

**An investigation into the history of nomadic education policies in
Nigeria, 1986-2009**

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SUPERVISOR'S DECLARATION

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to the following:

- ❖ To my Lord Jesus Christ for giving me the strength to reach this height academically, despite my background and circumstances as well as the hurdles I had to go through.
- ❖ To my late grandparents Chief Inyang Udo Ekim and Chief (Mrs) Comfort Inyang Udo Ekim for instilling in me the love for formal education. Though they were not educated, they did not want me to take after them educationally.

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Abstract

In Nigeria, nomadic people have been marginalised educationally. However, the exclusion of the nomads from participating in formal education was due to their migrational lifestyle and the irrelevant curriculum which was at variance with nomads' lifestyle. For the nomads to have access to formal education like their sedentary population counterparts, the federal government of Nigeria introduced the nomadic education programme in 1986. The focus of this study, therefore, was to explore the history of nomadic education policies in Nigeria from its inception in 1986 to 2009. In light of the above, the objectives of this study were: to establish why the nomadic education programme was conceived in 1986 by the Nigerian government, to examine how the nomadic education policies unfolded, and to establish the reason why nomadic education policies in Nigeria unfolded the way they did between 1986 and 2009. The reason for the researcher's choice of 2009 as the cut-off year was because the federal government of Nigeria has not enacted any other nomadic education policy since that year.

Based on the nature of the research problem under investigation, this study is embedded in the qualitative approach. In line with this approach, an interpretive paradigm was adopted in order to make sense of, and to have an in-depth understanding of the various nomadic education policies either promulgated or enacted for the nomads in Nigeria during the research period. Since this study bordered on the history of nomadic education policies, two sources of data gathering methods were adopted, namely: oral interviews from the participants who were direct witnesses of the events (promulgation/enactment of the nomadic education policies) and documentary evidence from the archive. The data was subsequently subjected to narrative analysis which also infused secondary data.

From the data analyses, the following key findings were reached. Firstly, it was established that the conceptualisation of the nomadic education programme was in fulfilment of the 1979 Nigerian constitution which stipulated that the government shall direct its policy towards ensuring that there are equal and adequate educational opportunities at all levels and that government shall strive to eradicate illiteracy among Nigerians. Secondly, various international conventions and treaties in which Nigeria was a signatory significantly influenced the conceptualisation of the nomadic education programme. The activities of Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association (MACBAN), National Policy on Education and

Universal Primary Education were established to have immense positive impact on the formation of nomadic education in Nigeria.

Thirdly, from the findings it was indicated that the military administration of General Ibrahim Babangida and General Sani Abacha promulgated various Decrees on nomadic education policies for the implementation of nomadic education for political reasons. Some of the Decrees and nomadic education policies promulgated and which revolutionised the nomadic education programme were: Decree 28 of 1987, Decree 31 of 1988, Decree 41 of 1989, the Migrant Fishermen Education policy of 1990, the Migrant Farmers Education Policy of 1992 and the Nomadic Education Boarding Policy of 1996.

With the voluntary handover of political power from the military regime to the civilian government on the 29th May 1999, some landmark nomadic education policies were also enacted by the democratic government of President Olusegun Obasanjo. For instance, the Universal Basic Education Policy of 2004, the Indigenous Language Policy of 2004, the Nomadic Girl-child Education Policy of 2006 and the Mobile Education Policy of 2007 were the policies enacted by his government. In a similar vein, President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua's administration that succeeded President Obasanjo also enacted two important nomadic education policies during the short lifespan of his administration. From the findings, the two policies enacted were the Mobile Education Policy of 2007 and the Nomadic Distance Education Policy of 2009, the exit date of this study.

In another vein, it was established that the federal government's intervention on the nomadic education programme, from all indications, was not borne out of its benevolence or humanitarian disposition. Rather, the finding showed that it was meant to transform the nomads from being an itinerant group of people to becoming a sedentary population. Aside from this finding, it was also discovered that the covert reason for the governments' involvement in nomadic education was because of the Nigerian President's political ambitions.

Based on these findings, the study recommends the depoliticisation of education policies aimed at the nomads. This would ensure that the policies are crafted based on the need as opposed to political expediency as was the case during the research period.

List of Abbreviations

AETF-----	Aboriginal Education Task Force
AFRC-----	Armed Forces Ruling Council
ASAL-----	Arid and Semi-Arid Land
CDA-----	Commonwealth Department of Aboriginal Affairs
CDC-----	Constitution Draft Committee
CES-----	Compulsory Education Scheme
DFRRI-----	Directorate for Food, Road and Rural Infrastructures
DG-----	Director General
EC-----	Ethical Clearance
ECERNMC-----	Early Childhood Education for Rural, Nomadic and Migrant Children
EEC-----	European Economic Community
EFA-----	Education for All
ESEA-----	Elementary and Secondary Education Act
FEC-----	Federal Executive Council
FPL-----	Federal Poverty Level
FRCN-----	Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria
GDP-----	Gross Domestic Product
GET-----	Gypsies Education Team
GNPP-----	Great Nigerian Peoples' Party
ICEAFRD-----	International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination
ICESCR-----	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
LGBEC-----	Local Government Basic Education Commission
MACBAN-----	Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria
MEPMC-----	Migrant Education Policy for Male Children
NAC-----	National Advisory Committee
NACONE-----	National Commission on Nomadic Education
NAN-----	National Archives of Nigeria
NOA-----	National Orientation Agency
NARC-----	National Rainbow Coalition
NATSIEC-----	National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Education Commission

NCLB-----No Child Left Behind
 NCNE-----National Commission for Nomadic Education
 NDE-----National Directorate of Employment
 NEC-----Nomadic Education Centres
 NPE-----National Policy on Education
 NPEC-----National Primary Education Commission
 NPN-----National Party of Nigeria
 NPP-----Nigerian Peoples' Party
 NRC-----National Republican Convention
 NRP-----Nomadic Resettlement Programme
 OLSET-----Open Learning System Education Trust
 PB-----Political Bureau
 PC-----Preparatory Committee
 PRP-----Peoples' Redemption Party
 QNEPN-----Questions on Nomadic Education Policies in Nigeria
 SDP-----Social Democratic Party
 SEMB-----Secondary Education Management Board
 SIRIP-----Somali Interactive Radio Instruction Program
 SNNS-----Statutory National Nutritional Standard
 SPEB-----State Primary Education Board
 SUBEC-----State Universal Basic Education Commission
 TESS-----Travellers Education Services
 UBE-----Universal Basic Education
 UBEC-----Universal Basic Education Commission
 UDHR-----Universal Declaration of Human Rights
 UN-----United Nations
 UNDP-----United Nations Development Programme
 UPE-----Universal Primary Education
 UPN-----Unity Party of Nigeria

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Chapter one

My canoe sails in the ocean for fish

1.1 Introduction to the study

This chapter orientates the reader to the study. This is done, first and foremost, by discussing the motivation/rationale for embarking on this study. This is followed by a brief description of both the geography of Nigeria and the nomadic people who were the primary focus of this study. Furthermore, the chapter presents the problem statement. The focus, purpose and objectives of the study and the key research questions which guided the study are also presented in this chapter. Then, the issue of time frame, the study significance, theoretical framework and the methodology underpinning the study are introduced. This is followed by the definition of the key concepts. The chapter concludes by providing an outline of the arrangement of the chapters.

1.2 Rationale/motivation for the study

The rationale and major motivating factors for conducting this research study could be viewed from personal, professional, conceptual and scholarly perspectives. The motivation is directly linked and rooted in the context outlined above.

My interest in the study originates from my personal background. I was born 41 years ago into the family of Chief Okon Akpan and Mrs Mary Okon Akpan from Ikot Ubo in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria. Geographically, Ikot Ubo is located 12 kilometres away from the Atlantic Ocean. The village (Ikot Ubo) is mainly made up of Ibibio people. As mentioned later in this chapter, the Ibibio people constitute one of the major tribes in Nigeria. Because of the proximity of the Ibibio land to the Atlantic Ocean, the majority of Ibibio people are fishermen and women. Because of the traditional norms and cultures of the Ikot Ubo people, my parents were migrant fishermen. Culturally, every boy-child from the village had to be initiated into the fishing profession at the age of four. This initiation has to be performed by *Etubom Ine* (Paramount chief of a fishing settlement). However, in the absence of *Etubom Ine*, *Obong Efiat* (Grand-master of a fishing settlement) would gracefully conduct the initiation process.

After the initiation, the child has to be taught how to dive and swim in the ocean. Furthermore, the child must be ‘educated’ on how to paddle a canoe and to put up and take down the sail. As custom demands, I was accordingly initiated into this profession at the age of four and at the age of five, was conscribed into my parents’ occupation and I was my parents’ apprentice for two years. Despite the fact that I served under my parents, I was an errand boy to other elderly members of the fishing settlement. During this period of my apprenticeship, I was denied access to formal education. But in 1980, I was forcefully removed from the Creek (fishing settlement) and enrolled in a privately owned nomadic primary school by my maternal grandfather. Though my grandfather was a night guard, his closeness to a Roman Catholic priest who opened this nomadic school was enough to widen his horizons on the importance of formal education. This might have been the reason for my grandfather’s insistence that I should acquire formal education. Since the Nigerian government had already started the implementation of the 6-3-3-4 system of education, I had to spend six years in primary school. In 1985, I graduated with a primary six certificate (known in the Nigerian context as Government Six) from a nomadic primary school. As a newly graduated young nomadic boy from a nomadic primary school, I was admitted into secondary education. In my secondary education, because of my background as a nomadic child from a nomadic primary school, I took interest in subjects such as geography, agriculture and health education. I was interested in these subjects because their contents had some correlation and resonated with my nomadic lifestyle. I graduated from secondary education in 1990 and was subsequently admitted into university.

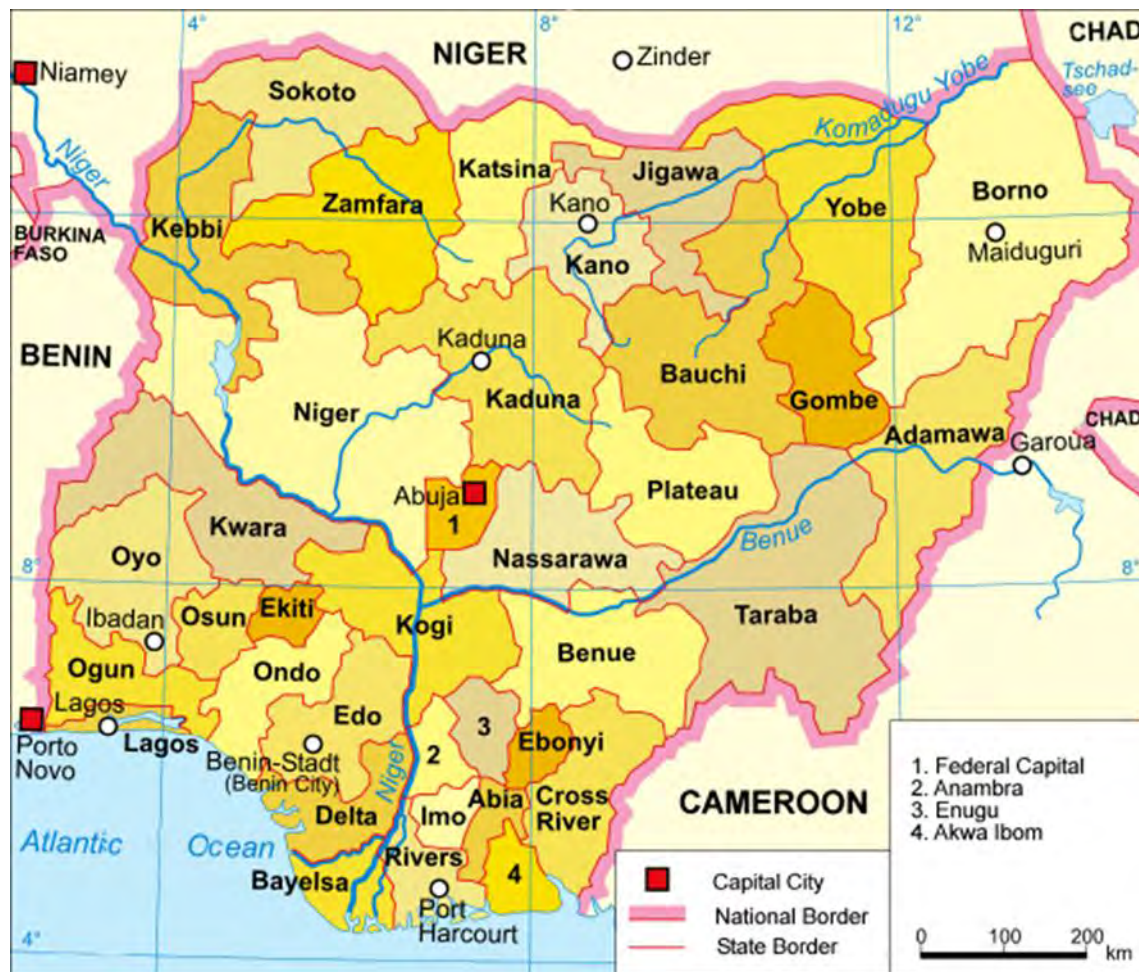
It is worth mentioning at this point that my background as a nomadic child significantly influenced the choice of my discipline in the university. In my undergraduate programme, I was admitted to geography and education. My interest in geography and education was that on completion of my first degree I would be able to educate other nomadic children in the fishing settlement on the importance and effects of climatic elements on fishing. On graduation with a Bachelor of Science Education, I taught briefly in my former nomadic primary school. With the strong support from my grandfather, I proceeded to enrol for my Master’s degree programme with a specialisation in climatology. My grandfather and I wanted to change the widely held belief among nomads and non-nomads that nomadic children could not excel in academic pursuit hence my enrolment in a postgraduate programme. On completion of my Master of Science (M.Sc.) degree, because of my interest in education I enrolled for another Master’s degree in history and comparative education.

After the completion of my Master of Education (M.Ed.), the elders from my clan thought it wise to appoint me as an adviser on Nomadic Education Matters. Nomadic Education Matters was an office created to educate all nomadic children on the importance of formal education and also to liaise with my State government (Akwa Ibom State government) on matters relating to nomadic education. Due to my advantaged position as an adviser, I was subsequently recommended for an appointment as a lecturer in one of the universities in Nigeria. After a few years with the university, my clan (Ubium) met and decided to approach me to consider pursuing a PhD. This decision by my elders was taken to prove that a nomadic child can also achieve academically if given an opportunity to do so. I was left with no option but to obey the clarion call from my elders. In order to satisfy my elders' personal ambition (and mine too), I enrolled for the PhD at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in 2010 focusing on the history of nomadic education policies in Nigeria. Thus, in light of my personal position as a nomad (migrant fisherman) and also as a graduate from a nomadic education programme, this served as a motivational factor for me to embark on this study.

Another important motivation for the study was purely on conceptual and scholarly grounds. A closer look at the literature shows that much work has been carried out on nomadic education, particularly on pastoralist nomadic education in the Northern part of Nigeria and on migrant fishermen's nomadic education in other parts of Nigeria. For instance, Ahmed (1997) worked on an evaluation of nomadic education programmes in North Eastern Nigeria between 1986 and 1996. Mohammed (2000) looked at the language usage in primary education focusing on the Fulfulde nomadic schools in Adamawa and Taraba states. Osokoya (2004a) worked on the organisation and management of nomadic education programmes in Nigeria (1989-1996). Tahir (1997) researched the functions, problems, and prospects of nomadic education in Nigeria, and Umar (1988) examined the planning of radio for adult education among the pastoral Fulani. Despite the volume of research studies carried out on nomadic education in Nigeria, I have discovered from the literature that very little has been researched on the historical trends of nomadic education policies. Therefore, this lacuna prompted me to decide to investigate the implementation of the history of nomadic education policies in Nigeria from 1986 to 2009. These were the motivating factors which prompted me to embark on this study. But before delving much into the details about nomadic education policies in Nigeria and the circumstances surrounding their conceptualisation and implementation, it is imperative to first present the geographical context of Nigeria as a way of assisting readers who might not be knowledgeable about this part of Africa.

1.3 A brief geographical contextualisation of Nigeria

Fig.1:1 Political map of Nigeria



Source:<http://www.mapsofworld.com/Nigeria/Nigeria-political-map.html>. (Retrieved date:15/03/2015).

This study was conducted in Nigeria. It is therefore pertinent to give a brief description of the research site in order to acquaint the reader about the geographical locations where nomads reside. Nigeria is located on the Western coast of Africa and lies between the latitudes 4 degrees North and 14 degrees north of the Equator and longitudes of 3 degrees and 14 degrees east of the Greenwich Meridian (Ekpoh, 2011). Nigeria is thus within the tropical zone. It is surrounded by the Republic of Niger to the North, Lake Chad to the North East, the United Republic of the Cameroon to the East, the Gulf of Guinea to the South and the Republic of Benin to the West. The total land mass is about 923,770 square kilometres and its coastline runs for about 583 kilometres (Ekpoh, 2011). There are two main rivers in Nigeria namely, Niger and Benue. The River Niger rises in the Republic of Guinea and flows across four countries before entering

Nigeria through the North-West, meets and merges with River Benue which enters the country from the North-East at the centre of the country and then flows south and, together with its numerous tributaries, empties into the Atlantic Ocean (Ekpoh, 2011). The country is politically divided into 36 states as shown in figure 1.1. Within this geographical space, the nomads are found in almost 31 of the 36 states of the federation (Ahmed, 1997).

1.4 A brief description of Nomadic People of Nigeria

In Nigeria, nomads are a group of people which migrates orderly, logically, systematically and purposefully from one particular geographical region to the other in search of their economic means of livelihood. According to official government reports, there are three major categories of nomads in Nigeria. These are: the nomadic pastoralists, artisanal migrant fishermen and migrant farmers (National Commission for Nomadic Education, 1999). The nomadic pastoralists are made up of the Fulbe (5.3 million), the Shuwa (1.0 million), the Koyan (32.000), the Badawi (20.000), the Buduma (10.000) and the Dark Buzzu (15.000) (Tahir, 2003). Ahmed (1997) opines that the Fulbe are found in 31 out of the 36 states in Nigeria, while other pastoralists are mainly found in the Borno plain and on the shores of Lake Chad (see Fig. 1.1). The artisanal migrant fishermen, who are about 6.5 million in population, are found along the Atlantic coastline, in the riverine areas, and river basins of Nigeria (Osokoya, 2004). Similarly, the majority of the migrant farmers are found within the middle belt zones and some parts of Eastern Nigeria. Umar (2009) is of the view that the population of migrant farmers in Nigeria stands at 1.4 million. From a pilot study I carried out in 2009, it was revealed that out of the estimated population of 26.8 million nomads in Nigeria more than 15.3 million are children of school-going age who have limited access to formal education (Akpan, 2009).

Regarding culture, nomads in Nigeria have distinct cultures from their sedentary population. This group of people tends to have among themselves similar social, economic and political characteristics and problems that delineate them from their sedentary neighbours (Tahir, 2001). However, while some nomadic populations have integrated into other cultures, particularly, that of their sedentary neighbours, some have been able to stick to their cultural identity through strict adherence to their philosophical ideologies (Etsename, n.a). Nomadic pastoralists (Fulani) are a typical example of nomads who have over the centuries maintained their cultural identity through the observance of *pulaaku* (Fulbeness) (Etsename, n.d.).

In the area of religion, the nomads associate themselves with two main professed ‘modern’ religions, namely Christianity and Islam. The former advanced through the Southern part of Nigeria and later spread towards Northern Nigeria while, the latter spread southward from the Northern part of Nigeria. However, it is worth noting that despite associating themselves with these two religions in Nigeria, few nomads are also actively involved in several indigenous African religions. Again, cases of dual allegiance to a modern religion and a ‘pre-modern’ persuasion by the same person or a community are still widespread (Madunagu, 2001).

1.5 Statement of the problem

Governments the world over place emphasis on education as a vehicle through which the country’s economic, political, social, and technological advancement can be achieved. Nigeria is a developing country and has attempted to uplift education to an acceptable level through the provision of basic and functional education to her citizens and has declared the first nine years of basic education free and compulsory (Obanya, 2004). Despite the government’s intent in providing quality and functional education at all levels to Nigerians irrespective of age, religion, tribe or gender to fulfil the goals of the Education for All (EFA) movement, her effort in this regard appears to be unachievable (Tahir, 2000).

This assumption is premised on the fact that there was a particular group of Nigerians who were side-lined from this goal of having access to basic and functional education due to their geographical location, occupational practices and irrelevant curriculum. This particular group of Nigerians are the nomads, a group of people who reside in different, sometimes remote and inaccessible areas of Nigeria. In correcting this ‘injustice’ meted out to the nomads, the federal government of Nigeria developed a nomads-friendly education programme known as the Nomadic Education Programme for educating the nomads. The extent to which this programme has produced the intended results remains debatable. However, from the formative phase of nomadic education programmes in 1986 to-date, different nomadic education policies have been formulated and enacted by successive governments for the implementation of nomadic education in Nigeria. It is now almost three decades since the formal launch and commencement of the nomadic education programme in Nigeria. Therefore, there is a need to critically examine the nomadic education policies in Nigeria. In other words, this study is aimed at investigating the history of nomadic education policies in Nigeria from its inception in 1986 to 2009.

1.6 Focus and purpose of the study

Formal education is the major pivot on which human development, national progress, scientific and technological growth, and social and environmental development evolves. In order to achieve this individual and national goal, as explained before, the federal government of Nigeria established nomadic education in 1986 to educate nomadic people whose access to education was limited. The establishment and eventual implementation of nomadic education was made possible by the formulation and enactment of a range of nomadic education policies. In light of this, therefore, the central focus of this study was to explore the historical evolution of nomadic education policies in Nigeria between 1986 and 2009. The purpose of this study was to explore the reasons for the conception of nomadic education programme in 1986 by the Nigerian government, examine how the nomadic education policies unfolded and why nomadic education policies in Nigeria unfolded the way they did between 1986 and 2009.

1.7 Key research questions

The following three key research questions were formulated to guide this research study:

- (1) Why was nomadic education conceptualised in Nigeria in 1986?
- (2) How did nomadic education policies in Nigeria unfold between 1986 and 2009?
- (3) Why did the nomadic education policies in Nigeria unfold the way they did between 1986 and 2009?

1.8 Time frame of the study

The investigation into the history of nomadic education policies in Nigeria lies within the field of contemporary history. Contemporary history focuses on the events that happened in recent times whose memory lives with the person who witnessed it. In the widest context, contemporary history is that part of history still in living memory (Tosh, 2010). According to Kandiah (2008), contemporary history refers to the history remembered by most old people currently living which extends beyond their generation. The objective of contemporary history is to conceptualise, contextualise and explain some aspects of the recent past or to provide an historical understanding of current trends or developments (Tosh, 2010). There is no consensus among historians as to which date or year contemporary history started. Be that as it may, due to the long lifespan of most human beings, contemporary history would extend

for a period of 80 years (Catterall, 1997). In the context of this study, it is located within contemporary history. This is because the matter under investigation (history of nomadic education policies in Nigeria) is still within the period of 30 years from the date in which it was first conceived and most of the participants (role players) are currently alive.

From the position of my study, it is clear that contemporary history shifts in absolute terms as the generation passes by. Be that as it may, In spite of the usage and acceptability of contemporary history, there are pockets of criticisms levelled against it. It is argued that the field of contemporary history is nothing more than a form of journalism, because its concerns are so closely rooted to the present that there is no proper distance that the passage of time allowed, that historians are too close to and perhaps even too much part of the events to make proper historical judgements (Kandiah, 2008). These criticisms, however, do not in any way nullify the value of contemporary history in research. It is for this reason that contemporary history was deemed important in this study.

1.9 Significance of the study

The education of nomadic population has for decades been considered by governments of all countries and concerned agencies and organisations as a major ethical, cultural, political, social and economic problem deserving special attention. International and national attempts have been made to solve this complex challenge. Globally, there is growing interest in nomadic education and its implementation (Ruto, Ongweny & Mugo, 2009; Devereux, 2010; Dyer, 2012; Dyer, 2014). For instance, in African countries like Mali, Sudan, Ethiopia, Kenya, Algeria and Namibia where nomads are found, there is emphasis on nomadic education. Akaranga (1997) argues that to develop nomadic education to an acceptable level the government has to take into account specific cultural, linguistic and environmental contexts as well as the needs of different categories of nomadic groups. In light of the above, this study is of significance because it will inform African governments about the type of nomadic education policies to be enacted that will be acceptable to different types of nomads.

Secondly, by conducting this research on the history of nomadic education policies in Nigeria, the study hopes to contribute to a new body of knowledge. This is in the context of theorising ways in which various governments use the state apparatus (governmentality) to control and guide the nomads through their education process.

Thirdly, this research is significant because as a young scholar in the field of nomadic education, the study will assist me in building strong professional and academic competence. Furthermore, it will offer me an opportunity to advance my knowledge and understanding of the cutting-edge debates on the theory and practice of nomadic education globally.

Finally, Khazanov (1994) asserts that nomads and nomadic education are of great interest and concern amongst educationists, sociologists, anthropologists, geographers and economists. However, an array of studies has been done by great scholars such as Agrawal and Saberwal (2004), Chatty (2006), Danaher, Kenny and Leder (2009), and Dyer (2014) on nomadic education. A glance into the literature indicates that there is a big gap particularly in the area of government's dynamic role in the formulation and implementation of nomadic education policies. Therefore, this study will not only ultimately fill this gap but it will be a reference material for subsequent studies on this theme.

1.10 Theoretical frameworks and research methodology

This section provides a short overview of both the theoretical framework and the methodology used in the study. A detailed explanation of the conceptual and theoretical framing and methodology adopted in the study will be presented in chapters three and four respectively. In this section I simply present a succinct summary of each. Concerning my frameworks, I adopted the education policy and Foucauldian theory on governmentality as the conceptual and theoretical frameworks respectively. The reason for this choice was to give an in-depth understanding of why the Nigerian government conceptualised, formulated and enacted nomadic education policies.

Concerning the research paradigm, I aligned this study with the interpretive paradigm. Schwandt (1994) argues that an interpretive paradigm provides a deep insight into the complex world of lived experience from the point of view of those who live it. This study is located within the interpretive paradigm. Neuman (1997) observes that social reality is based on people's definition. It was in light of this belief that I viewed the qualitative research approach to be appropriate for this study. On the issue of ontology and epistemological assumptions of this study, Blaikie (2000) argues that reality is socially and discursively constructed. In addition, Orlikowski and Baroudi (1991) affirm that to understand social reality requires an understanding of how practices and meanings are formed and informed by the language and tacit norms shared by humans working towards some shared goal. In

qualitative research such as the one I adopted, I aligned myself with the internal reality of participants' own interpretations of nomadic education policies.

I adopted a historical approach in this research study. The reason for this choice was because of the nature of the research problem which bordered on the exploration of the history of nomadic education policies in Nigeria. Furthermore, the adoption of the historical research approach was influenced by the nature of the key research questions, literature review, interpretive paradigm and the qualitative approach. Based on the above, the adoption of the historical approach was to assess the developmental trends of nomadic education policies in Nigeria between 1986 and 2009. In order to achieve this, two strategies were adopted in collecting data. Since this study falls within the realm of contemporary history, I identified five of my participants to elicit information from them on nomadic education policies by means of interviews. It is worth mentioning that from the participants identified and purposively selected, some are currently working with the National Commission for Nomadic Education (NCNE) and each of them might have spent over 25 years in office. The designation, years of experience and the number of years these officers spent in the office were determinant factors in the selection of participants for the interviews. However, the reason for the choice of the five participants was based on the fact that this is qualitative research, therefore, it is not the large number of participants that matters but the quality and in-depth information the participants are willing to give (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011). One of the participants selected was chosen based on the fact that he was the first Executive Secretary of NCNE. Aside from this, he was one of the experts the federal government of Nigeria commissioned to carry out the feasibility study on the viability or otherwise of the nomadic education programme in Nigeria.

In historical studies, Tosh (2010) argues that historians rely heavily on archival materials as sources of primary data. Therefore, in order to establish why nomadic education was conceptualized and to explore the developmental trends in nomadic education policies over a period of time, I made use of the materials in the National Archives in Nigeria. In the archives, policy statements on nomadic education, newspaper articles, and official diaries were collected as they formed major sources of the primary data. With the eventual collection of the data, I personally transcribed the oral interviews. The reason for my involvement in data transcription was to avoid unnecessary confusion during the actual point of data analysis. Wellard and McKenna (2001) opine that interview transcription forms part of the data

analysis process. After the transcription, the data was subjected to open coding. Strauss (1987, p.27) argues that “any researcher who wishes to become proficient at doing qualitative analysis must learn to code well.” The reason for the adoption of open coding was to ensure that proper description and interpretation of the data could be done in the language of the participants. Open coding is not just labelling, rather it leads one from the data to the idea, and from the idea to all the data pertaining to that idea (Richard & Morse, 2007). With the adoption of open coding and emergence of themes, I subjected my data to the narrative analysis. In the discussion of the data, I used the literature to come to an in-depth understanding of the findings.

1.11 Operational clarification of concepts

In this section, the main concepts as they are applied in this dissertation are explained. In other words, some concepts which mean different things in different contexts are explained in the context of the study. This might have been the reason Akinpelu (1995, p. 44) opined that “concepts clarification are so called because they have been specifically adopted or adapted for particular purposes and which are to be understood and interpreted as such for as long as purposes subsist.” Furthermore, Creswell (2009) avows for the explanation of some concepts at the early stage of the research study because doing that would provide both the researcher and readers the opportunity to be specific about the concepts used in the study. It is on these grounds that I explain the following concepts: education policies, governmentality, nomads, nomadic education, education ordinances and federal government of Nigeria, all of which are used in this thesis.

1.11.1 Education policies

Education policy in this dissertation refers to the statement of the government’s intentions and the envisaged means of achieving those aspects of its national objectives that have to rely on the use of education as a tool. Policies that affect education have a point or multiple points of genesis, emerging from the perspective of what Kingdon (1995) calls the policy of primeval soup. The concept of educational policies connotes the determination of major objectives, the selection of methods of achieving and the continuous adaptation of existing problems that face a government. In the Nigerian context, an educational policy does not necessarily involve the formulation of new objectives; rather it could involve the allocation of greater resources so as to increase the possibility of realising existing objectives. In this

dissertation therefore, education policies include: Decrees, Presidential pronouncements, Acts of Parliament and Ministerial directives.

1.11.2 Governmentality

Governmentality (concerning government) is a concept that was developed by Foucault in 1977 to demonstrate the ways government administers state affairs. Governmentality is the art of government. The art of government in this context focuses on the organised practices (mentalities, rationalities and techniques) through which people are governed. In other words, it represents the rationalisation of governmental practice in the exercise of political sovereignty. In the present study, governmentality is used to illustrate the degree of application of education policies by the government on nomads in Nigeria. The theory of governmentality is discussed in detail in the theoretical chapter of this thesis.

1.11.3 Federal government of Nigeria

The geographical entity called Nigeria is a sovereign state. The Nigerian Constitution of 1999 allows for the formation of a central government which in Nigeria's context is known as the federal government of Nigeria. The Nigerian Constitution confers on the federal government the right to protect the territorial integrity of the country and enact laws for the protection, control and education of all Nigerians. From the Nigerian Constitution, the federal government is being led by an elected executive president. Before 1999 this position was occupied by military personnel who carried out the duties and functions of an elected president. It is worthy to note that if the military personnel occupy the presidency, the Nigerian Constitution is always suspended.

1.11.4 Education ordinances

In Nigeria, education ordinances are the education laws passed by the colonial government. These are the enactments made for the management of education in Nigeria before independence in October 1960. These ordinances were made by the British in Britain without any input from Nigerians who were to be the beneficiaries of such policies.

1.11.5 Nomads

Nomads are people who migrate from place to place in search of their means of livelihood. They are often seen in the savannah and desert regions of the world with herds of cattle, goats, sheep and other ruminants. The contemporary use of this concept goes beyond that, it

involves the other groups of people whose occupational activities compel them to move involuntarily. For instance, hunters, farmers, fishermen, and fruit gatherers are other groups of nomads that are known in the world today. This concept has been fully explained in my literature review chapter.

1.11.6 Nomadic education

This is formal education designed for the transmission of knowledge from one generation of nomads to another. In Nigeria, nomadic education was specifically established for nomadic children who did not have the opportunity to attend the conventional schools because of their parents' occupation. It began during the colonial period but actual firm government involvement started in 1986 when it was officially introduced by the then military administration of General Ibrahim Babangida.

1.12 Organisational structure of the thesis

This thesis consists of eight chapters and that are arranged in the way discussed below.

Chapter one discusses the general background and overview of the principal aspects of the research study. The chapter is introduced by highlighting the invaluable position of education in human and national progress as well as in recognition of the presence of a disadvantaged group (nomads) in Nigeria who are unquestionably, overtly and covertly denied their right to education. The geographical location of the study, motivation/rationale of the study, key research questions as well as the clarification of concepts as used in the thesis are presented and discussed in this chapter.

Chapter two discusses the literature review which discusses in detail what scholars, researchers and other commentators have written about nomadic education policies globally and in the context of Nigeria. This is purely from secondary sources. In the literature, the meaning and origin of nomadism is discussed in detail. Though Spooner (1973) opines that virtually nothing is yet known about the beginning of nomadism, I am not convinced. I do give thorough accounts of themes on global nomadic education policies, and the history of nomadic education policies in America, Australia, Europe, Asia and some African countries to demonstrate the currency of this topic/theme. I demonstrate that the global challenges of nomadic education have been given their rightful place in the literature.

In **chapter three**, using a Foucauldian lens I explain the meaning of the words policy, education policy and education policy formulation. The theoretical framework (governmentality theory) underpinning the research study is also explained.

Chapter four locates the paradigm, methodology and methods employed in the study. This is a historical study that explores the contemporary history on nomadic education policies in Nigeria. Therefore, the study is located within the interpretivist paradigm. The method of the study has been highlighted and the research design discussed in this chapter. Again, this chapter focuses on the sources of data collection techniques. In this study, the sources of data collection are mainly primary sources which include: documentary materials and oral testimonies from research participants. These are explicated in this chapter. Finally, the method of data analysis is discussed. Data analysis is divided into two chapters (five and six). The reason for this division is that the research data spans two different administrations (military and civilian administrations) in Nigeria. Therefore, I felt that presenting the data in accordance with the administration that enacted them would create a better understanding of each nomadic education policy.

Chapter five focuses on nomadic education policies enacted during the military administration of General Ibrahim Babangida and General Sani Abacha. The data presented spans from 1986 to 1999.

Chapter six is an extension of the data analysis which starts from chapter five, but this chapter mainly focuses on nomadic education policies enacted during the democratic dispensation of President Olusegun Obasanjo and Alhaji Umaru Musa Yar'Adua. The data presented spans from 29th May 1999 to 2009.

Chapter seven focuses on an in-depth discussion of the research findings. This entails corroborating with or objecting to the positions held by other scholars on the conceptualisation and formulation of nomadic education policies in Nigeria from 1986 to 2009.

Chapter eight is the concluding chapter in which an overview of this research work has been summarised. This presents to the generation of new knowledge which has been clearly

explained in the study. This chapter identifies gaps that need to be filled through further research.

1.13 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have explained that formal education is a vehicle through which Nigeria's political, economic, social, and technological advancement is anchored; something in which the Nigerian government annually invested heavily. I reported that having access to formal education by the nomadic people of Nigeria was very limited due to their lifestyle and it was on the basis of providing the nomads with access to formal education that the federal government of Nigeria conceptualised nomadic education. It was explained that since the establishment of a nomadic education programme in Nigeria different nomadic education policies were enacted for its implementation. This aroused my curiosity to embark on the investigation into the history of nomadic education policies in Nigeria and that the rationale and motivational factors for embarking on this research study were based on personal, professional and scholarly perspectives. Based on these motivational factors, three key research questions were developed that guided this research study and these have been enumerated in this chapter.

The next chapter of the thesis focuses on the review of related literature. I will start by looking at the meanings and importance of literature review in this thesis and thereafter intends to critically review various nomadic education laws, policies, and acts that have a bearing on this study globally.

Chapter two

Review of related literature: Nomadic education from a global context

2.1 Introduction

In chapter one the rationale, objectives, focus, key research questions and the significance of the study were presented, which explores the history of nomadic education policies in Nigeria. This chapter focuses on the review of related literature on the theme of the study. A literature review, if clearly understood, is central to any research endeavour. In other words, a review of literature forms a very important part of any research study. This is because as Hart (2009) put it, without a literature review a researcher would not be able to acquire an understanding of the research that has already been done, how it has been researched, and what the key issues are. Fox and Bayat (2007) see the literature review as a critical assessment and summary of the range of past and contemporary views in a given area of knowledge. Webster and Watson (2002) in turn conceptualise the literature review as the use of ideas in the literature to justify a particular choice of research topic, the selection of methods and demonstration of contributions of new knowledge to the field of study. Webster and Watson (2002) go on to argue that a literature review facilitates theory development, closes areas where a plethora of research exists, and uncovers areas where research is needed. Bless, Higson-Smith and Kagee (2006, p.20) were more specific in this regard and state that:

A literature review in any research includes the notion to sharpen and deepen the theoretical framework of the research, to familiarise the researcher with the latest developments in the area of research, to identify gaps in knowledge, as well as weaknesses in previous research studies, to discover connections, contradictions or other relations between different research findings by comparing various investigations, to identify variables that must be considered in the research, to study the definitions used in previous research studies as well as the characteristics of the populations or research sample investigated with the aim of adopting them for the new research and to study the advantages and disadvantages of the research methods used by other researchers in order to adopt or improve on them in one's own research.

Furthermore, in the view of Olayinka (2004) a literature review seeks to play a crucial role in any research by answering the following questions: Where did the problem come from? What is known about this problem? What other methods have been tried to solve it? If the above stated questions are answered very well and justifiably, then the supposition of Machi and McEvoy (2012) that a literature review chapter in any thesis is meant to throw light on the background to the study and helps to further conceptualise the problem the researcher is trying to solve, is true. Additionally, a literature review provides an empirical basis for a

subsequent development of hypotheses and research efforts, identifying areas that have already been covered by the researcher(s) to avoid repetition (Grix, 2010).

Aside from the conceptualisation and purpose of a literature review as illustrated above, the significance of literature review from Fox and Bayat's (2007) view is that it assists in the interpretation of one's own research and determination of the relationship between one's research and existing knowledge, thereby contributing to the development of knowledge in a given field. However, a solid theoretical foundation justifies the choice of the methodology and it enables the researcher to justify why a historical approach is optimal for the study (Levy & Ellis, 2006). In addition, conducting a literature review in this study allowed for a sound ground for the utilisation of sources to substantiate issues that relate to the problem under investigation. Moreover, the use of literature also provides the researcher the grounds for the legitimization of the research questions as well as validation of the approach adopted in the study. This could have been the reason Salkind (2012) argues that a literature review is so important in the research because it gives a researcher the opportunity to adjust to his/her specific research questions so that they reflect on those important previous studies and the future direction he/she suggests.

In light of the above, this literature review was conducted so as to understand the history of nomadic education policies in Nigeria between 1986 and 2009. I, therefore, intend to begin the literature review by unpacking the conceptual meaning of the term - nomads. This was done in order to shed light on the conceptualisation of nomads and nomadism within a broader but also specific Nigerian context.

In the second section of this chapter, I looked at the participation of nomadic people in education globally. In other words, the literature has shown that there are wide-spread nomadic people across the continents of the world. However, based on each case study, I specifically explained the evolution of nomadic education in countries such as United States of America, Australia, Mongolia, Britain, among others. The intention for this section is to show the evolutionary processes and level of governments' involvement in nomadic education.

The third section of this chapter focuses on the nomadic education in some selected countries in Africa. Ezeomah (1997) opines that Africa is the home of nomads. He maintains that the majority of the nomads are found in over 20 countries in Africa. In light of this, I looked at

nomadic education policies in two African countries namely: Somalia and Kenya. The reason for the choice of the two African countries was to look at overt and covert reasons for the enactment of various nomadic education policies by the Somali and Kenyan governments.

2.2 Organisation of the literature review

From the topic of the research study, it is not out of place to say that it lies within the field of history of education. In historical research the organisation of a review of literature is mainly done in two ways, namely: thematically and chronologically (Hatch & Wisnieski, 1995). In this study, therefore, the literature review was arranged thematically. The reason for my choice is based on the fact that the data analysis and discussion were done using themes. Therefore, the use of themes is appropriate for this study. Thematic review of literature is organised around a topic or issue, rather than the progression of time (Boote & Beile, 2005). In spite of this, progression of time may still be an important factor in a thematic literature review, hence my decision to also include it in this study.

2.3 Conceptualisation of the term nomad/s

In this section, I clarify, based on the literature, the meaning of the concept nomads, giving an account of contending meanings as given by researchers and scholars in the field of nomadic education. My reason for dabbling in the meanings of nomads is to create a working understanding of the term ‘nomads’ for this thesis.

The concept ‘nomad’ is originally a Greek word for ‘nomos’ (Kradin, 2004). The word ‘nomos’ means ‘pasture’. However, pastures are areas of grass or scrubland which people use to rear their animals such as cattle, sheep, goats and other ruminants (Goldstein & Beall, 1989). The continuous movement in search of the pasture for the animals by rearers might have been the reason people labelled them as nomads. Researchers such as Markov (1978), Barfield (1993), Kradin (2004), Salzman (2004) and Barth (2008) have conceptualised nomads differently. It is worthy to note that the conceptualisation of nomads as provided by these researchers is based on their specialisation areas such as anthropology, sociology, geography, agriculture, and history of education. Therefore, the meaning of this concept is often tilted towards the author’s field of specialisation. An appropriate working conceptualisation of ‘nomads’ had been developed by drawing from various fields listed above.

From the perspective of anthropology, nomads are people who wander from one place to the other looking for pastures for their ruminants. Sadr (1991) in turn, states that nomads are members of a tribe, nation, or race having no permanent home but moving about constantly in search of food and pasture. In the view of James (1975), nomads are people who make their living wholly off their flocks without settling down to plant. These scholars emphasize the custodianship over a flock of animals as the basis of conceptualisation of the nomads. However, this may be regarded not only narrowly but may also be negatively skewed. To say the least, James appears to be silent on other nomads who move around hunting, gathering food and even fishing without the duty of custodianship of a defined flock of animals.

Still on the conceptualisation of nomads, Carr-Hill and Peart (2005) see nomads as pastoralists who move with herds of cattle from one geographical region to another in search of water and grasses. This conceptualisation is lopsided, because if mobile pastoralists are described as nomads, this could lead me into an excessive broad and imprecise use of the term, since there are very many different categories of mobile pastoral nomads in the world today (Kratli & Dyer, 2006). Relying on Carr-Hill and Peart's (2005) conceptualisation of nomads, Bacon (1988) in his study of the types of nomads in some Asian countries, expands the meaning of this concept by arguing that nomads are people who migrate around with their cattle without exploiting agriculture as they are dependent on nature for livelihood. Tapper (2008) added flesh to the meaning of nomads as he saw them as '*Kuchi*' and 'denotified' who move from one part of a country to the other. This is being determined by the availability of food and water for cattle. From all indications, this meaning (reference to search for pastoral availability) is vague and capable of causing confusion when expanded outside the context of Afghanistan and India.

Deviating from James's submission, Salzman (2004) avows that the term nomad is also applicable to other groups, whether ethnic-professional groups such as Gypsies, the so-called maritime nomads of southern Asia, shifting horticulturalists, or certain groups of workers in contemporary industrial societies. None of these groups share ownership of a pastoral custodianship. In other words, the responsibility towards herding animals alone, as suggested by Kradin (2004), cannot be used to conceptualise the term 'nomads' in its fullest sense. In other fields such as sociology and cultural studies, Briggs (1991) uses the nature of mobility of nomads as a basis for the conceptualisation. He states that nomads are a group of hunters and gatherers who have no permanent home.

The position held by Briggs on the meaning of nomads is very narrow. This is because the researcher restricts the meaning of nomads to only hunters, food gatherers and fishermen. It is worthy to note that there are other nomads outside those mentioned above, namely: pastoralists, food extractioners, *Kuchi* (literally meaning those who go on migration); denotified, aborigines and migrant farmworkers/fishermen. These nomads are found in countries such as Chad, Afghanistan, India, Australia and the United States of America respectively. Nomads more comprehensively could be conceptualised as a form of a lifestyle (migratory), a production mode (livestock dependent) and cultural identity and affiliation (Humphery & Sneath, 1999).

Within the Nigerian context, Osokoya (2004) is of the view that nomads are groups of people whose occupation makes them wander from one place to another. This however, describes a practice of mobility (migration) without an explanation of the purpose of such. In a similar circumstance, Ogoemeka (2007) declares that nomads are a wondering group who has no home environment where they stay permanently. Ogoemeka's opinion on the nomads appears problematic. My view is based on the fact that she fails to explain whether the 'wandering' of the nomads is to carry out certain economic activities or they are just 'homeless'. The view of Osokoya (2004) and Ogoemeka (2007) notwithstanding, Lar (1997) posits that nomads are an ethnographic group who would move from place to place with no fixed home. Lar's submission on nomads is akin to that of Ogoemeka hence the comment I made on the latter is invariably applicable to the former. It seems that Lar (1997) intends to politicise the categorisation of nomads' ethnicity.

From the literature, one may conclude that nomads were not and have never been identified with a fixed residential site in all their life due to the type of economic activity they happen to find themselves in (Dyer, 2000). The term 'nomads' is now a common issue and metaphor for endless movement of people. In spite of this notion, I have to distance myself from this metaphoric conceptualisation. This is based on the fact that the movement of traditional nomadic people is far from being aimless wandering. Rather, nomadism is predetermined, logical and systematic (Tahir, 2003). The conscious rationale for the movement of the nomads is organised and managed in the sense that, before the journey commences, the group (or its leaders) declare the search for pastures, fishing areas, hunting ground, or farming areas as the primary goal for the movement. It is strategically conceptualised, planned and set-out. From the perspective of their thorough planning, it is evident that the movement of the

nomads could not be seen or regarded as ‘endless movement’ rather it is always purposeful and constantly pregnant with achievable aims and objectives by those who decide to move.

In other words, the above explanation suggests and implies that nomads are not ‘deviant wanderers’ as being tagged by the sedentary population, rather they are people whose migrations are being guided by clearly defined aims and purposes. Though the word ‘nomads’ is not only contentious and problematic but is also controversial; it would not be out of place to say that nomads are a group of people that migrate orderly, logically, systematically and purposefully from one particular geographical region to the other in search of their economic means of livelihood. In other words, in this thesis the working conceptualisation of nomads is that they are a group of people (pastoralists, migrant farmworkers/fishermen, aborigines, denotified and Kuchi) who migrate intentionally from one geographical location to another with a clear purpose of looking for their sources of livelihood. In conclusion, globally nomads are groups of people who are not sedentary, they are always in conflict with the state and they are an economic ‘power house’ of the sedentary state. This conceptualisation led me into classifying nomadic people in Nigeria.

2.4 Classification and characterisation of nomads

Based on the conceptualisation of nomads discussed above, in this section I unpack the classification of nomads globally and with particular reference to Nigeria - the focus area of the study. This is done in order to give a clear understanding of types of nomads found in the country which the Nigerian government formulates education policies for. Krupnit (1976) has come up with different classification of nomads. It is noteworthy that most of the classification of nomads is done by geographers (Khazanov, 1994). Since the majority of the geographers are of European extraction, there is a degree of regional influence in their classifications (Swidler, 1973). In addition, the classifications reflects the principles and concerns of these authors’ own fields of study and origins and thus are not always acceptable to other professionals such as anthropologists (Khazanov, 1994).

In order to give credence to the classification of nomads, scholars, particularly geographers, came up with certain criteria. Khazanov (1994) states that such criteria, with emphasis on pastoralists and food gatherers, include: geographical distribution; composition of herds; distance of pastoral migration; direction of pastoral migration; periodicity of pastoral migration; character of dwellings; degree of sedentarism; character of sedentarism and the

specific role of agriculture in the system of economy. Khazanov (1994) and Kalsbeek (1985) state that there are two types of nomadism the world over, namely: the pure nomads and semi-nomads. Ezeomah, Salia-Bello and Udoh (1982) went a step further in their classification of nomads to include nomadic pastoralists, migrant farmers and migrant fishermen. Kalsbeek (1985) says that pure nomads (nomadic pastoralists) are those who depend entirely on their animals for livelihood and who, as a result of their dependence, move periodically about in search of water and pastures, thereby having no permanent residence. Pure nomads in all cases are characterised by the absence of agriculture, even in a supplementary capacity (Khazanov, 1994). Kalsbeek argues that pure nomads are only found in certain geographical regions such as northern Eurasia, High Inner Asia, the Eurasian Steppes, Arabian countries and Sub-Saharan Africa. Accessibility to formal education by pure nomads is not only rare, but is absolutely absent because they are always in transit (Khazanov, 1994). Dyer and Choksi (1997) argue that pure nomads' unusual relationship with 'mainstream' society (sedentary population) is an insightful case study, because they are a highly independent group who value social apartness and for whom, until recently, any form of formal education has been irrelevant.

Semi-nomadism is characterised by extensive agricultural production and periodic changing of farm land during the course of the entire, or the greater part of the year. Although farming is the predominant activity, there is also pastoralism which is in a secondary and supplementary capacity (Tahir, 2000). Khazanov opines that semi-nomadism is a well-known feature in Northern Eurasia, Gujarat in Western India, the North-Western Himalayas, Mongolia, Nigeria, Mali and Kenya. These nomads cultivate land almost all-year round and they often migrate to another virgin land after the previously cultivated land has been stripped bare (Blench, 2000). It is believed that the engagement of semi-nomads (migrant farmers) in agricultural activities has limited their education participation (Blench, 2000). Swidler (1973), Spooner (1975) and Khazanov (1994) postulate that limited occupation with pastoralism exercises a considerable influence on many aspects of the life of semi-nomads, particularly on the species-composition of crops, the routes and seasonal prevalence of pastoral migration. One variety of the first variant of semi-nomadism is the situation where men move out to cultivate the land and women plant the seeds (Khazanov, 1994).

Economically, pure nomads and semi-nomads are closely connected and often interdependent, forming transitional states which depend on local specificity, specific historical situation and, of course, ecological conditions (Fazel, 1973).

The migrant fishermen nomads, as the name implies, are nomads who constantly migrate from one fishing settlement to another. This class of nomads is normally found along the river banks, sea ports and creeks. Ogbondah (2008) opines that a large proportion of the fishermen are migrants who move with the fresh water fishing areas to the deep sea and back again according to nature's dictation. Because of the nature of their work roles, adults and children migrate from one fishing settlement to another during various fishing periods and in response to changing tides. As migrant fishing groups, they have a distinct culture which is rooted in their environment and occupational backgrounds (Ezewu & Tahir, 1997).

Based on my discussion of above, I argue that nomads are classified based on the context in which they are found and also named according to the economic activities they engage in. For instance, in Australia nomads are referred to as the Aborigines, in Britain they are called the Gypsies, travellers, in United States of America they are known as the migrant farmworkers and migrant fishermen, in India and Mongolia they are known as nomadic pastoralists and in Africa they are known as the nomads. Having considered the classification of nomads above, this brings me to the very essence of nomads' participation in education and various nomadic education policies enacted within the global context.

2.5 Participation of nomads in education in America, Australia, Europe, Asia and Africa

In this section I discuss the participation of nomadic people in education across the five continents of the world by means of case studies. Furthermore, in each of the case studies examined I adhere to various nomadic education policies that have been put in place for the implementation of the nomadic education programme. Here, I begin with the participation of migrant farmworkers and fishermen in education in the United States of America (USA).

2.5.1 Participation of migrant farmworkers and fishermen in education in the United States of America (USA)

In the Americas, nomads who are popularly known as migrant farmworkers and fishermen exist in countries such as the USA, Mexico, Chile, and Argentina. In spite of the fact there

are various nomadic groups in the Americas in general [which includes North America, South America and the Caribbean), in this section I focus on the USA or America only because it is the richest and most powerful country in the world and has nomads whose features resemble those found in other parts of the Americas (U.S. Bureau of Census, 2000).

According to United States of America Census Bureau (USACB) (2012), there are about eight million migrant and seasonal farmworkers and fishermen in the USA. Out of this figure, six million are migrant children. USACB (2012) indicates that these migrant farmworkers and fishermen moved from countries such as Bangladesh, Mexico, and Chile to work in agricultural plantations and along the Pacific Ocean in the USA. In this thesis, migrant farmworkers are a group of people between the years of eight and 68 who migrated from other countries to the USA in search of work in agricultural plantations (USACB, 2012). In the USA, farmworkers have an average age of 68, and 76% are over 42 years old. An estimated 13% are between 15, 18.9% are between 12 and 14 years, while 3% are between eight and 12 years (Kindler, 1995). The states with the highest farmworker children populations are California, Texas, Washington State, Florida, Oregon and North Carolina (Kindler, 1995). In the USA, the Constitution is silent on the issue of migrant farmworker education. However, the US government empowers states to establish and run migrant farmworkers'/fishermen's schools. In fulfilment of this directive, the state governments provide formal education to migrant farmworker's children (Green, 2003). The state legislatures created the State Board of Education to produce regulations that enable the implementation of legislation on education (Mawdsley & Russo, 2007). Green (2003) argues that the responsibilities of the State Board of Education are to provide funds for public education at all levels, give licenses to private school owners, provide an oversight and guidance to local school boards, and set broad policies for school-level curricula, texts, standards, and assessments.

Notwithstanding the effort of states at providing education to migrant farmworkers, according to Cremin (2008), school registers indicate a low enrolment figure among migrant farmworkers' children. Cremin (2008) argues that the poor enrolment of migrant farmworkers' and fishermen's children in education is because of their involvement in farming and fishing activities. Furthermore, Green (2003) in his study observes that migrant farmworkers' and fishermen's children contribute substantially to the wealth of the United States serving as the backbone for a multi-billion-dollar agricultural industry. The immense contributions of

migrant farmworkers and their children to their families and state economy might have been the reason why Cardenas (1997, p.45) says that:

He or she learns that each day brings toil for his parents, back breaking toil; bending stooping and reaching and carrying. He learns that each day means a trip to the field and back from the fields, to a new county or on to another state or to another region of the country. He learns that each day means not aimlessness and not purposelessness motion, but compelled, directed (some would even say forced) travel. He learns, quite literally, that the wages of work is more work. He learns that wherever he goes he is both wanted and unwanted, and that in any case, soon they will be in another place and another.

The involvement of migrant farmworkers' children in agricultural activities prevents their accessibility to education. Strang (1993) avows that the conditions associated with their migratory agricultural lifestyle impose multiple obstacles to educational achievement, such as discontinuity in education, social and cultural isolation, and strenuous work outside of school, extreme poverty and poor health. Furthermore, Henderson *et al.* (1995) argue that the limited proficiency in English imposes an additional educational burden to many migrant children in the USA. In order to prevent the exclusion of migrant children from formal education some states in America establish schools for this purpose.

Concerning migrant education policies, one of the landmark education policies enacted which addresses the educational problems of children of the migrant farmworkers in the USA is the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965. The Act was launched with the hope of raising the educational horizons and academic advancement of millions of poverty stricken farmworkers' children whose educational opportunity was stunted by the occupational activities of their parents (Sky, 1972). With noticeable grey areas in this Act, it was subsequently amended in 1966. This amendment, according to Branz-Spall, Rosenthal and Wright (2003), was done with the intention of making migrant farmworkers' children remain under the overall protective umbrella of the new Act. In spite of the establishment of migrant schools for migrant farmworkers' children, there was a general apathy among farmworkers towards education. This is because as Mawdsley and Russo (2007) observe, farmworkers' children serve as available labour force in the sugar, cotton and millet plantations.

Again, in 1970, some US congressmen noticed the poor enrolment figures of migrant farmworkers' children in schools as a result of their engagement on farms. This resulted in

general education reform which was tagged ‘A Nation at Risk.’ This reform was aimed at, among other things, defining the problems and barriers of Americans (migrant farmworkers inclusive) from attaining greater levels of excellence in American education. With the implementation of the reform (A Nation at Risk) in 1983, there was little progress in the area of migrant farmworkers’ children’s enrolment in school. A study conducted by Mawdsley and Russo (2007) shows that the enrolment progression was short-lived because of the inability of the migrant farmworkers to pay tuition for their children as a result of poverty. The withdrawal of migrant farmworkers’ children from attending school necessitated government intervention. In addressing the problem, the American government introduced another important education reformation in 2001 known as No Child Left Behind (NCLB). This reformation was aimed at promoting school choice or supplemental educational services to predominantly low-income parents whose children are attending Title 1 schools (Abedi, 2004). Title 1 schools are established for the sole purpose of ensuring that all migrant children have a fair, equal, and significant opportunity to obtain high-quality education and also to reach a minimum standard set by the state academic assessments.

However, the NCLB provides funds to local districts to improve the education of the disadvantaged students from birth through to Grade 12. Similarly, NCLB called for the provision of funds to states and school districts to improve education and English language acquisition of migrant farmworkers’ children who do not speak the language. This is because it was discovered that the majority of the learners who perform poorly in English, Mathematics, and Sciences in the USA are children of migrant farmworkers and migrant fishermen (Abedi, 2004).

Apart from these major education reforms, some court judgements in the USA significantly played major roles in the accessibility of migrant children in school. Some of the major court decisions that aid in repositioning the right of children of migrant farmworkers and other disadvantaged people to formal education are as follows: *Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas of 1954*; *Goss vs. Lopez in 1975* and *Hazelwood vs. Kuhlmeier in 1988*. Mawdsley and Russo (2007) point out that the Supreme Court’s decision on the case of Brown was the beginning of the ushering in of an era of equal education opportunities guaranteeing the rights of all children to attend school regardless of their race, sex, disabling conditions, and/or the immigration status of their parents. In a similar vein, in the case of *Plyler vs. Doe* the court was at liberty to declare that the state of Texas could not deny free

public school education to migrant farmworkers' children whose parents were undocumented aliens.

Other education policies enacted for migrant farmworkers' and fishermen's children in America, especially in states such as California, New Mexico, Texas, Louisiana and Arizona, included the Universal Basic Education for Migrant Children (Abedi, 2004). The introduction of free compulsory basic education in some of the states was as a result of the poor financial position of some of the migrant farmworkers and fishermen (Abedi, 2004). Similarly, Capps, Bacheier, Fix and Van-Hook (2013) argue that 68% of adult migrant farmworkers and 51% of their children had family incomes below the Federal Poverty Level (FPL) hence the enactment of the policy to cushion the effect of the poverty. The success of universal basic education in states such as California, Arizona and Louisiana influenced other 35 states in the USA to introduce the same programme for migrant farmworkers' and fishermen's children.

Another important education policy enacted for the migrant children in the USA was the Migrant Education Policy for Male Children (Capps, Bacheier, Fix & Van-Hook, 2013). In the USA, child labour among male children of seasonal migrant labourers in agriculture has been practised. In the state of North Carolina, approximately 63% of migrant male children work in both agricultural plantations and blackberry industries (Villenas, 2002). The involvement of these migrant male children in the agricultural and industrial sectors prevents them from accessing formal education. In order to bridge the disparity which exists between migrant male children and female counterparts the North Carolinian government enacted a policy known as Migrant Education Policy for Male Children (MEPMC). While most countries in the world today are fighting for migrant girls' education, a country like the USA is doing the reverse (Winders, 2005).

Moving away from the different education policies enacted for migrant farmworkers' and fishermen's children in the USA, I begin to interrogate why the American government initiated all these education policies. It is worthwhile to say that America is the most powerful country in the world. Moreover, they are always at the fore-front in terms of campaigning against all forms of human rights abuses and most of all it is a country made up of multi-ethnic compositions. From all indications, about ten ethnic groups are officially recognised in the USA (Abedi, 2004). Out of the ten ethnic groups, four are from immigrant extractions (Abedi, 2004).

In America, government realised that there were some levels of segregation among different ethnic groups, particularly the migrant farmworkers and fishermen. In realising that they (migrant farmworkers and fishermen) were discriminated against by the dominant ethnic groups, this sense of discrimination by dominant groups in turn made migrant farmworkers and fishermen exclude themselves from all political and social activities in the USA. This self-exclusion was a source of concern to the American government. Therefore, this created a sense of belonging, nationalism and social assimilation among the migrant groups in which the American Constitution clearly stipulates certain migrant friendly education policies were initiated. The education policies' initiations were aimed at inculcating in migrant farmworkers and fishermen that sense of nationalism and patriotism which every American exercised. From the perspective of migrant education in the USA, the next section which this thesis dealt with is the aboriginal children's education in Australia.

2.5.2 Participation of Aboriginal children in education in Australia

It is not certain when people first occupied Australia, but historians has it that Australia was first occupied about 50 000 years ago (O'Donoghue & Putts 2007). Before the arrival of the British in Australia the indigenous people whom the British called Aborigines, existed (O'Donoghue & Putts 2007). The reason for tagging the indigenous settlers as Aborigines was because of migratory patterns which move from one farm settlement to the other. It is their traditional lifestyle of moving from one farm plantation to the other that prevented Aborigines from having access to formal education. The assertion was supported by O'Donoghue and Putts (2007) who argue that for many years the Aboriginal population was denied access to equal education opportunity. In fact, the Aborigines were not even considered as citizens in their own country (Beresford, Partington & Gower, 2012).

The systematic exclusion and denial of Aboriginal children having access to education over the past two centuries have resulted in the poor state of Aboriginal education evidenced today in Australia (Dunbar-Hall, 2002). In order to address this anomaly, the Australian government put in place different educational reforms in order to encourage Aboriginal children to participate in a basic education programme. In 1970, the Australian government established for the first time in history Aboriginal education provide Aboriginal children unlimited access to education. Due to high poverty levels among Aborigines, the Australian government made education free and compulsory for every Aboriginal child of school-going age (Harden, 2006). On the basis of this, most Aboriginal children who from birth had limited

access to education, have to avail themselves with this opportunity. Barcan (1980) observes that enrolment figures of Aboriginal children at the level of primary education increased significantly due to this policy; this impacted positively on the government's budgetary allocation for the sector. The introduction of free and compulsory primary education was acceptable to the majority of Aborigines, who voluntarily released their children to participate in formal education (O' Donoghue & Potts, 2007). With the introduction of Aboriginal education, the philosophy underpinning Aboriginal education policy and practice moved from exclusion and segregation to greater cultural inclusiveness (Barcan, 1980).

In 1972, a major aboriginal education reform was ordered by the Australian government. The reform resulted in the creation of the Commonwealth Department of Aboriginal Affairs (CDAA) which was aimed at providing a strong impetus for improvements in the participation and retention of Aboriginal children in education. In 1988, there was a task force called Aboriginal Education Task Force (AETF) that was set up by the Australian government to look into the myriad of problems confronting Aborigines who wanted to attend school. After months of deliberation, AETF recommended the creation of the National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Education Commission (NATSIEC). Based on that recommendation, the Australian government in 1989 formed the commission. The objectives of this commission were as follows: to establish effective arrangements for the participation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in educational decision-making; to increase the number of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples employed in education and training, to ensure equitable access for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students to education and training services; to ensure equitable and appropriate educational achievement for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students, and lastly, in promoting, maintaining and supporting the teaching of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, cultures and languages to all indigenous Aboriginal pupils. In line with its objectives, the commission began the implementation of its programmes. This positively impacted on the school enrolment of Aboriginal children who initially felt disadvantaged due to their lifestyle, structure and content of the school system which paid little attention to their culture (O' Donoghue & Putts, 2007).

After the explanation of the participation of Aborigines in formal education, this section focuses on those education policies that were enacted for the implementation of the Aboriginal education system in Australia. One paramount education policy initiated and

passed by the Australian government for Aboriginal children is the Boarding Education Policy. In 1972, the Australian government realised that the enrolment figure in most Aboriginal schools across the country had reduced drastically. The reason for this poor enrolment was lack of safety of the Aboriginal children on their way to school (Herbert, 2002). By the year 1976, the Boarding Education Policy for Aboriginal Children was enacted. However, boarding facilities in schools were ideally a safe place where Aboriginal children were able to engage in programmed curricular and other co-curricular activities (Herbert, 2002).

After the introduction of the Boarding Education Policy, another education policy enacted was the Indigenous Language Policy. Before the year 1984, all Aboriginal children were taught in the English language. According to Beresford and Gray (2010), the use of English as a medium of instruction in all Aboriginal schools in Australia recorded minimal success. The high failure rate in both internal and public examinations and the attrition rate compelled the Australian government to pass the indigenous language policy for Aboriginal children (Beresford & Gray, 2010). In 1989, indigenous languages such as Kurinal and Kurna were introduced in all Aboriginal schools as a result of the promotion of indigenous languages. The introduction of the indigenous language policy as a medium of instruction revolutionised Aboriginal education in Australia (Nicholls, 2005). Beresford and Gary (2010) argue that the passage of the indigenous language policy resulted in high pupils' population, retention rate and high academic performance ever witnessed in Aboriginal education in recent times.

From the perspective of Aboriginal education policies enacted by the Australian government, one is compelled to question the rationale behind the government's involvement in Aboriginal education policies in Australia. The arrival of the British in Australia was seen by indigenous settlers (Aborigines) as an invasion of their land. In the words of Herbert (2002, p. 86):

Australian Aboriginal people view what many describe as the settlement of their country as an invasion. The English came without invitation or permission. They built fences, which prevented movement of the native fauna. They introduced hard hoofed animals that destroyed the waterways and much of the plant life. They came with guns and diseases. All of this destroyed the lives and land of the original people of this country.

This unwarranted incursion of Aboriginal's land notwithstanding, they were subsequently subjected to all forms of abuses and segregations. Supporting this assertion, Khodarkovsky

(1992) avows that the forced removal of so many Aboriginal children by the ‘land invaders’ from their mothers, families and communities inflicted profound grief, suffering and loss that continues to affect them today. Their communities and descendants still feel the impact. This led to the description of Aboriginal people as the ‘stolen generation’ because of the forced separation of Aboriginal children from their parents through government policy (Khodarkovsky, 1992). Segregation and various abuses suffered by Aboriginal people changed when government introduced Aboriginal education programmes. Various education policies were also enacted. The very essence of government passage of these policies was for the protection, assimilation and integration of Aboriginal people into the mainstream of Australian society (Beresford, Partington, & Gower, 2012). From the protectionist perspective, government mandated her agency to remove all Aboriginal children from their ‘uncivilised’ backgrounds and gave them the opportunity to benefit from the British (Western) socialisation and civilisation (Beresford, Partington, & Gower, 2012). Part of the assimilation and integration process was the introduction of Western-based education, the aim of which was to diffuse Aboriginal people from their cultural identity. This led to my next case study which is Gypsies of Britain.

2.5.3 Gypsies’ accessibility to education in Europe

In Europe, nomads are found in countries such as Britain, Romania, Greece, Macedonia, Russia and Czech Republic. However, in line with the classification of nomads in Europe, these nomads are referred to as Gypsies or travellers by the sedentary population. In this case study, I discuss Britain where the majority of Gypsies are located. Gypsies were thought to have left the Northern Indian sub-continent about 1000 years ago (Smith, 1999). However, there were pockets of Gypsies who originated from Ireland to Britain. Gypsies have a long history in Britain, modern Gypsy culture is the product of many influences but its roots date back as far as the 9th century (Clark & Greenfield, 2006). Gypsies are a group of people who move from one place to another in search of their means of livelihood (Padfield, 2005). They have the same characterisation as other nomadic people in Africa or Asia. In the view of Simhandl (2006) the recognition of the Gypsies first manifested in the 1970s when the European Economic Community (EEC) set up a commission to look into the educational backwardness of Gypsies. There are diverse minority communities of Gypsies spread across Europe (Padfield, 2005). Lloyd and McCluskey (2008) argue that Gypsies consists of English Gypsies, Romanic Gypsies, Irish Travellers, Scottish Gypsies/Travellers, Welsh Kale and European Roma.

In this study, I intend to focus on English Gypsies that are found in Britain since Britain has already chosen as the case study. In spite of the existence of diverse Gypsies in Europe, Derrington (2007) reports that they all have the same characteristics and lifestyle which involve the frequent migration from one farm or industrial settlement to another. They are often found in public caravans and unauthorised encampments in Britain. Gentleman (1992) held that there are approximately 76 000 Gypsies in Scotland alone and possibly another 22 000 are housed in Wales. Similarly, Derrington (2007) states that the population of Gypsy communities in the entire Europe is estimated to be between 7 and 8 million. It is on record that they are said to be the largest ethnic minority group in Europe. In spite of the large number of Gypsies in Europe, which Acton and Kenrick (1985) put at 10 million, Jordan (2001) argues that they make no claim for ethnic identity. This is despite proudly retaining a family-centred cultural approach with strict rules on inheritance of allotted places at fairs, passing down of rides and stalls and close intermarriage to maintain a highly hierarchical society, based on family, wealth and privilege (Acton & Kenrick, 1985).

Acton (1997) maintains that within Europe, Gypsies have been identified as the largest non-literate group. Based on this, they are excluded from job markets, leaving them increasingly dependent on state benefits for subsistence as opportunities for self-employed casual labour diminishes (Acton & Kenrick, 1985). Bancroft (2001) opines that in every part of Europe Gypsies are reviled as scroungers and parasites, as incorrigibles and socially inadapted. The view of Bancroft notwithstanding, Lloyd and Norris (1998) and Lloyd, Stead and Jordan (1999) state that Gypsies remain socially excluded. Increasingly, they are formally excluded from state schools once enrolled. The reason for their exclusion, according to Knaepkens (1988), is that schools were not only racially prejudiced against them but curriculum contents were alien to Gypsies' culture and belief. In order to check the downward trend of the illiteracy rate among Gypsies in Europe certain key education innovations were put in place. Rao (2010) claims that British policy seeks to extend education provision to these communities, seeing them as lying on the margins of mainstream society and needing to be 'included' in the mainstream.

In 1967, the Chairman of the Central Advisory Council for Education in England, Bridget Plowden presented a report to the Department of Education and Science. In that report, it was identified that Gypsies are probably the most educationally deprived people in the country. Therefore, he recommended the provision of a special type of education for this group of

people. In addition, Plowden suggested the setting up of a committed team of professionals that would successfully arrest the cycle of the educational disadvantaged position of the Gypsies (Foster & Norton, 2012). It was as a result of this report that British government in 1970 established Travellers Education Services (TESS). The function of TESS is to support the educational access, inclusion and opportunities of a range of different 'traveller' groups including Romanichal Gypsies, Roma, travellers of Irish heritage, fairground families or show people, circus families, new travellers and bargees or canal-boat families (Foster & Norton, 2012). In a similar vein, Ureche and Franks (2007) affirm that the role of TESS is to build the capacity of families, schools and other agencies to address the issue of exclusion of Gypsies from education.

In 1979, another education body known as the Education Council was established. The establishment of this body was aimed at assisting TESS in the provision of quality education to Gypsies. After a few years of its existence, the British government changed the Education Council into the Gypsy Education Council. The main objective of this council was to look into the general welfare of the Gypsy children's education. In addition to the above, Cudworth (2010) argues that the council's mandate was to organise mobile caravan schools for the education of Gypsy children. This council actually got involved on issues that bordered directly on the educational prospects, aspirations and advancement of Gypsy children and their families. With lack of commitment on the part of the volunteers for re-orientation of the majority of Gypsy children towards formal education, a positive step was taken by the British government through the enactment of the Education Reform Act of 1988. Maclure (1990) opines that the 1988 Education Reform was hailed as the most influential piece of education legislation after the 1944 Education Act. The principal features of this Act include: to give Gypsies more choices and control over their children's education; it increased the power of central government as it relates to education; to impose a centrally directed national curriculum; to introduce a national programme of assessment for children at the ages of 7, 11, 14, and 16; to erode the power of Local Education Authorities with the introduction of local management of schools; to construct a new category of grant-maintained schools financed directly by central government and to pave the way for fundamental administrative and financial changes. The Act no doubt sensitised Gypsies to embrace formal education in all the member states of the European Union. This is evidence on the high enrolment figure of pupils across all European countries in which Gypsies reside (Liegeois, 1999).

In recognition of the underachievement of Gypsies educationally, Liegeois (1999, p. 45) states:

That only 30% to 40% of Gypsy children attend school with any regularity that half of them have been to school, that a very small percentage attend secondary school and beyond, that the level of educational skills, especially reading and writing, bears little relationship to the presumed length of schooling, and that the illiteracy rate among adults is frequently over 50% and in some places 80% or more.

In light of the above, the British government called for an improvement on the educational situation of Gypsies without destroying their identity (Smith, 1997). This was done through a resolution adopted/passed by the British parliament. This resolution made local education authorities across the United Kingdom create a reservoir called 'the no-area pool' in which funds were kept and used to meet the educational needs of Gypsy children (Smith, 1997).

In the context of education policies for Gypsies, realising that the majority of Gypsy children were out of school, the British government introduced a free and compulsory education policy for all Gypsy children. This was made possible through the enactment of the Education Act of 1996. This Act, apart from making education for Gypsy children free and compulsory, placed local education authorities under a statutory duty to ensure that education is available for all school age Gypsy children in their areas, appropriate to their age, ability and aptitude, and any special education needs they may have (Danaher, 1999). However, in order to achieve 100% participation of Gypsy children in universal education programmes, the British government went further to establish the Gypsies Education Team (GET). The overall aim of the GET was to raise awareness of all people within the educational community to Gypsy culture and thereby promote practice that recognises and values all cultures. As Cudworth (2010) argues, the GET is available to provide advice and support for Gypsy children and their families, educational establishments and staff, other directorates and agencies within Britain and other agencies providing services in Britain.

Another important education policy introduced for Gypsy children was the Free-School-Meal-Policy. In 1980, the British government got a report from the Statutory National Nutritional Standard (SNNS) that the majority of Gypsy children in schools across Britain were suffering from poor nutrition related diseases. A year after the SNNS's report was received the British government mandated all local education authorities in Britain to begin the distribution of a midday meal to all Gypsy children. The provision of a midday meal to Gypsy children was done in order to arrest malnutrition which was at its peak. It is worthy to mention that this

policy was efficiently implemented by all local education authorities. This informed the position held by Harper and Wells (2007) which says that the standards for school food and drink provision now in place in the Britain are among some of the most detailed in the developed world.

On the issue of the British government's intervention in Gypsy education policies, it is worthy to mention that the covert reason why government came up with various Gypsy education policies was to ensure that the Gypsies live within the confines of British unitary state. In this thesis, a unitary state is a sovereign state governed as a single entity in which the central government is supreme, any administrative divisions exercise only powers that their central government locates to them. In Britain, all Gypsies pursue an active itinerant lifestyle. As a result of this they are discriminated against, marginalised and in constant conflict with the sedentary communities (Clark & Greenfields, 2006). In the words of Clark and Greenfields (2006), British Gypsies do not only face symbolic or epistemic violence of academics and journalists but they also deal daily with townspeople, government officials, and police officers who discriminate against them and deny them access to places that provide the basic needs of human life, such as health care, education, employment, safety, and a home. The Gypsies' lifestyle was a source of concern to the British government because of the fear that the unitary system operational in the country would be jeopardised by constant conflicts with the sedentary state (Bhopal, 2004). This prompted the British government to come up with Gypsy's education policies aimed at ensuring that Gypsies lived within the confine of a unitary state.

2.5.4. Accessibility of nomads to education in Asia

Asia is home to the world's largest and most diverse nomadic population (Rao & Casimir 2003). Despite the large number of nomadic population present in this continent not much has been written about them compared to their counterparts in Africa, Australia or Europe. In recent times, archaeologists-historians, educationists and geographers such as Ratnager (1989), Heredia (1992), and Dyer (1999) among other contemporary scholars have given the academic world and policy makers perhaps the diachronic insight into the nomadic population in the region. Saberwal (1999) and Blench (2000) have shown that nomadic people in Asia are the most marginalised class of people in the area of non-accessibility to education, health facilities, social amenities and political participation. For example, Sharma (2011) reports that 15% of the Indian population are nomads and 86% of this nomadic

population are uneducated. This is especially embarrassing as India is harbouring the ambitions of being a super-power in the near future, yet today equally infamous for having in its folds among the largest number of poor and uneducated people (Sharma, 2011).

It is pertinent to note that India, Mongolia and a few other Asian countries are trying to address this imbalance by introducing formal nomadic education for the nomadic population. On the basis of this, I am compelled to choose one of the Asian countries namely Mongolia as a case study in the literature review. The reason for the choice of Mongolia is that this country has the highest number of nomads in Asia (Khurana, 1999). Furthermore, I decided to focus on this country because of the existence of both the migrant farmworkers and pastoralist nomads which necessitated the enactment of different education policies for these nomadic groups (Heron, 1983).

2.5.4.1 Nomads and nomadic education in Mongolia

Geographically, Mongolia is a landlocked country located between Russia and China. The country's topography varies enormously between desert (the Gobi), central Steppes (grasslands), northern forests (about 10% of the country) and mountains which cover about 40% (Robinson, 1995). The territory comprises of 1,565,000 square kilometres and approximately 60% of the country's population live in the political capital city known as Ulaanbaatar. Other urban centres are Darkhan, which is occupied by 95 000 inhabitants and Erdenet which has 74 000 people. According to Khan, Khan and Mongol (1996), in 2006 Mongolia had a population of 2.6 million with a population density of 1.7 persons per square kilometres (one of the lowest in the world). However, Robinson (1995) argues that 40% of this population are nomads. Robinson (1995) avers that the main nomadic groups are Kalkh Mongols (86%) and Kazakhs (14%), living in the far west of the country. In Mongolia, the traditional occupation of the nomads is animal husbandry, though there are pockets of migrant farmers scattered around the country. According to Robinson (1995), there are 25 million domestic animals: sheep, cattle, horses, goats, yaks and camels in Mongolia.

Historically, in pre-revolutional Mongolia (before 1921) the majority of Mongolian population practiced a nomadic lifestyle. As a result of the mobile lifestyle, the majority of Mongolian nomads were excluded from having access to formal education (Demberel & Penn, 2006). Education was mainly for children of monks and elites in the society. In 1921, the new Mongolian Constitution was passed into law. However, this new Constitution

stipulated that every Mongolian child has a right to education. In 1924, a Ministry of Popular Education was established and Khamsi and Stolpe (2004) argue that this was the landmark effort of government at addressing the educational inequalities between Mongolian sedentary population and nomads. To ensure that all Mongolians, irrespective of tribe, religion or sex, embrace the popular education as enshrined in the Constitution, government embarked on a campaign to sensitise the citizens. In furtherance to this effort, government equally prescribed monastic education which was aimed at providing education only to children of monks and elites in the society (Khamsi & Stolpe, 2004).

In Mongolia, monastic education was the type of education designed for the children of the Monks and elites. Khamsi and Stolpe (2004) opine that within the period of three years of the introduction of popular education for nomadic children over 15, 200 pupils from nomadic extraction were enrolled. Khamsi and Stolpe went on to say that in spite of the improvement of pupils' enrolment, a greater number of people were still left behind because of the payment of tuition fees charged by the government. This necessitated the introduction of the Compulsory Education Scheme (CES) of 1976 by the Mongolian government. This CES of 1976 stipulates that education shall be national and democratic, non-denominational and accessible to all without distinction of race, occupation, creed, society or sex and it must be free and compulsory. Furthermore, the scheme equally mandates the central government to fund nomadic basic education which was newly introduced in Mongolia.

Despite the creation of CES, which from Khamsi and Stolpe's (2004) view was received with open arms by nomadic people, the government went a step further to announce the reformation of nomadic education when flaws in the area of poor staffing, funding, and provision of infrastructures were noticed. In 2002, a reform known as Decentralisation Reform was put in place. The main objectives of this nomadic education reform, according to Khamsi and Stolpe (2004, p. 9) are to "rationalise nomadic education structure and staffing, promotion of cost recovery schemes, supporting privatization and private provision of education and the development of a comprehensive policy framework for technical education and vocational training." Furthermore, this reform created an avenue for the emergence of Early Childhood Education for Rural, Nomadic and Migrant Children (ECERNMC) in 2006. The goals of ECERNMC according to Khamsi and Stolpe (2004) are to improve access of poor migrant children from rural and nomadic families, mobilise communities (teachers, parents, social workers) and key national, provincial and districts leaders in promoting the

scheme; train nomadic teachers, parents and caregivers in scheme delivery; develop curriculum, teachers' guide and reference materials; develop proactive strategies leading directly to the provision of the scheme that will be integrated into and be complementary to the formal education system in Mongolia. In order to consolidate nomadic education in Mongolia, the government adopted another education initiative programme known as Open Education Programme for Mongolian Nomads. This open education programme was aimed at conscientising nomads about the importance of formal education. This programme allows for the use of radio to educate nomadic school children in Mongolia. Khamsi and Stolpe (2001) report that the radio instruction programme in Mongolia was aimed at mobilising, sensitising and empowering nomadic communities through the provision of educational needs for the benefits of nomadic children.

In Mongolia, one important education policy enacted is Universal Basic Education Policy. The reason for the passage of this policy according to Weidman (2001) was that the accessibility of nomadic children to formal education was uncommon. They were often seen with their parents' livestock around the forest steppe regions of the northern part of Mongolia. Despite intensive government pressure to encourage the sedentarisation of nomads for education purposes, they still set out each year with their children from lowland winter quarters to summer pastures in the high mountains. It was due to deviance of the nomads to sedentary life and their inability to have access to basic education that compelled the Mongolian government to enact the Universal Basic Education Policy. The policy allows every nomadic child between the age of 6 and 16 years to have free compulsory basic education. This singular act and the creation of an enabling environment for the nomads saw the surge in pupils' enrolment in primary schools (Weidman, 2001).

Another important policy passed for nomadic children by the Mongolian government was the School Boarding Policy. The high illiteracy rate among nomads, coupled with the distance of schools from their nomadic tents compelled the Mongolian government to issue a directive in 1989 calling for the movement of all nomadic children to the school dormitory. This programme was borne out of the government's urge to extend education provision to the areas where access and enrolments were lagging behind (Abedi, 2011). Kratli (2000) held that within twenty years of introduction of the compulsory boarding policy, the literacy level of the nomads in Mongolia rose from 2% to 90%. Chatty (2007) argues that the aim of the

project is to extend essential services to those mobile communities without necessarily forcing them to settle.

From the perspective of different nomadic education policies enacted in Mongolia, I looked at why the Mongolian government embarked on these nomadic-friendly policies. In a social context, nomads in Mongolia are regarded as the most primitive, marginalised and disadvantaged group of people (Sanou & Aikman, 2005). Umar and Tahir (2000) opine that nomads are seen as the most primitive, marginalised and disadvantaged group because of their level of participation in education which is generally low, and that they are often isolated by physical barriers hence provision of essential social amenities completely out of context. Additionally, nomads in Mongolia have a peculiar lifestyle which is socially opposite to the sedentary population. However, it is understood that nomadic culture is less complex, rich but unrefined than that of the sedentary population. Apparently, nomads' attitude towards the sedentary population had some similarities with the attitude toward the Western culture by many third world countries, in which they reject in principle Western socio-economic activities, but strive to borrow and at the same time benefit from some of their achievement (Betts & Russell, 2000).

In Mongolia, nomads' interrelationship with the sedentary population may be seen as rare and uncommon, this is as a result of incompatibility in their social interaction and integration. Since nomads' interaction with sedentary population is often rare, provision of essential services and security by the state is out of place (Sadr, 1991). In light of this, the Mongolian government embarked on the process to resettle nomadic people. However, the assumption is that with the enactment of certain nomadic education policies the goal of social integration of the nomads into wider society would be achieved (Degefe & Kidane, 1997). In summary, integration and assimilation of nomads into the 'main stream' sedentary state was the major factor why the Mongolian government embarked on the passage of different nomadic education policies.

2.6 Nomadic education in selected African countries

Apart from Nigeria, nomads and nomadic education has been feasible in African countries such as Mali, Chad, Burkina Faso, Niger, Kenya, Uganda, Ethiopia, Somalia, Sudan, Libya, Morocco, Algeria and Mauritania. Because of the spread of nomadic people across the length and breadth of Africa, the introduction of the nomadic education programme was made

possible by the affected governments. It is difficult if not impossible to review each and every nomadic education policy in those countries listed above. This might not only be time consuming but a waste of valuable space in this thesis. In light of this, I chose to review literature on nomadic education in two African countries, i.e. Kenya found in East Africa, and Somalia situated in North East Africa, as a way of painting a broader picture and providing the context within which the Nigerian case study should be understood. The reason for the choice of these two countries is that it is where heavy nomadic population groups are found. Moreover, these countries, though located in almost the same geographical region, were colonised by Britain and Italy respectively. It is on record that these two countries adopted different education systems from their former colonial masters. Based on the discussion above, it is pertinent to begin the review of the literature on nomadic education in Kenya.

2.6.1 Nomads and nomadic education in Kenya

Geographically, Kenya is located across the equator in East Africa. It shares the same boundary with Somalia to the East, Ethiopia to the North, Tanzania to the South, Uganda to the West, and Sudan to the North-west. In 1963, Kenya became an independent state after being colonised by the British for almost 80 years since 1895. Within 10 years of Kenya's independence, primary education witnessed a remarkable increase both in pupils' population and number of schools (Makau, 1995). Abagi and Olweya (1999) state that this expansion is a reflection of policy changes which collectively represented major advances in Kenya's educational development. Nkinyagi (1982) and Narman (1992) argue that despite the growth in the number of schools and pupils' participation, increasingly left behind is the pastoral nomads of both Northern and Eastern Kenya.

Narman (1992) advanced reasons for nomads' inability to avail themselves for formal education to a population that is constantly on the move, and the fact that the value of education might not be realised among the pastoralists because schooling is not a priority in their traditional way of life. However, efforts geared at providing pastoral nomads with basic and qualitative education, which is in line with their lifestyle, have been confined to small-scale, innovative projects that are often run by community groups, funded by external Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) (Leggett, 2005). A major stride at providing the nomads with basic education came up with the introduction of the Free Primary Education Programme in the mid-1980s. The Free Primary Education Programme of 1985 was designed to grant nomadic children in Kenya unlimited access to formal education. Though this

programme allows nomadic children between the ages of 6 and 14 years to have access to primary education, it was not completely free as one is made to believe (Narman, 1992). Eshiwani (1990) observed that nomads were made to share the cost of education. While the government saw to the provision of education infrastructures, staffing and learning resources, nomads on the other hand paid minor fee charged for uniforms and textbooks (Eshiwani, 1990). Makau *et al.* (2000) argue that although the effects of cost-sharing were profoundly negative and inequitable, the policy may yet prove to have been a relatively transient problem, one that could be directly overcome by the implementation of a new financing policy. The situation suddenly changed when in January 2003, the then President Mwai Kibaki re-introduced Free Primary Education for nomadic children.

The Free Primary Education Policy of 2003 was aimed at providing education and training for all nomadic children between the ages of 6 and 16 years as fundamental to the success of the government's overall development strategy (Mathooko, 2009). Unlike the last free education programme, the 2003 policy was absolutely free. No tuition, textbooks or uniform fees were charged. The positive effects of this free primary education programme was that the gross enrolment rate in nomadic primary schools across Kenya jumped from 86.8% in 2003 to 101.5% in 2004 (Mathooko, 2009). In addition to the above, the Kenyan government for the first time in history introduced a School Feeding Programme (SFP) in all nomadic schools in the country. The SFP was directed towards improving nutrition, access and sustaining enrolments of nomadic children in Kenya (Carr-Hill, Eshete, Sedel & Souza, 2005). However, Carr-Hill *et al.* (2005) submit that the impact of SFP on nomadic children especially in North Eastern Province of Kenya has been negligible because of high enrolment figures, and insufficient and late supply of foodstuffs due to transport problems. In 2005, there was a drop in pupils' enrolment in all nomadic schools in Kenya (Mathooko, 2009). The reason advanced for poor enrolment figures was that the majority of pastoral nomads withdraw their children from school on the pretext that the distance to and from school was unbearably far (Mugo, Ogwenyi & Ruto, 2009). With this drop in school population, some nomadic schools were closed. In 2010, there was a nomadic education reform initiated and implemented in Kenya. The reform was aimed at integrating nomadic people into the larger Kenyan society through the provision of qualitative education. On 10 July, 2010 the nomadic education programme was launched in Garissa. In attendance were top education officials, members of the National Parliament from Arid and Semi-Arid Land (ASAL) areas and other opinion leaders (Idris, 2011).

Another important policy that took the centre stage in nomadic education in Kenya was the Boarding School System. According to Sifuna (2005), the governments of Kenya initiated the boarding system policy in nomadic schools to promote the nomads' participation in formal education. Sifuna (2005) says that the majority of the nomadic children could not attend formal schooling because of so many reasons. Rahma (2001, p.2) advances the reasons why nomads refused to send their children to school thus:

That not sending their children to school was mainly that the school was situated far away from the shelter and thus, that, the time needed to walk to and from school made it impossible for them to attend to their other responsibilities that is fetching water, collecting firewood and looking after young children. Especially, fathers were reluctant to let their daughters walk long distances alone. This was related both to the fear that they would lose their way in the desert and that they, when on their own, may be offended by boys or men.

In Kenya, approximately 10% of the population are nomads who reside in rural areas where basic amenities are either in short supply or completely absent (Leggett, 2005). In the northern part of Kenya, the temperate climate is a common feature and it is favourable to the nomads who migrate with their heads of cattle across the length and breadth of the vast grassland. Supporting the assertion, Fratkin (1997) states that pastoral livelihood is considered as the most efficient use of the temperate grassland. The mobile lifestyle of the nomads prevents them from having access to essential social amenities such as formal schooling, health care services and good pipe-borne water (Leggett, 2005). Lack of access to education by nomadic children prompted the Kenyan government to come up with different educational policies to transform them socially and educationally.

Leggett (2005) mentions various types of education policies the Kenyan government enacted to enhance the participation of nomadic children in formal education. One such policy was the introduction of universal basic education policy and the abolition of fees in all nomadic primary schools in 2004. Nkinyangi (2008) opines that government's good gesture at abolishing fees in all nomadic primary schools was to bring basic education nearer to every nomadic family. This policy positively impacts the nomadic children's enrolment. Leggett (2005) held that nomadic children's enrolment increased even more dramatically during the period following this policy. Abagi and Olweya (1999), and Makau (1995) claim that this expansion is a reflection of changes in education policies that collectively represent major advances in Kenyan educational development.

Another important nomadic education policy enacted in Kenya was the Indigenous Language Policy 2005. Local languages such as Kikuyu, Kalenjin, Luhya, Dholuo, and Kiswahili were introduced as mediums of instruction in all nomadic schools in Kenya. However, the English language was taught as a subject in all nomadic schools. The indigenous language education policy allowed nomadic pupils to use their native language for the first six years of primary education (Osella & Osella, 2006). The policy allowed nomadic children who were hitherto afraid of formal schooling because of the use of English as medium of instruction to suddenly change their mind. This assertion is supported by Dyer (2006) who argues that the language policy of 1991 brought an unexpected rise in nomadic pupils' enrolment in primary schools in Kenya.

In the context of the mobile education policy in Kenya, the government enacted a policy for the operation of mobile education for nomadic children. In 1985, when there was a severe drought in Northern Kenya, nomads were forced to move South-wards where there was availability of pasture as a result of the scanty rainfall in this area. During this forced migration, education activities were disrupted. It was through the realisation of the high rate of absenteeism in school by the Kenyan government that the mobile education policy for nomads was passed (Sulman & Khier, 2006). Supporting this assertion, Idris (2011) opines that the enactment of a mobile education policy by the Kenyan government was done in order to help nomadic people adapt to the recurrent drought and ensure that every nomadic child's right to an education is honoured. In a similar vein, Degefe and Kidane (1997) avow that the mobile education policy was passed in Kenya to check absenteeism among nomadic children as a result of the distance from their tents to school. The views of Degefe and Kidane (1997), and Idris (2011) notwithstanding, Galvin (2009) went on to say that the failure of nomads to embrace regular education led to the introduction of a mobile education policy which saw the establishment of mobile nomadic schools in Kenya. Kamupingene and Nambira (2006) argue that the gain derivable from mobile education is that nomadic children do not have to leave their homes, instead, they can continue with their household work while at the same time attending school.

The Radio Education Policy for nomadic people has taken centre stage in the nomadic education programme across the world. In Kenya, the introduction of the radio education policy was another important medium the Kenyan government used to educate nomads in the country. Abdi (2010) argues that the use of radio by nomads on a daily basis is to keep them

abreast with world news and other programmes which are aired in local languages. Abdi (2010) reports the radio education programme is directed towards imparting knowledge and skills on the nomads in areas such as health, marketing and on the issue of drought. Sifuna (2005) observes that the major impediment for smooth implementation of the nomadic radio education programme in Kenya is government inability to provide nomads with radio, therefore, prompting the UNESCO and World Bank to assist in the supply of radio sets, televisions, electric generators, and building viewing rooms for use by the nomads.

Looking at the nomadic education policies in Kenya one is compelled to ask: what are the factors that necessitated government's enactment of these policies? From the available evidence, it would not be out of place to say that the enactment of the policies was done based on political grounds. To the Kenyan government, nomadic people's mobility was viewed as a reflection of the tragedy of the commons, backward, chaotic, unnecessary, socially and environmentally disruptive, therefore, the need to check it through the provision of nomadic education and passage of nomadic education policies (Car-Hill, 2006). It is pertinent to say that apart from the provision of education to the nomads, all nomadic education policies passed by the Kenyan government were influenced by her political leaders who wanted the nomads to be integrated into the larger society in line with the political party programmes.

It is always possible to draw a positive correlation between a particular political party's programmes and nomadic education policies. President Mwai Kibaki of the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) in Kenya won the general election of 2002. He immediately went into reformation and transformation of the nomadic education sector. The main purpose for the reformation and transformation of nomadic education was for the integration of the nomads into the larger Kenyan society. In order to achieve the government's goal of integration of the nomads, nomadic education policies such as boarding school facilities was introduced (Orodho, Waweru, Getange & Miriti, 2013). The introduction of this policy was aimed at transforming the nomads from mobile people to the sedentary population where essential welfare facilities would be provided (Orodho, Waweru, Getange & Miriti, 2013). This forms the bases for government intervention in nomadic education in Kenya. This leads us to another case study which focuses on nomadic education in Somalia.

2.6.2 Nomadic education in Somalia

Somalia was colonised by Italians. On 1 July, 1960 the country gained her independence. Presently, the country is made up of three regions namely: the Northwest Zone (NWZ); the Northeast Zone (NEZ); and the Central/South Zone (CSZ). According to Lewis and Said (1999), the majority of Somalia's population, approximately 72%, are nomadic pastoralists. Out of this figure, the pastoral children constitute 46% with no access to formal education (Jama, 2008). The Somali government realised the importance of education for overall economic, political and social development but did not acknowledge, let alone obligate itself to extend this service to the majority of her nomadic population (Jama, 2008).

In 1975, the government of Somalia initiated some innovative projects aimed at addressing the education disparity between nomadic pastoralists and the sedentary population. These projects were the Nomadic Resettlement Programme (NRP) and Nomadic Education Centres (NEC). With the introduction of NRP, Jama (2008) reports that about 120 000 nomadic people had been moved to three agricultural resettlement areas along the Shebelle and Juba rivers and to fishing settlements along the southern coast. In the agricultural settlement, a primary school was established for the first time in history to address the limited educational opportunity of the nomads. The gain derivable from the agricultural settlements was enormous. For instance, nomadic women and children appreciated establishment of this agricultural settlement because of the availability of medical facilities and day care centres which nomadic women made use of. The situation was quite different among male nomads who see this government intervention project as a way of meddling in their own culture. In any nomadic community male views on any issue is regarded as final and unquestionable, therefore, the perception held by nomadic male folks resulted in the collapse of the NRP in Somalia.

With the collapse of the NRP, it took the Somali government almost two decades to initiate the NEC. In 1992, the NEC was established to educate nomadic pastoralists. Six education centres were spread across the country. However, the physical facilities in each centre were provided with dormitories, a kitchen, one dining/assembly hall, classrooms, offices, stores, showers/toilets and staff houses. Moreover, the facilities provided in each of the model education centres comprised of all necessary equipment and tools for animal husbandry and veterinary training, for cultivation of edible roots, and other suitable crops, as well as for leather work, black smithing and tanning (Jama, 2008). This programme was well received

by the majority of the nomadic population in Somalia. The success of the NEC within five years of its establishment resulted in few innovations initiated and integrated into it by the Somali government (Jama, 2008).

In 2004, the Somali government changed the NEC into nomadic primary schools. With this new status of the NEC, more infrastructures were added into the existing ones. In addition, more schools were built to accommodate the influx of nomadic children to the schools. In order to sustain the influx of pupils' population, some important nomadic education policies were enacted. For example, the Somali government passed a policy known as the native language policy for nomadic people. This was done to replace the Italian language that was used in all nomadic schools in Somalia (Teklehmanot, 1996). Hailemariam, Kroon and Walters (1999) argue that the use of the Italian language in nomadic schools in the country curbed the nomadic population's eagerness for knowledge through education. The Italian language was viewed by nomadic people to be discriminatory and colonialist (Tseggai, 1988). The introduction of the Native Language Policy in Somalia brought some degree of societal cohesion in the nomadic community because different nomadic groups were forced to learn their own dialect (Mohammed, 2000).

Another important nomadic education policy enacted in Somalia was the Nomadic Girls' Education Policy. In the study of nomadic female schooling in Somalia, Gachukia (2004) highlighted the principal factors that promote poor enrolment and participation of nomadic girls in schools despite the availability of structural opportunities to orthodox practices such as early marriage, socio-religious obligations, distance of schools, and economic factors such as cost-benefit of female schooling as compared to the boys. Gachukia's view on the poor participation of nomadic girls in education notwithstanding, another constraint is economic activities carried out by nomadic girls in all nomadic communities. Usman (2005) argues that the domestic role of the nomadic girl-child centred in the household economy of dairy product processing and marketing. The role performances directly and greatly interfere with nomadic girl-child's participation and overall learning performance in the classroom (El-Hafiz, 2000). To address the poor participation of nomadic girls in education the Nomadic Girls' Education Policy was enacted in 2002. Despite this innovative policy, social critics and human right crusaders suggest that nomadic girl-child policy was intended to reward nomadic girls for their economic contributions as primary producers of milk production in Somalia (Bruijin, 1992).

Still in the area of nomadic education policy in Somalia, the government received a grant from an international agency (World Bank) for the purpose of introducing the radio education programme for nomadic people (Yasin & Tilson, 2009). Towards the end of 2006, the Somali government came up with a policy that brought about the introduction of a radio instruction programme for the nomads known as Somali Interactive Radio Instruction Program (SIRIP) (Yasin & Tilson, 2009). In spite of the fact that SIRIP was set up specifically to educate Somali nomads, other nomadic children from countries such as Zambia, India, Sudan and Guinea also benefited from this radio programme (Letshabo & Mola, 2008). However, in the words of Yasin and Tilson (2009), SIRIP programmes are broadcast by five international and local radio stations five hours a day, five days a week, and listened to by the nomads across the Horn of Africa.

In most countries where nomadic education is operational the boarding school policy has been institutionalised, however in Somalia the idea of providing boarding facilities to the nomadic children was ignored. According to Sifuna (2001), the reason for ignoring boarding schools in Somalia was to avoid the scarcity of essential food items in the country since nomadic people produce 65% of food and cash crops. In light of this, Somalia adopted a different style of education policy known as Flexible School Timetable Policy (FSTP). In this thesis, a flexible school timetable is the way in which the school timetable is adjusted to accommodate different nomadic children who engage in occupational activities at different times of the day. In the view of Kratli (2001), this is done in order to reduce the drop out of nomadic children through labour commitments.

In Somalia, distance education is a new mode of education delivery system within the nomadic education programme (Agwu, 1998). Emenyonu (1993) held that distance education is designed for nomads who because of the nature of their other obligations to self or society are unable to enrol in the regular educational system. Similarly, Nwana (1991) regards distance education as any form of education which adopts such strategies to enable nomadic teachers and pupils to be so physically separated from each other, that they are beyond the unaided sight and hearing of each other, yet interacting reasonably enough for meaningful learning to go on. From the meaning of distance education given above within the content of the nomadic education programme, it is clear that the relative absence of a nomadic teacher and the use of an indirect medium is the necessary feature of nomadic distance education.

In their study of distance education for nomads in Somalia, Carr-Hill and Peart (2005) argue that since nomads are constantly on the move, teacher-based instructional programmes may not usually be available as and when required, therefore, to reach those who otherwise may not participate in any basic education programme, and/or to maintain continuity in learning for those whose migratory/dispersal locations are not immediately within easy reach of teachers, distance education is to be designed to reach target groups as soon as nomadic children acquire the rudiment of reading and writing. In a similar vein, using Somalia as a case study, Kratli (2000) argues that nomadic distance education can in principle offer opportunities for nomads to have access to education while still on the move; they are not required to settle in one place or attend rigid institutional programmes such as a boarding education programme. Ezeomah (1993) opines that for the nomadic distance education programme to be effective, its conception and execution must be based on detailed knowledge of the pattern and condition of nomadic life. This is what nomadic education policy implementers should have in mind when implementing distance education policies for the nomads. In the context of communication, Nwakanma (2003) reports that in most cases, nomadic distance education for nomadic people involves the uses of a variety of educational media systems such as radio, print, cassette tapes, television, video tapes, films, slides, study guides, and textbooks. The different media mentioned above can be used for instruction. Okeke (2008) asserts that the selection and use of each of these communication media for instruction depends on how effective it is, how available it is, how cost-effective it is, how easy it is to design and produce and how durable its shelf life is.

Concerning the reason behind the Somali government's intervention in the nomadic education programme, from the macro perspective it revolves around political issues. However, from the micro level it is based on the instillation and installation of national unity among different ethnic groups living within a country (Sodhi, 2008). As a matter of principle the educational problems of countries in which national unity is well developed are comparatively simpler than the educational organisation of countries in which bitterly opposed national groups live (Sodhi, 2008). For decades now, Somalia has been thrown into civil war, and one of the major causes of the war, as Besteman and Cassanelli (1996) report, was the high level of marginalisation of the nomads which forms 68% of the population. The Somali conflict involves many clans and nomadic clans. Shifting alliances were formed between different clans and sub-clans to gain leverage in the conflict and to stake stronger claims to particular land (Farah, Hussein & Lind, 2007). However, in the late President Siad

Barre's regime and during the intervening years of conflict, powerful individuals pushed marginalised nomadic people off the most productive agricultural land in the Juba and Shabelle Riverine areas and the best grazing lands in Bakool (Maxwell, Haan, Gelsdort, & Dawe, 2012). As a result of this, various political solutions were sought to resolve conflict. One of the options adopted by President Siad Barre to resolve the civil war, apart from others initiated by international organisations, was the promulgation of nomadic education policies for the education of nomads (Adan, 2009).

2.7 Conclusion

In my chapter two, I began by looking at the meaning of nomads. Be that as it may, I concluded by saying that nomads are being conceptualised based on the context in which they are found. For instance, in the USA nomads are known as migrant farmworkers and fishermen; in Australia they are seen as Aborigines; in Britain they are called Gypsies; in Mongolia they are known as nomadic pastoralists and in Africa they are simply seen as nomads in an umbrella/broader context. Based on each of the case studies, I explained the participation of nomadic people in education and the various nomadic education policies enacted for the implementation of the nomadic education programme. I concluded by saying that various nomadic education policies enacted in each case study are only applicable within the context in which nomads are found.

From the perspective of global government intervention on nomadic education policies, one is compelled to ask: what are the differences and similarities of each government's intention in implementing nomadic education policies? The major differences that exist in American, Australian, British, Mongolian, Kenyan, and Somali government interventions on nomadic education policies are as follows: in the case of the USA it was created to instil a high sense of nationalism and patriotism in migrant farmworkers and fishermen. For Australia, government's intention was to protect, assimilate and integrate Aborigines into the mainstream of the society, while in Britain government intervention on Gypsies' education policies was aimed at maintaining her unitary state. For Kenya and Somalia, it was purely based on political grounds.

Though there are different global intentions in the context of government intervention on nomadic education policies as illustrated above, there are also major similarities if one takes a deeper look into it. It would be worthy to mention that these policies are created by the

central government with very little or no consultation from the nomads; they are created to advance the right of nomads as seen by sedentary people and they are enacted to physically control and transform nomadic people from being mobile people to being a sedentary population. In conclusion, therefore, the literature review chapter opened up another issue on the appropriateness of theoretical frameworks for this study and this is extensively discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 3

Conceptual and theoretical framework

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I discussed the current debates around nomadic education policies. The aim is to contextualise this study within the existing body of knowledge. I started the literature by looking at the meaning of the term ‘nomads’ as well as its classification and characterisation. Furthermore, I looked at the participation of nomads in education, discussed various nomadic education policies enacted and the rationale behind the governments’ intervention in the nomadic education programme both from a global perspective and in the local (Nigerian) context. However, in contemporary research studies on education, it has become increasingly necessary to project sound conceptual and theoretical frameworks for overall conceptualisation of phenomena in education. Therefore, in this chapter I intend to present appropriate and workable conceptual and theoretical frameworks which guided this study. In other words, this chapter focuses on mapping the analytical route of the study. It discusses the conceptual and theoretical frameworks employed to describe, analyse, and theorise the history of nomadic education policies in Nigeria. First and foremost, the chapter will start by looking at what a conceptual framework is and why it was needed in this thesis. Thereafter, I will look at the education policy and its implementation as used in my study. In concluding the presentation of conceptual framework, I will look at the theoretical framework on the second part of this chapter and demonstrate its relevance and application to this study.

3.2 Conceptualising conceptual framework

The conceptualisation of conceptual and theoretical frameworks is very unclear. Most of the times, these concepts are used interchangeably by many researchers. These two concepts are the misunderstood and misused words in education research today (Knobloch, 2003). As Dyer *et al.* (2003, p.8) put it, “the two concepts are often erroneously interchanged.” Though most researchers use the two concepts as if they mean one and the same thing, in this study they are treated as completely different and will be used as such. In line with this position, scholars such as Miles and Huberman (1994), Levering (2002), Jabareen (2008), Ravitch, and Riggan (2012) have all come up with the meanings of conceptual framework. For instance, Miles and Huberman (1994, p.18) avow that “a conceptual framework is a written or visual presentation that explains either graphically or in narrative form, the main things to be studied such as the key factors, concepts or variables and the presumed relationship among them.” On the other hand, a conceptual framework is a research concept that relates to

philosophical basis in which the research takes place. This undoubtedly forms the link between the theoretical aspects and practical components of the investigation (Moronkola, 1998). Furthermore, Camp (2001, p.22) looks at conceptual framework as “a structure of what has been learned to best explain the natural progression of a phenomenon that is being studied. A conceptual framework is, therefore, the description of terms and principles behind the work at hand.”

Additionally, a conceptual framework is a set of broad ideas and principles taken from the relevant field of enquiry and is used to structure a subsequent presentation (Levering, 2002). In a similar vein, a conceptual framework is a structure that identifies and describes the major elements, variables, or constructs that organise one’s scholarship (Ennis, 2008). The view of Ennis notwithstanding, Ravitch and Riggan (2012) says that a conceptual framework is the current version of the researcher’s map of the territory being investigated. In light of the above, Olayinka and Owumi (2006, p.32) argues that “an appropriate and relevant conceptual framework inevitably is included in any research endeavour to guide the research study.” Put differently and in simple terms, no one builds a house without a plan. This is essentially the role a conceptual framework plays in any research; it also directs the trend of discussion or argument (Omirin & Falola, 2011). Here, these scholars use the concept in a broader sense to include the actual ideas and beliefs that one holds about the phenomena studied, whether they are written down or not. It is pertinent to submit that conceptual framework evolves as the research study evolves.

In any research endeavour, a conceptual framework is of immense significance. In this study, therefore, the conceptual framework played a crucial role as the study gathered momentum. Nye and Berardo (2008) give five reasons why conceptual framework is needed in a research study. These scholars say that the development of a conceptual framework provides adequate conceptualisation of the concepts, and thereby provide adequate measurement. They further say that a conceptual framework facilitates the researcher by providing an array of ideas on the study. It is important to note that not only are the substantive results of research understood, but also that the essential concepts used are understood by those who are using the results. The development of a conceptual framework allows for effective communication between academics that often speak different languages and make implicit assumptions and concepts unconsciously without consideration of other readers. They suggest that conceptual frameworks allow the clarification of assumptions, frames of reference, and implied variables.

From the above premise, I would say that the conceptual framework increasingly scaffolded, strengthened and kept this study on track by providing clear links from the literature to the research goals and research questions. It informed the research design, and provided reference points for the discussion of literature, methodology and data analysis. Conceptual framework is included in this thesis because it has the potential usefulness as a tool to scaffold research and assist me to make meaning of the research findings.

3.3 Conceptual framework

This section presents the conceptual framework of the study. As I have earlier said, my conceptual framing is on the education policies and the dynamics of the nomadic education policy making process. Here, the conceptual framework used to study and explain nomadic education policies in Nigeria is presented and discussed. I started by explaining the meaning of a policy, education policy and education policy making processes before introducing the theoretical framework which guided this study.

3.4 Policy conceptualised

There are various meanings of the concept ‘policy’ in the literature. A critical look at the concept reveals how desperate the field has become. This is occasioned by the fact that studies on policy come from a number of disciplines such as public administration, sociology, political science, history, education, agriculture, economics, sports and anthropology (Blakemore, 2003). In spite of the fact that different professionals use the word in their chosen profession, it is worthy to note that they all focus on ‘intent action’ that will be followed in accomplishing a given goal.

In recent times, various conceptualisations of policy have been advanced. For instance, Harman (1984, p.42) sees policy as “courses of purposive action directed towards the accomplishment of some intended or desired set of goals.” Blakemore (2003) looks at a policy as an aim or goal, or statement of what is ought to happen. Dye (2002) in turn conceptualises a policy as whatever governments choose to do or not to do. This implies that government’s action or inaction constitutes policy. In a similar vein, Codd (1988) held the view that policy is taken to be any course of action or inaction that relates to the selection of goals, definition of values or allocation of resources. In furtherance to the view of Codd, a policy is nothing but ‘statements of prescriptive intent’; it is an ‘operational statement of

values' (Ball, 1990). Corroborating with the above assertions, Taylor, Rizvi, Lingard and Henry (1997) look at a policy as a general expression of general purpose or desired state of affairs. From the Foucauldian perspective, a policy is a political or governmental process where needs, goals and intentions are translated into a set of objectives, laws, policies, and programs, which in turn affect resource allocations, actions, and outputs which are the basis for evaluation, reforms and new policies (Cooper, Fusarelli & Randall, 2004). Based on the above premise, I would say that government's goal or statement of intent necessitates enactment of a given policy. The discussion of various conceptualisations of a policy led me to the issue of education policy which is the main focus of this thesis.

3.5 The concept of education policy

It would be appropriate to discuss briefly different meanings of education policy as given by scholars. Before looking at various meanings of the word 'education policy', I would say that there are different forms of education policies in the world today. Countries the world over operate different types of education systems which are in line with the country's philosophical and ideological inclinations. The education policy of a country is interwoven with the country's general policy (Cooper, Fusarelli & Randall, 2004). The achievement of the fundamental issues either in defence, technology or economy by any country lies heavily on the type of education policy formulated and implemented.

The concept 'education policy' in itself is quite confusing. Because of the nebulous nature of this concept, varieties of meanings are given by various researchers and this has been one of the sources of confusion. This concept has been used loosely as being synonymous with educational change, educational innovation, educational planning or educational reform (Cooper, Fusarelli & Randall, 2004). However, education policy is different from other concepts mentioned above. It is the collection of laws and rules that govern the operation of education systems (Ball, 1990). Education policy is the statement of intent of the way in which identified educational needs of the target group are to be solved (Steyn *et al.*, 2002). Furthermore, education policy is the statement of intention of a government and the envisaged means of achieving those aspects of its national objectives that have to rely on the use of education as a tool (Ozga & Lingard, 2007). The concept of education policy, therefore, denotes the determination of major objectives, the selection of methods of achieving these objectives and the continuous adaptation of existing policies to the problems that face a government. However, education policy does not necessarily involve the formulation of new

objectives. Rather, it could involve the allocation of greater resources so as to increase the possibility of realising existing objectives (Imam, 2012). From the various meanings advanced so far, it is evident that education policy is a multifaceted concept whose definition is largely context specific.

In his own contribution to the debate on the concept of education policy, Awokoya (2010) affirms that education policy is directed towards increasing the quality of life of the nomads. Awokoya (2010, p.12) came up with a clear analogy thus: “a rural community that is troubled by a high rate of infant mortality, no doubt, would worship gods that would reduce the social malady while the more advanced society that fears nuclear war would concentrate on the production of weapons of war to keep the enemy at bay.” From the perspective of the opposite and extreme positions, Awokoya highlights three basic objectives of education policy to include: satisfying individual needs; the community or societal pressures and the degree of complexity and sophistication to which specialised personnel must be educated and trained to meet these demands. This idea was previously conceptualised and put forward by Ukeje (2008) who submitted among others that the formulation of educational policies may arise from public opinions. This position was earlier canvassed by Foucault (2004) who argues that ultimate education policy must be formulated from the public domain, not through governmental power.

Education policy in most countries of the world is binding in nature (Steyn *et al.*, 2002). This is in the context of the structure of the education system which has to be created, the facilities to be provided, the services to be delivered and the activities to be executed. In developed or developing countries of the world today, the formulation of an education policy is greatly and ultimately influenced by what Foucault (2004) calls the ideology of cultural authenticity. This ideology in its negative sense implies a revolt against the policy of cultural assimilation, western centred theories and practices, imported artificially implanted cultures and educational institutions (Weiss, 1998). In positive terms, it is the ideology of cultural revitalisation and cultural protectionism (Dye, 2002). In as much as education policy is impacted by positive ideology of cultural authenticity, it should meet certain criteria before it claims to be an official government education policy. In the words of Steyn *et al.* (2002) the criteria include: the reflection of the goals of the education system which should be consistent and also allow for the possibility of free interpretation in given (particular) circumstances. Although the education policy should be consistent, it does not necessarily mean that it has to

be rigid and inflexible, rather, it should be changed to accommodate the adjusted needs, and it should be published and made available to all interested parties. This assertion was rejected by Aminu (1999) who in turn says that most education policies in Nigeria particularly nomadic education policies are not only rigid but their content most of the times is completely opposite to the nomads' needs.

Concerning the effectiveness of education policy, Ukeje (2008, p.22) says that it should have the following characteristics:

It should be formulated and adopted through a political process, that is, a process which acknowledges the reality and legitimacy of conflicting interests and desires among its participants, it should portray some elements of guidance for properly directed and co-ordinated action towards the attainment of the desired goals. It should contain information on the broad objectives that should be reached, it should be a binding guide on the actions of those implementing it and it should be enforceable by the society which formulates it (governmentality).

From all indications, these characteristics are not noticeable in the nomadic education policies enacted particularly in most countries in Africa. Moreover, on the issue of adoption of political process in the formation of education policies, the negation of conflicting interests and desires are evident in the formulation of nomadic education policies in Nigeria (Aminu, 1999). What is clear from the above discussion is that there is no single definition of the concept 'education policy'. It is for this reason therefore that there is always a need to define this concept whenever it is used.

3.6 Education policy making processes

This section discusses the education policy making process of government. This is reviewed in order to shed more light on steps through which government formulates and enacts various nomadic education policies. There are different organs of government whose function is to formulate an education policy for the country. In the most developed world in countries such as Britain, New Zealand, among others the parliament was responsible for formulating and passing education policies. However, in developing countries such as Nigeria, Somalia, Kenya and Mongolia this responsibility though rested on the National Assembly, most of the times these education policies are 'enacted' through presidential and ministerial pronouncements (Pedley & Taylor, 2009). In the context of education policies made by the National Assembly, a draft bill would be introduced and this goes through the first and second readings in the parliament, thereafter, the bill is referred to the Committee of the

House for intensive scrutiny (Dale, 1989). After the committee stage, the bill has to go back to the parliament for a third reading and subsequent passage into law. In most developed countries, parliamentarians often seek the views of stakeholders on the bill at the committee stage, but in Nigeria and some other developing nations consultation with the relevant stakeholders is ignored (Dale, 1989). This is a huge gap with negative consequences when the policy is implemented.

As I have earlier pointed out, another process in which education policies are formulated is through presidential or ministerial pronouncements. Within the African context, the President or Minister of Education or Minister of State for Education usually makes such pronouncements on educational issues. Such pronouncement is regarded more or less as the education policy. The policy is executed to the latter by the relevant ministry or agency (Oduol, 2009). This type of education policy formulation is often taken seriously. This is because any education policy pronouncement by such a top government functionary should have a direct bearing from the ruling party education manifesto and ideology. The significance of this type of education policy formulation is that the President or Minister can make some clarifications on the policy, in the case of lack of understanding of the policy by stakeholders without necessarily subjecting it to another round of legislative process (Oduol, 2009). It would not be out of place to say that with regards to most of the education policies enacted particularly in the developing countries by government, little or no input comes from the people who are 'beneficiaries' of those policies.

Aside from the education policy making process elucidated above, Cooper, Fusarelli, and Randall (2004) came up with seven primary theories of the education policy making process. The process consists of systems theory; neo-pluralist advocacy coalition and interest group theory; neo-institutional theory; critical theory; feminist theory; postmodernism and ideological theories of the policy making process. From the Foucauldian perspective, these theories are complementary, not contradictory as they help in the better understanding of the policy problem we study, the relationship among policy discourse, planning, implementation, and practice (Young, 1999). In the area of systems theory, this is one of the oldest and most common approaches to explain both education policy and its outcomes. From the systems theory perspective, the process of education policy making involves a series of stages in which several political actors and concerned groups shape the outcome of policy through institutions. A systems theory provides a means for analysing the 'policy inputs' including

demands, needs and resources, throughputs that involve the key actors who implement policy and ‘policy outputs’ such as the educated, civil-minded students or improved economic productivity (Wirt & Kirst, 1997). The value of this approach is that it is all-encompassing, accounting for the various forces, actors and institutions that affect policy. Systems theory rests on the notion that policy making and implementation take place in an open system environment. Wirt and Kirst (1997) argue that education policy through the lens of systems theory emphasizes the critical role of the immediate environment in shaping policy not only at the formative (formulation) stage, that is when the law is being developed and passed, but also at the implementation and evaluation stage of education policies. This system gives an insight into complex processes of making policy and what happens as the policy is implemented in any education institution.

Concerning neo-pluralist advocacy coalition and interest theory, this theory is rested on a political science perspective that seeks to answer ‘who gets what, when, and how’ as key coalitions struggle to obtain from government the resources and support they believe necessary (Sabatier, 1993). Here, the major players in this approach are the legislators and the Minister of Education who ensures that the right education policies are drafted and passed that would have direct bearing on schools. However, this is made possible by interest groups who mounted enormous pressure in this direction (Sabatier, 1993). Studies on policy making in education strongly support the neo-pluralist approach be adopted. For instance, Mazzoni (1993) in his analysis of changes in state education policy making over twenty years in Minnesota, found that advocacy coalitions were a driving force behind the school reform movement. Mazzoni argues that the state school policy system can be characterised as a far-flung coalition of reform advocates. Similarly, Feir (1995), in his study of education policy in Pennsylvania, found that coalition of business leaders, media, two governors and a string of chief officers were actively engaged in education reform. This ensured broader ownership of the education policy.

On the neo-institutional theory, Crowson, Boyd and Mawhinney (1996), and Peter (2008) posit that the structure of societal and political organisations exerts independent effects on education policy. In other words, the principal idea that envelops this approach is the recognition that institutions of the state exert an independent effect on education policy by shaping it in a profound way. Neo-institutional theory can be understood as an attempt to re-assert the importance of institutions in modern life (Cibulka, 1997). It is difficult if not

impossible to give a good account of education policies without understanding both the political institutions that enact and enforce laws and regulations for the schools and classrooms where the policy is to be implemented. The above assertion is supported by Malen and Knapp (1997) who posit that institutional structures affect individual political behaviour and shape education policy. This theory places the 'state' at the centre of analysis, while acknowledging the crucial role of interest groups and coalitions in shaping education policy change vis-a-vis institutional processes. Proponents of neo-institutional theory such as Robertson (1993) assert that past decisions shape the institutional constraints and opportunities of later periods including the present. This position held by Robertson is in agreement with that of Crowson, Boyd and Mawhinney (1996) who held that there is a systemic character to schooling, where the reality of organisational life nevertheless displays a breadth far beyond any of its immediate environment.

Concerning the critical approach theory, the theory focuses on crude and hidden uses of power through such means as socialisation and the use of language (Cibulka, 1997). In other words, the critical approach theory shows how power is appropriated and employed in the education system for the betterment of a few advantaged cliques at the expense of the majority who have been side-lined from the scheme of things. The approach allows for communication of ideas, and also serves to reflect certain political stances, moulding social reality according to outlook and ideology (Sutton, 1999). Fundamentally, this approach enthrones individual self-knowledge, self-actualisation, awareness and freedom.

On the area of the feminist approach, this policy when made is in favour of the males and disadvantages females in education. Cooper, Fusarelli and Randall (2004) argue that these policies grow out of a sexist institutional setting. This theory is enacted and implemented to the disadvantage of women to further reinforce the sexist nature of schools (Mazur, 2002). Liebert (2002) reports there are some education policies that are anti-feminist. Some educational policies act as a barrier to the advancement of women in education. By looking at this theory, it is formulated in countries where gender inequality is pronounced in education. The proponents of this theory focus attention on the negative effects of such policies especially on the marginalised groups and the ways in which policy reproduces societal inequalities (Liebert, 2002).

In the post-modernist approach, it is believed that the process of policy formulation is socially constructed. Education policy to postmodernists can be objective or ideologically neutral. Scheurich (1994) holds the view that educational policies are contextually defined by those in authority and have little validity when separated from their setting. In this approach, it is asserted that any problem in an institution is societal creation; therefore, acceptance of social problems as natural occurrences is out of place (Scheurich, 1994). Here, the postmodernist theory disputes the notion of impartial rationality in policy making that somehow policy is or can be objective or ideologically neutral.

The ideological theory of policymaking revolves around political machinery of government. Cibulka (1999) argues that the policy is often shaped, sponsored, and promulgated by 'experts' from a particular political position. In some advanced countries, education policy can either be progressive or conservative in nature depending on the political party that forms the government. In the USA, conservative Republicans want to privatise, marketise and consumerise education while liberal Democrats prefer radical equality, controlled by a socialistic, monopolistic system of education that stresses equity over choice (Cooper, Fusarelli, & Randall, 2004). Education policy at this level is ideologically driven and it is tilted towards the political party in power.

In another circumstance, education policy making process can also be conceptualised in two broad ways, namely rationalist and political frameworks (Fataar, 1999). It should be noted that the development of rationalist perspective can be traced back to the 1940s. It is grounded firmly in functionalism and sociological regulation. The rationalist approach sees policy making as a rational process that involves decision making which can operate in a line through different phases (De Clercq, 1997). Education policies are being viewed as a blueprint which exists prior to action, they are implemented on the external world through a controlled process which is assumed to be consensual (Kruss, 1997). In rationalist perspective, the theorists perceive policy making as a process which evolves in a cycle. This is the reason why Badat (1991) called it a policy cycle. Sabatier (1991) argues that education policy making is seen as a process which is compartmentalised into serial phases. This involves the setting up of an agenda (stipulating policy priorities), policy formulation, policy adoption and policy implementation.

Dividing education policy making process into discrete phases serves an important purpose (Sabatier, 2005). This is because it assists a researcher in conducting an in-depth study on a given phase. Despite the importance of this delineation of the policy into phases, there has been a series of criticisms. The grey areas listed by Sabatier (2005, p. 18) are as follows: “the division into phases is not a causal theory since it’s not identified as a set of causal drivers that govern the process within and across phases. Rather, it works within a particular phase which tends to develop on its own.” Furthermore, the policy making process could not be put into a linear sequence, because the rationalist approach would likely distort people’s comprehension of what actually happens in the policy process (Christie, 2008).

Unlike the rationalist approach, the political approach acknowledges the nature of policy and the need to comprehend the political nature of the policy making process. In this approach, therefore, the notion of policy implementation is a matter of following a fixed policy text and also putting legislation into practice (Ball, 1997). In addition to the above, the political approach informs the interaction existing between policy texts and implantation in practice. From Fataar’s (1999) position, it is an attempt to expose the ideological and political dimensions that are embedded in the policy. This led me to the issue of the implementation of education policy which is discussed in the next section below.

3.7 Implementation of education policies

Education policies, just like laws, are not self-explanatory or self-executing rather, they are implemented by stakeholders in the education industry. Education policies, irrespective of how well they are designed, would be implemented to successfully achieve their intended effects. In any democratic setting, public policymaking is difficult particularly in the education arena where it is dominated by intense value conflicts. Amid all the talk of nomadic education reforms and innovations, it is noteworthy to examine a bit closely the issues and intricacies of policy implementation in nomadic education. After all, education reforms and innovations are impossible if education policies are not implemented in accordance with the formulator’s intention.

The implementation of education policy is what takes place between the formal enactment of a programme by a legislative organ, presidential or ministerial pronouncement and its intended and unintended impacts. In other words, education policy implementation is essentially what occurs when education policy is carried out. I would say that education

policy implementation is as enmeshed in muddy water of politics just like the formulation stage of education policy. Bardach (2009) sees education policy implementation as a series of games of political pressures and counter-pressures. However, it would not be out of context to say that education policy implementation is the continuation of politics by other means. This led me to the issue of the approaches used in the implementation of education policies, which is discussed in the next section.

3.8 Top-down and bottom-up approaches of education policy implementation

Literature shows that there exist two schools of thought on education policy implementation. The two schools of thought are the top-down and bottom-up approaches (Dyer, 1999). From the perspective of the top-down model, the proponents of this model see policy makers as the central players and concentrate on factors that can be controlled at the central point. On the bottom-up approach, the proponents focus on the participants and service providers, contending that education policy is made at the grassroots level. The two models are briefly discussed below.

3.8.1 Top-down approach of education policy implementation

In 1973, two renowned scholars in the persons of Pressman and Wildavsky came up with certain characteristics of the top-down approach of education policy implementation. Pressman and Wildavsky (2008) contend that education policy implementation is a linear process that is characterised by a hierarchically ordered set of events that can be externally and centrally controlled. This approach is divided into sequential parts and each of the parts is often treated separately (Christie, 2008). It is pertinent to say that education policy implementation from De Clercq's (1997) viewpoint is regarded as a rational administrative activity of a political neutral bureaucracy whose actions are directed at the achievement of the policy objectives or directives of the politicians. However, the proponents of this linear approach look at education policy implementation as the 'execution of education policy objectives'. Concerning the methods of education policy analysis, this framework no doubt provides a hierarchical approach of education policy analysis as well as the analytical tools for key players to use in the regulating, measuring and controlling the policy processes.

From Stofile's (2008, p. 38) perspective, the education policy implementation that is planned in line with this model follows sequential steps like: "establishing implementation structures; designing a programme that incorporates task sequences and clear statements of objective;

developing performance standards and building in monitoring and control devices to ensure that the programme proceeds as intended.” The implementation analysis located within the confines of this model, focuses on the factors that can be centrally controlled and easily manipulated by policy designers. These factors according to Stofile (2008) are as follows: funding formulae; organisational structures; authority relationships among administrative units and administrative control. It is worth noting that a research conducted by Van Meter and Van Horn (1975) is a good example of the top-down approach. In this model, variables like policy standards and policy resources are seen as critical. In furtherance to the above, the outcomes of the best supported education policy initiatives depend eventually on what happens when the individual executors (implementers) throughout the policy system interpret the education policy (Pressman & Wildavsky, 2008). From this perspective, this might be the reason why the proponents of the top-down model are being accused of seeing education policy implementation as a solely administrative process, either by ignoring political aspects or trying to eliminate them.

3.8.2 Bottom-up approach of education policy implementation

In the bottom-up model, the proponents of this model such as Lipsky (1978), Hjern and Hull (1982), and Berman (2005) opine that education policy implementation starts from the bottom. Here, the model begins by mapping the network of players in the actual field where implementation is to take place and enquires from them about their goals, strategies, activities, and contact persons. In the words of Sabatier (2005), this provides a vehicle in which one moves from the ‘key players’ at the bottom to education policy makers at the top. The proponents of this model, particularly Elmore (1980), challenge the top-down model on the grounds that it is not an appropriate way of describing real life education policy implementation. More realistic comprehension of education policy implementation would benefit by looking at the policy from the perspective of the target audience (implementers) and the service providers. The proponents of this model are of the view that the smooth and successful implementation of policy depends solely on the ability of ‘grass root’ implementers than on the skill of central government executives. It is not out of place to submit that the bottom-up model is an excellent starting point in identifying the key players involved in the education policy field.

In spite of the appropriateness of this model, there are some pockets of criticisms levelled against it. Anti-bottom-up model scholars such as Matland (1995), Gornitzka and Stensaker

(2005) argue that the model underestimates the role of the education policy objectives. Matland went on to say that in a democratic environment, education policy control should be exercised by central players whose mandates come from their accountability to their voters. The bottom-up model looks at education policy implementation as an integral part of the education policy making process and regards policy implementation as iterative processes (Dyer, 1999). The end of the discussion of the conceptual framework opened up another issue of theoretical framework that underpins this study. This is the focus of the next section.

3.9 Theoretical framework

I did explain at the introductory part of this chapter that I shall deal with the theoretical framework in the second part of chapter three. Therefore, this section begins by conceptualising what theoretical framework is, and establishes the purpose for having a scaffold in this research study. The importance of theoretical framework in a contemporary historical study like the one under investigation will be enumerated. Thereafter, the theoretical scaffold (governmentality theory) which is used in the discussion of the research findings is presented and discussed.

The question in the mind of many researchers is what a theoretical framework is. In a research study, a theoretical framework gives the researcher a chance to examine and distinguish relevant portions of the events being investigated, despite certain aspects of the events being hidden (Tavallaei & Abutalib, 2010). In a similar vein, a theoretical framing is a practical theory of 'social' or 'psychological' process that exists at diverse levels and equally relates to the intellectual capacity of events (Anfara & Mertz, 2006). For researchers, most research studies are founded on questions. The researcher or the writer of the report not only questions, but ponders and develops thoughts or theories on what the likely answers could be. Thereafter, the thoughts and theories are grouped together into themes that frame the subject. In other words, a theoretical framework is a process of identifying a core set of connectors within a topic and showing how they fit together or are related in some way to the subject (Torraco, 1997). From the different meanings of theoretical framework given above, three issues are of great importance, namely: a theory is a set of propositions consisting of defined and interrelated constructs; it sets out the interrelation among a set of variables (construct) and in so doing, presents a systematic view of the phenomena described by the variables, and lastly, explained phenomena which enable the researcher to predict certain variables from other variables (Omirin & Falola, 2011).

The purpose of a theoretical framework in any research has been advanced by many researchers. For instance, Merriam (2001) avows that theories are formulated to explain, predict, and understand phenomena and, in most cases, to challenge and extend existing bodies of knowledge within the limits of the critical bounding assumptions. In any research study, a theoretical framework introduces and describes the theory which explains why the research problem under study exists, that is, why things are the way they are. Herek (2011, p.23) listed four purposes of theoretical framework to include: connecting the researcher to existing knowledge; permitting the researchers to move from simply describing a phenomenon observed to generalising about various aspects of that phenomenon; it specifies which key variables influence a phenomenon of interest and it alerts the researcher to examine how those key variables might differ in varied populations. In another instance, the purpose of a theoretical framework is to provide a specific perspective, or lens, through which to examine the research study (Camp, 2001). Additionally, a theoretical framework is designed to provide the underlying principles or framework upon which the study could be carried out (Omirin & Falola, 2011). Furthermore, the theoretical framework includes the concepts that have been proved and found relevant and reliable to the work at hand. Also, it shows the research boundaries and structure on which to work. It helps in understanding what has been done, and what needs to be covered or discovered in the field of study.

The purpose of theoretical framework as explained above led to the reason why it is needed in this study. Merriam (2001, p. 42) gives the reason for the need of a theoretical framework in any research study by saying that “we would be oblivious of the tracks to follow without theoretical framework, many believe mistakenly that theory has no place in a qualitative study. Actually, it would be difficult to imagine a study without a theoretical framework.” In light of this, the theoretical framework was used to limit the scope of the relevant data by focusing on specific variables and conceptualising the specific viewpoint (framework) that I will take in analysing and interpreting the data I have gathered from the field. Again, it will be used to understand the concepts and variables according to the given definitions, and also building knowledge by validating or challenging my theoretical assumptions. Apart from assisting me to understand clearly the variable (nomadic education policies) of the research study, it will also provide me with the general framework for my data analysis and discussion of the findings. Based on the importance of the theoretical framework discussed above in this study, I would say that the theoretical framework for this study revolves around the Foucauldian theory of governmentality and it has been discussed below.

3.9.1 Foucauldian theory of governmentality

The main reason for conducting this study was to investigate the history of nomadic education policies in Nigeria between 1986 and 2009. In the light of this study aim, the theoretical framework informing this study was the theory of governmentality as posited by Michel Foucault in 1978. Scholars such as Ballard (1998), Dean (1998), O'Malley (1998), and Fimyar (2008) have justified the adoption of governmentality theory in their studies. To mention but a few, Dean (1998) adopted governmentality in her work on 'administering asceticism'. Fimyar's (2008) study on 'using governmentality as a conceptual tool in education policy research' was another instance where governmentality was adopted. Morton (2010) researched on 'why governmentality should matter in the study of pastoral development'. The need for the adoption of governmentality in conducting these studies was based on the grounds that the theory is closely associated with marginalised groups such as the sick, uneducated, insane, unemployed, gay men, HIV/AIDS infected people, and so on (Fimyar, 2008). Similarly, this theory was out to examine how government uses the 'state apparatus' to control and shape her population. It is a fact that nomads have the same characteristics (uneducated, sick and so on) listed above. Therefore, this informed the use of the theory in this study. Aside from that, another reason why governmentality theory was adopted in this study was to shed light on how a 'nation state' controls and guides the nomads through enactment of nomadic education policies. Finally, governmentality theory was deemed necessary in this study so as to build knowledge by validating or challenging the theoretical assumptions on nomadic education policies in Nigeria. I will start by looking at the meaning of the concept 'governmentality' from a Foucauldian viewpoint.

The concept 'governmentality' was first coined and used by Michel Foucault in his lectures in 1978. This concept of governmentality in Foucault's writing invariably depends on his conception of 'government' which in turn stems from his earlier rethinking of concepts of power (Morton, 2010). The notion is derived from the French word *gouvernemental* meaning concerning government (Senellart, 2004). This concept 'governmentality' is a combination of two concepts namely; 'governs' and 'mentality'. First, the concept 'governs' refers to ways in which the 'sovereign state' controls or shapes her citizens, while the concept 'mentality' focuses on how and what citizens that are controlled or shaped reason or think about the manner they are governed.

In developing the concept of 'governmentality' Foucault used two words of government and rationalities to comprehend the domain in which the sovereign state controls and shapes its population. In doing so Foucault (1991) uses governmentality to refer to 'conduct of conduct' or the government's power to act on the actions of others. Foucault (1991, p. 102-103) says that what he refers to as governmentality is twofold:

First, the ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power, which has as its target population, as its principal form of knowledge political economy, and as its essential technical means apparatuses of security. Second, the tendency which, over a long period and throughout the West, has steadily led towards the pre-eminence over all other forms (sovereignty, discipline, etc.) of this type of power which may be termed government, resulting, on the one hand, in the formation of a whole series of governmental apparatuses, and, on the other, in the development of a whole complex of savours.

This conceptualisation suggests that governance takes place from a distance as the power to influence the actions of others. This notion of governmentality implies that the government is acting on the conduct of people, that is, how one governs the self (Niesche, 2013). However, as Dean (1999, p.12) put it; "government concerns not only practices of government but also practices of the self. To analyse government is to analyse those practices that try to shape, sculpt, mobilise and work the choices, desires, aspirations, needs, wants and lifestyles of individuals and groups." The theory of governmentality, aside from focusing on the practices of government, equally looks at the relations between the forms and rationalities of power and the processes of subjectivation (that is, the formation of governable population) and subjectification (that is, formation of individual existence) by problematising the issue of who would govern, what governance is and who is governed and how (Foucault, 1994). Foucault's governmentality is a form of governmental control aimed at guiding and shaping the conduct of her citizens (Gordon, 1991). Foucault used the word 'governmentality' to show ways in which a sovereign nation uses the state apparatus to control and dominate her population with little or no consent for them (Simons, 2004).

Foucault's ideas on governmentality highlight both the practices by which modern governments exercise sovereignty over their populations and the rationalities by which these practices appear normal (Christie & Sidhu, 2006). In his history of governmentality, however, Foucault tries to show how the modern sovereign state and the modern autonomous individual co-determine each other's emergence or existence. In Foucault's (2010a, p. 364)

words: “We pass from an art of governing whose principles were derived from the traditional virtues (wisdom, justice, liberality, respect for divine laws and human customs) or from common skills (prudence, reflected decisions, care in surrounding oneself with the best advisors) to an art of governing that finds the principles of its rationality and the specific domain of its applications in the state.”

Fleshing out Foucault’s position on governmentality, Lemke (2007) opines that governmentality no longer refers to a mythological symbolic practice that depoliticizes social relations. Instead, it represents the rationalisation of government practice in the exercise of political sovereignty. Governmentality is concerned with linking political rationalities to subjectivities, that is, the governing principles through which people think, talk, speak and act as self-responsible individuals (Popkewitz, 2000). The analytics of governmentality explore the practices of government in their complex relations to the different avenues that ‘truth’ is known in cultural, political and social spheres (Kelly, 2009).

Fundamentally, governmentality in its broad meaning stands for the activity of the government which rationalises its existence through the knowledge of sciences integral to the state and through the forms of sovereign power in the course of history and delegated to the variety of institutions and mechanisms (Fimyar, 2003). The semantic linking of governing and mode of thought indicates that it is not possible to study the technologies of power without an analysis of the political rationality underpinning them (Lemke, 2001). Foucault did conceive of the state as an instrument and effect of political strategies that define the external borders between the public and the private, the state and civil society, and also define the internal structure of political institutions and apparatuses (Lemke, 2007). Therefore, governmentality as a concept identifies the relation between the government of the state (politic) and government of the self (morality), the construction of the subject (genealogy of the subject) with the formation of the state (genealogy of the state) (Fimyar, 2003). For Foucault (1997) the art of government is also concerned with the issue of security which stabilises the fragile link between rulers and ruled, rendering it legitimate, identifies dangers, and develops the art of manipulating relations of force that will allow the state to ensure the protection of his principality (Olssen, Codd & O’Neill, 2004).

In another vein, Foucault (2010b) introduced the term governmentality in order to study the autonomous individual’s capacity for self-control and how this is linked to the form of

political rule and economic capacity. From all indications, Foucault's focus on processes of subjectivation could not be seen as an abandonment of problematic of power, instead, it displays a continuation and correction of his older work, that renders it more precise and concrete (Lemke, 2000). In fact, Foucault is using this finding to improve upon his initial study which borders on subjectivity to docile bodies, in which he emphatically looked at the processes of discipline. It is pertinent here to state that Foucault's concept of government is applied towards the investigation of relations between technologies of the self and technologies of domination. The general meaning of governmentality as given by these scholars becomes clear that the liberal element of the rule governing through the idea of free conduct, self-awareness and self-limitation is a predominant feature that marks it out from other types of power or disciplinary rule (Joseph, 2009). The processes in which the country's population are controlled are multidimensional and they involve to a great extent the use of governmental power as discussed below.

3.9.2 Foucauldian governmental power

For Foucault (1982) governmental power is regarded as ubiquitous, located in everyday and unremarkable practice. Governmental power from Foucault's view is intimately related to knowledge and it is not negative or repressive but productive. Furthermore, power is equally related with the constitution of the subjects of power through the formation of new identities such as school children, producers, and migrants, among others. From the Foucauldian position, the features of productive nature of power lie in the metaphor of 'capillary power' which in the case of this study permeates on how people learn to live and work with others. In Foucault's view, power is separated from violence. It is a process of shaping the conduct of others. In Murrayli's (2007, p.17) view "to govern means to act on the actions of subjects who retain the capacity to act otherwise." In a Foucauldian perspective, power has to be viewed from the specificities of its function which are 'technologies' or 'practices' of power. From all indications, the use of 'government' by Foucault as an alternative to power is evident in most of his works (Ollsen, 2006). Furthermore, the linking of government (and more broadly power) with the forms of knowledge is beyond doubt an important maker of the governmentality approach (Morton, 2010).

Similarly, people are not governed only by the official laws of the country, rather, they are also ruled by policies made by various tiers of government, local regulations, property rights constructed and recognised in different ways and various ways that knowledge concerning

them and their habitat is defined, collected and fed back to them (Morton, 2010). Examples of these government technologies of rule are: language, curriculum, admission education, examination performance evaluation, and school uniform policies. These education policies are government apparatuses used for shaping and controlling her citizens.

Within the context of international governmentality, however, the activities of some international institutions such as the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, United Nations, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation and some international Non-Governmental Organisations towards some sovereign states are a clear exhibition of power (Dean, 1999). In most African countries, formal education is substantially funded by international organisations (Altbach & Knight, 2007). Like the popular adage that says ‘he who pays the piper calls the tune’ these international organisations without coming to terms with the needs and aspirations of the people roll out different ‘codes of conduct’ on how funds provided are to be expended (Altbach & Knight, 2007). It is pertinent to say that governmentality is not only about how a sovereign state and government act on populations, but also how global institutions (IMF, World Bank, UN, and AU, among others) act on states. In agreement to the above assertion, Fougner (2008, p. 308) has the following to say:

While much governmentality research has focused on how neoliberalism has come to inform multiple practices on the part of state authorities, the argument here is that states are themselves increasingly subjected to a form of neoliberal governance in the contemporary world political economy – in the sense that they are constituted and acted upon as subjects with a rationality derived from arranged forms of entrepreneurial and competitive behaviour.

This prompted Gupta (1998) to say that we may be witnessing the birth of a new regime of discipline in which governmentality is unhitched from the nation-state to be instituted anew on the global scale.

3.9.3 Education policies as governmentality

Though Foucault’s governmentality theory is now historical, his focus on the formation of subjectivity through a range of different government apparatuses, techniques and practices continues to contain relevant conceptual understandings for contemporary situations such as education policies (Niesche, 2013a). In the contemporary Australian society, the use of English language in all schools was marked by increasing control which the government tried to exercise over her people. While it is certainly the case that language policy needs to be

understood within social, cultural, geographical, economic, and political contexts, an important argument at this point is that there are also striking continuities in modes of governance that have developed (Niesche, 2013). As Smith (1987, p.32) pointed out in his study of education in Papua New Guinea, “within the country the type of education provided for peoples can be seen more as serving the requirements of those who provided it rather than those for whom it was provided.” Therefore, the introduction of language policy was a technical way of subjecting the population to both political and social control in the contemporary state of Papua New Guinea. In Kenya, subjects such as social studies, civics and history taught in schools were aimed at producing (shaping people conduct) the type of population who would be imbued with the values and act in the interests of a society based on their respect for democracy, equality, human dignity, life and social justice (Smith, 1987). From the governmentality viewpoint, it is evident that the national curriculum policy players make use of Foucauldian ‘technologies of the self’ and ‘governance of the soul’ principles in the construction of new governance of the Kenyan population.

In another circumstance, governmentality theory played out in Mali. This happened when the government directed all heads of schools to conduct examination performance evaluation in their schools. The school evaluation was designed to provide the government with information regarding the children and the overall school performance. This directive by government was carried out by all school managers. The managers, in turn, directed departmental heads in their schools to implement the government directive. This directive was further passed down to the class teachers by the departmental heads for implementation. In 2004, teachers began the implementation of examination performance evaluation policy in the country. In the words of Suspitsyna (2010), this is a form of accountability that is exercised as a neo-liberal rationality that produces new subjectivities heavily informed by business ethics, new managerialism and a type of bio-power that forms and stimulates individual’s desire for choice as a consumer. However, in the context of disciplinary society, formal schools are still represented as a closely regulated enclosure for the preparation of productive, democratic and progressive citizens. From Niesche’s (2011) point of view, individuals (school children, teachers, heads of departments, schools’ managers) are enclosed, supervised, and subjected to examinations, normalisation and hierarchical observation, which in my view is the ‘exhibition’ of governmentality.

3.9.4 Governmentality theory: critique

The Foucauldian theory of governmentality is not adopted without criticisms. In fact, there are some pockets of criticism regarding the application of this theory. Foucault himself was at 'peace' with a series of criticisms from most of his works, particularly governmentality. In showing an understanding with his critics, Foucault (1998, p.25) argues that:

A critique is not a matter of saying that things are not right as they are. It is a matter of pointing out on what kinds of assumptions, what kinds of familiar, unchallenged, unconsidered modes of thought, the practices that we accept rest. Criticism is a matter of flushing out that thought and trying to change it to show that things are not as self-evident as we believed, to see that what is accepted as self-evident will no longer be accepted as such. Practising criticism is a matter of making facile gesture difficult.

For Foucault, the critique is aimed at identifying and exposing the unrecognised forms of power in people's lives, to expose and move beyond the forms in which they are entrapped in relation to the diverse ways that we act and think (Olssen, Codd & O'Neill, 2004). Foucault himself was conscious of areas of difficulty in his work (governmentality). Because of a series of criticisms on the theory of governmentality, Foucault (1991, p.42) responded by saying that; "well, do you think I have to work like a dog all those years to say the same thing and not be changed?"

Most of Foucault's critics such as Garland (1999), Kerr (1999), Larner (2000), and Larner and Walter (2004) argue that the governmentality theory is abstract and pregnant with confusion. A scholar in the person of Garland (1999) particularly criticised the language used in governmentality theory, in which he says that some of the concepts used are neologisms, others are historical in nature, while others are conventional terms with somewhat unconventional meanings. In furtherance to the limitations of governmentality theory, Dean (1999, p.16) has this to say: "I see the shortcomings of governmentality as a concept due to the fact that everything can potentially be gathered under its banner, as it is hardly possible to delineate a single process in society or self which is not influenced by the 'conduct of conduct' be it liberal or authoritarian."

Another of Foucault's critics regarding the theory of governmentality is Derek Kerr. He (Kerr) says that the concept of governmentality only views power as 'top-down processes' and did not account for the struggle and transformative power processes. Kerr (1999) argues that the theory of governmentality simply ignores individuals' subjective experiences and choices. This scholar

(Kerr) went on say that the theory of governmentality places too much of an emphasis on the way institutions of power shape human population. The idea of governmentality 'beheads social subjectivity', and gives rise to the notion that humanity can never escape from systems of power and governmentality (Kerr, 1999).

Relating to the limitation of governmentality theory in this study, it is worthy to mention that the theory only focuses on the 'governmental power' without necessarily looking at power from the subjects. The rejection or 'resistance' to government's laws or policies by the citizens was another form of governmentality. On the issue of resistance, Foucault (1995, p.785) has this to say:

Maybe the target nowadays is not to discover what we are but to refuse what we are. We have to imagine and to build up what we could be to get rid of this kind of political 'double bind', which is the simultaneous individualisation and totalisation of modern power structures.... We have to promote new forms of subjectivity through the refusal of this kind of individuality which has been imposed on us for several centuries.

It is my view that the Foucauldian governmentality theory was out to open things up, not to close them down, to simplify, not to complicate, not to police the boundaries of the oeuvre but to multiply lines of investigation and possibilities for thought.

3.9.5 Applicability to the study

Foucault's theory of governmentality is useful in offering tools to understand the exercise of power and authority on the nomads. For Foucault (1991) government is a plural and multidimensional undertaking which takes into account formal and informal processes through which individuals are managed, and populations are governed. In other words, governmentality involves a conception of power that operates at multiple points throughout the social network, a conception of the management of the population as central to the task of government, and a conception of continuous surveillance as a means of control. Here, Foucault (1991) looks at the notion of government as a certain way of striving to reach social and political ends by acting in a calculated manner upon the forces, activities and relations of the individuals that constitute a population.

According to Miller and Rose (1990), one of the principal features of modern expression of power is in the context of management. The route of management to accomplish desired ends is central to the theory of governmentality, however, one of whose principal instruments is education policy. The formulation of education policies provides clear examples of the technologies of government

through which authorities of various sorts have sought to shape, normalise and instrumentalise the conduct, thought, decisions and aspirations of population in order to achieve the objectives they consider desirable (Miller & Rose, 1990).

In applying Foucault's theory of governmentality, I was able to identify and discuss the dominant nomadic education policies that government used as instrument of coercion, as well as explain ways in which they are applied. Importantly, I was able to discuss government's overt and covert intentions in the promulgation/enactment of nomadic education policies. In essence, Foucault's theory of governmentality in this thesis is to provide the lens through which I hoped to understand ways in which the Nigerian government dominates, controls, guides and shapes the nomadic people.

3.10 Conclusion

I began this chapter by explaining what conceptual framework is, spelling out the purposes of the concept and stating why some concepts are relevant to this study. To refresh our mind, I did say that conceptual framework is needed in this thesis because it has the potential usefulness as a tool to scaffold research and assist in making meaningful and empirical findings. Concepts such as policy, education policy and education policy making processes which form the conceptual framework were discussed and their appropriateness in this study clearly highlighted. Furthermore, I explained the two approaches, that is, top-down and bottom-up models adopted in the implementation of education policy. It was submitted that in all cases, the top-down model is adopted in the formulation and implementation of education policies as in the case of nomadic education policies globally.

On the issue of theoretical framework, I explained what the concept is, its purpose and why the concept is relevant to this thesis. I did say that my theoretical framework apart from assisting to understand clearly the variable (nomadic education policies) of the research study, theoretical framework also provided me with the general framework for data analysis. I also stated that governmentality theory in this study was used to describe ways in which government uses various technologies of rule to guide, shape and control her population globally. Examples such as language, curriculum, and admission policies among others were explained as possible ways that government uses to govern her citizens. The conclusion of the chapter three hereby brought to chapter four of the thesis, which focused on the research

design, methodology and methods used in conducting the study. This is the focus of the next chapter.

Chapter four

Research design and methodology

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I critically looked into the conceptual and theoretical frameworks developed for this study. However, based on the key research questions developed in chapter one to guide this study, the present chapter focuses on the research methodology and methods that were followed to carry out this study. First and foremost, the chapter will start by discussing the meaning of research methodology. Thereafter, as one of the components of research methodology I intend to explain research design adopted for the study. Furthermore, the chapter will look at the research approach, the paradigm adopted, the ontological and epistemological assumptions I will be making and the ethical considerations adhered to in the study. Still in this chapter, I will elaborate on the research methods adopted in the study. Lastly, the method of data analysis adopted in this study will be unpacked.

4.2 Research methodology

Qualitative researchers such as Kathori (2004), Rajasekar, Philominathan and Chinnathembi (2006), Grit (2010), Henning, VanRensburg and Smit (2011), among others, have come up with various definitions of research methodology and why it is important in qualitative research. For instance, Henning, van Rensburg and Smit (2011, p.36) state that research methodology is the coherent group of methods that complement one another and that have the “goodness of fit” to deliver data and findings that will reflect the research question and suit the research purpose. Another view is that research methodology is the science of studying how research is to be carried out (Rajasekar, Philominathan & Chinnathembi, 2006). In turn, Kathori (2004) refers to the research methodology as a research decision taken within the framework of specific determinants which is unique to the research study. A different definition is provided by Grix (2010) who espouses the view that a research methodology is concerned with the logic of scientific enquiry, in particular with investigating the potential and limitations of particular techniques or procedures.

From the perspective of the different conceptualisations of a research methodology advanced by the above-mentioned scholars it is clear that they have different views of what a research methodology is. In my view, the four meanings of research methodology discussed above have some degree of differences. For instance, Henning, van Rensburg and Smit (2011) look at research methodology in the context of the collection of methods adopted by a researcher

in pursuance of his/her research problem under investigation. On the other hand, Rajasekar, Philominathan and Chinnathembi (2006) emphasise that a research methodology is a scientific way in which a research study is conducted. In other words what the researcher focuses on is the systematic manner in which certain research methods are adopted in conducting a research study. Here 'a systematic manner' means that the research is structured with specified steps to be taken in a specified sequence in accordance with the well-defined set of rules. Kathori's (2004) position is different from the afore-mentioned. He looks at research methodology in the context of a particular decision taken by a researcher which is based on certain dynamics such as, among others, a research problem, research questions, and research design. However, Grix (2010) went a step further by arguing that the term 'research methodology' pertains to the science and study of methods and the assumptions about the manner in which knowledge is produced. Grix's use of the term 'logic' implies that a research study is guided by the rules of logical reasoning such as induction and deduction.

Drawing from the meanings of research methodology given by these scholars, I would argue that a research methodology is not only a way of scientifically solving the research problem, but it also involves the various steps adopted in conducting the study, along with the underlying logic behind them. The steps I have taken in conducting the study were specifically determined by certain variables such as the problem under investigation (history of nomadic education policies), the evidence (oral history and archival materials) used in conducting the study and in the context of time which is between 1986 and 2009. The meaning of research methodology as used in this study led to another important issue which is the need for the research methodology in this study.

The need for a clear research methodology in any research endeavour, such as the one under investigation, has been emphasised by many qualitative researchers. In fact, it is important for a researcher to design a research methodology for the research problem identified. It is worthy to note that even if the research method considered in two research problems are the same the research methodology would possibly be different. Research methodology aids the reader to know why a researcher wants to do research in a particular way as it explains why a researcher did what he/she did (Grix, 2010). Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011) argue that a research methodology enables a researcher to write about what he/she did and he/she did not do, and why these decisions were made. A research methodology significantly exposes the weaknesses or limitations of the research as well as the strengths of study, particularly in

the area of data gathering and analysis (Fox & Bayat, 2007). This assertion was supported by Strydom and Bezuidenhout (2014) who claim that having a clear research methodology helps in the explanation of the type of evidence the researcher intends to collect, the type of research instruments used, ways in which the data would be collected and the approach the researcher would adopt in analysing his/her data.

In this study, the need for a research methodology, apart from assisting in the choice of sources of data which are both primary and secondary sources, also aided in the technique adopted in gathering oral evidence which is the purposive technique. Furthermore, the research methodology helped me in my choice of data collection which is archival materials and oral history. Similarly, the method of data analysis adopted in this study was significantly influenced by the choice of research methodology. The working conceptualisation of the research methodology outlined above, led to the research design adopted.

4.3 Research design

One of the most difficult problems often faced by research students is the issue of adopting an appropriate research design. As a doctoral candidate, the task of adopting an appropriate and acceptable research design for this study was very challenging. To overcome this challenge, I consulted and dialogued with a myriad of literature such as Carspecken and Apple (1992), Docherty and Sandelowski (1999), Flick (2005), Creswell (2009), Silverman (2013), among others. I did not stop at reviewing the literature only, but also employed the services of critical friends, with whom we constantly brainstormed on the issue before arriving at an appropriate research design. In light of the above, the research design adopted for this study revolves around the following: interpretive paradigm, qualitative approach, ontological and epistemological assumptions, and historical research. This is expounded in more detail in the latter part of this section.

The reason for the adoption of this research design in this study was based on a range of factors such as: the nature of the research problem under investigation, key research questions developed, relevant literature, and the nature of data collected, among others. Flick (2009) argues that the topic of the research itself and the kind of research questions developed are the two major factors that influence the choice of research design in a study. In agreement with this assertion, Fox and Bayat (2007) opine that in selecting an appropriate research

design for a study four significant issues influence its choice, namely: the research problem, research questions, literature and the type of data for the study.

A good research study relies on the quality of the research design adopted. This is because the quality of any research project would be enhanced by a solid research design (Silverman, 2013). The question is what a research design is in this study. In my view, every researcher is a designer. This will be explained by means of analogy. In a profession such as town planning, a town planner would diligently structure and come up with a clear layout of the city before the actual commencement of the build-up of the city (Rugg & Petre, 2007). This analogy informs the importance of design in our lives. In the educational sphere, however, researchers would not commence with data collection of any kind without an appropriate research design because embarking on such a mission would be an effort in futility/a flawed exercise. In any research study, the adoption of an appropriate research design is a panacea that road-maps the study under investigation up to its logical conclusion.

The concept of research design has been discussed by many qualitative researchers. A critical look at the literature indicates that there are various ways in which qualitative researchers understand research design. Therefore, since this study falls within the qualitative research paradigm, I would look at the meaning of research design within the confines of qualitative research. Nworgu (1991), Denzin and Lincoln (2000), Babbie and Mouton (2007), Morrison (2009), Creswell (2012), Silverman (2013), Creswell (2013), McMillan and Schumacher (2014), among others, have come up with various meanings of research design. For instance, Nworgu (1991) argues that a research design is a plan or blueprint which specifies how data relating to a given problem should be collected and analysed. Similarly, a research design is a plan or structured framework of how one intends conducting the research process in order to solve the research problem (Babbie & Mouton, 2007). From Babbie and Mouton's assertion, the methodology and methods that a researcher adopts in conducting his/her research is what research design stands for.

What I inferred from the above argument is that the research design provides a plan that indicates how the research is to be conducted in a manner that answers the research questions posed. Research design is a blueprint of research that deals with four problems, namely: what questions to study, what data is relevant, what data to collect and how to analyse the data (McMillan & Schumacher, 2014). This view gives credence to the appropriate and acceptable

choice of research design since this will act as a guide in arriving at workable research questions. In furtherance to the above assertion, a particular research design informs the researcher of the importance of certain data and the nature of the said data to the researcher's study. The research methods that will be employed in the analysis of data rely on the type of research design adopted. From the above, we can infer that a research design is a plan for collecting and analysing data that will make it possible for the researcher to answer whatever research questions he/she has posed. The design of an investigation/research focuses on almost all aspects of the research from the very minute details of data collection are discussed to the techniques of data analysis (Ragin, 2007). This leads to the issue of the interpretive paradigm used in the study.

4.4 Interpretive paradigm

The word 'paradigm' comes from a Greek word *paradeigma*. This word was used for the first time in English in the 15th century to mean 'an example or pattern'. For over 400 years, the term 'paradigm' has been used in the English language to mean the pattern of reflections that are used to sort verbs, nouns and other parts of speech into groups. This situation continued until the 1960s when David Baltimore used the word 'paradigm' to refer to a theoretical framework in his research work on cancer. It was not until 1972 that Thomas Kuhn used the term 'paradigm' to mean 'a broad view or perspective of something'. To flesh up Kuhn's view on paradigm, Filstead (1979) conceptualised paradigm as a set of interrelated assumptions about the social world which provides a philosophical and conceptual framework for the organised study of the world. A paradigm is thus a world view, a general perspective, and a way of breaking down the complexity of the real world (Patton, 1990). In a similar manner, a paradigm is an interpretative framework, which is guided by a set of beliefs and feelings about the world, how it should be understood and studied (Guba, 1990).

Guba and Lincoln (2000), and Healy and Perry (2000) went a step further to argue that a paradigm consists of fundamental assumptions in relation to the world, the place of the individual in it, and the relationship between the world and the researcher. Healy and Perry's view on the paradigm was amplified by Terre-Blanche and Durrheim (2007) who argued that a paradigm is an all-encompassing system of interrelated practice and thinking that define for researchers the nature of their enquiry. The position held by Terre-Blanche and Durrheim, therefore, makes a paradigm to be regarded as a pattern of beliefs and practices that regulate inquiry within a discipline by providing lenses, frames and processes through which

investigation is accomplished (Shuttleworth, 2008). It addresses a fundamental assumption which is taken on faith by a researcher. Again, it is a framework which contains all commonly accepted views about a subject, a structure of what direction research should take and how it should be performed. Additionally, a research paradigm is a set of fundamental assumptions and beliefs as to how the world is perceived which then serves as a thinking framework that guides the behaviour of the researcher (Jonker & Pennink, 2010). What is important to understand at this point is that, by following a particular paradigm, researchers adopt a specific way of studying phenomena relevant to their field. Knowing what paradigm or research tradition a researcher subscribes to is very important. This is because it determines what questions are considered worthy of investigation and what processes are required for these questions to be acceptable (du Plooy-Cilliers, 2014).

Aside from the different meanings of paradigm highlighted above, the issue of the need for a paradigm in research has been highlighted by scholars such as Dill and Romiszowski (1997), Denzin and Lincoln (2003), and Ponterotto (2005). The need for a paradigm in the study includes the following: defining how the world works, how knowledge is extracted from this world, and how one is to think, write, and talk about this knowledge, defining types of questions that would be asked, and the methodologies to be used in answering, to decide what is published and what is not published, and to structure the world of the academic worker by providing its meaning and significance (Dill & Romiszowski, 1997). In furtherance to the above, the need for a paradigm in a study is to select and guide the researcher in philosophical assumptions about the research and in the selection of tools, instruments, participants and methods used in the study (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). In other words, research paradigm sets the context for an investigator's study (Ponterotto, 2005). In this study, however, a paradigm was needed in order to develop clear philosophical assumptions, contextualise and also aid in the application of an appropriate methodology and methods for the study. On this premise, therefore, I decided to adopt the interpretive paradigm for this study and this is unpacked below.

Historically, interpretivism has its roots in hermeneutics, which is the study of the theory and practice of interpretation. An interpretive researcher assumes that "our knowledge of reality is gained only through social construction such as language, consciousness, shared meanings, documents, tools and other artefacts" (Klein & Myers, 1999, p.69). The common trend of the interpretive paradigm is that a researcher starts out with an assumption that access to reality is

only through social construction such as language, consciousness and shared meanings. The basic assumptions of interpretive researchers is that human life can only be understood from within; social life is a distinctively human product and the human mind is the purposive source or origin of meaning. Consequently, human behaviour is affected by knowledge of the social world and the social world does not exist independently of human knowledge (Nieuwenhuis, 2012).

In addition, the purpose of using the interpretive paradigm in any research was to develop a greater understanding of how people make sense of the context in which they live and work (Terre-Blanche, Kelly & Durrheim, 2007). It focuses on the holistic perspective of the person and environment which is more congruent with the field of history of education. They (interpretive researchers) recognise that individuals with their own varied backgrounds, assumptions and experiences contribute to the on-going construction of reality existing in their broader social contexts through social interaction (Wahyuni, 2012). Furthermore, the interpretive paradigm is often associated more with methodological approaches which provide an opportunity for the research participants' voice, concerns and practices not only to be known but also heard. Interpretive researchers argue for the uniqueness of human inquiry. This assertion was strongly held by Erickson (2012, p.98) when he argued thus:

If people take action on the ground of their interpretation of the actions of others, then meaning interpretations themselves are causal for humans. This is not true in nature. This billiard ball does not make sense of its environment. But the human actor in society does and different humans make sense differently. They impute meaning to others' actions and take their own actions in accord with the meaning of interpretations they have made.

Hansen (2004) argues that the interpretivists are of the view that reality is constructed in the mind of the individual. Aside from that, the interpretive paradigm focuses on the way, in which a people understands and interprets a specific context as it is, rather than to generalise or replicate the study. In the interpretive paradigm, meaning is hidden and should be brought to the surface through deep reflection (Schwandt, 2000). Ponterotto (2005) held that the reflection can be stimulated by the interactive researcher-participant dialogue. Sciarra (1999) argues that the central tenet of interpretivist thinking is that they cannot partition out an objective reality from the person (research participant) who is experiencing, processing, and labelling the reality. Given this symbiotic relationship between the participant and the world, 'reality' as a separate entity cannot be subjected to observation, instead, it is interpreted as it

is or was (Ponterotto, 2005). Here, it is worthy to mention that interpretivists are of the view that knowledge and meaning are acquired through interpretation.

The proponents of interpretivists emphasise the goal of understanding the lived experiences from the point of view of those who live with it from day to day (Schwandt, 2000). Schwandt went further to say that every life experience occurs within a historical social reality. To interpretivists, knowledge is generated in the form of interpretive understanding that informs and guides practical judgement (Carr & Kemmis, 2003). However, the main problem with the interpretive paradigm is the belief in the possibility of achieving one acceptable interpretation.

Critics hold that there are no stable grounds for judgement, and thereby running the risk of foundering in a quagmire of subjectivism and relativism (Nieuwenhuis, 2012). Again, the interpretive paradigm abandons the scientific procedures of verification and therefore findings cannot be generalised to other situations. The shortcoming of the interpretive paradigm notwithstanding, the adoption of the interpretive paradigm in this study was to assist me to gain an in-depth understanding of why the Nigerian government enacted various nomadic education policies. In other words, the interpretive paradigm resonated well with this study since the intention was to find meaning within social interactions and within a specific context. Furthermore, I foregrounded context as a basic element that influences human behaviour, understanding and interpretation. The interpretive paradigm used in the research was informed by my ontology and epistemology. It is common knowledge in the academic environment that ontology is the starting point of all research, after which the epistemological position logically follows (Grix, 2002). A detail of my ontological and epistemological assumptions of the study are explained in the next section.

4.5 Ontological and epistemological assumptions

The word ‘ontology’ used today by social scientists was borrowed from philosophy. Ontology is a formal, explicit specification of a shared conceptualisation (Gruber, 1993). Ontology is seen by Ding and Foo (2001) as shared understanding of some domains of interest, which is often conceived as a set of classes (concepts), relations, functions, axioms and instances. From the perspective of Gruber’s assertion, ‘explicit’ therefore means the type of concepts used, and the constraints on their use are explicitly defined. On the issue of ‘conceptualisation’, it is an abstract model of phenomena in the world by having identified the relevant concepts of those phenomena (Ding & Foo, 2002). Fundamentally, ontology is

concerned with the question of how the world is built (Marsh & Furlong, 2002). Ontology focuses on what the form and nature of reality is, and what can be known about that reality. It is the claim and assumption made about the nature of social reality, claim about what exists, what it looks like, what units make it up and how these units interact with each other (Blaikie, 2000).

The principal ontological assumption in any social science research is that the social world and what passes as 'reality' is a projection of individual consciousness, an act of creative imagination and of dubious inter-subjective status (Morgan & Smircich, 1980). From all indications, reality in this context is masked by those human processes which judge and interpret the phenomenon in consciousness prior to the full understanding of the structure of the meaning it expresses (Bryman, 2001). Ontological assumption is concerned with what we believe constitutes social reality (Blaikie, 2000). 'Reality' in this case is socially and discursively constructed.

From the interpretivists' viewpoint, the social world is what people perceive it to be. It is fluid and fragile and changes as people's perceptions change (du Plooy-Cilliers, 2014). The ontological assumption of this study, therefore, is that reality is apprehendable in the form of multiple, intangible mental constructions, socially and experientially based, local and specific in nature and dependent for their form and content on the individual persons or groups holding the constructions (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Understandably, the use of the interpretive paradigm in this study lay in and provided the primary foundation on which the ontological assumption of the study was anchored.

Epistemology on the other hand is concerned with the theory of knowledge. In other words, it deals with what constitutes acceptable knowledge in the field of study (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2007). Grix (2002) argues that epistemology is concerned with how what is assumed to have existed can be known. However, the epistemological orientation in social research focuses on the knowledge-generation process and ways of developing new models or theories which are better than rival models and theories. This process of knowledge generation is continuously changing; it is never in a static or constant position. Epistemological assumptions in any research are concerned with how we know, with the nature of knowledge, with what constitutes knowledge, with where knowledge comes from

and whose knowledge it is, and with what it is possible to know and understand and represent (Wellington, Bathmaker, Hunt, McCulloch & Sikes, 2005).

The questions which are uppermost in the mind of any social phenomena researcher are: how do we know what we know? What is the state of the relationship between the knower or would-be knower, and what can be known? What counts as knowledge? From the interpretive paradigm which was adopted for this study, knowledge is established through the meanings that are attached to the phenomenon under investigation. Interpretivists believe that facts are not objective and neutral; rather, what is factual depends heavily on the context and people's interpretation of information (du Plooy-Cilliers, 2014). In other words, people can only assign appropriate meaning to an act if they take into consideration the social context in which the act occurs. Because interpretive researchers believe that truth is dependent on people's interpretation of the facts on the ground, they are not interested in generalisation of their results (Finlayson, 2007). As a result, the research methodology used is sensitive to the specific context and never generalised beyond the context in which the study is conducted. In my capacity as an interpretive researcher, the ontological and epistemological position of this study was to make sense of the various nomadic education policies enacted by the Nigerian government from 1986 to 2009. This led to a very important issue in this study which is the research approach.

4.6 Research approach

This study is located within the qualitative approach which is hereby explained below.

4.6.1 Qualitative approach

Most young researchers are often confronted with the problem of choosing an appropriate research approach for their study. In this case, this problem was quickly resolved based on the type of research design I adopted which influenced my choice as explained above. This study adopted a qualitative approach. Again, having gone through a myriad of scholarly works, I discovered that a greater number of late 20th century generation scholars such as Peter (1945) and Alkali (1991), among others, made use of the quantitative approach in conducting research on nomadic, aboriginal, and migrant farm-workers' education. For instance, Lar (2000) adopted percentage and multiple regressions to establish the correlation between nomads' participation in education and their involvement in political activities. In support of the assertion that quantitative methodology was used to conduct studies in

nomadic education in the late 20th century, Umar and Tahir (2000) avow that methodologically, an important feature of early works in nomadic education was the diversity of the methods used, which involved their heavy reliance on the quantitative technique. But in recent times, there is a total departure from the use of quantitative approach in nomadic education study to the qualitative approach. The works of scholars such as Danaher (1998), Tahir (1998), Cudworth (2010), Danaher, Cook, Danaher, Coombes, and Danaher (2013), among others, are a good example of the qualitative approach adopted in the study of nomadic education. Therefore, my adoption of the qualitative approach is in line with the contemporary trend used in the investigation of nomadic education not only in Nigeria but globally.

There are various ways in which researchers conceptualise qualitative research studies. Qualitative research means an exploration and understanding of the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem (Warren, 2001). Denzin and Lincoln (2000) argue that a qualitative study refers to a broad class of empirical procedures designed to describe and interpret the experiences of research participants in a context-specific setting. Qualitative researchers always look into human action from the perspective of the social actors themselves (Babbie & Mouton, 2007). Here, one issue is very clear in qualitative research and that is its emphasis on understanding, description and interpretation of social phenomena rather than merely explaining human behaviour. The qualitative approach is especially significant in studying the history of nomadic education policies in Nigeria. This is because it allowed me the chance to understand more deeply government's motives for the enactment of different nomadic policies for nomadic people. In other words, this approach was an effective choice as it emphasises the importance of context in studying the meaning embedded in the actions of the Nigerian government.

The qualitative research approach is characterised by some distinctive features. These features include: naturalistic inquiry, process, insider perspective, description and understanding, contextual interest, idiographic research strategy, and inductive approach (Babbie & Mouton, 2007). Concerning naturalistic inquiry, this is the study of a real world situation as it unfolds naturally, in a non-manipulative and non-controlling manner. The qualitative approach is often non-manipulative, which means that it tends to focus on situations and objects that are natural such as the one under investigation. The concept 'natural' connotes a normal course of events (Eisner, 1998) in which the events evolve. It

observes events and actions as they happen without any intervention or interference (Taylor & Bogdan, 1998). It is especially appropriate for this study since it unravels the motive which prompted the Nigerian government to enact different nomadic education policies. Meanwhile, the aim of most qualitative investigators is to blend in and become participants of the events that they investigate in the least interventionist way conceivable (Babbie & Mouton, 2007). Resting on the above premise, the reason for the history of nomadic education policies in Nigeria was best investigated by submerging myself in the process of the investigation.

Regarding the ‘process’, qualitative researchers emphasise on the process instead of simply concerning themselves with the outcome. The qualitative researcher is in the position to examine the rumblings and final explosion of the riot as events actually occur rather than afterward in a reconstruction of the same (Babbie & Mouton, 2007). The reconstruction of events in retrospect is at variance with the ideals of the investigator of the qualitative study method. In qualitative research, the researcher wants to understand how events take place as well as what they are. In this case, therefore, the history of nomadic education policies in Nigeria as it unfolded was better understood using the qualitative research approach. In other words, the motives and ways in which the Nigerian government enacted nomadic education policies between 1986 and 2009 are understood from qualitative perspectives.

From the position of an insider, the major characteristic of a qualitative study is the ability of this researcher to see events through the eyes of the actors. For a social scientist to embark on an investigation of social phenomenon, in most cases he/she has to be part and parcel of the phenomenon under investigation in order to have a clear understanding of events. In order to have a clear picture of the evolution of nomadic education policies in Nigeria, I was able to view them from the perspective of the stakeholders. Relating to this position of the phenomenologist roots of qualitative research, Taylor and Bogdan (1998, p. 26) submit:

The phenomenologist views human behaviour as a product of how people interpret their world. The task of the phenomenologist and the qualitative methodologist is to capture this process of interpretation. In order to grasp the meanings of a person’s behaviour, the phenomenologist attempts to see things from that point of view.

From the description and understanding perspective, a qualitative researcher knows what he/she always looks out for or what he/she is interested in describing events as they are in their natural setting or real world situation. A qualitative practitioner is committed to the

naturalistic perspective and to the interpretive understanding of human experience (Norton, 1995). In the same vein, every qualitative researcher believes that thick and rich descriptions of the social world are valuable (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). It is my view that qualitative practitioners rely heavily on rich and an in-depth description of events as they were. Moreover, a thick description is usually a lengthy description that captures the sense of actions as they occur, and places events in contexts that are understandable to the actors themselves (Babbie & Mouton, 2007). Therefore, giving meanings to nomadic education policies in Nigeria required a rich and in-depth description of the said policies. In other words, I relied heavily on thick, rich and in-depth descriptions of the history of nomadic education policies as they are.

For contextual interest (understanding in context), there is a strong affinity between textual interpretation and the epistemology of the behavioural science (Terre-Blanche, Kelly & Durrheim, 2007). The model of *verstehen* (understanding) which is the creation of Bleicher (1980) held that the meaning of a written text would be established through piecing together the context of the text's creation and thereby creating the meaning of the author's words. It is not only important to have a comprehensive understanding of the actor's specific communicative intentions. Eisner (1998) argues that it is necessary to include in the operation of *verstehen* a knowledge of the socio-historical and linguistic context in which the author worked. In social sciences, however, the meaning of human creations, words, actions and experiences can only be ascertained in relation to the contexts in which they occur (Terre-Blanche & Durrheim, 2007). As a qualitative practitioner, I do have preference for understanding nomadic education policies in their context.

From the idiographic research strategy point of view, a qualitative study focuses mainly on idiographic strategy because of its interest in the contextual understanding of events. It is unlike quantitative research that deals with nomothetic strategy whose aim is to search for empirical regularities of laws of human behaviour. Idiographic strategy examines a single event or case and its structural coherence with a larger context (Babbie & Mouton, 2007).

The identification of the distinction which exists between idiographic and nomothetic strategies has been clearly discussed in Windelband (1980, p.175) thus:

In their quest for knowledge of reality, the empirical sciences either seek the general in the form of the law of nature or the particular in the form of the historically defined

structure. On the one hand, they are concerned with the form which invariably remains constant. On the other hand, they are concerned with the unique, immanently defined content of the real event. Scientific thought is nomothetic in the former case and idiographic in the latter case.

Based on the above assertion, the history of nomadic education policies in Nigeria is specific and unique. Therefore, my interest here is in the description of the event as it is. In the context of inductive strategy, a qualitative researcher begins immersion in the natural setting, describing events as accurately as possible, as they occur or have occurred, and slowly but surely building second-order constructs, a hypothesis and ultimately a theory that will make sense of the observation (Babbie & Mouton, 2007). Summarily, the qualitative study focuses on observing, interviewing, recording, listening, describing, interpreting and appraising settings as they are (Silverman, 2013). With the features of qualitative research highlighted, the issue of the research style for the study arises and this has been unpacked below.

4.7 Historical research

In this thesis, the research style adopted is a contemporary historical research. This is based on the analysis and description of the events (nomadic education policies) that occurred in the past (Strydom & Bezuidenhout, 2014). Historical research is viewed as a study which is necessary for understanding the past occurrences, happenings and events (Osokoya, 1996). Williams (2007) captures historical research as a process of discovery and reconstitution. Le Roux (2011) in turn reports that it is the past that provides the material for its reconstitution. However, the said material has to be sought, selected and differentiated to separate ‘the important’ from ‘the unrelated’ (Tosh, 2010). In a similar vein, historical research is a systematised and objective enquiry into events, development and experiences of the past (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007). The knowledge of past occurrences, happenings and events depends on the transmission of information from those living at the time when these things occurred, happened or took place.

Historical enquiry describes what was. This process involves investigating, recording, analysing, and interpreting the events of the past for the purpose of discovering generalisations that are helpful in understanding the past, present and to a large extent, to anticipate the future. Ogunniyi (1992) conceptualises historical study as a systematic examination of the past so as to understand the present and to look at the future wisely. The principal goal of historical study, therefore, is to make a systematic and objective location,

evaluation, and synthesis of evidence in order to establish facts and draw conclusions about the past. Going by the meaning of historical research given above, it is evident that historical study focuses on the historical events both of the past and in the contemporary time. Therefore, the decision to adopt the historical approach in this study was because of the nature of the research problem which focuses on the trend of nomadic education policies in Nigeria over time. In other words, the genesis, evolution and various nomadic education policies enacted by government for its implementation from inception to the year 2009 is better understood using the historical approach.

4.8 Ethical considerations

All researchers are morally bound to conduct research in a manner that minimizes potential harm to those involved in the study. Therefore, to show that this study would not in any way cause harm emotionally, physically, and psychologically to participants, an ethical clearance certificate was obtained from the University of KwaZulu-Natal (see appendix 1). To be ethical is to conform and adhere to accepted professional practice. Though there are several approaches to ethical research behaviour (Fulford, Dickenson & Murray, 2002), there are four widely accepted philosophical principles that are applied in various ways to determine whether a research project adheres to all ethical issues (Beauchamp & Childress, 2001). The principles are: autonomy and respect for the dignity for participants, non-maleficence, beneficence, and justice (Beauchamp & Childress, 2001).

Concerning autonomy and respect for the dignity of participants, this is a philosophical principle which is precisely linked to the *Nuremberg code* (Wassenaar, 2007). The *Nuremberg code* is a set of research ethics which a researcher has to adhere to before research is performed on human beings. A researcher has the right to search for knowledge, truth and reality, but not at the expense of the right of another person (Mouton, 2006). Therefore, voluntary consent of the participant is absolutely essential and necessary. This means that the participant(s) involved should have legal capacity to give his/her consent without any form of force, duress or coercion. In behavioural sciences, informed consent connotes that the subject of an inquiry is adequately informed of the kind of that inquiry, of what is to be researched, and of the possible effects or ramifications of his/her involvement (Hammersley 2009). In compliance with the above, applied for and obtained Ethical Clearance (EC) from the university which authorised me to embark on the data collection. To have evidence that

participants' consents were obtained, I designed a consent form for all participants to read and sign.

The consent form was presented to each and every one of the respondents, who willingly and voluntarily consented to participating in the research by signing it. Before the consent form was signed, I also explained orally to my respondents that if at any point in the course of oral interactions their rights, privacy, dignity, confidentiality, and integrity are threatened they are at liberty to call off the interview. Fortunately, throughout the entire interview process none of the participants chose to withdraw from the study. On the issue of maintaining the participants' confidentiality, they were informed that their names were not going to be mentioned in the thesis. Christians (2008, p.194) highlights the hindrances that are associated with maintaining confidentiality in the research study, and consequently came up with the need to exercise extra caution in this regard:

Despite the signature status of privacy protection, watertight confidentiality has proved to be impossible. Pseudonyms and disguised locations often are recognised by insiders. What researchers consider innocent is perceived by participants as misleading or even betrayal. What appears neutral on paper is often conflictual in practice.

It is worthy to mention that aside from avoiding unnecessary court case(s) which might result from infringing on respondents' personal rights it was a great honour for me to maintain the confidentiality of all respondents as agreed.

Concerning non-maleficence, this philosophical principle supplements the autonomy principle and requires the researcher to ensure that no harm befalls research participants as a direct or indirect consequence of the research (Wassenaar, 2007). The 'harm' in this context connotes not only physical injuries to the respondents, but also the (perceived) wrongs mooted out to the participants. Macklin (2002) states that if someone were to covertly observe one's private behaviour and never disclose any details to the person, the person would not be harmed but would nevertheless have been wronged. In this study, no physical harm was envisaged and none occurred.

Despite the fact that the issue of not causing any harm to the participants was addressed by obtaining their consent, I went a step further by ensuring that the interviews were conducted in an atmosphere free from intimidation and coercion. This was done by assuring them that

their information would not be published in any of the national dailies. The respondents were only asked to relate all that they know about nomadic education policies in Nigeria. I tried as much as possible to restrict myself to the scope of the study in order to avoid causing psychological or emotional harm to participants.

On the issue of the principle of beneficence, this philosophical principle obliges the researcher to attempt to maximise the benefits that the research will afford to the participants in the research study (Wassenaar, 2007). The benefit being considered for the participants in this context was not monetary, instead, as Wassenaar (2007) put it, it was the benefit that the study might directly bring to participants or to society through knowledge gained. I did put machinery in motion to ensure that participants benefited from this research since they are one of the major stakeholders in the nomadic education programme in Nigeria. First, the benefit was in the area of putting a bound copy of this thesis in the public domain. By doing this, it is believed that participants and other stakeholders in nomadic education programme would tap from this resource material and redirect their energy by formulating and enacting nomads-friendly policies. Second, since all participants are scholars specialising in the nomadic education programme a promise was made that all the scholarly papers that would be published from the thesis in reputable journals would be sent to them.

On the area of principle of justice, the concept of 'justice' in a more generic sense requires that people receive what is due to them. In research, the principle of justice goes beyond a mere receiving or giving what is due to a person. Justice requires that a researcher treats research participants with fairness and equity during all stages of his/her research (Wassenaar, 2007). In the same vein, justice involves the fairness in the selection of the research participants, which should never be based on the convenience of the researcher (Babbie & Mouton, 2006). It is worthy to mention that I painstakingly selected participants with all degree of fairness and equity. The issue of bias in the selection of participants was completely annulled because of the attributes they possessed. For instance, the research study is on nomadic education policies and policy formulation normally radiates from top to the bottom. Therefore, it was appropriate to select participants around the top government officials that played or are currently playing a major role in nomadic education policies in Nigeria. In the next section of this chapter, I focus on the methods adopted in conducting the research.

4.9 Research methods

In any research, be it qualitative, quantitative or mixed methods, there should be a research method adopted by the researcher in conducting the study. Before I focus on the research method adopted in this study, I would like to briefly explain the meaning of a research method in the study. The word ‘method’ connotes a way of doing something (Henning, Van Rensburg & Smit, 2011). In a research study, a method is a way in which the researcher systematically conducts his/her research. From Creswell’s (2009) perspective, a research method is a process or a technique that a researcher uses in carrying out his/her study. Harding (2012) in turn argues that a research method is a technique for (or way of proceeding in) gathering evidence. In light of the above, I would say that research method is the very manner which a researcher adopts in accessing, gathering and analysing his/her evidence.

There are various methods used by researchers in conducting a study such as, for example, surveys, observations, experimentation and textual analysis. However, it is worthy to mention that the adoption of a particular research method, or combination of methods by a researcher, depends on the nature of the research problem, the research questions posed and the research methodology adopted. Based on the fact that this study is a historical research in nature, I adopted two major research methods for the conduct of the study, namely: archival research and oral history interviews. Both methods rely on historical evidence that is either primary or secondary in nature. Furthermore, narrative inquiry will be adopted as analytical tool for this study.

Primary source involves the original, first-hand account or records of events and experiences as seen through the eyes of an individual or a group and as interpreted by him or her (Le Roux, 2011). Davies (2003) argues that primary sources in historical research are the original materials or documents which contain what the individual observed in the past. These could include: among others, written and spoken words, place-names, landscape patterns, artefacts, films, private and public documents and oral testimonies (Howell & Prevenier, 2001; Tosh, 2010). To Brundage (2012) primary sources are the evidence or the raw materials that historians use to make new observations and interpretations of an event, place, era, or other historical phenomena. Judging from the arguments proposed by the authors cited above on the nature of primary sources it would not be out of place to conclude that the meanings are not only similar but they all focus on oral history, documents and remains of the events that took place in the past and that are used by researchers to understand the past. Nevertheless,

historians do not rely entirely on the documentary evidence alone for their quest for knowledge. Contemporary historians use a blend of oral history, documents and other sources as the situation requires in conducting their studies.

Documents are the most commonly used type of historical evidence. Documents could be classified in several ways namely: handwritten or printed, published or unpublished, public or private. Tosh (2010) went a step further to say that a document could also be seen as an intentional document and unpremeditated document. A clear case of an intentional document is memoirs and yearbooks which are written to serve as a record of the past, whereas documents such as memoirs would be regarded as unpremeditated documents. Other documentary primary evidence used in historical research are the constitutions, charters, laws, court decisions, policies, official minutes, deeds, proclamations, diaries, certificates, handbills, affidavits, letters and declarations (Vella, 2009). In this study, however, the first primary evidence was obtained from archival documents. These archival documents include: diaries, newspapers, Nigerian Constitution, Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) of 1948, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) of 1966 and UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education of 1960.

Another source of the primary sources of evidence is oral history. Oral history is also an important source of historical evidence. It involves the taking down of reminiscences by means of a planned research process on a subject of historical interest about which the narrator could authoritatively speak on. As such oral history is crucial to historians because the evidence is reported or provided by a person who witnessed or experienced the event that happened first-hand. This evidence may be obtained through a face-to-face interview, telephone call or a written statement (Howell & Prevenier, 2001). Oral history is very significant in historical studies because it provides information where documentary evidence does not exist or where if it exists, is doubtful.

Concerning secondary sources, this is an account where an historian relies on evidence that is second hand in nature. In other words the author did not actually witness or experience the events which might have happened a long time ago in a different place. In other words, secondary sources are the reports of a person who relates the testimony of the actual witness or participant in the event. Le Roux (2011) argues that secondary sources in a historical study are regarded as derived sources written by people who did not experience the event first-hand.

Here, the historian can only talk about what he/she heard or read and not what he/she witnessed. Examples of secondary sources include research articles in journals, abstracts, research reports, research books and text books (Le Roux, 2011).

In this study, secondary sources included articles from journals and other texts on nomadic education in Nigeria and the world. The secondary sources related to this study have been extensively used in the literature review (chapter 2) and also in the discussion of the findings. Drawing from Tosh (2010), Strydom and Bezuidenhout (2014), it is accepted that primary and secondary historical evidence are intertwined with each other, however, for practical reasons related to the nature of the thesis they were discussed separately. Having explained the nature of the evidence that will be used in the historical case study, I now turn to the methods used in collecting the evidence - archival work and oral history interviews.

4.10 Archival materials

In this study I utilised archival research for the collection of a large section of primary evidence. An archive is a place or an institution where records, private or public in nature, are preserved (Harris, 1997; Pearce-Moses, 2009). In other words, an archive is an institution or place where governments, organisations or an individual preserves vital information for future reference by end users such as government, academia and ordinary citizens. Archives can be prosaic, that is, recording individual daily matters, or portentous, which involves recording earth-shattering events (McCulloch, 2004). Archives are characterised by an organic nature, growing out of the process of creating and receiving records in the course of the routine activities of the creator (Ketelaar, 2001). The argument about the archives as preservers of transactional authenticity has been less frequent, and often lost to positions that foreground it as primarily cultural resources, akin to museums which benefit the public and researchers, particularly historians (Cook, 2001). My interest as far as this research work is concerned is with the documents kept in the archive as a space. This positioning is in agreement with the position held by Sweeney (2009, p. 6), who argues that “I explore the archive less as a house of documents and more as a spatial concept of media.”

In terms of the importance of archives, Harris (2007) argued that they hold the memory of nations. Countries the world over today establish national archive(s) for the preservation of information, records and artefacts. The importance of archives in this endeavour is pinpointed by Bradsher (1989, p.52):

It may be said that archives are the official or organised records of governments, public and private institutions and organisations, groups of people and individuals, whatever their date, form and appearance, which are no longer needed to conduct current business, but are preserved, either as evidence of origin, structures, functions, and activities or because of the value of the information they contain, whether or not they have been transferred to an archival institution.

An Archive can therefore be viewed as the running record of society (Cook, 1997). Recently, however, the concept 'archive' has experienced resurgence well beyond its popular connotation of dusty basement and old parchment (Schwartz & Cook, 2002). It is reasoned that the archive is more than a mere repository of governmental information. Instead, it is a domain for domination by the powerful in the society and more specifically there is no political power without control of the archives (Derrida, 1996). In other words, there is no long lasting power of any kind without elevating and legitimizing the role of the archive and what was decided to keep or discard as evidence of the past for the use of future generations. Archives are, consequently, social constructs whose origin lies in the information needs and social values of the rulers, governments, businesses, associations and individuals who establish and maintain it (Schwartz & Cook, 2002). For example, in the South African context the apartheid model of public archive was only answerable to the state and its operation was largely opaque (Harris, 2007). In agreement with the above assertion, Carter (1998) avows that all archives are filled with voices which are invariably channels for exerting power. The voices could be in the form of written, visual, audio-visual and electronic materials (Derrida, 1995).

It is therefore clear that archives are spaces of power (Carter, 1998). The power of the archive is witnessed in the act of inclusion, and Ketelaar (2001) argues that not every story is told in the archives. Accordingly, archives are a reflection of the source of power and it is extremely selective when deciding what gets into it (Carter, 1998). Carter submits that only those voices that conform to the ideals of those in power (this is also true of private and personal archives) are allowed into the archive. This assertion is in line with the Foucauldian theory of governmentality which has it that the custody of archival materials is determined by governmental power. It is therefore clear that the functionality, richness and correctness of archives are in doubt when records in it only reflect the viewpoint of the powerful in the society (Manoff, 2004). With this grey area in his mind, Harris (1997) argues that if archives are our central memory institutions, then we are in deep amnesiac trouble. Despite this

limitation, archives are extensions of the human memory, purposefully created to keep vital materials and documents, communicate thoughts, substantiate claims, advance explanations, offer justifications and provide lasting evidence of events (Dearstyne, 1993; Greene, 2002). The importance of archives as explained above and its relevance to historical research such as the one under investigation had a profound impact on this study as will be explained below.

4.11 Access to archival materials

The National Archives of Nigeria (NAN) was first established in 1958 at Enugu, the capital of the now defunct Eastern Region of Nigeria. After the Nigerian attainment of independence in 1960, NAN was moved to Lagos the then political capital of Nigeria. In 1992, when the political and administrative capital of Nigeria was moved from Lagos to Abuja, NAN was also moved to Abuja. This was in line with the government directives which declared that all governments' offices should move to the new federal capital of Nigeria. NAN at Abuja now occupies a 14 storey building with over 145 administrative offices. In NAN, there are official government records, various court proceedings, and files of government ministries as well as agencies. Photographs, newspapers, gazettes, and official government publications are also kept. NAN currently functions under the provision of National Archives Act of 1992 (Heap, 1994). The main objectives of the archive in Nigeria are to locate, assemble and rationalise the documentary source materials of the country and preserve them permanently for research and other purposes.

Before I left the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN), South Africa, for NAN in Nigeria for the collection of the appropriate archival evidence, I wrote a letter to its Director General (DG). In the said letter (see appendix 4) I requested his authority to gain access, for the research study, to the documents on nomadic education policies kept in the NAN. This letter was in compliance with section 27 to 29 of the National Archives Act of 2003 which stipulates that "all Nigerians and non-Nigerians from the age 18 years should have unlimited access to all the national archives in Nigeria for inspection and research activities but on the approval of the Minister of Information or his/her delegate" (p.5). Section 49 of the same Act, specifically stipulates that "the Minister of Information should make regulations for, among others matters, the admission of the public to the national archives." It is in line with this provision that 'access regulations' are put in place to govern access to public archives in Nigeria (Abioye, 2009). These rules and regulations are a reflection of the level of

governmentalisation the Nigerian state exercises over the accessibility to the archives in Nigeria.

To remove any possible impression that could be held by the DG that the historical evidence sought should not be used negatively, thereby putting the NAN in bad public discourse, I specifically and clearly stated in the letter that the primary source material sought from this government agency was for research purposes only. The application was eventually granted but there was a delay in the approval because of official government bureaucracy which is explained further on as one of the major challenges I faced while collecting archival evidence. The procedure and protocol one follows to access evidence from the archive in Nigeria goes to affirm Foucault's (2010b) position that the archive is neither the sum of all texts that a culture preserves nor those institutions that allow for that record's preservation, rather it is a system of statement, rules of practices and the voices of the mighty in government which is the exhibition of the governmentality by the state.

I arrived at the headquarters of NAN on the 20 December, 2011 and was taken to the office of the DG. Since that was the first meeting, aside from the correspondence, I introduced myself to him. He was quick to recall my name through the letter I wrote prior to my arrival. I also presented to him a 'letter of introduction' (see appendix 2) which I received from my supervisor. This letter shows that I am a doctoral candidate on a field trip therefore I should be assisted to have access to both archival and oral history evidence. The DG accepted the letter. He immediately told me that it is NAN's policy to give everyone who wants to assess documents an orientation before he/she embarks on accessing archival evidence of any kind. I was taken to the protocol officer by a junior officer who welcomed me and offered me a seat. After the protocol officer had cleared his table for other official duties he handed the orientation handbook to me to go through. Though I went through the said handbook in 30 minutes it did not stop the protocol officer from explaining each and every line in the said handbook to me. The orientation lasted for an hour. After this period I was able to familiarise myself with the rules and regulations of the NAN.

Immediately the orientation was over I was handed over to two junior staff (gatekeepers) who conducted me around the 'closets'. In NAN the arrangement of documents was done using what they referred to as 'closets' (documents shelves). I was told by the two staff that closet 9 housed educational policies and other related matters. At closet 9, I discovered that there was

a compartment which was called the “diplomatic section”. I was made to understand that the documents kept in the diplomatic section are documents that relate to legal matters such as educational laws, policies, bills, rules, reports, pronouncements/statements, and acts. Diplomacy seeks to identify, evaluate and communicate the true nature of the legal documents found in an archive (Schwartz, 2004).

Since I was given an opportunity to access the archival material by myself I was able to locate nomadic education policies, laws, international charters and conventions, acts and pronouncements/statements which formed part of the evidence for the research in the diplomatic section. It took a substantial amount of time to actually access the documents related to the study for the period 1896-2011 from where it was stored in the diplomatic section. Though the study did not cover the period up until 2011, I was forced to collect evidence up to the year mentioned because from my standpoint it may have direct or indirect bearing on the study. And since access to the archive was not straight forward, I did not want to take that risk. The evidence from the archive was photocopied for me.

4.11.1 Newspapers

Apart from the documentary evidence accessed, I also used my time to research on the very old newspapers kept. Newspapers are a major published source for educational historians. This is because it provides them with commentary on educational events and development. In Nigeria the majority of the media houses are owned by private individuals. Despite this government goes out of its way to control these media houses through the enactment of a range of laws. During the military era, press freedom was completely checked through Decree Number 4 of 1984 which criminalised press reports and written statements that exposed an officer of the military government or top government functionary.

Another law was the offensive publication (Proscription) Decree 35 of 1993 that empowered the ‘state’ to ban or sanction any publication on the order of the president. In the present democratic dispensation in Nigeria, the situation has not really changed much because of the censorship of information by government. A comment on the state of the media in Nigeria was made by Patrick (2008, p.14), thus:

It is sad that while international standards, which allow journalists to perform their duties without let or hindrance, are respected even at war fronts, Nigerian journalists and media houses face intimidation and harassment on a daily basis at home.

This assertion is corroborated by Maxwell (2012, p.6) which reported that:

Nigeria is a country where freedom of news and information is effective so far as the pluralism and vitality of the media are concerned, and on the other hand, it has one of Africa's worst records for infringement of murder, threats, and violence.

In spite of these laws and the unfriendly condition in which journalists operate, Nigeria's media still strives to educate, inform and entertain Nigerians. Newspapers are therefore the most important type of public source material. As a result, in Nigeria, like elsewhere, national newspapers are useful sources of information (Tosh, 2010). They record the political, educational, economic and social views that are most influential at any particular time. National newspapers in most countries in Africa do not only deal with educational issues but they also focus on events particularly in schools and other sectors of education (Harber, 1997). In Nigeria, newspapers help in providing a realistic insight of sorts into what actually happened inside schools, education department or ministry of education as opposed to what official documents, government representatives, generalised statistical survey or textbooks on educational administration say.

I was taken to the literary section in closet 10 which has in its custody newspapers, diaries, films and biographies. I discovered that the bound newspapers in the archive dated as far back as 1966 and was made to understand that all the newspapers found in the NAN were national in outlook hence their contents were extremely reliable and could be relied upon to provide some insight into the research topic. Since the newspapers were voluminous, it took a great deal of time to go through each and every one of them searching for articles on nomadic education policies and other related issues. I must state, at this juncture, that the two staff members allocated to me assisted greatly in bringing out those old national dailies.

After I had gone through those old national dailies and photocopied the relevant articles, I was taken to a section where newspapers produced by the National Commission for Nomadic Education (NCNE) were kept. I was also informed that NCNE produces nomadic newspapers bi-annually. These bi-annual nomadic newspapers reported mainly on nomad activities in Nigeria and other countries. I was able to collect most of the publications from 1986 till 2011. Similarly, closet 10 also had in its fold the Journal of Nomadic Studies whose specific

objective is to publish researched papers on the life and philosophies of Nigerian nomads and nomads of other lands. Because of the high number of these journals stocked, I spent a substantial amount of time reading through every journal and selecting the relevant ones that have a bearing with my study. Still in this closet, I found some international documents on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education and International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights that deal with the right of citizens to education which was located here as it seems to have been viewed as related to nomadic education. I want to state clearly that immediately after these documents were located, I requested that they should be photocopied for me. This request was immediately accepted and the said copies of international charters and conventions were photocopied.

4.11.2 Diaries

Another important document type I picked and photocopied as part of the data were dairies. Modern diaries originated in the sixteenth century, apparently as a product of a growth of individual self-awareness (Fothergill, 2008). The idea of writing down daily thoughts and notes on passing events, especially when it takes a more or less introspective form, is of comparatively modern growth, and would seem to be an outcome of the increasing self-consciousness which intellectual development has produced in humanity (Platt, 1981). In the past, diaries were usually regarded as personal documents because they were produced and owned by individuals. This is because a diary shed a great deal of light on personal and private attitudes, aspirations and ambitions (McCulloch, 2004). The situation of private ownership of diaries has changed in recent times; they have become public documents.

Diaries are now institutional properties that inform the general public of events which took place in the past or are about to take place (Duranti, 2011). Diaries are highly revealing about public issues and debates because they provide a record of meetings and events in which the author was a witness (Plummer, 2001; Alaszewsk, 2006). The notion was earlier canvassed by Crossman (1975, p. 75):

If I could make public diaries of my years as a Minister without any ministerial improvements, as a true record of how one Minister thought and felt, I would have done something towards lighting up the secret places of British politics and enabling any intelligent elector to have a picture of what went on behind the scenes between 1964 and 1970.

On the other hand, Scott (1990) held that a diary is written with the self-conscious intent to inform a wider public through eventual publication, as a diary or in the form of a memoir or autobiography. This kind of diary is open for all because the original intention of the author was to allow the public access to the document.

In NAN, there were ten diaries on the shelf. I was informed that those diaries were, at different times, the official diary of the executive secretary of the NCNE, but the diaries have to be kept in the custody of NCNE after the expiration of the tenure of each executive secretary. By painstakingly going through the dairies, I found three of them very relevant to this study. Therefore, I was compelled to photocopy them. All photocopied materials were done freely on the order of the DG who took a personal interest in the study. After I completed the collection of archival materials, the next issue in mind was the collection of oral evidence from participants. This is explained below.

4.12 Oral history interviews

In this section, my first step was to identify the officials of the NCNE that were chosen for the interview. This will be immediately followed by the description of each of the officials that were interviewed. I will explain the manner in which these officials were interviewed.

4.12.1 Choice of participants

I would say that there were many role players involved in the formulation of nomadic education policies in Nigeria between 1986 and 2009. Inviting all of them for oral evidence on the history of nomadic education policies was not possible. This is because in qualitative research it is not the large number of informants that matter but the quality and depth of evidence that the few interviewees chosen could offer. In agreement with this position, Pascoe (2014) argues that in qualitative research the focus is not on the number of participants interviewed but rather the in-depth understanding of the research problem undertaken. Since this study is a historical research, the adoption of purposive technique was deemed the most appropriate technique in identifying interviewees to participate in the study.

In the view of Schutt (2011), a purposive technique could be regarded as a deliberate choice of participants based on the quality of /evidence they can provide and with a specific purpose in mind. In a similar vein, Lewis and Sheppard (2006) see the purposive technique as a technique where a researcher decides what needs to be known and sets out to find people who

can and are willing to provide the evidence by virtue of their knowledge or experience. From the position held by Schutt (2011), Lewis and Sheppard (2006), it is evident that there is no difference in the conceptualisation of the purposive technique. Instead, there is commonality in the context of the researcher's intention to choose participants who have experience in the social phenomenon under investigation. In purposive technique, each participant is chosen for a purpose, usually because of the unique position they occupy in the research. Although the criteria used in choosing the participants are usually a matter of the researcher's judgement, he exercises this judgement in relation to what he thinks will constitute a representative sample with respect to the research purpose.

In light of the above, I was, in a purposive manner, able to identify and choose five key role players who actively participated in the formulation and implementation of nomadic education policies in Nigeria between 1986 and 2009. For ethical reasons the names of the participants were replaced with pseudonyms. Three (Asaka, Equere and Nse) out of the five officials chosen were foundation staff of the NCNE based on certain attributes. For instance, Asaka is the Director of Administration in the NCNE. He has spent 25 years working in the NCNE. His office is responsible for assisting the Executive Secretary in the day-to-day administration of the commission. Furthermore, he assists in the formulation, execution and review of policies, and prepares statutory and period reports. It was based on these qualities that he was purposively chosen.

The second official chosen was Dr Equere who is Director of Monitoring in NCNE. He was also one of the foundation staff members of the NCNE and has spent 26 years in office. His main duties are to assist the Executive Secretary in policy formulation and implementation in matters relating to the regular monitoring and evaluation of the nomadic education programmes, as well as writing the quarterly reports on the monitoring and evaluation exercises undertaken. This sterling quality was the basis for my choice of Dr Equere for the research.

In a similar circumstance, Dr Nse was chosen because of his position as the Director of Programme Development in NCNE. He is another pioneering staff employed and has spent close to 26 years in the office of the NCNE. His major responsibility is to design and develop school-based and extension programmes, including the curricular and instructional materials for the education of nomadic children in Nigeria. He also determines the standard to be

attained in the nomadic schools in the country. Dr Nse has worked both in the military and democratic administrations. As a result, he has an understanding of the political, social and economic dynamics which necessitated the enactment of the various nomadic education policies between 1986 and 2009. It was on the basis of these qualities that I had to choose Dr Nse for the research.

The fourth official chosen for this study was Prof. Udo Ekim. The choice of Prof. Udo Ekim as one of the oral history interviewees was based on the fact that he was the pioneer Executive Secretary of the NCNE. An Executive Secretary is an overall head in the NCNE. Aside from this, he was actually one of the committee members the federal government of Nigeria commissioned to carry out the feasibility study on the viability of the establishment of the NCNE. With the government acceptance of the recommendations, and subsequent establishment of the NCNE, he was appointed as the first Executive Secretary of the commission. It was in his tenure that some remarkable policies were enacted. One such policy is the nomadic education blueprint. With these attributes, the choice of Prof. Udo Ekim assisting in giving oral historical evidence on the history of nomadic education policies in Nigeria was given priority.

In a similar vein, I chose Prof. Inyang based on the fact that he is currently occupying the office of the Executive Secretary of the NCNE. In my view, as the current Executive Secretary of NCNE he would be in a position to give a step-by-step account of the different nomadic education policies enacted between 1986 and 2009. My assumption was based on the fact that his office (Executive Secretary's office) ensures that the coordination of all activities related to the nomadic education programme in Nigeria is effectively executed. In short, his office is charged with the day-to-day execution of all programmes in the NCNE. As mentioned above, Prof. Inyang is currently the Executive Secretary of the NCNE. By virtue of him being the Executive Secretary, he is the overall head of the NCNE. Prof. Inyang was appointed by the President of Nigeria on the recommendation of the Minister of Education for a five year term. The general functions of the office of Executive Secretary are to liaise with the presidency and the National Assembly on the enactment of laws related to the administration of the NCNE, to liaise with the Minister of Education on matters relating to policy formation, implementation, funding and general management of nomadic education programmes and to sustain and enhance advocacy for and mobilisation of activities on nomadic education in the country. It was based on the unique qualities of these five officials

as key role players in the contemporary history of Nomadic Education Policy in Nigeria that they were purposefully chosen for this study. With this brief description of oral history interviewees, the next issue in the study is the explanation of ways in which oral history interviews were conducted.

4.12.2 Conducting the oral history interviews

In Kiswahili, there is an adage which says that ‘every old man that dies is a library that is closed down’. This proverb explains the importance of oral history as a primary source of evidence in historical studies. There are different ways in which historians conceptualise oral history interviews. Hoffman (1996) argues that an oral history interview is an attempt at providing a place for the interviewee to tell his/her own side of the story as he/she remembers it, and for the interviewer to ask questions that stimulate memory. Martin (1995) in turn says that an oral history interview is the way of constructing reminiscences by means of a planned process (semi-structured interview) on a subject of historical interest about which the narrator can speak with authority. Haley (2006) argues that an oral history interview is the systematic collection of first-hand accounts of people’s experiences of events they have witnessed. Judging from Martin’s (1995) and Hoffman’s (1996) positions, oral history interviews denote making a person, who was an eyewitness of an event, to recall and narrate what he/she saw. Haley (2006) was therefore precise in his conceptualisation of oral history as the logical collection of historical evidence from the person who was an eyewitness of the event.

It is worthy to mention that no single piece of evidence in historical study should be trusted completely, and all historical sources need to be compared against other evidence. As such, in historical research, oral history interviews are as trustworthy as archival materials. Although archival evidence has the advantage of not being influenced by later events, as an oral history interviewee might, archival evidence is sometimes as incomplete, inaccurate and deceiving as oral evidence (Ritchie, 1996). It is the limitation of archival evidence which necessitates historians’ reliance on oral history interviews. Oral history interviews do capture and preserve life stories that would otherwise be lost. According to Starr (1996), oral history interviews can fill the lacunae in one field of learning after another by eliciting evidence from many on a single topic. Unlike archival evidence, oral history interviews convey personality, explain motivation, and reveal inner thoughts and perceptions (Dunaway & Baum, 1996). In oral history interviews, the interviewee’s personal experiences, views, thoughts and feelings

about a specific event or period of time is of valuable historical evidence. One would not say without fear of contradiction that oral history evidence in historical studies is user friendly.

Just like archival evidence, oral evidence has its own shortcoming. Critics such as Diamond (1997) and Aworawo (2003) say that oral history evidence often leads to distortion and embellishment by informants, forgetfulness which results in inaccurate evidence and absence or inaccurate dating of evidence. Furthermore, critics distrust eyewitness accounts as being too subjective. When historians describe evidence as 'objective' they mean not only unbiased but also unchanging, such as archival materials that remain the same over time even though its interpretation is shifted. Here 'subjective' connotes a partial and a partisan point of view which is less trustworthy because it is subject to alteration over time. It is on this premise that I would argue that the two sets of evidence as used in the study are necessary in historical research since the strength of oral history interview complements the weakness of archival evidence and vice versa.

Engaging the participants in oral history interviews was to probe their experiences, feelings, thoughts, and understanding of nomadic education policies in Nigeria where archival materials collected were silent. In other words, the interview schedule was developed after working with the archival evidence to probe for deeper understanding and new insights on the history of nomadic education policies in Nigeria. I developed the oral history interviewing instrument known as Questions on Nomadic Education Policies in Nigeria (QNEPN) (see appendix 5). This instrument was developed in order to obtain evidence from the five respondents. QNEPN consists of ten open-ended questions which address the research questions developed for this study. These research questions focused on the development of nomadic education policies in Nigeria between 1986 and 2009. To ensure the trustworthiness of QNEPN, I submitted the interview schedule to two of my critical friends for vetting. The instrument was thoroughly scrutinised by them. One did point out that some questions needed to be reframed so as to address the research questions posed. Considering this view, I made some changes as advised.

After the changes had been made I went further to present the interview schedule before my supervisor for vetting. The interview schedule was critically examined by him. While he was going through each question, at intervals he asked me some questions for clarity on the instrument, which I answered. At the end, few changes were made to the schedule. Before I

embarked on conducting the oral history interviews in Nigeria, I did send the interview schedule (QNEPN) by email to the participants. The reason for sending the instrument was to acquaint them with the questions. In agreement to the above notion, Flick (2009) argues that when an interviewee knows the interview questions beforehand the possibility of gaining rich thick evidence is increased. This is what informed the decision.

4.12.3 Access to participants

Gaining access to participants was not very difficult. This is because before the research was carried out, I had visited the NCNE office in 2006 on behalf of my community to draw the attention of the officials to the poor state of the only nomadic primary school. It was during that visit that I was able to develop close contact with some key officials of the NCNE. This long standing 'relationship' assisted me in gaining access. Moreover, all the officials were researchers who know the importance of granting interviews to the researcher. In fact, they have at one time or the other conducted research on the nomadic education programme in Nigeria and some other African countries. As researchers who have been publishing scholarly papers on the nomadic education programme, they were all enthusiastic in granting interviews because this was an opportunity to internationalise the activities of the NCNE outside their efforts in this direction. The same letter of introduction used in obtaining evidence from the NAN was equally used in gaining access to the interviewees. Before the oral history interviews were scheduled, I held a preliminary meeting to brief them on the major issues that would be discussed during the interview. Though I had forwarded the instrument (QNEPN) to them some months back through their emails, I was forced to hold the meeting because most of the senior staff working in Nigeria sparingly checks their emails. I had to make sure that they all had an idea of what the study was about.

4.13 Research site and interviewing

The NCNE office is situated at No 9 Kashim Ibrahim Road, Kaduna city (see map of Nigeria on page 4). It is a four storey building with 68 offices. In the NCNE office, there is a library with a sitting capacity for about 25 people. The library contains books, journals, photographs, video cassettes and pictures of the nomads, Aborigines, and other migrant peoples the world over. I met Prof. Inyang in his office. Since my purpose in his office was already made known to him months before my arrival, I immediately presented him with a consent form from the University (see appendix 3). He went through the form, and I told him before he signed the said form that he was at liberty to withdraw from the study at any point if he felt

uncomfortable about his participation. I also informed him that the interview would be tape-recorded which he readily accepted. The reason for the use of a tape-recorder during the interview was to eliminate the omission and distortion of facts. Additionally, the audio-recorder was used to ensure that all the responses were captured and any significant evidence such as the tone of voice was not omitted.

During the interview Prof. Inyang gave a clear historical evolution of nomadic education policies in Nigeria. While giving an account of the evolution of nomadic education in Nigeria, he was forced to stop at a certain point because he wanted to bring out a policy document from one of the files to affirm his memory. He actually brought out the speech made by President Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria announcing the establishment of the nomadic education programme. Aside from this, he also handed over to me the Nomadic Education Blueprint which serves as a guide for the running of the nomadic education programme. As the interaction between Prof. Inyang and I progressed, his secretary came into his office to remind him of his appointment with some nomadic community leaders in three hours' time. He quickly responded that he was aware of it and that our interview would be over before for the meeting. Another issue Prof. Inyang raised during the interview session was the reason behind the government intention in the enactment of all the nomadic education policies. In summary, Prof. Inyang was not only open throughout the interview session, but he was also amenable and accommodating

The next person that granted an interview was Dr. Asaka. This interview took place in a different date and venue from the first one. I arrived at his office and gave him the consent form which he went through. I added that he would be tape-recorded when the interview began. He signed the consent form and handed it over to me. He told me that I should make the interview "a bit snappy" because he had scheduled a meeting with staff. I started the interview by asking him to give a historical account on why nomadic education was conceptualised. This official painstakingly narrated the genesis of nomadic education in Nigeria. His narration was interesting because he doubled it with dates that these events actually took place. He said that he was one of the pioneer scholars who conceptualised nomadic education in 1986. He mentioned other pioneer members to include: Profs. G. Tahir, E. Ezeomah, A. Umar, J. Aminu, B. Ijeomah, E. Ojei and N. Muhammad. He mentioned the committee's recommendation as a key factor for the establishment of the nomadic education

programme. Other policies enacted by the Nigerian government for the implementation of the nomadic education programme were also examined.

My ten days in the NCNE office was characterised by some degree of frustrations. I initially booked two officials Dr. Equere and Dr. Nse, for interviews. Unfortunately, Dr. Nse called and said that he had an official assignment in Abuja which is both the political and administrative capital of Nigeria. He apologised for his absence and rescheduled the meeting. Dr. Equere did not arrive in the office on time. The ‘waiting game’ was almost endless, and he was eventually dropped off in his official car by his driver. He apologised for keeping waiting and explained that he was on official assignment. He quickly arranged his office and invited me to come in. I went further to give him the consent form to sign. I took time to explain that his oral evidence would be recorded. After the entire preamble, the interactive session between this official and I eventually began. He was very explicit in his narration. He gave reasons why nomadic education was conceptualised and explained the different policies that were put in place from its inception to-date. Dr. Equere was so particular about the Migrant Fishermen Education Policy of 1990. From his analysis, the policy was initiated by him. He showed me different motivational letters written by him to the Minister of Education for migrant fishermen’s children to be recognised and to be integrated into the mainstream of nomadic education programme. Furthermore, Dr. Equere went on to explain the reasons for the enactment of the policy of 1992. From his explanation, it appears that there was tension during the enactment of the policy. This is because he kept on emphasising that ‘some group of people did not want to policy to be enacted.’

My next interview was with Dr. Nse who went to Abuja (Nigeria political capital) on official assignment. I was made to sign the visitor’s book by his secretary. He apologised for not keeping to the appointment. He said that his movement out of the office was impromptu and urgent. I began by giving him the consent form and I also informed him that his confidentiality would be protected. I told him that if at any point he felt that his personal life and liberty was infringed upon, he should feel free to withdraw from the interview. I began the interview by asking him the first question which was prepared, to which he was very concise in his response. He talked about the reason behind nomadic education establishment in Nigeria, the trend of its evolution, policies passed and other related matters. The interview was frequently punctuated by his cellphone ringing. It is pertinent to say that the entire interactive session went well in spite of the numerous phone calls.

Prof. Udo Ekim was very significant to this study in the sense that he was the first and former Executive Secretary of the NCNE. Moreover, he was one of the leaders behind the conceptualisation of nomadic education in Nigeria in 1986. He was a university lecturer whose specialisation is in the nomadic education programme. He was the person who initiated and established NCNE after the official commencement of nomadic education programme by the Federal Government of Nigeria. Prof. Ekim resides in Abuja following his retirement from NCNE and the university. With the help of Prof. Inyang, I was able to get his cell-phone number. I called and informed him that I selected him as my participant and that I would like to have an interactive session with him on nomadic education policies in Nigeria at his convenience. As a scholar who knows the importance of research, he agreed to my request. He invited me to his residence at Abuja which is over 322 kilometres from Kaduna.

I left Kaduna for Abuja in the evening for this interview appointment. The night prior to the date of the interview, I did call Prof. Udo Ekim and reminded him of the scheduled interview the next day. I was received by the professor's wife into his sitting room and was informed that her husband would soon be with me. He welcomed me, and after some pleasantries I set the ball rolling by asking him the reason for the conceptualisation of nomadic education and other related issues on nomadic education policies in Nigeria. The atmosphere in which the interview was conducted was very conducive. Throughout the interview session there was no interruption of any kind. Prof. Udo Ekim was very 'generous' with his oral evidence. Immediately the interview ended this participant was magnanimous enough to drive to the airport to catch a flight back to my home town. Despite the fact that the data generation was successful, this does not mean that there were no challenges. The challenges encountered in the course of collection of the data and the remedial measures taken are explained below.

4.14 Challenges faced during data generation and remedies

In the course of collecting both the archival and oral data, I faced a lot of challenges which were not anticipated at the outset. I will, first and foremost, start with the challenges faced at NAN. The challenges ranged from the physical condition of the evidence to government bureaucracy. One major problem I faced while collecting my evidence from NAN was the physical state of the evidence collected. Because I dealt with archival materials, a greater number of them were found to be old and fragile because they are poorly kept. For instance, newspapers in the archive are stored in unfavourable climatic conditions. Some easily withered as I picked them. Similarly, most of the diaries have been defaced by cockroaches,

ants or rodents. From the look of things, it appears that there is a total neglect of the NAN by the government. The sorrowful state of the materials is a reflection of government's poor maintenance culture as it relates to archival material. The documents were not copied onto microfiche or microfilm as is the case in other countries.

In a similar development, there were some documents in Nigeria which are 'secret and classified' in nature. Therefore, having access to such documents was not only difficult but an uphill task to accomplish. Government officials in these offices, agencies, and institutions, apart from implementing rules and regulations governing such offices (exercise of governmentality) which is already cumbersome, go a step further to carry out their own selfish agenda. This involves making unnecessary demands which are unethical and unprofessional. This action creates unnecessary delays and is a waste of time in the system.

Aside from the challenges faced during the collection of archival materials, other issues also affected the oral interview. In a qualitative research study conducting face-to-face interviews is often faced by many challenges. The challenges may arise either from the interviewees, the environment where the interview is conducted or the technology used such as a recording machine. This study was not an exception. The first challenge I encountered in the course of conducting oral history interview was the issue of security. The head office of NCNE where the interview was conducted is sited in Kaduna (see the map of Nigeria on page 4). This city is located in the North Central part of Nigeria where insurgency by the Islamic sect known as Boko Haram is common.¹ Within the period when the interviews were conducted, there were series of bomb blasts in the city where many residents were killed. Apart from the fear of being killed by Boko Haram, there were incidents of incessant arrests of strange faces by the Nigerian Army, Police and State Security Service. I was really terrified by the many security agents who were armed to the teeth.

The issue of poor knowledge in handling audiotape equipment was another big challenge. Before I embarked on the field trip, I bought a new digital audiotape for the sole purpose of

¹Boko Haram This is a Congregation of the People of Tradition for Proselytism and Jihad which is known in Hausa language as Boko Haram. This Islamic jihadist terrorist organisation is based in the North-Eastern part of Nigeria and North of Cameroun republic. This terrorist group is against Western education and are fighting for the imposition of Sharia law in Nigeria and Cameroun (Martada, 2013).

tape-recording the interview. I was not very conversant with the way in which the tape-recorder should be used. It was an uphill task operating this equipment. Furthermore, the busy schedule of the participants led them to either delay the commencement of the interview or outrightly postpone the interview. It is worthy to mention that on two occasions, the interview was delayed for hours. The delay and postponement of the interview negatively affected the money I had budgeted for the field trip.

Despite the fact that there were pocket of challenges as highlighted above, these problems did not affect the quality of the data generated. This is because there were remedial measures I promptly put in place to resolve them. For instance, on the issue of the defaced materials found in NAN I was forced to go back to the DG and explain to him that some of the documents vital to the study are not in the good state, and I enquired if there was any possibility of having other copies which were stored in a safer environment. To my delight the DG promptly ordered his personal assistant to take me to his private archive in his house which is approximately 153 kilometres away where some of those documents were photocopied for me. This came as a relief and I was appreciative of this gesture.

On the issue of unnecessary government bureaucracy I did contact the DG of NAN months before my arrival for the data collection through e-mails. In the said e-mails I categorically stated that I am a doctoral student from the University of KwaZulu-Natal conducting a study on nomadic education policies in Nigeria. I also stated that my mission in NAN was to access archival evidence that relates to the issue under investigation. I went further to state in the said letter that the information would be for research purposes only (see appendix 4). In addition to these emails I made several telephone calls to the DG signifying my interest in accessing primary archival material in his office. Therefore, the official protocols that always accompany such matters (access to government documents) were reduced to their barest minimum.

One of the steps taken to overcome the security challenges was to report myself to the nearest police station. At the police station, I stated that I was a doctoral student at UKZN South Africa and that I was in the city (Kaduna) to conduct field work for the study. I was forced to show the policemen my UKZN identity card and the letter of introduction (see appendix 2). Thereafter, I was given a police identification tag to produce if I am interrogated by any

security agent. These police identification tags were meant for journalists who are in the city to report the nefarious activities of the Boko Haram.

On the issue of the operation of the audiotape, I surmounted this challenge by spending the greater part of my time before the commencement of the first interview reading the manual for the tape-recorder. I equally practiced on how to operate it. This constant practice made me to be familiar with the equipment. In each interview section, I always carried along three spare dry cell batteries to avoid being disappointed in the course of conducting the interview. Though, my financial standing was seriously affected as a result of the delays and the postponement of some of the interviews' schedule, in order to complete this field trip successfully, I had to call my wife on her mobile phone to deposit some money in my account so that I could use it to clear the expenditure incurred as a result of the prolonged stay in the hotel.

4.15 Transcription of oral evidence

As mentioned earlier, the archival material and oral history interviews were the key evidence used in the research. The archival material was already in textual form therefore, subjecting this evidence to transcription was completely out of context. I was left with only oral history evidence which was still in audio form to be transcribed so as to alter it into textual form. Transcription in a research entails the translation or transformation of sound from the recording to text (Slembrouck, 2007). It is the process of reproducing spoken words such as those from an audio-taped interview into written text (Ochs, 1999). This reproduction of spoken words has to be verbatim (Halcomb & Davidson, 2006). In Ochs' view, the spoken words need to be transcribed verbatim in order to avoid distortion of the original idea of the informant. Verbatim transcription denotes word-for-word reproduction of verbal evidence, where the written words are an exact replication of the audio-recorded words (Poland, 1995). The issue of verbatim transcription of an interview is problematic due to inter-subjective nature of human communication. The way in which the interview content is heard and perceived by the transcriber plays a major role in the form and accuracy of the transcription (MacLean, Meyer & Estable, 2004). Furthermore, the reliability of the transcription is influenced by the accuracy of the speech recognition (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011). Therefore, for verbatim transcription of an audio-recorded interview to be achieved, the researcher should be a good listener, fast writer, and perfect interpretivist (Davidson, 2010).

Before I embarked on the interview transcription, and was forced to ask myself questions like, whether is it wise to contract the transcription of the evidence to someone else or not. This mind provoking question was difficult to answer easily, considering both the merits and demerits of either doing it myself or contracting it out. Frankly speaking, I was compelled to anticipate the immediate problems that may arise when the roles of the interviewer, transcriber and the author of the thesis are played by different individuals. After painstakingly analysing the strength and weakness of either doing the transcription myself or contracting it out, I came to the conclusion that doing the transcription in my own way was the best option. This is because transcription is a form of data analysis (Davidson, 2009). Wellard and Mckenna (2001) in turn submitted that interview transcription forms part of the data analysis process. However, my involvement in the transcription of the oral evidence also assisted in submerging myself into and making my research study part of me, as should be the case.

My participants' responses from the cassettes were downloaded onto my laptop. Since it was manual transcription, I started the transcription very late at night. The reason was due to the unfriendly environment I experienced in the University hostel during the afternoon period. I usually began the data transcription at about 11pm. By this time the environment in the hostel was calmed for serious academic exercise. I refused to follow Corden and Sainsburg's (2005) popular method of polishing the speech of the participants, for instance, by ignoring repetitions and local names mentioned by these officials. Instead, I decided to retain the exact words used by the officials so that their meanings are not deviated and distorted. I began to listen several times to Prof. Inyang's responses which were played on my laptop. After hours of attentive listening, I began taking down the responses of the interviewees word-for-word. In the process of verbatim transcription of my evidence, I did miss some words and concepts which made me to replay the interviews on the laptop as many times as possible for the comprehension of those missed words/concepts. The transcription of the data from Prof. Inyang took me a substantial amount of time before its completion. Similarly, the transcription of Dr. Asaka's words began two days after the completion of Prof. Inyang's transcription. The reason was that I was not in my right frame of mind to begin Dr. Asaka's responses. As it was in the case of Prof. Inyang, it took some days to transcribe Dr. Asaka's interview. The situation was not much different when transcribing the words of Drs Equere, Nse, and Prof. Udo Ekim. It is worthy to mention that in all, it took weeks of intensive verbatim transcription of the oral history interviews to be completed. In other words, the transcription of the evidence was time consuming.

After the transcription of the evidence was completed, I thought it necessary to give the transcribed materials with the audio cassettes to three of my critical friends who were also doctoral students for rechecking. This is because I wanted to be sure that the transcription was not distorted in any way, but reflected the exact words of the officials chosen for the study. Reports received from the friends at different times were that they had read the evidence and also listened to the audio message several times. Using pencil and highlighter, they were able to identify and highlight a few missing words in the transcribed text that needed to be fixed. After two weeks, the transcribed texts and the audio cassettes were all returned with comments which I immediately dealt with. From all indications, this was done in order to ensure the trustworthiness of evidence transcribed.

With the completion of transcription of oral evidence, the next stage was the analysis of archival evidence as well as the oral evidence in this study. Bearing in mind that archival evidence collected was in textual form, I subjected it to textual analysis. Frey, Botan and Kreps (1999) state that there are four approaches to textual analysis such as: rhetorical criticism, narrative analysis, interaction and performance studies. In all the four approaches listed, narrative analysis appears appropriate to be adopted for the study. This is because in narrative analysis it is assumed that all persuasive messages function as narratives-storied, accounts and tales (Polkinghorne, 1995). Drawing from Frey, Botan and Kreps' position, I subjected the textual evidence to narrative analysis which involved the identification, enumeration and analysis of occurrences of specific messages and message characteristics embedded in the text. With the two textual evidences (oral history and archival texts) in my possession, the next step was to subject them to coding. According to Flick's (2009) view, coding is also an important part of the data analysis in qualitative research.

The term 'code' in a qualitative research means a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data (Saldana, 2009). In turn, Seidel and Kelle (1995), and Newby (2010) argue that coding is the translation of question responses, text, photographs and respondent information to specific categories for the purpose of analysis. Furthermore, coding is the ascription of a category label to a piece of data, that is either decided in advance or in response to the data that has been collected (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011). In another vein, Rule and John (2011) view coding as a process of choosing labels and assigning them to different parts of data. Based on the meanings of coding highlighted above, I would

say that coding is the process of organising and sorting one's research evidence which usually consists of paragraphs that characterise narrative units.

The importance of coding in a research study particularly in the qualitative approach has been advanced to include: noticing relevant phenomena, collecting examples of those phenomena, and analysing those phenomena in order to find commonalities, differences, patterns and structures (Saldana, 2009). It is worthy to mention that though coding is extremely necessary in data analysis, the process of its execution is tasking and time consuming. This is because coding requires intelligent, analytic and systematic decisions about what the evidence says (Rule & John, 2011).

It is worthy to mention that the coding system employed in historical research should be the one which is comprehensive and tailored to the researcher's needs, accurate in recording the story narrated, and useful in describing and enabling understanding of the historical problem under investigation. This study lies within the historical research category therefore the appropriate coding system adopted is the open coding. Strauss and Corbin (1990) look at open coding as a label that a researcher attaches to a piece of text to describe in-depth and categorise that piece of text. Open coding involves labelling concepts, defining and developing categories based on their properties and dimensions. My reasons for the adoption of open coding system in this study, apart from being a historical study, was to allow the historical evidence to be performed on the line-by-line and sentence-by-sentence basis so as to have a clear understanding of phenomenon under study. Furthermore, it gave me the freedom to move the evidence beyond the simple expression of words to better understanding of the bigger picture of the history of nomadic education policies in Nigeria.

The enduring problem of historical research in most cases is the copious amount of written evidence which may be difficult to manage (Gibbs, 2008). Notwithstanding this problem, in subjecting the evidence to an open coding system, I was made to record (cycled) and equally noted the sources of same or similar contradictory, variation of views and commentaries. Open coding was done manually, that is, through the use of pencil, coloured pens and highlighters. Where necessary I adopted a 'cut and paste' method. Here, I would say that the evidence was read repeatedly line-by-line, and sentence-by-sentence till it reached the saturation point. At this point, the key concepts and ideas around nomadic education policies in Nigeria emerged. Though it was stressful and more laborious to employ manual open

coding, it brought me frequently in contact with the evidence that had been collected from the field. With the completion of open coding and subsequent emergence of the themes, the next issue that received attention is the analysis of the evidence.

4.16 Data analysis

This section focuses on the analysis of historical evidence. I did mention that the two sets of evidence (archival and oral evidence) were blended together and subjected to open coding. The key concepts and ideas that emerged were subjected to data analysis. Data analysis is the process of systematically scrutinising and arranging the observation field notes, interview scripts and other materials one gathered in the field, in order to increase one's understanding of these and to present findings to others (Bogdan & Bilken, 2007). The major task of data analysis is by making informed choices, and weighing priorities and preferences (Green, Willis, Hughes, Small, Welch, Gibbs, & Daly, 2007). Based on the nature of research design which bordered on contemporary historical case study and the nature of the evidence generated, it is appropriate that the narrative inquiry is adopted for the study. In recent times, narrative analysis has found expression in disciplines such as sociology, history, law, anthropology and medicine. Mishler (1999), Ewick and Silbey (2003), and Williams (2004), have used narrative analysis in their studies. For instance, Williams applied it to uncover striking different explanations for the genesis of arthritis. Again, Tamboukou (2008) adopted narrative inquiry to examine life writings of women teachers in late nineteenth century England. From the few examples given above, it would be appropriate to adopt narrative analysis in conducting this study.

Narrative analysis focuses on the content, which is, 'what is said, written, or visually shown' (Riessman, 2008). In other words, in narrative inquiry the area of emphasis is on the content of the text which focuses on 'what' is said more than 'how' it is said, the 'told' rather the 'telling' (Riessman, 2010). By using narrative analysis in this research study, ever present in my thought was an awareness of the potential shortcoming that is visible in the course of reporting someone else's voice and archival evidence that is subject to own synthesis, analysis and interpretation (D' Amant, 2009). A constant challenge in my mind was the manner in which the evidence from the participants and archives could be used so as to contextualise meanings and understanding for the reader, who was unable to witness the facial gestures, intonation, and non-verbal cues. It was on the basis of this that frequently made reference to the transcribed evidence which was in my position to capture the mood,

tone, and meaning of my participants. The end of this section opens up the issue of trustworthiness of the data in the study which is explained below.

4.17 Trustworthiness of the evidence

Before now, historians were used to the adoption of a single source of evidence for their studies. The exclusive reliance on one method, therefore, often resulted in bias and distortion of the researcher's picture of the particular slice of reality she/he was investigating (Smith, 2011). This assertion was earlier held by McMichael (1990) when he said that the over-concentration on a single source of evidence in historical research by historians often forces one to question their findings. In recent times, however, there is a remarkable shift from the adoption of a single source of evidence to multiple sources. In showing the need for the use of multiple sources in contemporary historical studies, Tosh (2010, p.134) argues as follows:

It will be clear, then, that historical research is not a matter of identifying the authoritative source and then exploiting it for all it is worth, for the majority of the sources are in some way inaccurate, incomplete or tainted by prejudice and self-interest. The procedure is rather to amass as many pieces of evidence as possible from a wide range of sources - preferably from all the sources that have a bearing on the problem at hand. In this way the inaccuracies of and distortions from a particular source is most likely to be revealed, and the inferences drawn by the historian can be corroborated.

As I said earlier, this study falls under the interpretive paradigm, therefore, interpretive researchers encourage varieties of evidence in order to strive for trustworthiness. In order to ensure that the findings are credible, valid and reliable, I made sure that the trustworthiness of the evidence was assured by adopting triangulation.

Data triangulation is described as a validity procedure whereby researchers look for convergence among multiple and different sources of information to form themes or categories in a study (Creswell & Miller, 2000; Metcalfe, 2013). Similarly, evidence triangulation in historical studies refers to the use of multiple evidence sources in the same study for validation purposes (Hussien, 2009). This implies that evidence gathered from different angles is used to corroborate, elaborate or illuminate the research problem under investigation. In light of the above, this study relies on oral history interviews from the participants. Despite the fact that oral history interviews were conducted to gather evidence, I went a step further to 'excavate' archival evidence that has direct bearing on nomadic education policies in Nigeria. Here, archival materials include: policies on nomadic education,

newspapers, international conventions, diaries and journals. The benefit in the use of triangulation in historical study rests on the complementary nature of the evidence generated through diverse ways. For instance, the weakness of archival evidence was counter-balanced by the merit of oral history interviews in this study.

4.18 Conclusion

I began this chapter by refreshing readers' minds on the theoretical framework adopted for this study. The concept of research design was critically explained and its need in the study was carefully unpacked. Since I was investigating a social phenomenon which could not be predicted and controlled, I argued for the location of the study within the interpretive paradigm. I also argued that the ontological and epistemological assumption of the study is socially constructed therefore reality is multiple. The use of the qualitative approach in this study was influenced by the statement of the problem and the interpretive paradigm used in the study. It was revealed that the qualitative approach was appropriate in this study because it enabled me to understand and interpret government's motives of conceptualising nomadic education policies in Nigeria.

It must be recalled that both primary and secondary sources were used in generating evidence, but the substantial part of evidence came from the primary sources in order to ensure the originality of the study. In primary sources, I mentioned that archival materials and oral history formed the key sources of evidence. I did say that the oral history which was in audio form was transcribed manually. Since all the archival materials were in textual form, it was subjected to textual analysis. Thereafter, I reported that the two sets of evidence were subjected to open coding. With the emergence of themes from open coding, I made a case for the use of the narrative analysis to analyse the evidence. As mentioned earlier, the evidence will only be presented in the next two chapters (chapters five and six).

Chapter five

Nomads are on the move

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I gave a detailed account of the nature of the research design employed in this study. I also explained that based on the nature of the research problem under investigation the interpretive paradigm was adopted. On the basis of using the interpretive paradigm a qualitative approach was employed in order to give an in-depth understanding of the history of nomadic education policies in Nigeria. Since the study is located within historical research, I relied heavily on archival materials and oral history interviews as sources of evidence. However, it was mentioned that the narrative analysis will be used in the presentation of the evidence in the next two chapters.

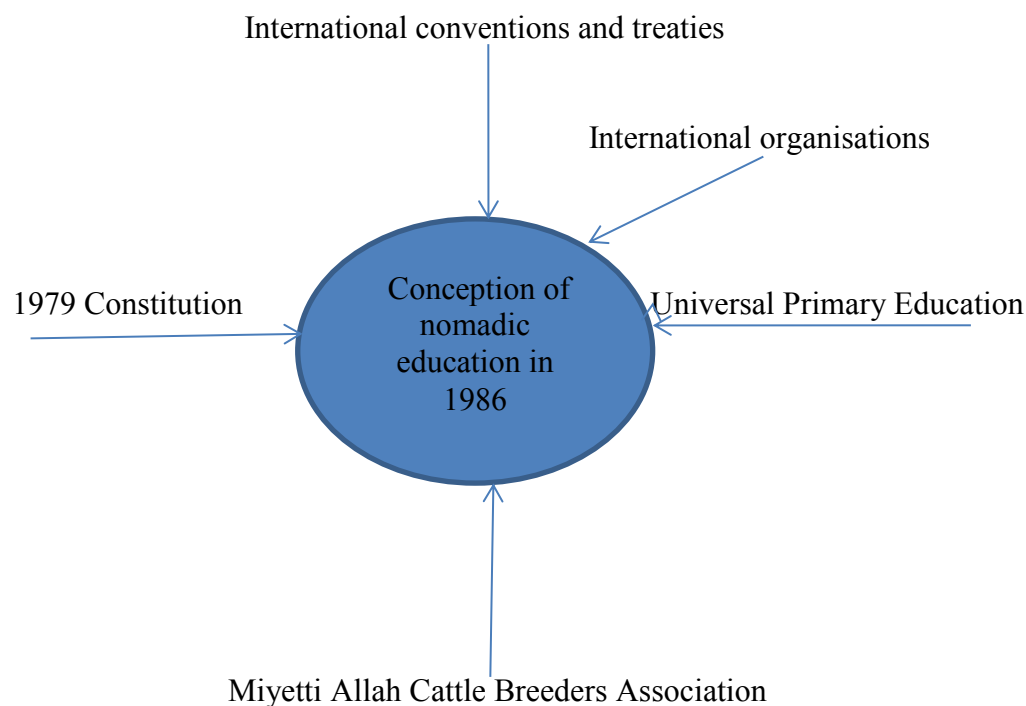
In chapters five and six of this thesis I address the three key research questions that were developed in chapter one:

- Why was nomadic education developed in Nigeria in 1986?
- How did nomadic education policies in Nigeria unfold between 1986 and 2009?
- Why did the nomadic education policies in Nigeria unfold the way they did between 1986 and 2009?

The data analysis chapters are the heart and soul of the thesis. This is because the evidence gathered on the history of nomadic education policies in Nigeria is presented and analysed for research findings to be reached. However, in this chapter on the period of military rule and nomadic education policies in Nigeria I will present those dynamics that worked for the conceptualisation and evolution of the nomadic education programme in the country. Furthermore, I will look at various nomadic education policies enacted between 1986 and 1999 by the successive military governments for the implementation of the nomadic education programme in the country before civilian rule took over under President Obasanjo. For clarity purpose, I will only ‘celebrate’ the data in chapters five and six. However, the actual discussion of the findings will be done in chapter seven. In the presentation and discussion of the findings, I will constantly draw from governmentality theory adopted for the study as a way of justifying the relevance of this theoretical framework to the study.

From the interview conducted, it was reported by the respondents that Decree 41 of December 1989 marked the turning point on the nomadic education programme in Nigeria. Before the official presidential pronouncement of the establishment of nomadic education in 1986, there were so many forces that brought about the conceptualisation and evolution of the programme in the country. My interaction with both primary and secondary sources indicated that the 1979 Nigerian Constitution, international conventions, the National Policy on Education, the Universal Primary Education, International Organisations and the Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association significantly influenced the conceptualisation and evolution of the nomadic education programme in Nigeria. This is shown graphically below.

Fig. 5.1: Forces influencing the conceptualisation of nomadic education programme



Source: Author's compilation

5.2 The fulfilment of the provision of the 1979 Nigerian Constitution

One of the participants reported that after the Nigerian civil war which ended in 1970, the then military government led by General Yakubu Gowon wanted the nomadic group in the country to be integrated educationally into the mainstream of the Nigerian society when it realised that the equalisation of educational opportunities for this group of people still remained elusive. This happened despite the regional government's effort already existing in this direction. Tahir (2000) maintained that General Gowon's effort was fruitless. This was

because certain fundamental issues were not addressed such as the promulgation of a decree for the establishment of the programme. In 1975, General Gowon's government was overthrown. Inyang reported that Brigadier Murtala Muhammed who took over from General Gowon did not necessarily look at nomads and their education as a priority. Instead, the new military government administration emphasised the eradication of corruption that enveloped the country and the return of Nigeria, after 13 years of military regime, to democratic rule. The need for education for the nomads was completely ignored by the military government headed by Brigadier Murtala Muhammed. In order to ensure that democratic rule returned to Nigeria in 1979 which was the government's priority then, certain democratic structures such as the Constitution Draft Committee (CDC) and the Political Bureau (PB) were set up by this military administration.

The CDC's term of reference was to draft a constitution for Nigeria to ensure that democratic rule could be implemented. The 1979 Nigerian Constitution as a basic fundamental charter which outlined governmental structures allocated powers and duties to the government, established basic decision-making procedures, placed limitations upon governmental activities, protected the right of the citizens and explained their obligations. Before the committee completed the task of drafting a new Constitution, Brigadier Muhammed was killed in 1976 in a bloody coup. Though Brigadier Muhammed was killed the coup was not successful because the coup plotters were quickly overpowered by the troops loyal to the head of state. After the coup, General Obasanjo who was Brigadier Muhammed's second-in-command took over the government. General Obasanjo did not deviate from the late Muhammed's transitional programmes. Therefore in 1979, General Obasanjo successfully handed over power to a civilian government led by Alhaji Shehu Shagari after he had promulgated the 1979 Nigerian Constitution into law. By implication, this marked the commencement of civilian rule in Nigeria.

From the above analysis, it is evident that the disadvantaged situation of the nomads educationally was first recognised by General Gowon's administration. This administration tried to integrate the nomads into the mainstream of the society through the provision of formal education. The effort of Gowon's administration at integrating the nomads was truncated by the military coup that removed him from power. From my understanding, the reason why General Gowon's administration was so passionate to bring the nomads to the mainstream of the society was because he was from the state (Plateau state) where nomadic

pastoralists are found. He wanted to ensure that his kith and kin (nomads) benefited immensely from his government. However, Brigadier Muhammed significantly deviated from General Gowon's policy. The deviation of General Gowon's policy in my own interpretation was to justify to Nigerians that his government was prudent in the management of state resources. This is because he (Brigadier Muhammed) justified his coming to power by accusing General Gowon's administration of large-scale mismanagement of the state resources. After Brigadier Muhammed was killed, his successor (General Obasanjo) followed the policies of his predecessor by refusing to correct the age-long marginalisation of nomadic people.

The issue that was before Shagari's administration was the enforcement of the 1979 Nigerian Constitution in line with democratic norms after years of abuses, deprivation and marginalisation of all Nigerians including the nomadic people. However, before the new civilian government could begin to address nomadic education issues Shagari's administration was overthrown on 31st December, 1983 by Brigadier Muhammedu Buhari. With the advent of military rule in 1983 some sections of the Nigerian Constitution, which bordered on democratic structures, were suspended (Madunagu, 1999). The education for nomadic people was not paramount to either Murtala Muhammed or Obasanjo's military governments. This was the case despite the fact that the nomads contributed greatly to the economy of the country through the provision of meat, fish, hides and skins, among other products (Personal communication with Udo Ekim, 2012).

In my interaction with Equere, he explained that certain sections of the 1979 Nigerian Constitution which were not suspended were implemented by General Ibrahim Babangida who was the head of the new military government. In the course of implementing the 1979 Constitution, the military government realised that the nomads had not been integrated into the mainstream of the Nigerian society educationally as stipulated in the Constitution. The realisation by the military government was made possible by various state governments where nomads were found. The exclusion of nomads from gaining access to formal education was in violation of their fundamental rights as enshrined in the 1979 Nigerian Constitution. In order to address the violation of nomads' right to education as stipulated in the Constitution, Babangida's military government conceptualised nomadic education for nomadic people. His administration looked critically at the disadvantaged educational situation the nomads found

themselves in. However, in many ways the military government used the 1979 Constitution to advance the Nigerian society.

From the above narration, it is evident that the exclusion of nomadic people from having access to formal education is the main reason why General Babangida's government conceptualised nomadic education in Nigeria. In my view, General Babangida's action in this direction was to ensure that nomads' right to education was protected in line with the 1979 Nigerian Constitution. However, in spite of the Constitution which General Babangida used as the basis for the conceptualisation of nomadic education, the programme was conceptualised to score political points. General Babangida wanted Nigerians and the world at large to look at him as a military ruler who was out to serve the interests of the disadvantaged people.

Relying on the 1979 Nigerian Constitution for the conceptualisation, Inyang declared:

Section 18 (1) of the 1979 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria says that government shall direct its policy towards ensuring that there are equal and adequate educational opportunities at all level and that government shall strive to eradicate illiteracy (Personal communication with Inyang, 2012).

Corroborating Inyang's point, Udo Ekim (2012) observed that the Nigerian state, although under military rule, was adequately conscious of its obligations and responsibilities to all its citizens, especially in the area of the provision of education. Asaka opined:

I think that the basis in which nomadic education was conceived was because of Section 14 of the 1979 Constitution which states that relationship between the government and the citizens is based on the principles of democracy and social justice, and the sovereignty belongs to the people of Nigeria from whom and through whom the government derives its power and authority (Personal communication with Asaka, 2012).

The "principles of democracy and social justice" which Asaka cited from the 1979 Nigerian Constitution connote the involvement of all manner of persons in the act of governance irrespective of place of birth, ethnicity and sex, among others. In this context every Nigerian was to be treated equally in accordance with the provision of the Constitution. Judging from the interview with Asaka, it appears that the principles of democracy and social justice were not practiced by the government in the context of the provision of formal education to the nomads before 1986.

The view of Equere on the conceptualisation of nomadic education was that:

The *Mbororo* (local name for the nomads) were the most socially and educationally deprived, denied and disadvantaged set of Nigerians. This is against the spirit of the Federal Constitution of 1979 and the relevant parts of the National Policy on Education of 1981 which states that ‘education is the birth of every Nigerian child and should be brought close to the environment of the child.’ Therefore, to rectify this long standing infraction of the laws and violation that nomadic education was conceptualised (Personal communication with Equere, 2012).

From the analysis, the use of the words ‘socially and educationally derived, denied and disadvantaged set of Nigerians’ by Equere is an indication that the nomads were not provided with relevant basic social services such as education. Therefore, the inability of the nomads to have access to formal education may have resulted in their social and political stagnation. It is a fact that since the attainment of independence by Nigeria, nobody from nomadic extraction ever contested for any political office in the country. From the extracts highlighted above, it would be appropriate to conclude that the conceptualisation of nomadic education in Nigeria was based on some provisions of the 1979 Nigerian Constitution which guaranteed the nomadic people the right to formal education.

5. 3 Fulfilment of international treaties and conventions

Having said the above, the officials interviewed were quick to add that different international treaties and conventions which the Nigerian military government signed also played a major role in the conceptualisation of the nomadic education programme. International institutions and treaties which the Nigerian government entered into agreement with, or subscribed to, were the following: United Nations Charter (UN), Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) of 1948, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) of 1966 and UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education of 1960. Udo Ekim reported that before and after Nigeria attained independence in 1960, the country had explicitly accepted all human rights obligations as espoused by international human rights treaties and conventions it had entered into. He maintained that Nigeria had an international legal obligation to respect, protect and fulfil human rights as it related to all Nigerians without discrimination on the basis of ethnicity, state of origin, sex, political opinion or other prohibited grounds. This also included the nomadic people. The fundamental human rights which Nigeria was obliged to protect included the right to life, the right to freedom of expression, the right to adequate standard of living, and access to quality

education, among others. On the right of nomads for access to quality education, Udo Ekim declared that:

Look at article 26, UDHR of 1948; it says that everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit (Personal communication with Udo Ekim, 2012).

Udo Ekim did not only cite Article 26 of the UDHR of 1948 as the basis for the Nigerian government's conceptualisation of nomadic education for nomadic people. He went a step further to say that those other international treaties which the successive governments in Nigeria signed at one time or another contributed to the reasons why nomadic education was conceptualised. He had the following to say:

Article 13 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights says that the states parties to the present Covenant recognise the right of everyone to education. They agree that education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and the sense of its dignity, and shall strengthen the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. They further agree that education shall enable all persons to participate effectively in a free society, promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations and all racial, ethnic or religious groups, and further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace (Personal communication with Udo Ekim, 2012).

Udo Ekim's narrative as shown above clearly indicates that Article 26 of the UDHR and Article 13 of the ICESCR are the international conventions that necessitated the Nigerian government to consider the conceptualisation of the nomadic education programme for the nomads. Udo Ekim's assertion is confirmed by the UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education of 1960. In addition, the document clearly spelt out in its objective that "UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education contributes to peace and security by promoting collaboration among nations through education, science, culture, and communication" (UNESCO, 1960, p.4). This Convention places an obligation on countries that are signatories to advance equality of opportunity and treatment with regards to education. For instance, Article 1 of the UNESCO Convention of 1960 states:

For the purposes of this Convention, the term 'discrimination' includes any distinction, exclusion, limitation or preference which, being based on race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, economic condition or

birth, has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing equality of treatment in education and in particular: (a) Of depriving any person or group of persons of access to education of any type or at any level; (b) Of limiting any person or group of persons to education of an inferior standards; (c) Subject to the provisions of Article 2 of this Convention, of establishing or maintaining separate educational systems or institutions for persons or group of persons; or (d) Of inflicting on any person or group of persons conditions which are incompatible with the dignity of man (UNESCO Convention, 1960, p.5).

In a similar vein, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICEAFRD) of 1966 also influenced the federal government of Nigeria to reconsider the disadvantaged situation of nomads educationally. This charter, of which Nigeria was a signatory, prohibited the Nigerian government from “any form of discrimination” against her citizens. Article 5 of the ICEAFRD states that:

In compliance with the fundamental obligations laid down in Article 2 of this Convention, states parties undertake to prohibit and to eliminate racial discrimination in all its forms and to guarantee the right of everyone, without distinction as to race, colour, or national or ethnic origin, to equality before the law (ICEAFRD, 1966, p.8).

Article 5 (section E, sub-section 111, IV & V) clearly highlighted the obligations which each signatory state owes her citizens in terms of the provision of housing, public health, medical care, social security, social services and the right to education and training. This convention went a step further with a measure which nations that are signatories must follow in the elimination of all forms of discrimination. The measure according to Article 7 is that:

States parties undertake to adopt immediate and effective measures, particularly in the fields of teaching, education, culture and information, with a view to combating prejudices which lead to racial discrimination and to promoting understanding, tolerance and friendship among nations and racial or ethnical groups, as well as to propagating the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, and this Convention (ICEAFRD, 1966, p. 5).

From the above quotations, it is evident that some international conventions and treaties to which Nigeria is a signatory played a crucial role in the conceptualisation of nomadic education in Nigeria. For instance, UDHR, UNESCO Convention and ICEAFRD specifically outline the obligations which the Nigerian government owes its citizens. These institutions frowned at any form of discrimination the state might mooted to her citizens. In order to

address any form of injustice that might befall any citizen from a country, these institutions set out measures that should be followed. It was on this basis that the Nigerian government introduced nomadic education in order to address the marginalisation of the nomads in the area of formal education.

5.4 The evolution of nomadic education in Nigeria

In terms of my argument thus far it is proposed that nomadic education was conceptualised in Nigeria in fulfilment of both the constitutional and international conventions provisions. In addition, I sought to establish the evolutionary dynamics of the nomadic education programme in Nigeria. The officials of the NCNE interviewed highlighted those forces, outside of the constitutional fulfilment and international conventions that brought about the evolution of nomadic education in Nigeria. These were seen to include the National Policy on Education of 1981, Universal Primary Education, Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria (MACBAN) and other international institutions.

My interaction with Udo Ekim indicated that the evolution process of nomadic education started in 1973 when the Nigerian government of the time assembled Nigerian educationists for a national workshop chaired by S.O. Adebayo. According to the participant, this workshop was set up to prepare a draft National Policy on Education based on the recommendations of the 1969 National Curriculum Conference. The National Curriculum Conference of 1969 was set up to review the old and identify new national goals of Nigerian education, bearing in mind the needs of the youths and adults in the task of nation-building and reconstruction for social and economic well-being of the individual and the society. For the first time in Nigerian history a large number of people gathered to talk about the philosophy, structure, and content of all levels and types of education envisaged for Nigeria. In my view, this was necessary because the old system of education in Nigeria was adopted from the British. In the process, the needs of Nigerians were completely ignored.

According to Udo Ekim, the importance of the conference lay in the fact that 65 recommendations formed the basis of the National Policy on Education which the federal government of Nigeria promulgated into law in 1977. This signalled the birth of the National Policy on Education in 1977 which was subsequently revised in 1981. In my view, the setting up of this conference by the Nigerian government and the eventual promulgation of the National Policy on Education into law is a clear case of governmentality. This is because the

federal government used government apparatus to redefine the philosophy, ideology, structure and content of the Nigerian education system that would promote nation-building.

This document (the National Policy on Education) clearly spelt out the future of education in the Nigerian society as conceived by the federal government of Nigeria. Nine specific decision areas were identified as crucial to the attainment of the conference's objectives. One of the fundamental issues in the document was the provision of basic education for every Nigerian child irrespective of ethnicity, class, gender or state of origin. In my view, this provision was included in the document in order to address the marginalisation of nomadic people in the context of education. The National Policy on Education (1981, p.12) section 1, sub-section 7 (5 and 6) states that: "universal basic education in a variety of forms, depending on the needs and possibilities will be provided for all citizens, and that efforts will be made to relate education to overall community needs."

In spite of this provision on the National Policy on Education, Inyang reported that nomadic people were excluded from having access to basic education. It was on the basis of this that both the state and local governments where the nomads were to be found, started the agitation for the inclusion of nomads in formal education. Asaka explained this as follows:

One of the most important outcomes of the early initiatives by states and local governments were the sensitisation of the federal government to the plight of the nomadic pastoralists. The government became aware that they [nomads] had no access to formal or non-formal education even though they contributed a great deal to the national economy by supplying meat, dairy products, hides and skins. Moreover, denying the nomads access to education contravened the provisions of the National Policy on Education that guarantees access to education for all social groups and also contradicted the government's commitment to the provision of Education for All (Personal communication with Asaka, 2012).

From the above analysis, it can be deduced that the introduction of the National Policy on Education did not in any way attract the nomads to formal education. This might have been as a result of lack of awareness from the government. The Federal Government of Nigeria in spite of trying to fulfil its obligation to the nomads as stipulated in the document (the National Policy on Education), totally failed in the sensitisation process of the nomads. This, in view, necessitated the involvement of both the local and the state governments in the sensitisation of the nomads towards formal education.

Still on the evolution of the nomadic education programme in Nigeria, from interactions with Nse, I was made to understand that after the civil war that engulfed Nigeria between 1965 and 1970, the then military government was in a dilemma on the possible way of re-integrating all sections of the Nigerian society. For the Nigerian government the only acceptable means through which all Nigerians, including nomads, could be integrated was the provision of education. This was because education was regarded by the military administration as a roadmap for stable political democracy, social equality and governmental efficiency. In 1976, the Federal Government of Nigeria launched the Universal Primary Education (UPE) in order to actualise these national objectives. Though UPE was ostensibly designed for every Nigerian child, it was established that nomadic children were left behind because of the mobile nature of their lifestyle. Inyang was more categorical in his response when he said:

The motives that led to the evolution of nomadic education in Nigeria was because of government's firm commitment to the universalization of access to education as demonstrated in the implementation of the Universal Primary Education (UPE) in the mid-seventies. Government at this point was determined to accede to the demands for a special educational programme for nomads partly because of their high level of spatial mobility which prevented the nomads from participating in the UPE programme (Personal communication with Inyang, 2012).

My interpretation of the above narrative is that the federal government's intention in introducing UPE in the country was to galvanise all segments of the society after three years of civil war which engulfed the nation. However, the programme was not designed with the sole intention of educating nomadic people. Therefore, its acceptability by the nomads was less satisfactory. My view is anchored on the fact that the curriculum used in the school had very little to do with nomads' lifestyle. The rejection of UPE by the nomads might have resulted in the federal government coming up with an alternative system of education. In my view, this led to the evolution of the nomadic education programme in Nigeria.

This position is corroborated by Udo Ekim, a member of the committee (the Nomadic Education Committee) that was set up by the minister of education to carry out a feasibility study on proposed nomadic education for nomadic children. The committee had to look at the development philosophy of Nigeria which rested on the principle of equality of opportunities for all citizens. In order for the committee to come up with viable recommendations for the introduction of nomadic education, a stakeholders' summit was held. Ekim recalled:

For nomadic education to become a reality, it would be recalled that the committee organised a National Workshop of Nomadic Education which took place in Yola. It was a workshop with a difference because of the way it was constituted. It had one hundred and ninety of the target beneficiaries, the nomads themselves, twenty-one professionals and university dons, twenty-three representatives of federal and state ministries of education and the executive members of the Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria. At the workshop, there was cross fertilisation of ideas between the nomads and the professionals on appropriate education for the nomads that would take into consideration their lifestyle (Personal communication with Udo Ekim, 2012).

The above excerpt explains the manner in which nomadic education came into existence. The workshop which was held in Yola was aimed at obtaining a clear evolution and precise project definition of the nomadic education system. In my view, this workshop played a significantly major role in the evolution of the nomadic education programme in Nigeria. The reason is based on the fact that different civil societies, educationists, professionals and the nomads themselves were brought together to fashion the type of education system which is nomad-friendly.

Still on the evolution of nomadic education in Nigeria, the activities of the Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria (MACBAN) could not be ignored in this direction. MACBAN was a local association formed by nomads in 1979. According to one of the research participants, the goal of this association was to cater for the occupational needs of the nomads. Inyang reported that the association has a simple but effective governance structure whereby elections into offices are held every four years by delegates from states where the pastoral nomads are found. The interpretation here is that though MACBAN is seen by Nigerians as a group which consists of 'illiterate' nomads, by engaging in democratic activities such as election of officers into MACBAN is a clear indication that they are educated in their own right.

The activities of the association played a significantly critical role in the evolution of nomadic education in Nigeria. For instance, Inyang reported that the nomads realised that they were over-taxed by government officials on their cattle. Furthermore, these tax officials usually spoke the English language while on duty which the nomads did not understand. As a result, the nomads felt aggrieved and they wanted their children to be educated so that they would be able to confront and negotiate with the tax officials regarding the appropriate tax

they had to pay. My interpretation of the above narrative is that the nomads were cheated by the tax officials through over-taxation. Moreover, the use of the English language by the tax officials in conducting their official duty angered the nomads because they did not understand them. This prompted the nomads to look for an interpreter whenever the officials came for the collection of tax. It is believed that the issue of finding someone who is willing to play the role of interpreter appears to be a challenge to the nomads. Therefore, they decided to look for ways of sending their children to acquire this skill.

One of the participants reported that the nomads' grievances were channelled through MACBAN that later took them to the state government officials. It was the state government officials that made representation to the Federal Government of Nigeria for the education of nomadic people. The narrative excerpt indicated that apart from the fact that MACBAN activities played a paramount role in the evolution of nomadic education in Nigeria, the action of the state government officials could not be dismissed. The reason is that they acted as a mediator between the Federal Government of Nigeria and the nomads. It is believed that while the officials of the state government tabled the nomadic people's grievances to the central government, any decision reached by the central government would be communicated back to the nomads by these officials.

Still looking at the evolutionary dynamics of nomadic education in Nigeria, documentary materials from the archive confirmed that the programme was not initiated by the federal government of Nigeria alone. Instead, other international organisations such as the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), the World Bank, and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) also played a significant role in its evolution. For instance, a UNDP document shows the level of the organisation's involvement in nomadic education in Nigeria. The UNDP Bulletin (1973, p.8) reads: "we have on several occasions made an attempt in the past to develop grazing reserves for the nomads. Our intention was to settle them first and introduce formal education later. But few nomads participated in them and the reserves fell into disrepair, after the funding was terminated." The above excerpt indicates that the involvement of some international organisations such as the UNDP in the evolution of nomadic education was to settle nomadic people. This attempt was nearly successful because grazing areas were provided for the nomads to keep their animals.

In a similar vein, in one of UNESCO's publications of 1975 I discovered in the archive, I found that this international organisation was deeply worried because despite the fact that there was an unprecedented expansion of education in the 1970s in Nigeria, there was still a significant proportion of the citizens that did not benefit from available educational services. In light of the above, the UNESCO Newsletter (1975, p. 5) stated: "the plight of nomads as the most backward group of people educationally has been felt. As such, we are to mobilise every available resource (human and materials) towards ensuring that the nomads are adequately accommodated in the current education system." This quote indicates that the disadvantaged education situation of the nomadic people in Nigeria might have been felt by this international organisation, hence their purported intervention programme. In keeping with their words, in 1977 UNESCO initiated some collaborative programme and delivery mechanisms towards evolving acceptable education that took into consideration the nomads' lifestyle. Putting all the needed structures on the ground, UNESCO immediately provided funds for the establishment of nomadic education. This was done in conjunction with state governments in which nomads were found. From the presentation, it is evident that UNESCO initiated the nomadic education programme to eradicate illiteracy among the nomadic people of Nigeria. In my view, this intervention programme was done through the provision of funds, schools, and personnel. UNESCO went into this project in collaboration with affected state governments where nomads are found. The affected state governments were not comfortable with the level of illiteracy among the nomadic people. As a result, they were willing to participate in the establishment of the nomadic education programme initiated by UNESCO.

In a similar circumstance, the World Bank's effort in the evolution of nomadic education in Nigeria was adequately recognised as found in the document. Having gone through the June edition of the World Bank quarterly bulletin of 1982 that was collected from NAN, I came to the realisation that the Work Bank had contributed immensely to the evolution of the nomadic education programme in Nigeria. The bank discovered that formal education that was given to the nomads by both Islamic clerics and Christian missionaries during the colonial administration in Nigeria was out-rightly ignored by the nomads. This was because the type of education given mainly focused on religion. Aside from this, it was realised that the nomads were not accorded equal education opportunities like their sedentary population counterparts. The position of the World Bank was documented in its Quarterly Bulletin (1982, p. 10) thus:

Over the past decades, we have witnessed a complete silence on the issue of education for the nomads in Nigeria. We would not sit back and watch these young Nigerians dying of ignorance. Therefore, we would give technical support to the Nigerian government for the provision of base-line data on the nomads as basis for designing an appropriate education for them.

Evidence indicated that the World Bank did not stop at giving technical support to the government for the formation of nomadic education. It was also involved in the funding of the nomadic education programme in Nigeria. In the World Bank Report of 1990, it was revealed that between 1986 and 1989, the World Bank spent a total sum of US\$91.3 million on the primary education sector in Nigeria. However, 46.2% of this fund was used for the establishment of nomadic education when it was obvious that the nomads refused to embrace the newly introduced Universal Primary Education programme in Nigeria. The extract reads:

Nigeria is a country undergoing economic reform. A productive, competent, and flexible workforce is a prerequisite for furthering development. The demand for skilled workers and technicians is already acute and will become ever more intense as the industrial sector becomes the dominant provider of employment, yet education for the nomads has been side-lined. Without intervention, the mismatch between school graduates and employer requirements will continue (World Bank Report, 1990, p.12).

From the extracts it is very clear that some international institutions/organisations played a crucial role in the evolution of nomadic education in Nigeria. Judging from the look of things, it appears that the funds given by the World Bank were not judiciously spent. My assumption is based on the fact that the facilities provided on the ground were not commensurate with the fund that was claimed to have been expended.

Before the actual presidential pronouncement for the establishment of the nomadic education programme, an official (Inyang) interviewed explained that there were pockets of interventions on nomadic education specifically by the regional governments in the Northern part of Nigeria way back in 1953. He maintained that various attempts were made in 1957 by the former North Central Regional Government of Nigeria to establish *KAKAKO* nomadic primary school in the present day Katsina State. Probing further, Equere said that the situation changed in late 1986 when the federal military government of Nigeria organised a stakeholders' workshop to brainstorm on the possible way of establishing nomadic education for the nomads. The workshop was held in Yola (capital of Adamawa state), and was chaired by the then Minister of Education, Prof. Jubril Aminu. This workshop was attended by various groups of people with special interest in nomadic education. At the end of the

workshop, a recommendation for the establishment of nomadic education was made. Reacting to the recommendation made, Equere stated:

You can see that Yola's workshop came up with some recommendations on the need of nomadic education programme for the nomadic people, the nature of curriculum, teaching strategies and resources to be used in the classroom (Personal communication with Equere, 2012).

From the narration, it is evident that the Minister of Education (Prof. Jubril Aminu) initiated the workshop that was held in Yola. The effort of Prof. Aminu at ensuring that the workshop was held and that it was well attended may not be far-fetched. My view is based on the fact Prof. Aminu is from the region where nomadic pastoralists are found. Therefore, he wanted to ensure that nomadic education was brought to his kith and kin. In a similar development, at the end of the Yola workshop far reaching recommendations were made. For instance, the kind of subjects that would be taught, the methods that would be used in teaching and the instructional materials to be used were finalised. The recommendations reached from the Yola workshop were further 'fine-tuned' before they were finally sent to President Babangida for his consideration. This implies that all the subjects taught in all nomadic schools, strategies applied in teaching these subjects and the resources used in teaching were deliberated upon by few appointed individuals before they were approved by the president.

5.5 Presidential pronouncement of 1986

Narrating what led to the presidential pronouncement on nomadic education, Udo Ekim, who was the first Executive Secretary of the nomadic education commission and a member of the committee whose task was to design an acceptable type of education for nomads, had this to say:

After the workshop's recommendation, I was called by Minister of Education, Professor J. Aminu to work out the modalities for the establishment of nomadic education. I was forced to assemble a 15 man panel to carry out the Minister's directives. After five weeks of intensive deliberation, a final report was made to the Minister (Personal communication with Udo Ekim, 2012).

From the above quotation, it is evident that the recommendations from the Yola workshop were not the final stage in the formation of nomadic education. However, these recommendations were further subjected to another debate by a panel set up by the Minister of Education. With the receipt of the panel's report, a series of meetings were organised to 'polish' some grey areas noticed. For instance, some of the grey areas discussed and

addressed included the organisational structure of the proposed nomadic education, and the type of instructional resources to be used in the school, among others. On completion, the Minister went on to brief the Head of State (General Ibrahim Babangida) on the need for the establishment of nomadic education. Relying on the panel's report and the workshop's recommendations, Inyang reported that General Babangida pronounced the birth of nomadic education on Tuesday, 4th November, 1986. From the analysis, the reason why General Babangida pronounced the establishment of nomadic education, apart from the fact that it was in line with the 1979 Nigerian Constitution and international conventions which the government signed, was that it was done in order to provide the nomads with essential social services.

In another development, Equere and Udo Ekim's narrative extracts pointed to the fact that the military head of state did not allow 'due process' to be followed before the pronouncement of the birth of nomadic education was made. In other words, most stakeholders were not consulted before the pronouncement was made for the establishment of nomadic education. However, looking at the process which later culminated into the presidential pronouncement of the birth of nomadic education, it is evident that nomads' position was absolutely ignored, thereby showing government's high-handedness.

Furthermore, the presidential pronouncement of the birth of nomadic education in Nigeria though not backed up by any decree was implemented. This goes to explain that in the Nigerian context a presidential pronouncement was a law which was being enforced as it was pronounced. In summary, this is the highest level of governmentalisation being displayed by the military government of General Babangida on the nomads.

As reported above, the presidential pronouncement on the commencement of nomadic education in Nigeria was not backed by any enabling law. Instead, in Equere's view a Preparatory Committee (PC) was formed to implement the presidential directive on the establishment of nomadic education. According to one of the officials interviewed (Nse), the formation of the PC was done by Prof. Jubril Aminu (Minister of Education). This committee was made up of 14 members and was located in the Federal Ministry of Education building in Lagos. The function of this committee was to prepare a blueprint for the nomadic education programme in Nigeria. Asaka explained the process that led to the eventual promulgation of Decree 28 of 1987 by the government as follows:

The goal of setting up the Preparatory Committee was to draft a blueprint for nomadic education. The draft blueprint was submitted to the Federal Ministry of Justice for legal polishing. It was finally submitted to the Armed Forces Ruling Council (AFRC) which was then the highest law making organ in Nigeria. Thereafter, AFRC finally endorsed the submission and promulgated Decree 28 of 1987 (Personal communication with Asaka, 2012).

The study established that the Minister of Education (Prof. Jubril Aminu) played a crucial role in the evolution of nomadic education. His effort did not stop when General Bababgida pronounced the birth of nomadic education. He went a step further to set up another panel whose duty was to draft a nomadic education blueprint. The draft blueprint was sent to the Ministry of Justice for legal advice, the essence of this, in my view, was to avoid litigation from stakeholders who might find the document at variance to their self-aspiration. The ratification of the blueprint by the highest law making body (AFRC) in Nigeria led to the promulgation of Decree 28 of 1987.

5.6 Decree 28 of 1987

In 1987, the federal military government of Nigeria promulgated Decree 28 of 1987. From the interview, it was revealed that this decree brought about the development of the Nomadic Education Blueprint. Probing further on the goals of the nomadic education blueprint from Udo Ekim, instead of him responding to the question directly, he simply handed over to me a nomadic education blueprint and declared:

Please take a look at this document; it is the nomadic education blueprint which the government came up with. The long term and short term objectives were clearly spelt out in the policy document (Personal communication with Udo Ekim, 2012).

Having a critical look at the document, I noticed that the blueprint specifies the short term and long term objectives. On the short term objectives, this involved the acquisition of basic functional literacy and numeracy. In my view, this implies that nomadic children who would be recipients of nomadic education would be able to read with comprehension, carry out their occupational roles such as instruction on their health and that of their animals. They would also be able to read and clearly understand local and national newspapers, simple voting instruction, write letters as well as do simple arithmetic. With regards to the long term objectives, the document specified that the recipients (nomadic children) would acquire functional knowledge and skills for raising a healthy and well-adjusted family. By implication, this functional education would no doubt increase the quality of life of the

nomads and fully prepare them for adequate responsibilities in a democratic state like Nigeria. In addition, recipients of nomadic education would acquire appropriate skills, abilities, and competences needed for a worthwhile living society. Furthermore, the acquisition of knowledge and skills by nomads would enable them to improve their income earning through mixed farming, land acquisition and development of grazing management, modern scientific livestock breeding and treatment of diseases.

In this same document (Nomadic Education Blueprint), I went on to examine the goals of nomadic education. The Nomadic Education Blueprint (1987, p. 8) specifically outlines the goals as follows:

To formulate policies and issue guidelines in all matters relating to nomadic education in Nigeria, provide funds for research and personal development for the improvement of nomadic education, development of programmes on nomadic education, provision of equipment and other instructional materials, construction of classrooms and other facilities relating to nomadic education. To establish, manage and maintain primary schools in the settlements carved out for nomadic people, determine standard of skills to be attained in nomadic education and arrange for effective monitoring and evaluation of activities of agencies concerned with nomadic education.

From the above quote, it is evident that the manner in which nomadic education is managed in Nigeria has been clearly spelt out in this document. For instance, provision of classrooms, instructional materials, recruitment and retention of teachers were clearly outlined in this document. In a similar development, the inculcation of the national consciousness and national unity, the inculcation of the right type of values and attitudes for the survival of the individual and the Nigerian society, the training of the mind in the understanding of the world around him, and the acquisition of appropriate skills, abilities, and competence, both mental, social and physical, as equipment for the individual to live in his society and to contribute to its development, were the principal objectives of the blueprint.

Though I had painstakingly gone through the goals of nomadic education as stated in the blueprint, this did not stop me from seeking a second opinion. To accomplish this goal, I enquired from Inyang the goals of nomadic education. In his response, he declared; “from the blueprint the goals of nomadic education include providing nomadic people with relevant and fundamental basic education and improve their survival skills that will enable them to raise

their productivity and income as well as empower them to participate in the socio-economic and political affairs of Nigeria” (Personal communication with Inyang, 2012).

Reflecting on the above excerpt, it is evident that the nomadic education programme when implemented had to be able to develop the intellectual capacities of the nomads through the teaching of literacy, numeracy, vocational and social adjusting skills so that they could contribute more effectively to national development. More importantly, nomadic education when implemented had to be a most potent force for the integration of the nomads into the mainstream and would eventually enable nomads to settle down in one place.

With the final introduction of the nomadic education programme into the Nigerian education space through the presidential pronouncement, which was later formalised by enabling the decree, I curiously asked the officials why Decree 31 of 1988 was promulgated a few months after Decree 28 of 1987. The response from the officials and the documentary evidence are presented in the section below.

5.7 Decree 31 of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1988

Oral history revealed that with the advent of civilian administration in Nigeria in 1979, primary education which was then under the control and administration of the Federal Government of Nigeria was immediately transferred to state governments. This placed a heavy financial burden on the states. In order for the state governments to fund primary education effectively, the financial responsibility was shared between the state government and the parents. This resulted in the immediate introduction of tuition fees at the primary school level in 1980. As shown in the narration above, the funding of primary education which was hitherto in the hands of the federal government before Shagari’s administration came into power was transferred to the state government. The implication is that primary education in Nigeria during this period was decentralised. In my view, the aftermath of this decentralisation resulted in the maladministration of the primary education sector by some of the state governments.

In 1984, the situation immediately changed when the military led by General Buhari once again overthrew the democratic administration on the 31st December, 1983. Tuition fees introduced by various state governments in Nigeria were subsequently abolished in 1985. On 27 August, 1985, General Buhari was overthrown in a palace coup led by General Babangida.

However, General Babangida's government did not abolish the tuition free primary education introduced by his predecessor. Instead, the provision of classrooms, instructional resources and payment of teachers' salaries were also taken over by his government. As earlier highlighted by the officials interviewed, nomadic education being another form of primary education was introduced during this period. Therefore, in order not to fund regular primary education and nomadic education separately as if they were not the same level of education, the Federal Government of Nigeria promulgated Decree 31 of 1988. From all indications, it is evident from the narration that Decree 31 of 1988 was promulgated in order to amalgamate both the conventional primary education and nomadic education into one body, the National Primary Education Commission (NPEC). In my view, the bringing together of both types of education was done in order to check duplication of duties and wastefulness.

From the oral testimony from one of the officials, the promulgation of Decree 31 of 1988 saw the establishment of a commission known as the NPEC. This commission had its head office in Lagos. The decree also mandated the NPEC to establish zonal offices known as the State Primary Education Board (SPEB) in all the state capitals. The establishment of the zonal offices (SPEB), in my view was to ensure that the duties of the commission are felt at the grassroots (deep rural areas) level. My view is based on the fact that the majority of both the conventional and nomadic school children lived in the rural areas of the country.

My interaction with Asaka on the reason for the promulgation of Decree 31 of 1988 revealed that some major changes were introduced into primary education in Nigeria. He declared:

Changes that occurred in primary education with the promulgation of Decree 31 of 1988 which saw the emergence of National Primary Education Commission where separation of primary education from secondary education under the management of a board, integration of nomadic education, the funding of both primary and nomadic education nationwide under the auspices of the federal government, the establishment of Local Government Education Authority (Asaka's interview, 2012).

Having interacted with Asaka on Decree 31 of 1988, I went a step further to interrogate Udo Ekim on the possible roles the NPEC played on nomadic education. He responded: "If you look at the decree that establishes the National Primary Education Commission, it was charged with the responsibility of prescribing the minimum standards of primary and nomadic education throughout Nigeria. Aside from that, the management and funding of primary and also nomadic education were the responsibility of this commission." The above

quotations suggest that the management of both primary and secondary education which was under one body was separated. Moreover, the commission stipulated the integration of the nomadic education programme into the conventional primary education programme. Furthermore, the integration of both conventional and nomadic education into one body called for the establishment of the Local Government Education Authority whose function is to ensure that primary schools are effectively run on a day-to-day basis.

On the issue of the implementation of the decree, one of the officials said that the government created an agency known as the National Education Fund (NEF) within NPEC. The NEF was charged with the responsibility of allocating funds directly to the State Primary Education Board (SPEB) for disbursement to primary and nomadic schools. The establishment of a separate board (SPEB) for the management of funds in no small measure brought lapses in financing primary and nomadic education in the country. Equere declared:

The State Primary Education Board faulted in the area of disbursement of funds to primary and nomadic education. It was on record that funds given to primary education were much more than that given to nomadic education. This was in total disregard of directives from the Minister of Education that more funds should be injected into nomadic education to take care of the provision of infrastructures since it (nomadic education) was newly introduced (Personal communication with Equere, 2012).

With an uneven disbursement of funds to nomadic education by the SPEB, coupled with lack of infrastructure on the ground, the newly established nomadic education programme failed to take off properly. The above excerpt shows that there is another body (NEF) which was specifically created by the federal government to disburse funds to both conventional primary and nomadic education institutions in the country. From the narration, it was discovered that this body failed in its duty to carry out its function as prescribed by the law. The uneven disbursement of funds by the officials resulted in the poor implementation of the nomadic education programme. Equere reported that this initial teething problem was brought to the attention of the Minister of Education who immediately summoned a stakeholders' meeting to address it.

To establish how the friction was resolved, I interrogated one of the officials who said that the Minister of Education had to call a meeting to resolve the problem. From the narration, it became clear that the meeting was attended by all the stakeholders in both conventional

primary education and nomadic education. Udo Ekim in his advantaged position as the Executive Secretary who attended the said meeting recalled thus:

The problem between regular primary education and nomadic education was caused by the inability of the NEF to adhere to the sharing formula as prescribed by the decree. The total amount of funds I received from NEF on monthly bases was grossly insufficient. In fact, the money was not enough to put infrastructures on the ground as stipulated by the nomadic education blueprint (Personal communication with Udo Ekim, 2012).

From Udo Ekim's narration, it is evident that the meeting was called under the auspices of the Executive Secretary of Nomadic Education to address the 'injustice' done to it. I was very curious to know the outcome of that meeting. In setting my curiosity at rest, Udo Ekim responded:

After all issues raised were deliberated upon, at the end it was resolved that a separate commission for nomadic education should be established. The proposed commission should be vested with the responsibility of administering, managing, controlling and funding nomadic education only (Personal communication with Udo Ekim, 2012).

Another official interviewed reported that in order to have clear knowledge on how the proposed nomadic education commission would function, an advisory committee known as the National Advisory Committee (NAC) was formed. Here, it is evident that the problem that resulted from the uneven disbursement was brought to the attention of the Minister of Education, who immediately resolved the issue through the establishment of a separate commission. The reason for the Minister's prompt intervention on the crisis, in my view was twofold: (a) the Minister was from the North East region where nomadic pastoralists are commonly found. Therefore, he wanted to ensure the success of nomadic education in Nigeria, so that the nomads could contribute positively to the economic and political advancement of the region in particular and Nigeria in general. (b) Since the nomadic education programme was the Minister's pet project, he wanted to ensure that the programme was successful so that Nigerians would not see him as a failure in this area.

This committee was chaired by Colonel Bello Khaliel (Rtd.). According to one of the participants, this committee was charged with the responsibility of drafting the structure of the proposed nomadic education commission. I was interested in having fair knowledge of

the membership of the NAC and as a result probed Udo Ekim further on the membership composition. He replied:

Thirty-two members of the advisory committee were appointed by the Minister of Education. Though the NAC was chaired by a retired soldier in the person of Colonel Bello Khaliel, but seasoned educationists, technocrats, and social activists formed the bulk of its members (Personal communication with Udo Ekim, 2012).

From the quotation, it is evident that 32 members made up the advisory committee. Since this happened under the military administration of General Babangida, all 32 members were hand-picked. This explains the degree of the high-handedness exhibited by General Babangida's administration in the affairs of the state. This committee spent three months deliberating on what the proposed commission for nomadic education would look like. On completion of its assignment, the NAC submitted the report to the Minister of Education who in turn submitted it to General Babangida. One of the officials interviewed reported that one week after the receipt of the committee's report, General Babangida summoned a meeting of the Armed Forces Ruling Council (AFRC) to deliberate on the report and other related issues in the country. After the meeting of the AFRC which was held on 14th December, 1989, a decree known as Decree 41 of 1989 was promulgated. The above narration explained the manner in which Decree 41 of 1989 came into existence. In my view, this decree (Decree 41) was promulgated as a result of the loopholes noticeable from Decree 31 of 1988 which was not effectively implemented in accordance with government's intention.

5.8 Decree 41 of 1989

Nomadic education assumed national prominence with the promulgation in 1989 of Decree no. 41. This decree established the NCNE. However, during my visit to NAN I was fortunate to have been given this document (Decree 41 of 1989). In order to have first-hand information from this document, I referred to Part 1, which states that: The Federal Military Government hereby decrees as follows:

There is hereby established a body to be known as the National Commission for Nomadic Education [hereafter in the Decree referred to as "The Commission"] which have the functions assigned to it by this Decree. The NCNE vision statement says: "integrating the nomads into the national life by providing them with relevant and functional basic education and improving their survival skills, levels of income and productivity as well as equipping them to compete favourably in the nation's socio-

economic and political affairs (Federal Government of Nigeria Decree no. 41 of 1989, p. 2).

The decree further stated that:

The Commission shall be a body corporate with perpetual succession and a common seal and may sue or be sued in its corporate name. There is hereby established for the Commission a Governing Board [hereafter in this Decree referred as “the Board”] which shall administer and direct the affairs of the Commission. Without prejudice to the generality of subsection [1] of this section, it shall be the responsibility of the Board to exercise general control and superintendence over the policy, finances and property of the Commission, including its public relations (Federal Government of Nigeria Decree no. 41 of 1989, p.4).

In the decree, the objectives and functions of the commission were also specified. Regarding the objectives, the decree says:

The objectives of the Commission are to: formulate policy and issue guidelines in all matters relating to nomadic education in Nigeria, provision of research and personnel development for the improvement of programs on nomadic education, development of programs on nomadic education, equipment, other instructional materials [including teaching aids and amenities], construction of classrooms and other facilities relating to nomadic education, arrange effective monitoring and evaluation of the activities of agencies concerned with nomadic education, and establish, manage and maintain primary schools for nomadic children (Federal Government of Nigeria Decree no. 41 of 1989, p. 8).

Reflecting on the objectives of the commission as stipulated by the decree, I would say that its contents are derived from the nomadic education blueprint that was produced in 1987. These objectives provide a clear organisational structure of a newly established commission and also lay a concrete foundation on ways in which nomadic education in Nigeria would be implemented. The composition of the commission as stipulated by the decree was that the commission should have 25 members. One of the members must be the Executive Secretary of the commission. He/she (the Executive Secretary) must be appointed by the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Before the appointment, the person must first be selected and recommended to the President by the Minister of Education. One of the officials, Asaka, reported: “this was the step that was followed in the appointment of two previous Executive Secretaries of the NCNE in 1989 and 2007.” From the documentary evidence, other members of the commission should be drawn from the following government ministries and agencies in Nigeria: education, information and culture, internal affairs, agriculture, water and rural

development, the Armed Forces of the Federation, and the Directorate of Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructures.

From the extract, it is evident that the decree clearly proscribed the composition of the membership of the commission and from where each member should be derived. Though the decree clearly stipulated who should appoint the Executive Secretary of the commission, it is silent on who should appoint other members of the commission. This led to the ‘scramble’ for membership by influential politicians who have little or no idea about the nomadic education programme. This flaw might have been the cause for the poor implementation of nomadic education policies in Nigeria.

The decree also prescribed the functions of the commission. For a proper understanding of these functions, I was forced to read the decree establishing the commission repeatedly. The functions of the commission as outlined in the decree stipulate the following:

In addition to the objectives set out in section 3 of the decree the commission shall; formulate policies and issue guidelines for the implementation of Nomadic Education Programme, support research and personnel development for the advancement of the programme, fund the development of programme, fund the provision of equipment and other instructional materials, establish, manage and maintain schools in settlements carved out for nomads, including mobile and boat schools and assure quality and maintain standards through effective monitoring and evaluation (Federal Government of Nigeria Decree no. 41 of 1989, p. 10).

From the quotation, it is evident that this decree prescribed the functions of the commission to include: policy formulation and issuance of guidelines for the implementation of nomadic education programme, among others. In spite of the provision of the decree which clearly set out the functions of the commission, it was observed that some sections of this decree were not followed. For instance, the formulation of the policies was not done by the commission as prescribed by the decree. Rather, this function was directly performed by the different military administrations in Nigeria.

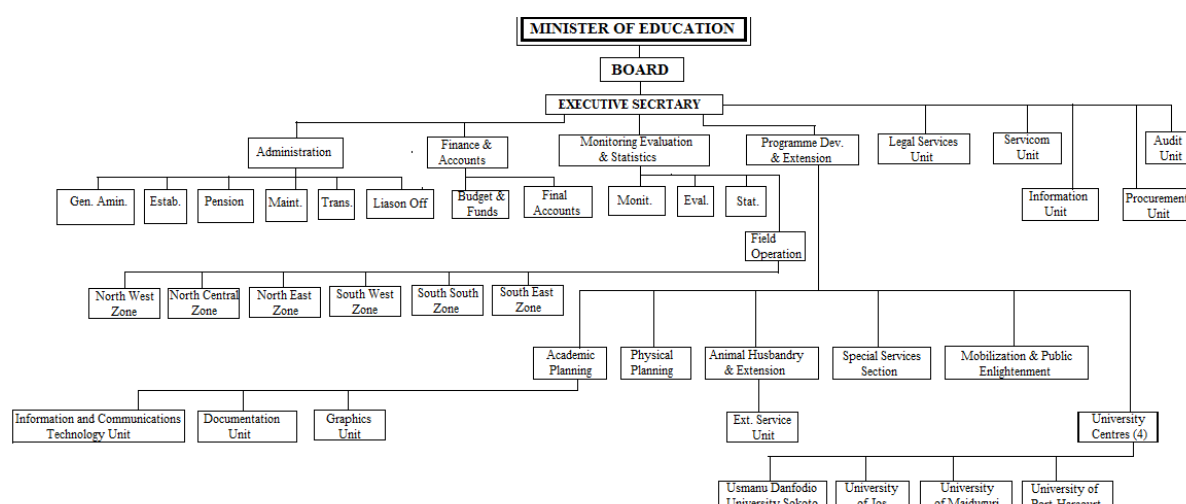
Still with the functions of the commission, to effectively and efficiently implement both the objectives and functions as stated in the decree, power was given to the commission in section 11 of Decree 41 (1989, p.3). Subsection four stipulates that: “the commission shall,

subject to any direction of the Minister, have power to do anything which in its opinion is calculated to facilitate the carrying on of its objectives and functions under this decree.”

In a similar vein, the decree also gives power to the Minister of Education on the ways of issuing out directives to the commission for the implementation of its programmes. Section 11, sub-section 6 of the decree states that: “subject to the provisions of this Decree, the Minister may give the commission directives of a general character or relating generally to matters of policy with regard to the exercise by the commission of its functions under this decree and it shall be the duty of the commission to comply with such directives” (Decree no. 41, 1989, p.5). From the above quotes, in my view, the power of the Executive Secretary of the commission in running the affairs of the commission is drastically reduced here. This is because he (Executive Secretary) is bound by law to take directives from the Minister of Education. In my view, this process delays the smooth implementation of the nomadic education programme in Nigeria because of a serious bureaucratic bottleneck that always results in official government matters.

Be that as it may, in principle there is enormity of the works performed by the NCNE as prescribed in the decree. However, I was curious to have a fair knowledge of the organisational structure of the commission. At this juncture, I went on to probe Nse further on the ways in which the commission carries out its day-to-day functions. I was made to understand that the commission has been compartmentalised into four functional departments for easy administration, management, and control. The diagram below is the organisational chart of the National Commission for Nomadic Education.

Fig. 5.2: Organisational Chart of the National Commission for Nomadic Education



Source: National Commission for Nomadic Education, 1989

NCNE has the following principal departments: (i) Programme Development and Extension, (ii) Monitoring, Evaluation and Statistics, (iii) Administration and Supplies, and (IV) Finance and Accounts. In addition to these main departments, there are other units that perform important functions in the commission. For instance, Legal Services, Servicom, Information, Procurement and Audit Units are directly under the Executive Secretary and these units play their individual role as stated in the decree. Within these four departments, there are also 25 functional units. The Programme Development and Extension department of the commission has the responsibility to design and develop school-based and extension programmes for the education of nomads. Nse said that he has been working in this department for over 25 years. In light of this, he was in a better position to narrate the structural, organisational and functionality of the department. I therefore asked him to explain the duties of the department. He responded:

The department performs many functions. In fact, it is the engine room of the commission because it determines standards which nomadic schools should attain in the country. Design, develop and produce curricular and instructional materials. Generate data through research for programme development and modification of implementation strategies. Conduct teacher training and outreach programmes, establishment of linkages with development partners and coordination of all projects. Collate, analyse and publish information relating to nomadic education (Personal communication with Nse, 2012).

Within this department, there are five units, namely: academic planning, physical planning, animal husbandry, special services, lastly, mobilization and public enlightenment unit. The

functions of academic planning include: conducting research for programme and improvement, conducting teacher training, designing classroom structures for different kinds of nomads based on their pattern of mobility and collating and publishing information on nomadic education.

Furthermore, the physical planning unit of the commission has as its function the design of classroom structures for the different categories of nomads based on their pattern mobility, coordination of consultants, handling building projects, and supervision of the commission's infrastructure. In terms of the animal husbandry unit, the responsibilities of this unit include: planning, development and delivery of extension packages/outreach services to nomads, selection, training and development of nomadic extension agents, coordination of field extension work, provision of modern animal health and production activities to nomads and conducting assessment of extension activities at the field level. In the similar vein, the special services unit of the commission was set up so as to perform the following duties: to assist nomadic women to acquire basic/functional literacy, income generating skills and modern dairy processing methods, to assist the nomadic women to acquire knowledge that will help them raise their health awareness, hygiene and nutrition practices, and lastly, to enlighten the nomadic women on healthy and safe reproductive and sexual behaviour.

Notwithstanding the responsibilities of the units mentioned, Nse explained that the commission also established the mobilisation and public enlightenment unit to carry out the following functions: to sensitise and mobilise nomadic pastoralists to appreciate the value of modern education through the use of radio and other media, to sensitise the nomads to contribute meaningfully towards the education of their children through face-to-face communication and other media, particularly radio, to increase the level of support and enthusiasm of nomads with a view to improving pupils' enrolment, attendance, retention as well as adult literacy, and enlightening nomads on basic modern animal husbandry practices as well as getting acquainted with their civil rights and responsibilities. From the analysis, one could see that this department is very important in the commission. This is because apart from the physical planning of all nomadic structures in line with the nomads' migrational lifestyle which the department engaged in, the department also creates awareness among the nomads on the activities of the commission. Bearing in mind the lifestyle of the nomads, the channel in which the sensitization is conducted is through radio, town crier and leaflets.

The Department of Monitoring, Evaluation and Statistics is another important department that was established in the commission. In my chapter four, I mentioned that Equere had worked in this department for 26 years. Therefore, his knowledge on the functioning of this department was not in doubt. As the name of this department implies, Equere said that the department is made up of three units which include: Monitoring, Evaluation and Statistics. The functions of this department as explained by this official include: to assist the Executive Secretary of the commission in policy formulation and implementation in matters relating to monitoring and evaluation of the nomadic education programme; to undertake regular monitoring and evaluation of the nomadic education programme; to collate, analyse, disseminate and store data on nomadic education programme for the purpose of evaluating areas of weakness and strength in order to evolve necessary corrections; to write quarterly and annual reports on monitoring and evaluation exercise; and lastly, to arrange bi-annual meetings with state coordinators and quarterly meetings with zonal officers in conjunction with the office of the Executive Secretary. From the narration, it is evident that the department is very important in the commission. My view is based on the fact that this department provides the government and other stakeholders with regular feedback and early indications of progress or lack thereof in the achievement of intended results and the attainment of goals and objectives of the nomadic education programme.

Concerning the Department of Administration and Supplies of the Commission, Asaka is the Director. Before his elevation to this position, he worked under three different directors. Having such undiluted experience, Asaka was in a better position to explain the functionality of the department. This is what he had to say: “I want to tell you that I have worked in this department for close to 26 years, therefore, my years of experience are an asset in the execution of functions of the department.” The functions of this department include: assisting in the formulation, execution and review of policies; making recommendations on matters relating to appointments; promotions and discipline of staff; coordinating the training programmes of staff, making recommendations and carrying out activities out on staff welfare; preparing statutory and periodic reports; and supervising the activities of staff in its units. From the narration, I would say that this department is the ‘engine room’ of the commission. My view is based on the fact that the department is where general administrative matters are carried out. Moreover, the department also handles the training of staff for effective productivity.

My curiosity on how the commission gets funding and disburses the same was another issue that was addressed by the Executive Secretary (Inyang) of the commission. My intention to meet the Director of Finance and Account on matters of funding was not fruitful because I was informed that he was attending a workshop in Kaduna city. As mentioned earlier, the Executive Secretary was on hand to provide all the information that related to finance. This is because in his capacity as an Executive Secretary of the commission he is one of the signatories to the commission's account. The Executive Secretary explained that the greater bulk of funds received by the commission are from the Federal Government of Nigeria. State and local governments also contribute their own share of funds to the commission as stipulated in Decree 41 of 1989. This narration suggests that the nomadic education programme is collectively funded by the three tiers of government in Nigeria.

Aside from the governments (federal, states and local governments) which significantly funded nomadic education in Nigeria, some of the participants interviewed mentioned that some international organisations such as the World Bank, and UNESCO, among others, also contributed their quota in funding the commission. This implies that the commission, apart from receiving funds from the three tiers of governments, also solicits funds from international agencies. Though the Executive Secretary had said that the federal government provides the 'lion's share' of the funds to the commission, followed by the state and local government areas, the percentage of their contribution was not stated in the decree. In my opinion, this leaves room for abuse of the process either by the state or the local government areas.

In the context of the responsibilities performed by the finance and accounts department, Inyang outlined it to include: providing professional advice to the management on financial issues, defraying of expenditure incurred by the commission in the course of its activities, such as payment of personnel emolument, fees/other remunerations or allowances, preparation, submission and defence of the commission's annual budget and sourcing of funds, preparation and submission of its annual financial statement for statutory auditing, and disbursing grants to the states, university centres and active nomadic communities.

Other functions according to this official are: preparing and submitting to the management its monthly financial information and reports; keeping of proper books of accounts and maintaining an effective internal control system; accompanying the internal auditor on yearly

verification visits to zonal offices, university centres and state offices; and the submission and discussion of its audited financial statement on an annual basis to the government agencies such as office of the Auditor General of the Federation, Office of the Accountant General of the Federation and Federal Ministry of Education. In the narrative, it appears that the department is a 'drinking pot' for all other departments in the commission. This is because other departments rely on the finance and accounts department for funds for the execution of their different functions. The achievement of any product or activity by any department in the commission is a function of the availability of funds which the department provides. However, this department could also be seen as a 'dark spot' because the embezzlement and misappropriation of the commission's funds perpetuated by officials are being covered up by the department of finance and accounts. This led me to the issue of establishing a policy for migrant fishermen's education in Nigeria.

5.9 The Migrant Fishermen Education Policy of 1990

According to Inyang, nomadic education in Nigeria from its conception was targeted at the Fulani, Badawi, Buduma, Kwayami and Shuwa Arab ethnic groups who are predominantly cattle and goat rearers. These groups of nomads are called nomadic pastoralists and they are found mainly in the Northern part of Nigeria where abundant grazing land is found. The implementation of Decree 28 of 1987 and Decree 41 of 1989 saw nomadic children being conscribed into nomadic schools established for them. Asaka reported that after three years of nomadic education existence, Rivers, Cross River, Akwa Ibom, Delta, Edo, and Ondo state governments discovered that migrant fishermen had the same migrational pattern as nomadic pastoralists. The basic economic activity of the migrant fishermen is fishing. This is done in marine or inland water ways or both. By the mode of their work roles, migrant fishermen migrate from one fishing settlement to another during various fishing seasons. In light of this, the affected state governments made several representations to the Federal Government of Nigeria for migrant fishermen's children to be recognised and incorporated into the nomadic education programme. In order to give formal education to the migrant fishermen like their pastoral counterparts, the federal government came up with a policy known as the Migrant Fishermen Education Policy of 1990. Udo Ekim reported:

The incorporation of the children of migrant fishermen into the education programme was preceded by a long drawn out debate at National Council on Education (NCE) meetings. Finally, at the 37th meeting of the NCE that was held in Kano from 22-23 March, 1990, the council approved a national programme for the education of the

children of migrant fishermen in the affected riverine states. This decision was subsequently communicated to the federal government that gazettes the policy (Personal communication with Udo Ekim, 2012).

Collaborating Udo Ekim's view on the Migrant Fishermen Education Policy, Inyang said that "the state governments wanted equalisation of education for migrant fishermen in the Southern part of Nigeria as being provided for nomadic pastoralists in the North. This initiative brought about the enactment of a Migrant Fishermen Education Policy" (Personal communication with Inyang, 2012).

This narration explains the unique nature of the Nigerian state. Nigeria is divided along ethnic lines, therefore, people are always suspicious of the federal government's actions. People in the South accuse the federal government of favouring the Northerners in the provision of social services. In light of this, the agitation for the recognition and provision of education to migrant fishermen by host state governments was to ensure that migrant fishermen found in the southern part of Nigeria are given the same treatment as their nomadic pastoralist counterparts.

Following the oral evidence from Udo Ekim and Inyang, I was also fortunate to receive a photocopy of this document (the Migrant Fishermen Education Policy) from the NAN. Here, I took a critical look at the objectives of the policy which are clearly spelt out in section 2, sub-section 5 of the policy. The objectives of the policy are stated as follows:

The objectives of the education of migrant fishermen are to integrate the fishermen's children into formal educational system through the provision of suitable facilities, raising the awareness of the migrant fishermen and their families towards accepting the formal education as a parental responsibility, eradicating illiteracy by attaching it at source to ensure a 100 percent enrolment at the primary level within the shortest possible time, improving the occupational competencies of migrant fishermen by giving their children an education suitable to their enrolment and, lastly, improvement of the general living conditions of migrant fishermen and their families by creating awareness of the need to be enlightened (Migrant Fishermen Education Policy, 1990, p.4).

From the above excerpt, it is evident that the federal government's intention for the promulgation of the Migrant Fishermen Education Policy, aside from integrating migrant fishermen into the mainstream of the Nigerian society, was also aimed at eradicating illiteracy which was common among migrant fisherfolk. The enactment of this policy in 1990

was immediately followed by its implementation. The River state government was the first to begin the implementation of the policy. Oral evidence from one of the officials indicated that at the infantile stage of the policy one notable problem surfaced. The problem was which of the government agencies would be saddled with the responsibility of handling the administration, management and control of migrant fishermen education. Probing on how the issue was resolved, Inyang declared: “there was confusion on which government agency should handle the affairs of migrant fishermen. After series of consultations among the stakeholders, it was resolved that the federal government should transfer the administration, management and control of the affairs of migrant fishermen education to National Commission for Nomadic Education.” From all indications, it is evident from the narration that there was no governmental institution which was authorised to manage, administer and control this newly established policy. This might have led to a near collapse of the system before the situation was salvaged by transferring the management, administration and control of it to NCNE.

With the transfer of migrant fishermen education to NCNE, the commission immediately organised a conference to brainstorm on the ways to develop a blueprint that would serve as a guide for future action on migrant fishermen education. According to Equere:

The conference recommended the type of educational programme which is akin to regular primary education but with little reflection on the peculiar environment and lifestyle of the migrant fisherfolk (Personal communication with Equere, 2012).

To achieve this, the commission brought together renowned scholars in various subject areas who were familiar with the environmental condition and lifestyle of the migrant fishermen to develop a curriculum guide for the provision of education to migrant fishermen’s children. Judging from the way the Migrant Fishermen Education Policy was promulgated by the Federal Government of Nigeria, I would say that the main role players that initiated the policy were the six state governments in the Southern part of Nigeria. They wanted the migrant fishermen’s children, like their nomadic pastoralist counterparts, to be educated. Furthermore, from the narration it is evident that though the migrant fishermen’s education was transferred to NCNE for effective management and control, the curriculum was completely different from the one used by nomadic pastoralists’ schools. In my view, the difference in the two curriculums was as a result of the environmental and cultural

differences that exist between the two migrant groups. This led to the issue of the Migrant Farmers Education Policy of 1992.

5.10 The Migrant Farmers Education Policy of 1992

Six months after the incorporation of migrant fishermen into NCNE and the eventual commencement of migrant fishermen's education, there was another round of agitation by some pressure groups for the provision of Western education to migrant farmers found in some states around Nigeria. The pressure groups that were in the forefront of this agitation were Akwa Ibom Farmers Association, Okro Women Association, Rubber Plantation Owners Association, and Palm Oil Plantation Owners Association. I enquired from Inyang who the migrant farmers were, and why a special kind of education had to be given to them like their nomadic pastoralists and migrant fishermen counterparts. His response indicated that migrant farmers have the same lifestyle as nomadic pastoralists and migrant fishermen, however, they engage in different occupational activities such as agricultural produce. This implies that migrant farmers involve themselves in the planting of food and cash crops in the country. Among the food crops they produce are: cassava, yams, maize, millets and melons, among others. Similarly, palm oil, cocoa, rubber, timber, cotton, groundnuts and beniseed were some of the cash crops produced by migrant farmers. This group of migrant farmers are mainly found in the tropical rain forest, riverine shores and savannah belts of Nigeria where there are large acres of land available for cultivation.

Due to the intense pressure mounted by the pressure groups, a representation was made to the Minister of Education for the inclusion of migrant farmers in formal education. After the representation, I was made to understand that the Minister of Education called a meeting of the National Council on Education to deliberate on the inclusion of migrant farmers into the nomadic education programme. Further interaction with Inyang revealed that the National Council on Education was the highest policy-making body in education in Nigeria. The National Council on Education at its 41th general meeting held in Enugu resolved that children of migrant farmers should be incorporated into the nomadic education programme. This resolution was immediately communicated to the Federal Government of Nigeria. After a series of deliberations by the presidency on the importance of migrant farmers' education, the federal government under the then military head of state (General Ibrahim Babangida) promulgated the Migrant Farmers Education Policy of 1992.

From the above narration, it is evident that unlike the two previous nomadic groups, the migrant farmers' education was championed by some pressure groups. In my view, the reason why these pressure groups agitated for the establishment of migrant farmers' education is because they wanted to be taught new methods of planting in order to increase crops yield. Disturbing questions in my mind included: who formed these pressure groups and why were they formed? This question could not be answered by the participants when it was put to them. Moreover, there was no documentary evidence to give a clear picture on this. From my observation, it appears that the pressure groups were formed by the farmers themselves with the intention of having a collective bargaining power in selling their agricultural products to the governments.

Looking at the background information of the Migrant Farmers' Education Policy revealed that there are three classes of migrant farmers. These include: farmers who have their original home in semi-urban areas, but live and farm in remote areas. This class of farmers usually moves out of the peri-urban areas because of the shortage of farmlands. The movement of these farmers to these remote areas is often accompanied by their entire family including children of school going age. The second class of farmers are those who practice shifting cultivation. This group of farmers move with their entire family to one farmland, and after the farmland has been exhausted, they move to other remote locations in search of more fertile land, while allowing the exhausted one to remain fallow for five to eight years. The third class of migrant farmers is the immigrant farmers. In Nigeria, these are farmers who migrate from different states and in some cases local government areas with their families to settle in virgin lands for their farming activities. Occasionally, these farmers visit their home states or local government areas where they originally come from for a few days.

Section 2 of the Migrant Farmers Education Policy of 1992 clearly spelt out the objectives which the policy has to fulfil. Like the nomadic pastoralists and migrant fishermen education policies, the Migrant Farmers Education Policy authorised the incorporation of migrant farmers' education into the nomadic education programme which is under the administration and management of the NCNE. With this authorisation, it becomes obvious that the NCNE has three different types of nomadic groups in its fold. In order to satisfy the educational needs and interests of the migrant farming communities and promote educational equity and access, NCNE was mandated to cooperate with the state, local government and the local communities.

The mission statement of the Migrant Farmers' Education Policy has been stated in the policy document as follows:

The NCNE should implement education planned for farming communities in all the affected states of the Federation in accordance with its mandate. Second, in implementing the educational programmes, the NCNE shall maintain a cordial working relationship with such other agencies as the National Mass Education Commission (NMEC), the State Primary Education Board (SPEB) and the Local Government Education Authorities (LGEA). Third, specifically, the NCNE will provide qualitative education for the children of migrant farmers all over the country. Subsequently, while providing education for the children of the migrant farmers, the NCNE shall ensure that their parents benefit from functional literacy programmes and other non-formal education programmes under the aegis of the NMEC and State Agencies for Adult and Non-Formal Education (SAANE). Last, in effect, the NCNE should be committed to raising the standard of living and general quality of life of the migrant families through appropriate formal/non-formal education (Migrant Farmers Education Policy, 1992, p. 9).

From the above quotation, it is evident that the responsibilities of NCNE to migrant farmers' education were clearly spelt out in the document. This includes: designing the kind of education which is appropriate for the migrant farmers and by ensuring a good working relationship with some government agencies (NMEC, SPEB, LGEA, NMEC and SAANE) for the promotion of formal education for the migrant communities. The commission was also mandated to ensure that the poor standard of living of the migrant farmers in their communities is raised through the provision of formal education.

However, in order to avoid mismanagement and squandering of funds allocated to migrant farmers' education, government provided in the policy a monitoring and evaluation mechanism towards effective and efficient management of migrant farmers' education. In the policy, it is clearly stated in section 8, sub-section 1 that "program monitoring and evaluation shall be carried out regularly jointly by the NCNE, SPED, LGEA and communities." Here, the monitoring and evaluation of the migrant farmers' education is completely different from the two previous groups. SPED, LGEA and communities were all incorporated in the monitoring and evaluation of migrant farmers' education in the country. In my view, the incorporation of SPED, LGEA and communities where migrant farmers come from is to ensure that the firsthand report is received from the migrant farmers. In pursuance of the above, the policy document maintains that NCNE shall use systematic monitoring and strategy that will generate reliable content and outcomes in order to determine the extent to

which the objectives of the migrant farmers' education are being attained. In addition to the above, the policy says that the outcomes of the monitoring and strategy shall form the basis for further improvement of the programme as well as serve as feedback to all stakeholders.

Despite the importance of the policy to the migrant farmers, my interaction with Nse revealed that there were opposing views to the enactment of this policy. Nse could not hide his displeasure with the establishment of migrant farmers' education and its eventual incorporation into the nomadic education programme. He wondered why a separate education programme had to be established for a small group of farmers who were supposed to be incorporated into either the conventional primary education system or migrant fishermen's education. He based his argument on the grounds that migrant farm workers' children are very small in number compared to nomadic pastoralists or migrant fishermen. Nse declared: "what is the use of enacting a policy for the education of migrant farm workers' children? In fact, there was no basis for that. If you look at migrant farmers' population in this country, they are very small. It could have been better if they were fused with migrant fishermen education." The above quotation accentuates the point that the enactment of the Migrant Farmers' Education Policy which eventually led to the establishment of migrant farmers' education was not supported by some groups of individuals in Nigeria.

The issue of the small number of migrant farmers which Nse relied on in opposing the policy, in my view, is baseless. This is because the migrant farmers are Nigerians, therefore, irrespective of their low numerical strength they should be accorded all the rights and privileges as Nigerians as stated in the Nigerian Constitution. The promulgation of the Migrant Farmers' Education Policy led me to another important nomadic education policy – the Nomadic Education Boarding Policy of 1996.

5.11 The Nomadic Education Boarding Policy of 1996

In the year 1993, all the three nomadic groups (nomadic pastoralists, migrant fishermen and migrant farmers) were successfully provided with the nomadic education programme. Inyang reported that since nomadic education was a federal government project, its implementation was very smooth and effective. Funds for the execution of the programme were readily made available. Human and material resources were provided. Despite the provision of needed resources, the majority of the nomads who were the recipients of nomadic education refused to avail themselves for the educational opportunities provided. Instead, they continued with

their daily migrational occupations. The above narration is clear evidence that the governmentalisation process on nomadic education programme failed because of its rejection by the nomads. The rejection borders on nomads' refusal to send their children to school.

The major problem before the government was how the nomads could be conscripted into the nomadic education programme. According to Udo Ekim, a monitoring team of NCNE in its annual report came up with a number of measures aimed at encouraging the nomads to avail themselves for nomadic education. One of the measures was the introduction of boarding facilities in all nomadic schools in the country. In 1995, NCNE discussed the proposal in its 32th general meeting. After the meeting, a decision was reached that government should provide boarding facilities in all nomadic schools in Nigeria. By so doing, the nomads would not only be conscribed into the school system, but they would also be settled in a particular environment. The proposal was communicated to the Minister of Education who in turn tabled the proposal before the federal government. In 1996, the Federal Government of Nigeria on the advice of the Minister of Education came up with another policy known as the Nomadic Education Boarding Policy of 1996.

From the narration, it is evident that the reasons why the federal government introduced the boarding policy for nomadic people were two-fold. First, the government wanted to ensure that nomadic people embraced the formal education programme provided. Second, it wanted to turn nomadic people from the highly mobile group into a sedentary population. In support of the above analysis, Equere declared: "The boarding education policy was conceived with the sole intention of settling down the nomads." In a sharp contrast, two other officials reported that the Nomadic Education Boarding Policy was enacted so as to protect nomadic children from harsh environmental conditions that prevented them most of the time from attending school. Nse declared:

The policy was initiated to address poor school attendance often witnessed during a particular period of the year. For instance, school attendance of migrant fishermen children during May through September of every year drops because of torrential rain which cause the overflow of the river banks, hence, preventing school age children from attending classes (Personal communication with Nse, 2012).

Asaka was very categorical in his response when he stated: "the attendance of those nomadic school children who are enrolled in these nomadic schools were less than twenty percent of

the actual enrolment during a particular season of the year due to unfavourable environmental conditions. Therefore, to check this irregular attendance, government passed the boarding education policy.” Issues raised for government’s enactment of the boarding education policy necessitated me to look at the copy of the said policy which was collected from NAN. The Nomadic Education Boarding Policy (1996, p.9) stipulates that: “where necessary, government shall provide boarding facility for nomadic children at primary education. Where the facility is available, all nomadic school children shall compulsorily avail his/herself with it.” In furtherance to this, the policy also states that the accommodation of the nomadic children should be free. Where the policy was silent was in the areas of the feeding arrangement of nomadic children who were accommodated in the boarding house.

In order to establish whether nomadic children were fed while in the boarding school, I met with Udo Ekim. He was the Executive Secretary in the NCNE when the boarding education policy was initiated and implemented. In addressing the issue of feeding in boarding houses, Udo Ekim responded: “government did not budget for the feeding of nomadic children in these boarding houses. This was the major setback that almost derailed the policy.” The failure on the part of the Nigerian government to budget for the feeding of nomadic school children in the boarding house resulted in their total abandonment of the facilities provided. Furthermore, it was established that the burden of feeding nomadic school children could not be shouldered by their parents because of the poor economic situation. With the near failure of the boarding education policy, and with government’s intention to arrest this trend, the Nomadic Education Feeding Policy of 1998 was enacted. From the narration, it can be deduced that the federal government which was the sole financier of nomadic education though it provided boarding facilities in all nomadic schools in Nigeria, failed to provide nomadic children that were accommodated with food. Government’s failure in this area nearly marred the implementation of the policy. In light of the above, the feeding policy was introduced to address the shortfall in the learners’ enrolment.

5.12 The Nomadic Education Feeding Policy of 1998

In 1997, the Federal Government of Nigeria received a ministerial report on the ‘situational analysis of the Nomadic Education Boarding Policy’. According to Udo Ekim, the report indicated that the newly introduced boarding facilities in almost all nomadic schools in Nigeria were under-utilised due to the absence of nomadic children. The report further suggested the intervention measures that would be adopted. One of the intervention measures

suggested was the introduction of the school feeding programme in nomadic schools. In the latter part of 1997, the presidency commissioned a consultancy firm to carry out head counts of all nomadic school children in the country. Udo Ekim reported that this exercise was done in order to determine the actual population of the nomadic school-going children and to determine funds that would be provided for their feeding. The consultancy firm completed its assignment and submitted the report to the government. The above narration suggests that one of the functions and responsibilities of the department of monitoring, evaluation and statistics of NCNE was temporarily given to a consultancy firm. The reason for the award of the contract to this consultancy firm by the federal government, in my view, was solely political. The federal military government of Nigeria led by General Abacha wanted to ensure that his administration maintained a stable relationship and undiluted support from some consultancy firms so as to sustain its staying power.

Still on the introduction of the feeding programme, Asaka added that on receipt of the report, the presidency appointed four ministers in the persons of Ministers of Education, Finance and Budget, Agriculture and Youth, Sport and Development, to discuss the modalities for the introduction of the school feeding programme in nomadic schools. Additionally, Inyang said that with input from these ministers and other relevant stakeholders, the federal government began the draft of the Nomadic Education Feeding Policy. On 26th February 1998, the federal military government of Nigeria announced the introduction of the feeding policy into the nomadic education programme.

I interrogated Equere on the importance of this policy and he responded: “the new policy was designed and enacted in order to improve the nutritional status of nomadic school children in the country, and also increase nomadic school enrolment, retention and completion.” In probing further on the importance of this policy, Asaka commented: “the overall goal of the policy was to reduce hunger and malnutrition among nomadic school children and equally improve the enrolment figures in nomadic schools.” After listening to these officials on the importance of the policy, I was anxious to see what the policy document says in order to establish the correctness of their stories. It was on this premise that I looked for a copy of the Nomadic Education Feeding Policy which I collected from the archive. The objectives of the policy were stated as follows:

Reduction of hunger among nomadic school children in Nigeria, improvement of nutritional health status of nomadic school children, increase nomadic school enrolment, attendance, retention and completion, and enhance comprehension and learning performance of nomadic children (Nomadic Education Feeding Policy, 1998, p.6).

Furthermore, on the issue of the provision of funds for the execution of the feeding programme, the policy document clearly outlined the responsibility of each of the three-tiers of government (federal, state and local government). In my view, the sharing of the formula stipulated in the policy was to remove conflict and tension on the funding of the programme. As the policy stands, each tier of government is expected to be aware of its share of the contribution towards the implementation of the feeding programme. It was stated in the policy document that the federal government of Nigeria that conceptualised the school feeding programme would provide all the needed funds for the project. For its part, the state government in which nomadic schools are situated are expected to provide the farmlands where the food crops should be grown. However, the policy further states that the local government area and the communities where nomadic schools are situated should provide the farm workers and other personnel that would work in the school as cooks and stewards. The provision of farmlands and the planting of food crops within the locality where nomadic schools were located suggest government's intention to provide nomadic children with good nutritional value all year round and at the lower cost. Furthermore, the engagement of the 'natives' in cultivating the land was to boost food production in the host communities and improve farmers' income as well. Moreover, the engagement of the nomads in crops cultivation, apart from bringing the government project nearer to them, was also a mechanism to provide employment to the nomads.

5.13 Conclusion

Chapter five only focused on the nomadic education policies promulgated during the military administrations (1986-1999). Evidence from the officials and policy documents indicated that nomadic education in Nigeria was conceptualised by the federal military government in fulfilment of the provision of the 1979 Nigerian Constitution which stipulated that 'government shall direct its policy towards ensuring that there are equal and adequate educational opportunities for every Nigerian'. It was in the spirit of the 1979 Constitution not to exclude nomads from partaking in Western education that nomadic education was conceptualised. Similarly, international treaties and conventions which the Nigerian

government was a signatory to also played a significant role in the conceptualisation of nomadic education. For instance, Article 26 of the 1984 Universal Declaration of Human Rights says that ‘everyone has the right to education and that it shall be free at least in the elementary and primary stages.’ This international treaty and other ones mentioned above were the basis for the Nigerian government to initiate the nomadic education programme for nomadic people. Local agitation for nomadic education was also discussed above.

On the issue of the establishment of nomadic education in 1986, the officials interviewed and policy documents in my possession revealed that it was made through the presidential pronouncement on the recommendation of the committee set up to carry out the feasibility study on the viability of the nomadic education programme. Additionally, I presented various decrees promulgated by the federal government for the implementation of migrant fishermen’s education, migrant farmers’ education, boarding education and feeding education policies. Throughout the discussion in this chapter, the political motives behind the decisions made by successive military administrations were brought to the fore.

The conclusion of the first phase of the data presentation leads me to another important phase of the data presentation in chapter six. In the next chapter, I presented all the nomadic education policies made during the democratic administrations. In other words, in the next chapter I will look at nomadic education policies enacted by President Olusegun Obasanjo and President Umaru Musa Yar’Adua’s governments from 1999 to 2009.

Chapter six

Nomads' second missionary journey

6.1 Introduction

In chapter five of this thesis I began by stating that the nomadic education programme in Nigeria was conceptualised on two grounds, namely: (i) to fulfill the provision of the 1979 Nigerian Constitution, and (ii) to comply with the international treaties and conventions which the country entered into. In the context of the evolution of nomadic education, the findings revealed that certain dynamics such as the National Policy on Education of 1977, the Universal Primary Education Policy, MACBAN and some international institutions such as UNESCO, World Bank, and UNDP, promoted the evolution of nomadic education in Nigeria. I went on to analyse chronologically different nomadic education policies promulgated by the federal military governments of Nigeria from 1986 to 1999. This chapter six is the second part of the data presentation. It focuses on nomadic education policies made during the democratic dispensation in Nigeria which spanned between 1999 and 2009. To refresh our minds, my second research question stated in chapter one is: how did nomadic education policies in Nigeria unfold between 1986 and 2009? Having addressed this question for the period 1986 to 1999 the discussion will now move to the next phase (1999-2009).

In response to the question, history has it that between 1993 and 1999, Nigeria was faced with an unstable political climate due to the annulment of the presidential election on 12 June, 1993, widely believed to have been won by Alhaji Moshood Abiola. The instability did not only affect the Nigerian political environment, other sectors such as the economy, education, and health services were also affected. Concerning the education sector, both nomadic and regular schools in the country were closed down as a result of the political crisis. Moreover, the situation was compounded by lack of the provision of instructional resources and non-payment of teachers' salaries particularly in nomadic schools. In order to stabilise the polity, the then military administration of General Abdulsalam Abubakar conducted a general election and 'voluntarily' relinquished political power to democratically elected representatives of the Nigerian people on 29th August, 1999. President Olusegun Obasanjo who won the 1999 general presidential election immediately went into action repositioning the education sector which was on the verge of collapse.

Inyang declared that "when the present democratic government came to power in 1999, it was confronted with certain stark educational realities which demanded drastic measures in order to ameliorate the situation." When I asked why the education reform was necessary at

this point in time when other sectors were also begging for attention, Equere responded: “as an elected government, they felt duty bound to step in and bring about positive transformations within the system so as to respond to the yearnings and demands of the people within the context of democratic governance. Moreover, the new government was of the view that if the education sector is transformed every other sector can be transformed since education is a vehicle for development.” However, the proposed education reform focused principally on the basic education sub-sector which consists of early childhood-care, six years of primary school, non-traditional continuing education, skills acquisition and vocation programme, as well as nomadic education.

6.2 The Universal Basic Education Policy of 2004

On 30th September 1999, exactly four months after President Obasanjo was sworn into office as Nigeria’s democratically elected president, he officially launched Universal Basic Education (UBE) in Sokoto state. The launch of UBE was not immediately backed by enabling law. In order to carry out the proposed reform successfully, the Universal Basic Education Bill was quickly drafted by the presidency and sent to the National Assembly (Senate and House of Representatives) for consideration. The deliberation of the draft bill by the National Assembly and its subsequent passage into an Act saw the birth of the Universal Basic Education Policy (UBEP) of 2004. From the narration, it is evident that it took almost five years for the government to enact the UBEP despite the fact that the implementation of the programme started as soon as it was launched in 1999. Moreover, the formulation and enactment of this policy was not in line with democratic norms because the major stakeholder was not consulted. In other words, Nigerians who were the potential beneficiaries of the UBEP were not consulted before the policy was enacted.

In order to have first-hand knowledge of the UBEP of 2004, I looked at the policy document I obtained from the archive. The Mission Statement of the policy reads:

To operate as an intervention, coordinating and monitoring agency to progressively improve the capacity of states, local government agencies and communities in the provision of unfettered access to high qualitative basic education in Nigeria. However, at the end of an uninterrupted nine years of education, every child that passes through the system should acquire appropriate levels of literacy (UBEP, 2004, p. 2).

The above extract suggests that the UBEP of 2004 was not meant for sedentary children alone, but was also meant for nomadic children. This was unlike the former UPE of 1977

which neglected the specific educational needs of the disadvantaged groups such as the nomads. In other words, this policy right from its inception was targeted at all Nigerian children of school-going age. The duration was nine years of uninterrupted basic education.

A closer examination reveals the objectives of the policy as:

Developing in the entire citizenry a strong consciousness for education and a strong commitment to its vigorous promotion; the provision of free, Universal Basic Education for every Nigerian child of school-going age; reducing drastically the incidence of drop-out from the formal school system (through improved relevance, quality and efficiency); and ensuring the acquisition of appropriate levels of literacy, numeracy, manipulative, communicative and life skills, as well as ethical, moral and civic values needed for laying a solid foundation for life-long learning (UBEP, 2004, p.4).

From the extract, it is evident that the UBE programme was seen as a people's programme with very serious emphasis laid on all round development of the individual with the aim of reaching each Nigerian citizen. Furthermore, UBE was also introduced by the government to reduce the incidence of drop-out which has been very high particularly in the deep rural areas. In opinion, government's intention to eradicate drop-out through UBE was to ensure the reduction of various societal vices which are the products of student drop-outs.

Under the 1999 Nigerian Constitution, primary education is located under a concurrent list. This means that each tier (federal, state and local government) of government and private individuals are allowed by law to establish and manage primary education. Since the UBE programme was the federal government initiative, the intention was to ensure that there was uniformity and sustenance of quality in primary education across the length and breadth of Nigeria. Therefore, in the policy it was clearly stated that:

Without prejudice to the provisions of item 30 of Part II of the Second Schedule and item 2 (a) of the Fourth Schedule to the 1999 Constitution dealing with primary school education, the Federal Government's intervention under this policy shall only be an assistance to the States and Local Government in Nigeria for the purposes of uniform and qualitative basic education throughout Nigeria (UBEP, 2004, p.7).

The preceding quote implies that though UBE was a federal government programme, the states and local government areas were mandated to partner with the federal government. The reason for the partnership was to ensure that every Nigerian child irrespective of the location in which he/she stays should avail himself or herself for the programme.

In order to ensure that no state or local government in Nigeria irrespective of the political party affiliation failed to participate in the implementation of the programme, the UBEP Part 3, Sub-section 2 (2004, p.9) stipulates that: “every government in Nigeria shall provide free and compulsory basic education for every child of primary and junior secondary school age. Every parent shall ensure that his child or ward attends and completes the primary and junior secondary school education.” From the quote, it is evident that every nomadic child in Nigeria is entitled to uninterrupted free education irrespective of his/her place of birth or habitation. Furthermore, the duration of the UBE programme is nine years; six years for primary and three years for junior secondary school education.

To ensure compliance, this policy spelt out punishment for parents or wards that contravened the section of the policy. The UBEP (2004, p. 10) states thus:

The stakeholders in education in a Local Government Area, shall ensure that every parent or person who has the care and custody of a child performs the duty imposed on him under section 3 (2) of this policy. A parent who contravenes section 3 (2) of this policy commits an offence and is liable on first conviction, to be reprimanded; on second conviction, to a fine of N2, 000.00 or imprisonment for a term of one month or to both; and on subsequent conviction, to a fine of N5, 000.00 or imprisonment for a term of two months or to both.

From the quote, it is evident that making UBE free and compulsory, and also spelling out punishment for those who contravened the policy, encouraged the nomads (parents) to persuade their children and wards to participate in formal education. This singular action resulted in a positive increase in the number of children in all nomadic schools in the country. However, the punitive measure adopted by the federal government of Nigeria in ensuring that Nigerians embrace UBEC was unacceptable. Position is based on the fact that if the programme was beneficial to the generality of Nigerians, nomads included, the issue of enforcement by the government would not arise. This is in total agreement with the age-long *Ibibio* proverb – ‘a good wine needs no bush.’

One remarkable feature of the UBEP was the establishment of a commission known as the Universal Basic Education Commission (UBEC). Also, this policy allowed for the setting up of the State Universal Basic Education Commission (SUBEC) and the Local Government Basic Education Commission (LGBEC) in all the states and local government areas in Nigeria. Evidence from Inyang and Udo Ekim indicated that UBEC was saddled with the responsibility of coordinating all aspects of the UBE programme. Furthermore, the

establishment of both the SUBEC and LGBEC was aimed at ensuring that the UBE programme did not stop at the federal government level rather that it had to be felt by the people at the grassroots (villages, communities, and townships) level too. However, the establishment of SUBEC and LGBEC by the government should have been of no significance if the bottom-top approach policy formulation was adopted. This is because Nigerians who are beneficiaries of this programme would have been aware of it from the outset and would have accordingly embraced it.

Reporting on the functions of the zonal offices, Nse explained:

Providing structures for smooth implementation of the UBE programme, building schools, providing furniture and other instructional materials to nomadic education, the recruitment of both teaching and non-teaching staff and manages and monitoring their performance for promotions, monitoring and supervision of schools, and organisation of series of seminars designed to meet cross-cutting training needs for teacher (Personal communication with Nse, 2012).

Here, the UBE programme was a policy reform measure embarked upon by the federal government of Nigeria to address the gaps and distortions which existed at basic education levels. However, the commission's responsibility was to ensure that UBE activities in Nigeria were implemented to the latter. Moreover, the commission's relationship with the states and local governments was mainly in the area of providing leadership and advisory services, since it could be seen that those levels were the actual implementers of the programme.

Inyang highlighted one disturbing trend of the UBE programme in the country. This was the existence of both the UBEP and Decree 41 of 1989 that brought about the establishment of the National Commission for Nomadic Education (NCNE). The existence of these two commissions (UBEC and NCNE) resulted in overlapping roles and responsibilities. This was evident in the area of the employment of teachers, provision of classrooms, instructional materials, monitoring and supervision of nomadic schools. Regarding the overlapping roles and responsibilities of commissions on nomadic education, Inyang explained: "it is instructive to note that since the enactment of UBE policy by federal government in the year 2004, NCNE has to contend with the problem of survival. This is because functions hitherto performed by NCNE have either been given out to UBEC or split."

Supporting the above view, Udo Ekim declared:

NCNE was faced with a serious problem of extinction or was reduced to a mere department in the Universal Basic Education Commission. This is because initial duties and responsibilities of the Nomadic Education Commission of Nigeria were unceremoniously taken up by Universal Basic Education Commission (Personal communication with Udo Ekim, 2012).

From the narration, it is evident that UBEC and NCNE played almost the same role in the provision of basic education to nomads in the country. In my view, the confusion resulting from it was a reflection of the federal government's inability to involve the stakeholders in the formulation of the policies. The top-down approach adopted in the formulation of education policies often resulted in tension, conflict and rejection. This situation continued until April, 2005 when the federal government through the Minister of Education issued out a directive spelling out the function of each of the commissions. From the analysis, the overlapping role played by the two government institutions, in my view, shows government's lapses when it comes to the issue of policy formulation. From the formulation stage, the federal government of Nigeria ought to have clearly outlined the functions, duties and responsibilities of these two government institutions. This would have removed the tension and friction witnessed.

Probing further on the Minister's directive, Inyang explained: "the directive by the Minister of Education was that Universal Basic Education Commission should focus only on the construction of new classrooms and reconstruction of dilapidated ones. The Minister further directed that National Commission for Nomadic Education should continue to perform its functions as prescribed by the decree establishing." Here, the Acts that established the two commissions did not clearly specify the role of each of the commissions. Therefore, NCNE had a very disturbing experience in the process of implementing the relational schedules in the two Acts. This was simply because UBEC was not willing and ready to part with the resources which were meant for NCNE. This 'crisis' resulted in the delay in the execution of NCNE projects in Nigeria.

6.3 The Indigenous Language Policy of 2004

Another urgent policy that received federal government attention after the UBEP was enacted was the Indigenous Language Policy for nomadic children in school. Official government records indicated that there are over 450 languages spoken by over 500 ethnic groups in

Nigeria. Despite this array of local languages in Nigeria, none was adopted as an official language of communication. Oral history by Inyang has it that in 1986, the Nigerian government gave a directive that all nomadic children should be taught in English like sedentary children in the regular primary schools. The reason why the government gave this directive was because the English language is an official language of instruction at all levels of education in the country. Furthermore, the government directed that English language must be used in nomadic schools as a medium of instruction and as a subject in order to integrate the nomads into the socio-political terrain of Nigeria. Explaining further on the government's reason for the introduction of the English language in all nomadic schools in Nigeria, Asaka declared: "in recognition of the importance of English language in national communication, for social interaction, cohesion and unity, smooth interaction with friends the federal government introduced English language in nomadic schools as a medium of instruction and as a subject in all nomadic schools in Nigeria." Additionally, Equere reported: "the use of English language as a medium of instruction in nomadic schools was seen by government as a unifying force in the turbulent linguistic terrain of Nigeria." In 1987, the implementation of the government directive began and this marked the beginning of the use of the English language in all nomadic schools in Nigeria.

From the narration, it is evident that though 450 indigenous languages are spoken in Nigeria, none of these languages was used as an official language of either communication or instruction in all nomadic schools. Government's insistence on the use of the English language in all nomadic schools was premised on several reasons. First, using one language would lead to cohesion and unity in the country. In my view, this had political overtones; it was done in order to maintain the existing 'cordial' relationship with Britain who colonised the country. Furthermore, the use of English in all nomadic schools was meant to appease some international organisations (World Bank, UNESCO, and UNDP) who were (and still are) partners in the funding of nomadic education in the country.

The adoption of the English language as an official medium of instruction and also as a subject in all nomadic schools in Nigeria was initially received by nomads with unprecedented enthusiasm. This was as a result of the nature of social prestige the nomads accorded to the English language speakers. In light of this, the majority of the nomads wanted their children to be taught in English. Evidence from one of the NCNE's officials revealed that nomads believed that the mastery of oratory skill in English by their children was a

reflection of a high level of their literacy. However, the nomads' view in this direction filtered away when they discovered that the adoption of the English language as a medium of instruction and as a subject in school did not resonate with their lifestyle. Udo Ekim was categorical in his response when he was probed on why the nomads rejected the use of the English language in school. He stated:

The first aim of nomadic education was to provide the kind of education which the nomads want rather than what the authority or government thinks they should have. The cultural elements of the nomadic people ought to have formed the base for any curriculum selection and development, but this was not so. Instead, the English language was used against the needs of the nomads, this singular action by government compelled the nomads to reject English both as a medium of instruction and as a subject (Personal communication with Udo Ekim, 2012).

However, Asaka explained the perceived negative impact which the use of the English language in nomadic schools had caused on the nomadic children. Nomads found out that the exposure of their children to the English language led to them imbibing foreign cultures. This is evident particularly in the way and manner in which nomadic children took to fashion in total disregard to their indigenous dressing. Nomadic people were opposed to their male children wearing jeans and female children dressing in trousers. They believed that the use of the English language in school was the cause of their children adapting these foreign dressing codes in total disrespect for their native '*Wando*' (bright-colour embroidered hand woven wrapper). Therefore, to stop the infiltration of the foreign culture on nomadic children, the nomads began to withdraw their children and wards from nomadic schools nation-wide.

From the narration, therefore, it can be deduced that the English language hitherto used as an official language in all nomadic schools in the country was rejected based on the conception that it brought about the 'adulteration' of nomads' cultures. Aside from that, it resulted in the gradual extinction of the nomads' native languages. Nomadic children were fond of speaking the English language not only in the school compound but also at home.

The rejection of the English language resulted in a report being tabled to the government by officials of NCNE on the withdrawal of nomadic children from school. This report was deliberated upon at the Federal Executive Council (FEC) meeting. The FEC is the highest policy decision making body in Nigeria and has the democratically elected president of Nigeria as its chairperson. At the end of the deliberation, a decision was reached for the introduction of the indigenous language policy to check continuous attrition rate of nomadic

children. In 2004, the federal government enacted the Indigenous Language Policy for nomadic education. From the analysis, it is evident that the nomads' displeasure towards the use of the English language was the basis on which the Indigenous Language Policy was enacted for nomadic children. In spite of the fact that the nomads' deviance necessitated the enactment of the policy, one disturbing trend was that nomadic people were not consulted for their input before the policy was enacted hence negating the democratic norm of adequate consultation for any policy made for the nomads.

My curiosity to read the contents of the Indigenous Language Policy of 2004 was very high. Therefore, I took a look at the content of the policy document collected from the archive. Section 2 of the Indigenous Language Policy states that:

Government appreciates the importance of language as a means of promoting social interaction and national cohesion and preserving cultures. Thus every nomadic child shall learn the language of the immediate environment. Furthermore, in the interest of national unity, it is expedient that every nomadic child shall be required to learn one of the three main Nigerian languages of Hausa, Ibo and Yoruba (Indigenous Language Policy, 2004, p.4).

Similarly, Section 14 of the policy stipulates that: "government shall ensure that the medium of instruction is principally the mother tongue or the language of the immediate community." From the quotes, it can be deduced that every nomadic child in school would be allowed to be taught in two languages, that is, his/her mother tongue and any of the three major languages spoken in Nigeria. The intention of the government in ensuring that every nomadic child was taught in one of the Nigerian languages in addition to his/her mother tongue was to bring about oneness/unity among Nigerians. Lack of unity among different ethnic groups in Nigeria resulted in civil disturbances across the country. For instance, crises between the nomads and host communities were often experienced in the country.

For clarity purposes, the content of this policy specifically mentions the extent to which the 'mother tongue or language of immediate environment' should be used in nomadic schools. Section 14, Sub-section 2 of the policy states that: "the medium of instruction in the nomadic primary school shall be the language of the environment for the first four years. During this period, English should be taught as a subject. From the fifth year, English shall progressively be used as the medium of instruction and the language of the environment shall be taught as a subject." The above quotation shows that the use of mother tongue as a medium of instruction should be applied in the first four years of the child's schooling. Thereafter, the

English language should be introduced. However, the policy is silent on the duration in which the three major Nigerian languages (Hausa, Yoruba and Ibo) should be taught in nomadic schools. Furthermore, the policy did not say anything concerning the second Nigerian language to be used should the nomadic child speak any of the three major Nigerian languages. Additionally, considering the unique nature of ethnic politics in Nigeria, it is not possible for the Ibo or Yoruba speaking teacher to be transferred to the nomadic pastoralists located in Hausaland or vice versa. These were some of the practical challenges.

To ensure that this Indigenous Language Policy was implemented successfully, NCNE on 12th November, 2004 commissioned centres in three different universities in Nigeria to design and develop a nomadic friendly curriculum for three different types of nomads (nomadic pastoralists, migrant fishermen and migrant farmers) found in the country. In explaining where and why the three centres were selected for the curriculum design, Inyang said that these centres were located in Usman DanFodio University, Sokoto, University of Port Harcourt and University of Jos. Furthermore, Usman DanFodio University, Sokoto was picked to develop the curriculum for the nomadic pastoralists, while the University of Port Harcourt was chosen to develop the curriculum for migrant fishermen's children. The University of Jos was picked to design the curriculum for migrant farmers' children. Interrogating further why these particular universities were chosen, Udo Ekim replied: "we handpicked these universities because of their closeness to each of the three nomadic groups. Usman DanFodio University, Sokoto served nomadic pastoralists, University of Port Harcourt focused on migrant fishermen and University of Jos dealt with migrant farmers." In 2005, Usman DanFodio University, Sokoto began the development of the curriculum for nomadic pastoralists. Since the majority of nomadic pastoralists are from the Fulfulde speaking group, reading and teaching materials in Fulfulde dialect were developed. Textual materials in primary science, mathematics, social studies, health education, handcraft and Fulfulde were developed. One significant issue in this new curriculum was that it was integrated with local contents - something unprecedented. In my opinion, the infusion of the curriculum with local contents was to ensure that the nomads benefited from the subjects taught.

In the same manner, the University of Port Harcourt was assigned the task to design the new curriculum for migrant fishermen's children. Before the commissioning of the centre, a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) was signed between the University of Port Harcourt

and NCNE. The signed MOU concisely specified the responsibilities of both the university and NCNE towards the development, maintenance and sustenance of the centre. As stated in the signed MOU, the objectives of the centre were to:

Conduct research on all aspects of the lifestyle and education of migrant fisherfolk. Conducting training courses for teachers posted to primary schools for children of migrant fisherfolk. Development of relevant instructional materials such as textbooks, teachers' guides, primers, among others for the education of children of migrant fisherfolk and their parents (MOU, 2005, p.3).

After the signing of the MOU, the University of Port Harcourt immediately organised a workshop for the development of instructional materials such as text books, pictures, and teachers' guides. The workshop had in its attendance migrant fishermen, community heads, and experts from different subject areas from five universities in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria. This workshop gave the migrant fishermen an opportunity to have a say on the content of the proposed new curriculum for migrant fishermen education. After the workshop, a migrant fishermen-friendly curriculum was designed and developed. Subjects such as mathematics, Ijaw language, primary science, religious education, local history, health education and English language with local contents were produced. These subjects were taught in Ijaw, Efik and Ibibio dialects which are the three major local languages spoken by migrant fishermen's children.

I was interested to know how the English language was taught, since it is not a medium of instruction in migrant fishermen schools but simply a subject. In this regard, Equere had this to say: "the English curriculum guide for the education of children of migrant fishermen stress vocabulary and structures peculiar to fishing and riverine communities so as to enable the children to acquire adequate communicative competence in English to talk meaningfully about their environment." In addition, it was explained that while the teacher would be teaching the English language, he/she would use the English language interchangeably with the 'native language' to explain both the concepts and contents of the subject for the comprehension of the learners. In my opinion, the use of both the English language and the native language in the teaching of English in class was to enable nomadic children to easily understand certain concepts which were alien to them. For instance, the name of certain species of fish are better understood by nomadic children when mentioned in English and later translated into native languages.

On the issue of the migrant farmers' education, the centre was located at the University of Jos. It was opened for the following reasons: to conduct research on migrant farmers' lifestyle, development of an acceptable curriculum for migrant farmers' education and also to develop resource materials for migrant farmers' children for use in school. As the policy of indigenous language stipulates, the medium of instruction for the first four years of nomadic education is in the mother tongue or language of the immediate environment. In the middle of 2005, this centre held a stakeholders' workshop for the design and development of a migrant farmer-friendly curriculum. At the end of the workshop, cultural elements of the migrant farmers formed the base for the development of the acceptable curriculum for migrant farmers' education. Here, the organisation of stakeholders' workshop was to ensure that their views on a migrant farmer-friendly curriculum are developed. It is believed that if the curriculum with local contents is developed for migrant farmers they will see the need for attending school.

The design and development of migrant farmers' curriculum with strong cultural elements saw the production of textbooks in subject areas such as mathematics, social studies, handicrafts, agricultural and animal management, home economics, physical education and English. The enactment of the Indigenous Language Policy and the use of the mother tongue as the medium of instruction brought the highest level of student population ever witnessed in nomadic schools in Nigeria. Inyang submitted:

The adoption of local dialect as stipulated by indigenous language policy of 2004 in the teaching and learning process in nomadic schools gives nomads confidence to send the children and wards to school. This is because the hitherto held belief that English language pollutes their culture has been reversed by the use of indigenous language as medium of instruction in the classroom (Personal communication with Inyang, 2012).

From the narration, this suggests that the Indigenous Language Policy of 2004 brought about the production of texts with local content for nomadic children. Moreover, the authors of all the texts produced were from the area with the migrant farmers. Therefore, local examples, pictures and photographs were used in the textbooks. This made reading and comprehension of the subject matter by migrant farmers' children a little easy. With the implementation of the Indigenous Language Policy in all nomadic schools across the country, another issue of great importance came up. This was the Girl-child Education Policy of 2006.

6.4 The Nomadic Girl-child Education Policy of 2006

In 2005, the Federal Government of Nigeria through the Inspectorate Unit of the Federal Ministry of Education and in collaboration with the Department of Monitoring, Evaluation and Statistics of the NCNE, embarked on a head count of all the learners in nomadic schools across the country. The objectives of this head count were to collect, analyse and evaluate educational data of nomadic schools, identify the areas of most serious needs and establish the viability of the available option for change, specify particular areas where new allocation of present resources could promote the most cost-effective changes and provide a basis and advocacy for funds for the mobilisation of resources and policy change. It was reported by one of the officials of the NCNE that for almost six months the team (members of inspectorate unit of federal ministry of education and monitoring, evaluation and statistics national commission for nomadic education) traversed the length and breadth of Nigeria collating information on nomadic education. At the end of the exercise, the team discovered that there was gender disparity in all nomadic schools in the country. The disparity, interestingly, was in the area of attendance of more nomadic boys in school than girls. Referring to the gender disparity, Equere who led the team recalled: “in all the nomadic schools visited, the team found out that there were more nomadic school boys than girl. This situation was very disturbing considering the importance the present democratically elected government attaches to girls’ education.” From the narration, we can deduce that gender disparity was found to exist in all the nomadic schools in the country in favour of boys. The table below shows gender disparity in nomadic schools in Nigeria between 1990 and 2005.

Table 6.1: Enrolment of nomadic primary school pupils in Nigeria by gender 1990 - 2005

Year	Boys	Girls	Difference
1990	13,763	5,068	8,695
1991	25,942	10,559	15,383
1992	33,463	16,689	16,774
1993	38,335	15,253	23,082
1994	42,738	19,094	23,644
1995	56,759	35,751	21,008
1996	63,638	40,938	22,700
1997	71,695	47,081	24,614
1998	89,931	65,855	24,076
1999	91,523	67,518	24,005
2000	98,637	70,403	28,234
2001	101,366	74,289	27,077
2002	152,960	120,365	32,595
2003	176,063	125,712	50,351
2005	211,836	139,773	72,063

Source: Monitoring, Evaluation & Statistics Department of NCNE, 2013

The above table shows the trends of gender disparity in nomadic schools in Nigeria. It was established that from the inception of the nomadic education programme, the enrolment of boys in all nomadic schools in the country surpassed that of the girls.

The disparity witnessed in all nomadic schools in favour of boys prompted the team to immediately compile the report in which they communicated the same to the minister of education. The report submitted was subsequently presented and deliberated upon by the Federal Executive Council (FEC) meeting. At the end of the FEC meeting, a communiqué was issued on government's intention to enact the Nomadic Girl-child Education Policy. Two months after the communiqué, a draft bill was presented to the National Assembly by the presidency for deliberation. The National Assembly deliberated and subsequently passed the bill into law. On 25th September 2005, President Olusegun Obasanjo assented to the law marking the birth of the Nomadic Girl-child Education Policy.

Taking a look at the policy document in my possession, its objectives are clearly spelt out. Included are the following: to increase participation of nomadic girl children in school, to reduce attrition rate of girls in nomadic schools, and to increase the participation of nomadic girls in primary science, health education and HIV/AIDS education. Other objectives stated in the policy are as follows: mobilising and sensitising nomads on the need of sending the girl children to school and providing girl-friendly resource materials in nomadic schools. From the narration, the essence in which this policy came into existence was not only to bridge the existing gap which favoured boys' enrolment in all nomadic schools. It was also aimed at reducing the drop-out rate and the creation of awareness on the HIV/AIDS pandemic in the society, among others. Indeed, the policy objectives were well stated and major issues regarding the well-being of nomadic girls addressed. However, my understanding is that the Nomadic Girl-child Education Policy is silent on the issue of physical violence which nomadic girls are often subjected to. In the policy objectives, this had to be stated in clear terms because there are incidences of physical abuse of nomadic girls by men.

Probing further on the possible reason for the gender disparity experienced in all nomadic schools, I was informed by Nse that the disparity existed because of social, religious and economic factors. He explained further that socially, in all nomadic communities there is widespread execution of the patriarchal system. Nomadic boys receive preferential treatment from their parents on the grounds that they are people to inherit their properties and sustain the family's name. Throwing more light on the boy's preference over girls by the nomads, Asaka reported: "nomads regard their male children as 'a tree' that regenerates after death. Nomads are of the view that male children are their asset, therefore, they should be protected, all rights and privileges should be accorded them unlike their girl counterparts who will marry."

On the religious grounds, Nse explained that most religious leaders openly call for the education of nomadic male children in place of their daughters. This is because of religious significance of the male child as being the 'head' of the family. Furthermore, the injunction from some religious bodies has it that female nomads must obey their husbands and should accord them the highest level of subordination. But in most cases most educated female nomads rarely obey their men. Therefore, to ensure that females obey their spouses the view of the nomads is that they should be prevented from having access to nomadic education. Thus, it became clear that cultural and religious biases encourage many parents, especially in

large families with limited resources to prefer to send the boy child to school instead of or before the girl child. Furthermore, some religious bodies do not permit girls to be seen in public places or to associate themselves with their opposite sex. Therefore, it becomes a problem to send nomadic girls to schools attended by both girls and boys.

Economically, in most nomadic families female children and even women contribute immensely to the economic stability of the family. They constitute a greater percentage of the workforce and provide cheap labour in the community. Since they are used for income generation, the nomadic girls are often denied access to formal education. However, in all nomadic communities there is division of labour. For instance, among the nomadic pastoralists, male nomadic children and their fathers perform the duty of migrating with flocks in search of grasses. In the case of migrant fishermen, male children and their fathers voyage in rivers and seas for fishes and other aquatic animals. This situation is not applicable to female nomads and girl children, rather, the latter are assigned the duty of milking cattle and marketing same, smoking fishes and prawns, and harvesting farm produce.

The enactment of the Girl-child Education Policy of 2006 by the Nigerian government notwithstanding, the number of nomadic girl children in nomadic schools did not increase as expected. This was due to the lack of enlightenment on the benefits derivable from sending girl children to school. In order to create awareness in the minds of the nomads concerning the policy, the federal government mandated one of its agencies known as the National Orientation Agency (NOA) to educate the nomads on the gains of educating their girl children. The NOA is an agency under the Federal Ministry of Information and National Orientation. The functions of this agency include enlightening the general public on the federal government's policies, programmes and activities as well as mobilising favourable public opinion and support for government policies, programmes and activities. Other functions include: to collect, collate, analyse and provide feedback from the public to the federal government on its policies, programmes and activities and establish social institutions and framework for deliberate exposure of Nigerians to democratic norms and values for virtue, a peaceful, united, progressive and disciplined society.

In keeping nomads abreast of the Girl-child Education Policy, NOA began enlightenment campaigns through the use of public addresses, production of leaflets, and radio jingles. The mobilisation and sensitisation of nomadic communities on the benefits of educating nomadic girl children brought positive change witnessed in nomadic schools in recent times. Nse was

very categorical in his response on the positive effects of the policy on nomadic girl children's enrolment in school after the sensitisation by NOA. This is what he said: "the girl child education policy of 2006 significantly rejuvenated girls' enrolment in schools. Nomads, who from time immemorial did not allow their daughters to have access to education, finally gave in. This is evident in the increased number of nomadic girls we have in all nomadic schools today across the country" (Personal communication with Nse, 2012). From the analysis, it is evident that there was a huge inequality in the field of education in favour of nomadic males. This is because nomadic males wield more power and are accorded more status than their female counterparts in the society. But the nomadic Girl-child Education Policy of 2006 changed the perception of the nomads in this direction. Presently, more nomadic girls are in school because of the long-term economic benefits which accrue from schooling.

6.5 The Mobile Education Policy of 2007

In early 2007, NCNE through their periodic monitoring and supervision exercises noticed that there was a drastic reduction in the number of children in nomadic schools across the country. The withdrawal of nomadic children from school was occasioned by the engagement of most of the nomadic children in the rearing of cattle, fishing and farming activities by their parents at certain periods of the year. For instance, during the months of January to April of every year, the nomadic pastoralists in Northern Nigeria migrate to the South for fresh grazing land for their herds of cattle. This situation is also applicable to the migrant fishermen and farmers who migrate to high seas for catch and virgin land for cultivation respectively. This period of the year is often the peak of their occupational activities. As such, the nomads strongly hesitate to send their children to school.

In checking the attrition rate at nomadic schools as a result of the clash in the occupational activities of nomads and nomadic school calendar, government through the Federal Ministry of Education proposed change in the nomadic school calendar. The introduction of mobile schools and multiple shift classes were proposed and subsequently tabled on the floor of the Federal Executive Council for deliberation. Eventually, the Mobile Education Policy of 2007 for nomadic education was announced. Because of the fact that the policy was announced during the civilian government, it was presented to the National Assembly for debate and subsequently passed into law. From the analysis, it is evident that the Mobile Education Policy for nomadic children came into existence as a result of the low school attendance rate

which happened during the grazing, fishing and farming periods. The withdrawal of nomadic children from school by their parents was to ensure that more income was generated for the family.

After hearing about the circumstances under which the Mobile Education Policy came into existence, I was curious to see the content of the said policy. Therefore, I went for the policy document I collected from the NAN. The preamble of the Mobile Education Policy of 2007 states inter alia that “government shall provide mobile education for all nomadic children. Government would ensure that this new education shall not conflict in anyway with nomadic occupational activities.” The Mobile Education Policy is divided into three parts namely: Part 1, 2 and 3. In Part 1, it focused on the change of the school calendar for the nomadic children. The federal government of Nigeria changed the calendar to September and July of every year as the commencement of the new school year from the former January and December academic calendar.

Probing further why September and July of every year were chosen as the beginning and end of the nomadic academic year, Inyang stated: “government’s choice of September and July of the year was based on the climatic rhythm in Nigeria. Between September of a particular year and July of another year, this period in Nigeria always witnesses unfavourable climatic conditions for nomads to engage in their occupational activities.” Between June and September of every year in Nigeria, occupational activities (cattle rearing, fishing and farming) of all nomads are often paralysed because of heavy thunderstorms. Therefore, nomadic school children are allowed to attend school for fear of being struck by lightning while in the field with the cattle, fishing or farming. Additionally, Asaka reported: “during this time of the year, nomads’ farmlands were destroyed, fishing activities were grounded for fear of being drowned and rearing of cattle was stopped because of tsetse flies.” From the narration, it became evident that school attendance among nomadic school children was a function of the climatic condition. During the dry season in the country, the school population in all nomadic schools reduced but increased in the wet season. The change in the school calendar made the nomadic school-going children attend school during the wet season and assist their parents in cattle rearing, fishing and farming during the dry season of the year.

Part 2 of the Mobile Education Policy dealt with mobile classrooms, tables and chairs. The change of nomadic school calendar was immediately followed by the introduction of mobile

schools by the government. The reason for the introduction of mobile classrooms was to ensure that in between the month of March and April where rainfall begins, the school could be moved nearer the place where the nomads carried out their occupational activities. The mobile schools were made up of collapsible materials that could be moved from one location to another freely. Section 1, Sub-section 4 of the Mobile Education Policy stipulates that “government shall provide mobile classrooms for all nomadic schools in the country.” The policy also made room for the provision of movable tables and chairs along with the school. I was anxious to establish whose responsibility it was to carry the collapsible classrooms, tables and chairs from one location to the other, since the policy is silent in this regard. Nse was on hand to rest my speculation as he responded: “initially, government did not make provision for the movement of these materials from point A to B, this almost grounded this laudable project. When this was brought to the attention of government, it was immediately contracted out for a few nomads to move them with their children since it was not possible for nomadic children or teachers to carry them along as was suggested in some quarters.” The above quotation indicated that the government indirectly offered employment to the nomads by giving them contracts for the movement of the collapsible classrooms, chairs and tables. Furthermore, engaging the local nomads in the movement of the classrooms made nomadic children have confidence in attending classes since the people around the school premises were all familiar to them.

Part 3 of the policy addresses the issue of multiple shift classes in nomadic schools. In the policy, the 1st shift of the class begins from 8am till 12.30pm, while the 2nd shift commences at 1.30pm and ends at 5pm. The policy says that each shift of the nomadic school session should be treated as a discrete unit but at the same time, the same facilities in terms of collapsible classrooms, chairs, tables, nomadic teachers and resource materials are used by the two groups of nomadic children. The aim of introducing multiple shifts in the nomadic education programme in Nigeria was to ensure that nomadic children assisted their parents in cattle rearing, fishing and farming activity and at the same time engaged themselves in normal school activities. Udo Ekim was very explicit when I asked the reason for the introduction of multiple shift class sessions in nomadic education in Nigeria. He responded: “this type of arrangement is profitable for nomadic children because nomadic children attend school and also work so as to support their economical strained families. For government, this approach is cost effective because the same facilities and personnel are repeatedly used by the two schools.”

The introduction of multiple shift classes was made to accommodate all nomadic children. For instance, nomadic children whose parents engaged them in the afternoon fishing, farming and cattle rearing preferred to attend the 1st shift. Conversely, nomadic children working for their parents in the morning chose the evening shift. From the analysis, it is clear that the Mobile Education Policy of 2007 allowed for the teaching and learning processes in nomadic schools to be tailored for the daily routine of nomads so that nomadic children could learn at their convenience without abandoning their occupational responsibilities. This implies that nomads still engaged in the sustenance of the country's economy through food production while at the same time uplifting their academic attainment.

6.6 The Radio Education Policy of 2008

In early 2008, the Department of Monitoring, Evaluation and Statistics of NCNE conducted on-the-spot assessment on the acceptability of the use of multiple shift classes by the nomads. The officials from NCNE discovered that almost all the nomadic families own a small transistor radio which is powered by small dry cell batteries. Nomads were seen with portable radio sets hung over their shoulders or kept under the tree while farming. Nomads listen to some government programmes especially those broadcasted in their local dialects. Having established that nomads have an undiluted passion to listen to radio programmes, the Monitoring, Evaluation and Statistics team through its report suggested the use of radio to reach the nomads. Equere who headed the team when interviewed on the issue said: “a radio education programme for the nomads was suggested because it is the quickest means to inform a large number of nomadic children who are widely dispersed in remote rural areas about new ideas that can improve their lives.”

In April 2008, a test broadcast was aired on the radio to monitor its acceptability or otherwise by the nomads. The report from the field suggested high acceptability of the radio by the nomads. This report was forwarded to the Federal Government of Nigeria through the Federal Minister of Education. A few months after receipt of the report, government came up with the Radio Education Policy of 2008. In the policy document, its objectives are stated in Part 2 as follows:

To mobilise and sensitise nomads to appreciate the value of modern education, to encourage nomads to contribute meaningfully towards education of their children, increasing the level of support and enthusiasm of nomads with a view to improving learners' enrolment and attendance and, to inform nomads of modern animal

husbandry practices as well as acquaint them with their civil responsibilities including the formulation of cooperatives and radio listening groups (Radio Education Policy, 2008, p.2).

From the above quotation, it can be deduced that the whole idea of the enactment of the Radio Education Policy was to complement the face-to-face method of imparting knowledge on nomadic children since some of them still found it difficult to attend school regularly despite various nomad-friendly policies enacted. Moreover, it was aimed at widening access to quality basic education for the nomads, boost their literacy and equip them with skills and competencies they would need in order to survive within the context of changing times.

Before the implementation of the Radio Education Policy, the federal government of Nigeria through the NCNE sent some nomadic teachers and facilitators to attend an international workshop in Montreal, Canada. At the workshop, Interactive Radio Instruction (IRI) was introduced to participants. In the Nigerian context, IRI is a specifically designed distance education system for the nomadic children. It combines radio broadcast with active learning to improve the educational quality and teaching practices. After the workshop, the participants used the knowledge gained to design the mode of lesson delivery on radio for nomadic children. Different approaches of lesson delivery on the radio were designed and adopted. Prominent among the lesson delivery strategies were: straight talks, discussions, storytelling and case study methods. Concerning the straight talk lesson delivery, the teacher simply broadcasts the lesson over the radio to his/her target audience (nomadic children) every morning and a repeated version during the evening. Regarding the discussion lesson delivery method, a particular topic is presented and a panel is formed to discuss the topic for the listening pleasure of nomadic children. As the name implies, the storytelling approach involves the radio presenter passing across the lesson in the form of a story or parable. The case study strategy involves the radio presenter encouraging nomadic children to develop an analytical approach in solving problems.

On the issue of putting in place all modalities for the implementation of the Radio Education Policy in Nigeria, the first lesson for nomadic children was finally aired on Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria, Kaduna on 25th September, 2008. This period allotted for the lesson on the radio was called *Don Makiyaya a Ruga* which literally means ‘for the nomads in their homestead’. Before the *Makiyaya a Ruga*, a workshop was conducted for radio presenters on ways of translating lessons into local languages such as Hausa, Ibo, Ijaw, Fulfulde, Shuwa-

Arab, Ibibio and Tiv. The presentation of lessons over the radio to nomadic children only lasted for a month. Thereafter, an assessment team was formed to establish the acceptability of the radio programme. Feedback received from the assessment team indicated that *Don Makiyaya a Ruga* was being accepted by the majority of the nomads and their children. Despite the nomads' excellent acceptability of the radio programme, one disturbing feature was reported by the assessment team. In the report, the team indicated that though most nomadic families had radio sets, there were still a few of them who were without radio sets due to poverty. Another issue that was reported by the team was the inability of the nomads to procure dry cell batteries on a weekly basis to power the radio due to the remoteness of their location when they conducted their occupational activities. The team, therefore, suggested the procurement and distribution of radio sets and dry cell batteries to the nomads by the government and other stakeholders.

The report was presented to Udo Ekim who was the Executive Secretary of NCNE. Probing further on the content of the report from Udo Ekim, he had this to say: "when we got this report, at first, we rejoiced on this great achievement by the team, but on second thought, the issue of procurement and distribution of radio sets and batteries to the nomadic families was a major setback to this ground breaking achievement because of the amount of money that will be expended on the project." Considering the amount that would be involved in the procurement and distribution of the two items to the nomadic families, NCNE immediately wrote to the Minister of Education for assistance. The Minister of Education responded through an official memorandum to NCNE which was made available to me by Udo Ekim. It stated in part that: "...due to budgetary constraint, my office would not be able to provide funds for execution of nomadic radio project as requested from your office" (letter from Minister of Education, 2009).

This initial setback did not deter NCNE. Therefore, to overcome the challenge, NCNE wrote to some international organisations and governments for assistance regarding the provision of radio sets and other instructional materials to the nomads. On 26th October, 2008, the World Bank responded by supplying 1000 pieces of non-battery wind up radio and audio cassette recorders in addition to 500 units of blank audio cassette and 140 mini tape recorders. Similarly, Open Learning System Education Trust (OLSET) of South Africa also contributed 200 units of radio/cassette players, 19 800 copies of audio cassettes, 170 copies of teacher's guide, 10 000 copies of readers, 11 000 copies of activity books, 200 copies each of wildlife,

colour charts, farm, and African pictures and alphabets. NCNE on its part also procured 548 wind-up radio sets and distributed them to the nomads.

The distribution of radio and other communication accessories to nomads was all that nomadic children needed to participate effectively in the ‘school on air’ radio programme. The acceptability of the *Don Makiyaya a Ruga* by the nomads was based on three grounds. First, it was flexible enough to accommodate all manner of nomadic children that participated in cattle rearing, fishing and farming activity. Second, it also offered nomadic parents firsthand knowledge concerning the subject contents done in nomadic schools. Third, the radio programme overcame the barrier of time and geographical space with relative ease. The photograph below shows nomadic children in the classroom receiving lesson over the radio.

Fig. 6.2: Nomadic children listening to the lesson over the radio



Source: National Commission for Nomadic Education, 2009.

Based on the success recorded, two additional radio programmes for nomadic children were introduced, namely *Ngam Waynabe*, meaning, for the nomads and *Fraskram Malum Shay*, which stands for literacy by radio. These programmes were produced and aired on Yobe State Broadcasting Service and Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN), Enugu, respectively.

I was particularly interested in the type of language used in broadcasting lessons on the radio to nomadic children bearing in mind their low level of literacy. I asked Udo Ekim to shed light on this, he responded as follows:

We were conscious of low literacy level among nomads. Again, with the provision of indigenous language policy which stipulates that ‘the medium of instruction in the nomadic primary school shall be the language of the environment for the first four years’. We were left with no choice, other than to produce the lesson in local dialects of the nomads (Personal communication with Udo Ekim, 2012).

The above quote indicates that the lessons aired over the radio were instructed in the native languages to nomadic people. For instance, Hausa, Fulfude, Ijaw, Tiv, Efik, Ibibio and Nupe were some of the native languages used in conducting lessons over the radio. This was in line with the Indigenous Language Policy of 2004 which was enacted by the civilian administration of President Olusegun Obasanjo.

On a weekly basis, new lessons were introduced and aired over the radio to nomadic children. There was a monitoring team that was set up to bring feedback on the acceptability of each lesson introduced and aired. Asaka reported that this team discovered that despite the general acceptability of the radio programme, there were some concepts in the lessons which were difficult for nomadic children to comprehend. As a result, the team made a recommendation that at intervals, teachers should be sent to the nomads to shed light on those difficult areas identified. It was on the basis of this that the team proposed the establishment of ‘listening centres’ in all nomadic communities. The listening centre was a place set up for the explanation of some of the complex lessons aired over the radio to nomadic children. The proposal was immediately approved by NCNE. Thereafter, the commission established five listening centres and equipped them with modern radio facilities. From all indications, it is obvious that the listening centres were built by government on the advice of the monitoring team. Teachers who could speak and understand different native languages of the nomads were sent to these centres to give explanation on some burning issues that were aired.

At the listening centres, the nomadic teachers discovered that nomadic children were not the only people that attended the ‘explanatory session’ rather, their parents also participated actively. I asked Nse why parents were so interested in the explanatory sessions to the level that they attended some sessions with their children. In his response, Nse stated that: “new ways of animal husbandry and different farming techniques were broadcasted. The

introduction of these lessons prompted the nomads who owned the cattle and farmlands to participate in the explanatory sessions.” From the narration, it is evident that the relevance of the subjects taught to the lifestyle of the nomads made them take part in the learning process. The participation of adult nomads necessitated the nomadic teachers to propose the establishment of a distance education for them. This idea of distance education for nomads was subsequently communicated to the commission. On 13th January 2009, the Executive Secretary of the NCNE met with the Minister of Education. The issue of distance education for the nomads was raised. After the meeting, it was resolved that the issue of distance education for the nomads should be tabled at the Federal Executive Council meeting. On 28th June, 2009, the Federal Government of Nigeria passed distance education policy for nomads.

6.7 The Nomadic Distance Education Policy of 2009

The enactment of the Nomadic Distance Education Policy of 2009 saw the birth of the distance education programme in Nigeria. This programme was principally designed for adult nomads who did not have access to formal education when they were young. Bearing in mind the attrition rate in nomadic schools, this policy was also aimed at addressing the issue of nomadic children who dropped out of nomadic schools due to occupational activities. Section 2, Sub-section 3 of the Distance Education Policy of 2009, clearly spelt out the objectives of distance education for nomads as follows:

To provide functional literacy education for adult nomads who have never had the advantages of formal education, to provide functional education for those nomadic children who prematurely dropped out of the formal school system, and to give nomads in Nigeria necessary aesthetic, cultural and civil education for public enlightenment (Distance Education Policy, 2009, p. 3).

As specified in the policy, the curriculum content of distance education for adult nomads was as follows: language arts, elementary arithmetic, agriculture and animal management (fishery inclusive), religious instruction, home economics, and health education. Looking closer at each of the subjects, noticed that there were variations in the content of the subjects introduced into distance education. This made the distance education content different from that of regular or conventional education for nomadic children. Here, the subject contents were heavily infused with practical work. For instance, subjects such as agriculture and animal management were designed to give practical training to nomads on integrated veterinary public health and preventive medicine with strong emphasis on milk, meat hygiene and animal health. Furthermore, subjects such as health education, reproductive health, ante-

natal and post-natal care, the importance of exclusive breastfeeding during the first six months and the gradual introduction of solid food, and the need to protect nomadic children from the most common childhood killer diseases were the topics designed to be taught. I was troubled by the variations in the subject contents. In order to set my troubled mind at rest, I asked Asaka the reason behind the differences. He responded: “we observed that nomads, unlike their children, did not need the theoretical part of the subjects, rather, relevance of the subjects to their occupational activities are areas which they focused on. This compelled us to design curriculum content which is practical bias and indigenous to the nomads.” The narration indicates that the distance education policy was designed with the sole aim of educating adult nomads who never had the opportunity of having access to formal education. The introduction of distance education, aside from helping the nomads at improving their animal production, in my view, also assisted them on the topical issue of effective birth control methods. Historically, nomads are known for giving birth to many children because of their firm belief in natural birth control.

The Distance Education Policy specified places in which distance education could be conducted in the nomadic communities across the country. Principal among them was gathering in *Ardo's* (chief) place and assembling in the market square. In any nomadic community there is a chief that leads and directs the affairs of other nomads. Among the nomadic pastoralists, migrant fishermen, and migrant farmers, their chief is called *Ardo*, *Eteyin*, and *Akpan-obong* respectively. The office of the chief in nomadic communities is purely political and a rallying point for information gathering and dissemination. Every Wednesday of the week, nomads meet at the chief's place to discuss the number of issues that affect them. Prominent among them are: the welfare of the animals, marriage, naming of newly born children and planning the burial of loved ones. In realisation of the importance of Wednesdays' assemblies at the chief's place, government through the commission promptly scheduled the contact session of the distance education programme on the said day.

Similarly, it is a common practice for nomads to meet on Saturdays of every week to either buy or sell their animal or farm produces. This often takes place under a big tree. As soon as economic activities in the market end by 3pm, distance lessons would start immediately. Saturdays' classes could rightly be regarded as 'feedback sessions' because nomadic teachers went there to receive feedback on what they taught at Wednesdays' lessons. The picture shown below is a typical Wednesday nomadic distance lesson for the nomadic male learners.

It is pertinent to say that a similar lesson group was formed for the female nomads. However, it is taboo and against the nomads' culture particularly among nomadic pastoralists and migrant farmers for men and women to sit together for whatever reason.

Fig. 6.3: Adult nomads attending distance education programme



Source: National Commission for Nomadic Education, 2009a.

From the narration, it is evident that distance education for adult nomadic people had certain peculiarities which reflected their cultural background. Moreover, their distinct cultural background necessitated the modification of their curriculum. The aim was to ensure that the nomadic people acquire knowledge, skills, values, and habits that enrich their overall development and well-being.

6.8 Conclusion

This chapter focused on the nomadic education policies made during the era of democracy in Nigeria. From the analysis, I discovered that the Universal Basic Education Policy of 2004 was passed by the democratic government of President Obasanjo to ensure that nomadic children receive free and compulsory education for nine years. However, the justification for the UBE policy was underpinned by the role of education in integrating the nomads into the mainstream of the Nigerian society. Other findings reached from the analysis include: Indigenous Language Policy; Girl-child Education Policy; Mobile Education Policy; Radio

Education Policy and Distance Education Policy. These policies were enacted in order to ensure that the broad goals of the nomadic education programme in Nigeria were all achieved.

The presentation of evidence in chapters five and six, therefore, led me to another important chapter of this thesis which is the discussion of findings. In other words, chapter seven focuses on the discussion of the findings reached in the two previous chapters with the view to establish if the research questions and objectives spelt out at the beginning of the dissertation were addressed by the study. However, the interpretation and analysis of these findings will be done in the next chapter.

Chapter seven

Because we are nomadic people

7.1 Introduction

As clearly stated in the introductory chapter, this study investigated the history of nomadic education policies in Nigeria between 1986 and 2009. However, the two previous chapters were regarded as the ‘engine room’ of the thesis. This view is anchored on the fact that these two chapters explained the dynamics surrounding the conceptualisation and evolution of the nomadic education programme in Nigeria between 1986 and 2009. Moreover, various nomadic education policies enacted were also presented. Specifically, chapter five focused on the nomadic education policies made during the military administration of the Nigerian political terrain. On the other hand, chapter six looked at nomadic education policies made during the democratic dispensation in Nigeria.

In this chapter, however, the research findings presented in chapters five and six will be interpreted and discussed. In other words, I intend to revisit the main research findings that emerged from the previous two chapters. In the interpretation and discussion of the findings, I will draw heavily from the literature review, theoretical and conceptual frameworks of governmentality and education policy respectively. As I have earlier said in chapter four, where literature is non-existent to support the findings, I intend to use my experience as a Nigerian and most importantly as a nomad and former migrant fisherman to make sense of the findings in the broader context of this study.

7.2 Nomadic education and the 1979 Nigerian Constitution

Before 1986, nomads did not have a realistic chance to benefit from the formal education system in Nigeria. This was because the type of education given was not very helpful to the nomads considering their lifestyle and environment. The federal military government’s realisation of nomads’ inability to gain access to formal education which is their constitutional right prompted it to initiate ways of introducing formal education which is in line with the provision of the 1979 Nigerian Constitution for the nomads. In chapter five (see page 118), the majority of the NCNE’s officials interviewed said that the 1979 Nigerian Constitution formed the basis on which the nomadic education programme was conceptualised by the federal military government of Nigeria in 1986. Inyang specifically cited Section 18 (1) of the 1979 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria to support his view.

Aside from the above, Nse and Udo Ekim submitted that Section 15, Sub-section 2 of the 1979 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria also impacted positively in conceptualising the nomadic education programme for nomadic people in Nigeria. In my literature review chapter, the reasons for the conceptualisation of formal education for the nomads, Aborigines, migrant farmworkers, Gypsies or migrant fishermen were intensively discussed. For instance, I stated that the majority of nomadic children in Mongolia did not have access to formal education because of the mobile nature of their lifestyle (Demberel & Penn, 2006). According to these scholars formal education in that country was designed for only the children of the monks and elites in the society. This situation in Mongolia changed in 1924, when the government established the ministry of popular education whose mandate was to establish schools for the education of nomadic children. According to Khamsi and Stolpe (2004) the establishment of schools for the training of nomadic children was in line with the 1921 Mongolian Constitution which called for the inclusion of every child into formal education. Despite Khamsi and Stolpe's position which was aligned with the findings, the view of Mawdsley and Russo (2007) on the provision of education to the migrant farmworkers' and fishermen's children in some states in USA was a clear affirmation to the finding. Mawdsley and Russo specifically reported that government provision of formal education to migrant farmworker children was in fulfilment of the state constitution.

Relying on the interpretive paradigm of this study which was clearly stated in chapter four, it is my view that the conceptualisation of nomadic education was borne out of government's desire to transform nomadic people to a sedentary population. This view is based on the fact that in the Nigerian context, it is very uncommon for a military government to provide social services like special education to a disadvantaged group such as the nomads. The military government in Nigeria was not a humanitarian institution, therefore, they could not have been so magnanimous to provide formal education to nomadic people simply out of empathy and compassion.

7.3 Nomadic education and international conventions

Nigeria's attainment of political independence in 1960 was a turning point in which her association with other independent countries was amplified and cemented. As a young independent nation, the then Federal Government of Nigeria wanted to be seen as a strong committed member of international organisations such as the United Nations (UN), United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), International

Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICEAFRD), among others. As a result, Nigeria signed different international conventions and treaties which advanced equal educational opportunity and treatment to all her citizens respective of tribe, ethnicity, sex, language, place of birth, among others. From my findings, another reason for the conceptualisation of nomadic education for the nomads was because Nigeria's government wanted to honour all conventions and treaties she entered into with some international organisations. Udo Ekim particularly cited Article 26 of UDHR of 1948 as the document the federal government of Nigeria relied upon in conceptualising nomadic education for the nomads. Moreover, other documentary evidence in my possession such as the UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education of 1960, and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICEAFRD) of 1960, significantly promoted the formation of nomadic education. According to Tahir (2000) less than 0.02% of nomads in Nigeria could not read or write before the official commencement of the nomadic education policies. However, in order to reduce this high rate of illiteracy among nomads in line with international conventions and treaties which Nigeria pledged to abide by, nomadic education was conceived.

In the literature review, the issue of international conventions and treaties in which other countries are signatories did not come out strongly as a basis for the conceptualisation of nomadic education. In other words, my literature is silent on the conventions and treaties signed by a country with international organisations which formed the basis for the conceptualisation of nomadic education for nomadic people. Looking back at the literature, I discovered that countries such as Australia, Britain, Somalia and Kenya did not establish nomadic education on the basis of the international conventions and treaties they entered into. Rather, as reported by Dunbar-Hall (2002), the grounds which the Australian government used as the basis for the establishment of Aboriginal education in the country were based on the high level of poverty among the Aborigines. The Australian government believed that the only way poverty could be reduced among the Aboriginal people was through education. However, though my findings could not be either supported or refuted due to the dearth of literature, they have brought about the emergence of new knowledge and bridged the existing gaps in the literature by making a case for the consideration of international conventions in discussing the emergence of nomadic education.

7.4 Dynamics of the evolution of nomadic education

As I have earlier said in chapter five, government's planned intervention on nomadic education in Nigeria was not borne out of its unquantifiable generosity to the Nigerian nomads, rather, it was in fulfilment of the provision of the Nigerian Constitution and various international conventions and treaties Nigeria entered into. On the issue of the evolution of nomadic education, my findings indicated that there were a lot of contending forces that brought about the eventual establishment of nomadic education in Nigeria. One such force was the Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria (MACBAN). The activities of MACBAN, which was an umbrella body for nomads in Nigeria, played a significantly major role in the evolution of nomadic education. For instance, MACBAN agitated for the evolution of nomadic education so that the excesses of the tax officials would be curtailed.

Udo Ekim reported that most nomadic people were not comfortable with some tax officials from government. The reason for their grievances was that the tax officials often imposed heavy taxes on them. The nomads were of the view that tax officials levied them without proper assessment because of their inability to read and understand what was written on the receipts given to them. In order to remove the misconception of over-taxation by tax officials, MACBAN decided to agitate for the establishment of nomadic education for the training of their children. However, it was the view of the members of MACBAN that if nomadic children were educated, they would be able to assist their parents in the area of reading and interpreting what was written on the receipt by tax officials, and any other matter that concerned them.

Here, my finding clearly indicated that the evolution of nomadic education in Nigeria was influenced by the nomads themselves. They ensured that their demand for the provision of formal education was met by the then military government in Nigeria. However, this finding is substantially the opposite in the case of the evolution of Aboriginal education in Australia. According to O'Donoghue and Potts (2007) Aboriginal education in Australia, unlike nomadic education in Nigeria, was championed by the Australian government. In 1988, by the order of the Australian government, a task force known as the Aboriginal Education Task Force (AETF) was set up to look into the problems that confronted Aborigines from gaining access to formal education. It was the AETF's recommendation that resulted in the formation of the National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Education Commission. This commission resolved that an effective arrangement for the establishment of the Aboriginal

education for the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples should be put in place. Furthermore, it proposed that there should be equitable access for the Aboriginal and the Torres Strait Islander students to education and training services (Harris, 2009).

The contribution of the MACBAN's members in the evolution of nomadic education notwithstanding, the National Policy on Education (NPE) of 1981 also played a significant role in its evolution. This policy document clearly emphasised that no Nigerian irrespective of his/her class, tribe, sex, occupation or state of origin should be prevented or excluded from having access to formal education. Furthermore, to cater for those who might not have free access to regular schools, the NPE further stated that: "whenever possible, arrangement will be made for such children to assist their parents in the morning and go to school in the evening. Special and adequate inducement will be provided to teachers to make them stay on the job" (NPE, 1981, p.9). Here, the NPE appears to have taken into consideration the myriad of problems the nomads were confronted with. As a result, the provision was made to accommodate them educationally. From all indications, this finding is not supported by the literature nationally or internationally. Rather, my literature focused mainly on the educational reform as a basis for the evolution of nomadic education in most countries. For instance, in the case of the Gypsies in Britain, Khamsi and Stolpe (2004) reported that the various educational reforms put in place by the British government were the antidote for the evolution of Gypsy education.

Despite the fact that the NPE of 1981 significantly played a major role in the evolutionary processes of nomadic education in Nigeria, another finding that took centre stage in this study was the awareness and sensitisation created by the state governments towards the deplorable education situation of nomadic people after the Nigerian civil war. Nse maintained that the Nigerian civil war of 1967 to 1970 caused serious political, economic and social instability in the country. It was revealed that nomadic people during the war were displaced. Moreover, the issue of providing the nomads with functional formal education was not given serious attention. However, the few nomadic schools that were established and run by some religious organisations and regional governments before the war were closed down. This further plunged the nomadic people into comatose educationally.

Immediately when the war was over, different tiers of government (federal, state and local) tried to galvanise and re-unite Nigerians (nomads inclusive) as one indivisible people.

Functional formal education was seen as the only available avenue that the government could use to achieve this noble goal. For this goal to be achieved, various tiers of government began to agitate for and sensitise the nomads on the need to be educated. In my view, the evolution of nomadic education in Nigeria was based on the social factors. From the literature, I found out that the evolution of nomadic education in all countries reviewed was influenced by the governments of the respective countries. For instance, the Somali government was the sole initiator of nomadic education policies in Somalia. According to Jama (2008) the introduction and development of nomadic education in Somalia was influenced by economic, political and social factors. On economic grounds, Jama stated that nomads were the major producers of cattle which generated income for the government. Politically, Somalia has been embroiled in civil war for decades. Therefore, the nomads' need to be reintegrated into various political activities in the country was the reason for the establishment of nomadic education. Socially, nomads have been denied basic social services because of their lifestyle. The evolution of nomadic education in the country was a way of bringing education and other social amenities to the nomads.

Another factor that positively influenced the evolution of nomadic education in Nigeria was the activities of various international organisations. From my data analysis, it was discovered that some international organisations such as UNESCO, World Bank, and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) assisted immensely in the evolution of nomadic education in Nigeria. For instance, seeing the plight of nomads as the most backward group of people in Nigeria educationally, UNESCO decided to provide funds for the establishment of nomadic education to reverse this ugly trend. The World Bank on the other hand commissioned a team of researchers to carry out a feasibility study on the 'right' education for the nomads who were side-lined educationally. Based on the researchers' recommendations, the World Bank readily provided technical support to the Federal Government of Nigeria for the establishment and funding of the nomadic education programme. This finding is supported by Sifuna (2005) who reported that the development of nomadic education in Kenya was made possible by the immense support received from UNESCO and the World Bank. According to Sifuna these international institutions assisted in the supply of radio sets, televisions, electric generators, and the building of viewing rooms for use by the nomads.

7.5 General Ibrahim Babangida and the birth of nomadic education

The process that led to the eventual birth of nomadic education in Nigeria began when the federal government through the Minister of Education Professor J. Aminu, commissioned a committee known as the Nomadic Education Committee to carry out a feasibility study on the viability of the proposed nomadic education programme in Nigeria. My analysis revealed that after months of intensive brainstorming, a series of consultations with the nomads and the host communities, a recommendation was made to the federal government on the viability of the programme. Aside from this recommendation, my finding also indicated that a stakeholders' workshop was held in Yola to work out the modalities for the establishment of the nomadic education programme in Nigeria. At the end of this stakeholders' workshop, a communique was issued by the Minister of Education on the need for the introduction of nomadic education.

Based on these two recommendations, the then head of state in the person of President Ibrahim Babangida made an official pronouncement on the birth of nomadic education. It was further found that though the pronouncement on the birth of nomadic education was effectively implemented, it was not immediately backed up by any enabling decree. However, this was the fashion in which the military administration conducted its affairs in Nigeria at the time. Often, they ruled the country decree, but at times this was done by a mere altering of words which was seen as a law.

From my findings, it was discovered that the process that led to the eventual establishment of nomadic education in Nigeria was completely different from what was obtained in other countries. For instance, in Britain the establishment of formal education for the Gypsies was not done through executive fiat. Rather, it was championed by Bridget Plowden who was the Chairperson of the Central Advisory Council for Education in England. According to Foster and Norton (2012) the need for the introduction of formal education to the Gypsies was extensively debated in parliament before it was finally approved. This situation in Britain was completely opposite to what happened in Nigeria. In the country (Nigeria), nomadic education was ushered in through military pronouncements decided unilaterally.

7.6 Formalisation of nomadic education through Decree 28 of 1987

After an official presidential pronouncement that brought about the birth of nomadic education, a decree known as Decree 28 of 1987 was promulgated by the then military

administration of General Ibrahim Babangida. The promulgation of this decree was done in order to give legal backing to the establishment of nomadic education in Nigeria. Decree 28 of 1987 saw the development of the Nomadic Education Blueprint (NEB). It was this blueprint that duly prescribed the strategies for the implementation of the nomadic education programme in Nigeria. My findings revealed that the NEB focused on the national consciousness and national unity as its goal of nomadic education. Another goal of nomadic education as stated in NEB was to inculcate the right type of values and attitudes for the survival of the nomads and the Nigerian society. Furthermore, it was discovered from the data analysis that the mission statement of nomadic education was to train the minds of the nomads in order to understand the world around them. In the said document (NEB), the objectives of nomadic education have been divided into short and long term. The findings indicated that the short term measure includes the acquisition of basic functional literacy and numeracy; while the nomads' acquisition of functional knowledge and skills for raising a healthy and well-adjusted family is the long term objective.

From all indications, findings on the formalisation of nomadic education through enabling Decree 28 of 1987 is akin to solemnisation of nomadic education in Kenya as illustrated in the literature. As a democratic country and a signatory to the human rights declaration and international treaties of the child, Kenya enacted the Children's Education Policy of 1978. According to Narman (1992) the Kenyan government was aware that nomads in the country were the most disadvantaged in the provision of education and other social amenities because of their isolation from the rest of the country. This policy made education a right of every child in Kenya. Hence, it was the responsibility of the Kenyan government to provide education to every child including nomadic children who were isolated due to their mobile lifestyle. The effort at providing nomads in Kenya with education had little success because of the incompatibility of the curriculum with the nomads' lifestyle (Makau, 1995). Abagi and Olweya (1999) submitted that this situation changed in 2010 with the launch of a policy for nomadic education. This policy framework among other issues mandated the Kenyan government to establish a National Commission on Nomadic Education (NACONE). As it was the case in Nigeria, Abagi and Olweya argued that the Kenyan nomadic policy framework had clear guidelines and measures to increase access of nomadic children to education, enhance equity and equality, quality of education provision and governance structure.

Moving away from the African continent, my findings is in line with the position of Khamsi and Stolpe (2004) who argued that the Compulsory Education Act of 1956 officially formalised the establishment of nomadic education in Mongolia. This Mongolia Education Act of 1956 stipulated that education shall be national and democratic, non-denominational and accessible to all without the distinction of race, occupation, creed, society or sex. The Act stated that education was free and compulsory in Mongolia. This included the nomads.

7.7 Emergence of Decree 31 of 1988

The emergence of Decree 31 of 1988 in the country's education space was to bring both primary and nomadic education under one education management. This Decree ushered in the establishment of the National Primary Education Commission (NPEC) in Nigeria. In chapter five of this thesis, data analysis revealed the roles and responsibilities of the NPEC to include prescribing the minimum standards of primary and nomadic education. Similarly, the management and funding of both the regular primary and nomadic education was also vested in this commission. On the issue of funds allocation to conventional primary and nomadic education, the decree specifically charged the National Education Fund (NEF), which was an agency in the commission to disburse funds directly to the State Primary Education Board (SPEB). It was the responsibility of the SPEB to disburse the allocated funds to primary and nomadic schools.

The findings also revealed that the promulgation of Decree 31 also brought about the emergence of another education board known as the Secondary Education Management Board (SEMB) for the management of secondary education in Nigeria. In chapter five, it was reported by Asaka that vesting the disbursement of funds to conventional primary and nomadic education on the SPEB was the greatest defect of Decree 31. The SPEB's weakness was noticeable in the area of uneven distribution of funds to primary and nomadic education in Nigeria. This necessitated the abrogation of Decree 31 of 1988 and subsequent promulgation of Decree 41 of 1989. A glance on my literature and other source(s) revealed that the findings in this section could not be supported or refuted. The dearth of literature in my interpretation is because Decree 31 of 1988 was peculiar to the Nigerian context only. Again, it was an experimental measure designed to evade corruption and misappropriation of funds which were pronounced during the Universal Primary Education programme of 1976. My findings serve as new knowledge discovered and also bridge an existing gap noticed in

the literature by identifying an area that needs specific attention in the discussion on nomadic education.

7.8 Decree 41 of 1989 and the nomadic education programme

The findings indicated that the nomadic education Decree 41 of 1989 came into existence as a result of flaws noticed in the implementation of the abrogated Decree 31 of 1988. The promulgation of Decree 41 of 1989 saw the establishment of a commission known as the National Commission for Nomadic Education (NCNE). The commission was specifically established by Decree 41 to cater for the educational needs of the nomads in Nigeria. However, the establishment of NCNE in Nigeria was akin to the establishment of the National Commission on Nomadic Education (NACONE) by the Kenyan government. According to Leggett (2005) the objective of NACONE was to ensure that nomadic children had equitable access to education like their sedentary population counterparts. It was discovered from my findings that the membership of the commission consisted of 25 people. It was stated that one of the members of the commission would serve as chairman and would be appointed by the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. The remaining 24 members of the commission would be appointed from various government institutions and agencies. This decree was silent on the modalities to be adopted in the appointment of the remaining 24 members of the commission. In my view, this is one of the defects of the decree because it allowed mediocres to be appointed, thereby inviting corruption into the system.

From the findings, I discovered that NCNE has the following functions: to formulate policies and issue guidelines for the implementation of nomadic education programme, support research and personnel development for the advancement of the programme, fund the development of the programme; fund the provision of equipment and other instructional materials, establish, manage and maintain schools in settlements carved out for nomads, including mobile and boat schools and assure quality and maintain standards through effective monitoring and evaluation. However, in my observation, though some of these functions are performed by the commission as stipulated by the decree, the federal government still carries out the promulgation/enactment of all the nomadic education policies in Nigeria. This shows the level of governmentalisation on the nomadic education system in Nigeria thus confirming the relevance of the governmentality theory to this study. In a similar development, for the easy implementation of the nomadic education programme, the NCNE was divided into four functional departments, namely: (i) Programme Development and

Extension, (ii) Monitoring, Evaluation and Statistics, (iii) Administration and Supplies, and (IV) Finance and Accounts.

From my findings, I realised that each department of the commission had its own unique functions and responsibilities as prescribed by the enabling decree. As illustrated in chapter five (see page 144), it was indicated that the Department of Programme Development and Extension was designed to develop school-based and extension programmes for educating the nomads. In a similar circumstance, the function of the Department of Monitoring, Evaluation and Statistics of the NCNE was to assist the Executive Secretary in policy formulation and implementation in matters relating to monitoring and evaluation. In the Department of Administration and Supplies of the commission, the findings indicated that apart from assisting the Executive Secretary in the day-to-day administration of the commission, the department also assisted in the formulation, execution and review of policies for nomadic education in Nigeria.

From my interaction with the Executive Secretary who also doubled as chief accounting officer of the commission, I was informed that the Department of Finance and Accounts, aside from preparing, submitting and defending the commission's annual budget, the department also provides professional advice to the management on all financial matters. My literature is completely silent on the findings. The search for current literature within and outside Africa to support or reject the findings was an exercise in futility. The drought in the literature, in my view, is because the decree that established the commission for nomadic education in Nigeria was the first ever to be passed for nomads by any country in the world. In light of this, the findings contribute significantly in filling the gap that exists in the literature, hence the contribution of the study to the emergence of new knowledge.

7.9 The emergence of the Migrant Fishermen Education Policy of 1990

In 1989, the federal military government established the NCNE for the implementation of nomadic education for the nomadic pastoralists in Nigeria. After three year, the federal government was informed by the state government that there was another group of people with the same migrational pattern like the nomadic pastoralists who could not have access to education. These groups of people who are mainly migrant fishermen were found in the riverine areas such as Akwa Ibom state, Bayelsa state, Cross River state, Ondo state, Lagos state and River state, among others. Official government records indicate that about 76% of

fish consumed in Nigeria are caught by the migrant fishermen. This implies that the migrant fishermen are the major producers of this commodity in the country. Ogbondah (2008) submits that a large proportion of the fishermen are migrants who move with the fresh water fishing areas to the deep sea and back again according to nature's dictation. The movement of migrant fishermen from one fishing port to another in search of fish and other aquatic animals hindered their children from participating in education.

From my analysis, it was discovered that the inability of migrant fishermen's children to participate in formal education made the Federal Government of Nigeria to enact the Migrant Fishermen Education Policy of 1990. As stated in my data presentation, the policy was directed towards integrating migrant fishermen's children into the formal education system. My findings are in line with the position of Cremin (2008) who conducted a study on the education of migrant fishermen's children in California, USA. In his summation, Cremin reported that for the purpose of the inclusion of migrant fishermen's children in education, the California Migrant Education Policy (CMEP) of 1966 was passed by the state. Cremin (2008) went further to argue that the policy was aimed at supporting the high quality and comprehensive educational programme for migratory fishermen's children to reduce the educational disruption and other problems that resulted from their repeated move.

Immediately after passing of the Migrant Fishermen Education Policy of 1990, and the eventual formation of migrant fishermen schools, the issue of its administration and control was raised. From the data presentation, it was revealed that a stakeholder meeting was held to resolve the issue. It was agreed that the government agency had been saddled with the responsibility of administering and controlling the newly established migrant fishermen's education. In resolving the matter, Inyang reported as follows: "after series of consultations between the federal government and all the state governments where migrant fishermen are found, the federal government decided to transfer the administration, management and control of the affairs of migrant fishermen's education to National Commission for Nomadic Education" (Personal communication with Inyang, 2012). My findings have the same coloration with the position held by Abedi (2004) on the Improving America's School Act (IASA) of 1994. Abedi reported that the passage of IASA in the USA was designed to bring the much needed improvement in the delivery of educational services to migrant fishermen's children, after the former policy known as the CMEP of 1966 was found to be ineffective in addressing their educational needs.

7.10 Promulgation of Migrant Farmers' Education Policy of 1992

I discovered from the data analysis that after the commencement of migrant fishermen's schools in Nigeria, there was another group of nomadic people known as migrant farmers. These nomads were found in Akwa Ibom state, Anambra state, Imo state, Plateau state, Benue and Taraba states. I found that the migrant farmers had the same migrational rhythm as the nomadic pastoralists and migrant fishermen. It was reported that these groups of nomads engaged themselves in the planting of both the cash and food crops. From the analysis, I found that the participation of migrant farmers in farming activities prevented them from embracing conventional education. The realisation of non-participation of migrant farmers in conventional education resulted in their agitation for their inclusion in the nomadic education programme by some pressure groups in the country. The findings indicated that the aftermath of a series of agitation by the pressure groups resulted in the promulgation of the Migrant Farmers' Education Policy by the federal military government of Nigeria in 1992.

The enactment of this policy by the federal government for migrant farmers suggested government's political willingness in satisfying all disadvantaged segments of the Nigerian populace educationally. However, the findings revealed that, in spite of the government's laudable intention at providing education to migrant farmers through the enactment of the policy, this 'good gesture' was not well received by some segments of the society in Nigeria. From the analysis, the reason given for poor acceptability of this policy by some segments of Nigeria was that the migrant farmers' children whom the policy was designed for were very small in population compared to other nomadic groups such as nomadic pastoralist and migrant fishermen's children. Nse concluded thus: "government ought to have integrated migrant farmers' education into migrant fishermen's education since these two groups of people not only have the same lifestyle, but they deal with agricultural products" (Personal communication with Nse, 2012). In my view, the position held by Nse was not only baseless and unfounded but was also full of bias. This view is based on the fact that Nse is from the Northern part of Nigeria where nomadic pastoralists are found. Therefore, he did not want migrant farmers who are from the southern part of the country to be treated fairly like their northern nomadic pastoral counterparts.

In spite of the opposition to the policy by some segments of the Nigerian society, government did not stop the promulgation of the Migrant Farmers' Education Policy. My interpretation of the government's action in the formulation and eventual implementation of the policy was

that the decision was based on economic reasons. Government realised that the migrant farmers in Nigeria produced the bulk of food and cash crops that are consumed in or exported from the country. Therefore, government's intention was to educate migrant farmers on the ways of improving their agricultural outputs. This view is supported by Green (2003), who argued that migrant farmworkers and fishermen contributed substantially to the wealth of the United States in the sense that billions of dollars are generated from the agricultural sector alone annually.

7.11 Accommodation of nomads in the school

The federal military government of Nigeria directed the NCNE to incorporate the three nomadic groups (nomadic pastoralists, migrant fishermen and migrant farmers) into its fold for easy administration and control. This directive was successfully carried out in 1993. With the incorporation of these three groups into one administrative body, government's next intention was to provide boarding facilities for them. In chapter five of the data presentation, my curiosity was to establish why the federal military government of Nigeria was so magnanimous at providing nomadic school children with boarding facilities. The findings indicated that the government's intention to provide nomadic school children with boarding facilities was to indirectly turn the nomads from being a mobile population to a sedentary one.

One of the officials interviewed revealed that the only available avenue in which government could achieve this mission was through the introduction of the boarding system in all nomadic schools in the country. Therefore, in 1996 the Nomadic Education Boarding Policy was promulgated by the federal military government of Nigeria. This finding is in agreement with the view of Rhama (2001) who reported that the boarding system policy was introduced in Kenya to ensure that nomadic children who stayed far away from school could be housed in the school hence turning them into sedentary people. Aside from checking the mobile lifestyle of the nomads, in his study, Kratli (2000) argued that the introduction of the compulsory boarding policy in Mongolia was aimed at settling the nomads in one place so as to provide them with essential social services.

7.12 Nomads and the Nomadic Education Feeding Policy of 1998

Government's intervention on boarding facilities in nomadic schools was seen by the nomads as an 'infected apple' which, if consumed, could have a catastrophic effect in the abdomen. Consequently, they refused to embrace the policy. The reason for the nomads not embracing

the policy was because of their inability to feed their children while in boarding school. Here, considering the level of poverty among the nomads, provision of food to their children in the school was seen as an additional financial burden being placed on them by government. However, the federal government could not feed these children because there was no budgetary provision for the scheme.

The findings revealed that the inability of both the government and the nomads to feed nomadic children in school prompted them to abandon the school. In my view, nomads' inability to feed their children and their eventual withdrawal from school was seen as a blessing in disguise because they (nomads) wanted their children to assist them in either farming, cattle rearing or fishing activity. The withdrawal of nomadic children from school formed the basis on which the federal military government promulgated the feeding policy in 1998. This policy, aside from addressing absenteeism among nomadic children, was aimed at improving the nutritional status of nomadic school children in the country. This finding is in support of the position earlier held by Carr-Hill, Eshete, Sedel, and Souza (2005), who submitted that the newly introduced school feeding programme in Kenya was directed towards improving nutrition, access and sustaining enrolments of nomadic children in all schools.

7.13 Nomadic school children and the Universal Basic Education Policy of 2004

A few months after the enactment of the Nomadic Education Feeding Policy in 1998, the militarisation of Nigeria's political space finally came to an end on 29th May, 1999. The end of the military administration saw the enthronement of the democratic administration in Nigeria. With the transfer of the unstable political terrain, unresolved social problems and messy education issues to the new civilian administration in 1999, the concern of this new government was on how to address the myriad of issues left behind by the military administration. One such issue that needed government's immediate attention was the repositioning of the education sector in Nigeria which was on the verge of collapse. Exactly four months after President Olusegun Obasanjo was sworn into office, Universal Basic Education was launched. Four years after, the newly introduced draft bill on the universal basic education programme was passed into law by the National Assembly.

This marked the official commencement of the programme in the country. From the policy, the UBE programme was equated with nine years of basic education for children between the

ages of six to fifteen years. For uniformity purposes and for the sustenance of its quality, the UBE programme was centralised in the context of curriculum provision and qualification of teachers by the government. From the analysis, I discovered that government did not only make universal basic education free and compulsory, it also stipulated the penalty for person(s) that contravened the law. UBEP (2004, p.10) stipulated that: “A parent who contravenes Section 3 (2) of this policy commits an offence and is liable on first conviction, to be reprimanded; on second conviction, to a fine of N2, 000.00 or imprisonment for a term of one month or to both; and on subsequent conviction, to a fine of N5, 000.00 or imprisonment for a term of two months or to both.” Here, the federal government’s imposition of penalty for the offenders, in my view, was a reflection of government’s assumption that the UBE might be rejected by some sections of Nigerians. In another development, the adoption of punitive measures by the government to force Nigerians into accepting the programme was a form of governmentality theory.

Supporting my finding, the literature has shown that the universal basic education programme was introduced in Mongolia and Kenya for nomadic children. In the context of Mongolia, Weidman (2002) reported that despite intensive government pressure to encourage the sedentarisation of nomads for education purpose, they still set out each year with their children from lowland winter quarters to summer pastures in the high mountains. This compelled the Mongolian government to pass the universal basic education policy into law. Weidman (2002) went on to say that the policy allowed every nomadic child between the ages of six and 16 years to have free compulsory basic education. Similarly, in Kenya Mathooko (2009) reported that the Free Primary Education Act of 2003 was aimed at providing education and training for all nomadic children between the ages of six and 16 years.

From the data analysis, I discovered that the law establishing UBE empowered the government to set up a commission called the Universal Basic Education Commission. The commission’s headquarters were (and still are) in the Nigerian political capital Abuja. The essence of this commission was to ensure the smooth implementation of the programme. Additionally, the findings also indicated that there were two commissions (National Commission for Nomadic Education and Universal Basic Education Commission) that performed almost the same functions. The overlapping functions performed by these two commissions resulted in conflicts and frictions that almost crippled the nomadic education

programme. In order to reverse this negative trend, data analysis revealed that the government through the Minister of Education issued a directive that the National Commission for Nomadic Commission should continue to perform its statutory functions as prescribed by the law establishing it. The Universal Basic Education Commission on the other hand was instructed to focus mainly on the construction of new classrooms and the reconstruction of the dilapidated ones.

7.14 Indigenous Language Policy of 2004 for the nomads

After the passage and eventual implementation of the UBEP of 2004, the government was faced with another critical issue. This time around, it was the issue of the appropriate language to be used in all nomadic schools. Data analysis indicated that there are 450 languages spoken by 500 ethnic groups that constitute Nigeria. One of the officials interviewed reported that at the early stages of the evolution of nomadic education, there was a government directive to the effect that all nomadic schools in the country should use the English language as a medium of instruction. This directive was in recognition of the importance of the English language in national communication, for social interaction, cohesion and unity, and smooth interaction with friends. Possibly, this might have been the reason why Okonkwo (1986) submitted that the English language in Nigeria is a vehicle for the transmission of technical inventions and social conventions within the framework of culturally and linguistically circumscribed possibilities.

The findings revealed that the use of the English language as a medium of instruction in all nomadic schools in Nigeria was received by nomads with unprecedented enthusiasm. The acceptance of the English language as a medium of instruction and as a subject by the nomads was borne out of their firm belief that the mastery of oratory skill in the English language by their children served as a reflection of a high level of literacy by nomadic children. This widely held view by nomads is at variance with the position held by Okonkwo (1986), who submitted that the introduction of the English language in African schools made learning dull, dry and painful to African children. However, the initial increase witnessed in pupils' enrolment in nomadic schools across the country as a result of the acceptability of the English language as a medium of instruction and a subject, suddenly disappeared. From my data analysis, it was discovered that the dislike for the English language developed by nomads was occasioned by the fear of infiltration and adaptation of foreign culture by

nomadic children. This fear resulted in the withdrawal of nomadic school children from school by their parents.

With the alarming attrition rate in all nomadic schools across the country, government enacted the Indigenous Language Policy of 2004 to arrest this ugly trend. This new policy emphasised the use of mother tongue or the language of the immediate community as the medium of instruction in the first four years of primary education. In addition, for unity, preservation of culture and national cohesion in the country, this policy stipulated that every nomadic child should learn the three major Nigerian languages (Igbo, Hausa and Yoruba) at the primary education level. These findings suggest that the formulation of the Indigenous Language Policy of 2004 was based on political reasons. Here, the intention of the Nigerian government was to use indigenous languages in the prosecution of their electioneering campaign. The government was of the view that if the English language was used to campaign for votes, the majority of the nomads would not understand hence they would not vote for the ruling party. My findings are supported by Osella (2006) who reported that the introduction of the Indigenous Language Education Policy in Kenya allowed nomadic children who were hitherto afraid of formal schooling because of the use of English as the medium of instruction to suddenly have a change of mind. Similarly, Beresford and Gary (2010) argued that the introduction of the indigenous language policy as a medium of instruction had revolutionised Aboriginal education in Australia. Therefore, the findings in this study are corroborated by previous studies conducted outside Nigeria and outside Africa.

7.15 Girl-child Education Policy of 2006 for nomadic girls

In chapter six of this thesis, data analysis indicated that the Federal Ministry of Education in conjunction with the department of monitoring, evaluation and statistics of National Commission for Nomadic Education began the verification of staff and learners in all nomadic schools in the country. The aim of the verification exercise was to identify areas of most serious needs and the viability of the available option for change. Additionally, the other reason was to specify particular areas where new allocation of present resources could promote the most cost-effective changes and provide a basis and advocacy for funds for the mobilisation of resources and policy change. At the end of the verification exercise, it was discovered that there was serious gender disparity in all nomadic schools in favour of boys in Nigeria. In an attempt to bridge the gender gap in favour of nomadic girls, the Federal

Government of Nigeria passed the Girl-child Education Policy of 2006. The objectives of the policy were as follows:

To increase participation of the nomadic girl child in school; reduce attrition rate of girls in nomadic schools; and increase the participation of nomadic girls in primary science; health education and HIV/AIDS education; mobilising and sensitising nomads on the need of sending the girl children to school and provision of girls-friendly resource materials in nomadic schools (Girl-child Education Policy, 2006, p.6).

The enactment of the Girl-child Education Policy of 2006 by the government notwithstanding, data analysis revealed that the number of nomadic girl children in all nomadic schools across the country did not increase as expected. This was due to lack of enlightenment, mobilisation and sensitisation of nomadic people on the need to send nomadic girl children to school. To keep nomads informed on the importance of the policy, government through the National Orientation Agency began the mobilisation and sensitisation of nomads. The mobilisation and sensitisation campaign carried out by the National Orientation Agency, from my own interpretation had political undertones.

My view is based on the fact that, 2006 was the local government election year in Nigeria. Therefore, it was the government's strategy of winning votes from the nomads since they formed a good percentage of the voters. However, the awareness created in the minds of the nomads on the importance of the Girl-child Education Policy by the National Orientation Agency significantly improved nomadic girls' enrolment. Supporting this assertion, Ardo (2013) explained that the enlightenment mounted by the National Orientation Agency may have assisted NCNE to enroll over 600, 000 pupils in 5, 000 nomadic schools across the country for the 2012/2013 session, out of this number 56% were girls. In a similar circumstance, Gachukia (2004) argued that the radio campaign strategy adopted by the Somali government in educating nomadic people on the gains of sending nomadic girl children to school have significantly promoted girls' enrolment and participation in education in the country.

7.16 Mobile Education Policy of 2007 for nomadic people

In chapter six, I was made to understand that the Mobile Education Policy came into existence in 2007 as a result of nomads' rejection of the regular school calendar. The regular school calendar fell within the period when nomads' occupational engagements were at their

peak. This often happened between the month of January and April of every year. The findings indicated that during this period of the year, the nomadic pastoralists in Northern Nigeria migrated with their herds of cattle to southern Nigeria for fresh grazing land. Migration of the nomads to southern Nigeria from the north at this period of the year was because of the dry season in the north, which dries pastures and other roughages which cattle could feed on. In the south, there is availability of pasture during this time because of the availability of rainfall in this region.

In the area of migrant fishermen, data analysis revealed that fishing activities were always very rewarding during this time of the year because thunderstorms rarely occur. Lack of thunderstorms made the migrant fishermen and their children expedite their fishing expedition into the high seas. Similarly, January and April of every year mark the beginning of the planting season for migrant farmers. It was revealed from the analysis that migrant farmers began cultivation of both cash and food crops during this time of the year. The cultivation of crops by migrant farmers was often assisted by their children. The involvement of nomadic children in the cultivation of crops made their parents reject the regular school calendar. The rejection of the regular school calendar by nomads was reflected in the number of nomadic children withdrawn from school by their parents. In order to check the nomads from withdrawing their children from school, government changed the school calendar that was between January and November of the year to September and July of the next year. The findings indicated that there was a long school holiday between the month of January and March of every year. This holiday period was given to enable nomadic children to assist their parents in fishing, cattle rearing or farming activities.

The Federal Government of Nigeria did not only stop at changing the school calendar, it went further to introduce mobile classrooms. From the analysis, it was discovered that the mobile schools were made up of collapsible materials that could be moved from one location to another freely. The policy also made room for the provision of movable tables and chairs along with the school. Government's decision to introduce mobile classrooms, from my interpretation, was to ensure that nomads' occupational activities were not disrupted since they were the main suppliers of meats, food crops and fishes to the nation. In my literature, Idris (2011) reported that the enactment of mobile education policy by the Kenyan government was done in order to help nomadic people adapt to the recurrent drought and ensure that every nomadic child's right to an education is honoured. In another circumstance,

Degefe and Kidane (2006) submitted that the Mobile Education Policy was passed in Kenya to check absenteeism among nomadic children as a result of the distance from their tents to school.

Aside from the change in the school calendar and the introduction of mobile classrooms for nomads, the finding also showed that the policy made provision for the introduction of multiple shift classes. In the Nigerian context, multiple shift classes involved a particular group of nomadic children attending school in the morning and a completely different group of nomadic children attending the same school in the afternoon. The morning section began from 8am and ended at 12.30pm, while the evening section started at 1.30pm and stopped at 5pm. From my data analysis, it was revealed that the rationale for the introduction of multiple shifts into the nomadic education programme was to ensure that nomadic children could be able to assist their parents in cattle rearing, fishing and farming activity and at the same time participate actively in all school activities. Throwing more light on the rationale for the introduction of multiple shift classes by the government, Udo Ekim submitted:

This type of arrangement is profitable for nomadic children because nomadic children attend school and also work so as to support their economically strained families. For government, this approach is cost effective because the same facilities and personnel are repeatedly used by the two schools (Personal communication with Udo Ekim, 2012).

From the findings, it is evident that the arrangement of multiple shift classes was made to accommodate all nomadic children who engaged in cattle rearing, fishing or farming at different periods of the day. For instance, nomadic children whose parents engaged them in the afternoon fishing, farming and cattle rearing, they preferred to attend the 1st shift. Conversely, nomadic children working for their parents in the morning chose the evening shift. This finding is strongly supported by Kratli (2001) in his study of nomadic education in Somalia. Kratli argued that the adoption of a flexible school timetable was done in order to accommodate different nomadic children who engaged in their occupational activities at different times of the day.

I would like to state that the government's passage of the Mobile Education Policy was received by nomads with 'fanfare' as evidenced in the high enrolment figures in nomadic schools. My interpretation of government's 'good intention' of providing nomadic children particularly with multiple shift classes was that government indirectly and undilutedly

sanctioned child labour and abuse in Nigeria. This is because the policy allowed nomadic children to be engaged in farming, fishing and cattle rearing activities either in the morning or in the evening while at the same time attending classes at their convenience. This is against Section 34, Sub-section 1(a) of the 1999 Nigerian Constitution which stipulates that “every individual is entitled to respect for the dignity of his person, and accordingly, no person shall be subjected to torture, or to inhuman or degrading treatment” (Nigerian Constitution, 1999, p.23). Similarly, the Child Rights Act (CRA) of 2003 that was passed by the National Assembly in Nigeria stipulates that “a child shall be given such protection and care as is necessary for the well-being of the child” (CRA, 2003, p.9). In my view, the changing of both the school calendar and the introduction of multiple shift classes to accommodate nomadic children’s occupational activities constituted torture, inhuman and degrading treatment to nomadic children. This is an absolute violation of relevant sections of the 1999 Nigerian Constitution.

7.17 The Radio Education Policy of 2008 for nomadic people

One of the themes that feature prominently in chapter six was the Radio Education Policy of 2008. I was made to understand that every nomadic family had a small transistor radio that was powered with dry cell batteries. This was based on the report made by officials of the NCNE who conducted an on-the-spot assessment of the acceptability of multiple shift classes. Data analysis revealed that the nomads had unquantifiable passion to listen to radio programmes, especially those broadcasted in their local dialects. To realise this goal, the NCNE officials tried to introduce lessons to be aired on the radio since it was the easiest and quickest means of information dissemination. In the month of April 2008, a pilot programme was introduced. A report received from the nomads indicated appreciable acceptability of the programme. This report was subsequently forwarded to the government. A few months after the receipt of this report, a Radio Education Policy was enacted. In a related development, the introduction of Radio Education Policy in Nigeria, in my view, was also aimed at educating the nomads on the effects of climate change. There was a general belief among nomadic people that recent drought witnessed in some parts of the country which affected both their animals and crops was caused by the gods. Nomads were of the view that their inability to perform proper sacrifice to the gods was the cause of the unfavourable weather which resulted in poor agricultural products. By removing this myth, radio was used to educate the nomads on the effects of climate change on their crops and ways in which this could be overcome.

In my literature, I made mention of the enactment of the Radio Education Policy for nomadic people in Mongolia and Kenya. The findings indicated that the radio education policy in Nigeria was passed because it was the easiest and quickest channel in which school lessons could be disseminated to the nomads who lived in remote areas. This finding is not in agreement with the event in Mongolia and Kenya. For instance, Khamsi and Stolpe (2001) reported that a radio instruction programme in Mongolia was aimed at mobilising, sensitising and empowering nomadic communities through the provision of educational needs for the benefits of nomadic children. Furthermore, Abdi (2010) reported that apart from complementing the face-to-face school model, the radio education programme in Kenya was also directed towards imparting knowledge and skills on the nomads in areas such as health education, marketing and issues of droughts. In spite of the variations on the ground of the enactment of the radio education policy in these countries, the fact remains that radio was a channel through which nomadic people were educated.

In the area of implementing the radio policy, the finding indicated that some nomadic teachers and facilitators were sent to a workshop in Canada. The workshop was organised to educate nomadic teachers and facilitators on the modalities involved in operating Interactive Radio Instruction (IRI). Different approaches of lesson delivery on the radio were designed and adopted. Prominent among the lesson delivery strategies were: straight talks, discussions, storytelling, and case study methods. With the adoption of lesson delivery strategies on radio, the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria, Kaduna (FRCN), was first mandated to broadcast the lesson to the nomads. This radio programme was known as *Makiyaya a Ruga*. From my interpretation, the reasons for the choice of the FRCN in Kaduna were twofold. First, the FRCN in Kaduna was the first radio station established in the northern part of Nigeria by the northern regional government in 1962. The purpose for the establishment of this radio station was to disseminate information and government programmes to the people. Nigerians, particularly from northern Nigeria, cultivated the habit of listening to different programmes aired from the station.

This radio station was adjudged to have the highest audience in sub-Saharan Africa. It was on this premise, bearing in mind the passion nomads had for radio programmes on this station that the FRCN in Kaduna was chosen. Second, the FRCN in Kaduna coincidentally was sited in an area mostly dominated by nomadic pastoralists. Before the introduction of *Makiyaya a Ruga*, the radio station had been disseminating government policies and programmes in local

languages such as Hausa, Nupe, Kanuri, Fulfulde and Tiv. The majority of nomadic pastoralists is from these ethnic nationalities and always listened to the programmes in their dialects. It was on this ground that the radio station was picked. It is rather unfortunate that literature is silent on this finding. This is because radio instruction for nomadic people in Nigeria was the government's recent educational innovation that has never been adopted by other countries where nomads are found. This marks another contribution to existing knowledge on nomadic education.

On the issue of broadcasting lessons to nomads, I discovered from the data analysis that the FRCN began to air the lessons to nomads for the first time on 25th May, 2008. On enquiry, it was reported by one of the participants that the reception of the lesson on the radio was not only clear but that the programme (*Makiyaya a Ruga*) was accepted by the nomads. Though this radio programme was well received by the majority of the nomads, the issue that was of great challenge to the nomads was the procurement of dry cell batteries to power the radio. This is because, despite the willingness of nomads to procure batteries due to the remoteness and inaccessibility of nomads' residence by shop owners, the economic status of most nomadic families could not sustain the procurement of dry cell batteries on a weekly basis. Perhaps, this is the reason why Sifuna (2005) argued that the major impediment for the smooth implementation of the nomadic radio education programme in Kenya was the inability of the nomads to procure radio sets, prompting the UNESCO and World Bank to assist them in the supply of radio sets, televisions, electric generators, and by building them viewing rooms.

In order to overcome this challenge and ensure that *Makiyaya a Ruga* was aired regularly, data analysis revealed that the NCNE sought the assistance of international institutions and foreign countries. Responding to the request by NCNE for assistance in the area of the acquisition of radio sets and other instructional materials for nomads, the finding indicated that the World Bank provided 1000 pieces of non-battery wind up radios and audio cassette recorders in addition to 500 units of blank audio cassettes and 140 mini tape recorders. Aside from the World Bank's intervention project, South Africa through one of her agencies known as the 'Open Learning System Education Trust' donated 200 units of radio/cassette players, 19, 800 copies of audio cassettes, 170 copies of teacher's guides, 10, 000 copies of readers, 11, 000 copies of activity books, 200 copies each of wildlife, colour charts, farm, and African pictures and alphabets. My finding is in agreement with the position held by Sifuna (2005), as

stated above, Sifuna avowed that the inability of the Kenyan government to provide nomads with radio sets and other accessories necessitated the intervention of some international organisations such as UNESCO and World Bank to assist in the supply of radio sets, televisions, electric generators, and the viewing rooms.

With the provision of radio sets and other accessories to the nomads by some international institutions and countries, the nomadic radio education programme took off in Nigeria. On a weekly basis, a new lesson was introduced. A monitoring team was set up to monitor the programme and report accordingly to the NCNE. In one of those reports from the monitoring team, it was suggested that nomadic teachers should be sent to shed light on areas where nomads had difficulty in understanding the lesson aired. Data analysis showed that five listening centres were established for the purpose of educating nomads on difficult topics or concept(s) aired by teachers. In all of the five centres, it was discovered by nomadic teachers that the ‘explanatory session’ was not only attended by nomadic children but by adult nomads alike. The participation of adult nomads in explanatory sessions, from all indications, suggested that they were also interested in the acquisition of new knowledge and skills needed to improve their occupational activities. This prompted the passing of the Distance Education Policy.

7.18 Distance Education Policy of 2009 for nomads

It is clear from the data analysis that the whole idea of a nomadic distance education programme for nomadic people in Nigeria was initiated by the monitoring team that was set up to give feedback to the NCNE on the level of nomadic people’s acceptability and understanding of the lesson aired over the radio. The team discovered that the ‘explanatory session’ that was initially targeted at nomadic children was also being attended by adult nomads. From the report, the team recommended the introduction of the distance education programme for aged nomads to the Minister of Education. This recommendation was subsequently tabled in the Federal Executive Council meeting by the Minister of Education. In the meeting, it was resolved that the distance education programme should be introduced for nomads. Based on this resolution, the Federal Government of Nigeria enacted the nomadic Distance Education Policy of 2009.

From the finding it is evident that the nomadic Distance Education Policy was formulated and passed by the Nigerian government with the intention of providing distance education to

adult nomads who never had the opportunity of having access to formal education or dropped out of school for various reasons. The finding is consistent with the objectives of the Distance Education Policy of 2009 which clearly stated that nomadic distance education was aimed at providing functional literacy education for adult nomads who had never had the advantages of formal education, and also to provide functional education for those nomadic children who prematurely dropped out of the formal school system. In the literature, it was reported that distance education was introduced in Somalia. Unlike in Nigeria, Emenyonu (1993) submitted that distance education in Somalia was designed for all those who because of the nature of their other obligations to self or society, or people who because of their age, were unable to enroll in the regular or formal educational system.

In the context of curriculum design and development, my data analysis revealed that subjects such as language arts, elementary arithmetic, agriculture and animal management (fishery inclusive), religious instruction, home economics, and health education were offered. A closer look at the contents of each subject indicated that there were differences between distance education for adult nomads and regular education for nomadic children. The curriculum content of distance education, unlike the regular education one, was heavily infused with cultural and occupational elements by government. This is evident in the nature of practical training outlined in the distance education curriculum, especially in subjects such as agriculture and animal management, home economics, and health education. This is in line with theory of governmentality which allows for the creation of governable nomads through various techniques developed to control, normalise and shape their conduct. In the context of the theory, the nomads had to be 'governable'.

Judging from the various nomadic education policies either promulgated by the successive military regimes or enacted by civilian administrations, the covert reasons have been advanced and my interpretation of why the nomadic education policies in Nigeria unfolded the way they did between 1986 and 2009 are explained below.

7.19 Settlement of the nomadic people

The main covert reason why the military regime conceptualised and rolled out various nomadic education policies for the nomads was based on the government's ulterior intention to settle nomadic people. From the findings the following reasons were found to have influenced positively the conceptualisation of the nomadic education programme: the 1979

Nigerian Constitution which guarantees every Nigerian child the right to education, the National Policy on Education of 1981, and the activities of some international institutions. These were some of the dynamics that influenced the evolution of the nomadic education programme in Nigeria.

The formative phase of nomadic education in Nigeria which spans between 1986 and 1992, saw the promulgation of different decrees such as Decree 28 of 1987, Decree 31 of 1988, Decree 41 of 1989, the Migrant Fishermen Education Policy of 1990 and the Migrant Farmers' Education Policy of 1992 by General Ibrahim Babangida. From my data presentation, I discovered that within seven years of the establishment of nomadic education, about five different policies were promulgated for the implementation of the programme by the regime of General Babangida alone. It was amazing to see a military head of state for the first time in Nigerian history being so magnanimous in the provision of welfare services to the nomads.

However, my interpretation of General Babangida's benevolence was twofold. First, I argued that he was from nomadic extraction from the Gwari ethnic group. The majority of this ethnic group is predominantly nomadic pastoralists. Oral history has it that General Babangida's grandfather was a nomadic pastoralist. One of the officials interviewed reported that as a boy of about 12 years of age, the young Ibrahim Babangida was a nomadic pastoralist who often assisted his grandfather to move with cattle to the field for grazing. After his enlistment into the Nigerian Army and eventual ascension to the position of head of state through a staged coup, General Ibrahim Babangida's intention was to ensure that his people's (Gwari ethnic group) lifestyle as nomads was changed to sedentary lifestyle. As the head of state, General Babangida wielded enormous political power which he exercised to change the age long tradition of his Gwari people. It was this singular act that compelled and necessitated him to promulgate various nomadic education policies so as to achieve his goal.

Secondly, General Babangida's mission of becoming a life president in Nigeria played a crucial role in the evolution of various nomadic education policies. Immediately after seizing power in 1985, General Babangida's intention was to become the head of state for life. With this intention in mind, he failed to announce the actual date for his administration's return to popular democratic rule in Nigeria. Instead, he dismantled all democratic structures which could have dislodged his plan of becoming Nigeria's life president. In its place, he erected

those that would aid and abet the accomplishment of his mission. With the pressure from some civil societies and the international community on his government, General Babangida finally announced 1990 as the year in which he intended to return the country to civilian rule.

In line with his political agenda, he rejected all political associations established by Nigerians. Instead, he established two government funded political parties known as the National Republican Convention (NRC) and the Social Democratic Party (SDP) for Nigerians. In order to ensure that his hidden agenda (becoming a life president) was accomplished, General Babangida decided to appease most segments of the Nigerian society through the provision of social services such as the Rural Electrification Scheme (RES), the National Directorate of Employment (NDE) and the Directorate for Food, Road and Rural Infrastructures (DFRRI), among others. However, despite the provision of these social services, General Babangida went a step further to appease the nomads with the promulgation of various nomadic education policies that would bring about full settlement of nomadic people.

Utilising Foucault's notion of governmentality, it is evident that General Babangida used the 'state apparatus' such as the Army Forces Ruling Council (AFRC) which was then the highest law making body in Nigeria to promulgate various nomadic education policies for the nomads. These policies were designed by government with specific intention of turning the nomads into a sedentary group of people.

7.20 Political aspiration of General Abacha

Unlike the administration of General Babangida whose aim was to settle the nomads, General Sani Abacha's military administration which took over from General Babangida could only pass two nomadic education policies throughout the five years he spent in office. His government was not really concerned with the nomadic education programme for nomadic people. Instead, General Abacha was preoccupied by his quest of becoming a life president on his own terms. Therefore, the two nomadic education policies (boarding and feeding policies) his government promulgated constituted a political antic designed to lure the nomads into his fold. However, General Abacha was aware that the nomads might pose a serious threat to his political ambition. He was of the view that most of the able-bodied men who migrated with cattle might be recruited by the 'opposition groups' to destabilise his government. As a result, he ensured that any opposition that could undermine his political ambition was either settled (bribed) or violently crushed.

It was the view of General Abacha's government that if the nomads were accommodated in a particular environment and freely fed, they would not be interested in who was running the affairs of government. Moreover the government would be able to monitor their activities. Therefore, the nomadic education boarding and feeding policies were the government's grand plan to indirectly control and check nomads from interfering, undermining, or obstructing his desire of becoming the Nigerian life president. Here, the theory of governmentality entailed the notion of continuous surveillance (Foucault, 2006). Furthermore, the nomadic education policy generation and implementation by General Abacha's government constituted part of the technology of governmentality as illustrated above. It is appropriate to conclude that the theory of governmentality adopted in this thesis is clearly aligned with my submission on the rationale behind General Abacha's passage of the boarding and feeding policies in Nigeria.

7.21 Integration of nomads into the mainstream of Nigerian society

Another covert reason why nomadic education unfolded the way it did was because of the government's desire to integrate the nomads into the mainstream of Nigerian society by President Olusegun Obasanjo's government. From the data analysis, it was revealed that President Obasanjo came into power on 29th May, 1999. On ascension to power, he realised that nomadic people had been sidelined by different military administrations that ruled the country. It was indicated that in spite of the provision of education opportunity and other essential services for the nomads by the successive governments, the nomads were not integrated at all into the mainstream of Nigerian society. In fact, aside from the negative perception of sedentary population against the nomads as being primitive, they were often isolated socially and politically.

On the basis of this, the immediate priority of President Obasanjo's government was to look at ways in which the nomads could be integrated into the mainstream of the society. However, the avenue that the government exploited at integrating the nomads was through the enactment of the Universal Basic Education, Indigenous Language, Nomadic Girl-Child Education and Mobile Education Policies. For instance, the cardinal objective of the Universal Basic Education policy was: "the eradication of illiteracy, ignorance, and poverty as well as stimulate and accelerate national development, political consciousness, and national integration" (UBEP, 2004, p.4).

Similarly, the objective of the Indigenous Language Policy was stated as follows:

Government appreciates the importance of language as a means of promoting social interaction and national cohesion and preserving cultures. Thus every nomadic child shall learn the language of the immediate environment. Furthermore, in the interest of national unity, it is expedient that every nomadic child shall be required to learn one of the three main Nigerian languages of Hausa, Ibo and Yoruba (Indigenous Language Policy, 2004, p.4).

A closer look at the above stated policy objectives and other ones (Nomadic Girl-Child Education and Mobile Education Policies) that were clearly highlighted in chapter six, indicated that the intention of President Obasanjo's government was to integrate nomadic people into the mainstream of the Nigerian society for his political goals.

In a similar circumstance, President Umaru Yar'Adua's government that came into power on 29th May, 2007 was not different from his predecessor in the context of the provision of education for the nomads. This should not come as a surprise given that President Yar-Adua was hand-picked by President Obasanjo to succeed him and was therefore his protégé. From the onset, Udo Ekim reported that President Yar'Adua's government focused mainly on the integration of the nomads. The enactments of radio and distance education policies were clear evidence of the government's intention in this direction. From the governmentality analytical framework, the various nomadic education policies enacted were forms of governmental power over the administration, control and regulation of nomadic people as members of populations. The elaborate classification of the nomads as the social misfits and the attendant regulations, and limitations on their rights to movement through the enactment of various policies illustrate the detailed operation of this form of government power on the nomads.

7.22 Conclusion

In this chapter, I provided an in-depth discussion of my findings by engaging with the literature and my personal experience as a former nomad to see how the current study relates to the existing body of literature. However, this chapter moved to the next level of analysis of the major findings which indicated that nomadic education was conceptualised by successive Nigerian governments in fulfillment of the imperatives of the Nigerian Constitution and also international conventions to which the government was a signatory. It was also found that Decree 28 of 1987, Decree 31 of 1988, Decree 41 of 1989, Migrant Fishermen Education Policy of 1990, Migrant Farmers' Education Policy of 1992, Nomadic Education Boarding Policy of 1996, among others, were policies enacted by successive governments between 1986 and 2009 for the assimilation of the nomadic population and their inclusion into the

mainstream education system in Nigeria. From the study, it was also revealed that the nomadic education policies unfolded the way they did because of the governments' desire to settle the nomads, based on the government's political agenda and the integration of the nomads into mainstream of the society.

The detailed analysis in this chapter leads me to the concluding part of the thesis. In the final chapter (chapter eight), I restate the research problem and questions, critically appraise the theoretical framework and methodology, and thereafter, evaluate the main findings and their implications for future research on the same theme which was addressed in this dissertation.

Chapter eight

Conclusion: The nomads had landed

8.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I critically discussed the main research findings that emerged from the study using the literature, empirical findings, my personal experience and the theoretical lenses. In this concluding chapter, I intend to present a summary of the study. Soon thereafter, I plan to discuss some conclusions reached from this study, including how the dissertation responds to the key research questions presented in chapter One. I also intend to explain the new knowledge generated from the study. Furthermore, the issue of the limitations to the study will be highlighted and addressed. Finally, I will propose future direction for further research and thereafter bring this study to a conclusion.

8.2 An overview of the study

To start with, the existing literature confirms that nomadic people constitute a sizeable population in Nigeria (Ezeomah, 2000). Based on their work roles, culture and inability to avail themselves for formal education, the nomads are seen as a primitive group of people (Tahir, 2001). Efforts at providing nomads with formal education began during the colonial era under British rule (Ezeomah, 1982; Ezewu & Tahir, 1997). But this early attempt at providing them with basic elementary education was of little or no significance. This was mainly because of the inaccessibility of the arid and semi-arid regions of the country by some Islamic clerics that initiated the establishment of nomadic schools (Ezeomah, 2000).

With this failed attempt, similar efforts were made by successive governments after the attainment of Nigerian independence in 1960 towards providing nomads with unlimited access to education, but these efforts were fruitless. The subsequent unsuccessful bids at providing nomads with formal education were pregnant with irrelevant curriculum which was at variance with the lifestyles and culture of nomadic people (Ezeomah, 1983). However, with the violent overthrow of the democratic government in Nigeria by the military in 1983, the issue of providing formal education to the nomads became the government's priority.

From the background, therefore, this study aimed at investigating the history of nomadic education policies in Nigeria between 1986 and 2009. The major rationale and motivating factors to embark on this research study were viewed from personal, professional, conceptual and scholarly perspectives. The purpose of this study was to examine the reasons for the

conceptualisation of the nomadic education programme and the various nomadic education policies either promulgated or enacted for implementation from 1986 to 2009. Based on the above stated purposes, the following research questions were developed and are re-echoed below:

- . Why was nomadic education conceptualised in Nigeria in 1986?
- . How did nomadic education policies in Nigeria unfold between 1986 and 2009?
- . Why did the nomadic education policies in Nigeria unfold the way they did between 1986 and 2009?

Scholars have written on nomadic education in Nigeria and other countries of the world. However, the literature review chapter revealed that although much has been written on nomadic education policies globally, less has been written on the dynamics surrounding the formulation of nomadic education policies in Nigeria. This research responds to this gap in the literature and provides empirical evidence to illustrate the trends in the development of various nomadic education policies in Nigeria.

This study is located within contemporary history. However, because of the nature of the research problem under investigation, I adopted a qualitative approach as the research methodology. In trying to unravel why nomadic education was conceptualised and various education policies put in place for their implementation from 1986 to 2009, five NCNE officials who at one time or the other were directly involved in the administration of nomadic education were consulted to narrate their stories and recount their experiences in this regard.

Notwithstanding the purposive selection of these five participants, since the study is historical in nature, also sought and obtained documentary evidence from the National Archives of Nigeria. This immensely added strength to an array of narrative inquiries provided by research participants. The evidence obtained from these two sources was subjected to thematic narrative analysis. In presenting the evidence, I drew heavily from the literature to make sense of the ways in which nomadic education policies were enacted from 1986 to 2009 by both military and democratic governments in Nigeria. Having done this, I was in a better position to understand in-depth both the overt and covert reasons why the Nigerian government formulated and enacted different nomadic education policies. In furtherance to the above, my search for various enacted nomadic education policies globally paid off, as it formed a better foundation in understanding a series of nomadic education policies in Nigeria.

8.3 Summary of the main findings

In this section, the following key findings were the outcome of the analysis of nomadic education policies in Nigeria between 1986 and 2009 as presented and discussed in the previous three chapters.

8.3.1 Perspectives of the conceptualisation of nomadic education in Nigeria

With regard to the participants' response to why nomadic education in Nigeria was conceptualised as outlined in research question one, there were varied responses. However, these responses actually captured the essence of the conceptualisation of nomadic education in Nigeria. Nevertheless, what was common among the participants was that nomadic education was conceptualised based on the following grounds: in fulfilment of the 1979 Nigerian Constitution, in fulfilment of the conventions and treaties entered into with the international organisations by the government, activities of Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association, activities of international institutions and Universal Primary Education.

An important finding from the interview indicated that nomadic education in Nigeria was conceptualised in total fulfilment of some provisions in the 1979 Nigerian Constitution. Despite the views expressed by the participants, documentary evidence also indicated that nomadic education in the country was conceptualised based on the 1979 Nigerian Constitution. It was established that the 1979 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria is regarded as the supreme law of the land which the state and Nigerians must obey. However, in this Constitution the right of Nigerians to quality and functional education was clearly stated. It was established by the participants that in spite of this provision in the 1979 Nigerian Constitution, the federal military government led by General Ibrahim Babangida suddenly realised that nomadic people were educationally marginalised. The exclusion of the nomads from gaining access to education, according to the participants was a breach or violation of the Constitution. Therefore, it was in keeping with the provision of the 1979 Nigerian Constitution which guaranteed equal and adequate educational opportunities at all levels for every Nigerian child that nomadic education for nomadic people was conceptualised. This finding was corroborated by Khamsi and Stolpe (2004), Demberel and Penn (2006), and Mawdsley and Russo (2007) in their different studies.

Despite the fact that nomadic education was conceptualised in fulfilment of the 1979 Nigerian Constitution as stated above, in my view, the covert reason for the conceptualisation

of nomadic education in 1986 was to ensure that the nomads were changed from being mobile groups to becoming a sedentary population. Government realised that the mobile lifestyle of the nomads in contemporary Nigeria was primitive, bearing in mind the level of Western civilisation in the country. The federal government's intention to change the nomads from being mobile groups using the 1979 Nigerian Constitution as a cover is an exhibition of governmentality. This is in agreement with the position held by Dean (1999) which says that governmentality is the way in which government tries to produce the citizen best suited to fulfil those governments' policies, the organised practices (mentalities, rationalities, and techniques) through which subjects are governed.

Aside from the 1979 Nigerian Constitution which the federal government used as a basis for the conceptualisation of the nomadic education programme in Nigeria, the findings also indicated that Nigeria's membership of most international organisations significantly played a positive role in this direction. For instance, I discovered from the data analysis that Nigeria was a member of the United Nations. Nigeria joined this world body before independence and it was led by the British who colonised the country. As a member state, the country signed different conventions and treaties with other international organisations such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICEAFRD).

As indicated in chapter five, the goal of these agencies was *inter alia* to mandate the member countries to provide Western education to their citizens (nomads inclusive) irrespective of ethnic identity, gender and state of origin, among others. Hitherto, the nomads were marginalised educationally by the Nigerian government. The exclusion of nomadic people from Western education was seen by the Nigerian government as a clear breach of the agreement entered into with these international organisations. Therefore, Nigeria as a member and also a signatory to these conventions and treaties was under obligation to honour the agreement. The above stated ground compelled the federal government of Nigeria to conceptualise nomadic education for nomadic people. Additionally, the federal government's decision to abide by the agreements with these international institutions was to ensure the development of a good relationship with the international communities. The role played by these international organisations in ensuring that the Nigerian government conceptualised the nomadic education programme for the training of the nomads is a form of governmentality.

Here, forcing the Nigerian government to embark on nomadic education is an international governmentality towards the state, or what Merlingen (2003) best refers to as ‘the international conduct of the conduct of country.’

The findings also revealed that a pressure group known as the MACBAN actively played a major role in the formation of the nomadic education programme. From the finding, this pressure group was formed in 1979 with the sole aim of vigorously articulating the needs, interests and problems of nomadic people by drawing both the state and the federal governments’ attention to the educationally disadvantaged position of the nomads and demanded the establishment of nomadic education for them. It was revealed by most of the participants that over-taxation levied on nomads’ livestock, and their inability to communicate with the tax officials in English, were some of the challenges faced by the nomads. From the governmentality perspective, it is important to note that the over-taxation of the nomads’ livestock was one of the measures used by the government to monitor, control and manage the nomadic population.

From the finding, it was discovered that nomads’ efforts to address these challenges compelled them to make several representations to the federal government for the need to establish a ‘special education’ for them. Few months after these representations, the federal government saw the need for the provision of nomadic education. Though it has been established that the federal government relied on the pressure mounted on her by the MACBAN to initiate the formation of the nomadic education programme, however, I have observed that government involvement in nomadic education was based on economic reasons. Nomads were the major suppliers of animals to the country’s industries, therefore, the production of high quality meats, hides and skins and other animal products for these industries made the government consider establishing nomadic education. The finding is in direct contrast to the view expressed by O’Donoghue and Potts (2007) in which they reported that Aboriginal education in Australia was not influenced by Aboriginal people, but rather by the Australian government.

Aside from the activities of the MACBAN that necessitated the introduction of nomadic education in the country, my findings also indicated that one of the early strategies used by the Nigerian government to comply with the pressures enumerated above was through the enactment of government Acts and the drafting of education policies. Universal Primary

Education (UPE) of 1976 was a product of one of the education policies promulgated by the government. The government's decision to commence UPE and also make it compulsory was a demonstration of its intention to give every Nigerian child access to formal education. This finding indicated that after the commencement of the UPE programme, the government realised that the majority of nomadic people refused to embrace the programme. From my observation, the refusal of the nomads to associate with the UPE was based on the 'unfriendly' school environment and curriculum to nomads' lifestyle. It was revealed that from the conception stage, UPE was designed with the sole intention of educating the sedentary population. This assertion was affirmed by Tahir (2003) when he stated that school buildings, classrooms, benches, desks, teaching equipment and timetables of subjects and activities for the term were all irrelevant for nomads who did not stay in one place for more than a few weeks at a time. Additionally, Osokoya (2004) argued that looking at the 'setting' of the UPE programme, it was not specifically designed with the intention of educating the nomads. Instead, it was meant for the sedentary population. I wanted to point out that the nomads are certainly awkward customers for the services and structures of the modern education system. Nomads' refusal to avail themselves for the UPE programme made the government come up with the alternative formal education system that was nomad-friendly. This necessitated the conceptualisation of nomadic education for the nomads.

Though findings showed that the unacceptability of the UPE programme by the nomads was the reason for the conceptualisation of nomadic education, it was discovered that settling down the nomads in a fixed place was the brain behind government's involvement in nomadic education.

8.3.2 Nomadic education during the military era

Findings reached from the second research question can be compartmentalised into the military and democratic settings. From the perspective of the military era, I realised from the study that exactly seven nomadic education policies were promulgated in order to spread-out nomadic education in Nigeria.

One of the major findings reached was the official presidential pronouncement for the commencement of the nomadic education programme in 1986. Before this pronouncement was made, there was a stakeholders' workshop which was held in Yola to brainstorm on the need for the establishment of nomadic education. The recommendations reached from the

Yola workshop formed the basis on which President Ibrahim Babangida pronounced the birth of nomadic education in the country. From this finding, I was made to understand that President Babangida took a unilateral decision to pronounce the establishment of nomadic education in Nigeria. This was at variance with what was obtainable in a place like Britain, where Foster and Norton (2012) reported that the establishment of formal education for the Gypsies was not done through executive fiat. Rather, it was initiated in the House of Parliament by Bridget Plowden who was the Chairperson of the Central Advisory Council for Education in England.

After the presidential pronouncement, the findings indicated that the federal government went into action by legalising the programme. This was done through the promulgation of Decree 28 of 1987. This decree ushered in the Nomadic Education Blueprint which clearly outlined the goals of nomadic education in Nigeria. Here, it can be argued that this blueprint was the legal instrument needed for the provision of relevant and qualitative basic education to the nomads.

In a similar development, the finding also indicated that the federal government promulgated another decree known as Decree 31 of 1988 after the Nomadic Education Blueprint had been institutionalised. However, the NCNE's officials interviewed said that Decree 31 of 1988 necessitated the establishment of a commission known as the National Primary Education Commission (NPEC). It was revealed that the commission's responsibility was to set the minimum standard for both the conventional and nomadic education. Here, it can be argued that the mandate given to the commission to set the minimum standard for both conventional and nomadic education was to ensure that all the school activities were monitored in line with government's mission. From all indications, the above discussion clearly illustrated the application of the governmentality theory.

The findings indicated that with the grey areas noticeable in Decree 31 of 1988, another decree known as Decree 41 of 1989 was subsequently promulgated by the federal government. The promulgation of Decree 41 of 1989 revolutionised nomadic education in Nigeria. From the study, it was discovered that this decree informed the establishment of the National Commission for Nomadic Education (NCNE). This commission was charged with the responsibility of implementing the nomadic education programme in Nigeria. However, the issue whether the NCNE carried out its functions remains controversial and debatable.

This is because scholars like Moh'd (2007) have criticised the strategy adopted by the NCNE for the implementation of nomadic education, saying that it was full of inconsistencies.

Taking into account the participants' explanation of the organisational structure of the commission, the findings revealed that the commission was compartmentalised into four main functional departments namely: (a) Programme Development and Extension, (b) Monitoring, Evaluation and Statistics, (c) Administration and Supplies, and (d) Finance and Accounts. From the perspectives of the functions performed by each department, the findings indicated that each department was charged with the responsibility of performing its role as prescribed by the decree establishing the commission. In light of the findings, key argument is that the four major departments in the NCNE collectively ensured the implementation of all nomadic education programmes.

8.3.3 Perspectives on migrant fishermen and farmers' education

The promulgation of Migrant Fishermen and Farmers' Education Policies featured prominently in this thesis (see chapter five). With the integration of nomadic pastoralists into the nomadic education system, the issue of migrant fishermen's education was raised by the host state governments. The findings indicated that the federal government was informed of the existence of another group of nomads (migrant fishermen) with a similar mobility pattern like nomadic pastoralists whose access to formal education was completely absent. With the continuous agitation for the inclusion of migrant fishermen in the nomadic education programme by the host states' government, the federal government promulgated the Migrant Fishermen's Education Policy.

What is reflected in the findings is that there were indications that this policy was promulgated for the integration of migrant fishermen's children into the formal education system. This was done through the provision of suitable facilities as well as raising the awareness of the migrant fishermen and their families towards accepting formal education. Linked to the above, it was established that the policy was aimed at eradicating illiteracy, improving the occupational competencies of migrant fishermen by giving their children an education suitable to their enrolment, improvement of the general living conditions of migrant fishermen and their families and by creating awareness of the needs to be enlightened (Tahir, 2003). Moreover, this position was further supported by Cremin (2008) who argued that the California Migrant Education Policy of 1966 was aimed at supporting the high quality and comprehensive educational programme for migratory fishermen's children, to

reduce the educational disruption and other problems that result from their repeated move. Concurring with the notion of governmentality (Foucault, 1991), the provision of education to the migrant fishermen in Nigeria was to ensure that they were not only settled in a fixed location, but was also intended at monitoring, shaping and controlling their behaviour in line with the desires of the government.

With the final enactment and implementation of the migrant fishermen policy, the findings indicated the discovery of another form of nomadic group known as migrant farmers. From the narration, I found that the engagement of migrant farmers in various farming activities made them move from one farm settlement to the other. Their migrational rhythm, according to one of the participants hindered their participation in formal education. Non-involvement of migrant farmers and their children in formal education like their nomadic pastoralists and migrant fishermen counterparts called for the agitation for their inclusion. The findings of this study showed that in 1992 the Migrant Farmers' Education Policy was promulgated. Moreover, from the findings it was mentioned that the mission statement of the policy clearly stated that: "in order to satisfy the educational needs and interests of the migrant farming communities, and promote educational equality and access, NCNE shall in conjunction with states, local governments and the local communities implement educational programmes planned for farmers in all the affected states of the federation in accordance with its mandate" (Migrant Farmers' Education Policy, 1992, p.4). Linked to the above, I argue that the importance of providing migrant farmers with desirable education stemmed from the need to improve significantly their standard of living and to provide their children the opportunity to realise their potentials.

With the amalgamation of three identified nomadic groups (nomadic pastoralists, migrant fishermen and migrant farmers) into the NCNE, government's action in this direction was not only aimed at having adequate and effective administrative convenience, but to monitor pupils' enrolment in all nomadic schools (El-Nafaty, 2000). From the findings, I discovered that the poor enrolment figures witnessed in all nomadic schools in the country formed the basis for the government's promulgation of the Nomadic Education Boarding Policy of 1996. In sharp contrast, two of the participants refuted this view. Rather, they maintained that it was because of the government's intention to transform nomads from being the migrant population to becoming a sedentary community that necessitated the passage of the Nomadic Education Boarding Policy. In fact, this argument sounds convincing.

The policy clearly stated in its objective that:

Government shall provide a boarding facility for nomadic children at primary education. Where the facilities are available, all nomadic school children shall compulsorily avail his/herself with it (Nomadic Education Boarding Policy, 1996, p. 6).

From the perspective of the effect of the policy on pupils' enrolment, it was evident that the provision of boarding facilities in all nomadic schools in Nigeria brought a temporal relief to the issue of poor attendance. Similar findings were also found in other peer-led studies on nomadic education boarding policies in Kenya and Mongolia (Kratli, 2000; Rhama, 2001).

The findings indicated that the surge in pupils' enrolment occasioned by the introduction of boarding facilities disappeared suddenly. The reason advanced for this disappearance was the withdrawal of nomadic children from the schools as a result of the inability of their parents to feed them while at school. In order to avoid further attrition, the Nomadic Education Feeding Policy was initiated.

In 1998, the Federal Government of Nigeria introduced the nomadic education feeding policy. From the findings, it became clear that this policy came into existence as a result of the recommendation made by a consultancy firm that was commissioned by the federal government to carry out a feasibility study on the viability or otherwise of the nomadic education feeding scheme. Aside from checking the high attrition rate, the findings indicated that the feeding policy was promulgated to improve the nutritional status of nomadic school children in the country. This finding was concurred by the policy document as outlined in its objectives which stated thus:

This policy is aimed at reducing hunger among nomadic school children in Nigeria, improve nutritional health status of nomadic school children, increase nomadic school enrolment, attendance, retention and completion, and enhance comprehension and learning performance of nomadic children (Nomadic Education Feeding Policy, 1998, p.6).

Despite the reason stated above for the promulgation of the nomadic education feeding policy, I argue that the essence of this policy was to ensure that nomads were turned into asedentary population. My view is based on the fact that nomadic children constituted the major labour force for the nomads. Therefore, accommodating nomadic children in the boarding facilities,

providing for and feeding them was an indirect way of settling the nomads. However, drawing from Foucault's governmentality, I would conclude that government's 'generosity' (feeding programme) towards the nomads was an exercise to manage and shape them into what the federal government considered as modern societal life.

8.3.4 Nomadic education during the democratic era

Findings from the interaction held with the NCNE's officials indicated that the manner in which nomadic education policies unfolded during the democratic era was not entirely different from the military era. From all indications, these policies unfolded according to the plans, mission, and intentions of the governments of President Olusegun Obasanjo and his successor (Alhaji Umaru Musa Yar'Adua). Within ten years (1999-2009) of democratic governance in Nigeria, about six important nomadic education policies were enacted.

According to my findings, the first policy to be enacted by President Obasanjo's government was the Universal Basic Education Policy of 2004. I was made to understand that there was near collapse of the education sector in Nigeria as a result of the mismanagement of this sector by the military regime. With the enthronement of democratic governance in Nigeria, the task before the new government was the reformation and restoration of the education sector (nomadic education inclusive) in line with the country's democratic culture. This formed the basis on which the Universal Basic Education Policy was enacted.

From my findings, it became clear that the policy was designed specifically to provide free and compulsory basic education to every Nigerian child of primary and junior secondary school age. Linked to the above, the policy stated that every parent had to ensure that his/her child attended and completed primary and junior secondary education. Interestingly, the policy did not only mandate nomads to send their children to school, it also spelt out punishment for the offenders. For fear of being prosecuted in the court of law by the government, the nomads compelled their children to avail themselves for this basic education opportunity.

From the findings, it can be argued that the adoption of state apparatus (court) by the government to intimidate the nomads for not sending the children to school is a clear case of governmentality. Otherwise, government ought to have allowed the nomads to voluntarily send their children to school instead of this act of coercion being adopted. But when nomads

could not act voluntarily, government had to force them and they complied because they accepted the government as their legitimate institution, thus subscribing to the governmentality theory.

Though my findings showed that the Universal Basic Education Policy of 2004 was enacted as a remedial measure to salvage the age-long neglect that the education (especially the basic education) sector had been subjected to, the covert reason why this policy was enacted by the government was solely political. I believe that President Obasanjo wanted to appease all Nigerians for their unquantifiable support received during the general election of 1999 which his party (People's Democratic Party) won. Moreover, the enactment of the policy by President Obasanjo was also to prepare the ground for his second tenure in office as the president.

The Indigenous Language Policy was another finding reached in the thesis. It was reported by the participants that from the inception of the nomadic education programme in 1986, the English language was used as the medium of instruction and also as a subject in all nomadic schools in Nigeria. The truth was that this directive from the government to use English in nomadic schools was aimed at integrating the nomads into the socio-political terrain of Nigeria. But in 2004, the use of English in nomadic schools was abolished. The findings indicated that this abolition was a result of the widely held belief among nomads that the use of the English language resulted in the adoption of foreign culture by nomadic children. The abolition of the English language led to the introduction of the indigenous language education policy. I argued that the policy allowed for the use of mother tongue or the language of the immediate community in all nomadic primary schools. This promoted social interaction and national cohesion in the country. This finding not only resonated with the study that the use of indigenous language promotes a conducive learning environment (Osella, 2006), but also brought about unity and oneness in the country.

Another important finding in this thesis was the Girl-child Education Policy of 2006. My participants were of the view that the Girl-child Education Policy was formulated and enacted in order to correct gender disparity that existed in favour of nomadic boys in all nomadic schools across the country. However, a glance at the objectives of this policy indicated that it was meant to increase the participation of nomadic girl children, reduce their attrition rate in school and increase the participation of nomadic girls in primary science, health and

HIV/AIDS education. This finding goes to support the earlier position held by Saura (2000) that the Girl-child Education Policy was not only meant to educate young nomadic girls on how to read and write and do sums, but also aimed at teaching them how to live healthier, about the dangers of HIV/AIDS, ways on how to handle gender violence and their general rights.

As exemplifies through the findings above, the introduction of girl-child education is inextricably related to the governmentality theory (Foucault, 1991). For instance, this was done through such measures as the education of nomadic girls on the danger of sexual transmitted diseases. The teaching of nomadic girls about safe sex, malaria control, and personal hygiene constituted government's intervention strategies to control the population and also reduce the high rate of mortality among nomadic people in Nigeria.

The Mobile Education Policy was another important policy that came out strongly in this thesis. The findings revealed that the Mobile Education Policy was introduced in order to satisfy nomadic people who move from one location to the other. It was observed that during the months of January to April of every year, the nomadic pastoralists in northern Nigeria migrated to the south for fresh grazing land for their herds of cattle. This situation was also applicable to the migrant fishermen and farmers who migrated to high seas to catch fish, and virgin land for cultivation respectively. However, from my understanding this period of the year is often the peak of their occupational activities. As such, the nomads strongly hesitated to send their children to school. This necessitated the government to introduce the mobile education programme to the nomads so that as they migrated, the school would move along with them. In my reflection of the Mobile Education Policy, I concluded that the movement of the school according to the migrational pattern of the nomads was to provide them with the opportunity to continue with occupational activities and at the same time participate in formal education.

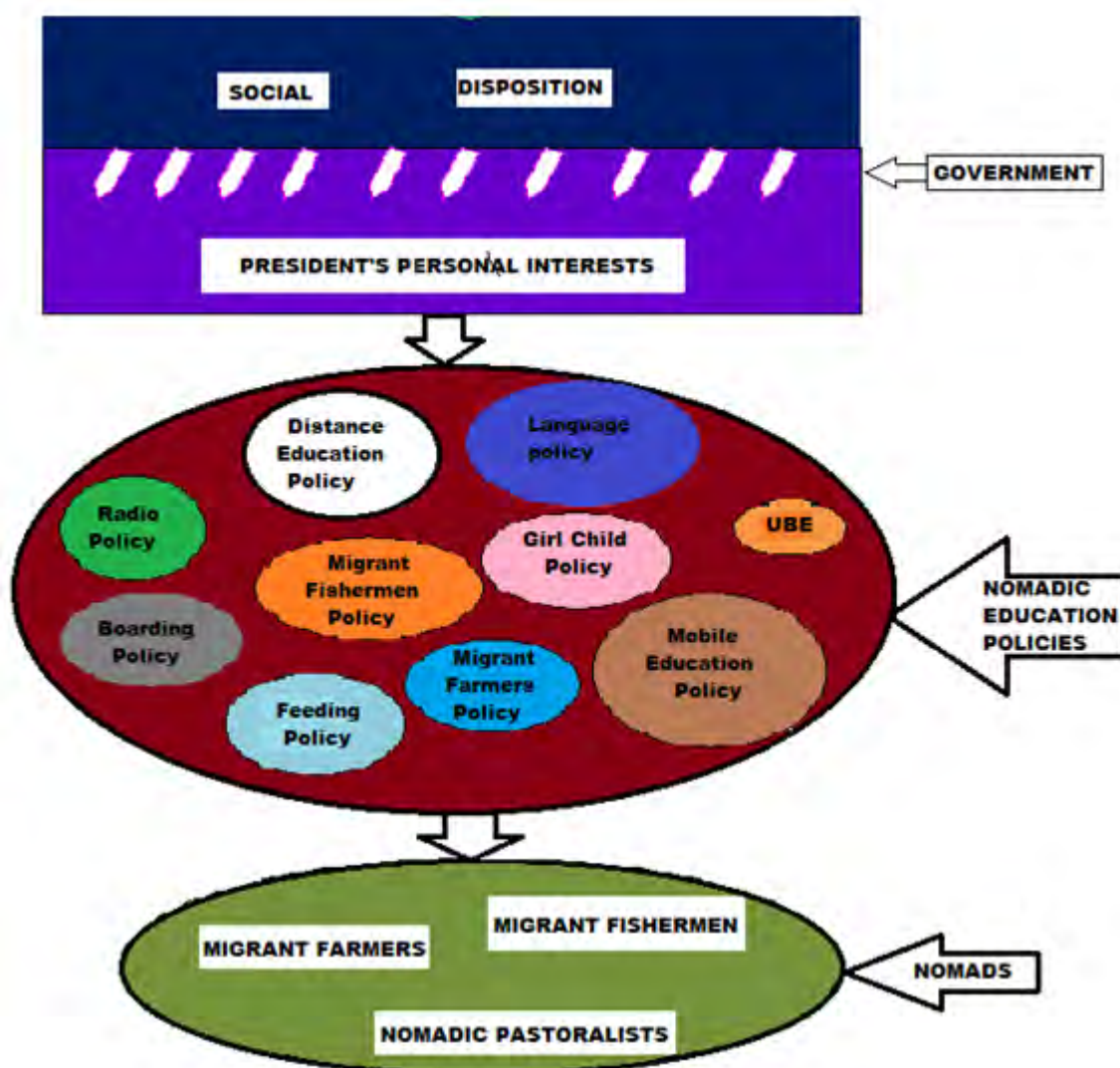
Aside from the introduction of the new school calendar, a concerted effort was also made to accommodate other nomadic children who refused to avail themselves for mobile education opportunities offered to them. From my findings, it became clear that the policy also allowed for the introduction of multiple shift classes. This involved two different nomadic schools co-existing in one school on daily basis. It was discovered that the 1st shift of the class began from 8 am till 12.30pm, and the 2nd shift commenced at 1.30pm and ended at 5pm. From the

interpretive perspective, I was able to establish that the multiple shift classes approach was profitable for nomadic children because they attended school and also worked in order to support their economically strained families. Moreover, this multiple shift approach appeared to be cost effective because the same facilities and personnel were repeatedly used by the ‘two schools.’

8.4 Generation of new knowledge

This section focuses on the contribution of this study to the body of knowledge on nomadic education in Nigeria during the research period and it is explained in the figure below.

Figure 8.1: Top-down nomadic education policy model



Source: Author's compilation

From the findings, it was indicated that the Nigerian government was the major role player in the initiation and formulation of nomadic education policies in Nigeria. It was also established that the nomadic people for whom these policies were formulated and enacted, were not involved in its formulation processes. They were only passive players. From all indications, the non-involvement of nomads in the formulation of nomadic education policies was due to the presidents' ulterior motives towards the nomads and their personal hidden political agendas. This undoubtedly resulted in the top-down nomadic education policy formulation processes as the above model indicates. This view is in line with the position held by Sabatier (1991) as well as Pressman and Wildavsky (2008), which I clearly explained in chapter three of this thesis that the education policy formulator (government) is regarded as the central actor that concentrates on issues that can be centrally controlled.

In another circumstance, my contribution to knowledge was also in the area of my theory. I earlier stated that the Nigerian government was the major role player in the formulation and enactment of all nomadic education policies. I also argued that the essence of government involvement in nomadic education programmes, aside from the presidents' ulterior motives which bordered on their political aspirations, was to ensure that the nomads were transformed from being a mobile group of people to becoming a sedentary population. The assumption in government's circle was that if nomads were transformed to a sedentary population, this would enable them to be integrated into the mainstream of the Nigerian society. This is in line with the governmentality theory which Foucault (1991) described as 'conduct of conduct' or the government adoption of various technologies of rule to guide, shape and control the actions of its population (nomads).

8.5 Limitations of the study

Any research study carried out either at the small or large scale level has some elements of constraints which contribute to its limitations. This study is not an exception. Firstly, this is not an international study rather a historical account of nomadic education policies in a specific geographical entity called Nigeria. As mentioned in chapter one Nigeria is geographically located in West Africa. Incidentally, this happened to be the research site. The institution (University of KwaZulu-Natal) that gave the rare and needed platform to conduct this study is located in KwaZulu-Natal province, South Africa. However, the distance from the political capital city of Nigeria (Abuja) where I reside to KwaZulu-Natal where this PhD thesis was conducted is approximately 3108.6 nautical miles (5002.8

Kilometres) by flight. Therefore, each time I travelled to Nigeria for research materials which were non-existent in South Africa, it took close to 18 hours to fly from Nigeria to KwaZulu-Natal with a stopover in Johannesburg for immigration checks. This was not only practically stressful but had serious financial implications on me considering the fact that this study did not attract any external financial support but was funded from my family's financial resources.

Secondly, this study focused on the history of nomadic education policies in Nigeria. It was limited to a sample of only five officials of NCNE for empirical data. This completely left out other stakeholders such as the nomads, host communities of the nomads, nomadic teachers, among others, who could have brought in other interesting dimensions to the research. Moreover, since the study was conducted in Nigeria, the context in which it was carried out was completely different from other countries such as India, Kenya, Mali, Somalia and Australia where nomads exist. Therefore, the findings from the research cannot be generalised although examples from these and other countries have been discussed in this thesis to draw parallels and similarities. Instead, this study should be seen as a foundation for other subsequent studies either in Nigeria or elsewhere in Africa and other parts of the world. Future studies could either be comparative in nature involving a couple of countries, or be similar studies but approaching the subject from a bottom-up approach by involving the groups enumerated above (the nomads) but not included in this study.

Thirdly, some challenging issues which almost all history of education researchers face, particularly in the third world countries such as Nigeria are the difficulty in accessing documentary materials from the archive. My case was no exception. It took me months to obtain approval from the relevant Federal Ministry in Nigeria to access documentary evidence from the National Archive of Nigeria (NAN). Furthermore, despite the fact that I was given unquantifiable assistance by almost all the staff at the NAN, I was not particularly impressed by the level of decay these important government documents were subjected to. I was so sad to see that some nomadic education policies were either eaten by rodents or defaced as a result of poor storing facilities. From the look of things, I would be the liar of the century to say that chemicals against rodents were used in the past ten years. The NAN was completely devoid of air-conditioning. Therefore, sourcing for research materials in that unconducive environment was very difficult and stressful. One can only hope that the

authorities will soon realise the need to preserve the documents and make the environment in the archives more convenient for researchers who go to use the facility.

8.6 Considerations for future research

This section presents ideas that emerged from this study which could be further explored to contribute to the scholarly knowledge on the nomadic education programme in Nigeria and globally.

It is almost three decades today since nomadic education was commissioned in Nigeria. It is pertinent to say that within the period, several studies have been carried out by national and international researchers. In chapter one (see rationale/motivation of the study section) I enumerated some of the scholars/researchers who had embarked on different studies on nomadic education in Nigeria. Furthermore, chapter two of this thesis clearly explained areas in which reasonable studies on nomadic, Aboriginal or Gypsies' education have been conducted by researchers. In spite of the volume of research done, there were existing gaps that necessitated my curiosity to embark on this thesis. In the same manner, having painstakingly conducted an investigation into the history of nomadic education policies in Nigeria and arriving at the findings which could not be generalised, I have discovered existing gaps that warrant further research and these are explained below.

First, as I have earlier explained, this study focused on the history of nomadic education policies in Nigeria. As such, the context in which the study was carried out was completely specific, therefore, the findings from the research cannot be generalised. This is a possible study area. It would be interesting to look at the historical development of nomadic education policies in countries such as Somalia, Kenya, or Mongolia comparing and contrasting such studies to the Nigerian situation. This would enrich knowledge by drawing similarities and parallels.

Second, established that from 1986 to 2009 different important nomadic education policies were enacted for the implementation of nomadic education in Nigeria. Though the functionality and workability of these policies was not the focus of this study, it appears that the enactment of one nomadic education policy after another was either to replace the ineffective one or consolidate an already effective one. However, since it was hazy to determine the degree of effectiveness or otherwise of each nomadic education policy, to clear

this misgiving, it is my view that a study should be conducted on the implementation of the nomadic education programme in Nigeria from its inception to date.

Lastly, from the study I established that the MACBAN was one of the ‘institutions’ which positively influenced the conceptualisation of the nomadic education programme in Nigeria. The findings also indicated that various nomadic education policies have been either promulgated by military administrations or enacted by civilian governments for the nomads. Of all the nomadic education policies either promulgated or enacted, it has been established that the views and opinions of the nomadic people were not sought by the government. Since nomads did not have input in any of the policies, the acceptability of these policies by the nomads has not been established. In light of the above, it would be appropriate to conduct a study on nomads’ perception and acceptance of the nomadic education programme in Nigeria. This would fit into the realm of ‘writing history from below’.

8.7 Conclusion

This study set out to investigate the history of nomadic education policies in Nigeria from its inception in 1986 to 2009. In pursuance of this goal, the study aimed at determining why nomadic education was conceptualised in Nigeria. Apart from this, the study explained how nomadic education policies in Nigeria unfolded between 1986 and 2009 and why these policies unfolded the way they did. Based on the nature of the research problem, key research questions developed, literature and my theoretical framing, I positioned this study within the umbrella of the qualitative approach. This was done in order to have a clear and in-depth understanding of the dynamics and evolutionary processes of formulating nomadic education policies in Nigeria.

In this study, I can confidently state that the findings indicated that the nomadic education programme was conceptualised because of the pressure exerted on the Federal Government of Nigeria by the 1979 Nigerian Constitution, some international conventions to which Nigeria is a signatory, National Policy on Education and Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria. Furthermore, overtly, I have come to the realisation that each nomadic education policy passed either by the military or democratic government was aimed at providing sound education opportunity for the nomads.

Covertly, further examination revealed that the federal government's intention for the promulgation of these policies was aimed at either transforming the nomads from being mobile communities to becoming a sedentary population. Additionally, from the 'body language' of each president, I have come to align myself with the notion that the formulation and passage of nomadic education policies were political tools designed to achieve political aspirations of each Nigerian president. This affirms Umar's (2000) position that policy formulation in third world countries like Nigeria is pregnant with the leader's ulterior motives, hence its effect on citizens is always porous and of no significance. A lot has been revealed by this study. Both the strengths and weaknesses of the study have been highlighted. It is hoped that future studies will build on the contributions made by this study and fill the gaps that have been identified. As one of its utilitarian roles, the study will hopefully open the eyes of Nigerian authorities to the need to preserve archival records for posterity.

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Appendix 1



30 March 2011

Mr. LO Akpan (209541648)
School of Social Science

Dear Mr. Akpan

PROTOCOL REFERENCE NUMBER: HSS/0139/011D

PROJECT TITLE: An investigation into the history of nomadic education in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria, 1986-2009.

In response to your application dated 24 March 2011, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment /modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.

PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the school/department for a period of 5 years.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

Professor Steven Collings (Chair)
HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

cc: Supervisor – Prof. J Wassermann
cc: Mr. N Memela/Thoko Mnisi

Postal Address:
Telephone:
Facsimile:
Email:
Website: www.ukzn.ac.za
Founding Campuses: ■ Edgewood ■ Howard College ■ Medical School ■ Pietermaritzburg ■ Westville

Appendix 2



**HISTORY EDUCATION, SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE EDUCATION
FACULTY OF EDUCATION, UNIVERSITY OF KWA-ZULU NATAL PRIVATE BAG X03
ASHWOOD 3605, SOUTH AFRICA
FAX: 27 31 2603595 TEL: 27 31 2603484
E-MAIL: wassermannj@ukzn.ac.za**

An investigation into the history of nomadic education policies in Nigeria, 1986-2009

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am a doctoral student in University of KwaZulu Natal, South Africa, in the History of Education. It is a policy in the University that her postgraduate students must conduct independent research before graduation. In fulfilment of the above, I have embarked on a research work titled “An investigation into the history of nomadic education policies in Nigeria, 1986-2009.”

Nigeria has adopted education as an “instrument par excellence” for effective national development. In consonance with the provision of the 1999 Nigerian constitution and the 2004 National Policy on Education that strongly urge government to provide equal educational opportunities to all Nigerians, there exists nomadic groups whose access to basic and functional education is poor and worrisome to the state. It is on the basis of this that the government introduced nomadic education programme in 1986 to address the high illiteracy rate among the nomads in the country. The aim of the study is to investigate the history of nomadic education policies in Nigeria from the period of 1986 to 2009. This is done with the view to determine the history, evolutionary processes and the level of compliance with government official policy documents on the programme.

It is truism that to give a complete historical account of event(s) the source(s) must be an eye witness of the event(s) in question. It is on the basis of the above that your assistance is being

sought to give me a vivid account of the history of nomadic education policies in Nigeria. In this regard I would like to interview you on the conceptualisation, history and evolution of the programme between 1986 and 2009.

I wish to inform you that a tape recorder and video camera will be used during the period the interview will last. Furthermore, you are at liberty to withdraw at any point if you feel that your confidentiality is threatened. Again, the vision and audio materials will only be used for the purpose stated above and will be locked-up safely in my supervisor office. This will be destroyed on the successful completion of the study. Please, feel free to contact my supervisor for any further enquiry.

Researcher:

Akpan, Louis Okon
School of History Education
University of KwaZulu-Natal

Contact details:

Cell: +27710439340
Email: 209541648@ukzn.ac.za

Supervisor:

Prof. Johan. Wassermann
University of KwaZulu-Natal
Edgewood campus
Ashley
South Africa

Contact details:

Tel: 031-260 3484
Email: wassermannj@ukzn.ac.za

Appendix 3



Declaration

I, (full names of participant) hereby confirm that I understand the content of this document and the nature of the research, and I consent to participating in the research study. I understand that I am liberty to withdraw from the project at any time, should I so desire.

.....
Signature of participant

.....
Date

Appendix 4



School of Social Science Education

Faculty of Humanities
University of KwaZulu-Natal
Edgewood campus, Ashley, 3605.
11th June, 2011

Director General, National Archive of Nigeria,
Kaduna, Nigeria.
Dear Sir,

Permission to access information

I am a doctoral student at University of KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa with student number **209541648**. I am conducting a research on the topic: **An investigation into the history of nomadic education policies in Nigeria, 1986-2009**. In the light of the above, gratefully grant me access to documentary materials in your office. I wish state categorically that the documentary materials requested are for research purpose only.

I will arrive your office on the 5th January, 2012 for this assignment. Aside from the above stated address, you can also get me on my cell number: +27710439340 or email: airmailo@yahoo.com.

Thanks.

Louis Akpan

Appendix 5

University of KwaZulu Natal
School of Social Sciences
Faculty of Education

Research instrument

An investigation into the history of nomadic education policies in the Nigeria, 1986-2009

The questions raised are for the Executive Secretary and other four principal officers of National Commission for Nomadic Education (NCNE) in Nigeria.

- 1 Please, can you give me a historical account on why nomadic education was conceptualised in 1986?
- 2 From your advantage position as one of the principal officers of the commission, relate in detail the evolitional processes of nomadic education in the Nigeria.
- 3 Gratefully tell me the history of nomadic education from its inception to 2009 in the Nigeria.
- 4 From your position as one of the principal officers in the commission, tell me about the different nomadic education policies put in place by the government for the effective management of nomadic education.
- 5 Please, can you give account of when each of the policy mentioned was either promulgated or enacted and the why?
- 6 On each of the enacted policy, was the nomads consulted since they are the beneficiaries?
- 7 Please give a detail explanation on how these policies assist in the management of nomadic education in Nigeria.
- 8 Would you say nomadic education policies immensely aid international agencies involvement in the development of nomadic education in Nigeria?
- 9 Please, describe the collaborative efforts of various government agencies stipulated by the policy to participate in the implementation process of nomadic education in Nigeria.
- 10 Give me a rundown of the policy or policies that aid in learners' retention in the nomadic schools in the Nigeria.
- 11 Would you say that nomadic education policies have impacted on the lives of the nomads?