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## PASTORAL DEVELOPMENT NETWORK

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LAND TENURE CONSTRAINTS ASSOCIATED WITH SOME  
RECENT EXPERIMENTS TO BRING FORMAL EDUCATION TO NOMADIC  
FULANI IN NIGERIA

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This paper is based on a series of studies conducted by the author on the settlement problems, work roles and educational experiments among nomadic Fulani in Plateau, Bauchi and Kaduna States, Nigeria, from 1982 to 1984.

## Introduction

1. The first part of this paper describes the land tenure system in northern Nigeria and the way in which it affects pastoral nomads and plans for their settlement. The second part discusses the Nigerian Government's intention to educate nomads and gives the example of special schemes which have attempted to do this. The paper concludes by stressing the importance of Improving land tenure arrangements for nomadic pastoralists so as to facilitate the provision of a continuous educational programme for them.

### Part 1: ACCESS TO LAND AS A CONSTRAINT TO THE SETTLEMENT OF NOMADS

#### Land tenure In northern Nigeria

2. In Nigeria, there are different levels of land-holding, some of which co-exist: there is the Government level, the community level, the family level and the individual level. Land-holding varies to some extent from one ethnic group to another. In such ethnic groups as Birom and Irigwe in Plateau State, and Gwari, Pategi, Lafiagi and Isaragi in Kwara State, village communities 'own' land. The claims of original ownership by communities are based on the early settlement of groups of related families in a given area. Encroachment on another community's land-holding results in disputes. In the village community, authority over land rests with the village head and his council of elders, or with the elders where no chief is recognized. In much of traditional Nigerian society, individual male members of the community, together with their immediate family, are allocated temporary usufructuary rights over land by the village head and/or the elders.
3. Land held according to traditional practice may change hands in different ways, such as pledge, loan, exchange or sale. Private land ownership is becoming very important nowadays.

Thus, while community land-holding is still strong in some areas, it has been curtailed in others. This is all the more so with increased population pressure on land, which enhances the importance of private tenure and decreases the importance of community rights. As we shall see, this new trend has serious consequences for pastoralists' access to grazing land.

4. When the Hausa rulers were conquered in the early 19th century by the Fulani religious invaders under Usman dan Fodio, the Sultan of Sokoto became the head of the Fulani empire and the owner of all Hausa lands and others conquered by them. Land tenure was organized according to Maliki Islamic laws of inheritance. Essentially, it made land the property of the state which alone could grant right of use and could at any time withdraw or revoke such rights.<sup>1</sup>
5. When the British occupied the Fulani empire, it removed absolute land ownership from the Sultan and abolished all fief holdings and slave villages. To further maintain a firm grip on land, the British proclaimed the land and native right law No. 9 of 1910.<sup>2</sup> This law made all land in northern Nigeria property of the Government which had to give consent before granting a right to occupy and use land. The Government, however, gave respect to the native law (Sharia) and to the customary laws existing in the local areas.
6. After independence in 1960, the 1910 law was replaced with a system of land tenure which re-emphasized that all lands in the Northern State were native lands except those lands exempted under section 48 and 49 of the 1962 law.<sup>3</sup> Under this law, rights of occupation and use of land were divided into 'statutory and 'customary' rights. Statutory rights consisted of a grant of land for a specified number of years, while a customary right of occupancy was a right vested in an individual member or members of a community occupying and using lands in accordance with native law (Sharia) and custom. This meant that the rights held under native laws and custom were expected to be of an indefinite duration. For strangers, the land was not to exceed 1,200 acres of land

for agricultural purposes or 12,500 acres for grazing. To order to validate these grants, the Minister was to issue a Certificate of Occupancy to the lawful occupier of land.

7. In 1978, the Military Government passed the land use decree giving the State and Local Governments alone the authority to assign and lease 'undeveloped land. The decree also established the extent of land-holding for agricultural and grazing purposes: this is indicated in article 6(2)~, which states that no single customary right of occupancy shall be granted in respect of an area of land in excess of 500 hectares if granted for agricultural purposes, or 5,000 hectares if granted for grazing purposes.

#### The position of nomadic Fulani with respect to land tenure

8. It is against this background of land tenure that certain relationships are established between the 'owners' of the land and 'strangers' of which the nomadic Fulani are widely considered to be one group. It should be pointed out that a basic tenet of customary land tenure in Nigeria is that land is held whether it is currently under cultivation or lying fallow. Such rights have been established over the centuries by the sedentary land cultivators - before the arrival of nomadic Fulani groups who have migrated gradually from the North-West, in waves dating back to the 13th century and which have continued until this century.
9. Customarily, land could be loaned to strangers to build houses and to farm; hut land was never given to strangers on a permanent basis. Such pieces of land reverted to their customary owners when the strangers left. The migration and dispersal of nomadic Fulani therefore presented no permanent loss of land to the customary owners. The nomadic Fulani historically thus remained external to these systems of land-holding. They did not make any serious attempts to acquire land for permanent grazing and watering purposes, mainly because of the abundance of grazing land in areas of sparse population.

10. The seasonal movements of the nomadic Fulani are motivated by many factors some of which are their desire for independence and freedom from interference and supervision by sedentary authorities. Other causes of seasonal movements include freedom from cattle raiding, avoidance of disease-infested areas, and, as an over-riding factor, the never-ending search for new pasture, a constant quest for people who do not own any land of their own.

Contact and exchanges between crop farmers and pastoralists

11. The relationship between sedentary land cultivators and nomads is illustrated with data concerning four Fulani clans selected from Plateau State. Around 1910, the four clans - Iyako'en, Oagamma'en Gammako'en and Yasanko'en - started their migration from Kano, Sokoto and Katsina to the various locations they now occupy in Plateau State (Miango/Jebu, Kwon, Mazat Ropp and Barkin Ladi). Responding members of the selected clans indicated that access to grazing was easier in the past than at present. Grass used to be more abundant because of sparse population densities: both theirs and those of the sedentary people. The only difficulties they encountered, both during grazing and within their encampments, were attacks by predatory animals. But from the time the British pacified these areas to the present, the land cultivators had spread from the foothills they farmed to the plains.
12. In most cases, Fulani respondents described their present locations as thick bushes where land cultivators never farmed. However, in response to increasing population pressure, land cultivators have in recent years established some of their homes near Fulani camps (ruga\*), and have even farmed the land immediately surrounding the ruga. The population density of the herders has also increased. The small numbers of nomadic families who first came into these areas

\* The encampment of nomadic Fulani groups made up of round grass thatched huts.

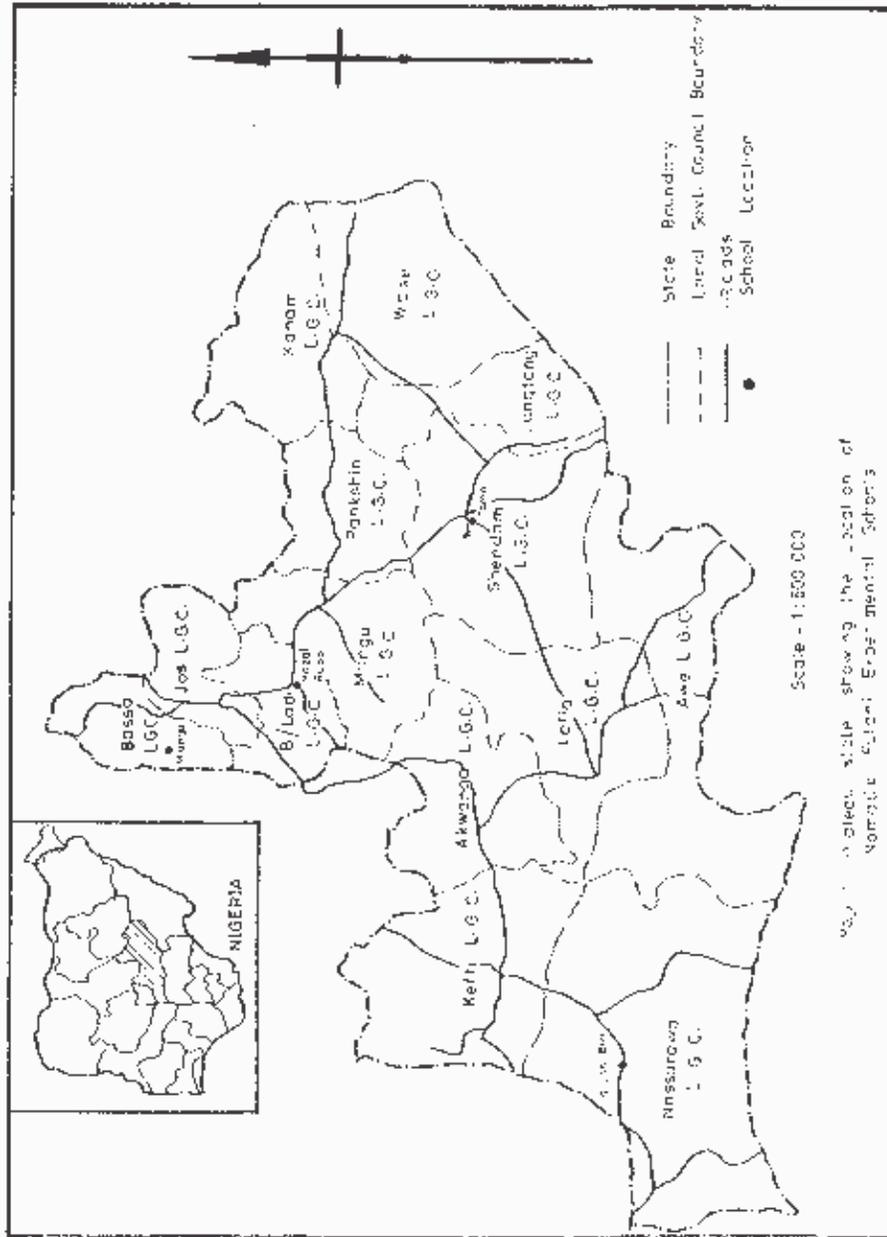
with their herds of cattle have continued to increase, and so have their animals. The number of their animals is now estimated at fifteen thousand in Miango/Jebu locations. Such a cattle population, requires a large expanse of land for grazing; in the same way, increases in the population of agricultural people necessitates the extension of land for cultivation. Such increases in the areas of land needed to support the growing population are all the more important because the traditional methods of herding and farming remain largely unchanged. As the herding and farming groups get closer together over the years, they have developed certain relationships in land use and social interactions.

13. In the past 60 to 70 years relationships between herding and farming groups in the use of land for grazing and for cultivation were generally friendly.<sup>5</sup> Animals were unlikely to wander onto cultivated land because of the long distances between grazing areas and farms. During the past few decades of co-existence with sedentary people, only two instances of Inter-marriages were recorded: both occurred in Yako'en clan in Miango/Jebu area. The two nomadic Fulani who married Irigwe women were converted to Christianity while the rest of the nomads are Moslems. Plo marriages between sedentary men and Fulani women were cited.
14. As crop farmers have occupied more and more of the old grazing lands there have developed networks of exchange between the two groups. It is now the practice for pastoralists to 'pay' customary owners for the use of grazing land. This is achieved in a variety of ways, including: manuring of farm land; sending gifts of money, milk products, meat; or loaning money (See Table 1). All of the responding nomads showed that manuring of farms was a common means of compensation for land used for grazing. Pastoralist families also give milk products and meat to the agricultural families who have allowed them to stay on their land, especially during festival periods.

Table 3: Ways in which pastoralists reward crop farmers for giving them access to grazing land.

Clan	No. of Fulani Clan Members	Fulani Herds Manure Farmers' Fields	Gifts			Loans of Money
			Money	Milk Products	Meat	
Jyako'en	15	15	4	3	2	0
Baganna'en	16	15	3	2	3	7
Gannako'en	15	15	1	4	5	5
Yasanko'en	25	15	1	4	5	6
Total	60	60	9	13	15	24

15. Certain pastoralist families give money and loans to sedentary families either to help them pay taxes or to meet marriage and other pressing obligations; as a result, they have been allowed to cultivate for their own benefit the lands surrounding their ~ and have thus become mixed farmers. Those families which have not made gifts or loans, on the other hand, have faced threats of eviction. The extent to which these methods of reciprocity are effectively used determines the amount of land pastoralist families are allowed to cultivate around their ~ Such allocated land, however, has usually not exceeded a quarter of an acre.
16. One of the instances in which a group of nomads occupy a piece of land exceeding an acre is in Mazat Ropp In Plateau State (see Map 1). In this location, Ardo Dankali and Kasinako'en families have occupied a watering facilities for many years. But when Ardo Dankali was asked why they would not improve the land for grazing purposes he remarked:
- "Here is a large piece of land. Here is water, hut any attempt on our part to improve the land for exclusive grazing purposes will be challenged by the Birom and Challa people who claim ownership of the land. We need government assistance to acquire land for exclusive grazing."
17. More recently, there has been a dramatic shift in dispute settlement relating to land-holding practices in Miango.



Map of Niger State showing the location of Normal School, Experimental Schools

Land use disputes which developed between two nomadic families and Irigwu land owners were settled in the Area Court in Miango and not by the Chief of Miango and his council of elders. In its ruling, the court reasserted that the nomadic Fulani families had rio land-holding rights, but gave them the option of either paying compensation (4\$250 or £250 for 11,000 sq. yards of land and ~N1,600 or £1,600 for a quarter acre of land) to the Irigwa owners, or ceasing to use these portions of land.<sup>6</sup> These court incidences point up the increasing importance of individual land-holding as against communal rights because the payments were made to individual land-holders and not to families or to the community.

18. Further investigations revealed that the pastoralists were not able to graze their animals effectively and conveniently on the piece of land surrounding their ruga. The fact that rights are allocated to small and dispersed tracts of land makes it difficult for pastoralists to hold consolidated and linked portions of land near their ruga. They have therefore continued to depend on grazing on farming land when it is left fallow, and on communal land. Because the pastoralists are forced to move from one fallow land to another in search of grazing, there has been increased conflict between the herders and farmers. Where such conflicts have resulted in court cases, the courts have awarded compensation to the farmers or land-holders. No concern has ever been shown towards protecting cattle routes from being cultivated by farmers. This situation has affected the nomadic Fulani in their efforts to increase their stock and improve the quality of their herds.

The reaction of pastoralists to increasingly difficult access to grazing land

19. The problems of inadequate grazing facilities, increasing conflicts between nomads and sedentary land-holders, and lack of land-holding by nomads are of serious concern to the nomads. To cope with these problems, the Miyetti Allah Association was organized in 1970. This is an Islamic reli-

gious organisation to which many pastoralists belong, whose aim is to facilitate access to grazing. After ten years of existence, It gained the attention and recognition of the Federal and six Northern State Governments. After establishing contact with the Special Assistant to the President in Kaduna during the beginning of 1980, an Inaugural meeting was organized by the Faculty of Veterinary Medicine, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.<sup>7</sup> At that momentous gathering of nomadic Fulani, ardo'en (chiefs) from six Northern States (Bauchi, Gongola, Kaduna, Niger, Plateau and Sokoto) were in attendance. During the conference, the name of the Miyetti Allah Association was changed to the National Livestock Rearing Association to give it a national outlook and remove a religious bias. The concerns expressed included:

1. The recognition of nomadic Fulani as an integral part of the nation.
  2. Recognition of nomads' land and herding problems.
  3. The need to secure cattle routes and provide grazing reserves.
  4. The need to prevent bush fires.
  5. The need to provide education and health services.
  6. The need for representation of nomadic Fulani at Local State and Federal Governments to enable them to put across their problems and seek solutions to them.
20. It is difficult for the herders to improve pasture and prevent over-grazing under the system of communal grazing practised at present. Therefore, both the Federal and the relevant State Governments should pursue a policy that will ensure land-holding rights for the nomads. The land limits of 500 hectares for cropping purposes and 5,000 hectares for grazing purposes, set out in the Land Use Decree of 1979, are not helpful because of limited overall national land resources both for farming and for livestock grazing. The total land area of Nigeria is estimated at 98.3 million hectares, of which 71.2 million hectares can be cultivated. Of this, 46 million hectares support dispersed uncultivated bushes which form the bulk of the grazing. Since pastoralism is

limited by the widespread distribution of tsetse flies over the southern and central parts of the country, the land actually available for pasture is certainly much less. It is therefore obvious that allowing a single animal owner to acquire 5,000 hectares of land would mean denying many others access to land. Furthermore, it does not seem that this section of the decree took the rural land-holding system described above into consideration.

21. There is an urgent need to reform animal husbandry methods by establishing grazing reserves and providing them with such necessary facilities as water, access roads, improved grass and other feeds; and allocating these reserves to groups of livestock farmers. This will encourage mixed farming, the use of animals for land cultivation, and also the settlement of nomads.

#### Part 2: IMPLICATIONS OF LAND TENURE CONSTRAINTS FOR THE PROVISION OF FORMAL EDUCATION TO PASTORAL NOMADS

22. The settlement problems discussed in the preceding paragraphs have implications for the development of nomadic education programmes in the context of integrating nomads into the economic, social and political life of the nation and helping them to use education to improve their life style. Conflicts between the nomads and sedentary groups over land use have contributed towards sustaining a constant movement of nomads across both local and state boundaries. These movements call for the planning and administration of various types of educational programmes for nomads, and for a better regulation, by state governments, of the use of land and water resources.
23. As from 1975 the Nigerian Government has sought to restructure and reform education policies. The National Policy of Education published in 1976 accepted education as a major instrument for national development.<sup>8</sup> In order to put these policies into practice, the Government accepted full responsibility for the basic education of adults and children.

Regular national programme of formal education

24. Primary education: speaking about primary education in 1974, the Head of State indicated that the Government would introduce free universal and compulsory primary education throughout the country. The Scheme, which would commence in September 1976, would be compulsory from 1979. The Federal Government would assume full financial responsibility for the Scheme and all its ramifications.<sup>9</sup> The main aims of the Universal Primary Education Scheme were to improve overall school enrolment in the country, to correct the educational imbalance between one part of the country and another, to ensure literacy and numeracy for all children, to eliminate ignorance and superstition, and finally to unify the country.
25. Based on the Federal Government p~onouncement, some of the northern governments, for example~Bauchi (1981), Gongola (1982), and Plateau (1981), have initiated programmes to provide the type of education suited to the nomadic Fulani lifestyle and related to their culture. Some of the common objectives derived from the policy guidelines of these States' Governments, concerning livestock development and improvements In the Interaction between nomads and sedentary groups, are as follows:
- To eradicate illiteracy through promoting the mastery of reading and writing.
  - To help the child to adapt to changes in social and physical environment in the event of constant movement.
  - To develop the child's ability to manipulate objects In order to encourage creativity and innovation within the nomadic setting.
  - To help the child to acquire simple livestock management skills that will bring about improvement in livestock production.
  - To enable the child to communicate with livestock establishments and public functionaries responsible for livestock manaoement.

- To promote technological awareness among the nomadic Fulani children in the use of modern methods of livestock keeping.
  - To enhance civic responsibility, thus promoting good citizenship among the nomads.
  - To help the child to accept his social environment and to accommodate other people.<sup>10</sup>
26. When the Universal Primary Education scheme started in 1976, Bauchi and Plateau State Governments urged the nomads to send their children to regular schools. A few of the nomads who were fairly settled and realised their education disadvantage allowed their children to attend schools in Miango (Plateau State) and Ningi (Bauchi State). The majority of nomads did not send their children to regular schools because of their constant seasonal migrations. In the schools the nomadic children faced a foreign set of values embodied in the curriculum and teaching methods meant for sedentary children. As a result of these disadvantages, the nomadic children failed to achieve high academic standards, their attendance to school was irregular, and many became maladjusted.
27. Adult education: if education is to be used as a development agent to deal with every aspect of rural life, adults have to be involved. In 1983 the National Adult Mass Literacy Campaign was launched. The rural target group to be reached and the aims of the campaign were spelled out. According to the campaign document, some 50 to 55 million people (out of a total population of about 80 million) cannot read or write in their own language or use numbers in simple calculations; these non-literate Nigerians represent the majority in Nigerian society. They are farmers, traders, herdsmen, traditional chiefs, local councillors and politicians; they are mothers and fathers and young people who missed the chance of attending school. The aim of the National Mass Literacy Campaign is to provide the means for enabling all adult citizens to become literate during the next ten years. Therefore, programmes are being planned to provide literacy that is functional in the widest sense. Materials are

designed to relate to the educational needs of adults. Thus the adult literacy programme and the Universal Primary Education scheme are integrated educational approaches meant to improve the life of rural people, including the nomads.

28. Livestock production is not as efficient as it could be in Nigeria because most livestock owners do not possess the skills and equipment necessary for modern animal husbandry. Therefore, Nigeria imports much of her milk, meat and other dairy products from abroad. One of the reasons for this is that for the nomadic Fulani, ownership of cattle is a status symbol, and is the pride of all families. What counts for them is the number of animals rather than their quality. It is through the development of relevant education that efficient production may be achieved in order to ensure national self-sufficiency in livestock products.
29. Traditional and conservative as the nomads may be, however, they are experts on their migratory environments. Their knowledge covers such areas as medicine, cross-breeding, dairy production, plant life and local weather patterns. Their knowledge should form an important part of the educational programme planned for them. The skills and local technology they have developed should be modernized through education; and imported technology necessary for livestock improvement should be identified. According to their educational objectives, the States intend to use education, on the one hand, to prepare people for employment in different sectors of animal husbandry (such as refrigeration, canning, tanning and dairy production) so as to raise local incomes; and, on the other hand, to enable the nomads to live in harmony with their physical environment through the improvement of grass and water resources and the regulation of grazing.
30. Efficient animal production and relevant education cannot be achieved if the nomads continue to experience conflicts and stress over land ownership. To secure access to land and water is very important to the nomads. Access should be defined by the individual States as it affects migrations across their State and Local Government boundaries, as well

as collectively by States to enable the nomads to participate effectively in the economic welfare of the nation. In this instance, the three States (Bauchi, Gongola, and Plateau) which show concern for providing education for nomads, share common land boundaries. It is their responsibility to normalise the relationship between the nomads and sedentary groups to ensure harmonious co-existence, to co-operate in providing a continuous learning experience for nomads as they move across State boundaries, and to enable the Government to achieve the educational targets developed for nomads.

Special experiments with the provision of education facilities for pastoral nomads

31. On-site schools\*: in order to meet the needs of children whose families are constantly on the move, schools have been established at well known stopping places of nomadic groups, such as Tashar Mangoro and Hardo Chindu in Ningi Local Government Area (LGA) (Bauchi State); the Koranic school in Agyarawu and the experimental schools in Mazat Ropp in Barakin Ladi LGA; Zomo in Shendam LGA; Marmara in Nasarawa LGA (Plateau State). (See Map 1.)
32. Table 2 shows that a total of 66 children aged 4-13 years were enrolled into Mazat Ropp experimental school in 1983. Just over half of them were in class 1 and under 6 years of age. What is pertinent to this paper is their attendance during the seasons when their families migrate to different locations. Table 3 shows that there were only 6 withdrawals during the rainy season, and attendance tended to be regular both for under 6 year olds and for those of school age (6+), both for boys and for girls. Some withdrew because the family migrated to a new rainy season location as a result of conflicts with cultivators.

Table 2: Enrolment into Mazat Ropp School July-September, 1983

Class	Age Range				Total
	4 - 5		6 - 13		
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	
I	15	19	-	-	34
II	-	-	18	14	32
					66

Table 3: Attendance in Mazat Ropp School during the rainy season (July - September, 1983)

Class	Withdrawal		Nature of Attendance				Total	
	Boys	Girls	Regular		Irregular		Boys	Girls
			Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls		
I	2	-	13	14	-	5	16	19
II	2	2	15	9	1	3	18	14

Table 4: Attendance in Mazat Ropp School during the early dry season (October - December, 1983)

Class	Withdrawal		Nature of Attendance				Total	
	Boys	Girls	Regular		Irregular		Boys	Girls
			Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls		
I	6	10	5	6	4	3	15	19
II	8	6	7	5	3	3	18	14

33. Withdrawals and irregular attendance characterised the dry season term, when many of the nomadic families moved away from Mazat Ropp to new grazing grounds across State or Local Government boundaries. Table 4 shows that 6 under-6-year-old boys and 10 of the girls had withdrawn from school; and the attendance of several others was irregular. For the school-age children, 8 boys and 6 girls had withdrawn from school, while the attendance of several others was irregular. Some of the parents who were visited by the researchers in their new grazing locations said that there were no schools for their children to attend there. The teachers, though prepared to follow the nomads a certain distance from the schools, had not been able to visit these families because the nomads had migrated and dispersed without notice as

conflicts over pasture land between them and sedentary land owners increased.

34. Adult education: over the years the nomads have, on their own initiative, started adult education schemes at Miango, Barakin Ladi and Gindiri (Plateau State) under the auspices of the Miyetti Allah Association. Before the National Adult Mass Literacy Campaign (MANIC) was launched in 1983, Plateau State Government had taken over the adult education programme initiated by the nomads. After the NAMLC was launched, more teaching materials were made available, lessons were organised every Friday and Saturday from 2.00 to 4.00 pm during the rainy season, when nomads returned to their base camps in these areas. The problem with the scheme is that it did not provide a continuous learning experience for the adults, as in the case of the primary school programme, because no learning programmes were organised for them during the dry season when they migrated to different grazing locations.
35. Radio educational programmes: one of the first steps taken to educate nomads in Plateau State was through radio educational programmes. The objectives of this programme, started in 1981, were to encourage a favourable attitude amongst nomads towards the educational programmes planned for them. A few programmes about human and animal health problems were relayed over the radio. The programme has long been stopped because no proper link had been established between the programme producers and the nomads.
35. In view of the need to use education to improve the lifestyle of rural people in general and of nomads in particular, it has become essential to organise the education of the nomadic Fulani in such a way as to ensure continuous learning, and the application of what has been learnt in solving daily life problems. The approaches adopted by the State Governments are isolated and lack coordination. Success in such a programme depends on the co-operation of the various administrative areas (Local Governments and States) where nomads spend part of their seasonal migration. The States which

have shown concern for the education of the nomads, Bauchi, Gongola and Plateau, have yet to work out strategies for effective and continuous education for nomads.

37. In the present circumstances of continuous movement resulting from frequent conflicts between nomads and sedentary people, radio educational programmes and the use of mobile teachers who are members of their group have greater potential for children and adult education than the use of regular and on-site schools. For any such programme to succeed, it has to be properly organised through consultation with the target groups: the nomads. A recent survey revealed that most nomadic families had their own radio.<sup>2</sup> They regularly listen to music and news in Hausa and Fulfulde. They could be contacted through field workers who would develop programmes which reflect the background and needs of the nomads. The nomads should be informed of the time and day when the programmes are to be broadcast. The teachers would encourage people to listen to the radio programmes, and would organise and instruct learning groups.

### Conclusions

38. Nomads have indicated during discussions with individuals and groups in conferences held at the Faculty of Veterinary Sciences, ABU (1980) and the Faculty of Education, University of Jos (1982)<sup>13</sup>, that they want education for their children as well as land for settlement. In tackling the problem of educating the nomads and settling them, it is the responsibility of Federal and State Governments to take the lead in providing and improving educational and settlement opportunities for nomads. Other institutions and agencies (such as the Universities, FAO, UNESCO) should cooperate and give their support to these two related ventures. In making such educational and settlement programmes possible, the Government should consult with the nomadic people. Committees should be set up at State and local Government levels, comprising of nomadic leaders, influential sedentary land holders and Government representatives, in order to con-

sider the possibility of establishing Grazing Reserves. The Reserves currently being established at Wase (Plateau State) and Wawa/Zange (Bauchi State) with support from FAO are good examples. Once the number of people using such reserves has been determined, then educational facilities can be planned accordingly. When the pastoralists have been assigned land rights in particular Grazing Reserves, the task of bringing formal education to them will be a lot easier.

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