood in the world (Sossou, 2002). It is, however, problematic why practices such as these directed against widows are interpreted and justified as emanating from the peoples' tradition and these women are meant to believe that they cannot challenge the dictates of the tradition (Ezejiofor, 2011). Against this backdrop, it is therefore necessary to determine if the widows' perception of widow inheritance is in line with their respective traditional beliefs.

Interviewees for this present study were asked if their respective views about widow inheritance was in line with the tradition of widow inheritance of the their respective ethnic groups. Indications from the responses of the interviewees showed that their responses had three patterns. The first pattern of responses was the agreement of views with the tradition of ethnic groups; the second was the disagreement of views with the tradition of ethnic groups; and the third pattern was the partial agreement of views with the tradition of ethnic groups. Responses that fall under the first pattern which has to do with alignment of widow's view about widow inheritance and the tradition of their ethnic groups, are presented below:

In my place, it is not in our tradition to practice widow inheritance; and this is what I subscribed to too **(55-year-old Interviewee; Igbo; Primary school educated; 16th January, 2017)**.

Widow inheritance is practiced a lot in my ethnic group. However, the practice is kind of now a thing of the past. This is in line with my view of widow inheritance. So they have realized it is not the best of traditional practices **(59-year-old Interviewee; Benin; University educated; 16th January, 2017)**.

My view about widow inheritance is in line with the tradition of my ethnic group. It is not a practice that should be embraced in this modern time **(60-year-old Interviewee; Aniocha; Secondary school educated; 18th January, 2017)**.

Of course my perception about widow inheritance is in accordance with the tradition of the ethnic group which is Benin. Though in the olden days it was practiced, but now it is no longer practice because it is bad that is how I also see it **(70-year-old Interviewee; Benin; Primary school educated; 15th January, 2017)**.

Inferences from the above responses are that interviewees had unfavourable views and perception of widow inheritance, and these views and perceptions corresponded with the culture of the ethnic groups on widow inheritance which had no place for widow inheritance practices. Hence, in cultures in which widow inheritance practices are not harboured, widows

do not have widow inheritance related challenging experiences from the behavioural dispositions of their in-laws.

Responses which fall under the second pattern of responses that relate to absolute disagreement between the views of widows about widow inheritance and the tradition of their ethnic group on widow inheritance, are presented below:

The way I see widow inheritance is quite different from the tradition of my husband's people. I remember how I advised the young widow I am assisting when she lost her husband who is from my late husband's extended family, to go and look for another husband to marry. The males from my husband's family were not happy with me for giving her that kind of advice. I had to apologize. Nevertheless, nobody came out to say he wants to marry her **(58-year-old Interviewee; Igbo; Not educated; 25th January, 2017)**.

Though the tradition of my ethnic group permits widow inheritance, my view of widow inheritance practices is not in line with it, as I subscribe to its total cancellation **(39-year-old Interviewee; Ika; Secondary school educated; 25th January, 2017)**.

It could be deduced from the foregoing responses that there are some widows who are from cultures that still practice widow inheritance

Nevertheless, one of the interviewees submitted that her views about widow inheritance partially corresponded with the culture of her ethnic group. This constituted the third pattern of responses as earlier explained. Her response is:

My view about widow inheritance practices is partially not in line with the tradition of my ethnic group. Partially because widows have the option to be inherited or not to be inherited; for me it should be abolished totally **(64-year-old Interviewee; Ika; Primary school educated; 28th January, 2017)**.

Discussion

Inferences from the responses are that the world at the moment is very civilized and modern; therefore, there is no place for barbaric practices that would infringe upon the rights of individuals. Keya (2013) equally reported that of recent, widow inheritance is condemned by politicians, churches and members of the civil society. Accordingly, this set of interviewees were disapprovingly disposed to widow inheritance practices as a widow has the right to determine who she wants to marry, how she wants to live her life, and organize her future and after the death of her husband. Furthermore, these interviewees based their condemnation of widow inheritance practices on the common viewpoint that the practice would not enable inherited widow to take proper care of the children left behind by the late husband. This might play out when she would have to share all forms of the attention between her new husband and the children that is if the children are living with her and the new husband; or when the new husband would not want to have the children in his house since they are not his. Moreover, this set interviewees decried widow inheritance, because it was immoral, detestable and presented and equate the widow as a property.

It could be deduced from the responses that there are some widows who are from cultures that still practice widow inheritance. but their unfavourable views about widow inheritance are not in tandem with the culture of their ethnic groups that still favour widow inheritance. This category of widows is those who usually encounter troubles that translate to the unpleasant experiences when they tend to push their views of widow inheritance against the culturally enforced views of their in-laws. Nevertheless, one of the interviewees submitted that her views about widow inheritance partially corresponded with the culture of her ethnic group. This constituted the third pattern of responses.

The widows who participated in this study in their responses affirmed that the partial alignment between her views of widow inheritance and the culture of her ethnic group was based on the fact that the practice of widow inheritance was characterized by the choices of the widow involved to either accept being inherited or reject being inherited. This pattern of response suggests that widows, in cultures where the widows can accept or reject being inherited, could possibly have palatable experiences when the ritual to be performed for rejecting being inherited is well done.

Conclusion

This study examined widows' perception and the experiences they face about widow inheritance in Benin City. Reasons bordering on modernity and fundamental human rights are the basis on which virtually all widows abhor widow inheritance practices. The logic behind widow inheritance is to ensure that the property of late man is not arrogated to a different man who the widow might get married to. In modern times, the greed of a late man's family members could be the driving force behind the practice of widow inheritance, and the subsequent sordid experience that a widow might have when she rejects being inherited. Hence, practicing of widow inheritance is now more of a family arrangement than aethnocultural arrangement. In cultures and families in which widow inheritance practices are not harboured, widows do not have widow inheritance related challenging experiences from the behavioural dispositions of their in-laws.

More often than not the perceptions of widows of widow inheritance practices correspond with the position of their ethnic group and their in-laws on the issue. There are some widows who are from cultures that still practice widow inheritance, but their unfavourable views about widow inheritance are not in tandem with the culture of their ethnic groups that still favour widow inheritance. This category of widows are those who usually encounter troubles that translate to unpleasant experiences when they tend to push their views of widow inheritance against the culturally enforced views of their in-laws.

Recommendations

Husbands and fathers should be sensitized to write will which will stipulate how their property and valuables will be appropriated among members of his nuclear family and where necessary members of his extended family. This will help protect widows from being shortchanged by their in-laws. Members of the public should be informed and sensitized about the professional services of social workers in Benin City and in Nigeria at large so that widows will know and/or be directed by concerned friends and family members on how to obtain professional help and care when they are being distressed by their in-laws.

References

- Agot, K. E.; Stoep, A. N.; Tracy, M.; Obare, B. A.; Bukusi, E. A.; Ndinya-Achola, J. O.; Moses, S. & Weiss, N. S. (2010) Widow inheritance and HIV prevalence in Bondo District, Kenya. Baseline Results from a Prospective Cohort Study. *PLOS ONE* 5(11):e14028 doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0014028.
- Alliyu, N. (2015) Perception of Propertied Women on Marriage Forms, Widowhood and Living Patterns in South West, Nigeria. *African Research Review*, 9 (3), S/NO 38: pp. 157-173
- Carr, D. (2004) The Desire to Date and Remarry among Older Widows and Widowers. *Journal of Marriage and Family* 66 (November 2004): 1051–1068
- Center for Reproductive Rights (2003.) "Chapter 5: Nigeria." *Women of the World: Laws and Policies Affecting their Reproductive Lives*. Retrieved 28 September, 2015 from: <http://www.crlp.org/pdf/WOWAA05.pdf>
- Daily Independent (2005) "NGO Calls for Ban on Wife Inheritance." *Daily Independent [Lagos]* 23 December 2005. Retrieved 23 September, 2015 from: <http://www.independentng.com/news/nndec230525.htm> [Accessed 23 Feb. 2006]
- Dimkpa, D. I. (2006) Influence of In-Laws on Inheritance Rights as Perceived by Widows in Port Harcourt Municipality, Nigeria. *The Nigerian Journal of Guidance and Counselling*, Vol. 11 (1): pp. 93-10.3
- Ezejiolor, A. O. (2011) Patriarchy, Marriage and the Rights of Widows in Nigeria. *UJAH: Unizik Journal of Arts and Humanities* Vol. 12 No. 1: pp. 139-157
- Keya, S. A. (2013) *Effects Of Widow Inheritance On Children's Right To Early Childhood Education In Ugenya District- Siaya County, Kenya*. An M.Sc. Project Report Submitted to the Department Of Educational, Communication And Technology, University Of Nairobi.
- Kleinman, A. (1997) *Writing at the Margin: Discourse between Anthropology and Medicine*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Nwosa, C E. (2005) "Social Changes in Widowhood Across Cultures." *Daily Champion [Lagos]* 8 November 2005. Retrieved 27 September, 2015 from: <http://allafrica.com/stories/200511080141.html>
- Nyarwath, O. (2012) The Luo Care for Widows (Lako) and contemporary challenges. A Journal of the Philosophical Association of ppKenya. (PAK) *New Series, Vol.4 No.1, pp.91-110*.
- Olukayode, A. J. (2015) Widowhood Practices in Some Nigerian Societies: A Retrospective Examination. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, Vol. 5, No. 4: pp. 67-74.
- Oluoch, E. A. and Nyongesa, W. J. (2013) Perception of the Rural Luo Community on Widow Inheritance and HIV/AIDs in Kenya: Towards Developing Risk Communication Messages. *International Journal of Business and Social Science* Vol. 4 No. 1: pp. 213-219.
- Sossou, M. A. (2002) Widowhood practices in West Africa: the silent victims. *International Journal of Social Welfare*.
- Ushe, M. U. (2011) Plight of Widows in Nigeria: The Paradox for Traditional Counselling of the Bereaved. *Journal of Research in Education and Society*, Vol. 2, No.3: pp. 26-34.