

Family Law in Ghana: Overview

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A Q&A guide to family law in Ghana.

The Q&A gives a high level overview of key issues including jurisdiction and conflict of law; pre- and post-nuptial agreements; divorce, nullity, and judicial separation; children; surrogacy and adoption; cohabitation; family dispute resolution; civil partnership/same-sex marriage; and controversial areas and reform.

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Jurisdiction and Conflict of Law

Regulatory Framework

1. What are the primary sources of law in relation to marriage, marital breakdown and the welfare of children and give a brief overview of which courts will have jurisdiction to hear the dispute?

Sources of Law

In Ghana, the primary sources of law in relation to marriage, marital breakdown and the welfare of children are the:

- Marriages Act 1884 to 1985 (Cap 127), which sets out the types of marriages recognised in Ghana and their essential and formal validity requirements.
- Matrimonial Causes Act 1971 (Act 367), which provides for matrimonial causes such as dissolution of marriages, child custody and maintenance.
- Children's Act 1998 (Act 560), as amended by the Children's Amendment Act 2016 (Act 937), which provides for the rights of the child, maintenance and adoption.
- Juvenile Justice Act 2003 (Act 653), which makes provisions for the rights of juveniles.

Other important statutes include the:

- Constitution of Ghana 1992, which provides for spousal rights as well as children's rights.
- Courts Act 1993 (Act 459), which provides for the varied jurisdictions of the courts in relation to matrimonial causes and children.
- Criminal and Other Offences Act 1960 (Act 29), which provides for marriage-related offences such as bigamy.
- Intestate Succession Act 1985 (PNDC111), which establishes the regime for the distribution of the estate of a person who dies intestate.
- Human Trafficking Act 2005 (Act 694), which provides for the prevention, reduction and punishment of human trafficking, among other offences.
- Domestic Violence Act 2007 (Act 732), which ensures the protection of persons and children from domestic violence.

Ghana is also a signatory to the HCCH Convention on Protection of Children and Co-operation in Respect of Intercountry Adoption 1993 (Hague Adoption Convention), an international treaty that deals with inter-country adoption, child trafficking and money laundering, to safeguard children and persons involved from the risks and problems that sometimes accompany inter-country adoption.

Ghana is a common law jurisdiction and, as such, judicial precedents are an essential feature of its laws. The lower courts are expected to adhere to decisions and principles set by the superior courts. The development of judicial precedents has been important in shaping family law jurisprudence, especially in relation to spousal property.

Court System

Ghana's court system is comprised of the:

- **Lower courts or tribunals.** These include the:
 - **Circuit Court.** The Circuit Court can hear petitions for divorce, nullify an order for the maintenance of a spouse or child, and make custody orders (section 43, Matrimonial Causes Act), as well as property settlement orders. It also has original jurisdiction to appoint guardians for infants and to make orders for the custody of infants (section 42(1)(a)(iv), Matrimonial Causes Act); and
 - **District Court.** The District Court has jurisdiction in divorce and other matrimonial causes, as well as matters in relation to the custody of children, and can hear and determine charges and dispose of other matters affecting juveniles (persons under 18 years) (section 47(1)(f) and (h), Courts Act). It also hears objections to the registration of customary marriages and divorces (sections 5, 8 and 10, Marriages Act) (see [Question 13](#)).
- **Superior Courts of Judicature.** These include the:
 - **High Court.** The High Court exercises original jurisdiction in all matters (Article 140, Constitution; section 15(1)(a), Courts Act). It has the power to hear petitions for divorce, to nullify an order for the maintenance of a spouse or child, to make custody orders and to hear matters relating to the appointment of guardians for infants (section 43, Matrimonial Causes Act). It can also make orders in respect of matters relating to the control and

administration of the estate of a child, the education of a child or the setting up of a child in an occupation or career (section 18, Courts Act).

The High Court has appellate jurisdiction over appeals from the District Court concerning matters relating to family law;

- **Court of Appeal.** The Court of Appeal has appellate jurisdiction over decisions from both the High Court and Circuit Court in respect of civil family and child-related matters (section 11, Courts Act);
- **Supreme Court.** Appeals can be made from the Court of Appeal to the Supreme Court in all matters relating to family law (section 4(1), Courts Act).

In general, the courts must hold proceedings in public, except where the court exercises its discretion to hold proceedings privately for reasons of public morality, safety or order (section 102(1), Courts Act). The court can exercise its discretion to hold proceedings in private in relation to marital dissolution, child custody, maintenance and any other matter contemplated by the Matrimonial Causes Act (section 39, Courts Act).

Jurisdiction

2. What are the main requirements for local courts to have jurisdiction in relation to divorce, property and children proceedings?

Divorce

Ghana courts have jurisdiction in divorce proceedings where either party to the marriage:

- Is a citizen of Ghana.
- Is domiciled in Ghana.
- Has lived in Ghana for at least three years immediately before the commencement of the case.

(Section 31, Matrimonial Causes Act.)

See [Question 3](#).

Same-Sex Spouses and Civil Partners

Ghana's laws are silent on same-sex spouses or civil partners, and same-sex marriages are not legally recognised in Ghana. Therefore, the courts will not entertain matters in respect of same-sex spouses except in nullity proceedings for an order to declare such a union void. See [Question 36](#).

Property

The courts will assume jurisdiction over a dispute over a matrimonial home and other property in divorce proceedings if the parties meet any of the requirements under the Matrimonial Causes Act which give the Ghana courts the jurisdiction to hear the divorce proceedings (section 31, Matrimonial Causes Act).

Children

The courts will assume jurisdiction over a dispute in relation to children in related divorce proceedings if the parties to the dispute meet any of the requirements under the Matrimonial Causes Act which give the Ghana courts jurisdiction to hear the divorce proceedings (section 31, Matrimonial Causes Act).

The courts can also exercise jurisdiction when the need arises in disputes over the custody of and access to children, as well as in any matters involving children (section 35, Children's Act).

Domicile, Nationality and Habitual Residence

3. How do the concepts of domicile, nationality and habitual residence apply in relation to divorce, financial arrangements, and children?

Domicile

Under the common law, any person over the age of 21 years other than a married woman can acquire a domicile of choice. This domicile is where the individual has voluntarily fixed the habitation of themselves and their family, not for a mere special or temporary purpose, but with the present intention of making a permanent home (until some unexpected event may occur to induce them to adopt some other permanent home).

However, under section 32 of the Matrimonial Causes Act, the domicile of a married woman is determined as though the woman is above the age of 21 and not married. Therefore, the domicile of a married woman in Ghana does not automatically follow that of her husband as under the common law (*Rola Diab v Tarek Diab, Court of Appeal Civil Appeal No. HI/16/16 (28 Jun 2016)*).

A child (under the age of 21) is incapable of acquiring a domicile of their own. For a legitimate child, the domicile follows that of their father. For an illegitimate child, the domicile follows that of their mother.

Nationality

In Ghana, for a person to be regarded as a citizen or a national, they must either:

- Have been born in or outside Ghana after the coming into force of the Constitution and have at least one parent or grandparent who is a citizen of Ghana (Article 6(2), Constitution).
- Marry a Ghanaian citizen and apply for citizenship by registration (Article 6(7), Constitution).

- Apply for naturalisation (sections 13 and 14, Citizenship Act 2000 (Act 591)).

Residence

Residence simply means dwelling permanently or for a considerable time, having one's settled or usual abode, and living in or at a particular place.

Divorce, financial arrangements and children are all matters contemplated by section 31 of the Matrimonial Causes Act, which provides that the court will assume jurisdiction where one or both parties to the marriage are citizens of Ghana, have their residence there or have lived in Ghana habitually for at least three years before the commencement of the case.

Conflict of Law

4. What procedure applies for a party applying to stay proceedings in favour of a foreign jurisdiction? What factors do local courts take into account when determining forum issues?

Procedure

There is no explicit procedure for applying to stay proceedings in favour of a foreign jurisdiction in a matrimonial cause.

Factors

Not applicable.

Anti-Suit Injunctions

The concept of anti-suit injunction in matrimonial matters is not explicitly provided for in Ghanaian law.

Applicable Law

5. Are foreign nationals treated differently on divorce?

Foreign nationals are not treated differently on divorce in Ghana other than that those seeking to divorce in Ghana must satisfy the requirement of being domiciled in Ghana or ordinarily resident in Ghana for at least three years preceding the commencement of the proceedings (section 31, the Matrimonial Causes Act).

The court in Ghana can make orders applying foreign law because there is a presumption that the law of a foreign state is the same as the law of Ghana (section 40, Evidence Act 1975 (NRCD 323)). Therefore, without any contrary evidence, the presumption stands, and the court will apply the foreign law.

Service of Proceedings

6. What are the requirements for service of divorce, financial and children proceedings in your jurisdiction?

A process must be served personally on a party, unless otherwise provided for by the High Court (Civil Procedure) Rules 2004 (CI 47) (HCCPR), or the court directs otherwise (Order 7r2, HCCPR; *Barclays Bank v Ghana Cable [1995-96] 1 GLR 289*).

If personal service is dispensed with, the bailiff may serve the document by either:

- Leaving it at the proper address of the person.
- Sending it by registered post to the person at their address.
- Such other manner as the court may direct.

(Order 7r4, HCCPR.)

If a document is to be served personally and it becomes impracticable to do so, the court will order substituted service, subject to certain conditions (Order 7r6, HCCPR). Substituted service may include serving the document on an agent of the defendant, or posting it at the court or the last known house or place of work of the defendant (among other methods) (Order 7r6(4), HCCPR).

No process can be served in another country except with leave of the court (Order 8, HCCPR)

Pre- and Post-Nuptial Agreements and Matrimonial Property Regimes

Validity of Pre- and Post-Nuptial Agreements

7. To what extent are pre-nuptial and post-nuptial agreements binding?

Generally, pre-nuptial and post-nuptial agreements are not legally binding in Ghana. However, in some circumstances, the courts may give credence to them as enforceable contracts. The enforceability of pre-nuptial and post-nuptial agreements is therefore determined on a case-by-case basis. The court will take into account the specific facts of each agreement as well as the desired outcomes of the parties. However, such an agreement must not contravene the provisions of the Constitution and the Matrimonial Causes Act, particularly the provisions on financial and property settlement, or any other relevant laws.

8. Do matrimonial regimes exist in your jurisdiction and is there a default matrimonial property regime?

Default Regime

There is no default matrimonial regime, and the matrimonial property regime is governed by legal provisions and case law applied on a case-by-case basis. The court has discretion to consider factors such as hardship, inconvenience, frustration and interruption in the life and standard of living of the parties involved.

Parties to a divorce can agree as to the sharing of marital property. If they reach a voluntary understanding, the terms of settlement can be adopted as a judgment of the court (*Nana Adwoa Danquah v Magnus Res Danquah High Court DM/00087/2015 (23 Feb 2017)*).

Procedure

While there is no default matrimonial property regime, financial provision can be issued to either party to the marriage where the court deems this to be just and equitable, but only after the court has taken into account the parties' circumstances and standard of living (section 19, Matrimonial Causes Act). The court may also order either party to the marriage to make a monetary payment to the other party or to deliver to the other party any movable or immovable property as a property settlement (section 20, Matrimonial Causes Act). This is determined on a case-by-case basis since there is no default regime.

9. How are foreign separation of property agreements and pre-nuptial and post-nuptial agreements treated by the courts in your jurisdiction?

There is no express provision in any legislation that prohibits the making of a pre-nuptial and post-nuptial agreement. The courts may give credence to such agreements as enforceable contracts if they do not contravene the Constitution or any other legal provision.

Divorce, Nullity and Judicial Separation

Recognition of Foreign Marriages/Divorces

10. Are foreign marriages/divorces/civil partnerships recognised in your jurisdiction?

Marriages

The validity of marriages contracted outside Ghana is determined by two factors:

- Formal validity, which is governed by the law of the place where the marriage was celebrated.
- Essential validity, which is governed by the domicile of both parties before the marriage, and includes matters such as legal capacity, consanguinity and affinity, and being underage.

The Ghanaian courts may make a declaration on the validity of a marriage if the status of the marriage is relevant to a matter to be determined by the court.

If a foreign marriage satisfies both the essential and formal validity requirements, the Ghanaian courts will recognise it. A polygamous marriage that is valid under the law of the place of the celebration of the marriage will also be recognised as a valid marriage in Ghana.

Divorces/Annulment

The Ghanaian courts will recognise valid decrees of divorce, nullity or dissolution that are obtained by judicial processes or by other means that are not contrary to natural justice (section 36, Matrimonial Causes Act). Such a foreign decree must be granted by either:

- The law of the place where both parties to the marriage were ordinarily resident at the time of the action dissolving or annulling the marriage.
- A quasi-judicial authority, such as a tribunal that had a significant and substantial connection with the parties to the marriage.

(Khoury v Khoury, (1958) 3 W.A.L.R. 52.)

Civil Partnerships

Ghana does not legally recognise civil partnerships and therefore there is no provision for registration of such relationships, nor benefits as protected by law. See [Question 36](#).

Divorce

11. What are the grounds for divorce?

Divorce

Divorces in Ghana are governed by the Matrimonial Causes Act. The sole ground for divorce is that the marriage has broken down beyond reconciliation. Divorce proceedings cannot be commenced within two years of the celebration of the marriage except where it is proven that the petitioner would suffer severe hardship or depravity from the respondent (section 9, Matrimonial Causes Act).

To prove that a marriage has broken down beyond reconciliation, one of the following six facts must be established:

- Adultery by the respondent for which reason the petitioner finds it intolerable to live with the respondent.
- Unreasonable behaviour by the respondent such that the petitioner cannot reasonably be expected to live with the respondent.
- Desertion by the respondent for a continuous period of two years.
- Separation for two years with the consent of the respondent to the divorce.
- Separation for five years.
- Inability to reconcile differences.

(Section 2, Matrimonial Causes Act.)

Nullity

Nullity proceedings may be brought before a court to annul a marriage on the ground that a marriage is legally either void or voidable.

The four grounds for which a marriage will be considered voidable and for which nullity proceedings may be commenced are:

- The marriage has not been consummated due to the wilful refusal of the respondent to consummate it.
- At the time of the marriage, either party to the marriage was of unsound mind or subject to recurrent attacks of insanity.
- The respondent was at the time of the marriage pregnant by a person other than the petitioner.
- The respondent was at the time of the marriage suffering from an incurable venereal disease in a communicable form.

(Section 13, Matrimonial Causes Act.)

Proceedings based on grounds other than wilful refusal to consummate the marriage must be brought within one year of the marriage celebration. The petitioner must have been ignorant of the facts making the marriage voidable, and marital intercourse must not have taken place since the petitioner discovered the existence of the facts making the marriage voidable (section 13(3), Matrimonial Causes Act).

Marriages can be declared null and void if they do not meet the necessary essential and formal validity criteria. A marriage may be declared invalid where parties are within the prohibited degree of consanguinity or affinity, or when either party is already lawfully married to another at the time of the marriage (section 74, Marriages Act).

Judicial Separation

Although separation is a fact that may be proven to establish the sole ground for divorce, there is no procedure for judicial separation in Ghana.

12. What is the procedure and timeline for divorce?

Divorce

There are no clear timelines for concluding divorce proceedings. All proceedings carried out under the Matrimonial Causes Act are commenced by petition. The procedure for filing a divorce petition under the HCCPR is as follows:

- The petitioner files a divorce petition. However, if the divorce proceedings are commenced within two years from the date of the marriage, an application for leave to commence proceedings must be brought instead (Order 65r2).
- The court serves the petition on the respondent. The respondent has eight days (or a longer period determined by the court if the respondent is overseas) to enter an appearance indicating their acknowledgement of the receipt of the petition (Order 65r10).
- The respondent has 14 days after entering an appearance to file an answer to the divorce petition and may also cross-petition for divorce, citing their own basis for the divorce (Order 65r12).
- A petitioner who has been served with an answer may file a reply to the answer (Order 65r12).
- Pleadings close eight days after service of the reply (Order 65r14).
- Not later than 14 days after pleadings have closed, the action can be set down for trial. (Order 65r21).

While these are standard procedural timelines, all other proceedings are subject to varying timelines.

Nullity

Nullity proceedings are similar to divorce proceedings. The fact of the marriage being void or voidable and the applicable grounds for making such a claim must be stated in the petition.

Judicial Separation

There is no procedure for judicial separation.

Religious Marriage and Divorce

13. Are customary and religious marriages and divorces recognised in your jurisdiction?

Customary law marriages, as recognised in Ghana (section 1, Marriages Act), are marriages according to customary practices, including potentially polygamous unions in which the man may marry as many women as he can comfortably maintain. These marriages must be celebrated in accordance with the relevant customs, and can be registered. However, the validity of a customary law marriage is not dependent on registration. Registered customary law marriages must be dissolved in accordance with section 6 of the Marriages Act, whereas unregistered customary law marriages can be dissolved in accordance with the relevant custom or dissolved under section 41(3) of the Matrimonial Causes Act.

Islamic marriages are recognised and must be registered within one week after the celebration of the marriage, or the union will be rendered void in the absence of any extension being granted (section 24(1), Marriages Act; *Sadia Salifu v Alhaji Muntaru Sofo Suit No. H1/12/2017*). The bridegroom, the bride's *wali* (Islamic legal guardian), two witnesses to the marriage and a duly licensed Islamic priest must be present for the registration of the marriage.

If there is evidence showing failure to comply with the laws regarding Islamic marriages but there is evidence to show that the parties have celebrated a marriage according to custom or law, Ghanaian courts will uphold the marriage (*Sadia Salifu v Alhaji Muntaru Sofo [2017] Suit No. H1/12/201*).

The Ghanaian courts will recognise decrees granting religious or customary divorces obtained abroad provided they comply with the provisions of section 36 of the Matrimonial Causes Act.

Although the Matrimonial Causes Act is applicable to monogamous marriages, section 41 of the Matrimonial Causes Act allows the court to apply the Matrimonial Causes Act to marriages other than monogamous marriages, subject to the requirements of justice, equity and good conscience.

Islamic divorces must be registered within one month after the divorce has been effected under Islamic law (sections 25 and 26, Marriages Act). Islamic divorces can be carried out under section 41(3) of the Matrimonial Causes Act.

Finances/Division of Assets

14. What powers do the courts have to allocate financial resources and property on the breakdown of marriage?

The Ghanaian courts have the power to make orders concerning the allocation of financial resources and assets on divorce. Under the Matrimonial Causes Act, the courts can, among other things:

- Award maintenance or financial provision to either party to the marriage pending the final divorce order (section 19).
- Order either party to the marriage to pay to the other party a sum or sums of money or to convey to the other party movable or immovable property in settlement of property rights (section 20).
- Make any order concerning a child of the household that it thinks reasonable and for the benefit of the child (section 22).
- Order either party to the marriage to pay to the other party the sum or sums of money to enable that party to maintain or defend the suit (section 24).

15. What factors are relevant to the exercise of the court's powers?

Spouses have the right to equal access to property jointly acquired during marriage (Article 22, Constitution). Property acquired during the marriage will be distributed equitably between the spouses on dissolution of the marriage (sections 20, 22, Matrimonial Causes Act). The courts have interpreted this to mean that property acquired during the marriage is subject to distribution by the court irrespective of how much each spouse contributed (*Gladys Mensah v Stephen Mensah (2012) 1 SCGLR 393*). Factors the court will consider include:

- Whether the property was acquired jointly.
- The conduct of the parties.
- The age and position in life of the parties.
- The facts and equities of the case.

(*Rebecca Buabeng Churcher v Michael Buabeng Churcher BDMC 220/2013.*)

16. What is the court's current position on the division of assets?

The courts apply the "equality is equity" principle in relation to property distribution on the dissolution of a marriage. The Supreme Court in *Gladys Mensah v Stephen Mensah (2012) 1 SCGLR 393* established this principle based on Article 22 (3)(a) and (b) of the Constitution in making provision for equitable distribution of marital property on divorce. This principle does not mean that jointly-acquired property will automatically be distributed equally among the parties. Instead, the division is based on the equities present in each case (*Margaret Adjei v Peter Adjei Suit No H1/280/2018*).

Where parties who have subjected themselves to the jurisdiction of the court have property outside Ghana, the courts can issue orders relating to such property if the properties are subject to the marriage contract (*Anyetei v Anyetei Civil Appeal No. J4/67/2021*).

The court can order either that property will be sold and the proceeds shared equally (50–50) between the parties, or that one party should buy out the other party's share of the property (*Lena Ameko v Francis Asugah Suit No. BDMC 367/2015*).

Finances/Spousal Maintenance (Alimony)

17. How does ongoing spousal maintenance operate following marital breakdown? Is maintenance awarded for a fixed term or on an open-ended basis? Is there a set formula or do judges have discretion over quantum and term?

Spousal Maintenance

If the court considers it fair and equitable, it can award maintenance to either party pending the final determination of the suit (section 19, Matrimonial Causes Act). When a marriage is formally dissolved, the court may give an order for a party to the marriage to pay a settlement to the other party, either by the payment of a sum of money, or by conveying a movable or immovable property as settlement (section 20, Matrimonial Causes Act). This order is distinct from any orders relating to the distribution of jointly-acquired property.

Basis for Award

Spousal maintenance may be granted pending the final divorce order (section 19, Matrimonial Causes Act), while the divorce settlement order may include payment of both gross sums and instalments. Payments in instalments may be open-ended but will cease after the remarriage of the party for whose benefit the order was given, or on the death of either party (section 28, Matrimonial Causes Act).

Fixed Formula or Court Discretion

There is no fixed formula and judges have wide discretion when granting maintenance orders. Any financial settlement will vary depending on the specific circumstances of each case. Where the court finds it appropriate, maintenance will be awarded pending the determination of the divorce action, on application by one of the parties (section 19, Matrimonial Causes Act). The court will also grant settlement orders where it thinks it is just and equitable to do so (section 20, Matrimonial Causes Act).

In awarding maintenance pending a divorce action, the court will consider the standard of living of the parties and their circumstances (section 19, Matrimonial Causes Act).

While section 20 of the Matrimonial Causes Act does not expressly state the relevant considerations when granting maintenance orders and financial settlements on divorce, the courts will consider factors such as the needs of the parties involved and the evidence on record (*Obeng v Obeng Civil Appeal No. J4/37/2015*).

18. Is it common for maintenance to be awarded on marital breakdown?

Judges have discretion when granting maintenance orders and any financial settlement will vary depending on the specific circumstances of each case. Typically, the courts seek to impose a final divorce settlement and it is uncommon for ongoing open-ended payments to be awarded as spousal maintenance after divorce.

19. What is the court's current position on maintenance on marital breakdown?

When granting settlement orders, the courts take into consideration the specific facts of each case, such as:

- The length of the marriage.
- The standard of living of the parties.
- The parties' circumstances, positions in life, ages and respective means.
- The existence of any children.

Contribution or otherwise to the acquisition is not crucial to the determination of the grant of a settlement. In *Rebecca Buabeng Churcher v Michael Buabeng Churcher BDMC 220/2013*, the court held that contribution was not a crucial factor in determining whether a party was entitled to settlement of any property. The court also stated factors such as standard of living and positions in life and age of the parties as being crucial to the determination of the grant of a settlement.

Finances/Child Support

20. What financial claims are available to parents on behalf of children within or outside of the marriage?

There is no distinction under Ghanaian law between children born in or outside a marriage, and children are treated equally irrespective of the nature of the relationship of their parents (Article 28, Constitution; section 7, Children's Act). Section 47 of the Children's Act imposes a duty on parents or any other legally liable person to maintain a child and to contribute to the supply of the child's requirements of health, life, education and reasonable shelter.

The court can make orders to provide for "children of the household" out of the property or income of either or both of the parties to a marital household (section 22, Matrimonial Causes Act). A child of the household is a child, whether a natural or adopted child, of both or either of the marital parties, or any other child who is treated by both parties as a permanent member of their household (section 43, Matrimonial Causes Act).

21. On what basis is child maintenance calculated?

There is no standard formula for calculating child maintenance. The courts take into account factors such as the:

- Income and wealth of both parents of the child or the person legally liable to maintain the child.
- Financial responsibility of the person with respect to the maintenance of other children.
- Cost of living in the area where the child is resident.

(Section 49, Children's Act.)

In all matters concerning children, the courts consider the best interest of the child.

22. What is the duration of a child maintenance order (up to the age of 18 years or otherwise)?

In general, a maintenance order expires when the child reaches 18 years (section 53, Children's Act). However, a maintenance order may be extended if the child is engaged in a course of continuing education or training after the age of 18. A maintenance order may also continue for the care, custody and support of a child who is so incapacitated that the child cannot be expected to care for themselves (section 29, Matrimonial Causes Act).

23. Can a child (whether of legal maturity or otherwise) make a claim directly against their parents?

Although maintenance orders typically expire when the child turns 18, a maintenance order may continue after a child reaches 18 years if the child is engaged in a course of continuing education or training after that age (section 54, Children's Act). An application for an extension can be brought by a parent, any person with custody or the child concerned on reaching adulthood. Therefore, an adult child can make a claim directly against their parent.

Enforcement of Financial Orders

24. What are the main methods of enforcement to ensure compliance with financial orders following divorce/dissolution in your jurisdiction?

To ensure compliance with financial orders, the courts can order a party who is unwilling or unlikely to pay a financial order to give reasonable security for any ordered payment or payments (section 23, Matrimonial Causes Act).

The court can also prevent either party to the marriage from leaving the jurisdiction until the court is satisfied that the party has made adequate provision to satisfy an award the court has made or may make in the proceedings (section 25, Matrimonial Causes Act).

The court may order or restrain a party from disposing of the assets or property of either party to the marriage, and may also rescind a disposal of assets or property that has been made with the intention of defeating a financial provision or property settlement to the other party (other than a disposal to a bona fide purchaser for value without notice) (section 26, Matrimonial Causes Act).

25. What is the legal position on the reciprocal enforcement of financial orders?

The reciprocal enforcement of financial orders in Ghana is governed by:

- The Courts Act.
- The HCCPR.
- The Law of Foreign Judgments and Maintenance Orders (Reciprocal Enforcement) Instrument 1993 (LI 1575).

To be enforced, foreign judgments must:

- Emanate from countries with existing reciprocal agreements with Ghana.
- Not contravene the Law of Foreign Judgments and Maintenance Orders (Reciprocal Enforcement) Instrument.

- Meet the other stipulated procedural requirements.

In *Rosemond Salemi Akil & Thomas Marmah Marteye v Aristotle Kotey Civil Appeal No: HI/82/2007*, the requirements for enforcement of a foreign judgment were stated as follows:

- The President has named the country where the judgment was obtained as a country whose judgment can be enforced in Ghana.
- The judgment is that of a superior court of the foreign country (this excludes a suit commenced in an inferior court but finally disposed of on appeal by a superior court).
- The judgment is final and conclusive between the parties, notwithstanding any pending appeal.
- Six years have not elapsed since the judgment was delivered either at first instance or on appeal.

Financial Relief after Foreign Divorce Proceedings

26. What powers are available to the court to make orders following a foreign divorce? If such a power exists, what is the legal basis for making such an application?

There is no express provision allowing the court to make orders following a foreign divorce. However, certain requirements must be met for the court to exercise such a power. The foreign divorce must meet the requirements of section 81 of the Courts Act and Law of Foreign Judgments and Maintenance Orders (Reciprocal Enforcement) Instrument, that is, it must:

- Meet the requirements of an enforceable foreign judgment (*Rolo Diab v Tarek Diab Civil Appeal No. HI/16/16*).
- Be registered, as with all foreign judgments.
- Meet the requirements for the courts to assume jurisdiction under section 31 of the Matrimonial Causes Act, which must be satisfied by the parties to enable the court to exercise its powers to grant financial orders under the Matrimonial Causes Act.

Children

Custody/Parental Responsibility

27. What is the legal position in relation to custody/parental responsibility following the breakdown of a relationship or marriage? Do local courts in your jurisdiction recognise parenthood that has been established in another jurisdiction for the purposes of custody/parental responsibility, maintenance and so on?

General Position for Custody/Parental Responsibility

Issues of custody usually arise when relationships and marriages break down. Parents may mutually agree on which party gets custody and who gets reasonable access. However, if the parents do not reach a consensus on custody, one party can apply for custody or periodic access to the child. Other persons who can also apply for custody or access include a family member or any person who is or has been caring for a child (sections 42 and 43, Children's Act).

In making such custody orders, the courts are primarily guided by the best interest of the child in any matter concerning the child (section 2, Children's Act). Other factors the court considers include the following:

- The age of the child.
- The preference of a child for being with a parent, except where the rights of the child are persistently being abused by the parent.
- The views of the child, if the views have been independently given.
- The desirability of siblings remaining together.
- The need for continuity in the care and control of the child.
- Any other matter that the family tribunal may consider relevant.

(Section 45, Children's Act.)

Maintaining a child is a parental responsibility (section 47, Children's Act). Aside from parents, any family member or any person who is raising a child has parental responsibility towards that child. This can include guardians of the child, probation officers and social welfare officers (section 48, Children's Act).

An order for child maintenance can be brought independently of a petition for divorce (section 48, Children's Act). Every child has the right to be provided for by their parents, irrespective of whether the parents are married or were married at the time of the child's birth (section 6, Children's Act). Therefore, one parent of a child can apply for a child maintenance order against the other irrespective of whether they are married (sections 48, 51 and 52, Children's Act).

The court can make orders concerning children automatically in the event of a divorce, even without an application from any of the parties. Such orders include:

- Custody orders.
- Rights of access to a child.
- Orders to provide education and maintenance out of the income of both parties to the marriage.

The court must inquire as to any children in the household and can make any orders concerning any child of the household that it deems reasonable and for the benefit of the child on its own initiative or on application by a party (section 22, Matrimonial Causes Act).

An order for care, custody or support for a child automatically terminates on the child attaining the age of 18 years unless the order makes explicit provision for the child's further education, or for the care, custody and support of a child who is so incapacitated that they cannot be expected to care for themselves (section 29, Matrimonial Causes Act).

A maintenance order made by the court lapses under two circumstances:

- When the child turns 18 or dies before that age.
- When even before that age, the child is gainfully employed.

(Section 53, Children's Act.)

However, a maintenance order can continue even after the child has reached the age of 18 if the child is engaged in a course of continuing education or training after that age (section 54, Children's Act). The parent of the child, the person who has custody of the child or the young person in respect of whom the maintenance order was made must bring an application to the court to continue the order in this way (section 54(2), Children's Act).

A family tribunal may ask a probation officer or social welfare officer to prepare a social enquiry report, which will be considered by the court when making maintenance orders (section 50, Children's Act).

The court may ask for the opinion of the child when making decisions or orders concerning the welfare of the child. The opinion of the child is given due weight according to the age and maturity of the child (sections 11 and 45, Children's Act).

Ordinarily, in family matters a child does not need separate representation. However, in a situation where the child is vulnerable due to child abuse or special needs, for example, it is likely that the interests of that child will be represented by the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development Welfare (sections 16 and 17, Children's Act).

Parenthood Established in Another Jurisdiction

If a parentage order is obtained from a jurisdiction that has a reciprocal enforcement arrangement with Ghana, the parentage order must be registered with the High Court for enforcement. To be enforceable in the High Court of Ghana, an order must:

- Be a judgment of the superior courts of the foreign country.
- Be final and conclusive between the parties.
- Represent a sum of money payable under the judgment.

Therefore, a parentage order does not meet the above criteria for enforceability in Ghana, as it is not a monetary judgment (section 81, Court's Act). However, such an order may be recognised if it was obtained according to existing common law rules (*Emanuel v Symon [1908] 1 KB 308 per Buckley LJ (at p 309)*).



28. What is the legal position in relation to access/contact/visitation following the breakdown of a relationship or marriage?

In Ghana, if one parent is granted custody of a child, the other is usually granted reasonable access (section 57, Children's Act).

A parent, a family member or any person who has been caring for a child can apply for periodic access to the child (section 44, Children's Act).

The welfare of the child is the primary consideration of the courts when making the order, as well as the importance of a young child being with the mother (section 2, Children's Act).

Other factors the courts take into consideration in making an order for access include:

- The age of the child.
- The preference of a child for being with a particular parent.
- The views of the child, where independently given.
- The desirability of siblings remaining together.
- The need for continuity in the care and control of the child.
- Any other matters that the court may consider relevant.

(Sections 45, Children's Act.)

There is no need for separate representation for a child in family law matters in respect of custody and maintenance orders, except in situations where the child is a victim of abuse or needs care and protection. In those circumstances, the interest of the child will be represented by the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development Welfare (sections 16 and 17, Children's Act).

A parent, family member, or any person raising or caring for the child can apply for orders of custody, periodic access or maintenance of a child (section 44, Children's Act). Typically, these persons have a say concerning access, contact or visitation, and may be allowed to be heard during court proceedings (sections 43 and 44, Children's Act).

International Abduction

29. What is the legal position on international abduction?

Abduction is a misdemeanour under Ghanaian criminal law and is defined by section 92 of the Criminal and Other Offences Act to include unlawfully taking a child so as to deprive any person entitled to possession or control of the child of that possession or control. The law therefore prohibits persons from unlawfully removing a child from another person who has lawful custody of the child (section 46, Children's Act).

Ghana is not a signatory to the HCCH Convention on the Civil Aspects of International Child Abduction 1980 (Hague Child Abduction Convention). However, the courts are primarily guided by the welfare principle (the best interests of the child) when determining matters that concern children (section 2, Children's Act). Therefore, the Ghanaian courts will not condone the actions of persons who abduct or unlawfully deprive persons with lawful custody from having access to children, depending on the particular circumstances.

In *Fink v Coelho* 2GLR166, the Ghanaian court took guidance from the English case of *Re H(Infant) [1965] 3 All ER 906 at 912*, as well as other cases, in which the English courts held that the sudden and unauthorised removal of children from one country to another was too frequent and that all courts in all countries must do all they can to ensure that such wrongdoers do not gain an advantage by such wrongdoing. In *Fink*, although an order from a foreign jurisdiction was non-binding, the court made an exception and relied on the foreign order to determine a substantive critical issue of the welfare and happiness of the child.

Leave to Remove/Applications to Take a Child Out of the Jurisdiction

30. What is the legal position on leave to remove/applications to take a child out of the jurisdiction? Under what circumstances can a parent apply to remove their child from the jurisdiction against the wishes of the other parent?

The law prohibits persons from unlawfully removing a child from another person who has lawful custody of the child (section 46, Children's Act). The best interests of the child is the paramount consideration in any matter concerned with the child. This is the ultimate guide in the exercise of the court's discretion.

Every child has the right to grow up in a peaceful environment and to grow up with access to its parents, unless it is proved in court that living with a parent would either:

- Lead to significant harm to the child.
- Subject the child to serious abuse.
- Not be in the best interests of the child.

(Section 5, Children's Act.)

The general assumption is that it is preferable for the child to live with both parents, and that it would be unfair for one parent to deprive the other parent of access to their child without any lawful justification. If, on investigation, there are justifiable reasons why a child must relocate without the other parent's consent, the courts will honour the relevant application in the best interest of that child.

Surrogacy and Adoption

Surrogacy Agreements

31. What is the legal position on surrogacy agreements in your jurisdiction? Is surrogacy available to individuals and cohabiting couples (both heterosexual and same-sex)?

There is no statute that spells out the requirements for a surrogacy agreement. However, if all the elements of a valid contract exist and the agreement was made in accordance with the Contracts Act 1960 (Act 25), the agreement will be honoured by the Ghanaian courts.

While the Registration of Births and Deaths Act 2020 (Act 1027) gives legal recognition to assisted reproductive technologies such as surrogacy, the law only makes surrogacy accessible to parties to heterosexual marriages, and excludes individuals or cohabiting couples (both heterosexual and same-sex). On the basis that same-sex relationships are not legally recognised in Ghana, it is likely that a surrogacy agreement that concerns parties who are in a same-sex relationship would not be recognised and enforced by the Ghanaian courts.

Adoption

32. What is the legal position in relation to adoption? Is adoption available to individuals and cohabiting couples (both heterosexual and same-sex)?

Section 84 of the Children's Amendment Act permits individuals to apply for in-country adoption as a single applicant, provided the applicant habitually resides in Ghana but regardless of whether they are Ghanaian. A single applicant cannot apply for an inter-country adoption (section 86J, Children's Amendment Act).

For cohabiting couples, one partner can apply for adoption as a single applicant. If the couple subsequently marries, the adopted child will be considered to be a child of the household.

The law precludes persons in a same-sex relationship from applying for inter-country adoption (section 86K, Children's Amendment Act). Although the Children's Amendment Act is silent on whether same-sex couples can adopt a child, same-sex relationships are not recognised as legal in Ghana and, as such, an application for adoption from a same-sex couple would not be approved on the grounds of public policy.

Cohabitation

33. What legislation (if any) governs division of property and financial claims for unmarried couples on the breakdown of the relationship?

No legislation governs the division of property on the breakdown of a relationship between an unmarried couple. However, judicial precedents demonstrate the courts' willingness to construe a situation where parties cohabit to be an informal marriage for the purposes of division of property, if there are other supporting factors, such as consent of both parties' families (*Ama Serwaa v Gariba Hashimu and Issaka Hashimu Civil Appeal No. J4/31/2020 Delivered on 14 April 2021*).

The court may award maintenance to the mother of a child irrespective of whether she is married to the father of the child. This order may include:

- Medical expenses for the duration of the pregnancy.
- A periodic allowance for the maintenance of the mother during her period of pregnancy and for a further period of nine months after the delivery of the child.
- The payment of a reasonable sum to be determined by the court for the continued education of the mother if she is a child herself.

(Section 51, Children's Act.)

Aside from this scenario, a party to a cohabitation relationship cannot make any financial claims on the breakdown of the relationship. However, no distinction is made between children born in or outside a marriage for the purposes of child maintenance (see [Question 20](#)).

Family Dispute Resolution

Mediation, Collaborative Law and Arbitration

34. What non-court-based processes exist to resolve disputes? Is alternative dispute resolution mandatory? What is the current status of agreements reached through mediation, collaborative law and arbitration?

The provisions of the Alternative Dispute Resolution Act 2010 (Act 798) (ADR Act) apply to all matters other than those relating to:

- The national interest.
- The environment.
- The enforcement and interpretation of the constitution.
- Any other matter that by law cannot be settled by alternative dispute resolution (ADR).

The law encourages the use of ADR to resolve disputes pending before the courts. However, a decree of divorce, nullity or annulment can only be granted by a court of competent jurisdiction (sections 72 and 73, Courts Act). Therefore, ancillary reliefs may be subject to ADR but the marriage must be dissolved by a court of competent jurisdiction.

If mediation is used and a settlement is reached, a settlement agreement is drawn up at the end of the mediation and is signed by the parties. The agreement is binding on the parties and has the same effect as an arbitral award (section 81, ADR Act). Once the parties agree to the terms of their separation, whether by mediation or any other means, the agreement must be filed and adopted by the court as a consent judgment.

35. What is the statutory basis (if any), for mediation, collaborative law and arbitration?

The Matrimonial Causes Act emphasises the importance of parties exploring reconciliatory measures before resorting to the dissolution of the marriage. This is because marriage is considered a core social structure in society. For instance, section 9 of the Matrimonial Causes Act restricts persons from filing a divorce petition within two years from the date of the marriage. Section 1 also states that the sole ground for the dissolution of a marriage is the fact that the marriage has broken down beyond reconciliation.

Other sections of the Matrimonial Causes Act allow the court to overlook certain periods where the parties cohabited when computing periods of separation, to encourage parties' attempts at reconciliation. These include periods where the parties lived as husband and wife for not more than six months with a view to reconciliation.

The court will disregard periods of up to six months where the parties have lived as husband and wife with the purpose of reconciliation in the following circumstances:

- After a petitioner discovers that the respondent has committed adultery (section 3, Matrimonial Causes Act).
- After the final incident relied on by the petitioner in the divorce petition (section 4, Matrimonial Causes Act).
- Where the parties resumed living together after one party deserted the other (section 5, Matrimonial Causes Act).

The petitioner must also show the courts efforts made by or on behalf of the petitioner towards a reconciliation.

The court may also adjourn proceedings at any point in the proceedings if it appears that there is a possibility of reconciliation, to provide an adequate opportunity for the parties to reconcile (section 8, Matrimonial Causes Act).

Civil Partnership/Same-Sex Marriage

36. What is the status of civil partnership/same-sex marriage? What legislation governs civil partnership/same-sex marriage?

Same-sex relationships or marriages are not recognised in Ghana. The common law definition of marriage given by Lord Penzance in *Hyde v Hyde (1866) L.R. IP &D 130* still holds sway in Ghana, according to which, marriage is the voluntary union for life of one man and one woman to the exclusion of all others.

This definition outlines some essential validity requirements, the absence of which will render that marriage null and void. One of these essential validity requirements is for the parties to the marriage to be a man and a woman. As such, where the marriage is between parties of the same sex, the marriage is void under Ghanaian law. The further essential elements of a valid marriage include:

- A man and a woman agreeing to live together as husband and wife.
- Consummation of marriage (which under Ghanaian law must involve persons of the opposite sex).

Media Access and Transparency

37. What is the position regarding media access to and press reporting of family law cases?

In general, all court proceedings are held in public except when ordered otherwise by the court in the interest of public morality, safety or public order (Order 1 r 2 (1), HCCPR). Section 39 of the Matrimonial Causes Act allows the court to direct proceedings to be heard in private and to exclude all persons except officers of the court, the parties, their witnesses and lawyers if satisfied that the interests of the parties or the children of the household require this. Therefore, members of the media do not always have access to family hearings.

Succession Rights on Divorce/Dissolution

38. How does divorce impact succession and estate planning in your jurisdiction?

When a divorce decree is granted, the marriage that subsisted between the parties is effectively dissolved from the date the decree is made. As such, any gift or disposition made in a will in favour of a spouse is invalidated on the dissolution or annulment of the marriage, unless a contrary intention is expressed (section 38, Matrimonial Causes Act).

If a person dies intestate, the distribution of their property is subject to the Intestate Succession Act. A spouse's right to succession is extinguished on dissolution of the marriage, as it is generally presumed that the courts will have distributed the matrimonial property between the couple during the divorce proceedings.

The rights of the children to succession are maintained irrespective of the marital status of the parents (Article 28(1)(b), Constitution).

Controversial Areas and Reform

39. What areas of the law (if any) are currently undergoing major change? Which areas of law are considered to be particularly controversial?

Intestate Succession

The Intestate Succession Act now gives additional protections to the immediate family of a deceased than that which previously existed under the common law. However, this area is still in need of reform due to certain problems, which include:

- The provision for the welfare of surviving children, which continues to be challenging.
- The equitable interest of spouses (particularly, female spouses) on the acquisition of real estate, which has often been ignored in the distribution.
- The rights arising on the joint acquisition of real estate and how this should affect the portion of the estate that goes to a surviving spouse. The law is silent on this issue despite the provisions of Article 22(1) of the Constitution guaranteeing these rights.
- The use of fractions for the distribution of the estate, which is difficult to implement.

In 2018, a new Intestate Succession Bill was presented before Parliament. The passage of this Bill will positively impact Ghana's family law regime, as it seeks to cure the lapses and defects identified in the Intestate Succession Act.

Assisted Reproductive Technologies

With the growing popularity of assisted reproductive technologies (ART) in Ghana, there is a need for a more comprehensive legal framework for participants to a surrogacy arrangement to allow them to contract subject to clear and established guiding regulations and principles.

While recent provisions on surrogacy have been introduced by virtue of the Birth and Death Registration Act 2020, there is a need for the Assisted Reproductive Technology (Regulation) Bill 2021 to be passed to address any problems that may arise in the absence of clear regulatory guidance and structure in the Ghanaian ART legal regime.

Cross-Border Abduction

In the absence of Ghana's accession to the Hague Child Abduction Convention, it remains imperative to establish a comprehensive legal framework that specifically tackles cross-border abduction incidents and their associated ramifications, as there is a need for a clear procedure on how to handle such cases.

Islamic Marriages

There is a need for a review of the procedural requirements for contracting Islamic marriages in Ghana. Currently, an Islamic marriage must be registered one week after its celebration in the presence of a licensed priest. If a person misses this one-week window, they must seek the leave of court for the registration of the marriage (section 24, Marriages Act).

There is also no legitimate process for recording Islamic marriages within the different District and Municipal Assemblies. In addition, the absence of a procedure for granting licences to Islamic priests and Imams, along with the non-existence of an official Gazette containing records of registered Islamic priests, also warrants consideration.

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Non-professional qualifications. Practising Licence from General Legal Council, Ghana; Qualifying Certificate of Law (QCL) from Ghana School of Law; Bar Vocational Course (BVC) Postgraduate from the Inns of Court School of Law, London, U.K.; LL.B. Law (Hons.) Degree from the University of Manchester U.K.; Certified FIDIC Trained Lawyer in Construction Law

Recent transactions

- Represented a client in divorce proceedings before the High Court of Ghana and advised them specifically on property settlement, alimony, maintenance, and custody of children per Ghanaian Law.
- Provided an expert legal opinion on citizenship, recognition of foreign orders in Ghana, and the rights of children and their carers under Ghanaian Law. Further advised on the potential immigration requirements of child placement within Ghana and the obligations of parents and guardians in respect of a change of residence or acquisition of Ghanaian citizenship.
- Provided a legal opinion on Ghana's laws concerning children, particularly on Ghana's adoption regime, specifically customary adoption, its validity, and effects in respect of a minor who was the subject of court proceedings in the UK.
- Provided a legal opinion on the recognition and enforcement of some childcare and Special Guardianship Orders (SGOs) in respect of two minors, who were the subjects of Care Proceedings in the UK.
- Reviewed a surrogacy agreement in line with Ghana's laws and advised the client on the legal regime of surrogacy in Ghana. Represented the client in an action to obtain a post-birth parental order to regularise the surrogacy arrangement to comply with the applicable Ghana laws.
- Rendered legal advisory services and represented a Client in a commercial contract with the Government of Ghana for a EUR45,575,000 project.
- Represented a participant in the telecommunications industry, engaged in a forty-two million-dollar (USD42 million) telecommunications infrastructure project along the Western Corridor of Ghana.
- Represents a multi-national mining support services company, on all legal, regulatory, and operational matters as it pertains to the mining industry in Ghana.

Professional associations/memberships. Cyber Security Authority Governing Board of Ghana, Member; Ghana Bar Association, Member; International Bar Association, Member; The Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn, Member; The International Academy of Family Lawyers (IAFL); Association of Restructuring, Insolvency and Bankruptcy Professionals (INSOL International).

Publications

- *Lexology GTDT- Restructuring & Insolvency 2024, 2023 and 2022.*
- *Mondaq Private Mergers and Acquisitions Comparative Guide (Ghana Chapter) 2023.*
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Non-professional qualifications. Certificate on Intellectual Property from World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO); Certified FIDIC Trained Lawyer in Construction Law; LL.M (HONS) from Nottingham Trent University, Nottingham, UK; Practising Licence from the General Legal Council; Qualifying Certificate of Law from the Ghana School of Law, Accra, Ghana; LLB (Hons) from Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Kumasi, Ghana

Recent transactions

- Reviewed a surrogacy agreement in line with Ghana's laws and advised the client on the legal regime of surrogacy in Ghana. Represented the client in an action to obtain a post-birth parental order to regularise the surrogacy arrangement to comply with the applicable Ghana laws.
- Provided a legal opinion on the recognition and enforcement of some child care and Special Guardianship Orders in respect of two minors, who were the subjects of Care Proceedings in the UK.
- Provided a legal opinion on Ghana's laws concerning children, particularly on Ghana's adoption regime, specifically customary adoption, its validity, effects and some related matters in respect of a minor who was the subject of court proceedings in the UK as well as the legal consequences of statutory declarations.
- The firm was engaged by an IT and telecommunications company to advise on the labour regime in Ghana and fair termination procedures under Ghanaian law. In line with this, she advised on severance payment and drafted a mutual termination agreement, spelling out the terms of severing the employment relationship between the employer and employee.
- Advised a private equity investment firm that recently invested in the merged entity of two key industry players in the insurance sector.
- Completed a high-level questionnaire for an international Client on employment law entitlements.

Professional associations/memberships. Ghana Bar Association, Member

Publications

- *Lexology GTDT- Restructuring & Insolvency 2024, 2023 and 2022.*
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Non-professional qualifications. Certified FIDIC Trained Lawyer in Construction Law; Qualifying Certificate of Law from the Ghana School of Law, Accra, Ghana; Practising Licence from the General Legal Council; LLB (Hons) from Central University, Ghana.

Recent transactions

- Advised a client on the enforcement of childcare and Special Guardianship orders concerning two minors, who were the subjects of Care Proceedings in the UK.
- Advised a client on Ghana's surrogacy legal regime following a comprehensive review of a surrogacy agreement in line with Ghana's laws.
- Represented a client to obtain a post-birth parental order to regularize a surrogacy arrangement.
- Conducted negotiations on behalf of a client in a divorce matter, which culminated in an amicable settlement.
- Reviewed the draft regulations of Ghana's Corporate Insolvency and Restructuring Act and made recommendations to assist in its implementation.
- Prepared a legal opinion for a client discussing the options available in respect of the redemption of investments by customers in light of an economic downturn.
- Completed a high-level questionnaire for an international Client on employment law entitlements.

Professional associations/memberships. Ghana Bar Association, Member

Publications. *Mondaq Private Mergers and Acquisitions Comparative Guide (Ghana Chapter) 2023.*

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