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COVID-19 and Internal Migration of Itinerant Almajiri in NIGERIA

COVID-19 et migration interne des Almajiri itinérants au NIGERIA

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Abstract

The study discusses the Almajiri education system, highlighting the different impression it makes from the usual meaning of migration of Arabic students in search of knowledge from their place of origin to

another part of the globe, to searching and begging for food for the daily survival of millions of out-of-school children and the threats they pose to the spread of COVID-19 pandemic and security in Nigeria. The Push-Pull theory of migration proposed by Everett Lee in 1966 and “Youth Bulge” coined by Gunnar Heinsohn were adopted to underpin this Study. It obtained secondary data from the work of previous scholars, findings of similar studies and information sourced from other relevant publications. The study found that the unrestricted internal migration of Almajiri around the country in clear disregard for “lockdown” and “stay safe” government regulations portend security danger and wide spread of the virus. It recommended that non-essential migration is curbed, effective contact tracing and strict lockdown measures are undertaken nationwide to control the spread of COVID-19 and government should target and fund education and vocational studies that would engage the Al-majiri boys to make the Almajiri education system add value rather than the present poverty stricken and negative street begging impression it presents.

Keywords: COVID-19, Itinerant Almajiri, Internal Migration, Northern Nigeria

L'étude discute du système éducatif d'Almajiri, soulignant l'impression différente qu'il donne de la signification habituelle de la migration des étudiants arabes à la recherche de connaissances depuis leur lieu d'origine vers d'autre partie du globe ; étant donné la recherche et la mendicité de nourriture pour la survie quotidienne des millions d'enfants non scolarisés et des menaces qu'ils représentent pour la propagation de la pandémie de COVID-19 et la sécurité au Nigéria. La théorie *push-pull* de la migration proposée par Everett Lee en 1966 et *Youth Bulge* inventé par Gunnar Heinsohn ont été adoptées pour étayer cette étude. Il a obtenu des données secondaires à partir des travaux d'anciens chercheurs, des résultats d'études similaires et des informations provenant d'autres publications pertinentes. L'étude a révélé que la migration interne illimitée d'Almajiri à travers le pays, au mépris flagrant des réglementations gouvernementales de «verrouillage» et de «protection», laisse présager un danger pour la sécurité et une large propagation du virus. Il a recommandé que la migration non essentielle soit freinée, qu'une recherche efficace des contacts et des mesures de verrouillage strictes soient prises à l'échelle nationale pour contrôler la propagation du COVID-19 et que le gouvernement devrait cibler et financer des études et des études professionnelles qui engageraient les garçons d'Al-majiri à faire l'Almajiri. le système éducatif ajoute de la valeur plutôt que

l'impression actuelle de pauvreté et de mendicité de rue négative qu'il présente.

Mots clés: COVID-19, Almajiri itinérant, Migration interne, Nord du Nigeria

Introduction

The high rate of internal migration across the world has become a formidable global challenge with overwhelming disastrous implications for national and health security, employment opportunities and environmental sustainability, having been bedeviled by increase in crime rate, spread of diseases and urban environmental decay, among other humanitarian tragedies. In 2000, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) estimated that in China and India alone, roughly 400 million people were internal migrants (100 million in China and 300 million in India). Al-majiri education system, which is rooted in Arabic hitherto reflected migration of students in search of knowledge from their place of origin to another part of the global region or beyond in order to seek knowledge. These were the essence of the al-majiri education system prior to its misrepresentation. Itinerant students or scholars traverse various part of the world to seek knowledge and gather information in order to keep historical records and promote documentation. Hence, it was not out of place for a seeker of knowledge to travel within a country or region to acquire beneficial information where it is available.

Unfortunately, in Nigeria, *al-majiri* is largely synonymous with bad precedents, including searching and begging for food for the daily survival of millions of out-of-school children and resonating poverty across the Northern region. According to ReliefWeb (2020), Nigeria has about 13.2 million out of school children in 2015. In West Africa, Nigeria accounts for 45 per cent of out-of-school children. 69 per cent of the out-of-school in Nigeria are from Northern Nigeria and Almajiris accounted for bulk. Over the years, the Almajiri programme has co-existed alongside the formal school system; it has failed to be subsumed into the formal education sector. Even when Nigeria's former president, Goodluck Jonathan, reportedly spent about N15 billion in building Almajiri schools in an effort to integrate basic education into the almajiri system, the structures built for the purpose have either been used for conventional education or lay waste because its pupils have gone back to the old ways of street begging (ReliefWeb, 2020).

Since COVID-19 pandemic broke out in China in December, 2019 it has spread across the globe like wildfire infecting and killing millions of people. World Health Organisation (WHO, 2020) has noted that current evidence suggests that COVID-19 spreads between people through direct, indirect (through contaminated objects or surfaces), or close contact with infected people via mouth and nose secretions. These include saliva, respiratory secretions or secretion droplets of people who are in close contact (within 1 metre); and to avoid contact with these droplets, it is important to stay at least 1 metre away from others, clean hands frequently with soap and water or an alcohol-based hand rub product, and cover the mouth with a tissue or bent elbow when sneezing or coughing. Unfortunately, the health etiquette of COVID-19 is incompatible with the lifestyles of the Almajiris who have been described as under-

aged children being exposed to various infections or diseases as a result of crowded settlements and movement from one end to another, spread across the streets, instead of school and the *Mallams* (religious instructors) responsible for their welfare obviously financially helpless or hapless (*Advocates for Dan Almajiri*, 2020).

In the midst of lockdown and restrictions in movement, the Northern State Governors resolved to migrate almajiris back to their respective states of origin and the almajiri boys were packed like “sardine” in tens and hundreds inside trucks, devoid of observance of any social distancing and COVID-19 hygiene regulations, while transporting them to different parts of the country. Juxtaposing the strict demand of high hygiene to prevent the spread of COVID-19 and the usual overcrowded and unhygienic lifestyle of Al-majiri, they remain the evidence of dearth of social security for citizens of Nigeria in the spread of COVID-19 infection. According to [Akintunde, Chen, and Di](#) (2020), Almajiris are potentially at risk of getting infected with COVID-19 because they are unsheltered and are migrating all over Nigeria and that their displacement in a time of COVID-19 pandemic is an extreme social problem and poses a health threat, as the almajiri boys could become deadly carriers and transmitters of COVID-19 to others. The authors noted that COVID-19 pandemic is a public health problem and the ongoing displacement of the Almajiri children has the potential to create the COVID-19 explosion in Nigeria, as they do not only pose a threat among themselves, but they also may potentially spread the virus to other people. The objectives of this study therefore were to investigate the usual lifestyle of *Al-majiri* in relation to internal migration in Nigeria; examine how the unhindered internal migration of almajiris can be a facilitating factor in the spread of COVID-19 pandemic; highlight how the almajiri system is a threat to national security in Nigeria; and suggest ways of making the al-majiri education system add value, rather than the present negative effects on the society.

Statement of the Problem

The United Nations Children Fund (UNICEF) has put the number of Almajiris in the North-east part of the country at 2,711,767 representing 25 per cent of the total 9.5 million Almajiris population in Nigeria. Borno State alone contributes a total of 1.8 million almajiris, making it the state with the highest number of such children across the country (Awofadeji, 2014). An Almajiri, usually, is expected to be educationally oriented in the tenets of Islam in his early childhood to groom him for a decent Muslim adulthood; but the common norm in Northern Nigeria today has deviated from this practice, giving way to a mob of bowl-carrying children wandering the streets in search of food and other means of survival (Aluaigba, 2009).

In Nigeria, Almajiri boys are seeing as victims of neglect and exploitation, scattered around, singing and begging for food and money. They are usually vulnerable to abuse, drugs, trafficking and various forms of exploitation since they have no parental care; mostly found far away from their places of abode as they have been dumped in Almajiri schools because Islamic education is free; and in most cases, some of the parents never show up again, let alone cater for their children. Almajiris go about in their torn, dirty looking cloth, hungry stomach, and unkempt body (Gommen & Esomchi, 2017); doing alms begging, which brings them out of the supervision of the Mallams and gives them away to negative habits

as they come in contact with morally deficient people such as prostitutes, cultists and terrorists (Taiwo, 2013).

The spartan, bare and unprotected conditions of Almajiri schools are by themselves open invitations to infectious and communicable diseases. The schools are overcrowded, the pupils are frequently easy prey to cholera and meningitis. The schools, which mostly constitute only the teacher's compound, lack proper hygiene, sanitation, and the structures that make up the shelters are normally very untidy, impoverished and dilapidated. They are what the locals call "soro" (entrance room) with the stench of urine in full command of the air. In such conditions, social distancing is a far-fetched luxury. If one of the Almajirai contracts the deadly virus, that would be a kind of the *nunc dimittis* for the herd of the Almajiri pupils (Dahiru, 2020). The issues of overcrowding and unhealthy lifestyles of Almajiri have recently been compounded with their unhindered internal migration across the country since the Northern states Governors decided to relocate Almajiris to their states of origin. These situations have posed threats to security and spread of COVID-19 exponentially in the country.

The Study Area

According to John Hopkins University Coronavirus Resource Center (JHU, 2020), COVID-19 started in the Chinese city of Wuhan, Hubei Province in December 2019, and rapidly spread across the globe by February, 2020. Consequently, over one hundred and eighty-eight (188) countries and territories of the world have recorded cases of the infections with Europe and the Americas being the epicenter of the pandemic. The United State of America is largely more affected than other countries of the world (JHU, 2020). Efforts are being made by the health community, globally led by the World Health Organization to ensure proper management of the virus while treatment models are being researched.

The novel coronavirus, otherwise known as COVID-19 is a strange strain of the coronavirus family (SARS.COV-2) that has fatal implications for human health security, and easily transmitted through droplets from cough and sneezing, hence, individuals are advised to stay at least 2 meters apart as a form of social distancing while using recommended facemasks and constant hand-washing (NCDC, National Interim Guidelines for Clinical Management, 2020:1). Similar to the 1918 Spanish Flu, Covid-19 has spread globally and affected millions of people across the world. However, unlike the Spanish Flu, which transmigrated through ships, this virulent infection is largely transmitted through air transport and community mingling.

Conceptual Clarification

Itinerant Almajiri

Itinerant means traveling from place to place, especially on a circuit or journeying; working in one place for a comparatively short time and then moving on to work in another place, usually as a physical or outdoor laborer; characterized by wandering (Dictionary.com, 2020). In Nigeria, the word "Almajiri" means those who left their villages or town, parents, relations, and friends in search of Islamic religious knowledge and scholarship (Kabiru, 2010). Almajiranci refers to the cultural and religious practice whereby Muslim parents and guardians in Northern Nigeria entrust their children to itinerant scholars (Mallams) who, in turn, take the children to far-off destinations, supposedly in order to immerse them in

Islamic education (Abdullahi 2019). Therefore, itinerant Almajiri in this study refer to the wandering boys who left their villages or town, parents, relations, and friends migrating from place to place in search of Islamic religious knowledge.

Historical Background of the Almajiri System in Nigeria

The Almajiri system in Northern Nigeria started around the 11th century in Kanem-Borno and was later replicated in the Sokoto Caliphate after the triumph of the Jihad led by Sheikh Uthman Dan Fodio (Okonkwo, 2017). The communities in Northern Nigeria are recognized with stern religiosity so much so that the region deliberately rejected western education when it was presented to them by the colonial invaders in 19th century but permitted other policies. Instead, local Islamic teachers were highly recognized and appreciated, especially following the legacy of *Usman ibn Fodi Jihad* (the itinerant Islamic teacher who went on *Jihad* and later created the *Sokoto Caliphate* in the 19th century). Between the eighteenth and nineteenth century when great centers of Islamic learning were established and flourishing, the phenomenon of the Almajiri system was a recognized and acceptable socio-religious practice (Abdullahi, 2019). However, with a challenging economic situation in the country, many in the rural areas in Hausa land are pressured to move to the urban communities to better their socio-economic livelihoods. This makes the practice of Almajiranci widespread amongst low-income rural parents, bearing further negative consequences on the welfare of innocent children entrusted to a Mallam who would take them elsewhere to impart a proper Islamic education (Abdullahi, 2019).

Generally, the 'pull' for Islamic teaching is also established on the need to reside with the *Mallam* in order to acquire undistorted knowledge. Hence, the *almajiri* education system could be perceived as a boarding school system, only that it is largely unofficial with limited student welfare (Orji and Uzodi 2012:40). The *almajirai* will 'religiously' obey the *Mallam* because there is a stringent teacher-student relationship; the bond between the teacher and student is preferably *ad infinitum*, as *Mallam* is seen as both mundane and celestial. This apparently explains the unadulterated fealty of students whose worlds literally submit to the beckon of their teachers (Orjinmo and Abubakar, 2020). The overemphasized value placed on the *Mallam* sometimes create extremities such as inability of the parents to take control of their children's lifestyles and obeying the authority of the *Mallams* (even when such authority is religiously amoral). Also, the high poverty level make parent to see *almajiri* education system as a respite from the burden of child-up-bringing. The sporadic increase in population is tantamount to increase in *almajirai*. The experience of a typical *almajirii* captured in the literary work of Wazani Adamu, a poet from northern region is:

At dawn
Classroom boy goes for his bag
Ready for school
The *almajiri* goes for his empty bowl
Ready to be schooled in the streets

This subtle illustration evinces the deplorable status of *almajirai* in the northern region.

Theoretical Framework

The Push-Pull theory of migration proposed by Everett Lee in 1966 and “Youth Bulge” coined by Gunnar Heinsohn were adopted to underpin this Study. According to Lee, factors leading to spatial mobility of population in any area is associated with the place of origin, place of destination, intervening obstacles, and personal factors (Faridi, 2018). He cited Lee (1975:191) which postulates that while positive factors attract people from other areas, negative factors tend to repel them and that some factors remain neutral and people are essentially indifferent. Thus, migration in any area is the net result of the interplay between these factors. The author explained that the real situation prevailing at the places of origin and destinations are not as important in affecting migration as an individual's perception which depends, to a large extent, on the personal factors like awareness, intelligence, contacts and the cultural milieu of the individual. Lee pointed out that the decision to migrate is, however, never completely rational, because not all persons who migrate do so on their own decision. Children and wives move with the family where their decisions are not necessarily involved.

Further, Vignier and [Olivier Bouchaud](#) (2018) noted that emerging infectious diseases (EID) threaten public health and are sustained by increasing global commerce, travel and disruption of ecological systems. Travelers could be a sentinel of major epidemics in connection with the extension of poverty, urbanization, extensive livestock rearing and globalization. The authors explained that migrants are special travellers who, in most cases, do not migrate by choice and are at higher risk for a range of health problems including infectious diseases, partly due to poor socioeconomic conditions. [Ginsburg](#), [Bocquier](#), [Béguy](#), [Afolabi](#), [Kahn](#), [Obor](#), [Tanser](#) and [Tomita](#) (2018) have found that vector-borne diseases may spread more easily through physical contacts of migrants, but behaviours and differential health care also contribute to the spread of diseases and that divergence-convergence cycle may also apply to transmission of health behaviours (e.g.: eating and drinking habits) across social environments through migrants.

On the theory of “youth bulge,” Beehner (2007) explained that developing countries – including Nigeria – undergoing “demographic transition” are especially vulnerable to civil conflict. “A large proportion of young adults and a rapid rate of growth in the working-age population tend to [exacerbate unemployment](#), prolong dependency on parents, diminish self-esteem and fuel frustrations.” The theory contends that societies with rapidly growing young populations often end up with rampant unemployment and large pools of disaffected youths who are more susceptible to recruitment into rebel or terrorist groups (Stares, 2007). Beehner (2007) noted that “religion can provide an outlet that is constructive and allows youth to build social networks and find a sense of identity.” That in the Muslim world, large populations of idle youth are especially prone to virulent strands of Islam as an alternative force for social mobility. Of the twenty-seven largest youth-bulge societies in the world, thirteen are Muslim, according to (Heinsohn, 1990s).

Thus, the individual's perception which depends on personal factors like awareness, intelligence, contacts and the cultural milieu of the Almajiris coupled with the decision to migrate which is not completely their own, but

parental and Islamic teachers, are responsible for their internal migration. Their divergence-convergence cycle and their health behaviours in unhygienic eating and drinking habits across social environments could be a sentinel of major epidemics of emerging infectious diseases. Also, the large populations of idle youth devoid of parental care, prone to virulent strands of Islam is an alternative force for Almajirai's social mobility, which make them susceptible to recruitment into rebel and terrorist groups like Boko Haram and other civil unrest groups in Nigeria.

Methodology

The study adopted qualitative research method of secondary approach to source data. Empirical method of gathering data was hindered by the lockdown and restrictions in inter-state movement as a result of the prevailing COVID-19 pandemic and various government regulations against movement and close interaction. Also, online instrument to gather information directly from respondents was unachievable because the Almajiris are not formally educated and their impoverished status do not place them in situations that they could have phone or any internet devices to access research instruments to respond to. However, secondary data were obtained from the work of previous scholars, findings of similar studies and information sourced from published data, journals, reports, books, Newspapers and online resources. These sources availed the study plethora of past and present dispositions to the *al-majiri* system, migration and COVID-19 pandemic. The fulcrum of the study is therefore well-captured using the aforementioned sources of information. A narrative method of discourse was further employed to present information gathered in the study.

Almajiri and Internal Migration in Nigeria

People are often travelers from one end to another, seeking beneficial experiences. Globally, migration brings about social changes and interactions. Migrants are either forced to move out of their places of origin due to social inequities or attractions from potential hosts. According to Cam (2011:96):

the social terrain all around the world is undergoing transformation as a result of such things as mass migration, global conflict, and social and cultural diffusion.

Migration can be used for the journey from one place to another or for the act of movement (Vocabulary Dictionary, 2020). Internal migration is the movement of people between usual residences within national states (Rees, 2001). Migration is premised on 'push' and/or 'pull' factors. One reason for migration from rural to urban areas is to improve individual and family access to such social services as health, schooling, and family planning, and in some settings, personal security and protection of private property. In Nigeria, there is free movement of people and cattle from North to South and vice versa. Albert (2003:95) explained how colonial mechanisms in Nigeria facilitated north-south interchange. This was premised on the principle of free trade and free movement that encouraged Southern seekers of sustenance to go north, and northerners to crave for the busy activities in the southern coastal regions. Western education acquired by the southerners qualified them to seek jobs in the north, meanwhile northerners impervious to western education found

menial labour in the southern coast. The nationwide crisscross that occurred became the bases of interethnic cultural shocks, biases and conflicts in the post-colonial periods. According to Albert (2003):

These migrants - namely the Igbo and Yoruba civil servants and traders in the North, the Hausa, Fulani and Kanuri livestock and kolanut traders and labourers in the South, and the Southern and Northern Nigerian traders, miners and craftsmen in the Middle Belt - all became “bridgeheads” for inter-regional migrations in Nigeria. This migration process continues up to the present time.

The Nigerian experience with the *almajirai* indicated a customary migration in search for knowledge and sustenance. This is peculiar to the northern region where population increase is geometric and livelihood is highly smothered. Consequently, parental care is obviously strained to a point whereby communities are the major source of succor for *almajirai*. By implication, they traverse the wide area of north both in search for education preferred by *Mallams* and at the same time, sustenance. (Orji and Uzodi 2012). *Almajiri* education system in the Northern region of Nigeria are migrant students, relatively known as seekers of knowledge away from their place of origin. According to Orji and Uzodi (2012:40-41):

Almajirai are people who migrate in search of knowledge. *Almajiri* in Hausa word stands for a pupil in a Koranic school (the plural is *Almajirai*). The Arabic origin of *Almajiri* is *Al-muhajir*, meaning a travelling student.

Almajiri system has four important features:

First, it involves children relocating from their family and friends in villages to the guardianship of *Mallams* in towns. Second, it is restricted almost exclusively to boys—the girls who attend these schools are normally limited to schools nearby their homes in the villages for relatively short periods. Third, the curriculum of the schools is concerned primarily with learning the Koran. Finally, each school, consisting of between 25 and 500 pupils, is largely autonomous, thus making it difficult to regulate the practice (Awofeso, Ritchie, and Degeling, 2003: 314).

Effects of COVID-19 on Migration in Nigeria

On a daily basis, a huge number of global citizens traverse the world for purposes of commerce, labour, asylum/refuge, tourism, among others. Undoubtedly, migration is inevitable in our contemporary world, given the continued revolution in the transport and communication sectors. Paradoxically, digital revolution that create virtual meetings has not been well deployed to reduce physical travels, which accounted for the quick and wide spread of COVID-19 when it started in China (the global commercial centre). As of July 7, 2020, COVID-19 cases had been confirmed in over 11,500,302 individuals worldwide and resulted in more than 535,759 deaths. More than 216 countries, areas or territories have reported laboratory-confirmed cases of COVID-19 on all continents (WHO, 2020). In the United States, more than 4,080,745 cases of COVID-19 have been confirmed as of July 25, 2020, resulting in over 144,296 deaths (USA facts, 2020). In Europe and United Kingdom, the European Centre for Disease Prevention and Control (2020) reported that as of July 26, 2020, 1,670,732 cases and 181,568 deaths had occurred. The United Kingdom had 298,681 cases and 45,738 deaths, Italy had 245,864 cases and 35,102 deaths and Spain had 272,421 cases and 28,432 deaths.

In Asia, 2,384,341 cases and 56,599 death had been confirmed as of July 26, 2020 (COVID-19.onl, 2020). In Africa, there are now more than 830,054 confirmed cases of Coronavirus across the continent (Africa CDC, 2020). According to the [John Hopkins University](#) and Africa Center for Disease Control on COVID-19 in Africa, as of May 13, 2020, every African country had recorded an infection, the last being Lesotho.

Nigeria's first case of Coronavirus was confirmed on February 27, 2020, and ever since, it has recorded more than five thousand cases with death toll cross above one hundred and seventy (NCDC, 2020). The Nigerian index case occurred in Lagos State, the commercial epicenter of the country and was an imported case from Italy. This also underscored the migration of the virus through people from one country to another. The Lagos state experience is seemingly because of its busied airport, land borders and commercial activities, which welcomes migrants internationally and within. In Nigeria, the National Centre for Disease Control (NCDC, 2020) reported that as of July 26, 2020 COVID-19 confirmed cases were 262,579 with 858 deaths. Lagos as the epicenter had 14,456 confirmed cases and 192 deaths, Kano had 1,520 cases and 53 deaths, Kaduna 1,365 cases and 12 deaths, Katsina had 733 cases and 23 deaths, Borno had 611 confirmed cases and 35 deaths while Yobe had 66 confirmed cases and 8 deaths.

From the foregoing, it is clear that apart from the imported cases, community transmission is also a case in point. The Nigerian socio-economic model is based on daily North-South interchange, where numerous migrants traffic between the north and south using air, land and rail transport. Trucks loaded with people and goods are common sights on Nigerian roads, voyaging from ports in southern cities to the interiors. Despite the "lockdown" order restricting movement at a particular period and the activities of government agencies monitoring intra-state and inter-state movements, people still found ways of moving around the country, thereby spreading the virus inadvertently.

Although the movement of people has been largely controlled through several lockdown measures of 'stay-home and stay-safe' policies, unfortunately, migration is at the centre of Nigeria's economy, thus, border migration within and into the country are slowly or illicitly returning. To regulate the spread of the virus, the government is facilitating a 14-day quarantine mandatory institutional policy for travelers or persons who could have had close contact with persons with COVID-19. In the same light, Nigerians stranded overseas are being evacuated and returned using a similar model.

Due to this migration pattern, as well as less-managed internal migration systems with attendant population congestion, the northern region is prone to community transmission of COVID-19. Consequently, states such as Kano, Katsina, Kaduna, among other northern states, are experiencing rapid increase in the number of cases. Notably, the *almajiri* system has been reported as a potential conduit for COVID-19 pandemic. This is because of its locomotive nature that sees vulnerable young boys moving from one state to another in search of sustenance.

Almajirai Migration and COVID-19 in Nigeria

Campaign against the spread of COVID-19 discouraged non-essential travel vis-à-vis movement. *Al-majiris* are predominantly locomotive – moving from one end of the community to another, and are literarily

'scattered' across the nooks and crannies of the northern region. COVID-19 is easily transmitted and spreads in crowded unhygienic areas, which is the situation of *al-majiris*, exposing them to the virulent infection. To this end, Governors under the aegis of Northern Governors Forum had on Tuesday 21st April, 2020, issued a statement where they unanimously decided to ban the Almajiri system of education and evacuate the children to their parents or states of origin in the face of limited testing capacity, as well as isolation centres (Kwen, 2020).

Kwen (2020) reported that in a motion sponsored by Aishatu Dukku (All Progressive Congress –APC, Gombe) and Shehu Kakale (APC, Sokoto), Members of the House of Representatives said that about 10 million children attend the Almajiri Schools in Northern Nigeria with over 500,000 *Almajirai* living in the state of Kano alone, where the majority of the children are being evacuated from. The lawmakers expressed that the House is:

worried that the evacuation of the *Aimajirai* is jeopardizing the fight against COVID-19 due to the high-level of movement of the children from different places and its attendant high risk of infection.

Also, BBC News (2020) reported that tens of thousands of Koranic school children were recently crammed into open vans and sent back home from cities and towns across northern Nigeria in a controversial move by state governments to prevent the spread of coronavirus within their territories. In the face of ban on travel, vans with *al-majiri* children sitting shoulder-to-shoulder, were allowed to crisscross the country's highways to get them to their homes in villages, often thousands of miles away. All of Nigeria's 19 northern states had a two-way movement – some children were leaving for home while others were returning home (BBC News, 2020). It was probably one of the biggest ever state-organised mass movement of minors in Nigeria.

Highlighting the number of *almajirai* repatriated by the state government, Sanusi Mohammed Kiru, the head of the Kano State government committee on the rehabilitation of *almajiri*, said that from Kano, 1,183 *Almajirai* were sent to states like Jigawa, Kaduna, Katsina, Gombe, Bauchi, Kebbi, and Zamfara, in line with the decision of the Northern Governors Forum to end street begging in the region. Kaduna state alone said it had repatriated 30,000. In Jigawa state, Dr. Abba Zakari, the commissioner for health confirmed that:

Aside from the 607 *Almajirai* that were repatriated from Kano, 397 were repatriated from Nasarawa, 69 from Gombe, 38 from Kaduna, and we are now expecting 93 from Plateau State" (Channels T.V. May 8, 2020).

In Kaduna state, NewsWireNGR, (2020) reported that Hajiya Hafsat Baba, Commissioner for Human Services and Social Development said that the state had so far evacuated more than 35,000 *Almajiri* children to 17 states and some neighbouring countries. Also, that:

the state had so far received more than 1,000 *Almajiri* pupils from Kano, Bauchi, Plateau and Nasarawa states . . . no fewer than 500 of them were rehabilitated, treated (those who tested positive to COVID-19) and reunited with their families... some 400 others were still undergoing rehabilitation and would soon be reunited with their families News Agency of Nigeria (NewsWireNGR, (2020)).

Nasir El-Rufai, the Governor of Kaduna State noted that Kano is the epicenter of *almajiri* education which has been seriously hit with the pandemic. He said:

In particular, the situation in Kano is such that if these children were not brought to us, they would simply have died in Kano. Some of them would survive the disease but the situation in Kano is overwhelming, I don't think anyone would remember to look out for almajiris so, we're happy to receive them from every part of Nigeria (El-Rufia May, 2020, Channels T.V.).

Sanusi Mohammed Kiru (Kano state) also confirmed that a total of 1,860 persons were quarantined in three locations within the state, out of which 193 of them were confirmed to have the virus. He explained that 86 of them tested positive at Gabasawa Quarantine camp, while 68 and 38 tested positive in Karaye and Kiru respectively.

***Al-majiri* Migration and Transmission of COVID-19 to other Regions in Nigeria**

There have been reported cases of COVID-19 infections within the *almajiri* population. Orjinmo and Abubakar (2020) highlighted reasons for the spread to include the incessant migration of *almajirai* across several communities which facilitates community transmission; their unhygienic lifestyle makes them vulnerable to infections; their crowded settlement and movement condones easy spread of the infections; closure of *almajiri* schools left the children nowhere to go except to linger in the street begging for money or migrating illicitly across the region and beyond.

Problem associated with *almajirai* internal migration are many, they include lack of parental guidance and *Mallam* care, voyaging virulent infection and infiltration against inter-state travel ban. Advocates for Dan Almajiri (2020) explained that the *almajirai* are far removed from COVID-19 information and are most vulnerable to the infectious diseases due to their known lifestyle. The itinerant children are neither under parental guidance nor *mallam* care but roam the street to beg, hence they are expose to virus contact. In typical Almajiri school "sharing is caring." Hundreds of Almajirai fling their wastes close to their classes and carry water in ageing plastic buckets to common, almost communal, unhygienic latrines. They do not only borrow each other's begging bowls, they also eat leftovers they begged for together (Chinyem 2020). In this kind of crowded, waste-ridden and poverty-stricken conditions, disease-causing pathogens strike *Almajirai* easily.

In the Southern part of Nigeria, government and other stakeholders equally are concerned about the infiltration or penetration of migrants *almajirai* into the region against inter-state travel ban. The sentiment against the Northern free movement of *almajirai*s beefing up argument in the South, especially from the Igbo nation. For example, Njoku, Olaniyi, Ityokura, Umeh, Akhaine, and Wantu, (2020) reported that South-East Revival Group (SERG) expressed that:

"There have been several reports of inter-state travelling from the North. A trailer-load of *almajirai* was intercepted in Abia State last week while another trailer and some buses loaded with the same *almajirai* were also intercepted by vigilance community leaders at Opi in Nsukka" – SERG President's Press Release.

Government of south-south and south-east geopolitical zones have equally bemoaned this infiltration. However, the security outfits reportedly resolved to strictly enforce the inter-state travel ban. Unfortunately, reports of desperate incidences of packs of migrants "sardine" in trucks and cars are on the count. According to Adedokun (2020), the traffic

enforcement agency of Ogun State intercepted 30 boys reportedly traveling from the North defying the interstate travel ban. These boys agreed to be smuggled in while hiding under 'a consignment of pepper covered with a tarpaulin.'

Voyaging Virulent Infection

The Northern state governors' forum has been criticized for the repatriation exercise during the pandemic. This is seen as voyaging virulent infection across the region and beyond. According to *Advocates Dan Almajiri's* Position Paper released in April 2020:

It is noteworthy that some state governments have commenced repatriation of the Almajiri children to their states of origin. This option however is not without its own risk. Transporting the children with no control over public transport and social distancing measures, might expose them to group contagion. Repatriating them from the cities back to their respective homes may exclude those who do not have a home to return to; these include victims of broken homes, orphans and those who are on the streets because they are not accepted at home. Such cases of rejection could further increase their exposure to stigmatisation and psychological disorientation which could further increase their vulnerability in the case of an outbreak of the COVID19.

Further, the *almajirai* are now seen to be contributing to the outbreak of COVID-19 infections. According to some selected reports: As the children arrived in their home states, some of them were quarantined and tested. The results caused widespread consternation - of the 169 tested in Kaduna, 65 were positive, as were 91 of the 168 tested in Jigawa. In Gombe, eight of the 48 children tested had Covid-19. In Bauchi, the number was seven out of 38, in Kano 193 Almajirirai have so far tested positive (Igomu, 2020); while hundreds of test results are still being awaited and many thousands more have not been tested (NCDC 2020). Where movement of the Almajiria is not restricted to their present locations, their movement to other area can serve as doom for the outbreak of the virus in Nigeria.

Al-majiri System and Security Implications

There are clear indications that *almajiri* system breeds negative security implication such as insurgency, kidnapping, drug trafficking and abuse, *inter alia*. The unsavory experiences of begging and scavenging in the urban environment also imply serious health and environmental insecurity. The street begging *almajirai* are gory sight even beyond the northern region. These underage children cluster in slums within the city and are invariably source of recruitment for political machinations. Okello and Gebremichael (2016) put it thus:

The establishment of Almajiri schools in the northern part of the country only provided recruiting grounds for Boko Haram. Street children, unemployed youths and socially disconnected citizens in the north all became targets of BokoHaram's easy recruitments. (Okello and Gebremichael, 2016:18).

According to Abuh (2015), "the rising insecurity in Northern Nigeria creates a threat to the economic and political stability of the region, and *Almajirai* pose a threat to national security as they could be vulnerable to the re-orientations of the Boko Haram terrorist group. Also, James (2013) stated that the over 10 million uneducated youths in Northern Nigeria

presents a very high tendency for these youths to be used as instruments of violent extremism and ethno-religious conflict.

In the same vein, *almajiri* system is being observed as a medium of child slavery and subsequently expose the children to illegality such as drug abuse, human trafficking and other social vices. The increasing number of child-beggars and scavengers poses security questions such as espionage task, possible terror attacks, theft and so on. According to the Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution (2017:239):

The concept and practice of the *almajiri* system has been variously observed over time as a major factor in the abuse of children which is increasingly assuming worrying dimensions with many of them reportedly engaging in illicit behaviours like drug trafficking and consumption.

In order to resolve this situation, government across board have been engaged in models ranging from remodeling the school system to integrating the *almajiri* to the western education system. Nevertheless, several efforts have yielded little or no result probably owing to the cultural affinity given to the *almajiri* system. The inability of the government to permanently resolve this situation led some scholars to believe that the system is beneficial to some political class. Usman (2015:93) opines that “the recruitment of hungry street beggars called the ‘*Almajiris*’ who are the alienated ones in the society by the political elites in the north for selfish/sectional and parochial ends” is a common practice.

Furthermore, there have been records of *almajirai* confessing to the sponsorship of some heinous acts they sometimes engage in, such as electoral violence. Citing Danjibo, Usman (2015:94) noted that:

I met some admitted *Almajiri* who had been seriously injured...one of them who had lost his limb was in deep pain and was crying with the word: “why should this happen to me? Now I have lost my life because of N200”. Upon further inquiry, the victim revealed that a large number of them (the *Almajiri*) were given some money to perpetuate violence.

In addition to the above, Adekanye (2003:22) submitted that:

as in the past, the army of unemployed youths, including teenagers enrolled in the *Almajiri* educational system across the “Far” North, provided one of the important sources of recruitment for the Islamic fundamentalist struggles.

The aforementioned challenges can easily expose *Almajiri* to countless atrocities. If care is not taken, he ends up being radicalised and becoming deviant to societal values. Hunger and starvation is a driving force to most of the crime syndicates such as a Boko Haram, banditry, drug addiction, political thugs, sexual assault and all kind of criminalities. Apparently, the proverbial idle hand is being importuned by enemies of the state to cause political instability. It is in this sequence that terrorism grows by leap and bound because the poverty traps that perpetuate negative implications of *almajiri* education system remain unchecked.

Making the al-majiri Education System add Value

The concept and plight of the *Almajiris* has shown parental failure, infrastructural decay of Qu’ranic schools, religious fanaticism and poverty. Today, the *Almajiri* system is characterized by social exclusion, chronic poverty and perpetual abuse. Churning out large numbers of young people with no formal education or employable skills, the system poses daunting social and economic challenges to the government and the people themselves. Neglected, stigmatized and vulnerable to abuse, 60

percent of Almajiri boys never return home (UNICEF 2020). They are left to fend for themselves and little is known about what happens to them after leaving the system. To address this unsavoury social issues, the 19 northern states took measures to ensure that *almajirai* are returned to their various home in order to 'contain' the spread of the virus and to integrate them into formal education. According to the Kaduna State Governor, Nasir-el-Rufai, this move has been far too delayed because the *almajiri* system does not benefit anyone anymore, rather, effort is being made to reintroduce the student to school upon reopening (Chinyem, 2020).

Also, the Senate has urged the Ministry of Education to intensify its sensitization and engagement of traditional and religious scholars on the plight of Almajiris, and the need to enroll them into the universal basic education system as contained in the report of the Senate Committee on Education (Basic and Secondary). Salau (2020) reported that the vice chairman of the committee, Senator Akon Eyakenyi, in her presentation, observed that:

the Almajiris, who are predominant in the North, constitute the larger number of out of school children roaming the streets begging for alms and food in Nigeria, and therefore are covered by the intervention policy and programmes of the Federal Government through the Universal Basic Education Act, 2004 . . . the implementation of the UBEC Act, 2004 requires maximum collaborations with the State Governments and indeed the domestication of the Act through the State Legislatures.

She noted that Nigeria had obtained \$611 million dollars from the World Bank Financed Programme - Better Education Service Delivery for All (BESDA), as a credit to specifically address the problem of Out of School Children.

According to Enumah (2020), the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) has called for the development and implementation of a program of action by Northern States governments to permanently address the challenges posed by the *Almajiri* system to children and the larger society, through a multi-sectoral "program of action for the transfer, return and rehabilitation of *Almajiri* children" and that affected states should "put in place financial, institutional and programmatic frameworks to urgently address the needs of the *Almajiri* children". It also enjoined State authorities to ensure protection of the *almajiri* children, that actions targeting the transfer, relocation and rehabilitation of the *Almajiri* children should be in the best interest of the children in line with global best practices.

To ensure sustainability of formal education for the Al-majiris, the government and education Ministry with other stakeholders need to work in synergy. Funding should be adequate, regular and monitored. The school curriculum should be planned to include technical and vocational courses (Taiwo 2013). The long objectives should be for self sufficiency and sustenance (self employment).

Interestingly, some of the Northern states government have taken steps to introduce formal and vocational education to the Almajiris. In Kano state, Sanusi Mohammed Kiru the head of the Kano State government committee on the rehabilitation of *almajiri*, stated that in an effort to prevent the *almajiri* children from roaming the street and spreading the virus within the communities, the government had established three *almajiri* boarding schools in Bunkure, Bagwai and Madobi Local Government Areas, for the immediate enrolment of Almajirai of Kano State origin.

Also, the Kaduna state Governor- Mallam Nasir El-Rufai said that the ultimate goal was for Almajirai in the state to acquire formal education without depriving them of the opportunity to acquire Quranic education. He warned that parents who enroll their children into the Almajiri education system stand the risk of prosecution and up to two years in jail. Any Islamic cleric who enrolls any child into the Almajiri system would also be prosecuted and jailed, as well as fined N100,000 or N200,000 per child (Chinyem, 2020). The governor stressed that every child in Kaduna State must get a 12-year free and compulsory primary and secondary school education or vocational training, depending on the capacity of the *almajiri* child.

Furthermore, in May 2020, the Governor of Kano State where a large number of Almajiri children live, formally abolished the almajiri traditional system in the State. Governor Abdullahi Ganduje said that all Almajiri children should be enrolled in formal education. According to UNICEF (2020) report, the state government is partnering with some UN agencies and GenU. GenU is a multi-sector partnership that supports young people between the ages of 10 and 24 to bridge the transition from education and training to employment and entrepreneurship. It brings together young people themselves to identify and capitalize on opportunities created by programs that support better outcomes for low-medium skilled labour, including recycling systems, brick building, tailoring and other sustainable local business. For a 16-year-old Abdulkarim, former Almajiri who has left the system and has enjoyed the skill acquisition programme, he said:

I want to attend school like other young people. I want to acquire skills in trade and commerce and connect with other young people in the same kind of business that I will do after school.

Conclusion

Findings have shown that COVID-19 is a virulent infection, transmitted through respiratory droplets from sneezing, coughing and talking. It migrated mainly through air transport and then spread via community transmission, usually after contact with index case. Thus, the *almajiri system* rooted in Arabic etymon “*al-muhajirun*” meaning migrants, is critical in the increasing number of child-beggars wallowing in crowded settlement at dusk and crisscrossing the region at dawn searching for food, has been identified as a loose avenue for wide spread of COVID-19. Hence, the unchecked migratory pattern that elude travel ban could militate against the flattening the curve of the pandemic in Nigeria.

Recommendations

To control the spread of the virus and to enhance good lifestyle for the *Almajirai* in Nigeria, the study proffers the following recommendations.

First and foremost, there should be proper monitoring of inter-state borders during and after COVID-19 experience, in order to account averagely for the migratory pattern and understand the comparative advantage. The government through its relevant ministries and agencies- such as Nigeria Centre for Disease Control, Federal Ministry of Health, Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Humanitarian Affairs and Disaster Management and Ministry of Information and Culture, among others, should be on track to ensure that non-essential migration is curbed, effective contact tracing and several lockdown measures are undertaken

nationwide. Also, to make the monitoring of unnecessary migration and measures to contain the spread of the virus, penalty for violation of government regulations should be attached and punishment of violators should be enforced to serve as deterrent.

For treatment of COVID-19 infection, readily available healthcare facility and fund designed to encourage less privileged to access good healthcare and hospital services without fear or prejudice should be established by the government at all levels.

Further, dedicated statistics of the *almajirai* that include their population density, health records, education status, migratory patterns, and so on is required to enable the government adequately plan for them. The National Bureau of Statistics can be engaged for this assignment.

In addition to the Northern State Governors efforts in repatriating *Al-majiristo* their respective states, there should be intense advocacy and sensitization to re-orientate the practice of *Al-majiri* education system that subject boys to begging, overcrowding and unhygienic lifestyles by providing information on the importance of enhanced capacities through formal and vocational education for *al-majiri* children in Northern Nigeria. Moreover, the Federal Government cum Northern states government can target education and vocational studies, which would mean engaging the *Al-majiri* boys, based on their capacities and respective area of interest relating to western education, Islamic knowledge, artisanship and so on. The government should also provide resources to sponsor them in the area of choice as applicable.

Both the federal and northern states government should work hand-in-hand with UNICEF towards ensuring children-related issues (including) on child protection, education, and health among other areas, in conformity with global practices and principles enunciated in relevant national and international laws for uninterrupted growth and development of every child, in consonance with the best interest of the child.

The government is also advised to put a process in motion in understanding the 'pull and push' factors responsible for migration within the *almajiri* system. This may include inability of parent to care for their wards, absence of social infrastructures and enablement, lack of proper orientation or misinformation, poverty, etc, by putting in place adequate protection programs, basic support services and empowerment programs to address poverty and other socio-economic vulnerabilities that made the parents to send out the children into *Almajiri* education system.

Above all, Northern States government is enjoined to put in place adequate plans for the enrolment and retention of *Almajiri* children in schools, including access to existing programmes such as school feeding and free education aimed at addressing the educational needs of the children in line with their rights to basic and compulsory education as guaranteed under the Child Rights Act and the Universal Basic Education Act in Nigeria. To enforce this, penalty for violation should apply against parents who fail to enroll their children and against parents and mallams who prevent children from attending such programmes.

Northern States Government is advised to "put in place financial, institutional and programmatic frameworks that will support their on-going multi-sectoral program of action of the transfer, return and rehabilitation of *Almajiri* children. This efforts will make the *almajiri* education system add value to relevant communities and to *Almajiris* themselves.

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Importantly, community-based government policy that co-opt the northern families on social rehabilitation and cultural re-engineering, geared towards encouraging beneficial custom and discarding anachronistic ones should be put in place.

Moreover, to ensure thorough reorientation and enhancement in the lifestyle of children in Northern Nigeria, all stakeholders; the government, civil society, parents, communities, religious and traditional leaders and the media should work together in ensuring that children and especially *almajirai* acquire quality education (formal and/or vocational).

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Annexures



South East, South South clamp down on almajirai relocating from North
Source: <https://guardian.ng/news/south-east-south-south-clamp-down-on-almajirai-relocating-from-north/>



Source: <https://www.thecable.ng/covid-19-and-the-almajiri-dilemma>



Source: Channels T.V. Online May 5, 2020
<https://www.channelstv.com/2020/05/08/16-almajiri-children-test-positive-for-covid-19-in-jigawa/>



Cross section of Almajirai in Northern Nigeria
Source: Channels TV online

LIGNE ÉDITORIALE

ARME, African Review of Migration and Environment Revue Africaine de Migration et Environnement est une revue issue de la collaboration scientifique entre des enseignants-chercheurs de l'Université Peleforo Gon Coulibaly de Korhogo et ceux de l'Université Obafemi Awolowo de Ilé-Ifé. Revue papier et numérique en français et en anglais, ARME est conçue comme un outil de diffusion de la production scientifique en philosophie, littérature et sciences humaines dans le domaine de l'**environnement** et de la **migration**. Cette revue universitaire à comité scientifique international se veut un lieu de recherche pour une approche interdisciplinaire, de croisement d'idées afin de favoriser le franchissement des frontières disciplinaires. Elle veut œuvrer à l'ouverture des espaces de connaissance en posant des passerelles entre différents domaines du savoir. C'est ainsi qu'elle met en dialogue les sciences humaines, la littérature et la réflexion philosophique et entend garantir un pluralisme de points de vues.

La revue publie différents articles, actes de colloques, essais, présentation de livre, textes de référence originaux et inédits. Les textes envoyés pour publication dans la revue sont soumis à une instruction par les pairs. Les manuscrits, pour être recevables par l'administration de la revue, doivent respecter les normes suivantes :

Volume : La taille du manuscrit doit être comprise entre **5000 et 8000 mots**. Il doit être écrit en **Tw Cen MT, 12 points, interligne simple**. Pour une présentation d'un livre, le volume peut être compris entre 1500 et 2500 mots.

Normes de rédaction

la revue ARME ne peut recevoir pour instruction ni publier un article s'il ne respecte pas les normes typographiques, scientifiques et de référencement (NORCAMES/LSH) adoptées par le CTS/LSH, le 17 juillet 2016 à Bamako, lors de la 38ème session des CCI. Nous citons *in extenso* une partie du point 3 de ces normes à l'attention de tous les auteurs.

« 3. DES NORMES ÉDITORIALES D'UNE REVUE DE LETTRES OU SCIENCES HUMAINES

3.1. Aucune revue ne peut publier un article dont la rédaction n'est pas conforme aux normes éditoriales (NORCAMES). Les normes typographiques, quant à elles, sont fixées par chaque revue.

3.2. La structure d'un article, doit être conforme aux règles de rédaction scientifique, selon que l'article est une contribution théorique ou résulte d'une recherche de terrain.

3.3. La structure d'un article scientifique en lettres et sciences humaines se présente comme suit :

- Pour un article qui est une contribution théorique et fondamentale : **Titre, Prénom et Nom de l'auteur, Institution d'attache, adresse électronique, Résumé en Français [250 mots maximum], Mots clés [7 mots maximum], [Titre en Anglais] Abstract, Keywords, Introduction (justification du thème, problématique, hypothèses/objectifs scientifiques, approche), Développement articulé, Conclusion, Bibliographie.**

- Pour un article qui résulte d'une recherche de terrain : **Titre, Prénom et Nom de l'auteur, Institution d'attache, adresse électronique, Résumé en Français [250 mots au plus], Mots clés [7 mots au plus], [Titre en Anglais], Abstract, Keywords, Introduction, Méthodologie, Résultats et Discussion, Conclusion, Bibliographie.**

- Les articulations d'un article, à l'exception de l'introduction, de la conclusion, de la bibliographie, doivent être titrées, et numérotées par des chiffres (exemples : 1. ; 1.1. ; 1.2 ; 2.

; 2.2. ; 2.2.1 ; 2.2.2. ; 3. ; etc.). (ne pas automatiser ces numérotations)

3.4. **Les passages cités sont présentés en romain et entre guillemets** (Pas d'Italique donc !). Lorsque la phrase citant et la citation dépassent trois lignes, il faut aller à la ligne, pour présenter la citation (interligne 1) en romain et en retrait, en diminuant la taille de police d'un point.

3.5. Les références de citation sont intégrées au texte citant, selon les cas, de la façon suivante

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- (Initiale (s) du Prénom ou des Prénoms de l'auteur. Nom de l'Auteur, année de publication, pages citées) ;

- Initiale (s) du Prénom ou des Prénoms de l'auteur. Nom de l'Auteur (année de publication, pages citées).

Exemples :

- En effet, le but poursuivi par M. Ascher (1998, p. 223), est « d'élargir l'histoire des mathématiques de telle sorte qu'elle acquière une perspective multiculturelle et globale (...), d'accroître le domaine des mathématiques : alors qu'elle s'est pour l'essentiel occupé du groupe professionnel occidental que l'on appelle les mathématiciens(...)».

- Pour dire plus amplement ce qu'est cette capacité de la société civile, qui dans son déploiement effectif, atteste qu'elle peut porter le développement et l'histoire, S. B. Diagne (1991, p. 2) écrit :

Qu'on ne s'y trompe pas : de toute manière, les populations ont toujours su opposer à la philosophie de l'encadrement et à son volontarisme leurs propres stratégies de contournements. Celles là, par exemple, sont lisibles dans le dynamisme, ou à tout le moins, dans la créativité dont sait preuve

ce que l'on désigne sous le nom de secteur informel et à qui il faudra donner l'appellation positive d'économie populaire.

- Le philosophe ivoirien a raison, dans une certaine mesure, de lire, dans ce choc déstabilisateur, le processus du sous-développement. Ainsi qu'il le dit :

le processus du sous-développement résultant de ce choc est vécu concrètement par les populations concernées comme une crise globale : crise socio-économique (exploitation brutale, chômage permanent, exode accéléré et douloureux), mais aussi crise socio- culturelle et de civilisation traduisant une impréparation sociohistorique et une inadaptation des cultures et des comportements humains aux formes de vie imposées par les technologies étrangères. (S. Diakitè, 1985, p. 105).

3.6. Les sources historiques, les références d'informations orales et les notes explicatives sont numérotées en série continue et présentées en bas de page.

3.7. Les divers éléments d'une référence bibliographique sont présentés comme suit : NOM et Prénom (s) de l'auteur, Année de publication, Zone titre, Lieu de publication, Zone Éditeur, pages (p.) occupées par l'article dans la revue ou l'ouvrage collectif. Dans la zone titre, le titre d'un article est présenté en romain et entre guillemets, celui d'un ouvrage, d'un mémoire ou d'une thèse, d'un rapport, d'une revue ou d'un journal est présenté en italique. Dans la zone Éditeur, on indique la Maison d'édition (pour un ouvrage), le Nom et le numéro/volume de la revue (pour un article). Au cas où un ouvrage est une traduction et/ou une réédition, il faut préciser après le titre le nom du traducteur et/ou l'édition (ex : 2^{de} éd.).

3.8. Ne sont présentées dans les références bibliographiques que les références des documents cités. Les références bibliographiques sont présentées par ordre alphabétique des noms d'auteur. Par exemple :

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BERGER Gaston, 1967, *L'homme moderne et son éducation*, Paris, PUF.
DIAGNE Souleymane Bachir, 2003, « Islam et philosophie. Leçons d'une rencontre », *Diogène*, 202, p. 145-151. 4.
DIAKITE Sidiki, 1985, *Violence technologique et développement. La question africaine du développement*, Paris, L'Harmattan. »

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