DIVORCE PROCEEDINGS: CUSTOMARY LAW PERSPECTIVE

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INTRODUCTION

I really consider it an honour and privilege to be invited by the administrator of the National Judicial Institute (NJI), Hon. Justice R.P.I Bozimo OFR to present a paper at this workshop specially arranged for our learned brothers who have been specially honoured by their appointment and elevation to the higher bench of judge or kadi of the various courts in our beloved country, Nigeria. Let me quickly thank the Administrator of the National Judicial Institute (NJI) for counting me worthy to present this paper on “Divorce Proceedings: Customary Law Perspective” before this august body.

I really appreciate this gesture.

In traversing the topic of our discussion, the question that readily comes to one’s mind is: what is customary law? This brings to focus the fact that Nigeria is a
plural society with multiple or diverse ethnic/tribal groups and a corresponding multiplicity of divergent customary laws.

It is not in doubt that there are over two hundred tribal groups in Nigeria. Each of these groups has its own customary laws that govern their day to day relationship with one another. The unique similarity between the various customary laws is that all are unwritten. It will be appropriate at this stage to attempt a basic definition of customary law.

Customary law has been given both judicial and sociological definitions. For the purpose of this discussion, I wish to define customary law as that body of unwritten norms, rules and regulations which a given community accepts and recognises as binding and having the force of law which governs and regulates the relationship and transaction among the members of that community.

The above definition implies that for a particular rule of customary law to acquire the status of law, it must be recognised and adhered to by the members of that community as binding and enforceable by the courts.

Judicially, customary law was defined by Braimain F.J. in *Owonyin v. Omotosho* as “a mirror of accepted usage”. Similarly, Obaseki JSC in *Oyewunmi v. Ogunesan* defined customary law in a more elaborate but rather restricted
language as “the organic or living of law of the indigenous people of Nigeria regulating their lives and transactions”

For a rule of customary law to acquire the status of law, it must have been in existence at the relevant time. Therefore, the custom which the courts enforce must be an existing law and custom and not that of the by gone days according to speed. Ag. C.J. Lord Atkin in *Eshugbayi Aluko v Government of Nigeria* recognised acceptability as a yardstick for determining the validity of a rule of customary when he observed thus: “It is the assent of the native community that gives a custom its validity and therefore, barbarous or mild, it must be shown to be recognised by the native community whose conduct it is supposed to regulate.”

Customary law consist of the traditional usage which a community considers as binding. The level of development and sophistication of the machinery of justice in the traditional societies in Nigeria at the advent of the colonial rule varied from place to place. Each community had its system of administration of justice designed or modelled to ensure stability of the society and maintenance of social coexistence. Even though the colonial masters abolished some of the practices and usages prevalent in Nigeria traditional communities which they termed as inimical and offensive, they nevertheless endorsed the retention of some aspects of customary law for the settlement of disputes among the natives.
Customary laws vary from community to community but, there is a level of uniformity in principle and practice. The major principle or feature of customary laws is their ability to develop and modify themselves in response to social, cultural and economic changes. This brings us to our topic of discussion.

**THE CONCEPT OF MARRIAGE**

Marriage is universally accepted to be an institution governed by the social and religious norms of the society. It is a union between a man and a woman. It is apt to state that marriage as an institution has been in existence from time immemorial. It can be traced back to the creation of man and is considered to have spiritual, moral and social significance in the society. It is therefore revered as sacred and thus heavily guarded by various religions, traditions, social norms and laws alike.

In Nigeria, the sanctity of marriage cuts across all regions of the country regardless of culture and religion. The major types of marriage that existed in the pre-colonial era were the culture/traditional marriage and the Islamic/Maliki marriage. The type of marriage practiced was determined by the prevalent traditions or religions which governed the society where the parties live and/ or where they originated from.

Although the main hub of a marriage is bliss and happiness similar to fairy tale endings, marriage is soon found by most to be a far cry from that. In fact, for most
parties, the protection of marriage by culture and religion lands them in the eternal trap of marriage. In some culture such as in the northern parts of Nigeria women have little or no say in their marital lives as a result of the age old culture or forced/child marriage and betrothal from birth.

The concept of marriage and divorce affects Nigerian women more than it affects men due to the deep rooted culture that all women should be married leaving women with little or no choice/right to divorce as to what direction or dimension their lives should take, hence more women are trapped in a hellish or short life as a result of being stuck in abusive marriages.

Divorce or dissolution of marriage on the other hand is sometimes considered to be an abomination because it is perceived to whittle away the sanctity of marriage. The outright discouragement of divorce by all society forces creates unfair double standards, denial and religious apathy; for example, the law against bigamy, a frequent occurrence among men, including those professing Christianity, has never been involved; also the acceptance of concubines in the traditional Nigerian culture is accepted by both men and women alike.

Furthermore, various traditions and religions have also been known to condone divorce by means as simple as a unilateral action of returning the bride price to the parents of the bride; by simply professing divorce by word of mouth three times
(as is seen under Islamic Law), returning her to her parents’ house or deserting her by simply walking away from the marriage. Sometimes abandoning the wife with her children who she must cater for by herself whether she is capable financially or not or whether she is old enough to cater for them or not (for instance in the case of child marriage). The same view cannot however, be taken of the marital standards set for the Nigerian woman as a whole. Women in Nigeria are generally subject to the whims of their husbands, who may choose to throw them out in the streets without any form of support if he so desires and without any consequences whatsoever. The decision by women in Nigeria to divorce is not undertaken lightly as the consequences of divorce are more severe for women. Women are usually caught between the ocean and the deep blue sea whereby they have to make a difficult decision of enduring an unhappy or abusive marriage or face the shame and the stigmatisation that await any woman who dares to have the courage to divorce her husband and father of her children. It is worthy of note that seeking divorce increases discrimination in jobs, sexual harassment, societal ridicule, financial difficulty, loss of custody of children and loss of property rights.

**TYPES OF MARRIAGE IN NIGERIA**

Basically, these are two types of marriage recognizable under Nigerian law. The first is marriage conducted under the marriage Act which is monogamous in nature. The second is however, marriage contracted under native law and custom
which does not exclude marriage under Islamic law which is polygamous in nature. For the purpose of this discussion, our focus will be on customary marriage.

Marriages contracted under customary law are valid in the eyes of the law provided that such marriages comply strictly with native law and custom governing marriages in the locality where the marriage was contracted. Customary marriages are said to be potentially polygamous in that they permit a man to marry more than one wife. However, where a person married under customary law maintains one man one woman relationship with his only wife, then his marriage is only potentially polygamous and does not actually become polygamous until he marries other wives.

**REQUIREMENT OF A VALID CUSTOMARY MARRIAGE**

The details of the essential and formal requirements for the celebration of a valid customary law marriage vary from one locality to another but, there are broad principals which are sometimes similar, namely:

(a) The parties to a customary marriage must possess capacity under that native law and custom, the parties are contracting the marriage.

(b) There must be payment of dowry, or bride price which is both a gift and payment. It may be one of money, natural produce or any other kind of
property. This must be paid to the parent or guardian of the bride. It must be paid on account of a marriage of a female person and must be for a marriage which is intended or has taken place; and

(c) There must be a ceremony of marriage and the handing over of the women to the man’s family.

From the foregoing, it means that living with a man and having children for him alone without more does not necessarily make a woman the wife of the man under native law and custom. In the same way, a woman who is the wife of a man under native law and custom does not divorce the man merely by leaving him and staying with another and having children for that other.

THE CUSTOMARY LAW PERSPECTIVES OF DIVORCE PROCEEDINGS

The dissolution of a customary law marriage is not as stringent as that under the marriage Act. A customary law marriage can be dissolved without any judicial pronouncement or intervention. The spouses may decide to break the union and the usual defences of collusion or condemnation under statutory marriage is not available. But there must be a formal act on the part of the party who is tired and not willing to continue with the union or association. In most cases, the two families are involved in the dissolution.
Customary marriage may be dissolved by mutual agreement between the husband (or his parents where he is young) and the parents of the wife in the presence of the marriage middlemen and one or more elders from each of the two families. The parties in such circumstances and where necessary, decide how much of the bride price and other marriage expenses paid on the woman concerned should be returned to the husband. In this case, factors like the demotion of the marriage and whether or not there are children of the marriage are taken into consideration. The bride price and other marriage expenses which are refundable are then paid over to the husband through the hands of the marriage middlemen. This being done, the marriage is declared dissolved\(^2\).

**PROCEDURE FOR DISSOLUTION OF CUSTOMARY LAW**

A customary law marriage as a matter of practice and procedure may be dissolved in either of the following two ways:

(a) Non-judicial divorce

(b) Judicial divorce

(a) **Non-judicial divorce**

This arises in those situations where the customary law marriages are dissolved without recourse being had to the customary court\(^3\). There are possible ways of achieving non-judicial divorce and they are:
i. By mutual agreement.

ii. By a unilateral action of any of the spouses.

i. **By mutual agreement:**- This arises where after the spouses have fallen out and attempt to reconcile them by their families have failed, a mutual agreement to bring the marriage to an end may be reached. In such a case, the repayment of the bride price is also agreed upon or determined by the customary court where such agreement fails.

ii. **By a unilateral action:**- This arises where with intention to end the marriage, the husband may drive the wife out and demand a refund of the bride price or the wife who is maltreated might run back to her parents with the intention to end the marriage.

It should be noted that dissolution of marriage under customary law is achieved by the refund of bride price. In some areas, however, only the husband has the right to a unilateral dissolution of marriage. Examples include section 8 of the Biu Native Authority (Declaration of Biu Native Marriage Law and Custom Order 1964 and the Maliki School of Islamic Law which dissolves marriage either by Means of **Khul’u**- where the wife offers ransom to obtain her release or **Talaq**-where the husband repudiates the marriage. Under Islamic personal law other forms of divorce are: **Mubarah**- where both parties decide to put the marriage to an end, **Tadriq or Faskh**-where the wife seek her release on ground of violating the
marriage terms by her husband, **Zihar**- a divorce when a man compares his wife to his mother, **Ila**- a divorce when a husband has made an oath that he will abstain from sexual intercourse for four months or more and he carries it out and **Lian**- a divorce where a husband accuses his pregnant wife of committing adultery and therefore disowns paternity.

It has been observed that in the non-judicial divorce Mechanism, there is usually, absence of record of the time and circumstances in which the divorce is obtained. This therefore constitute a major defect in the procedure.

(b) **Judicial divorce:** This approach is normally resorted to only when the family arbitration has failed to reconcile the parties. In the modern days, judicial divorce is rapidly gaining prominence because it provides recorded evidence of divorce.

Generally, customary courts have the jurisdiction to entertain cases of customary law marriage divorce but sometimes, magistrate court hear such matters, especially if there are no customary courts established in the locality customary law of which is no issue. The problem associated with this method is the usual delay in court proceedings. Also where the courts refuse to grant the decree, parties may resort to non-judicial divorce to dissolve the marriage.
Hitherto, judicial dissolution of customary law marriage has been, in practice, reserved as a second order procedure. This is because, it is almost always resorted to only when the non-judicial procedure has failed in either two principal modes of application: in the case of mutual agreement by the families where disagreement arises in relation to the amount of bride price to be refunded; by husband or by wife\(^\text{15}\) where the husband refuses to take back the bride price or where the family of the woman refuse to pay back the bride price.

**GROUNDs FOR DIVORCE UNDER CUSTOMARY LAW**

It has been conceived that generally, customary law has no standardized and strict grounds for dissolution of marriage as the custom of each locality include the accepted grounds on which marriage may be ended.

Under customary law, there are no particular grounds for divorce. Emphasis is usually placed on the fact that a marriage has failed and the fault of a party is considered usually for purpose of when repayment of the bride price is to be made. A list of factors can be identified as moral causes for dissolving customary marriages. These include; adultery (particularly by the wife) lose character, impotency of the husband or sterility of the wife, laziness, ill treatment and cruelty, leprosy or other harmful diseases which may affect procreation, witchcraft, addiction to crime and desertion\(^\text{16}\)
Statutorily, the grounds for dissolution of marriage under customary law are\(^1\):

(a) Betrothal under marriageable age

(b) Refusal to consummate the marriage,

(c) Harmful diseases of a permanent nature which impair the fertility of a woman or the virility of a man.

(d) Impotency of the husband or sterility of the wife etc.

In a customary marriage divorce proceeding, the party agitating for the divorce begins either of the two procedural options most likely to avail the end of the marriage as sought. The applicable guide is not the law but merely expediency. In the view of this study, it would seem more reasonable if the rule is to start compulsorily with the non-judicial procedure, and then resort to the judicial as an appellate or last option. Although, this view may be seen to run foul of a party’s right to seek redress in our courts. However, it is my view that volition of the parties towards settlement ought to be exhausted first before recourse to court. The reason is to preserve the sanctity of marriage and protect the efficacy of the courts’ decisions.

In all, the return of bride price is the critical threshold in the customary divorce procedure. Once, the bride price is returned by the father of the bride or whoever
that stands in his place with valid ‘Locus Standi’ all incidents of customary marriage fall apart irretrievably\(^\text{18}\).

**THE SIGNIFICANCE OF RETURN OF BRIDE PRICE IN DIVORCE PROCEDURE UNDER CUSTOMARY LAW**

Customary law marriage is considered dissolved in the case of non-judicial divorce when the bride price is returned or refunded to the husband. Before this is done, a de facto dissolved marriage is considered to have continued, though in an inchoate state. An unfortunate consequence of this custom is that any child born to the woman before the bride price is returned is considered the child of the husband. This custom may however be declared repugnant to natural justice\(^\text{19}\).

Where a marriage is dissolved by an order of a customary court, it was held that it is the refund of the bride price or dowry that puts to an end all incidents of customary law marriage and not an order of any court dissolving such marriage. Any order dissolving any customary law marriage without a consequent order for the refund or acceptance of the bride price or dowry is meaningless\(^\text{20}\).

The problem with this reasoning is that the customary courts appear to have been robbed of their jurisdiction by the mere extra-judicial act of refund of bride price. But the better view seems to be that the jurisdiction of the court remains intact but
such an order made dissolving a customary marriage becomes effective by the refund of the bride price\textsuperscript{21}.

There are cases where the refund of the bride price loses the force of being the material determinant of dissolution of marriage. Such cases include:

1. Where the husband renounces his right to claim a refund. Here the marriage is automatically dissolved by such renunciation.

2. Where a husband especially among the Igbo divorces his wife, the refund shall not take effect until the wife remarries.

3. Where the husband refuses to accept the refund of the bride price. In such cases, the wife may petition to court for the marriage to be dissolved and the bride price paid into the court.

4. Under the Maliki law in Northern Nigeria for instance, a customary court may dissolve without ordering a refund of bride price where the husband is guilty of wilful refusal to maintain the wife, physical ill treatment of the wife or deliberate sexual desertion.

5. Also in Biu area (Borno state), a husband who institutes divorce proceedings or repudiates his wife orally is deprived of the right to the refund of bride price\textsuperscript{22}.\textsuperscript{22}
In all situations where bride price is to be refunded, the quantum of what is recoverable by the husband differs from locality to locality. In some places, it is limited to the bride price paid at marriage, but others incidental expenses are excluded. Sometimes, the amount of bride price repayable is directly proportional to the duration of the marriage. However, statutory limitations have been imposed in some parts of Nigeria regarding what is recoverable.23

On who repays and when, it is the primary responsibility of the father of the bride or any other person who under the particular customary law is entitled to receive it. In both judicial and non-judicial divorce, there is no strict rule as to the timing of the refund.

The general principal is that if the husband is responsible for the termination, he will be refunded only upon re-marriage of the wife but, if the wife is responsible, the husband is entitled to immediate refund. And concerning the right to re-marry, customary law confers on each spouse a right to re-marry after the dissolution of their marriage except in few cases seen in Islamic law and in some other cases.

**RELIEFS PREDICATED UPON DIVORCE OF A CUSTOMARY MARRIAGE**

Once a customary divorce crystalizes, various questions regarding: what is refundable to the husband, who takes custody of the children (where there are
some), and what happens to properties jointly held by the parties may arise. These questions and/or issues relate to possible reliefs predicated upon customary divorce. It must however be underscored that the type of divorce procedure (judicial or non-judicial resorted to is critical to determine which reliefs are possible, available and applicable.²⁴ Where recourse is made to judicial divorce, due regard is usually had to the duration of the marriage, conduct of the parties and the sexes of the children born of the marriage. Such reliefs come in the form of court orders, disobedience of which materialises into committal proceeding in contempt. But where the divorce procedure is non-judicial and unilateral, the above considerations are most unlikely to apply, at least, as a rule binding on parties.²⁵ It is contestable that refund of marriage symbol (bride price) is essentially a relief predicated upon customary divorce. This is because it is the refund of the bride price that actually dissolves a marriage celebrated under the customary law. In a sense, refund of bride price crystalizes a de jure divorce, yet it is of the nature of a relief asked for and/or granted after divorce has occasioned/occurred. The difficulty here consists in taking what really materializes an end of a series of events to be that which is asked for and granted after the end has occurred. It should be noted that when a marriage has broken down irretrievably; de facto divorce crystalizes with the right of refund of bride price. If eventually the right of
refund is made, the right of relief arising under the de facto divorce is satisfied bringing all incidents of the marriage to an end – de jure divorce.

Interestingly, under customary law, a husband may opt to waive the refund as a relief open to him.26

It is the general rule that the amount recoverable by a husband upon divorce is the amount paid at the bride price ceremony, subject to the expectation that a lesser amount could be refunded where the woman has gotten children for the man. The rationale behind this practice is that value has been received by the man for ‘buying’ the woman and thus the woman has suffered ‘wear and tear’ by reason of which depreciation has occurred.27

These days and in furtherance of the modern tendencies to achieve some degree of discipline and order in the rather arbitrary rules of customary divorce, some local statutes have attempted to introduce limitation to the extent of marriage symbol recoverable when divorce occurs.28 But despite the illegality of refunding or receiving more the law stipulates, local preferences prevail over statutory positions. Accordingly, people refund more than stipulated and even resort to extra-judicial divorce where statutory rules seem inconvenient.

The combination of the factors of partially, paternity (as determine by gift of marriage symbol) and patrilineal identity prevalent among the various cultural
systems in Nigeria, a father, reserves an exclusive right of custody of children and even ownership of same. As a matter of fact, the dominant position of the Nigerian man in both domestic and economic spheres ensures that the husband enjoys custodial rights over the children of the marriage. It is immaterial that the woman is rich enough, healthy and comparatively better placed to care for her children. One thing certain is that the welfare of the principles applicable in statutory custody cases is not a necessary issue for consideration in customary divorce. A more pathetic case that often arises relates to where a woman gives birth to a child after a de facto divorce has taken place but before refund of bride price is accomplished and where according to the prevailing custom the husband remains the rightful custodian/owner of the child, even where in fact he is not the biological father of the child. As expected, in the present legal regime, this piece of customary rule has failed the evidential test of repugnancy to natural justice, equity and good conscience and has been repeatedly struck down by the superior courts on appeal. Settlement of property is in theory an available relief under the customary divorce legal regime but in practice, it is non-existent. The reason being that within the Southern part of Nigeria especially among the Igbo, wives are strictly considered among the properties/possessions of the husband. This being the case, whatever a woman may claim to have acquired in terms of property are in stricto sensu the husband’s property by extension. Hence, upon customary divorce,
it is difficulty to lawfully establish anything as belonging to the wife. However, most men in the exercise of equitable discretion allow their divorced wife to take out with them all such things like cloths and personal gifts with which they came with into the marriage. Others extend these to those properties given to the woman by her beloved family by way of settlement (idu uno) when she got married. Most assets, even where they were single or jointly acquired are not conceded to the woman except by the man’s ‘charity’. In this way, settlement of property under the customary law becomes a discretionary relief to be granted by the man as he pleases. This conclusion is of course without prejudice to any decision the customary court may find contingent and pragmatic due regards being had to the circumstance of each case.

**COMMENTS ON CERTAIN ASPECTS OF CUSTOMARY DIVORCE PROCEEDINGS**

The whole structure of customary divorce is organised in a manner prejudicial against the ‘wives parties’. If for example a husband sends out his wife and refuses to take back the bride price, he binds the woman who cannot lawfully marry under the circumstance of fettered bride price. The man on the other hand, can marry because the law permits polygamy but not polyandry.
In another perspective, if the man (husband) wanting to take back the bride price, demands same but the family of the woman refuses, again, the woman is bound while the man can go further to contract a new and second marriage, at best, he becomes a polygamist which is even a positive and recommended practice under the customs. Either way, the woman is usually left at a cross-road\textsuperscript{33}. This lopsided gender complete/sensitivity of the customary provision obviously run contrary to the provisions of Article 16(3) of the Convention for the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) which provides for the same rights and responsibilities upon dissolution of marriage\textsuperscript{34}. And by reason of the fact that CEDAW has been ratified and most of its provisions found in most extant state laws in Nigeria, such customary provisions fly on the face of such laws and are to the extent of their inconsistencies void.

Another issue challenging the integrity of customary divorce is the necessity to refund bride price, so as to put to an end all incidents of the broken marriage. While payment of bride price in the first place could be defended by reason of a symbolic gesture of appreciation to the family of the wife; to insist on its refund upon a failed marriage would becloud all vestiges of symbolic gestures to import an alien sense of commercialisation. Thus, it is pertinent to isolate and emphasize the fact that the continued practice of refund of the marriage symbol is
dehumanizing. It revives the colonial notion that a wife is a chattel bought by way of marriage and returned on divorce, for a refund\textsuperscript{35}.

As a matter of fact, a purchaser of the product seeks to gets value for money. In the case of the wife bought with the bride price, the value includes but not limited to the expectation that the woman bears as many children as possible. The implication is such that if the woman is barren or gives birth to female children only, the woman is no longer a viable commodity purchased for the value of bearing the types of children required and for all intent and purposes the marriage has terminated because the value in the commodity has not materialized\textsuperscript{36}. The commodification of the woman is an absurdity in the new world of human rights and freedom of persons.

Another aspect of dissolution of customary marriage which is diminutive of human value and the tall order to which marriage belongs is the fact that it can be dissolved in the traditional way without formalities. This is just because of the option of a non-judicial divorce. The outcome of such divorce by a wave of hands is that there is no security in the contract of marriage.

There is no gainsaying that relief available upon customary divorce law are organised to service man’s authority in a patriarchal world. Thus, custody of children is the sole right of men, maintenance provisions terminate upon the refund
of bride price as there is no post-divorce maintenance known to customary law. Settlement of property is a charm as the wife herself is a chattel under the customary law.

**CONCLUSION**

Customary law is the law governing indigenous people of a particular locality regulating their lives and transactions. It is dynamic and not static in that it changes with time and circumstances. It mirrors the culture of the people and controls all socio-economic transitions among them, marriage not excluded. A marriage under customary law is a valid one, although the procedure relating to its divorce is distinct from statutory marriage. There is the need for experts to jointly and severally examine and evaluate the corpus of laws and procedure relating to customary divorce law in order to align the same with the internal best practices and to resonate it with the contemporary sensitivity to human rights and freedom for both genders.
END NOTES

1. (1961) 1 All N.L.R (Pt. 11) 304 at 309
2. (1990)3 NWLR (Pt. 137)182at 2017
3. (1931)AC 662 at 673.
17. Section 7 of the Marriage, Divorce and Custody of Children Adoptive By-Law Order, 1958 which applies to parts of Ogun, Oyo, Ondo, Delta and Edo States.
18. M. O. Izunwa (2015). *Critique of certain aspects of the grounds, procedure and reliefs attaching to customary divorce law in Southern Nigeria*: [http://www.academic journals.org/JLCR.](http://www.academic journals.org/JLCR.) (accessed on 16/02/2017


28. Example is the CF. The Limitation of Dowry Law of Eastern Nigeria 1963, Cap 76.


32. M. O. Izunwa, *Critique of certain aspects of the grounds, procedure and reliefs attaching to customary divorce law in Southern Nigeria*. http://www.academic journals.org/JLCR (accessed on 16/02/2017)


34. See also Section 43 of the 1999 Constitution of Nigerian (as amended)
