

# The Role of Customary Law in Shaping Indigenous Corporate Structures in Nigeria

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## Abstract

*This paper critically examined the role of customary law in shaping indigenous corporate structures in Nigeria, with a focus on understanding how traditional norms and practices influence business ownership, management, and governance. The primary objective is to explore how traditional norms, values, and governance models embedded in Nigerian customary law continue to influence the formation, operation, and sustainability of indigenous corporate entities in Nigeria. The research methodology adopted is doctrinal, involving a critical analysis of relevant statutory provisions, judicial decisions, and customary practices across certain Nigerian communities. The findings of the study reveals that customary law plays a significant role in shaping indigenous corporate structures, particularly in relation to family and kinship ties, communal ownership, and traditional leadership structures. The study argues that customary law, while often overlooked in formal corporate discourse, remains a foundational pillar in indigenous business environments and continues to shape economic behavior, especially in rural and semi-urban areas. However, the lack of formal recognition of these indigenous structures in statutory corporate law creates a legal and operational gap that impedes their growth and integration into the national economy. The paper recommends a pluralist approach to corporate law that formally recognizes and integrates customary corporate practices, thereby enhancing legal inclusivity, preserving cultural identity, and fostering sustainable development within indigenous communities in Nigeria.*

**Keywords:** Role, customary law, indigenous, corporate structures, Nigeria

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Nigeria operates a plural legal system in which customary law continues to play a significant role in shaping societal norms, including those related to commerce and economic organization. Customary law, which consists of unwritten rules derived from the culture and customs of various indigenous communities and tribes,<sup>1</sup> has long governed various aspects of indigenous social life. One of its enduring influences is in the realm of indigenous corporate structures, especially within rural and semi-urban communities where formal registration under statutory corporate law remains limited. These indigenous corporate structures, typically family-owned businesses, trade associations, age-grade associations, guilds, cooperative societies, and lineage-based enterprises, have traditionally been governed by rules rooted in local custom and cultural practice.<sup>2</sup> They often operate based on kinship ties, consensus-based governance, and communal ownership models, reflecting a socio-cultural logic that prioritizes collective interest over individual profit maximization. This governance model is different from modern corporate structures that were imposed during colonialism and later codified in laws like the Companies and Allied Matters Act of 2020.

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\*\*\***Helen Obi**, Lecturer, Faculty of Law, Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka. [helentonyobi@yahoo.com](mailto:helentonyobi@yahoo.com). comprising English common law, statutory law, and a customary law that reflect the diverse ethno-cultural heritage of its over 250 ethnic groups.

<sup>1</sup> O Lewis, 'Legal Pluralism and Land Ownership in Nigeria: A Tale of Two Unworkable Systems' <file:///C:/Users/Nosike/Downloads/ssrn-4335865.pdf.>accessed 11 June 2025.

<sup>2</sup> C O Okonkwo, *Customary Law and Indigenous Corporate Governance in Nigeria*. (Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishing, 2022).

The role of customary law in shaping indigenous corporate structures is, therefore, not merely historical or cultural, it is legal and economic. Many indigenous communities in Nigeria continue to conduct business using customary institutions and governance mechanisms, with limited interaction with statutory registration or regulation. Thus, many indigenous corporate structures, while perhaps not formally registered under CAMA, function effectively within their communities, drawing their resilience and legitimacy from customary norms. According to Christensen, these structures are generally perceived as more accessible thereby contrasting with statutory corporate models, which are inaccessible due to their complexity and reliance on formal legal and financial literacy.<sup>3</sup>

Moreover, indigenous corporate structures play a crucial role in many communities by bringing together capital, organizing labour, and offering social security, similar to formal corporations, even though they are not legally recognized.

Despite its wide acceptance and constitutional recognition,<sup>4</sup> customary law has often been excluded from formal regulatory and commercial frameworks, particularly in the corporate sector. This exclusion raises important concerns about the legitimacy, effectiveness, and inclusivity of Nigeria's formal corporate governance framework particularly in rural communities where customary law still plays a crucial role in shaping economic relations and business conduct.

This paper, therefore, critically examines the role of customary law in shaping indigenous corporate structures in Nigeria and what reforms are necessary to ensure a more inclusive and culturally responsive corporate legal framework.

## **2. Conceptual Clarifications**

### **2.1 Customary Law**

Customary law is defined as laws that emerged from the traditional usage and practice of a people which by common adoption and acquiescence as well as from long usage has acquired some elements of compulsion and force of law acceptable to the people.<sup>5</sup> It is a fundamental aspect of Nigeria's pluralistic legal system, existing alongside statutory and Islamic law. Customary law is deeply embedded in the socio-cultural and religious fabric of Nigerian communities and governs a wide range of matters, including marriage, succession, land tenure, and communal obligations.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, customary law is recognized by the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (as amended). Specifically, section 318(1) defines customary law as the rule of conduct which is applicable to a particular community in Nigeria and is accepted as binding within that community. This recognition affirms the pluralistic nature of Nigeria's legal order, where statutory, customary, and Islamic laws coexist and are applied by

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<sup>3</sup> G Christensen, 'Indigenous Perspectives on Corporate Governance' (2021) 23 *University of Pennsylvania Journal of Business Law*, 902.

<sup>4</sup> Under Section 318(1) of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 (as amended), provided it is not repugnant to natural justice, equity, and good conscience.

<sup>5</sup> O Y Omotuyi, 'Customary Practices and the Conflict with Law: Case Study of Marriage under Selected Native Laws and Customs in Nigeria', (2019) 7 (1) *ABUAD Law Journal*, 225; see also the case of *Zaidan v Mohssen*, (1973) 11 S C 1 where the Nigerian Supreme Court refers customary law as any system of law, not being common law and not being a law enacted by any competent legislature in Nigeria but which is enforceable and binding in Nigeria between the parties who are subject to its sway.

<sup>6</sup> A O Obilade, *The Nigerian Legal System* (Ibadan: Spectrum Books, 1979).

different courts based on the nature of the dispute and the parties involved. Moreover, section 258(1) of the Evidence Act 2011 defines custom as a rule which, in a particular district, has, from long usage, obtained the force of law. This definition effectively addresses customary law as it relates to the rules and practices that have been observed and accepted within a specific community for an extended period, thus becoming legally binding. This statutory recognition reinforces the legitimacy of customary law within Nigeria's formal legal framework, provided it does not contravene public policy or natural justice.

One of the defining characteristics of customary law is its flexibility. It is not static but adapts to societal changes while maintaining its foundational principles. Customary law is, therefore, dynamic and adaptable, possessing the inherent flexibility to evolve in response to changing societal conditions. This view was affirmed in *Lewis v Bankole*,<sup>7</sup> where Osborne C J stated thus:

*One of the most striking features of West African Native custom ... is its flexibility; it appears to have been always subject to motives of expediency, and it shows unquestionable adaptability to altered circumstances without entirely losing its individual characteristics.*

Additionally, customary law is not uniform across the country; rather, it varies from one community to another based on traditions and beliefs. For example, the Igbo customary law differs significantly from Yoruba or Hausa customary law in terms of inheritance, land ownership, and family structure. Despite its diversity, the binding force of customary law arises from its general acceptability and consistent observance by members of the community over time.

Customary law is therefore distinct from statutory law because it is largely unwritten and derived from long-standing traditions that are passed down through generations. Its application is largely determined by the social context, communal values, and collective memory of the people. As noted by Nwabueze,<sup>8</sup> customary law functions more as a living law fluid, adaptable, and often orally transmitted rather than as a fixed set of codified rules. This dynamism allows it to evolve with the society, though it also creates challenges in terms of consistency, predictability, and judicial enforcement.

In the Nigerian judicial system, customary law is primarily applied by Customary Courts and Area Courts, depending on the state and region. In applying customary law, courts are mandated to ascertain the existence and validity of the custom in question, such custom must be reasonable, certain, and not repugnant to natural justice, equity, and good conscience.<sup>9</sup> This is commonly referred to as the repugnancy test. The test was further affirmed in *Edet v Essien*,<sup>10</sup> where a customary law that transferred the custody of a child fathered by one man to another on the basis that the bride price paid by the latter had not been returned was held to be repugnant to natural justice, equity, and good conscience.

Thus, courts are expected to apply customary law where it is relevant and where it does not conflict with public policy, natural justice, equity, and good conscience. This qualification is

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<sup>7</sup> (1909) 1 NLR 100.

<sup>8</sup> R N Nwabueze, 'The Dynamics and Genius of Nigeria's Indigenous Legal Order' <[https://www.researchgate.net/publication/265143018\\_The\\_Dynamics\\_and\\_Genius\\_of\\_Nigeria's\\_Indigenous\\_Legal\\_Order](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/265143018_The_Dynamics_and_Genius_of_Nigeria's_Indigenous_Legal_Order)> accessed 12 June 2025.

<sup>9</sup> Evidence Act 2011, s 16.

<sup>10</sup> (1932) 11 NLR 47.

essential as codified in section 18(1) of the Evidence Act 2011, which provides that customary law must be judicially noticed or proved to the satisfaction of the court. Thus, while customary law enjoys constitutional recognition under Section 318(1) of the 1999 Constitution (as amended), its enforceability is subject to judicial scrutiny and the principles of fairness. These limitations ensure that while customary law is respected, it is not allowed to perpetuate practices that violate fundamental human rights.

In sum, customary law in Nigeria is an integral part of the legal system, deeply rooted in cultural identity and community governance. While its informal and unwritten nature poses challenges, it remains relevant in regulating the lives of a significant portion of the population, particularly in rural areas where statutory law may have limited reach.

## **2.2 Indigenous Corporate Structures**

Indigenous corporate structures refer to the unique ways in which corporate entities are formed, governed, and operated within indigenous communities, reflecting traditional norms, values, and socio-cultural institutions. These structures are deeply rooted in the socio-economic and cultural frameworks that define local business operations.<sup>11</sup> Unlike formal corporate structures governed by statutory law such as the Companies and Allied Matters Act 2020, indigenous corporate structures in Nigeria are fundamentally rooted in the customs and cultural traditions of the country's diverse ethnic groups. These entities reflect pre-colonial modes of business organization, social cooperation, and communal ownership, and continue to thrive in both rural and semi-urban areas. The customary rules governing these enterprises are often unwritten, passed down through generations, and based on trust, kinship, and social hierarchy, rather than on formalized legal frameworks or contractual obligations. They play a pivotal role in promoting grassroots entrepreneurship, resource mobilization, and social cohesion in rural and semi-urban areas.

Perhaps, indigenous corporate structures often operate under collective ownership and participatory decision-making systems. They are found among traditional economic institutions such as cooperative societies, guilds, family-owned businesses, community enterprises, and age-grade associations, which operate based on kinship ties, customary leadership, consensus-based decision-making, and shared ownership. For instance, among the Igbo people of southeastern Nigeria, traditional institutions such as the *Umunna*<sup>12</sup> play a central role in regulating economic activities, including land ownership and the management of communal enterprises. Land is typically owned by families, villages, or communities, with the head of the group holding it in trust for others. Allocation is based on customary rights of use and inheritance, not formal land titles.<sup>13</sup> These indigenous systems prioritize social cohesion, mutual trust, and collective welfare over the legal formalism and profit-driven orientation characteristic of modern corporate entities.

Another notable of such indigenous economic structures is the Igbo Apprenticeship System, widely known as Igba Boi, Imu Ahia, or Imu Oru. This apprenticeship system, deeply ingrained in Igbo tradition, focuses on skill transfer, capital accumulation, and eventual business

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<sup>11</sup>Christensen, (n 4).

<sup>12</sup> a patrilineal kinship group

<sup>13</sup> R Popoola, 'Unraveling Nigeria's Customary Land Tenure Systems: A Comprehensive Overview' <<https://www.lawglobalhub.com/nigerias-customary-land-tenure-systems-rofiat/>> accessed 13 June 2025.

establishment for the apprentice, fostering a strong network and collective prosperity.<sup>14</sup> The Yoruba Omo Aso (lineage) and the Hausa-Fulani Gandu system further illustrate how indigenous corporate governance operates within familial and community contexts. In the Gandu system, for example, a patriarch manages a large household farm and redistributes resources among family members, often relying on unwritten rules and traditional norms.<sup>15</sup> Similarly, the Esusu or Ajo traditional cooperative savings and loan schemes, found across various Nigerian ethnic groups, exemplify an indigenous financial structure that mobilizes capital and provides mutual support for entrepreneurial ventures without relying on formal banking institutions. The indigenous structures, though not formally recognized as companies in the modern sense, functioned as effective business and communal organizations, facilitating trade, production, and collective welfare long before the advent of colonial administration.

Despite their significant socio-economic relevance, indigenous corporate structures in Nigeria continue to receive limited legal recognition. The Companies and Allied Matters Act 2020 largely adopts a western-centric model of corporate organization, classifying entities into companies limited by shares, unlimited companies, companies limited by guarantee, and incorporated trustees.<sup>16</sup> Although cooperatives and community-based associations may register under the incorporated trustees framework,<sup>17</sup> this legal accommodation fails to adequately reflect the nature and operations of indigenous corporate structures, which are governed by longstanding customary norms rather than statutory provisions.

As Oba<sup>18</sup> observes, the Nigerian legal system, rooted in English common law tends to marginalize indigenous marginalized indigenous and religious legal systems, particularly when they conflict with codified norms. Consequently, these traditional systems are often relegated to the informal sector, despite their enduring relevance and effectiveness in local economic governance.

### **3. Influence of Customary Law on Indigenous Corporate Structures in Nigeria**

Customary law in Nigeria, influences indigenous corporate structures, often shaping their formation, governance, and operational dynamics. Rooted in traditional norms and cultural values, customary law continues to impact the way indigenous businesses operate, particularly in sectors where communal ownership and traditional leadership are prevalent. In Nigeria, indigenous corporate structures are significantly influenced by customary law, which had been the law regulating socio-political and other conducts in indigenous societies long before colonialism.<sup>19</sup>

Indigenous corporate structures, such as age grade association, guilds, family-owned enterprises, cooperative societies, and community-based organizations, often rely on customary law principles to regulate their affairs. These structures are deeply embedded in Nigeria's diverse

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<sup>14</sup> C CEmeali and others, 'Igbo Apprenticeship Business Model and Sustainability of Small and Medium-sized Enterprises (SMEs) in Southeast Nigeria', <<https://journal-innovations.com/assets/uploads/doc/adf9f-719-737.11196-doi-1-.pdf>> Accessed 12 June 2025.

<sup>15</sup> P Hill, *Rural Hausa: A Village and a Setting* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972).

<sup>16</sup> CAMA, 2020, ss 21, 823

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*, s 823.

<sup>18</sup> A A Oba, 'Islamic Law as Customary Law: The Changing Perspective in Nigeria', (2002) 51(4) *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, 817.

<sup>19</sup> B Odunsi, 'Sources of Nigerian Law and The Relegation of Customary Law in Perspective', <<https://cuab.edu.ng/wp-content/uploads/2023/09/9.-Odunsi-Sources-of-Nigerian-Law-and-The-Relegation-of-Customary-Law-in-Perspective.pdf>> accessed 12 June 2025.

ethnic communities, where traditional leadership and communal decision-making play a crucial role in business operations.

One of the key influences of customary law on indigenous corporate structures is its emphasis on communal ownership and collective decision-making. Unlike modern corporate models that prioritize individual ownership and shareholder interests, indigenous businesses in Nigeria often operate under a communal framework. For instance, the concept of communal ownership and shared resources is deeply rooted in Nigerian customary law, where land and other assets are often held collectively by communities rather than individuals. Perhaps, in the South-East region, family enterprises such as the Igbo “Umunna” system treat land and other economic resources as collectively owned, with decision-making undertaken communally and therefore differ significantly from the individual ownership paradigms of modern law. This customary practice governs internal business management, profit distribution, and succession planning, reinforcing social cohesion and trust.

However, it can affect the ability of indigenous businesses to secure land as collateral or to expand their physical operations. For example, a family-owned business operating on communal land might face limitations in mortgaging that land for a bank loan, as customary law may not recognize individual ownership or the commercial transfer of such property without the consent of the members of the community.<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, communal ownership of land and property fosters strong social cohesion and ensures that business activities align with the interests of the wider community. Moreover, the principles of succession under customary law, which vary widely across ethnic groups<sup>21</sup> also dictate who inherits a family business or its assets, directly impacting leadership continuity and the distribution of wealth within indigenous corporate structures.

Customary law influences leadership and governance structures within indigenous corporate structures. In traditional business arrangements such as family farms, community markets, guilds, and cooperative societies, leadership is not based on shareholder votes or director appointments as outlined in CAMA 2020.<sup>22</sup> Instead, authority typically resides in elders, family heads, village chiefs or traditional rulers who act as stewards of the community’s collective interests. These leaders provide guidance based on customary norms, ensuring that business practices adhere to established traditions and decisions are made through consensus rather than majority rule, reflecting a communalist orientation that contrasts with the individualism of formal corporate governance. This consensus-based model decision making therefore reinforces group solidarity and encourages inclusive participation. However, it may result in slower decision-making processes.

Furthermore, customary law’s influence on indigenous corporate structures is evident in the communal accountability mechanisms that predate statutory auditing and corporate compliance systems. For instance Yoruba communities developed indigenous systems of financial accountability rooted in oral tradition and communal oversight. Practices such as public financial declarations during festivals sometimes referred to as *iroyinowo* reflect a cultural emphasis on

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<sup>20</sup> See *Amodu Tijani v Secretary of Southern Nigeria* (1924) 2NLR 21.

<sup>21</sup>E.g primogeniture in some patrilineal societies, or more egalitarian approaches in others.

<sup>22</sup> CAMA, ss 248 & 272.

transparency that predates statutory auditing.<sup>23</sup> This transparency fosters trust and enhances legitimacy, echoing modern corporate principles of disclosure and shareholder accountability.

The integration of such indigenous accountability practices into Nigeria's broader corporate governance landscape could enrich participatory governance and improve compliance, especially among small and medium enterprises. Customary law also influences business ethics and obligations within indigenous corporate structures. The customary emphasis on *ofonaogu* (truth and justice) among the Igbo or the Yoruba concept of *omolúàbí* (virtue and integrity) imposes moral obligations that transcend written contracts. These customary norms instill accountability and provide alternative enforcement mechanisms in the absence of formal legal recourse. Transactions are often sealed with community witnesses or traditional oaths, and violations may attract social sanctions, ostracism, or spiritual repercussions. These mechanisms, while informal, may yield stronger compliance than formal courts, especially in culturally homogenous communities.

Customary law influences the operation of indigenous trade groups and age-grade associations, which function similarly to modern-day cooperatives or limited liability partnerships. These groups often pool resources, regulate market entry, enforce ethical standards, and resolve disputes internally through customary arbitration methods. The recognition of these associations was acknowledged by the Nigerian courts in *Agbaje v Ajibola*,<sup>24</sup> where the court acknowledged that customary institutions or associations can be recognized as having legal standing, especially when they perform identifiable functions within their communities and are organized in a structured manner.

These bodies often adopt a quasi-corporate structure with designated roles such as treasurer, secretary, and chairperson, albeit not formally registered under CAMA. Nevertheless, their operations are guided by written or unwritten customary codes and enjoy significant legitimacy within their communities.

Thus, customary law underpins the governance framework of many indigenous business associations. In the Yoruba context, trade guilds and age-grade systems often operate like de facto corporations. They maintain structured leadership hierarchies, defined roles, dispute resolution mechanisms, and systems for collective action, all governed by customary norms.<sup>25</sup> For example, the *Odu'a Investment Company Limited*, though formalised under corporate law, has historical roots in Yoruba customary practices of collective economic stewardship. Similarly, the *Alaba International Market Association* operates with rules and structures reflective of Igbo customary governance, emphasizing consensus, community enforcement, and traditional sanctions.

Dispute resolution mechanisms, another cornerstone of customary law, also play a vital role in indigenous corporate structures. Customary law therefore plays a critical role in dispute resolution within indigenous corporate structures. Traditional arbitration, often presided over by

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<sup>23</sup> G E Oyedokun, 'Evolution of Accounting System in Yoruba Land: A Historical Perspective' (2025) 8 (5) *Journal of Economics, Finance and Management Studies*, 2735.

<sup>24</sup>(2002) 2 NWLR (Pt 750) 127

<sup>25</sup> A Akinyemi, and O Olaniyan, 'Customary Institutions and the Informal Economy in Yoruba Land: A Study of Market Guilds in South-West Nigeria' (2020) 48 (2) *Journal of African Economic History*, 85–102.

community elders or traditional rulers, provides an accessible and culturally appropriate forum for resolving commercial disagreements among individuals and groups operating within customary frameworks. Disagreements over profit-sharing, succession, and land usage are typically resolved through customary courts or by elders' councils, rather than through statutory courts. These customary mechanisms prioritize reconciliation and social harmony over punitive outcomes and therefore upholds social harmony. In *Agu v Ikewibe*,<sup>26</sup> the Supreme Court recognised the binding nature of arbitration conducted under customary law when both parties voluntarily submitted to it, thereby affirming the legal relevance of such indigenous mechanisms in contemporary jurisprudence.

#### **4. Case Studies of Indigenous Corporate Structures Influenced by Customary Law**

Customary law continues to play a pivotal role in shaping corporate structures and commercial practices among indigenous Nigerian communities. Before the emergence of modern corporations and formal corporate governance frameworks, ethnic groups like the Igbo, Hausa, and Yoruba had already established their own traditional forms of corporate organization. These systems were rooted in kinship ties, communal land ownership, cooperative labour practices, and customary methods for resolving disputes. This section explores three significant case studies: **the age-grade associations in Igbo land, traditional market guilds in Yoruba land and guilds and trade associations in Hausa city-states.**

##### **4.1 The Age-Grade Associations in Igbo Land**

In Igbo communities, age-grade associations<sup>27</sup> function as indigenous corporate entities. Age-grade associations are prominent indigenous corporate structures in Southeastern Nigeria, particularly among the Igbo people. Rooted in customary law, these associations are organized by individuals of similar age groups and serve various socio-economic, political, and developmental functions within the community. Their structure, governance, and operations embody principles of customary law, including collective responsibility, rotational leadership, and consensus-based decision-making.

These groups often manage communal projects, enforce social norms, and even resolve disputes including land matters. Their accountability mechanisms, though informal, are effective, members may be fined or sanctioned for misconduct, failure to contribute, or bringing disrepute to the group. Leadership in age-grade associations is not based on wealth or education but on trust, integrity, and social consensus reflecting customary values of egalitarianism and communal service. This traditional model provides a template for indigenous corporate governance, emphasizing service over profit and sustainability over individual gain. It also facilitates economic cooperation, as age-grades often form cooperative societies or *esusu* (rotating savings schemes) to finance group and individual enterprises.<sup>28</sup>

Despite their informal nature, courts have occasionally recognized their legal personality when they operate with defined leadership and consistent community roles.<sup>29</sup> They therefore represent a resilient indigenous corporate model shaped by customary norms and remain relevant in the socio-economic organization of Southeastern Nigeria.

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<sup>26</sup> (1991) 3 NWLR (Pt. 180) 385

<sup>27</sup> known as *otuogbo*

<sup>28</sup> V U Onyebueke, and N H Ezeadichie, 'Urban Informality and Indigenous Institutions in Nigeria: Age Grade Associations and Urban Governance in Igboland', (2017) 11 (1) *African Research Review*, 179.

<sup>29</sup> *Ezenwa v Oko & Ors* (Unreported, High Court of Afikpo, 1998) where the court acknowledged the role of an age-grade group in mediating a land dispute, emphasizing their customary legitimacy.

## 4.2 Traditional Market Guilds in Yoruba Land

Traditional market guilds in Yoruba land represent a significant example of indigenous corporate structures shaped by customary law. These guilds such as those found in Ibadan, and Lagos are organized around trades or commodities<sup>30</sup> and are structured by deeply rooted customary norms and communal accountability systems.<sup>31</sup>

Each guild operates under the leadership of a *Baba Loja* (father of the market) or *Iya Loja* (mother of the market), positions attained not through election or appointment by statutory bodies, but by traditional selection based on seniority, reputation, and consensus among market stakeholders. These leaders function akin to corporate executives, overseeing guild activities, enforcing rules, and representing the guild in larger traditional councils.<sup>32</sup>

Customary law guides all aspects of guild governance from membership rights and obligations to conflict resolution. Infractions such as price manipulation or selling substandard goods are handled internally, with sanctions ranging from public reprimand to temporary expulsion.<sup>33</sup> These mechanisms reflect indigenous principles of justice, equity, and communal harmony, ensuring compliance without recourse to formal litigation.

Guilds also serve economic and welfare functions. Members often contribute to mutual aid funds (a form of cooperative finance) used to support traders in times of illness, loss, or business failure. Through such functions, traditional market guilds mirror modern corporate cooperatives, embodying the principles of collective responsibility, rotational leadership, and participatory governance rooted in Yoruba customary norms.

## 4.3 Guilds and Trade Associations in Hausa City-States

Historically, Hausa societies especially in cities like Kano, Katsina, and Zaria developed guild systems (*kungiyoyi*) that functioned as indigenous corporate bodies.<sup>34</sup> They were not merely economic collectives but functioned as organized and self-regulating corporate entities that controlled entry into the profession, enforced ethical standards, protected members' welfare, and served as instruments of governance within the city-state structure.<sup>35</sup> Leadership was typically hereditary or selected by consensus, and decisions were made according to Islamic and customary norms.<sup>36</sup>

These guilds maintained corporate discipline through internal dispute resolution mechanisms, imposing fines, ostracism, or ritual cleansing for violations such as price cheating, production of substandard goods, or dishonorable behavior. Trade standards were strictly monitored to protect both consumers and the reputation of the guild. For example, the dyers' guild in Kano regulated

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<sup>30</sup> E.g., textile guilds, blacksmith guilds, and foodstuff sellers.

<sup>31</sup> S Akinrinade, 'Customary Institutions and Urban Governance in Southwest Nigeria', (2021) 64 (2) *African Studies Review*, 89.

<sup>32</sup> A O Adeyemi, 'The Role of Traditional Market Leaders in Yoruba Urban Centers: Historical and Contemporary Insights' (2019) 19(1) *Lagos Historical Review*, 47.

<sup>33</sup> R Ojo, 'Traditional Approach of Conflict Resolution in Pre-Colonial Yoruba Markets', <[https://www.academia.edu/84541092/TRADITIONAL\\_APPROACH\\_OF\\_CONFLICT\\_RESOLUTION\\_IN\\_PRE\\_COLONIAL\\_YORUBA\\_MARKETS](https://www.academia.edu/84541092/TRADITIONAL_APPROACH_OF_CONFLICT_RESOLUTION_IN_PRE_COLONIAL_YORUBA_MARKETS)> accessed 13 June 2025.

<sup>34</sup> Example, the Butchers' Guild (Kungiyar Masunta) or Dyers' Guild (Kungiyar Masassaka).

<sup>35</sup> A Mahadi, 'State and Economy in the Sokoto Caliphate: The Case of Hausa Merchants' in I M Lewis (edn), *Islam and the Trade of Africa* (London: Routledge, 1992) 55.

<sup>36</sup> M G Yakubu, 'Legal Pluralism and the Development of Customary Law in Northern Nigeria', (2003) 21 (1) *Ahmadu Bello University Law Journal*, 45.

the use of natural indigo dye and maintained color quality to preserve Kano's international reputation as a center of textile excellence.<sup>37</sup>

Beyond economic functions, the guilds historically functioned also as social and political institutions. They were involved in public works, religious celebrations, and even military mobilization under the emirate system.<sup>38</sup> The guilds also maintained mutual aid networks, such as *da'a* (solidarity contributions), which provided funerary support, healthcare assistance, and financial aid to members in distress thereby reflecting a deeply embedded system of communal accountability.<sup>39</sup>

Moreover, palace-based administrative structures also exist where district heads (Hakimai) and ward heads (Dagatai) often functioned as corporate representatives of their communities, managing land, taxes, and communal labor. These roles were governed by customary law fused with Islamic principles, and their decisions especially in land and inheritance matters were often recognized by colonial and post-colonial courts.<sup>40</sup>

Indeed, these case studies reveal how indigenous corporate structures in Nigeria, whether among the Igbo, Yoruba, or Hausa are deeply rooted in customary law and communal values. They demonstrate how traditional governance systems effectively balance economic coordination with social cohesion and conflict resolution. Collectively, they underscore the resilience and adaptability of these institutions, even as they engage with modern legal and economic frameworks.

## **5. Challenges in the Application of Customary Law to Indigenous Corporate Structures in Nigeria**

Despite its deep-rooted significance, customary law faces considerable challenges in its integration with Nigeria's formal legal system. Indigenous corporate structures, such as family enterprises, community cooperatives, and trade groups, are typically governed by customary norms. However, they must also navigate statutory regulations enforced by formal state institutions. This dual legal framework often creates jurisdictional conflicts, particularly when customary particularly where customary rules contradict statutory norms on legal personality, registration, and governance.

A common example is the conflict between customary law and statutory regulations, which frequently leads to disputes over ownership rights, business use, and inheritance.<sup>41</sup> Nigeria's legal system incorporates elements of English common law, statutory law, and customary law, but these legal traditions do not always align. For instance, corporate governance principles under statutory law may contradict traditional leadership structures recognized by customary law. These conflicts highlight the difficulty of reconciling traditional practices with modern legal requirements.

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<sup>37</sup> A M Usman, 'The Kano Indigo Dyers' Guild and the Transformation of Indigenous Textile Industries' (2018) 46 (1) *African Economic History*, 85.

<sup>38</sup> M G Yakubu, 'Legal Pluralism and the Development of Customary Law in Northern Nigeria' (2003) 21 (1) *Ahmadu Bello University Law Journal*, 45.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> P Ostien, *Sharia Implementation in Northern Nigeria 1999–2006: A Sourcebook*. (Spectrum Books, 2007).

<sup>41</sup> Okany, M. C. (1984). *The Role of Customary Law in the Legal System of Nigeria*. Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishing

Another major challenge is the lack of codification of customary law. Since customary legal systems are predominantly oral and localized, their application varies widely across communities. This lack of uniformity creates uncertainty in its application and interpretation, making it difficult to integrate into national legal and corporate frameworks. Without clear, written standards, it becomes challenging to establish legal certainty or ensure equitable treatment under the law. Perhaps, codifying customary business practices could enhance their legitimacy, provide consistency, and allow for their more effective integration into Nigeria's broader legal system. It would also support access to legal remedies and facilitate regulatory recognition.

Furthermore, gender discrimination embedded in some customary laws continues to hinder the inclusive development of indigenous corporate structures. In many Nigerian communities, customary norms exclude women from property inheritance, leadership positions, and key business decisions. For example, under traditional Igbo customary law, daughters are generally denied inheritance rights, even where they actively participate in the family business. This gender bias contradicts constitutional provisions on equality and non-discrimination. In *Ukeje v Ukeje*<sup>42</sup>, the Supreme Court of Nigeria declared the Igbo customary law that disinherits female children as unconstitutional. This landmark decision highlights the need to reconcile customary law with constitutional values and modern human rights standards. Yet, despite the judgment, enforcement remains a challenge at the community level, where traditional norms often continue to dominate.

Moreover, Indigenous corporate structures are economically significant but often operate informally. Their lack of legal personality under Nigerian law restricts their capacity to contract, sue, or obtain formal financing. This legal invisibility hinders growth, limits scalability, and leaves these entities vulnerable to exploitation and internal disputes. However, in recent years, efforts have been made to formalize and support indigenous corporate structures. The Central Bank of Nigeria's National Financial Inclusion Strategy emphasizes incorporating traditional cooperatives and micro-enterprises into the formal financial system.<sup>43</sup>

## **6. Conclusion**

Customary law has profoundly shaped indigenous corporate structures in Nigeria, serving as the foundational bedrock upon which communal ownership, family enterprises, and traditional associations have historically operated. It provided the normative framework for managing collective assets, particularly land, governing internal relationships, and facilitating dispute resolution long before the advent of statutory legal systems. While the application of customary law to indigenous corporate structures in Nigeria faces numerous challenges, including jurisdictional conflicts, contradictions with statutory regulations, issues of validity, and the lack of codification, customary law remains a vital force shaping the values, governance models, and accountability mechanisms of Indigenous corporate structures in Nigeria. As Nigeria strives for inclusive and sustainable development, integrating indigenous corporate structures into Nigeria's evolving legal framework presents an opportunity to empower rural communities and expand the scope of corporate governance beyond western paradigms. Policymakers must work towards harmonizing customary and statutory laws to create a more inclusive legal environment for indigenous businesses.

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<sup>42</sup>(2014) 11 NWLR (Pt. 1418) 384

<sup>43</sup><https://www.cbn.gov.ng/FinInc/> accessed 11 June 2025