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POLYGAMY AND LAW IN NORTHERN NIGERIA: A CASE STUDY OF ITS PRACTICE AND IMPACT ON WOMEN'S RIGHT IN BAUCHI STATE

BY

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Law

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ABSTRACT

The current Sharī'ah legal framework as administered in Northern Nigeria has been in existence since long period of its ancient history. It went through distinct dimensions throughout the chronicles of its legal aggregate, starting from the pre colonial era, via the colonial epoch, up to the post independence eon. Buttressed by this Shari'ah framework, polygamy remains a crucial issue of Islamic family law, owing to its ample practice in Nigeria. Religion and culture are the main reasons behind its overwhelming acceptability and widespread. The religious background on polygamy undoubtedly correlated with the cultural position of the Nigerian people, thereby significantly influencing its practice. Besides overheating the controversies surrounding the practice, it is rightly argued that the mix-up of religion and culture rendered the practice inconsistent with the religious principles and its objectives in polygamy. This phenomenon posited the Nigerian framework incompatible with the contemporary developments in the legal framework of polygamous practices around the Muslim world. The main remonstrance surrounding the inconsistent practice is its pessimistic impact on the rights of women which Islamic law overwhelmingly protects. The Nigerian Shari ah framework with respect to family law generally, and on polygamy in particular, is mainly based on uncodified and unregulated classical law of the Maliki School. The non codified system is seen as an efficacious factor responsible for numerous socio-legal botherations linked to polygamous practice in Nigeria. This thesis lucubrates the practice of polygamy in Nigeria and how it affects the rights of women in the Northern Nigerian states. It presents an in-depth study of the classical Maliki law and to what extent is the Nigerian practice compatible with the law. The methodology employed the library-based doctrinal research approach as well as both quantitative and qualitative empirical research approach. Bauchi state was coherently selected as a model of case study for empirical research about the practice of polygamy in Northern Nigeria. For the purpose of presenting a comparative overview of model jurisdictions, the thesis canvasses upon a concise but comprehensive appraisal of the legal framework and practice of polygamy in selected Muslim countries. It concludes with a sum-up of the thesis and a recapitulation of its salient findings and sets forth the author's suggestions. The research is aimed at proposing for the review and gradual reform in the administration of Islamic family law for an arrayed and improved Sharī'ah implementation in Bauchi state and Nigeria at large.

خلاصة البحث

إن إطار النظام الشرعي المعمول به حاليا في شمال نيجيريا يعود تاريخه إلى أمد بعيد. ولقد مَرّ بمراحل تاريخيّة مختلِفة ابتداءً بعهد ما قبل الاستِعمار ثم ما بعد الاستِعمار. وفي إطار هذا النظام الشرعي ظَلَّ تَعَدُّد الزوجات قضيةً بالغة الأهمية في قانون الأسرة، نظرًا لشــيوعه في نيجيريا. و يعتبر الدِّين والتقاليد السببَين الرَّئيسَين في انتشار التعدد، غير أن خَلط الــدين بالتقاليد قد جعل تعدد الزوجات غير مُتوافق مع الأهداف التي شرع لأجلها. هذه الظاهرة جعلت النظام الشرعي النيجيري غير منسجم مع التّطوُّر القانوبي لممارسة تعدد الزوجــات حول العالم الإسلامي. إن الاعتراض الرئيسي حول ممارسة تعدد الزوجات هـو تـأثيره السَّلبي على حقوق النساء التي تدافع عنها الشريعة الإسلامية بحق. إن إطار النظام الشرعي النيجيري – بالنسبة لقانون العائلة عموما، وبتعدد الزوجات خصوصا – يعتمد في أغلب، على الفقه المالكي، إلا أن عدم تقنين هذا الفقه كان السبب في ظهور كثير من القضايا الاجتماعية والقانونية ذات الصلة بتعدد الزوجات. هذه الرسالة العِلميَّة تبحَتْ عن ممارسة تعدد الزوجات في نيجيريا ومدى تأثيرها على حقوق النساء في ولايات شمــال نيجيريــا. وتحاول الرسالة تقديم بحث عميق في الفقه المالكي الأصِيل والوقوف على موافقته للممارسات العملية في نيجيريا. ولقد استعان الباحث بالمنهج المكتبي إضافة إلى التحليل الكَمِّي والكَيفِي كما تَمّ اختيار ولاية بَوتشِي كنَموذَج للبحث الميداني حول ممارسة تعدد الزوجات في شمال نيجيريا. وبغرض تقديم دراسةِ مقارنة لأنظمة قضائية مختلفة، تضـمن البحث الإطار القانوبي والممارسة العملية لتعدد الزوجات في بعض البلــدان الإســـلامية. وخُتِم البحث بجملة نتائج وتوصيات أهمها تقديم اقتِراح لإعادة النُّظر والإصلاح التَّدريجي لقانون الأسرة و تفعيل تطبيق الشريعة الإسلامية بنبجيريا عموما وفي ولاية بوتشي علمي وجه الخصوص.

APPROVAL PAGE

The thesis of Mansur Isa Yelwa has been approved by the Following:

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. I also declare that it has not been previously or concurrently submitted as a whole for any other degrees at IIUM or other institutions.

Mansur Isa Yelwa

Signature.....

Date

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This Research Work is Dedicated to the Illustrious Nigerian Muslim Women

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In the name of Allah, the Most Beneficent, the Most Merciful. All praise is due to Allah, the One, the Self-Sufficient, the Omniscient, the Eternal and Absolute Sovereign over everything and everyone, out of Whose infinite mercies the difficult is made easy. May His peace and blessings perpetually shower upon our beloved Prophet, Muhammad, the only path to the eternal bliss and success for the life here and Hereafter.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATION

AH	After Hijrah
AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Kinds of Discrimination Against
	Women
CPS	Code of Personal Status
FAWOYDI	Fahimta Women and Youth Development Initiative
FCT	Federal Capital Territory
FOMWAN	Federation of Muslim Women Association of Nigeria
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IFLA	Islamic Family Law Act
IFLSE	Islamic Family Law (Selangor) Enactment
JSC	Justice of the Supreme Court
MFLO	Muslim Family Law Ordinance
MLJ	Malaysian Law Journal
MSO	Muslim Sisters Organisation
NGN	Nigerian Naira
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
NJC	National Judicial Council
NNRL	Northern Nigeria Law Report
RWAFF	Royal West African Frontier Force
SC	Supreme Court
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
SHLR	Sharia Law Report
USD	United States Dollar
WID	Women in Da'awa

TABLE OF TRANSLITERATION

b	=	ب	Z	=	ز	f	=	ف
t	=	ت	S	=	س	q	=	ق
th	=	ث	sh	=	ش	k	=	ك
j	=	で	Ş	=	ص	1	=	ل
ķ	=	۲	Ģ	=	ض	m	=	م
kh	=	Ż	ţ	=	ط	n	=	ن
d	=	د	Ż	=	ظ	h	=	٥
dh	=	ذ	د	=	٤	W	=	و
r	=	ر	gh	=	ė	у	=	ي

SHORT: $A = '; \qquad I = .; \qquad U = '$

LONG: $\bar{a} = {}^{\dagger}$; $\bar{i} = \varphi$; $\bar{u} = 9$

DIPHTHONG: $ay = \mathcal{L}$; $aw = \mathcal{L}$

CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

1.0 BACKGROUND OF STUDY

Polygamy¹ remains a subject of controversial issues not only from the perspective of Western civilisation, but within the context of Islamic law and its philosophy as well. This research is of the opinion that Islamic law encompasses a perfect system of regulation of human life endeavors in entirety. It has unlimited sphere in terms of applicability. Its primary textual sources are infallible. It is suitable for all and sundry at all generations and spaces. A sincere study of its laws proves that all its principles are compatible and based on good conscience for the realisation of natural justice. These sterling features are a paradigm to the fact that Islamic law never relents in regulating crucial issues affecting human life and his rights within, of which polygamy is not exclusive. Thus, in its rulings on polygamy, Islamic law gives due consideration to the impact of such rulings on the status and rights of women. This benchmark sets a crucial principle to be considered by all lawmaking bodies in relation to family law in general and polygamy in particular. Within the context of the contemporary world legal set-up, this thesis addresses these issues, studying and

¹ The term polygamy is defined as the practice of having more than one wife at the same time. Others use the word 'polygyny' instead. According to them, the term polygyny is used when one man is married to more than one woman. Polyandry on the other hand is used when one woman is married to more than one man. Polygamy is used to include both. Due to this linguistic divergence, some simply put the definition of polygamy as the practice of having more than one spouse. As commonly used, this study adopts the word polygamy, and, wherever used hereinafter, it is referring to polygyny. See: Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, 7th Ed. P 1123, retrieved from <<u>www.oup.com/elt/oald</u>>, accessed 10 April, 2012; Oxford Dictionary of Law, 6th Ed. (Oxford University Press, 2006), at 399; A. A. Philips and J. Jones, *Polygamy in Islam*, (Riyadh: International Islamic Publishing House, 2005), at 13; M. A. Ambali, *The Practice of Muslim Family Law in Nigeria*, (Zaria: Tamaza Publishing Company Limited, 1998), at 160.

analyzing the practice of polygamy and its impact on women's rights in the Northern Nigeria.

Sharī'ah² implementation vis-a-vis the practice of polygamy have always been a subject of criticism from both Muslims and non-Muslims in Nigeria. The main point there is the question of whether or not Muslims' attitudes towards the practice of polygamy is Sharī'ah compliant. It is argued that the practice, among many of the Muslim folk, is contrary to the fundamental objective of Sharī'ah in its family system which aims at protecting the rights of both husband and wife. This fundamental objective aims at the erection of a solid foundation of civilised Muslim society, based on Islamic norms and values, originating from an arrayed family set-up. The reason that paved a way for criticisms against the practice of polygamy in Nigeria is that the practice, in many polygamous unions, is not in compliance with the teachings and the rationale and philosophy of Islamic law behind its institution. The challenges surrounding the practice of polygamy remain unanswered in the Nigerian context, considering the impact of its practice on the rights of women who are considered inseparable companions of men according to the norms of an ideal Islamic society. It should be rightly expected of a Muslim society, especially in a critical epoch like this, to remedy its legal and social challenges in crucial matters that affect fundamental issues of Islamic family law, specifically the issue of polygamy.

Generally speaking, it is unanimously observed by all writers on the practice of polygamy in Nigeria that it is widely practiced throughout the country with its prevalence in the Northern region, which is predominantly Muslim. The Southern

² The term Sharī'ah refers to the general framework of Islamic law or the complete system of life in the Islamic faith. See: 'Alī Ibn Muhammad al-Jurjānī, *al-Ta'rīfāt al-Fiqhiyyah*. (Beirut: Dar al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1405 AH), at 167. In the research text, the terms Sharī'ah and Islamic law are used interchangeably. Where the term is used to express an idea about the system from the classical perspective, it is written in the transliterated form, Sharī'ah. But where it is expressed on its usage in the Nigerian law, it is simply written Sharia, as written in the Nigerian Constitution.

region, although there exists a large population of Muslims, especially in the Yoruba south-west, Christianity is predominant. There also, polygamy is practiced among some tribes even among the non-Muslim folk. Religion and tradition are the main causes that mechanise the practice. International reports on Nigeria observe that there is no legal mechanism for the protection of women's civil rights. Polygamy, according to such reports, is one of the social factors that affect the rights of women. It is important to note here that, according to the assertions of some of these reports, more than one-third of Nigerian women are in polygamous unions.³

Among the nineteen states of the Northern Nigeria, twelve states have proclaimed the re-introduction of the Sharī'ah implementation which was fully applied in the region before the colonial era. The twelve states are: Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Jigawa, Kaduna, Kano, Katsina, Kebbi, Niger, Sokoto, Yobe and Zamfara. Polygamy, being a practice permitted by the Sharī'ah, is widely practiced in these states and the region as a whole whereby men can marry up to four wives, provided they are able to afford it and treat them fairly. The widespread of the practice is related to religious and traditional reasons. However, in the southern region

³ See more on these reports in: CEDAW (Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women) (1997), "Consideration of Reports Submitted by States Parties Under Article 18 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women: Nigeria, Combined Second and Third Periodic Reports of States Parties", CEDAW/C/NGA/2-3, CEDAW, New York, NY; CEDAW (2003), "Consideration of Reports Submitted by States Parties Under Article 18 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women: Nigeria, Combined Fourth and Fifth Periodic Reports of States Parties", CEDAW/C/NGA/3-4, CEDAW, New York, NY; CEDAW (2006), "Consideration of Reports Submitted by States Parties Under Article 18 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women: Nigeria, Sixth Periodic Report of States Parties", CEDAW/C/NGA/6, CEDAW, New York, NY. Retrieved June 13, 2012, from <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/reports.htm>; National Population Commission, Federal Republic of Nigeria and ORC Macro (2003), "Demographic Health Survey of Nigeria", ORC Macro, Calverton, MD, <www.measuredhs.com/pubs/pub_details.cfm?ID=454&srchTp=advanced>.; AFROL NEWS (n.d.), "Gender Profile: Nigeria", Retrieved from: <www.afrol.com/Categories/Women/profiles/nigeria_women.htm>., Struensee, V. (2005). "The Contribution of Polygamy to Women's Oppression and Impoverishment: An Argument for its Prohibition", Murdoch University Electronic Journal ofLaw, Retrieved from: <www.austlii.edu.au/au/journals/MurUEJL/2005/2.html#fn100>; "Gender Equality and Social Institutions in Nigeria" n.a, (n.d). Retrieved from: <<u>http://genderindex.org/country/nigeria</u>> accessed on April 12, 2012.

which is predominately Christian, monogamy is predominantly practiced. However, there too, even among those who profess the Christian faith, some men also have more than one wife, based on social and traditional reasons as opposed to reasons of religion. This makes the practice wide in the south as well, considering the fact that the non-Christian traditionalists have inherited polygamy as a cultural norm and thus practice it widely. This is because, in the context of the Nigerian legal sytem, there is no regulation on the family law, and this is considered responsible for abusive polygamous practices.⁴

A relevant example to mention here of the lacuna in the legal set-up from the north is that of Mohammed Bello Abubakar, aged 84, who married 86 wives, insisting that his act was permitted by Islamic law.⁵ Despite the heretical position of his act in the face of Islamic law, he was able to escape prosecution and conviction as the case was thrown out due to the absence of a specific regulation relating to his conduct and thus, he was subsequently allowed to keep all his wives.⁶ This and other related issues pose a great challenge on the Nigerian legal system which allows the practice of polygamy but ignores its regulation. The abuse of the practice of polygamy in Nigeria has undoubtedly caused detrimental outcomes to women, children and the society as a whole. The legal silence on the practice of polygamy in Nigeria has resulted to the emergence of a number of challenges, namely: religious, legal, social and economic.

⁴ Phyllis Logie. (2009). "Polygamy in Nigeria is Fast going out of Style because of the ever Increasing Keeping Wives", African and Middle Eastern Culture. Retrieved Cost of from: <<u>http://www.lifepaths360.com/index</u>> Accessed April 18, 2012; Mercy Ilevbare, (2009). "Practice of Polygamy in Nigeria". African and Middle Eastern Culture. Retrieved from: http://www.lifepaths360.com/index.php/practice-of-polygamy-in-nigeria-10510/> Accessed April 8, 2012.

⁵ Andrew Walker, BBC News, Bida, Nigeria. Reported on: Friday, 8 August 2008. Accessed on April 10, 2012 from: <<u>http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/75 47148.stm</u>>

⁶ Phyllis L, (2009). "Practice of polygamy in Nigeria." Retrieved from: <<u>http://www.helium.com/items/65621-practice-of-polygamy-in-nigeria</u>> Accessed on April 8, 2012.