

## Changes and Continuity of Widowhood Practices in Isiamaigbo-Agulu

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### **Abstract**

There have been many cultural practices against Igbo-African women. Widowhood practices are among some of those practices in which some obnoxious treatments are meted out against the women in most African communities. This study aims to correct the misconception about the dynamic reality of culture especially by some traditionalists who believe that cultural practices must remain unchanged. There have been notable changes and improvements in the widowhood practices from 1970 to 2015 in Isiamaigbo village, Agulu. Scholarly works were reviewed to ascertain the views of other writers as related to the study. Survey research method was used to gather the opinion of some elders and widows in Isiamaigbo to examine among other things the changes that have taken place in the practices over the years in study. Theory of gender inequality was used to make analysis. It reveals that many positive changes have been effected in the widowhood practices mainly because majority of the community members have converted from traditional religion to Christianity. It is believed that the research would benefit every member of the society as communities that are still practising some inhumane treatments especially against women are advised to discard them and embrace the present positive procedures. The findings also reveal that the practices have been culturally modified and changed from bad to good and from good to better. This work however recommends that proper orientation and education should be given to the women to be able to fight for their rights, and government should make sure that policies made to protect widows are implemented.

### **Introduction**

In mourning and burial of the dead, there is an elaborate custom on mourning and burial of different classes of people. Isiamaigbo people believe that death of a young person is mourned while death of old person is considered to be an occasion of general rejoicing because he has gone home. Even the Christian faithful at the time of this research believed this thus, when an old person dies, some of the readings in his obituary bills are usually “transition to glory”, “A Glorious home call”, among others. This means that the person’s life and death are celebrated. On the other hand, funeral of a titled man is most elaborate and involves a great expenditure of money. In the pre-colonial era, the old men and women are given second burial. That is after an interval which may last over a year but usually a year. There is a great feasting and entertainment to mark the end of all ceremonies connected to their lives and deaths on earth. Writing on second death, Ogbalu (nd:74) observes that “men and women are entitled to ‘second burial’ marked by lavish eating and drinking, dancing and entertainment e.g. by masquerades in the case of men only.” It is only full grown men and women that are entitled to second burial because their lives and deaths call for celebration. The young boys and girls are not given second burial because their deaths are mourned rather than celebrated. When a man dies, especially when he has not been given a full burial rite befitting his status, Isiamaigbo people believe that his ghost is living aimless haunting existence. It is also believed that the deceased relationship with his wife has not been severed. It is to stop the relationship with his wife among other things as this study will reveal subsequently that provides domineering influence on widowhood rites in Isiamaigbo.

Before the years in review (1970 to 2015), the widowhood rites were mostly performed in a more strident manner. However, some changes have been effected though not without traces of their remnants of obnoxious practices. For instance, prior to the years in review, mourning period was the same one year, while funeral ceremony took fourteen days. The widow would observe a ritual exclusion of one month. She was excluded in a most restricted manner in a room and seen as defiled and unclean to associate with other members of the community until she is purified. Before the purification, she was meant to sit on a tattered mat and never to enjoy the company of others. According to one of the respondents to this study Mrs. Theresa Obiekezie, when her meal needed to be served, the attendant

would merely stand outside and push in the meal through the door. When the widow must have eaten, the empty plate would be collected still from outside.

In addition, a widow who died within the mourning period used to suffer stigmatization and her corpse denied burial rites as it was taken as an abomination. But these have changed as Mrs. Cecilia Akpulu agreed that her mother who died while mourning their late father was given a befitting burial. There was a tradition known by the people as ‘mourners trade.’ The kinsmen of the deceased and his first daughter would go to the market carrying kegs of palm-wine which they used to entertain people. They would stay at a corner in the market drinking, dancing and releasing gun shots to mark the formal end of the burial. These were the forms of the practices before 1970s as the study finds out that they have changed.

## Literature Review

### Concept of Widowhood

Widowhood practices are not peculiar to the Igbo people rather it is a common practice across all cultural communities. Widowhood is a state of a woman being a widow or a man being a widower. It is the fact or period of being a widow. It is also the period in a woman’s life when she lost her husband or in a man’s life when he lost his wife and has not remarried. Widowhood is a state of having lost one’s spouse to death. The term is not used or applied to a person after he or she becomes divorced from the former spouse, though it may be used after the spouse has died. Ojigho (2011) avers that the treatment of widows around the world varies, but unequal benefits and treatment generally received by widows compared to those received by widowers globally spurred an interest in the issue by the human right activists.

For some scholars especially those whose primary concern is to catalogue the perceived woes of widows like Tasie (2013:161), “In understanding widowhood rites, interpretation must be sought within the people’s cosmos and socio-cultural matrix,” In some cultures, widowhood is much stricter and unarguably more demeaning to women’s right. Often, women are required to remarry within the family of their late husbands after a period of mourning. Tasie is of the opinion that with the rise of HIV and AIDS levels of infections across the globe, rituals to which women are subjected in order to be “cleansed” or accepted into their new husbands’ home make them susceptible to the psychological adversities that may be involved as well as the health risks.

In her award winning novel *So Long A Letter*, Ba (1981) vividly captures the oppressive nature of culture in a patriarchy society. More importantly, the novel mirrors the sorrow, sufferings, and humiliation widows often experience as a result of burial rites in a patriarchy African setting. The experience of Ramaoulaya (the protagonist of the novel) after the death of her husband in the novel is that of a woman suffocating under the whims of culture. Rather than receiving comfort or succor from her late husband’s family, she is faced with a cultural practice, which requires her to be remarried to her husband’s brother or be thrown out of her home. This novel underscores the choices a woman is forced to make upon the death of her husband in atypical African society.

Writing on complicated dehumanizing and unbearable plights of African widow, Ekendu (2014) defines a widow as a married woman who lost her husband through death and as a result experiences all forms of maltreatment from her in-laws, community and in fact the society at large. According to Ekendu (2014) widowhood rites are categorized into confinement, defacement, disinheritance, mourning period, ritual cleansing, dethronement and ostracism. Ekendu believes that the society see the widows but do not know them or rather know them without understanding their plights. This he stresses when he presents a sympathetic understanding of several reasons why “the African widows are always crying.” The most painful of which is that a widow is responsible for her husband’s death and therefore must be subjected to emotional, physical, psychological and socio-economic torture. These humiliations are all embedded in the widowhood rites which have become pervasive in many African cultures.

In his contribution, Ekwunife (2016) explains that between the ends of 1987 to 1997, the Catholic Diocese of Awka under the leadership of Most Rev. Dr. A. K. Obiefuna was on boil over funeral

matters. The centre of the crisis was Nanka, a town shares borders with Agulu, Ekwulobia and others. The argument was the right of a widow to see the corpse of the deceased husband before burial. Since in this particular case the widow who desired to side-track the protocol of traditional customs and values of Nanka was a Christian, the Catholic hierarchy also backed her with the usual assumed stance that the traditionalists were superstitious with their primitive customs. The traditionalists were also bent on living out their belief. The scuffle that ensued led to the murder of two Christian youths, a male and a female namely Augustine and Scholastica.

Widowhood practices are gender based violence among the South Eastern Nigeria. Ilika and Ilika (2005) opine that women agree that these widowhood practices affect their physical and mental health and also infringe on their human and reproductive rights. Some of the principal dehumanizing widowhoodrites that Ilika and Ilika (2005) identify include drinking washings from husband's corpse, crawling over husband's corpse, compulsory fasting on the day of her husband's burial, long mourning and restrictions period among others.

Writing on why these practices have persisted, Alutu (1995) expresses that because of the cultural norms, superstitions, fear and traditional resistance to cultural changes, the victims who are women condone such violence and seemed to be complacent. However, Christian religious influence is beginning to have some gradual effects as to what people believe though, more efforts are still needed to make the tradition adherents in many Igbo communities see reasons why obnoxious treatments in widowhood rites should be discarded.

Again, widowhood rites have persisted because the women themselves are mostly the architects of the practices. Ilika and Ilika (2005) agree with this when they state that "women not only condone such violence but perpetrate and perpetuate them by enforcing traditional laws and customs that infringe on the human and reproductive rights of widows. Tasie (2013:161) concurs that "The women themselves are the gatekeepers of widowhood rites lend credence to their deep appreciation of the importance of the rites to over all well being of the widows." Most women who went through the various rites failed to see anything bad in them, indicating that the rites are accepted as normal requirements for their widowhood status. This study agrees that women in most cases do not see anything wrong with the widowhood rites as they grew up and observed that those cultural practices were inherited from their ancestors.

Another reason widowhood practices have persisted according to Alutu (2005) is that organized women groups, civil societies and even churches and religious leaders seemed to lack the courage or initiatives to tackle the problems because of anticipated or imagined obstacles, conflicts, recriminations or reprisals often associated with breaking through such age-long and deep rooted cultural practice. However, some scholars disagree with this assertion as they throw light on the churches' movement towards liberating widows from the shackles of ill cultural practices. For instance, Ekwunife (2016) expresses that the Catholic Church at the time of Rev. Fr. Nwazorjje at Ifite-Dunu rallied to the side of Mrs. Beartice Ilochi (a widow) to defend her against the ostracism proposed on her by the non-Catholic members. Ekendu (2014) equally states that the cries of the widows have triggered social tension and individuals, government and non-governmental organizations rose to challenges of finding ways and means of putting to an end the exploitation of widows. Although Ekendu (2014) opines that their efforts are yet to yield the expected results. This research agrees with Ekwunife and Ekendu that there have been serious efforts by the churches and civil societies to alleviate the plights of widows but more efforts are needed.

### **Theoretical framework**

Every theory system had ideologies justifying its existence, so do the theory of gender inequality. Gender inequality stems from the notion that "biology is destiny," that biological differences between the sexes play very different societal roles. Theorists on gender inequality see gender inequality as part of universal problem of exploitation of the weak by the strong. Gelles and Levine (1999) believe that throughout history, men used their superior strength and women's vulnerability to create institutions that supported and maintained male power and authority. Men controlled the means of

productions and women were seen as men's domestic servants thus, when a man dies, his widow is not allowed to inherit any of his property.

Theorists of gender inequality claim that women are situationally less empowered than men to realize the need they share with men for self actualization. Lengermann and Niebrugge (2012) elucidate that men and women are situated in society not only differently but also unequally. Women get less of the material resources, social status, power, and opportunity for self actualization than men do who share their social location based on class, race, occupation, ethnicity, religion, education, nationality, or any intersection of these factors. This inequality results from the organization of society, not from any significant biological or personality differences between women and men.

Additionally, Lorber (1994) expresses that gender inequality is not an individual matter, but is deeply ingrained in the structure of societies. Lorber goes on to suggest that gender inequality is built into the organization of marriage and families, work and economy, politics, religion, the arts and other cultural productions and the very language of people. Making men and women equal therefore requires social and not individual solutions.

### **Data Analysis**

#### **Widowhood Rites and Interpretations in Isiamaigbo from 1970 to 1990s**

Normally whenever a man dies, the wife will automatically become a widow. As soon as it is confirmed that a man has drawn his last breath, the normal life pattern of his wife is suspended and immediately replaced with innumerable restrictions. Traditionally in Isiamaigbo, there were two major aims for the restrictions. First was to sever the marital and conjugal ties between the deceased and his widow. The second reason was to prevent the woman from being way-ward at least throughout the mourning period. So the woman would shave her hair which was usually done by the eldest or a delegated member of daughters of the patrilineage of the deceased. The widow would stop going to her farms, and forbidden to attend any market in Agulu. These take effects from the moment the husband was confirmed dead, though after the funeral rites and ceremonies, the widow can attend markets outside Agulu while still mourning. There was a belief that she might see the ghost of the husband if she dared to attend any market in Agulu. She would also be prohibited to cook her food and those of the household because, cooking was believed to be an expression of joy and merriment. More importantly, one of the cardinal duties of a wife to her husband was to prepare the meals of the family. When the husband is no more, this important role should be temporarily stopped.

In those days, family members were often constrained to perform funeral ceremonies immediately a man died especially when the deceased did not leave enough wealth behind. In addition, there are no means of preserving the corpse for a longer period of time and as a result, the deceased would be buried so as to give the family time to organize the funeral ceremony. The widow would then be confined at one side of the house where she would sit and observe a phase of mourning that would last for three native weeks *izunaatọ* which is twelve days.

Throughout the three native weeks, the widow would be proscribed from associating with any man whatever be the case. On the eve of the last day of the three native weeks the eldest daughter of the patrilineage or any of their delegated member would accompany the widow to a square known as *Ebe Amudo* or to a closest forest for a special rite of cleansing and purification. Widowers do not perform this particular rite and it portrays what Lorber (1994) opines about gender inequality where culture of the people assign some responsibilities to the womenfolk whereas their men counterparts do not share in it. The widow will then solicit the service of the chief priest through the help of her husband's kinsman to perform the end of restrictions ritual in proxy of the widow at a known destination called *aja ana*.

Any widow who did not perform the end of restrictions ritual referred to as *igbu ebune aja ana* after the three native weeks would still be bounded by those innumerable restrictions. And any widow that failed to observe the widowhood practices was called *ajadu ikiridim*. If she did, then she can freely associate with everybody including the men and they can help her to perform any task.

During the funeral proper, the widow would be confined to a corner in her husband's compound under the protective watch of her sisters and the daughters of the patrilineage of the deceased. According to Mrs. Ann Okafor who is one of the respondents, on the eve of the funeral ceremony, the daughters of the patrilineage of the deceased would come and remind the widow of the impending restrictions binding on her. Some of the restrictions include: she must not receive any gift directly from the funeral partakers, she must not sleep except in the night, her food must be prepared separately, among others.

After, the funeral ceremonies and the widow had not perform the ritual involving slaughtering of a ram before the *aja ana* deity, she would still not benefit from anything realized from the funeral gifts like yam, money and others. Such widow cannot even harvest her husband's farm products or inherit any of his property until she performs all the rites and the head of daughter of the patrilineage of the deceased husband would come and dip her hands on all her late husband's property. Only then would the widow be allowed to enjoy her husband's belongings.

### **Dispute over Widowhood Practices in Isiamaigbo**

Around 1970 onwards, Isiamaigbo Christian community has grown numerously. They started challenging the moral justification of the obnoxious traditional widowhood rites. Progressively the Christians grew and outnumbered the Igbo traditional religionists. Many members of the community not only became Christians but educated as well.

The widowhood crisis in Isiamaigbo arose from the fact that Christian widows were then forced by a handful of traditional religionists to perform the widowhood ritual according to traditional rites. This insistence to perform the traditional widowhood rites prompted Azikiwe (1994) who observes that traditional religionists are perpetrators of the progressive cultural practices against women. It then became a shame that highly placed and devout Christian widows were subjected to what the Christians called sinful humiliation on the death of their husbands. All efforts to stop this proved abortive. The priests in Agulu at that time Late Rev. Fr Makulo and subsequently Rev Fr Azuka vehemently denounced the humiliation of Christian widows by few unenlightened traditional religionists in the community. Consequently, the Christians both Catholics and Protestants in Isiamaigbo jointly engaged the traditional religionists in series of dialogue to find a solution to the problem. At a stage, it became obvious that the traditional religionists were not prepared for any compromise.

Interestingly, Isiamaigbo was not the only village in Agulu that observed traditional widowhood rites. In fact, it was a general cultural practice, only that she produced the first Christian faithful who decreed to his wife and children while he was still alive that on the event of his death, his wife should not perform the traditional widowhood rites. Eventually the man named Mr. Job Dunu died and on December thirtieth 1976 (30/12/76) during his funeral ceremony, the Christians decided to ignore the taboo on widowhood rites by giving condolence money direct to the widow Mrs. Veronica Dunu. One of the informants of the research Mr. Joachim Moujeke explained that he was one of those Christians that dropped money directly in Mrs. Veronica Dunu's hand. As stated earlier, this was an abomination as rated by the traditional religionists. And so the ice was broken and serious crisis ensued.

The battle raged on for years until around 1980, when the traditional religionists expected Mrs. Veronica Dunu to have died or be stricken by a mysterious illness as a result of her refusal to observe the traditional widowhood rites, but nothing happened to her. This encouraged other subsequent Christian widows and they too started rejecting the traditional widowhood rites. The study gathered that at a point, there were many widows that did not perform the widowhood rites in Isiamaigbo. Their number continued to grow that it became very difficult for the traditional religionists and less faithful Christians to disassociate with the Christian widows and their families. Eventually, the traditional religionists abrogated the traditional widowhood rites for the Christians after they consulted a diviner and Ora-Eri people, but Christians had taken the decision years back.



### **Widowhood Rites in Isiamaigbo in Twenty-First Century**

As at the time of the study, there had been some distinctive differences between the Christian widowhood rites and the traditional widowhood rites. The practices are on the decline due to modernity and Christian influence. The Christian widows surely grieve and mourn their dead husbands but are no longer subjected to innumerable restrictions and isolation when they mourn their husbands. For instance, the Christian widows shave their hair merely to show grief and respect for their husbands. The shaving is no longer compulsorily done by the eldest daughter of the patrilineage of the deceased, instead, by the women zonal leader of the widow's zone. Sometimes, the widow's sister or even a friend can perform the task. Yet, some widows do not shave their hair at all and nobody sanctions them for it.

In addition, widows at the time of the study do not tie disused machete on the wrist instead, they hold a cross in their hands to displace the machete. The widows in time of review do not eat the food used to entertain funeral partakers during their husbands' funeral ceremonies, they can exchange handshakes with anybody, they can take their bath even from the minute their husbands give up the ghosts and no one questions them. Christian widows do not take condolence money directly from the donors as they used to do before and within the period when there was a dispute raging over the observances of traditional widowhood practices. But they have a different view for it which hinges on the fact that some wicked hearted may bewitched the widows or launch a diabolical attack on them through that. What is obtainable at the time of the study is that a small bucket is placed in front of the widow where sympathizer put money to express their condolences.

The mourning attire for Christian widows at the time of the study is white clothes against black previously in use. The Christians believe that the death of a good Christian should be a thing of joy instead of grief and so white which signifies purity and happiness should be used in place of black that signifies grief. Mourning period has by reduced from one year to six months in the late twentieth century and three months at the time of the study. Again, funeral ceremonies that usually take seven days have been reduced to three days and further slashed to two days.

For the traditional religionists, all their widowhood rites are still intact, for example ritual bath, slaughtering of *aja ana* ram among others. But the fact remains that in this twenty first century, it is very difficult to locate a traditional religionist in Isiamaigbo. Many of them are either dead or have converted to Christianity. What happens is that some less faithful Christians do perform the traditional widowhood rites secretly. But they do not adhere to their rites as their predecessors who were strong adherents of those widowhood rites.

### **Modification of Widowhood Practices in Isiamaigbo**

There are many factors that enhanced the changes and improvement that have been achieved in Isiamaigbo at the time of the study. According to almost all the informants of the study, the changes started when the Christians around 1970 started rejecting to observe the widowhood rites according to traditional rites. The rejection was after the incident at late Job Dunu's burial. The factors include:

#### **i. Christian Religious Influence**

Christian religion produced many Christians and their leaders (priest and pastors) who were able to stand out and reject the dehumanizing widowhood practices. Alulu (1995) agrees with this when he states that Christian religious influence is beginning to have some gradual effect as to what people believe. They vehemently denounced them and termed those rites sinful humiliation against widows. Christians believe that since those heavy restrictions are not binding on the widowers, then they are not abomination since from the Christian perspective, married man and woman have become one. Death only separates them but does not make them enemies. The Christians did not intend to cause any hinderance for the traditional religionists who want to observe those rites.

#### **ii. Education**

The Western education was introduced in African culture from the colonial era. With the increasing level of education of widows and their children as well as the among the relations of the husbands of the widows, most traditional widowhood rites were termed sinful humiliation and barbaric acts. People started talking about human right and that most widowhood practices were against human

right. Some members of the community that have acquired formal education began to discuss specific rights of women particularly the right to dignity and non-discrimination that are threatened by widowhood practices. They believe that ordinarily, widowhood ought to evoke sympathy, empathy and support from others instead of the widows having to put up with other challenges such as deprivation, hopelessness, and helplessness brought about by harmful cultural practices.

### **iii. Some Level of Women Economic Independence**

Soon after Nigeria-Biafra war that ended in 1970, it dawned on Igbo communities and families that men alone can no longer fend sufficiently for their families. Consequently, most women, even the uneducated started to strive for a survival. This helped the women that even when bereaved of their husbands who are usually the bread winners of the families, they can fend for themselves and their immediate family members more importantly their children. Others yet, had become educated and are engaged in one public service or another, as a result, they no longer totally financial dependent on their husbands. Despite some society's attitude of gender inequality against women, they started to struggle to owe a living no matter how meager to augment whatever their husbands provide. Though the task was not an easy one for the women to combine their domestic responsibilities, natural duty of child bearing and caring together with either full time business engagement or public services but they still strive, fight tooth and nail to earn their living.

### **iv. Absence of Doom on Noncompletion of Widowhood Practices**

as stated earlier in the work, women who did not observe and perform the traditional widowhood rites are called *ajadu ikiridim*. They suffer humiliation and all sorts of victimization. This set of widows were expected to either die mysteriously or suffer some mysterious illness beginning with Mrs. Dunu, but nothing happened to them. Then, other subsequently Christian widows were encouraged. They stood their grounds and continued to decline traditional widowhood rites.

## **Prevalent Practices in the Present Christian Widowhood Rites in Isiamaiabo**

There are some widowhood practices observed by the Christian widows at the time of the study that originated from traditional widowhood rites. The only difference is that the Christians have different views and reasons for observing them. They include:

### **i. Shaving the Hair**

The Christians believe that someone in pains does not need to look attractive especially when the husband who she longs for his admiration is no more. Unlike the traditionalists who believe that the woman should look tattered to discourage the ghost of the husband from making sexual advances on her, and as an abomination if a widow did not shave her hair, Christians do not take it as an abomination. It is obvious that at the time of the study, some Christian widows especially the Protestant churches members do not shave their hair. Most Catholic and Anglican widows shave their hair willingly while some widows do not especially when their husbands instructed them not to do so.

### **ii. Putting Condolence Money in a Basket**

In funeral ceremonies nowadays, funeral partakers are expected to put their condolence money in a basket usually placed in front of the widow. Unlike when the raging battle against traditional widowhood rites was on, they used to give the widows condolence money directly in the hand. But even the Christians no longer practise it because at a time they observed that some wicked individuals used that means to launch diabolical attack on the widows.

### **iii. Not Going to any Market in Agulu**

Throughout the mourning period in the traditional rites, the widow would not go to any market in Agulu. At the time of this research, Christian widows still shun markets in Agulu but unlike the traditional religionists who strongly believe that the widow should not do so lest she see the ghost of the husband, the Christians believe it is just to accord respect to the man.

### **iv. Abstaining from the Food used to Entertain Funeral Partakers**

Widows still abstain from eating the food used to entertain the funeral partakers as obtainable prior to the time in review. Their reason is that their husbands' funeral is not a merriment occasion for them. Some argue that no evil can ever befall any widow who does so.

### **v. Sitting in Isolation**

At the time of this study, widows are still seen sitting in isolation during the funeral ceremonies of their husbands. This is for easy identification by the funeral partakers and not just to confine the widows as a result of widowhood rites restrictions.

## Findings

At the end of this research, the following findings were made:

The research finds out that it takes human decision to institute cultural practices and will equally require human will-power to modify them. What is obtainable in a community in terms of socio-cultural activities might not be in another. Isiamaiabo early Christians portrayed this by proving that their cultural practices were instituted for them thus, they can make changes where necessary.

Another finding is that widowhood rites in Isiamaiabo at the time of this research have been modified and better than what was obtainable in the 19th and 20th centuries. Finding also reveals that any widow that observes the traditional widowhood rites in Isiamaiabo at the time in study does that out of personal will because nobody mandates such a person to do so. As a saying goes “everything may cease but personal free will remains.” Also many communities subsequently followed the foot print of Isiamaiabo Christians in tackling their own related issues.

## Conclusion

The research has been able to disclose that cultural practices like widowhood rites are human institutionalized practices that are open to revival. Many have argued that widowhood rites are not in a rivalry of domination over the womenfolk. They argue that the rites are tied to traditional beliefs about death, inheritance, feminine role, family structure and family relationship. If the widowhood rites are not merely instituted by the men dominated society to subject the women to their control, then the widowhood rites should as well be binding on the men. Finally, if these widowhood rites are based on traditional beliefs about death, then anybody who no longer shares in the beliefs should not be forced into the practices. As it stands at the time of this study, there is provision for freedom of religion in the Nigerian constitution. A man that lived a good life in his life time would not be rejected by the cult of ancestors (as the Igbo traditional religionists believed) on the ground that the wife did not observe the widowhood rites. What qualifies him according to traditional religious belief is his good deeds while on earth. On this basis should the obnoxious treatment against women be stopped. A woman whose husband died is already in grief and pains, so more hardship should not be added to her.

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