

Fortress Mentality: Breaking Through the Barriers of Culture to Deliver Transformative Education in Africa; The Nigerian Example

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ABSTRACT

Culture in Africa is one great barrier to transformative education. This is not to say that there was no education in Africa before Western education. Rather, the pioneers of western education perhaps did not gather enough on African culture before introducing it. It has therefore become next to impossible to totally penetrate the existing “culture fortress” and make education purely transformative. One “culture fortress” identified by the present author is the “*Almajiri* culture” amongst the Hausa-Fulani people of Northern Nigeria. The argument of the present writer is that this “culture fortress mentality” must first be broken through by in-depth study of the people’s culture if transformative education is to be provided. Data are gathered from ethnographic sources from the Northern Nigeria, oral information elicited from Hausa-Fulani group found in Southwestern Nigeria and secondary information in books and journals. The data were analysed through the use of historical method where elicited information are juxtaposed with existing study to verify the veracity of claims earlier made. The study found that Nigeria has recorded some ground breaking successes, yet much still required to be done to attain educational transformation perhaps because background studies on the people are not enough yet.

Keyword: Fortress mentality, Almajiri, Transformative Education.

INTRODUCTION

A fortress may be understood as a structure or system deliberately strengthened to resist penetration or external influence (Walter et al., 2010)¹. Applied metaphorically, a *fortress mentality* describes a condition in which deeply entrenched ideas, beliefs, or practices are vigorously protected and rendered resistant to change. In this paper, the concept is employed to explain the resilience of certain cultural practices in Africa that have proved resistant to externally introduced educational models, particularly Western-style formal education.²

African societies are historically characterized by rich and diverse cultural systems that regulate virtually every aspect of life, including birth, naming ceremonies, social relations, gender roles, inheritance, marriage, and death. These cultural norms are not incidental; rather, they are socially transmitted frameworks that shape identity, values, and acceptable forms of knowledge. Consequently, when Western education was introduced during the missionary and colonial encounters, it was often perceived as alien, disruptive, and in some cases threatening to established social orders.³ Early resistance to Western education was therefore not merely ignorance or hostility to learning, but a culturally grounded response to perceived encroachment on indigenous ways of life.⁴

¹ Elizabeth Walter et al (eds.) *Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 3rd Edition, 2010 Rpt.)p.563

² The interpretation and application of the word here is totally the Author’s view as a boundary expert.

³ Oral Interview with Adedeji Bamgbowu 87+ Years, At his Residence in Bamgbowu Villa, Agowande, Osogbo. (3rd May, 2017)

⁴ The present writer argues that, many unacceptable cultures in Africa had been known to be brutal centuries back, but majority of Africans opposed to these ferocious cultures could not dare the authorities behind such brutal acts in Africa. For instance, the killing of twins and other human sacrifice. See a detailed discussion in

Over time, Western education gained increasing acceptance, particularly among emerging elites who benefited from its social and economic advantages. This shift, however, did not result in the wholesale displacement of indigenous educational systems.⁵ Instead, Western education coexisted—often uneasily—with indigenous knowledge structures. As colonialism deepened and Western education became associated with prestige and authority, another African elite class emerged. These new elitist group produced from the exposure to Western education began to give new interpretations to hitherto accepted African cultural practices. At the same time, European religious practices simultaneously introduced alongside Western education also began to re-interpret numerous African practices. It is against these backgrounds, that surviving African cultural practices became extremely fortified against being washed away or watered down by invading ‘alien’ culture and the eroding influence of the emerging elitist class. Many African cultural practices came under intense scrutiny, reinterpretation, or outright condemnation by both colonial administrators and Christian missionaries. In response, some cultural practices became further entrenched, developing what may be described as *cultural fortresses* designed to preserve identity, autonomy, and continuity in the face of external pressure.⁶

These cultural fortresses manifest in multiple domains, including girl-child education, widowhood practices, inheritance systems, early marriage and the institution of polygamy, initiation rites, transferring hereditary family Chieftaincy title, education by selection due to polygamy or poverty; and the culture of using children as indentured servants or collateral to raise fund for family project, to mention a few, and the construction of taboos around formal schooling.⁷ In the context of education, such fortresses often determine who may be educated, how education is pursued, and the purposes it is expected to serve. One particularly significant example in Nigeria is the *Almajiri* system among the Hausa-Fulani of Northern Nigeria.⁸ Rooted in Islamic scholarship and long-standing social practices, the *Almajiri* system has historically functioned as a legitimate form of education but has increasingly been portrayed as incompatible with contemporary models of transformative education.⁹

This paper argues that meaningful educational transformation cannot be achieved without a deep and contextual understanding of the cultural systems within which education operates. Rather than attempting to dismantle cultural fortresses through forceful policy interventions alone, there is a need for careful cultural study aimed at understanding their internal logic and social significance. Using the *Almajiri* system as a case study, this paper examines how and why certain educational practices become culturally fortified, the implications for transformative education in Nigeria, and the strategies through which such cultural strongholds might be constructively engaged rather than merely resisted.

What is culture?

Culture has been defined by different scholars with different background in different ways. However, irrespective of the various disciplinary backgrounds, there is always a convergent point. Culture refers to the cumulative deposit of knowledge, experience, beliefs, values, attitudes, meanings, hierarchies, religion, notions of time, roles, spatial relations, concepts of the universe, and material objects and possessions acquired by a group of people in the course of generations through individual and group striving (Martins,1992).¹⁰ This

Dolapo Z. Olupayimo, (2021). “‘Aale’: A Perspective Examination of one Yoruba Regime of Identity”, in *Journal of Teacher Education*. Vol. 21, No.1, Adeyemi College of Education, Ondo. pp. 236-250

⁵ A.B. Fafunwa, *History of Education in Nigeria*, (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1974)

⁶ Oral Interview with Adedeji Bamgbowu. See D.Z. Olupayimo (2017)

⁷ Oral Interview with Adedeji Bamgbowu...

⁸ Isa Mohammed & Danjuma Yusuf (2015). The *Almajiri* Educational System: Origin, Dynamics and Challenges *Taraba Journal of Political Science and International Relations* Vol. 2, No. 1&2, (2015)

⁹ Abdullahi Muhammad Teke, Nasiru Abubakar Katami, Maryam Khalid (2020). *Almajiri* Education and The Mainstream Nigeria Education System in North West Geo-Political Zone: The Journey So Far, *International Journal of Scientific and Research Publications*, Volume 10, Issue 8, August 2020 315 ISSN 2250-3153;

¹⁰ Martins Johann, *Culture in Organizations: Three Perspectives*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992)

definition suggests that culture is an all-encompassing system built either consciously or unconsciously within a named society. It is cumulative it is an aggregate of things accepted over-time and it an experience because members of a society are exposed to it within a time milieu. Moreover, all other component captured in the above definition of culture is simply what makes a people who they are. Another crucial aspect of culture is the passage from one generation to another.

Culture is the systems of knowledge shared by a relatively large group of people. It has also been said that culture is communication, communication is culture (Boyd & Richardson, 1988).¹¹ This is proved in that all cultures are necessarily communicated. It therefore agrees with the opinion that culture in its broadest sense is cultivated behavior. (Boyd & Richardson, 1988)¹² That is, the totality of a person's learned, accumulated experience which is socially transmitted. (Boyd & Richardson, 1988)¹³

It has also been argued that, culture is symbolic communication. (Hofstede, 2010)¹⁴ Some of its symbols include a group's skills, knowledge, attitudes, values, and motives. (UNESCO, 2006)¹⁵ The society learns the symbols and ensures that they are deliberately perpetuated through the instrumentality of their institutions. The way culture is structured, it is made up of both explicit and implicit patterns through which acquired behaviours are transmitted. (Hofstede, 2010)¹⁶ It therefore follows that most core cultures are made up of acceptable traditional ideas or ways of doing things. Culture has an inbuilt system of conditioning its practitioners as a product of actions carried out over time. It has a compelling influence on those who follow it. Culture is therefore a collective programming of the mind which separates a group of people from another.

Theory of Cultural Determinism

This work has been built on the theory of cultural determinism. The basic planks of the theory of cultural determinism is that the ideas, meanings, beliefs and values people learn as members of a named society determines human nature. This theory argues that people are what they learn. (Hofstede, 2010)¹⁷ Learning itself may not necessarily be translated to mean western education. The theory of cultural determinism exists in two versions viz.- the optimistic and the pessimistic versions. (Mead & Metraux, 1953)¹⁸ The optimistic version of cultural determinism places no limits on the abilities of human beings to do or to be whatever they want. The argument of some of the protagonists of the optimistic variety of cultural determinism is that there is no universal 'right way' of being human. The 'Right way' is almost always 'our way'; that 'our way' in one society almost never corresponds to 'our way' in any other society. (Mead & Metraux, 1953)¹⁹

Proper attitude of an informed human being could only be a function of tolerance. What is tolerated by a people by implication may not be acceptable in another society even within the sane country especially in a multi-ethnic society like Nigeria. The optimistic variety of cultural determinism explains the human nature as being infinitely flexible since it gives them the privilege of choice as far as the way of life they prefer is concerned. (O' Reilly

¹¹ R. Boyd & P.J. Richardson, *Culture and the Evolutionary Process* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988)

¹² *ibid*

¹³ *ibid*

¹⁴ D.G. Hofstede, *Culture's Consequences: Comparing Values, Behaviours, Institutions and Organizations Across Nations*(Sage Publications Incorporated, 2001)

¹⁵ UNESCO website on Culture and Development <http://www.unesco.org/culture>.

¹⁶ D.G. Hofstede, *Culture's Consequences: Comparing...*

¹⁷ *ibid*

¹⁸ M. Mead & R. Metraux (eds.) *The Study of Culture at a Distance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953)

¹⁹ *ibid*

1989)²⁰ The second variety of cultural determinism maintains that human beings are conditioned to be ‘something’ that is, they have no control over what they become rather they are passive creatures when it involves culture issues, (O’ Reilly’ 1989).²¹ They do only what their culture tells them to do. This explanation is anchored on behaviourism that is, locating human behaviours in a realm which is totally beyond their control. (O’ Reilly’ 1989)²²

Under cultural determinism, there is the notion of cultural relativism²³ which governs why each cultural group thinks, feels and acts differently. However, studying differences in culture among groups and societies presupposes a position of cultural relativism. What is crucial at this point is not to be judgmental when considering or comparing the behaviour of certain culture group with another negotiation is more likely to succeed when the parties concerned understand the reasons for the differences in viewpoints.

The theory of cultural determinism explores how culture manifests under the idea of cultural manifestation.²⁴ The differences in various cultural practices all over the world may be seen in different ways and depths. As earlier mentioned in this work, culture depends on symbol where a symbol represents the most superficial and indeed, the deepest manifestations of culture, with heroes and rituals in between. In this context, symbols are words, gestures, pictures, or objects that carry a particular meaning which is only understood by those who share a particular culture.²⁵ People who do not share this culture may not understand the symbol therein. It must be stressed that new symbols easily develop and old ones easily disappear. Symbols from one particular group are regularly copied by others. This is why symbols represent the outermost layer of a culture when culture is graphically represented.

Heroes are persons, past or present, real or fictitious, who possess characteristics that are highly prized in a culture.²⁶ Heroes are presented in most cultures as models for behavioral standard or acceptable values. Another crucial component is rituals which are collective activities, sometimes superfluous in reaching desired objectives, but are considered as socially essential.²⁷ They are therefore carried out oftentimes for their own sake and they include ways of greetings, paying respect to others, religious and social observances, to mention a few.

The fundamentals of a culture are formed by values and they are equivalent to the broad tendencies for certain preferences for the state of affairs e.g. (good-evil, right-wrong, natural-unnatural)²⁸. This explains the reasons why many values remain unconscious to those who hold them. Therefore they often cannot be discussed, nor can they be directly observed by others. Values can only be inferred from the way people act under different circumstances. Symbols, heroes, and rituals constitute the tangible or visual aspects of the practices of a culture.²⁹ The true cultural meaning of the practices is intangible; this is revealed only when the practices are interpreted by the insiders.

It is against this backdrop that the present author sees the various aspects of African culture (including the *Almajiri* culture that is singled out for discussion here) as having passed through all these stages to become quite

²⁰ C. O’ Reilly, “Corporation, Culture and Commitment, Motivation and Social Change in Organization” *California Management Review*, 31 (4) (1989) 9-25

²¹ *ibid*

²² *ibid*

²³ C. O’ Reilly, “Corporation, Culture and Commitment, Motivation and Social Change in Organization” *California Management Review*, 31 (4) (1989) 9-25

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Martins Johann, *Culture in Organizations: Three Perspectives*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992)

²⁶ D.G. Hofstede, *Culture’s Consequences: Comparing Values, Behaviours, Institutions and Organizations Across Nations*(Sage Publications Incorporated, 2001)

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *ibid*

entrenched either through symbols, heroes or ritualistic observances. A short explanation of the origin of the *Almajiri* culture amongst the Hausa-Fulani societies of Nigeria would suffice at this point.

The Origin of Almajiri and Its Culture Fortress

Almajiri, a word borrowed from Arabic language derives from Al-Muhair which simply translates seekers of Islamic knowledge.³⁰ As used in Islamic parlance, it has been linked to the historic journey of Prophet Mohammed from Mecca to Medina. Those who accompanied the Prophet on the journey were called “Al-Muhajirun” meaning emigrants. They had no means of livelihood hence they were coopted into learning different trades as apprentice paid only a token for their services.³¹ They enjoyed this because of the fraternity of the Prophet earlier built.³²

The Almajiri ideology gained ground in Northern Nigeria as far back as the period when Islam was first introduced to the place. Meanwhile, a consensus of historical research seems to have established that Islam became established in Northern Nigeria as far back as the period of Mohammed Rimfa (1463-1499) in Kano³³. This was when some Fulani scholars who came from North Africa to Kano with some books on Islamic theology and jurisprudence taught Islamic principles attributed to scholars from Timbuktu.³⁴ The *Almajiri* system thus entered Northern Nigeria at about this period as an integral part of the system meant to give sustenance to Islamic education.

In the opinion of Fafunwa, the introduction of the Islamic principle of Sadakah as medium of remuneration for the Islamic teachers job also look like a contrivance that later reduce the teacher to a beggar.³⁵ Sadakah empowers the Islamic teacher to at a point to send his students/pupils out to raise fund hence the pupils also became another set of Al-Muhajirun.³⁶ It must be noted that during this period, the structure was under the strict control of the Emir.³⁷ However, as a result of the collapse of Emirate system and the introduction of colonialism, there was little or no check on the Almajiri system this gradually became bastardized. Therefore, seekers of Islamic knowledge became exposed as we know it today.

The condition of the *Almajiris* as operated today in Northern Nigeria left much to be desired. They trailed food sellers all around the Northern part of Nigeria in a bid to attract rich buyers that can afford to buy for them.³⁸ They stay around canteens and restaurants to either get attention from buyers or access their waste-bin to eat left-over.³⁹ The population of almajiri today in Northern Nigeria is placed by Kabiru at about 10 Million.⁴⁰

³⁰ I. Kabiru, *The North and the Almajiri Phenomenon*. www.gamji.com/article/8000/NEWS8282.htm ; Sunday David Edinyang ,Maxwell Richard Bassey, Maxwell Richard Bassey Doris Emmanuel Ushie (2020). Almajiri System of Education and the Emergence of Religious Extremists in Nigeria *Journal of Educational and Social Research* Vol.10, No.2, March 2020 <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/>

³¹ J.T. Fowoyo, “Transforming the Almajiri Education for the Benefit of the Nigerian Society” *Journal of Education and Social Research*, Vol. 3, No. 9 (November, 2013) 67-72 ; Isa Mohammed & Danjuma Yusuf (2015).The Almajiri Educational System: Origin, Dynamics and Challenges *Taraba Journal of Political Science and International Relations* Vol. 2, No. 1&2, (2015)

³² S.I. Akpama, “Combatting the Problem of Street Children in Nigeria: The Non Formal Education Option” *A Journal of Nigeria National Council for Adult Education*, Vol. 2 (2006)

³³ S. Gali “ Empowering Street Children Trough Non Formal Education in Northern Nigeria *A Journal of Nigeria National Council for Adult Education*, Vol. 14 (2007)

³⁴ A.B. Fafunwa, *History of Education in Nigeria*, (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1974)

³⁵ *ibid.*

³⁶ J.T. Fowoyo, “Transforming the Almajiri Education...”

³⁷ S. Gali “ Empowering Street Children...”

³⁸ S. Gali “ Empowering Street Children...”

³⁹ *ibid.*

⁴⁰ I. Kabiru, *The North and the Almajiri Phenomenon*. www.gamji.com/article/8000/NEWS8282.htm

It has become a cancer in the entire social structure of Northern Nigeria since it is deeply seated in their culture. On the part of State government, every effort at stopping it has produced little or no result.⁴¹ While on the part of the parents of such children, they were sent to “Quranic Schools” which culturally speaking was religiously appropriate.⁴² To the children or the Almajiri itself, it is a way of life which must be sustained.⁴³ One can therefore conclude that it a system which is deeply rooted in the social structure of Northerners and it might take a whole generation to wipe it out. Hence it merits a description as a fortress in the opinion of the present writer.

Pictorial illustration showing age bracket of the Almajiri Youth



Pictorial illustration of one Almajiri boy wandering around

One could easily link the explosion of the *Almajiri* culture to the way western education was introduced to the Northern part of Nigeria with enough or in-depth study of the area. It was indeed introduced to target population unlike in the Southwestern and Southeastern part of the country where missionary activities were not regimented by the colonial government. Islamic education was allowed to continue alongside the light western education in Nigeria and particularly the Northern part of Nigeria and argue that Western education. It was first introduced to the palaces with the Emirs and the children of top class chiefs among the Aristocratic class having restricted

⁴¹ S.I. Akpama, “Combatting the Problem of Street Children in Nigeria: The Non Formal Education Option” *A Journal of Nigeria National Council for Adult Education*, Vol. 2 (2006)

⁴² *Vanguard News Paper* “Modern Gang up Against Ancient Tradition” Tuesday 26th November, 2012)

⁴³ *Vanguard News Paper* “Modern Gang ...

access. What western education did in Northern Nigeria instead of transforming the whole society was to entrench the existing social strata, making the poor to remain permanently illiterates.

The successive administration in Northern Nigeria since independence may not be absorbed of blame for not breaking the trend until the gap between the learned and the illiterates translated itself to a gap between the poor and the rich and subsequently become so wide that many *Almajiris* has been made out of the children of the poor. The estimated number of *Almajiris* in the Northern part of Nigeria today stood at about ten Million and they continue to live at the mercy of the alms given to them by the rich.

Transformative Education

One of the issues raised in this article is transformative education, hence, the need to briefly discuss the theory of transformative education, initiated by Jack Mezirow in the 1970s through the 1980s.⁴⁴⁴⁴ The focal point was how to change the World views of adults by exposing them to critical reflection, challenging assumptions, and dialogue, leading to new perspectives, beliefs, and behaviors, often ignited by a “disorienting dilemma” and moving through stages like critical self-reflection and rational discourse, to foster personal growth, promote deeper self-awareness, and critical consciousness for social justice.⁴⁵⁴⁵ The core concepts of Mezirow include: Disorienting Dilemma, Self-Examination, Rational Discourse, Assessing options, Building Competence, Revising Meaning Schemes/Mindset, Action/New Behaviour.⁴⁶⁴⁶ It would be observed that Mezirow’s focus was expected to produce a new mindset and a new behaviour pattern. It is the view of the present author that if transformative education is the focus of the *Almajiri* education of the government of Nigeria, the tendency is high that the *Almajiri* fortress would be broken down and the culture would give-in in the face of carefully pursued transformative educational agenda.

Efforts of the Nigerian Government

As recently as 2012, the Federal government of Nigeria signed into law the *Almajiri* education bill and this was the very first time all the various efforts which began in 1988 under Professor Jubril Aminu (the then Minister of Education) as a proposal to salvaging the teeming population of *Almajiri* children of school age in the North got a formal government attention.⁴⁷ By this singular step, Nigeria became the first in the West African sub-region to integrate *Almajiri* education into the mainstream of formal education. This particular step of the government was a welcome development given the number of *Almajiri* children wondering the streets of northern.⁴⁸ The president declared that the programme of *Almajiri* Model School as packaged then was designed to cover 9.5M *Almajiri* population scattered across northern Nigeria.⁴⁹ He added that the schools would provide children with conventional quality education as a matter of policy.

Looking at earlier steps taken by the government to rescue the *Almajiri* situation and why it failed, one could adduce that it failed due to factors like poor planning, mismanagement of resources, lack of consistent financial

⁴⁴ Mezirow, J. (1996). Adult education and empowerment for individual and community development, in T. Fleming, D. McCormack, B. Connolly, & A. Ryan (Eds.), *Radical Learning for Liberation* (pp.5–14). Maynooth: MACE. Mezirow, J. (1997). Transformation theory out of context. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 48(1), 60–62. doi:10.1177/074171369704800105

⁴⁵ Mezirow, J. (2000). Learning to think like an adult: Core concepts of transformation theory. In J. Mezirow et al (Eds.), *Learning as Transformation: Critical Perspectives on a Theory in Process* (pp. 3–34). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

⁴⁶ Mezirow, J. (2003). Transformative learning as discourse. *Journal of Transformative Education*, 1(1), 58–63. doi:10.1177/1541344603252172

⁴⁷ R. Adetoro, “The *Almajiri* As a Potential Threat to Nigerian National Security: The Role of Social Studies Education, in *Nigerian Journal of Social Studies*, 13, 1 and 2(2010) 141-150.

⁴⁸ *Media Trust News Paper*, “Media Trust Reviewing the *Almajiri* Education Project II” (1st August, 2013) p.1.

⁴⁹ D. Okoro, *The Punch*, “Concretizing the *Almajiri* Education Policy in Nigeria”, *Punch Newspaper*

support, changes in government, inconsistent policy execution or implementation, failure of the monitoring structure and evaluative mechanism⁵⁰ to mention a few.

State after states began to pay lip service to the development of Almajiri education. Their hypocritical stands were a demonstration of their insincerity to the eradication of Almajiri children in northern Nigeria whom they use as political thugs.⁵¹ The foundation of transformative education could therefore not be laid by a government that was not sincere in its policy implementation. The integration of Almajiri education into formal school system seemed to be advancing beyond the old stage where they were not recognized at all. Originally, the *Almajiri* system of education was designed to build in young minds strong Islamic doctrine of the Holy Quran.⁵² They were only exposed to basic moral and spiritual responsibilities. It was meant to inculcate in them the value of caring for those in need unfortunately, these esteemed goals have defeated by some modern day dubious Islamic scholars.⁵³

On the part of the parents of these *Almajiri* children, they were not willing to fulfill their obligation as parents hence, the society is covered with many untamed children. As far as the children were concerned, they prefer to remain idle and live on arms given to them by religiously inclined members of the society. If the issues of these nearly 10 Million *Almajiri* children is not adequately addressed, there may never be any transformative education. However, the government at all levels must be ready to shoulder the responsibility of nurturing the *Almajiri* education if only to reduce the immeasurable gap between the rich and the poor.⁵⁴

RECOMMENDATIONS

- There should be an in-depth study of the various culture fortresses by experts to provide base for transformative education;
- The government should show enough commitment and favourable disposition to policy implementation with regard to Almajiri education and nomadic education;
- Sufficient fund should be provided for such studies as well as the Almajiri and Nomadic education; and
- Continuous researches should be embarked upon to update existing knowledge so as to meet up with international best practices on education.

CONCLUSION

Of all the countries in Sub-Sahara Africa, Nigeria has made some useful impact, however, much still remained to be covered in terms of breaking through these culture fortresses to actually make education transformative. For instance, Nigeria has designed some educational policies carefully modified for these groups of under-covered people as a matter of social responsibility and this is praise-worthy. However, Nigeria has pay more lip-service to the lofty words and goals designed in the National Policy on Education and other documents carefully packaged for educational transformation in Nigeria. This must as a matter of urgency be scrupulously addressed.

⁵⁰ A.A. Ja'far, "The Almajiri System of Education and Vision 2020" Farfaru Journal of Multi-Disciplinary Studies (2008)

⁵¹ A.A. Ja'far, "The Almajiri System of Education and Vision 2020" Farfaru Journal of Multi-Disciplinary Studies (2008)

⁵² R. Adetoro, "The *Almajiri* As a Potential Threat to Nigerian National Security: The Role of Social Studies Education, in *Nigerian Journal of Social Studies*, 13, 1 and 2(2010) 141-150.

⁵³ J.T. Fowoyo, "Transforming the Almajiri Education for the Benefit of the Nigerian Society" *Journal of Education and Social Research*, Vol. 3, No. 9 (November, 2013) 67-72

⁵⁴ S. Gali "Empowering Street Children Trough Non Formal Education in Northern Nigeria *A Journal of Nigeria National Council for Adult Education*, Vol. 14 (2007)