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The Struggle of Education in Hausaland, Nigeria

**- A document analysis of education's effect on Hausa
children's social mobility**

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Abstract

Education is known to be the most prominent factor of social mobility, meanwhile, in Nigeria, the system fuels school dropouts. Thus, this thesis analyses the structures, norms and behavior behind policies and practices of education in Nigeria, and how they may affect Hausa children's social mobility. Social, economic, and cultural norms and practices play a critical role in Hausa children's educational attainment. To get an in-depth understanding of this relationship, the thesis applies a critical ontological approach by drawing on Bourdieu's cultural capital theory combined with McKnight's social mobility aspects. To evaluate the relevance and applicability of social capital theory in the Nigerian context, this study deploys Ostrom's Institutional Analysis and Development framework for the empirical analysis. Through document analysis the paper uses a content analysis of relevant legislation, policy documents, academic articles, and newspaper articles. The main findings suggest that traditional Islamic practices, illiteracy, gender-inequalities and economic barriers restrict Hausa children from attending formal education. Additionally, formal education is the only educational structure, in Nigeria, that allows a Hausa child to increase its social mobility but is also the main driver of dropouts. The findings may contribute to similar education issues in other Sub-Saharan countries.

Keywords: Hausa children, education, social mobility, socio-economic inequalities, cultural practices, educational institutions and policies

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Table of Contents

ABSTRACT	1
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	2
TABLE OF CONTENTS	3
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	5
LIST OF FIGURES.....	5
1. INTRODUCTION.....	6
1.1 RELEVANCE	6
1.2 PURPOSE, AIM AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS.....	7
1.3 OUTLINE	8
2. LITERATURE REVIEW	9
2.1 FORMAL EDUCATION AND ITS RELATION TO HAUSA CHILDREN’S DEVELOPMENT	9
2.2 RESEARCH OF THEORETICAL LENS AND FRAMEWORK	10
3. CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND.....	11
3.1 SHORT FACTS OF NIGERIA.....	11
3.2 THE HAUSA POPULATION	11
3.3 EDUCATION IN NIGERIA	12
4. THEORETICAL ENGAGEMENT.....	13
4.1 THEORETICAL LENS.....	13
5. METHODOLOGY	17
5.1 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	17
5.2 DATA COLLECTION.....	18
5.2.1 <i>Sampling</i>	19
5.3 DATA ANALYSIS.....	21
5.4 POTENTIAL LIMITATIONS	21
5.5 POSITIONALITY AND ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS	22
6. FINDINGS	22
6.1 RULES-IN-USE.....	22
6.1.1 <i>Required Behaviour</i>	22
6.1.2 <i>Permitted Behaviour</i>	24
6.1.3 <i>Prohibited and Sanctioned Behaviour</i>	24
6.2 ATTRIBUTES OF COMMUNITY.....	25
6.2.1 <i>Policy Makers</i>	25
6.2.2 <i>Providers</i>	25
6.2.3 <i>Users</i>	26
6.3 BIOPHYSICAL CONDITIONS	27
6.3.1 <i>Environment</i>	27
6.3.2 <i>Facilities</i>	27
6.3.3 <i>Ideas</i>	28
6.4 ACTORS.....	28
6.4.1 <i>Hausa School Pupils</i>	29
6.4.2 <i>Hausa Families</i>	29
6.4.3 <i>General School Stakeholders</i>	30
6.5 SITUATIONS AND INTERACTIONS	31

6.5.1	<i>Formal school management in Hausaland</i>	31
6.5.2	<i>Hausa girl-child</i>	33
6.5.3	<i>The Almajiri system</i>	33
6.5.4	<i>Hausa parent's perspectives of schooling</i>	34
6.5.5	<i>The impact of poverty on education</i>	35
7.	DISCUSSION	35
7.1	GIRL-CHILD.....	36
7.2	CULTURAL CAPITAL AND SOCIAL CLASSES WITHIN THE HAUSA FAMILY	36
7.3	SOCIAL MOBILITY	37
7.4	POLICIES	39
7.5	OUTCOMES.....	40
8.	CONCLUSION	41
8.1	FURTHER RESEARCH	43
9.	BIBLIOGRAPHY	45
10.	APPENDIX	57

List of Abbreviations

Child Rights Act – CRA

Compulsory Free Universal Education Act – CFUEA

Federal Ministry of Education – FME

Federal Government – FG

Gross Domestic Production – GDP

Institutional Analysis and Development - IAD

National Commission on Education – NCE

National Human Rights Commission – NHRC

National Policy on Education – NPE

National Policy on Gender in Basic Education – NPGBE

School-Based Management Committee - SBMC

Sustainable Development Goal – SDG

Universal Basic Education Committee – UBEC

List of Figures

Figure 1: Map of Nigeria showing Hausaland

Figure 2: Institutional Analysis and Development Framework

Figure 3: Distribution of teachers in Basic Education Schools by State and Gender

1. Introduction

1.1 Relevance

Education is an integral part of sustainable development¹ (United Nations, 2015) and one of the most powerful tools to reduce poverty², improve gender equality and people's health, as well as increasing human capital and societal development (The World Bank, 2022). It is recognized in development practices through Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 4 (Quality Education) and is a contributor to other goals such as, e.g., SDG 1 (No Poverty), SDG 5 (Gender Equality), and SDG 8 (Decent Work and Economic Growth) (United Nations, 2015).

Within research, it is commonly argued that studies of education in Africa, especially Sub-Saharan Africa, are not visible enough or do not exist in the quality or quantity that it deserves. If it is true that there is a link between country-specific research and good education policy, the low quantity of research on impoverished countries should be a cause of concern (Rossiter & Ishaku, 2019). In 2019, before the Covid-19 pandemic arrived, only 29 per cent of young people residing in Sub-Saharan Africa had completed secondary school. Among Sub-Saharan countries, Nigeria is the country furthest away from fulfilling universal primary education (Antoninis, 2014). One-fifth of the world's out-of-school children live in Nigeria (UNICEF). It should be highlighted that the Nigerian Constitution (1999) offers free and compulsory basic education for all. In March 2020, the President of the Senate in Nigeria stated that Nigeria had 14 million out-of-school children, further claiming that the numbers are worst in Nigeria's northern states (Opara, 2020). In North-East and North-West states, the girl-child attendance level was about 47.5 per cent in 2017. This means that less than half of all girls living in northern states go to school. The education deprivation in those states is mainly caused by socio-cultural norms and practices that restrain children from going to formal school, as well as economic hindrances (UNICEF, 2017; Durowaiye, 2017).

¹ This paper will use the following understanding of the term, sustainable development. According to Encyclopedia (2018) "sustainable development is the practice of managing growth and change in ways that meet the needs of the present without damaging future generations' ability to develop further." This paper uses this understanding of the term.

² This paper will use the following understanding of the term, poverty. According to Encyclopedia (2022) "poverty is the inability to afford basic needs other than food, such as shelter, clothing, and energy, along with food."

According to several scholars, The Qur’anic educational system (Almajiri schools) in North-West Nigeria is one of the largest contributors to out-of-school children in the country since the government do not consider this type of education equally sufficient to formal education, and therefore children attending those schools are seen as out-of-school children (Antoninis, 2014; Hansen, 2016; Hoechner, 2015). The Nigerian Universal Basic Education Committee (UBEC) (2019: XXIV) holds that “research is needed on the causes of drop-out, the effects of children repeating a class and transfer of learners. Research is also needed to understand the intractable problem of out-of-school children (including the Almajiri) and how best to provide basic education to them.”

Previous research has identified linguistic barriers (Ayoola & Adenike, 2016; Ezeokoli & Ugwu, 2019; Okebukola, 2012), inequalities and socio-economic hindrances (Abideen, et al. 2013; Imam, 2022;), cultural practices (Ningi et al., 2016), and preference for Islamic learning (Antoninis, 2014; Hoechner, 2015; Hansen et al., 2016; Idris, 2016) as the main barriers for children entering the formal educational system. However, research in this vein has not elaborated on the structures, norms and behaviour shaping unsuccessful educational policies in relation to Hausa children. The identified gap may hold some truth to Rossiter and Ishaku’s (2019) argument, which claims that studies of education in Sub-Saharan Africa do not exist in the quality or quantity it deserves. Additionally, education is known to be the most prominent factor in enhancing a person’s social mobility. This well-known liberal view is frequently researched in Nigeria when studying societal development (Enu & Joseph, 2018). A critical view of this has also been studied by drawing on, i.e. Bourdieu’s cultural capital theory which claims that social classes are reproduced within education (Kazeem & Musalia, 2016). However, studies of social mobility framed by cultural capital are scarce in relation to in-dept analysis of structures, norms and behaviour shaping unsuccessful policies.

1.2 Purpose, aim and research questions

The purpose of this paper is to contribute to UBEC’s (2019: XXIV) request for research on “causes of drop-out” and “to understand the intractable problem of out-of-school children (including the Almajiri)”. Through deductive reasoning, this thesis aims to contribute to development research on the structures, norms and behavior that lay behind policies and practices of education in Nigeria and how they affect Hausa (ethnic group living in North-West Nigeria) children’s social mobility. This study applies a critical ontological approach by

drawing on Bourdieu's cultural capital theory combined with McKnight's social mobility aspects. To evaluate the relevance and applicability of social capital theory in the Nigerian context, this study deploys Ostrom's Institutional Analysis and Development (IAD) framework for the empirical analysis. The IAD framework is a tool that allows the researcher to study in-depth structures, norms, and behaviors of an issue and how they change over time (Ostrom, 2009). By drawing on Ostrom's framework, this paper will also contribute to a methodological research gap of education in the Nigerian context. This thesis aims to answer the following research questions:

- How do social, economic and cultural norms and practices impact Hausa children's attendance in formal education?
- How is Hausa children's social mobility effected by Nigeria's educational institutions?

To answer the research questions, this thesis uses a content analysis of relevant legislation, policy documents, academic articles, and newspaper articles. This paper does not analyze how the terrorist group Boko Haram's insurgencies effect Hausa children's education, since they mostly operate in the North-Eastern geopolitical zone and the Hausa children reside in the North-Western area. Evidence from findings in the study suggest that traditional Islamic practices, illiteracy, and gender-inequalities of parents, and non-intuition fees restrict Hausa children from attending formal education. Additionally, policy barriers need to be overcome to offer equal opportunity of education to everyone. Lastly, roughly speaking, formal education is the only educational structure, in Nigeria, that allows a Hausa child to increase its cultural capital and social mobility. However, it is also the system that contributes to most dropouts.

1.3 Outline

Having outlined the *introduction*, this paper continues by presenting the *literature review in part two*; followed by the *contextual background* in section three; *theoretical engagements* in part four; and *methodology* in part five. Following those chapters comes the analysis which first involves *findings*, and secondly the *discussion*, in chapter seven. Finally, in section eight, this paper presents its conclusion and future research recommendations.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Formal education and its relation to Hausa children's development

Several studies concern education's relation to social and economic growth and inequalities. One study shows that Nigeria has increased its GDP by investing in education, although policymakers need to continuously increase their investment as their population is growing (Omotayo, 2015). Other studies highlight the same benefits of education but criticize educational policies since they do not offer equal access to education in urban and rural areas (Abideen, et al. 2013), north and southern states (Imam, 2012), which is one of the reasons behind socio-economic inequalities between the areas (Abideen, et al. 2013; Imam, 2022). The large number of illiterate parents in rural areas is also blamed on unequal education policies (Abideen, et al. 2013). Research also shows how socio-economic inequalities and cultural engagements may affect girl's access to education (Ningi et al., 2016) and that poverty, but also factors such as marriage, gender inequality, religion, child labour and uneducated parents can contribute to withdraw the child from school (Ibrahim et al., 2020). These studies include the role of education and educational policies in social and economic development in Nigeria. However, so far, none of these concepts has been applied to the Hausa population.

Some research emphasizes high criticism towards Nigeria's religious, educational system and hold that the system is not a "real" educational system and therefore contributes to the large number of out-of-school children in Nigeria. One study claimed that northern children are drawn to religious schools because secular schools offer poor quality of education and facilities (Antonnis, 2014). Other studies hold that religious boarding schools have become a preference in front of formal public schools by religious parents in rural northern states (Idris, 2016) and an escape from poor rural areas for children. However, what the children who enter those schools do not know is that the education they receive there is not very highly rated in comparison to secular education, which leads to adverse outcomes (Hoechner, 2015), such as becoming victims of insurgency groups like the Boko Haram (Hoechner, 2015; Hansen et al., 2016). Hence the intended and unintended consequences of the integrated Almajiri schooling programme, developed by the government to integrate formal education with religious schooling, have also been studied to solve the issue of Almajiri children becoming victims of Boko Haram (Idris, 2016).

The dominating English school curriculum constrains the literate development of children in ethnic groups in Nigeria. Previous literature studying formal education linguistics in Nigeria has two different stands to this statement. The first stand holds that the English curriculum threatens the indigenous language and thus children's development. Recent research shows that several primary schools in indigenous societies neglect the need for ethnic language engagement and stick to English to gain popularity with the influential people, who, through recent trends, have fully adapted to the English language (Ayoola & Adenike, 2016). Another study shows that students believe that learning in their mother tongue is the best way to learn. To add to this, the teacher holds that educating students in their mother tongue will help promote a positive attitude towards the Nigerian culture (Ezeokoli & Ugwu, 2019). The second stand involves policy and attitude change towards indigenous language. Governmental, educational policies should consider teacher's input on the one hand, and on the other hand, teachers should adopt a wider concept of linguistics in their teaching (Okebukola, 2012). The above-mentioned studies cover the effect of the educational system on Hausa children. However, they lack in-depth research on the structures, norms, and behaviour (institutions, according to Ostrom (2009)) that shape the policies and practices of the system that lead to the outcomes found in the studies.

2.2 Research of theoretical lens and framework

Social mobility in Nigeria's education system has been studied in previous research through different aspects. On the one hand, the well-known liberal view has been drawn on, which claims that education is the main contributor to social mobility in Nigeria and concurs racial and ethnic class issues (Enu & Joseph, 2018). On the other hand, through Bourdieu's cultural capital theory, how rural and urban demography (Kazeem & Musalia, 2016), but also how religious expectations from families (Durowaiye, 2017), constrain children's social mobility through education. However, studies of social mobility framed by cultural capital are scarce in relation to an in-dept analysis of educational institutions.

Ostrom's institutional analysis and development framework is commonly used to study structures within environmental and ecological issues. In recent years the framework has been used within several different disciplines, most current to study the roles of institutions in Covid-19 responses (Witkowski et al., 2021). When this thesis was written, the framework had only been used once to study the educational sector, namely in a study comparing the Monitoring and Evaluation systems in the education and health sector in Uganda. The

framework allowed them to analyze the hidden institutions and structures within the M&E systems of the educational and health sector to enhance further the systems (Inberg & Holvoet, 2014). By conducting an in-depth analysis of Nigeria's educational institutions and their relationship to Hausa children's development, this thesis aims to fill the gaps mentioned above and broaden the IAD framework within the education sector through research in a new geographical setting, namely Nigeria.

3. Contextual background

3.1 Short facts of Nigeria

Nigeria is the largest and fastest growing economy in Africa, with a population of about 215 million (Worldometer, 2022). It has 36 states, 774 local governments and is divided into six geopolitical areas. They became independent from the British colonial rule in 1960 and have since then fallen under military rule, twice, before becoming a democratic country with a presidential rule. Nigeria encompasses 250 ethnic groups and more than 500 spoken languages, however, since the British rule, English has been the dominating language. Additionally, agriculture is the second largest contributor of the country's total Gross Domestic Product (GDP) after oil; however, agriculture provides livelihood for a bigger part of the population than oil which only generates a minor proportion of the population (Sasu, 2022). Lastly, statistics from 2018 show that Nigeria belongs to the group of countries who have the lowest social mobility in the world (Narayan & Van der Weide, 2018).

3.2 The Hausa population

The ethnical Hausa group in Nigeria where in 2018 estimated to make up 30 percent of Nigeria's total population, which makes them the largest ethnic group in the country (Sasu, 2022). Their culture is known to be homogenized as well as conservative and most of them live of agricultural production (Findlay, 2019). The North-Western geopolitical area (figure 1), also known as Hausaland, is the area where most of them reside. This thesis will use the terms North-West and Hausaland for that area. Moving on, the Hausa population practise Islam as their main religion and commonly speak Hausa as their first language and English as their second (Findlay, 2019).

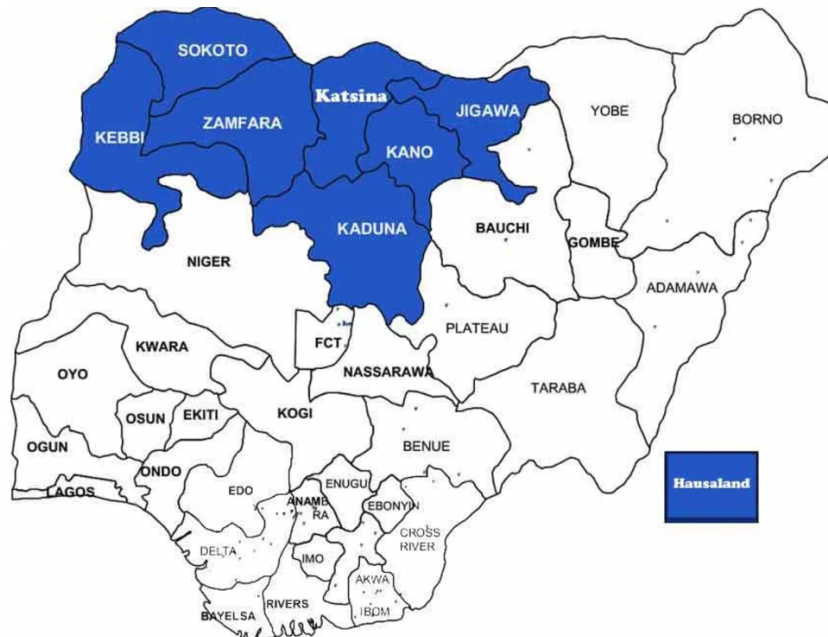


Figure 1 Map of Nigeria showing Hausaland. Source: Stephens, 2019

3.3 Education in Nigeria

Many years before the Europeans arrived in Nigeria, Islam was introduced to the northern states of the country. It was at this point the Islamic education system, known as the Almajiri school system, came about. Both boys and girls attended the schools, however girls were typically only enrolled between two to three years before they were redrawn to prepare for marriage (Rufa'i, 2006). Western Education, which is known as formal or quality education in Nigeria (henceforth formal or Western education), was established through an Ordinance in 1882. (NAFRN, 1999). It was firstly introduced in the southern states of Nigeria before finding its way up to the northern states. Sabiu et al. (2018) holds that in the beginning of colonisation the Hausa population refused Western learning, since it was introduced by British people who were Christian, they thought that by participating it would make them less devoted to their Islamic beliefs. One might even lose its Islamic identity (Lawal, 2019).

When Nigeria became independent, the federal government felt an urgent need to reduce illiteracy and create manpower to prove their strength as an independent state. This led them to adopted formal education, with an English curriculum, as the main form of education (UBEC, 2019). Although, despite several initiatives of enhancing formal education, up until today, 44.9 percent of Nigeria's population, 15 years and above, are still illiterate. The highest level of illiteracy is in the North-West and North-East geopolitical zones, while the lowest rate is in the South-West and South-East zones (UBEC, 2019). As mentioned in the

introduction, Nigeria is the country furthest away from reaching universal primary education for all in the world, with its large number of out-of-school children (Antoninis, 2014). UBEC (2019) emphasize that there are two categories of out-of-school children, namely the children who have never attended school and the children who are drop out of school. The numbers of out-of-school children are dominating in northern states of Nigeria. One of the reasons for this is that the Almajiri schools are located there, and since they teach the Qur'an and not the formal education curriculum, which is not recognized as a sufficient learning method, all the children who attend those school are seen as out-of-school children.

4. Theoretical engagement

This paper draws on Bourdieu's cultural capital theory to frame social structures hidden within different fields i.e., foremost education and partly religion and agriculture. It further connects Bourdieu's approach with McKnight's social mobility theory of education, to understand how social structures within those fields operate, and in what ways they may enable or constrain social mobility.

4.1 Theoretical lens

According to Shirley (1986: 96) Bourdieu is "easily the most important ... sociologist of education". He is known for critically approaching the liberal perception of education, which hold that schools are the most prominent tool in our society to enhance equality and to create social reform. He does this by arguing that social educational theorist tends to ignore the fact that cultural capital is reproduced alongside social and economic capital in education, and if cultural capital is reproduced, social classes are maintained and cannot change (Nash, 1990). But what is cultural capital? Cultural capital can be seen as a form of unconscious and non-economic ladder of social hierarchy. It comprises taste, behavior, manners, skills, knowledge, and credentials which a person acquires from the specific social group one is born in to (Bourdieu, 1986). Street wise skills and knowledge are not considered cultural capital attributes (Nash 1990). Cultural capital can be found in three different states namely the *embodied state*, the *objectified state*, and the *institutionalized state* (Bourdieu, 1986). The first refers to the state of the "mind and body" (Bourdieu, 1986: 17) for instance language and literacy; the second to "cultural goods" (Ibid) which is material that specify what social group

we belong to; and the third relates to the objectification of for instance “educational qualifications” (Ibid) such as educational degrees. The higher the degree is, the higher one’s cultural capital is.

Depending on a person’s level of cultural capital one belongs to a certain social class. Bourdieu (1973) believes that there are three social classes that dominate in cultural capital, although he also acknowledges that there are classes within those classes. The lowest class is the working-class that include farmers, small-traders, and workers, and are usually excluded from the upper-class. Then comes the middle-class who are heads and employees of small businesses and industries, as well as intermediate office employees. At the very top of the ladder, we find the upper-class, who occupy the high positions within offices. Bourdieu’s (1973) holds that upper-class attains the highest level of cultural capital and claims that it cannot be transmitted in the same way as property, but is something that is acquired over time, commonly through one’s upbringing. Therefore, it is difficult for people from the working-class to gain such capital. Thus, cultural capital contributes to social inequality. (Nash, 1990). According to Bourdieu and Passeron (1979: 2) “a senior executive’s son is eighty times more likely to enter a university than a farm worker’s son, and forty more times than a worker’s son; and he is twice as likely to enter a university as even a low-rank executive’s son.” There are several reasons for this, let us have a look at them. For instance, within a working-class family a child may be expected to do household chores or help on the farm after school, which decreases precious time the child can spend on homework, which may affect its grade and have a negative impact when applying for higher levels of education (Sociology Live, 2015). Furthermore, Bourdieu claims that (1973: 493) “the educational system can attain full effectiveness only to the extent that it bears upon individuals who have been previously granted a certain familiarity with the world of art by their family upbringings”. “Familiarity with the world of art” can be visits to the museum, travels to other countries, having access to books and literate parents who, i.e., can read to the child and teach them linguistic knowledge and skills (Bourdieu, 1973). From this it follows that those children who are raised in poor families with illiterate parents are commonly less familiar with the world of art. Lastly, Bourdieu (1973) states that school curriculums are developed by middle- or upper-class people. This allows middle and upper-class student to feel familiar with the way the curriculum is taught, while it may be more difficult for a child from a lower-class family to follow. Interestingly, Bourdieu is born in a working-class family – a non-dominating family with low cultural capital, according to his own theory. However, based on Shirley’s claim, in the beginning of this section, he is most probably viewed as an individual

with high-level of cultural capital by most people. This makes him an exception to the rule (Routledgesoc, 2016).

Bourdieu's theory is criticized for not fitting a universal educational model since it is based on the French educational system (Nash 1990; Shirley, 1986; Sullivan 2002). Shirley (1986) holds that the French educational institutions are very different from the one's in the United States (US). She holds that the French "educational system is more overtly stratified along class lines, with less social mobility between classes than in the United State" (p.105). She further holds that even though Bourdieu's educational theory is not universal, it "offers a mobile research paradigm which allows for a shifting focus upon the economy, or the educational system as determined by the particular topic of research" (Shirley, 1986: 105). For instance, according to Bourdieu (1973) there are different arenas, fields, where people practice their knowledge and skills. For Bourdieu, "fields denote arenas of production, circulation, and appropriation and exchange of goods, services, knowledge, or status, and the competitive positions held by actors in their struggle to accumulate, exchange, and monopolize different kinds of power resources (capitals)" (Swartz, 2016:1). The social classes may vary depending on the field and people's cultural capital within that particular field. This thesis considers the following three fields: education, religion, and agriculture. Bourdieu holds that there is no field in our society that conceals the transmission of power and privilege as well as the field of education, the reason for this is that it appears to have a neutral attitude in society (Bourdieu, 1973). Acknowledging Shirley's (1986) above-mentioned claim that Bourdieu's theory cannot cover universal education since it is based on the French education model which allows less social mobility than the one in the US, and since there are various types of education in Nigeria overlapping into other fields than the formal education field, this paper draws on a social mobility theory. The theory allows the researcher to analyze educations social and economic outcomes and to henceforth recognize the level of social mobility the education may provide.

According to Encyclopedia Britannica (2022), social mobility is "the movement of individuals, families, or groups through a system of social hierarchy or stratification". Social mobility, is commonly studied by economist or sociologist through two seemingly different perspectives. According to McKnight (2017:77) "Economists' study of social mobility tends to focus on measuring the relationship between the economic outcomes of earnings and income of parents and their offspring", while "sociologists generally measure social mobility through comparing parents' and children's social class or social standing (prestige or status)". Both economist and sociologist view education as the most prominent instrument to increase

a person's social mobility. Economist claims that education is a key determinant of a person's income (economic capital) since it contributes to an individual's productive value which in turn is rewarded in the labor market through a salary. While Sociologists hold that education increases one's social knowledge and skills (social capital) which allows one to navigate between different spheres of society, hence increasing prestige and status. Low rates of social mobility means that a child's social status or economic outcome (as a grown up) is strongly associated with that of their parents (at the time when the child grew up) (McKnight, 2017).

McKnight (2017) holds, similar to Bourdieu, that a child's parents economic standing has a direct impact on its educational realization, and that children from higher social class families tend to perform better in school than children from lower social class families. Henceforth she claims, if education is supposed to improve all societal classes social mobility equally, educational policies need to be sharp enough to break the relationship between a child's family's social status and educational attainment. To accomplish this, there are several barriers that need to be overcome. McKnight (2017) claims that the barriers are more visible in societies with low levels of social mobility and significant social and economic inequalities. The two barriers that can be applied in the Hausa community are the following. The first barrier involves education policies operating differently in various contexts. Due to this barrier, policies need to be flexible and not isolated to a certain context. Before we move on to the second barrier, we need to acknowledge an argument made by McKnight (2017). The argument claims that the more social mobility a society offers the more equal the society becomes. Hence the gap between rich and affluent, and poor and less affluent decreases – poorer people become richer and in most cases the rich must share a part of their pie with them. The second barrier involves upper-class people creating educational policies that only favor their class. They can do this due to their advantaged position in society. By developing such educational policies, they restrict social mobility of lower classes and can safely maintain their riches and high social status in society (McKnight, 2017).

According to Bourdieu, universities belong to the field of education (Bourdieu 1973), therefore and because of his upbringing in France, he most probably identifies the term education with the Western learning system. Onwauchi (1972) holds that in Western societies, also more complex societies, education is a term related to schooling, where the child leaves the home in the morning to acquire learning in a formal setting and then returns to the home again in the evening. While in more simple indigenous African societies, education evolves through a constant process. Values, norms, and social relationships are taught to children by elderly wise people in the community and practical learnings occur in

the home, at the farm or in the village. Both Bourdieu and Onwauchi’s perception of education will be considered in the analysis.

5. Methodology

5.1 Theoretical framework

The theoretical IAD framework by Ostrom was initially adopted to structure this thesis. The IAD framework (Figure 1) is, according to Ostrom (2009), a “multitier conceptual map” with detailed variables that allows the researcher to conduct an in-dept study of institutions of a problem. Institutions can either refer to an entity, such as e.g., a cooperation, a family, or a political party, or to the structures, norms and behaviors that are incorporated and frequently used amongst the individuals (Ostrom, 2009). Ostrom integrates the latter understanding of the term in her framework and so does this thesis.

The framework is divided into two parts. The left-hand side of Figure 2 is known as the *External Variables* and the right-hand side of Figure 2 is the *Action Arena*. But what are the *External Variables* and the *Action Arena*, how are they connected and in what ways is the framework useful for the study?

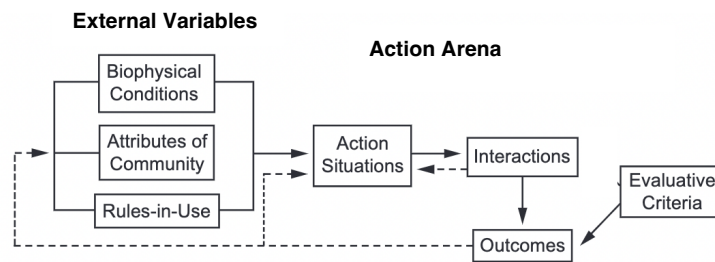


Figure 2. Institutional Analysis and Development Framework. Source: Ostrom (2005: 15)

Through the framework this thesis aims to study the institutions of some of the problems highlighted by the UBEC (2019: XXIV), namely: “the causes of drop-out” and “the intractable problem of out-of-school children (including the Almajiri)”, in Hausaland. The *External Variables* are the variables that construct the context which the problem occurs in. It consists of *Rules-in-Use*, which are rules that are mutually understood by participants in society, that orders relationships by enforcing what behavior is required, prohibited and permitted of the state and its citizens, and what behavior should be sanctioned (Ostrom,

2011). This variable allows the study to analyze the institutions of educational legislations and regulations, in Nigeria. Moving on to the *Attributes of Community* variable that, according to Ostrom (2011), are the political, social, and economic conditions of the policymakers, users, and providers in society. This variable offers the study rich insights into the educational policies or programmes and the characteristics of the people who stipulate them, those who implement them and the individuals who use them. As well as knowledge of history that have shaped the people involved (Ostrom, 2011). Lastly, is the *Biophysical Conditions* variable, which encompass ideas, environment, and facilities, and may include the physical and material conditions that impact people and their behavior towards each other and the world (Ostrom, 2011). This paper uses this variable to identify the inside and outside school environment, as well as its facilities and the main idea behind these educational structures.

The right-hand side (Figure 2) of the framework, the *Action Arena*, allows this thesis to get an in-depth understanding of the *Actors* participating in the problem, the *Situation* of the *Actors* and how they *Interact* with each other (Ostrom, 2011). Ostrom (2009) holds that these variables allow the researcher to predict, understand and explain norms and behaviors within institutional arrangements. In addition, there are the *Evaluation Criteria* and the *Outcomes*. Ostrom (2011) suggest six different *Evaluation Criteria* one can use, but also allows the researcher to choose their own. The criteria's she suggests are closely related to environmental studies and therefore it makes sense that the framework is scarce in the field of education, as mentioned in section 2.2. McGinnis (2011) holds that one does not need to use the *Evaluation Criteria* variable, but to angle the framework towards the field of education, this study uses its theoretical lens as its *Evaluation Criteria*. By doing so, this paper can analyze the findings from the *External Variables* and the *Action Arena* through the theoretical lens to reach the *Outcomes* of the problem. The outcomes and their relation back to the external variables (see Figure 2) are discussion in section 7.5 below.

5.2 Data collection

Document analysis was chosen as this papers research method to collect material for the IAD framework. Document analysis is a well-known qualitative research method that offers an approach to systematically review and evaluate documents to answer research questions (Bowen, 2009 & Gross, 2018). Thus, the main reason for choosing document analysis is that it allows the researcher to study contextual background and uncover hidden perceptions

(Bowen, 2009 & Gross, 2018). Those attributes of document analysis cover the variables found in the IAD framework's *External Variables* and the *Action Arena*. Henceforth it allows the study use data from a large variety of sources. Bowen (2009) holds that the benefit of having access to material from multiple sources is that one can study complex conditions from several perspectives to get an in-dept understanding of issues at hand, which is the goal of this thesis.

Critics of the method hold that document analysis should preferable be used in combination with other methods (Bowen, 2009). Contradicting this, Gross (2018: 545) claims that "document analysis is a viable independent research method and should not be considered... as a supplement to other methods". The advantages of the method are the following, that it is efficient, cost-effective, reflexive, and stable (Gross, 2018). In this paper document analysis is used as a stand-alone method to add value to the IAD theoretical framework.

5.2.1 Sampling

Since document analysis offers a systematic approach, it is important to withhold this pattern when sampling documents. There is an enormous selection of document available for the researcher. However, Gross (2018) holds, it is important to choose documents that relate to the topic researched and its theoretical approach, and to define clear inclusionary and exclusionary criteria's that help ensure an authentic and representative selection of documents when sampling. On background of that, this paper used the IAD framework's variables and other relevant words as its key words when sampling material. The key words used to collect data for the *External Variables* part are the following: Required, permitted, prohibited, sanctioned, behavior, users, providers, policy makers, environment, facilities, ideas, school, integration, policies, regulations, enrollment, and special education. Henceforth, the following key words were used to collect data for the *Action Arena*: Actors, situation, interaction, outcomes and evaluation criteria's, school stakeholders, Almajiri schools, Hausa children/pupils, Hausa parents, Hausa girl-child, perception, Hausa traditions/culture and religion, and school management.

A document analysis may encompass both primary and secondary data (Gross, 2018 & Bowen, 2009). This thesis analysis encompasses 85 percent primary material and are namely official policies and regulations, the national constitution, press release and newspaper articles. The remaining data, secondary material, includes academic research

articles and international organizations articles. Most of the secondary material is used to support primary findings. Additionally, the direct citations are either from newspaper sources (primary material) or from Sabiu et al. (2018) study who conducted interviews with Hausa community members and teachers.

Moving on to inclusionary criteria that, according to Gross (2018), may include a *time frame* parameter, which decides how old the material may be. 80 percent of the documents selected for the analysis fall within a five years' *time frame* (2018-2022). This is based on Gross (2018) recommendation, which holds that if a researcher wants to study the most recent past, one should stay within the *time frame* of five years. The remaining 20 percent that are older than five years and are e.g., national legislations and regulations, such as the Nigerian Constitution that is drafted year 1999, academic articles describing traditional Hausa behavior or new paper articles that supported findings in more recent material. Another parameter involved in this thesis is, *geographic representation*. It allows the researcher to study documents from a certain selected geographic area (Gross, 2018). In relation to this criterion, all documents in the analysis, except for documents from the international organization UNICEF and a few academic articles, are sampled from national sources. Documents from UNICEF were selected based on their strong presence in Nigeria and their leading role as advocated for education in the country, and to get an external perspective (UNICEF, 2022). Additionally, Gross (2018) states that a researcher may narrow the document sampling even further by applying a *document type* criterion. For instance, he states, that if one is studying a new policy and its regulations, the analyst can choose to include types of documents that are relevant for that area, such as e.g., official government documents. The material sampled for the *External Variables* part took this parameter into consideration by, to a large extent, sampling official government documents. The reason this criterion was not considered when collecting material for the *Action Arena* was because it was more challenging to find suitable material for that part of the framework.

After the inclusionary criteria are considered, exclusionary criteria may be applied to narrow the sampling even further - to its final version (Gross, 2018). This involves an in-depth sampling and can, according to Gross (2018), allow a researcher with many documents from multiple sources to choose a certain number of documents from every source. This parameter was applied to the *External Variables* part by dividing its three sources, more or less, equally by three. Once again, this criterion was not applied to the variables in the *Action Arena*, due to lack of material. Lastly, all the above-mentioned criteria/parameters are transparent in a demographic table (see appendix 1) created when

collecting and further on sampling the material. To present the final sample clearly, the demographic table includes the following categories, recommended by Gross (2018): author, title, date produced, purpose, and source of document.

5.3 Data analysis

According to Reis (2021) content analysis allows the analyst to understand human thoughts and actions and can be a particular useful method when studying a problem. This presumption falls closely in line the papers aim of the IAD framework. When coding the data, this thesis divided the material, according to Bowen's (2009) recommendation, into categories. Firstly, predetermined categories, that derive from the key words were used to code a sub-selection of the documents. Gross (2018) states that this step is important to assure the appropriateness of the categories. After the appropriateness process was applied, all documents were coded and divided into the predetermined categories.

When coding, one needs to be aware of the different use of language, for instance different documents may use different words when referring to the same thing. Gross (2018) holds that in a case like that, the researcher needs to interpret the text for it to end up in the right categories. Following are two examples of interpretation used to facilitate the coding process in this paper. Required, was interpreted into shall, responsibility and compulsory. Sanctioned behavior was interpreted into imprisoned, fine, reprimanded.

5.4 Potential Limitations

According to both Gross (2018) and Bowen (2009), document analysis also has its disadvantages. For instance, there is a chance that the documents used may be biased since they are sampled by the author whose perspective is represented in the study. However, Gross (2018) claims that the analyst can avoid this issue by involving inclusionary and exclusionary criteria's when sampling the documents, which this thesis has done best it can. Additionally, even though newspaper articles are good primary sources to track development of topics over time, they also have their limitations (UCL, 2022). They may be inaccurate and not reliable since they are commonly written within a short period of time with a tight deadline and can therefore be "poorly edited" or "incomplete" (Flierl, 2022). To avoid unreliable newspapers articles, this thesis has compared newspaper articles to other newspaper articles, from either the same newspaper or another paper, about the same topic. One can commonly find similar

news topics in different papers. To further strengthen the findings from the newspaper articles, this study has tried to find supporting evidence in official governmental documents.

5.5 Positionality and ethical considerations

Even though this thesis has not included subject-participation that require a certain pattern of ethical consideration, there are still reflections of positionality and two standpoint of ethical considerations that are vital.

I am faced with the challenge of being a white female researcher, raised through the Western education system, in a country (Sweden) that offers almost equal opportunities for social mobility through free education, trying to study educational structures of a country I have very little experience of. There are scholars, such as Tillman (2002), for instance who claim that one should not study people of a population ones does not belong to, however there are also oppositions to this claim holding that one does not need to belong to the country, culture, or community one is researching (Milner (2007)). What is important though, according to Milner (2007) is that researchers are thoughtful of the situation they study since it may create tension involving cultural or racial concerns of the reader. Based on this the paper carefully considers the researchers positionality in relation to the context studied. The data collected in the document analysis is within the frame of Internet-Based research (IBR). According to Convery and Cox (0000) the main issue a researcher needs to consider when searching the internet for research material is if the internet space is a public or private space. Henceforth, McKee (2008) holds that internet is a public space and it is therefore free for anyone to collect and reuse material.

6. Findings

6.1 Rules-in-Use

The Rules-in-Use variable encompasses *required behaviour*, *permitted behaviour*, and *prohibited and sanctioned behaviour*, found in Nigeria's national laws and regulations.

6.1.1 Required Behaviour

Through the Constitution of the Federal Government of Nigeria (Constitution) (1999), the Federal Government (FG) aims to eradicate illiteracy in the country by offering free and

compulsory basic education (henceforth basic education) to every child and free literacy programmes for adults. Due to the paper's word limitation, adult learning is not included. Basic education encompasses one year in pre-primary school, six years in primary school and three years in junior secondary school (CRA, 2003). According to article 18.1 of the Constitution, the Federal Ministry of Education (FME) is responsible for ensuring free quality basic education for every child by stipulating policies and delegating responsibility to state governments and local governments, who are responsible for implementing those policies. The FME is also responsible for evaluating educational policies in line with the National Commission on Education's (NCE) statutes and recommendations (NPE, 2014). To ensure a safe and prosperous educational environment without discrimination, all three tiers of government (federal, state, and local) shall adopt and enforce legal education frameworks; strengthen and coordinate institutional education programmes; create a safe, secure and violence-free school environment; enhance capacity building for education stakeholders; and manage efficient school budgeting (NPSSVFS, 2021).

In addition to the three tiers of government, parents are also responsible for ensuring their child's right to education. Article 2 of the Compulsory, Free Universal Education Act (CFUEA) (2004) holds that local government actors and other education stakeholders (e.g., teachers and the community) shall ensure that parents, guardians, or other adults responsible for a child's well-being (henceforth parents), must commit to ensuring that their child attends and completes the compulsory basic education offered by the FG.

The National Policy on Education (NPE) (2014) holds that the transition from primary school to junior secondary school requires special attention since it is a compulsory part of basic education and a crucial phase where many children fall out of school. The policy further holds that state governments are responsible for ensuring a smooth transition between the two levels of education. Additionally, schools are prohibited from taking out fees for transmission examinations or other examinations. However, Adebayo (2019) holds that some state governments neglect their responsibility to implement policies that allow school examinations to be free of charge. For instance, a parent in a Hausa community holds that several parents cannot live up to the financial demands of public schools (i.e., examination fees, writing material and uniforms) and can therefore not send their children to school (Jalingo, 2015). According to a Minister of the Socialist Party, "the impression that it is the sole responsibility of the parents to pay the examination fee of their children is not true. Examination fee is an integral cost of education and it is the social responsibility of the government and not of the parents" (Adebayo, 2019).

According to the NPE (2014), to ensure basic education is offered equally to every child in Nigeria, special education programmes for special groups have been developed by the UBEC. All three tiers of government (especially the state and local), together with parents and other school stakeholders, shall take their responsibility to make sure those programmes are implemented and functioning. The special programme applied mainly to the Hausa population is the Integrated Almajiri education programme. Henceforth, to discourage boy-child dropouts and encourage girl-child to attend school, special efforts shall be made by the three tiers of governments and parents. (NPE, 2014). Based on this, the FG stipulated the National Policy on Gender in Basic Education (NPGBE) in 2016. Additionally, article 15.4 of the Child Right Act (2003) states that if the child is not sent to senior secondary school after basic education, the child shall be encouraged by his or her parents or the local government to learn an appropriate trade by an employer. While article 15.5 acknowledges that if a girl-child becomes pregnant, she shall, after her delivery of the baby, be given the opportunity to continue to pursue her studies based on her ability to comply with it.

6.1.2 Permitted Behaviour

According to article 6 of the CFUEA (2004), the Nigerian Magistrate Courts or another State Court have the jurisdiction to hear cases involving the educational system and may, therefore, hear cases of parents who do not commit to article 2 of the CFUEA. To ensure the equal right of education to all groups in Nigeria, the NPE (2014) states that, in addition to a basic education certificate, which a child will receive after completing ten years of education, the child may undertake an additional Islamic certificate examination to prove its expertise of the Qur'an. That examination is put in place to keep Almajiri children within the formal school system and out of the traditional Almajiri schools.

6.1.3 Prohibited and Sanctioned Behaviour

According to the CRA (2003) and CFUEA (2004), parents who do not comply with the national education regulations shall be convicted. There are three steps of conviction. The first step condemns the parent to community service; the second step includes imprisonment for one month or a fine; the third step encompasses two months of imprisonment or a hefty fine, or both. As mentioned above and according to Ishaku and Oraka (2019), it is a reoccurring phenomenon that parents do not send their children to schools because they

cannot afford non-tuition fees. To avoid this issue and to avoid punishing parents for their inability to pay unlawful fees, article 3 of the CFUEA (2004) holds that persons, institutions or schools who obtain fees shall be convicted of a hefty fine or receive three months of imprisonment or both. In other words, according to UBEC (2019), any actor who interferes with children's basic education shall be convicted, for instance, traditional Almajiri schools that are not seen as a part of the national formal education system.

6.2 Attributes of Community

The *Attributes of Community* involves examples of social, economic, and political conditions of *Policy Makers, Providers* and *Users*.

6.2.1 Policy Makers

The Western curriculum, which dominates the formal education sector in Nigeria, was adopted in 1977 by politicians due to dissatisfaction with the nation's education system. The curriculum is commonly in English but has been translated to other languages (UBEC, 2019) after the FG introduced the NPE (2011), holding that the local language of the community may be adopted in the first three years of primary school as the main language if English is taught as a primary subject. Together with state held School-Based Management Committees (SBMC), the UBEC is responsible for communicating with the local community in decision-making processes about schools and decentralising educational tasks amongst educational stakeholders (NSBMP, 2014).

The economic burden of the education system is becoming too heavy for the country to fund on their own (NPSSVFS, 2021). The main reasons for it are that the population continues to increase, which means that the education sector must increase at the same pace and because the FG aims to create better quality of education to enhance the country's human capital further. At the end of 2021, Nigeria spend 7.2 per cent of their GDP on education, which is far from the international recommendations that are between 15-20 per cent. Although in January 2022, the FG announced that they are committed to increasing the budget by 50 per cent within the next two years and 100 per cent by 2025 (Njoku, 2022).

6.2.2 Providers

The FG has taken strong measures to encourage state governments to adopt children's education policies, such as e.g. the CRA. Currently, 28 out of 36 states have adopted the CRA into their state legislation (Editorial Board, 2021; CRA, 2003). Several states that have adopted the policy do not comply with their obligation to provide free education for all. Writers of the Editorial board of the Guardian (2021) hold that "governments at all levels appear to have no regard for the CRA".

To narrow the educational balance between ethnic groups, the NPE has adopted Islamic and Agricultural learning as part of the formal education curriculum (UBEC, 2019). However, based on the NPE's (2014) content, the Islamic and Agricultural courses cover a minor part of the curriculum. Additionally, to reach the Almajiri children, an integrated Almajiri school model programme was developed. The programme aimed to integrate formal education in existing Almajiri schools and build new schools with a similar curriculum (UBEC, 2019).

Moving on, many teachers face the challenges of overcrowded classrooms, mainly due to the lack of qualified teachers. Based on UBEC's (2019) National Personnel Audit, every level of education in public schools, especially in the north and rural areas, exceeds the benchmark indicated to provide quality classroom teaching. Hence the number of qualified teachers in schools is higher in urban areas than in rural. In addition to overcrowded classrooms, some teachers also face language barriers. As mentioned above, the NPE allows schools to adopt the local language for the first three years of education instead of teaching in English. According to Shehu (2021), the language transition is good for students and increases their attendance level; however, it is challenging for the teachers since the teacher programme at universities is in English, and some of them do not speak the local language.

6.2.3 Users

In the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic, state governments in northern Nigeria temporarily closed Almajiri boarding schools to limit the spread of the virus, returning many children within the system to their families (Njoku, 2020). One of these children, a 12-year-old Almajiri boy who spent most of his life being an Almajiri student, said: "that he is struggling to adjust to a life where begging is not part of his daily routine". According to his mother, the religious education was not the only reason she sent him away; the other reason was that "it is very difficult to provide for 12 children" (Njoku, 2020).

The National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) (2018) states that it is not unusual for girls to be victimized verbally, physically, and emotionally. Several incentives, such as free uniforms, books, sanitary pads, and good quality boarding schools for girls, have been undertaken by various education stakeholders to enhance gender equality in the education system (NPGBE, 2016). According to the NPGBE (2016), girl-child initiatives are crucial in increasing girls' school access and attendance levels.

Positive changes have arisen for the pupil concerning the language shift in the first three years of formal education. For instance, a Hausa girl, who attends a school that has recently changed its primary language from English to Hausa, holds that school has suddenly become fun and exciting since she now understands what she is learning (Shehu, 2021). By changing the language from English to the ethical language spoken in the community, schools may also experience fewer dropouts (Shehu, 2021).

6.3 Biophysical Conditions

To grasp the *Biophysical Conditions* of Nigeria's educational context, the following section will highlight characteristics of the *environment, facilities, and ideas*.

6.3.1 Environment

Children need to be in a safe environment to learn and develop, although nearly 6 out of 10 children in Nigeria experience violence before they turn 10. Hence, the environment in and around schools is dangerous and involves robbery, community conflicts, gang violence, drug abuse, trafficking, bullying, abduction/kidnapping, armed attacks, and gender-based violence (NPSSVFS, 2021). The perpetrators are usually a parent, teachers, or relatives. According to the NPSSVFS (2021), the insecure school environment has contributed to a negative attitude towards schools. The unsafe environment has also made it very difficult for schools to hire quality teachers, especially in rural areas.

6.3.2 Facilities

The UBEC (2019) states that the following facilities are the minimum of what a school needs to function, namely clean water and water disposal, toilets, electricity, furniture, a library, playground (at least in primary schools), computers, health amenities, and laboratories (for

junior secondary schools). They further claim that many public schools in Nigeria lack those basic facilities. For instance, only 34,85 per cent of public junior secondary schools have access to laboratories, and only 8.87 per cent of public primary schools have a library. Concerning computers, only 5.66 per cent of public primary schools have them. Additionally, not all schools have toilets, and some of them do not have separate boy and girl toilets. Furniture, such as chairs and writing desks, is also essential for learners; in some schools, pupils sit on the ground, and students have to share tables and chairs in some schools. According to UBEC (2019), private schools are better equipped with these facilities. Olowolagba (2019) argues that schools do not only lack proper facilities the school buildings lack acute infrastructure. The UBEC (2019) holds that there are no roofs, doors, or sometimes no walls in some schools.

The FG has introduced the Home-Grown School Feeding and Health Programme to offer learners a free healthy meal per day and basic health services. The UBEC (2019) and Nseyen (2021) highlight that the programme has improved enrollment rates at the schools where the programme is implemented. Additionally, Lawal (2022) claims that the “Government should also come up with more initiatives ... to encourage parents to send their wards to school,”

6.3.3 Ideas

According to the most recent NPE (2014), Nigeria’s philosophy of education understands education as a tool for the country’s social and economic growth; it aims to maximise citizen’s potential for self-fulfilment and create human capital; education is a non-discriminating compulsory right that every child has the right to; education should be shaped to cover the needs of society.

The FG has seen a lack of gender equality education and family planning skills. As stated in the NPGBE (2016), those attributes are essential factors in developing the Nigerian population further. The FG, therefore, encourages schools to mainstream gender equality into their curriculum and buy books written by female authors, as well as include family building and AIDS/HIV in the school’s health education.

6.4 Actors

The study has discovered the following *Actors* involved in the *Action Arena*, namely *Hausa pupils*, *the Hausa family*, and *general school stakeholders* through the External Variables. The following section will shine a light on their characteristics to understand the Actors involved.

6.4.1 Hausa School Pupils

According to C&C Forum (2008), contemporary, traditional Hausa children attend Almajiri school from six years up until adulthood. They learn about the morals and practices of Islam and other skills such as handicrafts, trade, and teaching. After many years of schooling, the students receive a high level of Islam scholarship and sometimes continue to become Islamic scholars (Mallams) and teach other Almajiri. Based on a study conducted by the National Council for the Welfare of Destitute, it is estimated that there are a minimum of seven million pupils attending Almajiri schools in Hausaland (Lawal, 2019). However, far from all Hausa children are enrolled in Almajiri schools. According to the UBEC (2019), more than 50 per cent of Hausa children are enrolled in the Nigerian formal education system, which encompasses public and private schools. About 74 per cent of pupils attend public schools, while the remaining 26 per cent go to private schools. In addition to the Almajiri and formal education schools, there are other special programmes schools developed by the UBEC, where formal education has been adjusted to fit special groups' needs and lifestyles. Based on UBEC's (2019) report from 2018, very few Hausa children attend the special programme schools in comparison to the Almajiri and formal education schools. Based on that, this thesis mainly focuses on the two dominating school systems. Additionally, the reports hold that 75 per cent of the pupils are enrolled in schools located in rural areas in Northern states, while the remaining 25 per cent attend schools in urban regions.

6.4.2 Hausa Families

Most Hausa families belong to the Islamic religion and are devoted Muslims. Their culture is based on classic Islamic settings - they fast during Ramadan, aspire to make the pilgrimage to Mecca in Saudi Arabia, pray five times a day, and give alms to the less fortunate. Their religion influences their behaviour, how they dress and what norms they follow (Sabiou et al., 2018; Countries and their cultures forum, 2008). Many Hausa families live under very poor conditions in rural areas and commonly have an average of nine children per family (Ogalah,

2021). Ogalah (2021) claims that Islam customs allow a man to have up to four wives, which is the main reason for the large families.

There is a strict division between what labour men versus women in the Hausa culture engage in. Men commonly participate in work involving agriculture, trade, Islamic scholars, or other formal jobs within the government. While it is very uncommon to see a traditional Hausa woman working with a formal governmental job, she engages in craft, food, medicine, or other types of productions that she can produce at home (C&C forum, 2008; Rufa'I, 2006). Sabiu et al. (2018) claim that a women's contribution to the family's income shall not be underestimated, as women's informal work significantly impacts Nigeria's GDP. However, Sabiu et al. (2018) hold that based on Islamic law, it is the man's responsibility to be the head of the house, which involves taking care of the family's finances, schooling, security, and educational needs. One of the main reasons traditional Hausa women do not work outside their homes is that they strictly follow the Islamic custom of *purdah*, which involves married women living in seclusion. She may only go outside the house when seeking medical treatment, attending religious ceremonies, or other essential activities. When she leaves her house, she must wear a veil and be escorted by her children (C&C forum, 2008). Not all Hausa families follow the traditional Islamic customs; however, it may be important to keep them in mind when understanding Hausa children's educational institutions.

6.4.3 General School Stakeholders

Within the Almajiri school system, it is mainly the Mallam (an Islamic scholar who operates as a Qur'anic teacher) and the community that are responsible for children's education. In contrast, there are several external and internal actors involved in formal public schools. In formal public schools, teachers are required to minimum possess a Nigerian Certificate in Education, which they receive after higher levels of schooling, to qualify for the profession (UBEC, 2019). However, a UBEC (2019) report claims that only 40 per cent of public-school teachers in North-West Nigeria were qualified teachers in 2018.

According to Rufa'i (2006), male teachers dominate schools in northern states of Nigeria, within both private and public formal schools and Almajiri schools. He holds that this contributes to more boys being enrolled than girls and even claims that many formal schools in the North-West favour boys in front of girls. To prove his point, he highlights that in southern states, there are more female teachers than males, and therefore, the enrolment rates of girls are higher than the ones of boys. UBEC's (2019) report confirms his findings,

cultural practices. Henceforth Rufa'i (2006) holds that most formal schools in Northern Nigeria today are mixed sexes, which may sound promising. However, the issue is that some traditional Hausa parents do not find it suitable for their girl-child to attend mixed-sex schools.

According to some experts interviewed by Lawal (2021), billions of naira (Nigeria's local currency) are allocated to the education sector but only very little trickle down and benefit pupils in classrooms. Thus, they claim that corruption in the official sector is a fact, and since it sometimes involves public officers of education, it affects the education sector too. Due to the poor quality of public schools, wealthier and more influential parents put their children in private schools. This has created an issue between public and private schools and worsened the situation for pupils in public schools since private schools have been given priority (Nwannah, 2021).

According to Lawal (2019), when former President Jonathan Goodluck (henceforth Goodluck) was in office (2010-2015), the North-Western states contributed to the highest number of out-of-school children. According to UBEC (2019), this is still the case, and up until today, the numbers continue to rise. Goodluck viewed the pupils who attended Almajiri schools as out-of-school children since their curriculum did not involve formal education standards. To solve this issue, the Goodluck administration, together with UBEC, developed the iIntegrated Almajiri school programme, which, as mentioned above, was supposed to build schools with a curriculum combining both Qur'anic and Western (formal) learning, as well as integrating formal education in already existing traditional Almajiri schools. To include state government actors in the process, Goodluck's administration made a deal with states in the North-West, which held that the FG were responsible for 70 per cent of the project and the state government the remaining 30 per cent. The FG started building 200 integrated Almajiri schools in northern states, but what happened was that the states were not as keen on the project as the FG was since they were not particularly concerned with the existing traditional Almajiri schools and therefore did not fulfil their part of the agreement (Daily Post Staff, 2016). This led to many half-finished schools, on which the Goodluck administration spent billions of naira on, that are left to rot or taken over by Mallams (Akhaine, 2022). The present President, Muhammadu Buhari, had other issues at hand when taking over from Goodluck and did not prioritise the project (Lawal, 2019). A Mallam from the Gombe state (a northern state) noted that no one ever asked him if he wanted to integrate formal education into his teaching. He never heard of any other Mallam who was asked either (Ahmad, 2020).

6.5.2 Hausa girl-child

Women's status is not very high in the Hausa culture; however, the girl-child status is even lower. According to Rufa'i (2006) and Doshi (2021), the girl-child can be seen as a costly burden for a Hausa family; thus, her education is not prioritised since she should stay at home and work. However, there is more to it when digging into Hausa traditions. Schildkrout (1984) holds that the Islamic culture is not resistant to educating their girl-child per se. In fact, old Islamic scholars acknowledge the importance of educating women. So, what are Rufa'i and Doshi's arguments all about then? As mentioned before, women practice purdah after they get married. However, they are also very active producers of handicrafts and other goods in their homes, which must be sold to generate an income. If the family cannot afford a servant, the girl-child's responsibility is to go to the markets and sell the goods. Selling homemade goods at the market is usually a full-time occupation for the girl-child.

By putting the girl-child in school, many women would go out of business since they strictly follow purdah and cannot leave the house (Schildkrout, 1984). Furthermore, part of the money that the girl-child earns at the markets is supposed to be saved for her dowry. Hausa girls are usually married early, around eleven or twelve (Sabiu et al., 2018). According to Schildkrout (1984), Doshi (2021) and Eziamaka (2020), it is unlikely that a married girl attends school until she is eighteen. However, 12 million Hausa children are enrolled in public schools, and about 43 per cent are girls (UBEC, 2019). Even though the Hausa traditions are strict in many parts of North-Western states, a lot has changed since the FG introduced the formal education system (Schildkrout, 1984), especially since the NPGBE was introduced in 2016. For instance, many girls first marry after they graduate today (UBEC, 2019).

6.5.3 The Almajiri system

Before the colonial days, when the local community or state government funded the Almajiri schools, Mallams focused on teaching and the Almajiri students on their Qur'anic studies. The Almajiri schools were in communities all over northern states, which allowed children to live with their parents. The Almajiri system was very successful and worked like any other formal school, except for its Qur'anic curriculum. The system was modified by building boarding schools since they wanted children to get away from home to have more time to

focus on their studies. At the boarding schools' children were taken care of by Mallams. Those schools were state-funded and also quite successful (Ibeh, 2021). When the British came, they abolished all funding to Almajiri schools and placed it on the formal education system instead. Until today, the Almajiri schools do not have a secure funding source but rely on temporary funds (Lawal, 2019).

To keep the Almajiri system functioning today, the Almajiri students sometimes engage in domestic or agricultural chores on the side of their studies to provide for themselves and the Mallams (Ibeh, 2021). Sometimes, the Mallam takes the Almajiri students on tours to markets where they beg for money and food during the dry season. The Muslim culture has an old daily tradition of giving Sadaka to the poor to seek Divine reward (Zakir et al., 2014). According to Ahmed (2020), Sadaka fuels Almajiri students begging since there will always be someone willing to give them money. He further holds that many Hausa still consider the Almajiri school system a good way to honour Islamic values and teach children the Qur'an.

6.5.4 Hausa parent's perspectives of schooling

In all cultures worldwide, there will always be parents who are more or less engaged in their children's schooling for different reasons. According to Sabiu et al. (2018), it is more common for literate parents in urban areas in northern Nigeria with a higher social status to engage in their children's education. By, for instance, attending meetings, setting high expectations on their children, and motivating them. On the contrary, in less urban context and poorer areas, parents are usually less engaged in their children's education and, for instance, do not attend school meetings. According to a study analysing school stakeholders in North-Western states, many parents in rural areas, especially illiterate ones, want their children to go to school but do not understand their responsibility. They might think that teachers are responsible for their child's school attendance and learning outcomes. Some also believe that only linguistically competent parents are welcome to the school and should attend school meetings (Mbokodi & Singh, 2011).

According to Oyinloye (2021), Hausa parents want their children to learn the following in school: general Western and Islamic learning, morals and values, handicraft, and household activities. According to those parents, those are the skills and knowledge a child needs to succeed in adulthood. Oyinloye's (2021) study also shows that many parents are dissatisfied with the poor quality of learning and school infrastructures, such as water

leakage, missing tables and chairs, broken furniture and the list goes on. They are also unhappy with teachers' behaviour and claim that children are bullied and exposed to corporal punishment by their teachers. Based on parents' dissatisfaction with public schools, many move their children to private schools if they can afford it (Dunne et al., 2013; Härmä, 2013; Humphreys & Crawford, 2014).

Since many Hausa families live under the poverty line, according to Bano (2020), dropouts are fueled by simple urban jobs that young people take on to help their families. He also claims that most parents in Hausaland do believe in schooling and understand the economic advancements it may have in the future but value "real-time economic trade-offs" beforehand.

6.5.5 The impact of poverty on education

The cheapest way to educate one's child in Hausaland is by doing it at home. The second cheapest alternative is Almajiri schools, and even though formal education is free for all, the non-intuition fees make them the most expensive, after private formal schools, of course. Teachers in rural North-Western areas claim that many children work on their parent's farm, either in the afternoon and, in that case, attend school in the morning or all day and do not attend school at all (Oyinloye, 2021). They also hold that some children must bring their homework out to the fields after school in the hope of multitasking homework and crop work; however, the homework usually becomes secondary. A Father interviewed by Oyinloye (2021) said when being asked about the importance of schooling:

"no, no, no, no! What we'll eat [today] is the senior of (i.e., takes priority over) what we'll become!" (2019/02/05). (Oyinloye, 2021: 127).

7. Discussion

This section will draw on the IAD framework's Evaluation Criteria, namely this paper's theoretical lens, to discuss what factors enable or constrain Hausa children's education and social mobility.

7.1 Girl-child

The findings hold, that male teachers dominate all forms of schools in North-Western states, which makes some parents question if they should send their girl-child to those schools, and that girl's education, in traditional Hausa families, is poorly prioritised in comparison to boys' education. This in combination with when a traditional Hausa girl-child is married and enters purdah, may have critical impacts on her education. Furthermore, the findings also recognises that boy's education is favoured in front of girls. In addition to this, as mentioned by Rufa'i (2006) many formal schools in North-Western states favour boys' enrolment in front of girls. This reflects that Hausa boy's chances of attaining an educational degree is larger than Hausa girls. Based on Bourdieu's institutionalized state, which holds that an educational degree brings about cultural capital, and the higher the degree the higher one's cultural capital is, these social and cultural norms and practises constrain girl-child's ability to enhance cultural capital through education. At the same time, findings from UBEC's report holds that 43 percent of the 12 million Hausa pupils, enrolled in public schools in North-Western states, are girls. Hence, many girls first marry after they graduate. Additionally, the FG have adopted the NPGBE, and several incentives, such as free uniforms, books, sanitary pads, and good quality boarding schools for girls, have been undertaken by various education stakeholders to enhance gender equality in the education system. Uniforms and books fall within Bourdieu's objectified state as cultural goods and are seen as attributes to a person's cultural capital.

7.2 Cultural capital and social classes within the Hausa family

We know that Hausa men are involved in occupations such as agriculture, trade, Islamic scholars, and other formal jobs within the government. We also know that it is uncommon for Hausa women to have formal jobs within the government, and that most of them work with craftwork in their homes. Based on the examples of occupations that are commonly occupied by people within the three different social classes, which Bourdieu believes dominate the levels of cultural capital in education, we may find the following. That Hausa men can occupy jobs that fall within all three levels of social classes, while Hausa women mostly occupy jobs that fall within the working-class – the lowest social class. Thus, if a Hausa child grows up with her/his father, the child is more likely to belong to one of the three social classes and inherit cultural capital from one of those classes, than if the child grows up with a

single mother. In the latter case, the child may only belong to the working-class and hence inherit cultural capital within that class. On background of this, a Hausa child growing up with a single mother is less likely to enter any higher level of education than her/his counterpart who is raised by a father.

Based on Sabiu et al (2018) study we know that it is more common for literate parents in urban areas, with higher social status, to engage in their children education. The findings also show that illiterate parents living in rural areas are less likely to engage in their children's education. This is due to several factors, for instance that they do not know of their responsibility or that they think it is only linguistic competent parents who may welcome at schools. Bourdieu claims that the education system can only give full effect to the children who are familiar with arts, and literate parents who can read to their children, is one form of art. In addition, there is a possibility that the literate parents with higher social status have more economic resources to put on their child's education and can therefore send their child to private school with better quality learning. While their counterparts, the illiterate parents in rural areas, who, based on the findings know of the positive outcomes of education, most probably have to send their children to public schools with facilities of poor conditions. However, this is only if they can afford the non-intuition fees. In situations like this, it may not be unreasonable that some Hausa parent's priorities what they eat in front of what the child becomes.

7.3 Social mobility

Education in Hausaland mainly occur within three fields, namely: education, religion, and agriculture. Education within the field of education concerns Nigeria's formal education system, education within the religion field belongs to traditional Islamic education (Almajiri schools), while education of the agriculture field falls under Onwauchi's (1972) traditional education at home. To understand in what ways these forms of education may contribute to ensure a child's rights and needs by increasing the level of social mobility, this paper analyses every form of education through the cultural capital one can gain over time, and the income and social status the education may bring about.

Most Hausa children belong to the Islamic religion and live in rural and poor areas in families that engage in agricultural production. To cover as many Hausa children as possible, this section will use the characteristics of that child (calling it the Hausa child) when analyzing the three forms or education.

Within the education field, when the Hausa child begins formal school, it will have low cultural capital (since its characteristics relate to Bourdieu's lowest social class in the field of education). Hence it may be difficult for the child to follow. Additionally, parent's expectations on the child to work on the family farm may affect school attendance and restrict time for homework. There is a possibility that the child will drop-out of school since it may not believe that school can contribute to social mobility, parents cannot afford non-intuition fees or to work fulltime on the farm or get a job in the city with an income. That income will most probably not exceed its parent's income significantly and would therefore result in low social mobility (economist perception). Despite the circumstances, if the child completes basic education and can reach higher levels of education the child will increase its cultural capital within the field of education, over time. Thus become an exception to the rule, like Bourdieu, and move up the social class ladder. Henceforth, based on the economist perception, the higher the education, the more it will increase the child's productive value on the job market and result in a good income in comparison to its parents. Thus, lead to high level of social mobility. Lastly, through the socialist's perspective, if the child stays in schools and helps on the farm, it will acquire skills and knowledge of two fields and hence increase its social status by moving between the fields, which results in increased social mobility.

Within the Religion field, when the Hausa child enters the Almajiri school system it may have a high or low cultural capital depending on if it has parents who went through the system. In that case parents may have taught the child important skills, norms, and knowledge of the school system. Depending on that, the education may be, more or less, difficult. Since all Almajiri schools are boarding schools the child's education will not be interrupted by parent's expectations, however, it may be interrupted by begging or agricultural work that the child must engage in to provide food for the day. The tough living conditions may contribute to drop-out, but if the child stays in schools, it will receive an Islamic high certificate and hence having increased its cultural capital over time. The graduate may become a Mallam or return home to work on its parents' farm. Since there is no permanent funding for Mallams anymore, the possibility of the child receiving a higher income than its parents are minor and if the child engages in farming it will have the same income as its parents. In other words, through the economist perception – low social mobility. In relation to the social perspective, if the child stays in school and engages in agricultural work on the side it will, like the formal education field, have increased its social mobility.

But if the child stays in school and engages in begging in its spare time, it will most probably not have increased its social mobility.

Within the agricultural field, when the Hausa child is old enough to start working with agricultural practices on the farm, we may say that that is when the child enters traditional education at home. It may most probably have a high level of cultural capital since it is raised in a farmer's environment. There is no interruption and thus little chances for drop-out. When the child is grown up it will most probably have increased its cultural capital within the agricultural field, but it may not have increased significantly in comparison to its parents and therefore only allows mobility within its original class. Regarding the economist perspective, there is a big change that the child will take over its parent's farm and have a similar income as they, hence low social mobility. Through the sociologist view, low social mobility will also occur since the traditional education at home will not led the child will not gain knowledge of another field than agriculture and can therefore not navigate between different social spheres.

7.4 Policies

The findings identify one issues of education policy implementation due to contextual differences. Due to Nigeria's ethical richness, people who draft the education policies and programmes may not be Hausa and based on their influential position in society they most probably do not live in poverty either. Henceforth they may not be aware of Hausa children's needs and preferences. Therefore, when an education policy is developed it may not fit into the context that it is implemented in. For instance, when introducing formal education in English, Government officials may not have been aware of, or ignore, the fact that most Hausa children do not speak English as their first language and hence a language barrier occurs in education. The language barrier may on the one hand effects the Hausa child, who do not have English as its first language, negatively. It may even lead to drop-out. On the other hand, when the curriculum has been changed, through government initiatives, to the local language to favor the pupils, it has become an obstacle for the teachers who are taught to teach English at the universities.

Moving on to the next policy barrier, we may wonder if the upper-class deliberately restrict social mobility of lower classes? The findings hold that private schools have been given a priority over public schools. The reason for this is because parents who can afford it, commonly wealthier and more influential parents, move their children from public to private

schools due to poor quality of infrastructure, facilities, and teachers in public schools. We know for instance that private schools have better facilities such as libraries. Moving on, this does not only concern private schools, but the whole formal education sector. According to Sabiu et al (2018) formal education (public and private schools included) is the most expensive method of learning in Nigeria, second comes Almajiri schools and lastly, the cheapest method, is home schooling. On background of this, we need to remember that the findings also show that some state governments neglect their responsibility to implement policies that allow school examinations to be free of charge. As well as the comments from the Hausa parent, who claimed that several parents cannot live up to the non-intuition financial demands of public schools and can therefore not send their children to school. Additionally, we know that the overall formal education curriculum is in English, and that the teacher's university degree is taught in English. On background of this, McKnight may have a point when claiming that upper-class stipulate educational policies benefitting themselves, and only themselves, to maintain the social order in society, which also falls in line with Bourdieu's perspective of education being a field that reproduces social classes, thus restricts social mobility of the lower-class people.

7.5 Outcomes

Through the discussion it is found that the Hausa girl-child's cultural capital is lower than the Hausa boy-child. The factors that lead to the scarce cultural capital contribute to the number of out-of-school children in Hausaland. This outcome may have contributed to the FG decision to stipulate the NPGBE and other initiatives that have been taken to enhance girl-child's attendance in formal education.

Another outcome, identified in the discussion are that it is less likely for a Hausa child raised by a single mother to attend any higher level of education, than its counterpart brought up by a father. Additionally, being raised by illiterate rural Hausa parents minimizes a child's possibility to receive full effect of the education formal education system. This paper has not found any measures taken by policy makers to eradicate these issues. However, the adult education, which was not included in this thesis, may be one of the measures taken.

When drawing on McKnight's social mobility theory, we can see that the cultural capital is only produced alongside the social and economic capital within the field of education. Formal education within the field of education is the only educational structure

that allows a Hausa child to increase its cultural capital and social mobility through an economic and sociologist perspective. However, as Bourdieu mentioned, the chances are minor and are commonly determined by the parents' economic situation. The Almajiri school (religion field) and home schooling (agricultural field) both involve cultural capital, but in addition to that those education systems mainly allows a child to move within its original major social class. With exception of if an Almajiri student engages in agricultural work then the child may increase its social mobility from the sociologist's perspective. These outcomes may have contributed to Goodluck's integrated Almajiri schools' initiative. It may explain why the UBEC hold that any actor, including Almajiri schools, interfering with children's basic education shall be convicted, and the reason behind the FG's latest promise that they will increase the education budget with 100 per cent by 2025.

Lastly, this paper recognizes that the outcome discussed in relation to the language barrier may fueled the FG decision to allow schools to teach the first three years of primary school in the local language. This paper cannot be certain that the upper-class are deliberately restricting the lower classes from social mobility. However, what is obvious in the External Variables are that many Hausa families belong to the lowest social class in society, while very few belong to the top.

8. Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis is to contribute to UBEC's (2019: XXIV) request for research on "causes of drop-out" and "to understand the intractable problem of out-of-school children (including the Almajiri)". The paper aimed to do this by contributing to development research on the structures, norms and behavior that lay behind policies and practices of formal education in Nigeria and how they affect Hausa children's abilities of social mobility. By applying a critical ontological approach to the findings, structured by the IAD framework, this paper finds and concludes the following.

To answer the research question *How do economic, social, and cultural norms and practices impact Hausa children's attendance formal education?* This paper finds that traditional Islamic practices such as purdah, saving money for dowry and Almajiri schools restrict Hausa children from attending formal education. In addition, since the Islamic tradition allows a man to marry four wives and commonly have around nine children, it may be difficult for rural poor parents to pay formal schoolings non-intuition fees for all their

children. In cases like this, the boy-child is commonly prioritized before the girl-child. Henceforth, gender-inequality amongst Hausa parents, and their literate ability and social status, have a significant impact on Hausa children's educational realization, but also fuels the reproduction of social classes in the education system. This paper concludes that these findings are underlaying factors that led to out-of-school children. Either through drop-out or because the child was never integrated into the formal education system for the beginning. Henceforth the paper acknowledges that initiatives taken to enhance girl-child access and attendance to formal education have contributed to a positive impact. This thesis therefore encourages these initiatives, but also other initiatives involving parents and especially single mothers.

To answer the research question *How is Hausa children's social mobility effected by Nigeria's education system?* this thesis draws on two findings. Firstly, that education is the most prominent contributor to social mobility. However, policy barriers need to be overcome to offer equal opportunity to everyone. For instance, language barriers interfere with Hausa children's abilities to perform in school, which may lead to drop out. The thesis concludes that this barrier may have to do with the upper-class interest in restricting lower classes social mobility, to not have to share their cake with them. The reason this paper is not certain of the finding is due to measures taken by the FG to improve this situation. To avoid the issue, this paper recommends that all three tiers of government and local educational stakeholders from communities shall participate in policy drafting processes.

Secondly, this thesis finds and concludes that, roughly speaking, formal education is the only educational structure that allows a Hausa child to increase its cultural capital and social mobility through an economist (income) and sociologist perspective (social status). However, chances are minor and are commonly determined by the parents' economic situation. Adding to that formal education is also the education form that is most likely to contribute to drop-out. Since, as mentioned in the first paragraph of this section, it may become very expensive to pay non-intuition fees for nine children, and many children are expected to help-out at home, for instance on the farm. In other words, *what we eat, comes before what we become*, may be the cause of drop-out from formal education. Additionally, Almajiri schools and home schooling (within agriculture) mainly allows a child to move within its original major social class, which henceforth contributes to low social mobility and reproduction of the social classes of education. This paper concludes that social classes within education, in Hausaland, are roughly reproduced, with an exception for formal education, if one gets through the needle whole. This puts parents in the dilemma of either

choosing a familiar card (Almajiri school or home schooling) that reproduces social classes or putting all their money on a less familiar card (formal education) hoping that their money and their child's abilities will last long enough to get through the needle whole. By choosing the familiar card (Almajiri school or home schooling), they, according to the FG and UBEC, contribute to out-of-school children. This paper recommends that initiatives are taken to remove non-intuition fees.

It may be difficult to recognize the intractable problem of out-of-school children when living in the society that reproduces social classes and have low social mobility. As highlighted by McKnight (2017), low social mobility is more likely to take place in countries with high levels of socio-economic inequalities than those that are more equal. Neighboring countries to Nigeria, in fact most unequal countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, struggle with the issue of out-of-school children. In 2015 the World Bank held that 89 million children were out-of-school in Sub-Saharan Africa, due to drop-outs or never having attended school. Hence, they claim that within the next decade the number will increase by 40 million. Many of these states have been colonized by European countries, hence introduced to the Western education system, while simultaneously having their own traditional forms of education (Onwauchi, 1972). Their out-of-school problem may be caused by the same issues as highlighted in this thesis.

8.1 Further research

UBEC sends out a request for research on causes of drop-out and the out-of-school dilemma, meanwhile, Rossiter and Ishaku (2019) hold that research of education in Sub-Saharan Africa are not visible enough or do not exist in the quality or quantity that it deserves. This thesis fills a minor part of that gap but also provides a constructive ground for further research. This paper suggests researching the field of adult's education in Hausaland. The findings identify how issues of illiterate parents may have a negative impact on children's education. Due to this, the issue of out-of-school children could also be approached from a parent's learning perspective. The findings show that many Hausa girl-children are attending formal school today. Based on this, the paper recommends further research on the progress of these children. Can their education contribute to filling more official governmental seats in Jigawa or Zamfara for instance? Attitudes towards the Hausa girl-child's education could also be topic that would contribute to understanding the progress of their education. Furthermore, this

thesis recommends further research on the issues of upper-class restricting lower classes social mobility by drafting educational policies that favor them. Additionally, implications for further research may involve getting a broad perspective of the Hausa population. They are a huge ethnic group with many characteristics spread out over a large geographic area. Lastly, the paper recommends researchers to not be afraid of using the IAD framework within the education field.

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10. Appendix

Document analysis - demographic table

Document No.	Author	Title	Date produced	Audience and/or purpose	Source of document
No.1	Federal Republic of Nigeria	Compulsory, Free Universal Education Act, 2004	2004-05-26	General public	Government publication
No.2	National Assembly of the Federal Republic of Nigeria	Constitution of the Federal Government of Nigeria 1999	1999	General public	Government publication
No.3	Federal Government of the Republic of Nigeria	Child's Rights Act. (CRA)	2003	General public	Government publication
No.4	Federal Ministry of Education	National School Based Management Policy (NSBMP)	2014	School Based Management Committees, local governments and community	Government publication
No.5	Nigerian Educational Research and Development Council (NERDC)	National Policy on Education 6 th Edition	2014	All education tiers	Government publication
No.6	Federal Ministry of Education Nigeria	National Policy on Gender in Basic Education	January 2006	States and local government	Government publication
No.7	National Human Rights Commission	The state of human rights in Nigeria	2018	All levels of government	Government publication
No.8	Universal Basic Education Commission	National Personnel Audit (NPA) Report	October 2019	Federal government	Government publication
No. 9	Nigeria, Education in Emergencies Working Group	NATIONAL POLICY ON SAFETY, SECURITY AND VIOLENCE-FREE SCHOOLS WITH ITS IMPLEMENTING GUIDELINES	August 2021	All levels of government and national and international organizations	Federal Ministry of Education
No. 10	Jalingo, C. A	In Taraba, Govt's Apathy Stunts Children's Rights.	31 May 2015	Politically interested individuals	The Guardian
No.11	Julius Osahon, Yenagoa	Diri inaugurates road, school projects	11 March 2022	Politically interested individuals	The Guardian
No. 12	Iyabo Lawal	Foundation seeks legislation to tackle out-of-school children	24 February 2022	Politically interested individuals	The Guardian
No.13	Editorial Board	Away with spurious fees in private schools	18 February 2022	Politically interested individuals	The Guardian
No.14	Iyabo Lawal	Nigeria moves to integrate Quranic education into UBE programme	19 September 2019	Politically interested individuals	The Guardian
No.15	George Opara	Out of school children big problem to Nigeria – Lawan	11 March 2020	General population	Daily Post
No.16	Nsikak Nseyen	Gov Ikpeazu charges stakeholders to sustain, improve gains made in Education	24 July 2021	General population	Daily Post
No.17	Musliudeen Adebayo	Free education without payment of WAEC fees incomplete, deceitful-SPN tackles Makinde	23 December 2019	General population	Daily Post
No.18	Fikayo Olowolagba	Only 57% of 1.5m basic education teachers are qualified – UBEC boss	26 May 2019	General population	Daily Post
No.19	Khaleel Muhammad	Insecurity: Why we chose to educate Nomads – Jigawa Government	21 Oktober 2021	General national population	Daily Post
No.20	Geoffrey Njoku	UNICEF warns of Nigerian education crisis as world celebrates International Day of Education amid COVID-19 concerns	24 January 2022	International public	Unicef , press release
No.21	Geoffrey Njoku	Children adjust to life outside Nigeria's Almajiri system	17 September 2020	International public	Unicef , article
No.22	Fatima Shehu	Teaching in mother tongue fuels a renewed passion for formal education in Borno	28 June 2021	International public	Unicef , article
No.23	CHINEZE EZIAMAKA	THE CULTURE OF THE PREFERRED GENDER IS NOT GOING AWAY	19 April 2020	Politically interested individuals	The Guardian
No.24	Poonam Deepak Kumar Doshi	Dowry System	6 October 2021	International public	Blogg

No.25	Dunamis Ogalah	Northern children in danger if we continue in the old order – Governor Masari	23 September 2021	General population	Daily Post Nigeria
No.26	Daily Post Staff	Buhari fires heads of JAMB, TETFUND, others; names new CEOs for 17 Education Agencies [FULL LIST]	1 August 2016	General population	Daily Post Nigeria
No.27	Enid Schildkrout	Schooling or seclusion	June 1984	International public	Cultural Survival Quarterly Magazine
No.28	Iyabo Lawal	Promise, potential and perdition of almajiri schools in northern Nigeria	28 August 2019	Politically interested individuals	The Guardian
No.29	Saxone Akhaine (Kaduna), Murtala Adewale and Ahmad Mohammad (Kano)	Stakeholders lament as Jonathan's N1.5b Almajiri Schools rot away	17 March 2022	Politically interested individuals	The Guardian
No.30	Ibrahim Tijjani Sabiu, Fakhrol Anwar Zainol, Mohammed Sani Abdullahi	HAUSA PEOPLE OF NORTHERN NIGERIA AND THEIR DEVELOPMENT	2018	International public	Asian People Journal (APJ) Volume 1, Issue 1 (2018), PP 179-189
No.31	Ruqayyatu Ahmed Rufa'i	The Education of the Hausa Girl-Child in Northern Nigeria	2006	International public	Chapter 5 of Crosscurrents and Crosscutting Themes.
No.32	Writers of Countries and their cultures forum webpage	Hausa	2008	International public	Countries and their cultures forum
No.33	Ideanyi Nwannah	Banditry: Northern governors, elders, parents facing consequences of their negligence – Ibrahim Abubakar	8 November 2021	General population	The Daily post
No.34	Ifeanyi Ibeh	Nigerian religious leaders worse than political rulers, says Aisha Yesufu	2 November 2021	Politically interested individuals	The Guardian
No.35	Auwal Ahmad Umar	The plights of Almajirai amidst inter-state exchange	11 May 2020	Politically interested individuals	The Guardian
No.36	Zakir, A. Abubakar, U. Lawal, U. S. Imrana, H. Habibu, I. T., Hassan, I. H. and Harande, M. M.	The practice of Almajiri: Prospect and socio-medical challenges in Northern part of Nigeria	September 2014	International public	Journal of African Studies and Development 6(7), pp. 128-131,
No.37	Abdalla Uba Adamu	Islamic Education in African Countries—The Evolution of Non-Formal AlMuhajirun Education in Northern Nigeria	June 2010	International public 	Discussion paper presented at the workshop, Islamic Education in African Countries, organized by Ensar Vakfi, from 14th to 18th June 2010, Istanbul, Republic of Turkey