Adamawa State Primary Education Research

Access, quality and outcomes, with specific reference to gender

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As well as the full report, the case studies and executive summary are also available as separate reports. These can be found online at:
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FOREWORD

This research report is an important milestone for educational development in Adamawa State. It marks the acknowledged need for educational policy and practice to be informed by research and evidence. Significantly, this refers to the need for understandings of the local conditions and perspectives of children, parents, carers, communities and administrators to supplement on-going collection and analysis of high-quality statistical data on education. Through this, the multiple elements of educational service provision may be shaped and directed to ensure that all children, and especially girls, achieve their rights to education, which will enable them to participate in and contribute to the development of their communities, Adamawa State and Nigeria.

The conception of this research started back in 2010 and work began immediately in Adamawa State Basic Education Board (ADSUBEB) and the Centre for International Education (CIE), University of Sussex, UK, to bring together the resources and capacity to support it. Over time, from inception to completion, there have been several twists and turns but the determination and support of ADSUBEB has seen this research project through to completion. This symbolises the continued resolve among education leaders in Adamawa to improve access, quality and outcomes of basic education within the state.

This research comprises deep case study research in six primary schools and their communities selected from each of the three senatorial zones in Adamawa using statistical data at school, LGEA, SUBEB and national levels. It involved a team of five researchers from Adamawa and Sussex in multiple visits to the six case study schools and communities, 34 classroom observations, attendance at ADSUBEB meetings and workshops, as well as individual or group interviews with over 260 people concerned with education and schooling across the case study sites and the state. In addition, quantitative data were collected from schools, ADSUBEB and national data sets, including EMIS and NDHS. In the main report these are all brought together through thematic analyses to provide key findings and recommendations that are presented to motivate and focus effort to achieve even better educational experiences and outcomes for the children, and especially girls, in Adamawa.

This preliminary research was intensive, ambitious and wide-ranging. It was based on a conceptualisation of quality educational provision as a co-operative effort by educational administrators, schools and communities. The communications, processes, practices and power dynamics within and between these three stakeholder groups provided a central focus for the research and analysis. Alongside this, there was a research focus on girls that has been supported by theoretical understandings that go beyond individuals to refer to gender relations and how they are enacted in local contexts. This understanding has enabled an analysis that can elaborate how different policies and practices impinge on access to school, experiences in schools and outcomes for girls and for boys, as well as for female and male personnel within the wider systems of governance and practice. Beyond the substantive findings, research capacity development was a key element of the research. The work of the cross-national team in developing understandings of the context and in doing and writing research represents enormous learning and this research capital is an important resource for the state and a potential that should be further exploited in the near future.

As a preliminary study the research touched on a range of concerns and produced findings that have been used as the basis for recommendations. These are elaborated in the main study and guided by principles of equity and inclusion at all levels within the system, and in particular
indicate the need for substantial, gender-sensitive capacity building within educational administration, schools and communities such that access to good quality teaching and learning in schools is made available and taken up by all children, and especially girls. In order to achieve this overarching objective the first series of recommendations focused on governance issues and include: the need for high quality data and monitoring and evaluation procedures to inform and shape policy; transparent governance systems for teacher appointment, promotion deployment and pay; targeted and responsive continuing professional development for LGEA officers and head teachers for M&E, teacher support, teacher management and community liaison; linking education with pupil health and welfare; infrastructural development of schools, classrooms, furniture, toilets, water and secure school compounds; and improved distribution of teaching resources irrespective of pupil capacity to pay. With specific reference to teaching and learning, two issues were highlighted for immediate policy attention. The first was language use (Hausa, other first languages and English) and the production of resources and texts to support it. The second was development of a code of practice around discipline and training in the use of incremental non-violent, non-physical and non-disruptive sanctions to guide pupil and teacher behaviour.

For schools, head teachers and teachers there were a range of recommendations that included working with parents and communities in the development and upkeep of a rich learning environment that is safe for pupils. Teacher management, support for pedagogical practice, gender awareness, a disciplinary code with both sanctions and rewards, and career development were underlined as vital to the achievement of the highest professional standards and improvements in school quality. These were seen as crucial for widening access, and improving school retention and the completion of all pupils. Other recommendations to improve quality and accountability and strengthen future school planning include: a system of pupil representation; concerted efforts at collaboration and communications with the community; encouragement for parents and community members to participate in the school and the full operation of the SBMC and PTA.

Notwithstanding the extensive and interwoven sets of recommendations that have been suggested through this study, it is important to acknowledge this as part of a turnaround in the state. Over recent years in Adamawa renewed attention has been focused on education, which has provided the impetus for a number of significant physical, policy and practice developments. The commissioning of this research is part of this and of an innovative approach that envisages the processes of educational development being informed by evidence derived from high-quality research. As such, this research report is more of a beginning than an end – the findings outlined by the research are now presented to the concerned and dedicated educators in ADSUBEB as we address the multiple challenges facing us in providing the right to education for all children in Adamawa. In addition to initiatives in policy, practice, consultation, communication and training, this will undoubtedly involve additional, focused research so that these innovations will be used in a cyclical process to inform future resource allocation and educational developments.

Dr Halilu Hamma

Executive Chair
ADSUBEB
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would like to acknowledge the contribution of many different people to the research reported here. In particular we want to thank the pupils and teachers in the case study schools, who welcomed the research team into their schools, and also the parents, community members and LGA personnel, who willingly engaged with the research. Without them this research would not have been possible. In addition we wish to thank many people in ADSUBE headquarters in Yola. The officers and the Research Steering Group, headed by Dr Salihu Bakari, were invaluable for facilitating, informing and shaping the research. Their extensive knowledge, frank discussions and critical engagement throughout the research process were vital. There are several others who deserve special mention. Aliu Ibn Garba was extremely helpful in providing the most up-to-date statistical data and in helping us to collate and interpret them. His efforts were most appreciated. In addition, thanks are due to Jimena Hernández-Fernández and Ricardo Sabates for statistical analysis of the EMIS data. We are also grateful to Heather Stanley for her good advice and efforts in the presentation of the study and to Julie Farlie who provided administrative assistance in the early stages of the research. We also need to thank Abu Bakhar who drove us up, down and around Adamawa and Yola, and Khairat Abdul-Razak who made sure we had enough food and drink. Finally we owe a big ‘thank you’ to Mustafa Ahmad. He was vital to communications between the Adamawa and Sussex researchers and when we were all in Adamawa together for workshops and field visits he was our right-hand man, who saw to our every need. In particular, he helped make the team members from Sussex feel comfortable and very welcome in Yola, Adamawa and Nigeria.
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<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>ADSUBEB</td>
<td>Adamawa State Universal Basic Education Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBN</td>
<td>Central Bank of Nigeria</td>
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<tr>
<td>DFID</td>
<td>Department for International Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>ECCE</td>
<td>Early Childhood Care and Education</td>
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<td>EDS</td>
<td>Educationally Disadvantaged State</td>
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<td>EFA</td>
<td>Education for All</td>
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<td>EMIS</td>
<td>Education Management Information System</td>
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<td>ESSPIN</td>
<td>Education Sector Support Programme in Nigeria</td>
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<tr>
<td>ETF</td>
<td>Education Trust Fund</td>
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<tr>
<td>FGN</td>
<td>Federal Government of Nigeria</td>
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<tr>
<td>FME</td>
<td>Federal Ministry of Education</td>
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<tr>
<td>FRN</td>
<td>Federal Republic of Nigeria</td>
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<tr>
<td>GBV</td>
<td>Gender-based Violence</td>
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<tr>
<td>GAR</td>
<td>Gross Attendance Ratio(^1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEP</td>
<td>Girls Education Project</td>
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<tr>
<td>GER</td>
<td>Gross Enrolment Ratio(^1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GPI</td>
<td>Gender Parity Index(^2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>ILO</td>
<td>International Labour Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>LGC</td>
<td>Local Government Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>MDG</td>
<td>Millennium Development Goal</td>
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<tr>
<td>NAR</td>
<td>Net Attendance Ratio(^3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NBS</td>
<td>National Bureau of Statistics</td>
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<td>NCNE</td>
<td>National Commission for Nomadic Education</td>
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<td>NDHS</td>
<td>Nigeria Demographic and Health Survey</td>
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<td>NEDS</td>
<td>Nigeria Education Data Survey</td>
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<tr>
<td>NER</td>
<td>Net Enrolment Ratio(^3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NERP</td>
<td>Northern Education Research Project</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Government Organisation</td>
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<td>NMEC</td>
<td>National Mass Education Commission</td>
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<tr>
<td>NPC</td>
<td>National Population Commission</td>
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<tr>
<td>SAGEN</td>
<td>Strategies for Acceleration of Girls’ Education in Nigeria</td>
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<tr>
<td>SSA</td>
<td>Sub-Saharan Africa</td>
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<tr>
<td>SUBEB</td>
<td>State Universal Basic Education Board</td>
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<td>UBE</td>
<td>Universal Basic Education</td>
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<tr>
<td>UBEC</td>
<td>Universal Basic Education Commission</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNICEF</td>
<td>United Nations Children’s Fund</td>
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<tr>
<td>VSO</td>
<td>Voluntary Service Overseas</td>
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\(^1\) GER/GAR: Total pupil enrolment at a particular level of education irrespective of age, expressed as a percentage of the total population of the appropriate age for that level of education. Due to overage pupils the GER/GAR can exceed 100%. GER is calculated using EMIS returns on school enrolment; GAR uses attendance data from household surveys.

\(^2\) GPI: Ratio of female to male of a given indicator; 1 = parity between female and males; 0–1 = a disparity ‘in favour of’ males; above 1 = disparity ‘in favour of’ females.

\(^3\) NER/NAR: Total enrolment of the official age-group for a particular level of education expressed as a percentage of the total population for that age group. NER is based on EMIS enrolment data, and NAR is based on household survey data on school attendance.
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. BACKGROUND

Nigeria reportedly has the largest number of children not enrolled in school in the world, with girls comprising the larger proportion by far (UNESCO, 2012). Analysis of school enrolments across Nigeria shows considerable variation with northern states showing significantly higher proportions of children not in school compared to those in the south (NPC and RTI International, 2011). Within the north, the North East Zone, including Adamawa State, has the lowest enrolment – with over 50% of girls not in school (Akyeampong et al., 2009). This snapshot of data alone points to the significant challenges for Nigeria, and for Adamawa State in particular, in achieving the MDGs and EFA goals.

While research from other countries and other Nigerian states suggests a wide range of factors affecting the uptake of quality education, there is a paucity of empirical research that explores the particularities of the current situation in Adamawa State. It is within this context that the Adamawa State Basic Education Board (ADSUBEB) commissioned this preliminary research into access, quality and outcomes of basic education with specific reference to gender, to understand and inform approaches to address the specific educational needs of children and communities in Adamawa. While the original aim was to include all basic education, in the end it was decided to limit the research focus to primary education.

2. THE RESEARCH

2.1 Research aim

To conduct a preliminary exploration of access, quality and outcomes in Adamawa State primary schools with specific reference to gender.

2.2 Research objectives

1. To provide profiles of selected case study schools.
2. To provide illuminative, qualitative data and textured knowledge about school practices and processes highlighting gender.
3. To develop multiple stakeholder (pupils, parents, teachers, head teachers, Local Government Education Authority (LGEA) officers and community members) perspectives on improving school access and quality for girls.
4. To develop theoretical insights into the social and institutional processes related to the schooling of girls and boys.
5. To disseminate research findings through reports, conference papers and workshops.
6. To enhance local data management and research capacity.
7. To provide ADSUBEB with an evidence base to inform policy and intervention and for future monitoring purposes.

2.3 Research questions

1. What is the overall relationship between gender, access, retention and outcomes in primary education within Adamawa State?
2. What is the relationship between gender, access, retention and outcomes in each case study school?
3. What evidence is there in the schools of the differential treatment of girls and other social groups (religious/ethnic/lifestyle)?
4. What evidence is there in the informal daily life of the schools of the differential treatment of girls and other social groups (religious/ethnic/lifestyle)?
5. To what extent, and in what ways, do the pupils, teachers and head teachers view the experiences of schooling as equitable or inequitable (as regards gender/ethnicity/religion/lifestyle)? What relationships do they see between the experiences of schooling and access, dropout and examination outcomes?
6. What is the broader social and economic profile of the community in each case study?
7. What are the official structures and processes of community engagement in the school?
8. What informal processes are in place? How is community involvement gendered?
9. What kinds of impact has community involvement had on the school?
10. What do community members and LGEA officers think are the key developmental priorities for the school? How do they explain school access, retention and examination outcomes records? What do they think the school might improve?
11. How do school teaching staff, the community and LGEA officers work together to address issues of access, quality and gender inequality in the case study schools?

2.4 Research strategy

The primary purpose of the proposed research was to explore and provide evidence on access to, and the quality of, primary education in Adamawa State. Six school case studies were a central feature of this research. These in-depth ethnographic-style school-based empirical studies explored schools and classrooms and heard the views of the multiple local stakeholders from the LGEAs, schools and communities. A literature review, explorations of the available quantitative data at national, state, LGEA and school levels, as well as a series of supplementary state-level interviews, were incorporated into the research design and included as data for analysis.

A phased and collaborative approach was taken to the research. The collaboration between external researchers, local researchers and a research steering committee offered opportunities for negotiated development, quality control and research capacity development. The collective development of research instruments, data collection, analysis and writing were all elements of the research capacity development, which was an important secondary structure of the research strategy and an explicit research objective.

2.5 Research analysis

The data collected through this case study research brought together multiple perspectives around the complex and overlapping concerns elaborated in Section 2.3 above. These were organised and collated by stakeholder groups (teachers, pupils, etc.) and by case study school (see appendices). Following the compilation of case study reports, the team engaged in cross-case study analysis using analytical grids (see Appendix III) to enable greater levels of generality, which comprise the main findings of the research. In broad terms the cross-case analysis distinguished three sets of stakeholder groups: educational administration, schools, communities, and highlighted the communications and relationships between these stakeholder groups (e.g. between schools and communities) and, where possible, the relationships and processes within each (e.g. in schools between heads and teachers, teachers and pupils, etc.). This stakeholder analysis was structured around the four broad themes listed below, which relate directly to the main research aim:

- **Access** (admission, attendance, dropout, retention & educational quality)
- **In-school factors** (conditions, relationships, experiences)
- **Out-of-school factors** (conditions & relationships in home/community)
3. MAIN FINDINGS

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this section is to distil the main findings from the research and provide highlights that may be informative for future policy, practice and intervention, to improve access, quality and outcomes of education with special attention to gender. It is important to point out that the research focused only on primary education and did not explore early childhood provision, junior secondary schooling or teacher education.

The findings presented below are the highlights from the research, which are elaborated on both in the six case studies in Appendix I, as well as within Chapters 4–9 of the main research report. We therefore recommend reading the whole report and the case studies as a means to recover some of the detail of the social complexities of schools and communities that are the context in which educational development in Adamawa has and will take place.

In our critical engagement with the research into the multiple aspects of primary provision, however, we have not attempted to gloss over or hide the many challenges that face educational development in Adamawa. On the contrary, in this report we have attempted to lay out evidence and analysis to provide the best basis to understand what is going on and what this means for the educational rights of all children. Only with this information can the many committed educators in Adamawa rise to these challenges and make marked improvements that will have real effects.

Finally, it is important to acknowledge that this empirical inquiry and report are only part of an educational journey that began on an upward trajectory some time ago and in recent years has been accelerated. The efforts of ADSUBEB have already heightened awareness of the value of education, and have had profound effects on the provision of infrastructure and resources, on the quality of teachers, schools and administration, and, importantly, on widening access to education and on the delivery of human rights. Congratulations should be offered for these significant accomplishments, tempered by the awareness that there is still much that remains to be done.

3.2 Educational governance

State policy provides the primary guidance for educational practice and development and therefore needs to be informed by high-quality data and evidence from the multiple institutions and processes that together provide educational services. Research and evidence in Adamawa, however, is limited. The use of information systems is under-developed and needs upgrading in terms of data gathering, data accuracy, data processing and reporting. A year-on-year systematic analysis is an essential basis for policy development as well as for monitoring and evaluating their impacts. The inadequate information system straddles macro-level data handling and reporting to school-level record-keeping. Evidence from this research indicates that in many cases head teacher capacity to complete data returns was limited. This becomes a significant barrier to the production of positive strategies for school development and a threat to data quality and macro-level planning as school returns feed into LGEA and state data sets.

School governance arrangements are vital for addressing quality and equality in educational service provision in Adamawa State. The evidence from this research suggests that systems of
educational governance across the state need to be improved and revitalised. The development of a transparent, responsive and accountable system of school governance is a high priority in the face of reported political interference that has worked to disrupt accountability relations and in turn skewed the due acquisition of both professional position and resources. Trust in the letter of policy documents is low and linked to reported poor levels of professionalism in the administrative and educational hierarchy, resulting in the effective absence of an objective set of processes, rewards and disciplinary procedures. Various respondents across the board conveyed a desire to see educational governance move out of the realm of personal influence towards one of professional practice.

Evidence from this research suggests that in places the communications through the system are not working well and that accountability chains are broken. A lack of communication may in turn endanger the implementation of positive policy initiatives e.g. the free provision of textbooks and uniforms. At the same time, poor communications produce gaps in accountability chains in which, intentionally or not, educational personnel may neither carry out their responsibilities nor be held accountable for dereliction of duty. Formal systems to gauge accountabilities in relation to specific duties, or as part of a cyclical monitoring process, are not systematically operationalized.

Teacher appointment and deployment processes, although clearly documented, are neither clear nor transparent. The patterns and processes of teacher appointment, professional development and promotion are not closely monitored nor used to inform strategies that ensure fairer distribution and greater equity across and within the profession and administration. The evidence indicates a specific gender dynamic in these processes which demands focused policy and practice attention. In addition, there are evident differences between urban and rural teacher deployment that could also be usefully factored into strategic development around teacher deployment and career development.

Educational decentralisation needs to be further developed and supported. It has been unevenly implemented and communications between schools, communities and educational administration are often weak or antagonistic. The radical changes entailed in shifting towards more local management of schools should not be under-estimated. Ambiguities around the operation of SBMCs and PTAs and issues of representation and voice within them need to be addressed and responsibilities of the stakeholder bodies, communications to other stakeholder and accountabilities need to be made clear. These are complex social and cultural changes that need greater support on the ground.

School and teacher support systems tended to be weak and uneven despite the need for them, especially with respect to school–community relations, teacher professional development and teaching quality. The important relationship between quality and access has been highlighted in this research and the evidence suggests it is in need of concerted and coherent attention. Active teacher support to work towards more pupil-centred teaching and learning, for example, was not widely evident within or outside the schools. Similarly, systems to support school development were operationally weak. Systems of teacher and school reward for quality improvements as a means to encourage continuing professional development (CPD) were strikingly absent.

Educational administration has a responsibility for ensuring equity both in terms of the educational services it supports and as an employer. Whilst acknowledging certain gains and key equality champions, there appeared to be limited consensus, knowledge or understanding of the depth, breadth and complexity of the issues. For example, the research evidence indicates that gender stereotypes prevail to limit the educational opportunities of all children and there is a
skewed gender representation of teachers, heads and officers on PTAs, SBMCs, LGEAs and ADSUBEB. Equality monitoring systems (for gender and other disadvantaged groups) and practices were not in evidence.

3.3 Infrastructure

School infrastructure has an important bearing on issues of educational access, retention and quality. When schools are close to communities and families, access and retention in school is enabled. Those pupils who live furthest from school tend to start late and remain at risk of drop out. **Distance to school** has heightened significance for girls as concerns for their safety going to and from school have been found to be major reasons for not sending girls to school.

The appearance and **quality of school buildings** underline the importance of education in their localities and many stakeholders said they took pride in their schools. The buildings are the working conditions for teachers work and significant to their morale. It was obvious that focused efforts had been made to improve school infrastructure in some schools. This was greatly appreciated by respondents. However, the quality and finishing of buildings was sometimes disappointing, suggesting that commissioning processes and quality control measures need to be tightened. Debris and materials left after building work sometimes constrained the space outside classrooms, which along with sufficient shade and play equipment for play, were highlighted by respondents as important to children’s positive experiences in school.

The building and refurbishment of schools evidently has been a high priority. Of necessity the ongoing building programme has been incremental; however, a systematic and equitable process in the selection of sites for building development has been less clear. The distrust and disaffection caused by the absence of more **explicit criteria, processes and practices** have a negative influence on those trying hard to improve educational access and opportunities in their communities.

Local disputes over land and water, and roads around or even through schools exemplified the apparent **mis-communication and lack of consultation** between schools, communities and educational administration staff. In the wider context of decentralisation, communications and consultation form an essential part of achieving consensus over infrastructural development and provide a means to strengthen school–community cohesion in ways that have the potential to increase school access and improve conditions and educational quality.

There was widespread evidence of successful **community mobilisation** involving ADSUBEB, LGEA, school and community leaders. However, there was also evidence that these efforts were undermined when infrastructural development (or teacher supply) could not keep pace with the increase in enrolments. There was, for example, evident overcrowding in some classes and many classes continued to be taught outside buildings and under shade. Such issues clearly negatively affected educational quality, reduced learning opportunities in school, and ultimately raised concerns about the value of attending school. In the longer term, access and retention may be threatened, especially in poor communities where child labour is in demand to sustain family life.

**Pupil and teacher safety** within school are vital for sustained access and educational quality with particular implications for parental trust in relation to girls. There is evidently a need to demarcate and secure school compounds with fences, gates and personnel – in consultation with communities – and to monitor those who enter and leave as in many cases **schools were vulnerable to encroachment** from outsiders during school and after hours.
The basic amenities of water and toilets were often absent or in poor condition, even though they constitute a fundamental part of school infrastructure. The lack of these amenities is detrimental to the health and wellbeing of pupils and teachers and was found to be a cause of truancy and absenteeism. The negative implications are higher for female pupils and teachers, who require greater privacy in usual circumstances and particularly during menstruation. The inclusion of basic amenities has the potential to link to health education, especially as this and other research in Nigeria have shown ill health to be a significant threat to school access. Addressing issues around toilet use, basic hygiene and communicable diseases for pupils, communities and teachers could facilitate a cleaner safer environment which has the potential to reduce dropout associated with pupil and family illness and girls reaching puberty.

3.4 Teacher management

Gender differences in teacher appointments, promotions, deployment and in school responsibilities was widespread. For example there were fewer qualified female teachers in Adamawa State, substantial differences between male and female teachers in some LGEAs, and low numbers of female head teachers.

There were evident disparities in staffing between urban and rural schools. In the rural case study schools there were fewer qualified teachers and fewer female teachers. These inequities in teacher deployment, which place pupils in rural schools at a disadvantage, have reportedly begun to be addressed in a couple of the LGEAs although initiatives were in their early stages and had yet to be evaluated.

Appointments and promotions at school- and LGEA-level were reported to be subject to political interference. This was found to impact negatively on the capacity of certain appointees to manage schools and teachers with knock-on effects on staff morale, trust, working relations, and ultimately on school quality. Within schools there was some evidence that teacher responsibilities were allocated on merit but these were frequently gender stereotyped. Issues of gender equity and staff responsibilities are an important aspect of the management of teachers, as well as being significant to teacher career progression.

Teachers were overwhelmingly dissatisfied with their pay and conditions; in particular, low pay, delayed payments, lack of duty allowances (e.g. for head teachers) and opportunities for promotion clearly affected teacher morale, commitment and professionalism, which in turn adversely affected educational quality (e.g. through teacher absenteeism). The low morale of teachers and the quality of their teaching were exacerbated in many cases by poor classroom conditions and lack of teaching materials. Although official data indicate that primary class sizes in Adamawa comply with national recommendations (35:1), case study evidence suggests severe overcrowding in some cases due to a combination of a lack of classroom space and/or staff shortages and/or teacher absenteeism. The threats that poor teacher pay and conditions and low teacher morale pose to educational quality were evident.

Administrative and in-school support for teachers tended to be rather bureaucratic in nature and variable in frequency across the case study schools and LGEAs. There was only limited evidence of assisting teachers with pedagogy or content (e.g. LGEA–sponsored workshops on use of teaching aids), or the inclusion of head teachers in school-based teaching quality or professional development activities. Similarly, support for head teachers in managing staff or communicating with the community was not in evidence. In-service training courses and workshops were available but their limitations in effecting change in classroom practice were recognised. There was no evidence of systematic monitoring and evaluation of teacher professional development workshops or programmes.
In the face of increased numbers of qualified teachers in the state, many stakeholders recognised the sustained need to enhance teaching quality and the wider need to improve and revise the teacher education system. Suggested changes include involving more practical, school-based professional development, diagnostic activities, and bringing in outside expertise.

Teacher professionalism remained a key concern within the case study schools and LGEAs. Specific issues included teacher absenteeism, excessive use of corporal punishment and/or not covering parts of the syllabus. These all negatively influenced educational quality, pupil enrolment, punctuality, attendance, retention and performance. While some progress has been made in addressing teacher pay, conditions and incentives, there was a striking absence of in-school or head teacher-led strategies to address teacher professionalism. Associated with this, teacher discipline and accountability procedures were limited and tended to be implemented in an ad hoc rather than a systematic way. The implications for girls of poor teacher discipline by some male teachers were highlighted by some stakeholders, but rarely by respondents within the case study schools.

3.5 Pupil management

The costs of school attendance negatively affected school access, especially for children from the most impoverished families. Although there are regulations regarding fees and levies, there were indications that in some cases these were exceeded and further unsanctioned fees were being demanded by schools. In some cases, the policies of free uniform and improved textbook provision in schools, introduced to alleviate the costs of schooling, had not been properly implemented. There was evident need to monitor school fee demands and ensure the timely distribution of uniform and books, as these are key to improved and sustained school access.

In general, the school organisation was rather unsympathetic to the demands of pupils’ lives outside school, such that pupils were often subject to corporal punishment or temporary exclusion if their parents had not paid levies or provided writing materials, or for pupil latecoming, absenteeism, or failure in their school cleaning duties, or in personal appearance and neatness. The research evidence showed that this school disposition discouraged access, and in the longer term, could lead to pupil absenteeism and/or dropout.

The proportion of the school timetable allocated to teaching and learning varied dramatically among schools and in many cases considerable time was spent by pupils on cleaning, assembly and other labour tasks. In one case as little as 2hrs 35mins was timetabled for classroom teaching and learning, which in practice left very little time devoted to learning. Enrolment, attendance and learning could all be enhanced with an improved balance between class time and cleaning/administration time, alongside a school organisation more tailored to fit with community lifestyle demands (e.g. household needs, farming duties, Qur’anic schooling).

Pupils were managed in highly authoritarian ways in schools characterised by a clear gender hierarchy. Corporal and other physical punishment and manual labour played a central role. The widespread and often unregulated use of corporal punishment by teachers and prefects was reported by pupils as having a strong negative effect on learning quality, and on school access and retention. Where alternatives to corporal punishment were used these generally involved physical discomfort, humiliation and/or entailed the pupil missing lessons. There was little evidence of efforts to develop disciplinary systems or practices that respected pupil dignity and did not deprive them of learning time.
The prefect and monitor system was highly gendered in terms of appointment and duties. Prefects were used predominantly for disciplinary purposes although there was one example in which the punitive discipline function was transformed towards a more supportive and pastoral function through the appointment of ‘health prefects’. This highlights the potential to reconceptualise the prefect system towards one that could positively help to improve school quality and pupil retention. The use of the prefect system as a form of pupil representation, however, was absent even when this is required by government for the composition of the SBMC.

Beyond intervening in matters of physical violence and theft there was very little teacher intervention in pupil peer relations. The effective tolerance of various forms of “teasing”, verbal harassment and bullying had a significant negative effect on pupil experiences in school and in turn on their concentration, participation, attendance and dropout. These negative impacts were experienced more acutely by girls and overage pupils. The absence of teacher intervention contradicts the teacher’s duty of care for their pupils. In a similar way, good teacher–pupil relationships are central to positive experiences in school for both teachers and pupils and have been related to improved motivation, access, retention, learning quality and outcomes. Although there were a few instances of individual teachers showing personal concern for the welfare of certain individual pupils, for example by lending them stationery or making home visits when they were absent, in general across the case study schools teachers remained rather authoritarian and distant. There were very few opportunities for less formal interaction with pupils, for example, in extra-curricular activities although one school reported involving staff in after-school games activities with pupils.

3.6 Teaching and learning

Classroom conditions are critical to improvements in school and learning quality. Dry, bright, well-built classrooms with sufficient benches and desks and a teacher–pupil ratio close to the government recommended ratio of 1:35 are conducive to learning and help to motivate teachers and pupils to strive for improved educational quality. In several of the schools significant strides had been made in this regard, thanks to ADSUBEB’s recent infrastructural development programme. However, where these conditions were not achieved, it was detrimental to both pupils’ and teachers’ experiences of schooling and to educational quality.

As highlighted in Section 3.3, increases in enrolments have overtaken the pace of infrastructural development such that many classes take place under shade or have become overcrowded with insufficient and poor quality furniture for pupils. These are significant threats to educational quality, which in turn lead to pupil absenteeism and eventual dropout, thereby undermining the state’s efforts at social mobilisation.

Improvements in textbook provision were widely reported and many respondents were appreciative of this. However, there are still problems with distribution both to and within schools. In some case study schools books were not made regularly available for pupil use and so their value for learning was lost. In lessons where pupils did have access to textbooks their potential to have a positive impact on learning was not fully exploited by teachers, who tended to use them in a rather limited ways, for reading out loud or for setting exercises.

A lack of proficiency in English (by teachers and pupils) denied many pupils access to the curriculum, contributing to teacher and pupil frustration, exam failure, pupil absenteeism and dropout. Where it was within the capability of the teacher, teaching took place through a mixture of English and Hausa. This strategy, however, meant that lesson material took longer to cover,
and minority language speakers not fluent in Hausa were further disadvantaged, as were Hausa-speaking pupils taught by non-Hausa speakers.

**Didactic and teacher-centred methods** were universally practised. The pattern was usually teacher monologue interspersed with a mixture of choral repetition and ritualised question-and-answer routines. This often resulted in limited learning opportunities, difficulties in gauging pupil progress and unruly classes in which “teasing”, harassment and bullying went on unchecked. Poor classroom conditions, large class sizes, wide age ranges among pupils, a lack of resources and low proficiency in English were all factors that contributed to the limited approach to teaching and learning. There was, however, limited professional support for teachers to enable them to implement the more reflective, interactive teaching methods desired by government. There was no evidence that key teaching and learning quality issues raised in this report – such as extending the time children actually spend on learning, implementing active learning, and developing systems to record pupil progress – were part of a planned CPD programme for teachers. In addition, doubts were expressed by some Board and LGEA respondents about the quality of in-service teacher education and pre-service provision, and dissatisfaction was voiced by some teachers about the lack of transparency concerning who were given opportunities to attend workshops.

The push to widen school access has resulted in many classes being comprised of pupils from a wide age range. **Overage pupils** in particular often have difficult experiences of schooling, which this research confirmed; they may achieve poor learning outcomes, are constantly at risk of dropping out and have a negative influence on the learning of others. Despite the inevitability that overage pupils are likely to be a persistent part of the primary school population, there has been little or no specific school or teacher support in strategies to deal with their learning. One case study school, however, was experimenting with separate remedial classes for older pupils although this has yet to be evaluated.

**Gender stereotypes** and a culture of male superiority persisted and were reinforced in school. Although gender stereotypes and expectations have detrimental influences on learning practices, there were no examples in which implicit gender discrimination was being challenged or explicitly addressed in schools. Addressing gender stereotypes and assumptions is a crucial part of any equality strategy with specific implications for pupil access, retention and outcomes.

### 3.7 School–community relations

The **opportunity costs** of school attendance are a key barrier to school access, especially among the poorest communities. Family obligations to pay PTA levies and make other payments, such as for writing materials and uniforms, were preventing some families from enrolling or from keeping their children in school. This was exacerbated in some schools where other unsanctioned fees were being demanded from parents.

Levels of enrolment, latecoming, absenteeism, retention, dropout and poor performance were all impacted by the need for children to contribute to their household economies. These community livelihood demands were often cyclical in nature e.g. due the planting and harvesting seasons; however, apart from reported encouragement from one LGEA, there was otherwise no evidence of **LGEA or school flexibility** to alter timetables in order to accommodate this, and thereby improve enrolment, attendance and retention in school. This lack of flexibility was also observed within Muslim communities in which the requirement to attend Islamic schools before public school led to persistent pupil latecoming. These pupils were then met by repeated punishment, with the inevitable effects on learning quality and retention.
Dropout, especially of boys, also resulted from the combination of low school quality and limited local employment opportunities. This suggests that immediate opportunities to earn money won out against the rather intangible and longer term benefits of schooling. In some schools, parents indicated that both excessive corporal punishment and teacher absenteeism had prompted them to withdraw their children from school. There was little evidence of SBMCs (or even of LGEAs or school management) addressing the problems related to dropout or wider issues of school quality and teacher management.

Successful community sensitisation campaigns by LGEAs and schools, especially among Muslim families, have reportedly improved the enrolment of boys and girls in school. However, they appear to have had limited impact on gender-stereotyping. Addressing gender inequalities is central to the efforts for universal primary education (UPE) and this appears to be needed among all groups of stakeholders, including girls, who need to be supported in taking up their educational rights, achieving highly and completing school. The research evidence confirmed that pregnancy and early marriage continue to hamper educational opportunities, mainly of girls but also of boys.

Many PTAs had made obvious contributions to school development, especially with respect to buildings. The operation of the school–community liaison function, however, was more variable, with evidence that often the PTA committee did not consult ordinary community members widely. Therefore opportunities to collectively address enrolment, retention and quality issues were lost.

The relatively recent establishment of SBMCs appears to have produced some confusion about their distinction from PTAs. Their central role in school governance focuses on the SBMC as an important conduit for the community voice, a mechanism for quality improvements and part of a system of accountability. There was limited evidence of the SBMCs acting systematically in any of these functions although there was reported involvement of SBMCs in raising funds for school development and in community sensitisation. In addition, evidence from the research indicates that, like the PTA, SBMC membership is not representative of the community and only in one case study school were pupils included on the committee (albeit only on paper) in accordance with the official guidance. The exclusion of the female voice and that of ordinary community members or parents in several instances was noteworthy and implicitly discriminatory.

School–community relations were at their strongest when communities provided funds, labour or material for school infrastructural development since both school and community respondents were agreed on its importance. Beyond that, however, many respondents recognised the need for greater engagement between schools, LGEAs and communities. In general, though, in discussion about school–community relations it was the primacy of the school perspective that prevailed. Although there was some recognition by school and LGEA staff of the multiple difficulties some parents and community members faced with regards to schooling their children, ultimately parents and community members were often framed in negative, deficit terms and held to be responsible for lack of school access, retention and/or poor learning outcomes. There was rarely any acknowledgement that the poor quality of schooling or livelihood demands might be significant contributory factors to parents’ unwillingness to enrol or keep their children in school. Many head teachers were ill-equipped to negotiate or consult with community members and in cases where communications had broken down, the LGEA was called on to intervene. There were evident capacity building needs in all the three stakeholder groups (LGEAS, schools and teachers, community) as well as within the community liaison bodies of the PTA and SBMC.
4. RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1 Introduction

The recommendations have been organised to relate to the three stakeholder groups: educational administration, schools and communities. As communications and collaboration within and between them is critical to improving pupil access to high quality education, these recommendations necessarily overlap. A more elaborated list of recommendations is provided at the end of the main report. It should also be emphasised that implementation of most of these recommendations is likely to require substantial, gender-sensitive capacity building among the three stakeholder groups, to enable them to carry out their school-related functions more effectively.

4.2 Educational governance

4.2.1 Systems development and professional practice

- The quality of data gathering, processing and reporting needs to be improved and utilised to inform all aspects of educational policy, equality strategies and practice. The data and statistical analysis systems should be used for annual reports, monitoring and evaluation and research of emergent issues. The capacity development needs throughout these processes are vital to the achievement of high-quality reliable data.

- The system for appointment, promotion and deployment of teachers and all education personnel needs to be strengthened and implemented in a transparent way. A pay and promotion structure for teachers should to be developed and include job descriptions, professional expectations, line-management and accountability structures, decision-making responsibilities and incentives (e.g. for quality improvements, school responsibilities, deployment to rural schools etc.). This needs to be accompanied by improved administration to ensure prompt and regular salary payments.

- Continuing Professional Development for all educational personnel needs to be planned, targeted and responsive. For LGEA officers and head teachers this should include training in M&E, supporting professional practice (including pedagogy), line and teacher management skills and community liaison. Other strategies to enhance the professionalism of teachers might include the delivery of school-based CPD to local school clusters and the specification of in-service training days.

- The quality of the school experience and outcomes would be enhanced by clear state-level guidance, support and training in the following two key areas:
  - Language use The use of local languages and bi-/ multi- lingual approaches to teaching needs to be reconsidered and supported with appropriate textbooks. Additionally, the use of English needs to be strengthened perhaps by developing a cadre of specialist English teachers.
  - Disciplinary sanctions that are incremental, non-violent, non-physical and non-disruptive to pupil learning need to be developed. All education personnel need to be trained in a code of practice that highlights a duty of care, and aims to eliminate gender-based violence and provide victim support.

- All aspects of educational governance and administration need to adhere to principles of equality and inclusion. This must be integral to policies and practices throughout the education system all of which should be subject to monitoring and evaluation. This is a wide-scale remit that includes appointments, representation, opportunities, voice and participation within and between the stakeholder groups (e.g. educational workforce, pupil populations and community involvement etc.). It includes reference to gender, poverty, religion, disability, nomadic groups and rural populations. This might entail the development of specific or flexible forms of schooling and particular kinds of educational...
personnel for those children not achieving their educational rights through mainstream provision, such as is being practised in the current provision of nomadic schooling.

- Links between education and health service providers need to be strengthened to improve school access and the health, hygiene and welfare of pupils in schools.

4.2.2 Infrastructure and resources

- The number of schools and classrooms needs to be increased and the quality of many existing buildings and classrooms upgraded. They also need to be equipped with sufficient furniture and secure storage. The establishment of schools should include accessible water, well-maintained, gender-segregated toilet facilities and adequate shaded areas in the compound. Optimally the school should include a library, a computer lab and play resources.

- School security needs specific attention and should include a boundary fence and gate to enclose a safe and clean school compound. Negotiations with the community are vital as their agreement and support are essential for sustaining the safety of the school environment.

- The supply, distribution and use of textbooks need to be improved. They should be available to teachers and pupils and used meaningfully in the classroom. For pupils in financial hardship writing materials and exercise books should be available.

4.3 Schools, head teachers and teachers

4.3.1 Head teachers

- Sustained attention needs to be paid to the buildings, resources, amenities and security of the school, as well as to the safety of the pupils. The achievement and oversight of this kind of school environment will necessitate: negotiations with the community, SBMC, PTA and LGEA; the ready availability of school and learning resources; as well as vigilance about the proper use of the school, the amenities and resources.

- Support for teachers in achieving the highest professional standards is a central strategy for improving school quality. This might include personal support, school-based initiatives and state-level workshops. It should be accomplished with support from the school supervisor (SS) and educational supervisor (ES) from the LGEA, through collaboration with head teachers from other local schools and discussions in regular staff meetings. Generic issues in need of focused attention include: teacher punctuality and attendance in school and in the classroom; the development and implementation of a more diverse range of approaches to teaching and to pupil discipline; the use of teaching resources; development of curriculum resource; language capacity building; and career development advice.

- A system of pupil representation should be integral to the school’s organisation. Their ideas, energy and engagement will provide a positive influence on improved attendance and quality. It may also be used as a means to demonstrate the importance of inclusion and equality that should characterise every facet of the organisation and operation of the school.

- Collaboration and communications with the community need to be strengthened and integrated in the management of the school and in future planning. The operation of the SBMC and PTA are vital to improving access, quality, school development and accountability, and their positive support in liaising between the school and community needs to be encouraged and utilised fully. Creative, reciprocal and not always financially based engagements between the school and community need to be positively encouraged and promoted.
4.3.2 Teachers

- Continual efforts to **improve teaching quality** and pupil learning are fundamental to the professional work of teachers. In the first instance this entails being in class, and engaged in teaching activities at the appointed times. In addition, this includes proactively seeking CPD opportunities, engaging with other local teacher colleagues and personal professional endeavour. The research evidence indicates that these efforts could usefully focus on: the development and implementation of schemes of work and lesson plans; increasing the time pupils spend ‘on task’ learning; providing opportunities for greater pupil participation; adopting diverse approaches to teaching, moving towards more child-centred learning; checking and recording the learning progress of each pupil; providing feedback and support for those with learning difficulties.

- The **management of pupils** is a key aspect of teachers’ duties. This should be accomplished by avoiding using gender as an organising structure and stereotyping (e.g. in cleaning duties, the appointment of prefects). There is need to develop and operate an incremental, non-violent and gender-aware system of **rewards** and **disciplinary sanctions** for pupils. These must avoid the use of pupil labour, physical harm and public humiliation. Alongside the need for pupil discipline, every teacher has a **duty of care** that requires intervention in all forms of gender-based violence, bullying or pupil conflicts, including what is often perceived as “teasing”. It also entails facilitating pupil access, for example, through personal and school-level efforts to avoid punishing pupils for their parents’ inability to pay school levies, following up those pupils who have poor attendance or punctuality records and seeking links with health services to improve pupil welfare.

4.4. Communities

- There is a sustained need to ensure that community members are aware of each **child’s rights** to education irrespective of gender, religion, ethnicity, disability or economic circumstances. School PTAs and SBMCs, in collaboration with teachers, the LGEA and other community organisations, need to continue to engage in social mobilisation. Community members need to be encouraged and to encourage all parents and guardians in their responsibilities for the education of all children in the community. The gender and equity message must be integral to social mobilisation as well as the freedom from violence used in child discipline.

- **Wide and equitable community representation** on the PTA and SBMC is vital to ensure that multiple community voices are heard and that community views are not dominated by a single interest group or by the school’s perspective. Evidence from the research indicates the serious under-representation of female and poorer community members. The absence of voice might mean that simple solutions to improve school access are not attempted. For example, school access might be facilitated by slight changes to the school day in response to the livelihood demands of particular communities. These can only come to light if the community voice is aired and engaged. This is also a crucial dimension of school **accountability**.

- **Community involvement** in the school needs to be encouraged through improved outreach, systems of communication and more open consultation with a wide range of community members. Good communications and relations will provide a better foundation for the school and facilitate greater community involvement in the school and its development. There is a need, however, to explore ways in which parents might become involved or contribute to the school in non-financial ways. The research suggests there may be reciprocal benefits to be gained from community support in ensuring school and pupil security, which in turn would preserve the school as a community resource to be used after lessons for various community activities (e.g. adult literacy classes).
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 RATIONALE

This preliminary research study was commissioned by the Adamawa State Basic Education Board (ADSUBEB), and the main purpose was to investigate access to primary education, especially for girls, across the state. The supporting rationale for this study lies fundamentally in the connection between education and economic and social development. Educational uptake is both an indicator and a result of these development objectives. However, Nigeria has the largest number of children not enrolled in school in the world, and the majority of the children missing out on their rights to education are girls (UNESCO, 2012). Within Nigeria it is the North East Zone, including Adamawa State, which has the lowest enrolments – with over 50% of girls not in school (Akyeampong et al., 2009; National Population Commission (NPC) and ICF Macro, 2009). This research was one step towards addressing the challenges of achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Education For All (EFA) goals in Adamawa State.

There is a paucity of empirical research on education in Adamawa State and little evidence on the factors affecting the provision and uptake of quality primary education. This preliminary research into access, quality and outcomes in education, with specific reference to gender, was commissioned to understand and inform approaches to address the specific educational needs of children and communities in Adamawa. It is important to emphasise that the research focused only on primary education and did not explore either early childhood or junior secondary provision. The research findings focus attention on specific issues raised by a wide range of stakeholders, which are intended to inform future policy, practice and intervention, and to improve the condition of education in the state.

From its inception a case study methodology and an international collaborative team were stipulated as central elements of the research design. Over the two-year period between the inception and the delivery of the research these conditions have had a strong bearing on the shape and quality of this study. The case study approach has highlighted the significance of all local stakeholders to the delivery of quality education to all children in Adamawa and this research has provided the space for their perspectives to be heard, albeit sometimes in a limited way.

In a similar way the composition of the research team brought together individuals with their respective strengths to produce a collective of critical social scientists to engage in the main questions of the research through systematic empirical study. As expected in a critical study, the process of the research brought these researchers into (good-humoured) contention with each other over various aspects of the study and interpretation, all of which have contributed to its quality. This critical engagement with the multiple aspects of primary provision, however, has not attempted to gloss over or hide the many challenges that face educational development in Adamawa. On the contrary, in this report we have attempted to outline the current condition of primary education and draw attention to the social complexities of schools and communities that are the context in which educational development in Adamawa has and will take place. Acknowledging the significant achievements already made by ADSUBEB, we have attempted to use evidence and analysis to lay bare the educational context as it is, in order to provide the best basis to understand what is going on, what this means for the educational rights of all children, and what the many committed educators in Adamawa might do to meet the challenges and make marked improvements that will have real effects.
1.2 CONTEXT
Adamawa is officially categorised as an Educationally Disadvantage State (EDS), meaning that it is characterised by low participation in education at all levels. In national educational statistical returns the North East, along with the North West, often occupies the bottom ranks in the whole of Nigeria (NPC and RTI International, 2011). The state population of more than 3 million is multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and multi-religious and the relatively low levels of literacy even in young people (NPC and RTI International, 2011) suggest that the practices of going to school and staying in school are not well embedded within society in general. For example, in Adamawa much of the population is engaged in agricultural work, often in subsistence farming and levels of poverty are high. There are also important trading routes and urban centres that contribute to the local economy.

There are clearly multi-dimensional challenges for ADSUBEB in ensuring the rights to education of the children in the state. While there have been important and successful policy initiatives implemented over recent years, there remain key challenges around the supply and demand of educational services in Adamawa. Continued and accelerated success, however, requires deeper understandings of the complex social relations within and between educational administration, schools and communities. This research has attempted to contribute to these understandings as the basis to improve access to quality education for a relatively impoverished population that does not have a strong tradition of sustained schooling. In this way it hopes to support ADSUBEB with its key concerns and questions about how to make education available, inviting and effective for all young people, irrespective of their specific location, socio-economic status or ethnic, religious or gender identities.

1.3 REPORT STRUCTURE
This report has ten chapters, several appendices and an executive summary that has provided an overview of the main elements of the research. The main body of the report proceeds in Chapter 2 with details of the research design, methods and analysis. This chapter also provides the conceptual frameworks for the study, including short definitions of access and gender as well as a representation of how different stakeholder groups inter-relate to impact on access to quality education. The national and state contexts are presented in Chapters 3 and 4, respectively. Following this, in Chapters 5–9 we present data and analysis around the key dimensions of the research. We start with infrastructure and then, in order, we move to consider teacher management, pupil management, teaching and learning, and school–community relations. In Chapter 10, the final chapter, we draw conclusions and provide recommendations. The appendices set out at the end of the report include crucial information that has direct relevance to the report. In particular, Appendix I includes all six case study reports, which have been drawn together from the extensive fieldwork. These include data and evidence that was the basis for the analysis presented in the main body of the report. The other appendices include the research instruments.
CHAPTER 2 RESEARCH DESIGN

2.1 INTRODUCTION
This research set out to explore access to primary schools in Adamawa State, with specific reference to gender. We refer to a broad definition of access that includes the quality of teaching and learning, school completion and outcomes as well as the school environment. With our focus at the school level, we adopted a case study approach as central to the research strategy. The ethnographic-style case studies were set up to explore what was going on in schools and classrooms and to catalogue the views of the multiple local stakeholders from the LGEAs, schools and communities about access and gender. Alongside these school-level empirical case studies, interview data were collected from SUBEB-level stakeholders and quantitative data sets from national, state, LGEA and school levels were explored.

Collaboration was a key feature of the research. External researchers from the Centre for International Education, University of Sussex, in the UK, Nigerian researchers who were experienced educationalists from Adamawa State, and a Research Steering Group composed of ADSUBEB members worked together in different ways over the phases of the research. This provided the context for negotiated development and progress of the research and helped ensure data and research quality.

Beyond the primary focus of the research inquiry on access to primary schools, a second aspect of the research strategy concerned the development of research capacity. This was accomplished through the team approach to the production of research instruments, data collection, analysis and writing. The third element integral to the research was a review of the systems and capacities in basic education administration across Adamawa to monitor and support the delivery of educational services.

2.2 RESEARCH AIMS, OBJECTIVES AND QUESTIONS

2.2.1 Research aim
To conduct a preliminary exploration of access, quality and outcomes in Adamawa State primary schools with specific reference to gender.

2.2.2 Research objectives
1. To provide profiles of selected case study schools.
2. To provide illuminative qualitative data and textured knowledge about school practices and processes, highlighting gender.
3. To develop multiple stakeholder (pupils, parents, teachers, head teachers, local government education authority (LGEA) officers and community members) perspectives on improving school access and quality for girls.
4. To develop theoretical insights into the social and institutional processes related to the schooling of girls and boys.
5. To disseminate research findings through reports, conference papers and workshops.
6. To enhance local data management and research capacity.
7. To provide ADSUBEB with an evidence base to inform policy and intervention and for future monitoring purposes.
2.2.3 Research questions

1. What is the overall relationship between gender, access, retention and outcomes in primary education within Adamawa State?

2. What is the relationship between gender, access, retention and outcomes in each case study school?

3. What evidence is there in schools of the differential treatment of girls and other social groups (religious/ethnic/lifestyle)?

4. What evidence is there in the informal daily life of the schools of the differential treatment of girls and other social groups (religious/ethnic/lifestyle)?

5. To what extent and in what ways do the pupils, teachers and head teachers view the experiences of schooling as equitable or inequitable (as regards gender/ethnicity/religion/lifestyle)? What relationships do they see between experiences of schooling and access, dropout and examination outcomes?

6. What is the broader social and economic profile of the community in each case study?

7. What are the official structures and processes of community engagement in the school? What informal processes are in place? How is community involvement gendered?

8. What kinds of impact has community involvement had on the school?

9. What do community members and LGEA officers think are the key developmental priorities for the school? How do they explain school access, retention and examination outcomes records? What do they think the school might improve?

10. How do school teaching staff, the community and LGEA officers work together to address issues of access, quality and gender in the case study schools?

2.3 KEY CONCEPTS

2.3.1 Access

The aim of this research is to explore issues of access to primary school in Adamawa State. The understanding of access we use does not only refer to admission to school but includes meaningful participation in a teaching/learning environment of adequate quality and completion of a cycle of basic education. As the Roadmap for the Nigerian Education Sector (Federal Ministry of Education (FME), 2009b, p.19) elaborates, “there are deep issues of physical access, quality access and economic access” in schooling. In these terms access means admission to school first, but it also includes attendance, retention and transition. More than this it refers to the quality of schooling, the experiences and processes through schooling, and outcomes. These outcomes might include the measurables of examination, literacy and numeracy scores, as well as wider attributes that support individuals to become active citizens, engage in their social world, claim their rights, respect others, make a positive contribution to an equitable society and enjoy their livelihoods. The association of access with quality and outcomes is reflected in the research questions and reiterated by CREATE (2008):

Access to education has to include judgements of educational quality and process (what children have access to); and of educational outcomes (what competencies and capabilities are acquired and how they are valued). CREATE’s expanded vision of access to education emphasises learning that has utility, and which is inclusive, equitable and sustainable. The vision includes local access to safe schools with an appropriate environment for learning; admission and progression at an appropriate age; regular attendance; access to secondary education; learning outcomes that meet national norms; and socially equitable access to affordable educational services of quality. (CREATE, 2008, p.1)

This wider notion of access means that quantitative data and indicators are not sufficient to inform us. Qualitative data are needed to capture the processes and relationships, perspectives and positions that are vital to understanding educational provision, quality and uptake. Together quantitative and qualitative data and analysis can provide important insights into what has been
happening in terms of access, and how developments might be devised and implemented so that all children achieve their right to education.

2.3.2 Gender
In this study we refer to a theory of gender that recognises the social construction of gender that does not imply an oppositional gender binary (females v males) or refer to women alone but rather to relations among and between females and males (Kabeer, 1994; Cornwall, 1997; Oyêwùmí, 2002). Gender identities and social positions are formed within specific historico-political contexts through social and institutional structures and processes, for example in the school, the family, the community and the state (Connell, 1987). In this respect the gender analysis in this study examines multiple aspects of educational policy and planning, institutional structures, social processes, interactions and outcomes as they relate to gender equality. This perspective on gender equality is as much about boys’ education as girls’, and about differences within as well as between gender categories. Nevertheless, in this research, we have highlighted the education of girls, as an aggregated group. In this we have been informed by the National Policy on Gender in Basic Education (FME, 2007a) that identifies the following factors as having inhibited female participation in basic education: lack of political commitment; poor planning and management; gender-insensitive teaching materials and a gender-blind curriculum; girl-unfriendly school infrastructure; skewed male-female teacher ratios; gender-biased attitudes towards girls; sexual harassment; poverty; and cultural factors such as the erroneous interpretation of religious teaching.

Finally, although our central focus here is on girls, we recognise social and cultural complexities and the fact that gender does not describe a total identity but intersects with other identity characteristics to shape and differentiate one gendered subject from another. Our broad theoretical position is summarised below:

Rather than a fixed binary, gender identities are multiple, fluid, relational, dynamic and often contradictory as they are differentiated by class, race, ethnicity, location, nationality, religion, sexuality, age, location and so on. (Humphreys, Undie and Dunne, 2008, p.11)

2.3.3 A relational framework for access
Access to primary school and the delivery of educational rights to children needs to be conceptualised beyond the point of delivery when a child enters (or does not enter) a primary school and classroom. While clearly an important indicator of access, it is only a moment within a much broader set of relations that surround and support it. These are represented in Fig. 2.1 below. Initial and sustained access to school emerges through the involvement of families and communities, schools and teachers as well as educational administrators from ADSUBEB to LGEAs to School Supervisors. Each of these three stakeholder groups in its own right has a significant influence on access to school but cannot on its own provide that access. It is the relationship between these groups that works to realise school access for every child. In this study we have used this model to structure our focus and the data collection.

In Figure 2.1 access to school occupies a central position and is shown as emerging from the contribution of the three groups of stakeholders. The views and practices of each of these stakeholder groups are of critical importance in this study, which set out to explore access at the local level. So, while school case studies comprised the main research strategy (see next section), they included data collection from stakeholders in each of the three groups: in schools, communities and educational administration. This relational dynamic is a vital aspect in access to school and was used to structure our data analysis.
The purpose of our data and analysis was not to provide technical descriptions of the roles and responsibilities of each stakeholder group but rather to explore what actually transpires with respect to specific primary schools so that we might better understand how relations between stakeholders work to deliver (or deny) the educational rights of each child in Adamawa. Multiple case studies also provided the opportunity to consider different contexts, understand diversity in stakeholder relations and to make some comparisons.

Figure 2.1 A relational framework for access
Source: adapted from Dunne, Akyeampong and Humphreys, 2007

The triangular relations depicted in Fig 2.1 provide a simple model that is a useful structuring device to understand and report on the case studies. It was not intended to suggest that each of the stakeholder groups speaks in one accord. Divergence of opinion and practice within each of the stakeholder groups provides another layer of social dynamics that we have tried to draw out. This might refer to institutional or hierarchical relations that structure the workplace or less formalised relations among community members. The relations within stakeholder groups present another layer that was considered in the development of the research design, data collection and the analysis.

In summary, then, the design and analysis of this research was built on a conceptual foundation that incorporates a very broad notion of access; promotes an understanding of gender that underscores gender relations, highlights girls, and links with other dimensions of marginalisation; and locates the achievement of sustained access at the local level within the triangular dynamics of community, school and administrative stakeholder relations.

2.4 DESIGN
The research was designed in four stages: preparation, main fieldwork, analysis, writing and dissemination. These are detailed in Table 2.1 below. This synthesis report marks the end of Phase 3 and as such does not include comment on the fourth phase, which concerns dissemination. During the process of the research, public sector strike action and other unanticipated events resulted in a three-month extension in the research timeline. As a result, the first three phases of the research extended from 1st January 2011– 30th April 2012.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phase 1: PREPARATION January–March 2011</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Main activities</strong></td>
<td><strong>Outputs</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literature and quantitative data review</td>
<td>Background research brief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary data collection and analysis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State/LGEA statistical profile</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Review of relevant research</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Research Meeting 1</strong></td>
<td>Detailed research &amp; communication plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presentation and discussion of state profile</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Review of state and LGEA monitoring and analysis procedures</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identification of school sample</td>
<td>Development of research instruments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development of research timelines &amp; instruments</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piloting of instruments</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agreed data management proformas</td>
<td>Agreed programme of work &amp; research timeline</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agreed communication strategy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phase 2: MAIN FIELDWORK March–September 2011</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Case studies data collection</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>A. Contextual data</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quantitative data collection:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School and community statistics, demographics, economic activity, health, infrastructure.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School-level data on enrolment, retention, dropout, attainment, teacher variables.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Document collection:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School &amp; community development plans, meetings and reports</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>B. In-school data</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In-classroom observations x 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Around school observations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pupil group interviews x 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head teacher interview</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher interviews x 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>C. Other stakeholders</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LGEA education administrators</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PTA &amp; SBMC representatives</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other parents</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community leaders</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>D. Ongoing collation &amp; writing</strong></td>
<td>Mid-term progress report</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1. Communications</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Breakdown</strong></td>
<td>Case study draft reports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>A. In-country team meetings x 3</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monitoring of progress and data organisation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ongoing analysis, discussion of emergent themes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sussex researcher field support</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>B. UK communications</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Progress report</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>C. Mid-term progress meeting</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3. Writing preparation</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preparation of case study reports</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is important to note that reciprocal capacity building was integral to this study. The composition of the research team had an important bearing on the quality of the data collection, analysis and writing. This team included: one Muslim Nigerian female researcher, one Christian Nigerian male researcher and one Muslim Nigerian male researcher and two UK-based Christian female researchers. The combination of their strengths has brought this study together and forged important links between the international team. It is inevitable, however, that over the course of such an intensive and long-term study that changes in the lives of the team affect the capacity to engage with and provide the expected research outputs. Although we are satisfied with the quality of the research and of this report, it is for a combination of unanticipated reasons and changes for members of the research team that the dissemination timeline has been delayed and is now anticipated to take place in 2013.

2.5 SAMPLE AND METHODS

2.5.1 School sample
Six primary schools were selected as case study locations. These included two schools from each senatorial zone in Adamawa in a mix of more urban and more rural locations. The wider LGEAs all include urban centres and rural areas and in our later analysis we have tried to differentiate what might be related to the LGEA as a whole and to the school in particular. The sample of schools is presented in Table 2.2. These schools and the all research respondents have been given pseudonyms to protect their identity and confidentiality.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>School location</th>
<th>LGEA</th>
<th>Senatorial zone</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kanti Primary School</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>N1</td>
<td>Northern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domingo Primary School</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>N2</td>
<td>Northern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metropolis Primary School</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>C1</td>
<td>Central</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kilfi Primary School</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>C2</td>
<td>Central</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doya Primary School</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>Southern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baobab Primary School</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>Southern</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In general terms most parents in five of the schools were farmers involved in subsistence agriculture and/or animal husbandry, with a sprinkling of petty traders and civil servants. Thus, they experienced periods of intensive labour during the rainy season (generally June to December). Only in the most urban school were most parents traders, and in one of the schools, some families were engaged in fishing. High levels of household poverty were reported across the case study schools and LGEAs. We briefly outline the socio-economic profile of each school and LGEA in turn.

**Kanti Primary School**

Kanti Primary School is a rural school that lies within the Northern Senatorial Zone. It is located in a small, wholly Christian village, which possesses a church and a health centre. The catchment area includes surrounding villages and some quite mountainous areas, as far as 8km away. Most families in the catchment area practise subsistence agriculture with some family members engaged in petty trading either within the village of further afield in the larger, more urban trading centres. The community is predominantly Higgi and there is a close cultural affinity between the residents of Kanti village, its surrounding areas and nearby Cameroon although Higgis in Cameroon tend to be Muslim.

The LGA within which Kanti is located lies close to both Cameroon and Borno State and is cross cut by major access roads to these areas from within the state. The towns and communities within the area are therefore major trading communities maintaining close commercial ties with the neighbouring state and country, predominantly in the wholesale and retail of essential goods, liquor and groceries. Although trading is important, much of the LGA’s population is rural, making a living from subsistence agriculture and animal husbandry. As in the school community, the main ethnic group is Higgi (Kamwe), the majority of which are Christian although there are some Muslim Higgis in the urban centres.

**Domingo Primary School**

Located in the Northern Senatorial Zone, this school is in a mixed religious and ethnic community. According to the head teacher the local community has a population of around 20,000 and includes several markets, places of worship and two medical facilities. While this is a school on the edge of an urban area, most parents are farmers, as they are more generally across the LGA. There are, however, a few petty traders and civil servants. The major ethnic groups in the locality are the Gude, Higgi, Hausa and Hausa-Fulani. The Gude were said to be indigenous to the area, and across the LGA more generally, though there was disagreement among respondents as to whether the Gude or Higgi comprise the majority ethnic group. The main community languages are Higgi, Gude and Fulfulde, although the language of interaction within the community and in the school is Hausa. Pupils interviewed also mentioned the following languages used at home: Kilba, Tangale, Bura, Yoruba, Fali and Margi.

The school is located within an LGA of around 130,000, according to the most recent census, which straddles the main tarred road between Yola and Maiduguri, the state capitals of Adamawa and Borno, respectively, and lies within easy access of Cameroon. The flat urban area is
consequently a thriving commercial centre, and enjoys all the usual urban amenities and infrastructure. This is not the case in the more rural areas, especially the more mountainous ones. Groundnuts are grown as a cash crop. The LGA contains both Christian and Muslim communities, though it is predominantly Muslim.

**Metropolis Primary School**

Metropolis Primary School is the most urban school, centrally located in a major urban area in the Central Senatorial Zone. It is also situated on a main road and close to a major market, shops and several places of worship. In this religiously and ethnically mixed community most parents are traders and civil servants although some are also involved in farming, which is true of the LGA more generally. While the Lakka are regarded as the area’s indigenous ethnic group, the major ethnic groups represented in the school’s locality and in the LGA are Hausa, Hausa-Fulani, who are Muslim, and the predominantly Christian Lakka, Yoruba and Igbo communities. Pupils interviewed also mentioned communicating in the following languages at home: Igbo, Yoruba, Bali, Idoma and Igala, however, the language of interaction within the wider community and in the school is Hausa. The LGA within which the school is located comprises a large flat urban area with a population of just below 200,000, according to the most recent census. Consequently, many houses have access to potable water, electricity, medical facilities, and to other essential goods and services.

**Kilfi Primary School**

Kilfi Primary School is located in the Central Senatorial Zone on the edge of a major urban area in a predominantly Muslim residential setting surrounded by a mixture of very wealthy and very poor housing. Most parents are farmers. The major ethnic group in the locality is the Hausa-Fulani, including nomadic pastoralists but there are also Vere, Bata and Laka, among other ethnic groups. Thus, Fulfulde and Hausa are the most widely spoken community languages. Other home languages mentioned included: Yungur, Bare, Mopa, Kanuri, Yandang, Chamba, Vere, Ewatiye, Igbo, Higgi and Bata. The wider LGA is predominantly rural with both hilly and flat terrain, with a population of around 200,000, according to the most recent census. The main agricultural activities are farming and fishing with rice a major cash crop. The population is mainly Muslim with the Hausa-Fulani the main ethnic group, including a significant population of nomadic pastoralists, according to LGEA officials.

**Doya Primary School**

Doya Primary School is a rural school located some distance from the nearest urban area in the Southern Senatorial Zone. The population of the local community is estimated at around 2,000, according to the head teacher, and there are several markets, places of worship and two medical facilities in the vicinity. Most parents are involved in animal husbandry and farming though a few are civil servants. Yams are grown as a cash crop. The LGA, which is within easy access of Cameroon, is predominantly rural and hilly with most people involved in farming and petty trading. The relatively small LGA population of 150,000, according to the most recent census, comprises the main indigenous ethnic group, the Chamba, who are both Muslim and Christian, and the Muslim Hausa-Fulani.

**Baobab Primary School**

Baobab Primary School is located in a low-income residential area on the edge of a major town, in a religiously and ethnically mixed community in the Southern Senatorial Zone. The population of the local community is estimated at around 20,000, according to the head teacher, and there are several markets, places of worship and two medical facilities in the vicinity. Most parents are said
to be farmers with some engaged in fishing, and a few are civil servants. The Mbula and the Bachama are the indigenous ethnic groups and with the Hausa and Hausa-Fulani they comprise the main ethnic groups in the LGA. Consistent with this, their respective languages predominate within the LGA area, the community and the school and Hausa is the main language of interaction. Other ethnic groups include Kanakuru, Baguddiri, Barebari and Waja. The wider LGA comprises a fairly large, primarily flat, rural area with a large urban centre, and has a population of just below 100,000, according to the most recent census. There is substantial rice and maize farming in the area, which is served by two major rivers, on the banks of which lie many of the LGA’s village settlements. Migrant fishing communities also inhabit these areas.

2.5.2 Methods and respondent sample
Data collection predominantly took place in the case study schools. In addition, national, state, and school documents and statistics were gathered and interviews with LGEA- and state-level officers, including ADSUBEB members and other senior educationalists, were conducted.

Case studies
The case study design is shown below in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3 Case study data collection plan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Data type</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Statistics</td>
<td>School &amp; community profile form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pupil statistics form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviews</td>
<td>Head teacher x 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Teachers x 3 (whose teaching was observed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pupil group interviews x 4 (2 girls, 2 boys)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PTA representative(s) x 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SBMC representative(s) x 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Community leader x 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Education secretary x 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>School supervisor x 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parent group interviews x 1 (4-6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Opportunistic informal interviews (e.g. hawkers, out-of-school children, school security officers)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observations</td>
<td>Upper-grade lessons x 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>School observation x 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Within each case study a range of data were collected, including from documents, school and community data sheets, observations, individual interviews and group interviews with stakeholders in the school and community (See Appendix I). Not all the data stipulated in the plan were made available in each case and not all respondents were accessible, willing and/or felt able to contribute to the studies. After several successive researcher visits to each case study school and their LGEA offices, the research team managed to gather data from 258 respondents listed below in Table 2.4.

As a whole there were more males than females consulted and equal numbers of Muslims and Christians. The under-representation of females is particularly noticeable in the LGEA and among the community respondents. This is a worrying sign of endemic gender discrimination, some of which is of specific concern for ADSUBEB, and is discussed in later chapters.

At the less formal level during the course of the case study research, conversations took place with a range of interested respondents. These included children and young people who were prefects, a head girl, a head boy, class monitors in lower primary grades, overage pupils, JSS pupils, former pupils of the case study and other schools, out-of-school pupils, groups of young,
male school leavers. Other teachers and community members engaged with included female hawkers, random community members, civil servants, women whose children were not in school, a teacher in charge of the school farm, a teacher counsellor and a former teacher.

Table 2.4 Total respondents from all case studies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant group</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Muslim</th>
<th>Christian</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>School – staff (head teacher, teachers)</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School – pupils</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community (parents, PTA, SBMC, community leaders)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LGEA (including ES, SS)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In all, 34 formal classroom observations were made in the case study schools. These were supplemented by formal and informal general school observations including in the early morning as pupils and teachers arrived at school, during assembly, at break times and during lesson times. Informal classroom observations were also made for part of a lesson or more incidentally as the school was in session.

State-level staff interviews
In addition to the data collected in the case study schools, a series of individual interviews were conducted with more than ten educational personnel with state-level administrative responsibilities. Their positions afforded them state-wide perspectives on aspects of educational administration, key access issues for the state, and broader perspectives on the contextual differences across Adamawa.

In the interests of confidentiality and anonymity these officers will not be listed here either by name or position of responsibility.

Secondary data
A significant part of the quantitative data incorporated into this study was drawn from a range of different sources. These included:

- Nigeria Demographic Health Survey (NDHS) (2008)
- Nigeria Education Data Survey (NEDS) (2010)
- Education Management Information System (EMIS) (2009/10)
- School and community profile form data (ASBER research instrument) (2010/11–12)
- School pupil statistics data (ASBER research instrument) (2010/11–12)

Each source included educational data that refer to one or more particular levels (national, regional, state, LGEA and/or school) collected using different methods (e.g. household survey, school returns) and collated and presented in different formats. We have drawn on all of these data and associated reports listed above for descriptive rather than statistical purposes. We have also drawn on available policy and guidance documents from various levels of the educational administration and these are listed alongside academic texts in the reference list.
2.6 ANALYSIS

2.6.1 Framing the analysis
As a first stage in the preparation for this study we conducted a literature review that combined details of the Nigerian context related to current educational indicators and discussion of the main theoretical constructs against which the context is described and compared. We have drawn on the literature review to develop a picture of the national context, which is set out in the next chapter. Following on from this, in Chapter 4, we move to the state level, which provides a description of the circumscribing conditions for the school case study research and their reports (see Appendix I).

The emphasis in this research has been at the school level where, using a mixed-methods approach, we collected both quantitative and qualitative data. Informed by the literature review and guided by the research aims and questions, our analysis was framed by the three key elements elaborated in Section 2.3. The analysis was also based on a theorised position with respect to access and gender, as well as the relational framework (Fig. 2.1) that describes educational provision at the point of delivery. This more theoretical and schematic framing of the research focus was combined with knowledge of the local contexts and educational processes with the state and schools in the development of the instruments (see Appendix II).

The process of data collection within the case study schools took several researcher days and was spread over several months. Typical of case study research, analysis was an ongoing and iterative process over the different phases of data collection. Analysis of earlier respondent interviews was used constantly to inform the direction and depth of probing on successive case study visits. In all cases a final visit was made to each school site to make a data sweep for anything that remained outstanding.

2.6.2 Case study preparation, analysis and writing
Once most, if not all, the data from each case study were collected, the audio files, notes and photographs were prepared for analysis. Where there were multiple observations and respondents ‘pre-grids’ (see Appendix III) were used to display and summarise the data. These pre-grids were used for classroom observations, teacher interviews and pupil group interviews. The final step in the case study data preparation was the collection and review of the pre-grids with data collected only once from individual observations or single stakeholder interviews (e.g. head teacher, school supervisor). The first step in the case study analysis was the completion of five analytical grids (see Appendix III) for every case study. These grids were used to organise specific stakeholder views under agreed headings informed by the literature, contextual familiarity and empirical limitations of the study i.e. the available data in the case studies.

The five grids titles (A–E) and their sub-headings are shown in Table 2.5.
Table 2.5 Analytical grid headings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A. In-classroom</th>
<th>B. In the compound</th>
<th>C. Other school issues</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Seating arrangements</td>
<td>Compound condition</td>
<td>School facilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classroom condition</td>
<td>Official routines</td>
<td>School management of staff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resources</td>
<td>Teacher activities</td>
<td>School management of pupils</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedagogy</td>
<td>Pupil–pupil relations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discipline</td>
<td>Security</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pupil–pupil relations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>D. Community</th>
<th>E. LGEA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Socio-economic activities</td>
<td>Internal relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>School governance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion &amp; ethnicity</td>
<td>LGEA–school support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational choice</td>
<td>LGEA–community relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community-school relations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In each grid there were 12 columns that provided space for the cross-tabulation of stakeholder views and observations with the issues listed in row sub-headings in each analytical grid. These columns included: Researcher observations, Pupil views, Others A views, Teacher views, Head teacher views, SBMC views, PTA views, Parent views, Community stakeholder views, Education Secretary views, School Supervisor views and Other B views. The Other A & B views were intended to capture opportunistic interviews in that school setting. The grids for each case study were displayed so that a cross-stakeholder analysis could be facilitated separately for each case study school. Following this, the write-up for each case study was conducted\(^4\) (see Appendix I). Fig. 2.2 illustrates this process from data collection to written school case studies.

\(^4\) Note that some of the quotations given in the case study reports are written in the original Hausa and translated into English on the page; other quotations were translated into English prior to being written down, and a few are actually quotations given by the respondent in English.
2.6.3 From case studies to synthesis

The development of the synthesis report started in the process of writing each school case study report. Comparisons and contrasts between each specific case study emerged in this process. The cross-case analysis is a pivotal step in the production of a synthesis, and Figure 2.3 illustrates this process. With a focus on the framing constructs, access, gender and the relational network, commonalities and variations along several dimensions were raised for discussion. The comparisons were worked along several dimensions including: contextual variables (e.g. community demographics or residence), stakeholder views (e.g. pupils or LGEA staff) and/or relational issues (e.g. school-community relations). This analytical process brought together the contextual and theoretical framing of the study with evidence from the case studies and other data collected in the research (e.g. national statistics). This was used to critically reflect on the headings used in the analytical grids, which resulted in a report writing structure that shifted somewhat over the research period. This reflexive engagement is a strong positive and indicates an open and critical disposition in the research team as the evidence and experience of the research are used reconfigure and re-order the initial starting points and the research reporting structures. For example, Grid B ‘In the compound’ is no longer addressed as a separate heading but has been integrated under other headings of the case study reports (See Appendix I) and within Chapter 5, Infrastructure, and Chapter 6, School management of pupils, in the synthesis report.
2.7 LIMITATIONS
As always with research it is important to recognise certain limitations. Time, for example, is always a constraint that bears on the depth and quality of data and its analysis. Communication is also crucial, particularly in this kind of nuanced, qualitative inquiry based on observations and interviews. This applies both to interactions between the research team and case study respondents as well as within the team. In all cases the communications were inter-cultural, which opened the space for mis-communication and mis-understanding. Given the diversity of the cultural and social backgrounds (e.g. gender, wealth, ethnicity or religion), language and seniority of researchers and respondents engaged in the study, interview data were not always subject to checking to make the meanings of comments and dialogue clear.

This collaborative case study research involved researchers who brought different knowledge and understandings to the team. The balance of research experience and knowledge of the local context required significant attention. In this respect a critical disposition towards research needed to be developed through the process of engaging in the case studies. So, for example, in the initial research encounters, stock answers and standard responses from respondents were sometimes taken at face value and left without probing. This was to some extent exacerbated by those more familiar with schools and the social contexts. Indeed, an extra benefit of including researchers from different national contexts was to make aspects of the familiar appear ‘strange’. Over the research period this critical research disposition strengthened and was extended to include respondent interviews, researcher observations and data analysis. This capacity is fundamental to high-quality, case study research.

The school was the central base of empirical data collection, before the focus was widened to include stakeholders within the community and educational administration. Inevitably, therefore, school stakeholders dominated and indeed were more numerous than the community and educational administrators added together (see Table 2.5). The tendency, therefore, was to focus on conditions and relations within the school rather than relations between the stakeholder groups as depicted in Figure 2.1. Interaction with educational administrators, the more powerful...
stakeholders in the delivery of education, provided less rich data and thus more limited understandings of what lies behind educational provision. Similarly, the multiple perspectives of community members have also remained in the shadow of the school-level data.

At the same time as the research was exploring power relations within the empirical field, these power relations, in turn, influenced the quality of the researcher-respondent relations and ultimately the quality of the data gathered. These relations have a fundamental influence on what it sayable (to whom and by whom) and what it may be safe to say without repercussions. Difficulties with disclosure were exacerbated in the more authoritarian institutions though they were ameliorated, to an extent, by the use of group interviews, reference to observations within interviews and an avoidance of an inspectorial tone by the researchers. Nevertheless, there were many occasions when respondents provided answers that repeated the official picture rather than providing their own perspective on how things ‘really’ were. At times, as discussed earlier, these stock answers were not probed by the researchers, and opportunities to get more nuanced responses were missed. The key point here is that although the research set out to look at social relations surrounding the case study schools, it was itself limited by power and authority relations between the researchers and their respondents.

Another limitation lies with the quantitative data drawn on to describe the case study, LGEA, state and national contexts. Despite our strenuous and persistent efforts to compile these quantitative data, they remained elusive. Extensive and very time-consuming attempts to engage in some statistical manipulation of data failed, as its quality and consistency were constantly thrown into doubt. This is a key issue that will be re-stated in the recommendations since at a fundamental level these data are needed to provide an important perspective on what is happening in primary education across the state and in particular LGEAs. It is vital information for the Adamawa road map towards UBE. Though doubts about data quality remain, in this research we have been forced to use quantitative data and secondary analysis in an eclectic way to provide descriptive and comparative accounts of the different layers of the context (national, zonal, state, LGEA and school). In addition, as other researchers assert: "Accurate, accessible disaggregated data must be a priority for any government committed to promoting gender equality." (British Council, 2012, p.4).

Unforeseen difficulties with electrical power, internet access, telephones, fuel and vehicles frequently posed practical problems for the research team. Although attempts were made to deal with these constraints, time and energy was often lost as these challenges made case study research visits problematic, local and international electronic and telephone communications hard to sustain, and created conditions that were not conducive to research.

There was a massive learning curve for all involved in this study, which now, with the exception of the dissemination, has been successfully concluded. Points in this final section have raised some limitations but it is informative to note that not one of these is insurmountable. To a large extent the limitations indicate important learning points that could be explicitly drawn into the development and design of future research.

The next two chapters of this report deal with the context. Chapter 3 considers the national context and Chapter 4 moves on to elaborate the state context. Following this, Chapters 5–9 discuss key aspects of the case study findings, namely: infrastructure, teachers and teacher management, school management of pupils, teaching and learning and community relations. Chapter 10, the final chapter, draws conclusions and makes recommendations.
CHAPTER 3 THE NATIONAL CONTEXT

3.1 INTRODUCTION
This chapter provides background information on the national context of Nigeria, both in general terms and then, more specifically, in relation to education, focusing in particular on aspects of access to primary education.

Although estimates vary enormously, Nigeria is by far Africa’s most populous country, topping 140 million, according to the most recent census in 2006 (NPC, 2010), but as many as 160 million according to other estimates. Over 10 million live in the country’s commercial capital, Lagos, with the south-eastern states and Kano in the north as the other more densely populated areas (NPC and ICF Macro, 2009). The national primary school-age (5–9 and 10–14) population is estimated at around 20 million and 16 million, respectively. For the 5–9 year group, the female to male ratio is 48% to 52% while for the 10–14 age group the ratio is 47% to 53%. In all, the primary-school age population (6–12) accounts for about 20% of the total national population figure (FME, 2009a).

Since the return to democratic civilian rule in 1999, Nigeria has become one of the world’s fastest growing economies; it boasted an annual GDP per capita of 6% from 2001–2007 (UNDP, 2009), not least because it is Africa’s greatest exporter of crude oil. Oil and gas revenues are the main earners of foreign exchange, providing 80% of government revenue, and contributing 27% to GDP though they only employ 1% of the population. In contrast, over 50% of the population are engaged in agriculture – primarily subsistence agriculture, which contributes a further 42% to GDP. Nigeria’s estimated 6.5 million pastoral nomads control over 90% of Nigeria’s cattle (Umar and Tahir, 2000). Declining manufacturing and expanding service industries are other notable contributors to the economy (UNDP, 2009).

Having gained independence from British colonial rule in 1960, the Federal Republic of Nigeria (FRN) now comprises 36 states, plus the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) of Abuja, grouped into six geo-political zones: South East, South South and South West; North Central, North West and North East, in which Adamawa State is located. These zones are further subdivided into 774 local government areas.

Over 250 diverse ethnic groups live in Nigeria (Levinson, 1998). The largest group is the Hausa-Fulani (29% of the population), who predominantly inhabit the north; the Yoruba (21%) originate from the South West; the Igbo (18%) live in the South East and the Ijaw (10%) are concentrated in the South South (CIA, 2011). The three most widely used national languages, unsurprisingly, are Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo though there are over 500 other national languages (www.ethnologue.com) in addition to the official language, which is English. The three dominant language groups together are popularly called ‘wazobia’, a coinage from ‘wa’ ‘zo and ‘bia’, meaning ‘come’ in each of the three main languages. This is part of the effort to promote national unity and inter-ethnic integration in the country. In terms of religion, around 50% of the population are Muslim, predominantly inhabiting the northern states, with 40% Christian, residing more in the south, though this is a gross oversimplification; about 10% of the populace practise some form of traditional religion (CIA, 2011). The 2008 Nigeria Demographic and Health Survey (NDHS) indicates that most households (81%) in the country are headed by males though female-headed household are more common in rural areas than in urban areas (NPC and ICF Macro, 2009).

Major health challenges include malaria, and child and maternal mortality; pregnancy-related death is one of the leading causes of death for women (15–49) in Nigeria, which still has one of the world’s highest rates of child mortality (Boston University Center for Global Health and
Development, 2009), though figures are gradually improving (NPC and ICF Macro, 2009). HIV/AIDS is another concern; though infection rates have slowed, Nigeria's huge population means that nevertheless around 3.3 million people are living with HIV, according to 2009 estimates (www.unaids.org). In particular, the country has one of the highest numbers in the world of children living with HIV and around a quarter of Nigeria’s estimated 9.7 million orphans are calculated to have become orphaned on account of the virus (Boston University Center for Global Health and Development, 2009). Child poverty and malnutrition is of increasing concern, as are escalating numbers in child labour – an estimated 39% of children aged 5–14 (FOS/ILO, 2001; Boston University Center for Global Health and Development, 2009), which relates to increased levels of adult poverty, and is likely to impact heavily on enrolment, attendance and retention in schools.

3.1.1 Social inequalities
In spite of an abundance of human and material resources, the majority of Nigerians still live in poverty (UNDP, 2009; World Bank, 2011). Exclusion of certain groups from access to basic services, land and employment, and from decision-making processes, which influence the allocation of resources, contributes to the creation and sustenance of poverty in the country (DFID Nigeria, 2008). In particular, serious inequalities exist between urban and rural areas, southern and northern states, richer and poorer households, non-farming and farming households, and between women and men (NPC and ICF Macro, 2009; UNDP, 2009). The northern states have above average poverty levels, with the North East Zone experiencing the highest poverty incidence (ibid.).

As the Human Development Report Nigeria 2008–2009 (UNDP, 2009) also emphasizes, gender inequalities are marked: men, on average, have better access to education, employment, land and credit, as well as better wages and treatment under the law, and customary law in particular. The report goes on to note that although women make up the majority of the agricultural workforce, their more limited access to resources is often mediated through men, and female-headed households have smaller and inferior plots of land (Saito, Mekonnen and Spurling, 2004, cited in UNDP, 2009). Additionally, women are often denied inheritance rights by customary and Islamic laws (Para-Mallam, 2010), are less involved in household decision-making, and many experience high levels of domestic violence (NPC and ICF Macro, 2009).

Table 3.1 Selected core welfare indicators, 2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>National average</th>
<th>Rural</th>
<th>Poor rural</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Poor urban</th>
<th>North East</th>
<th>South West</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Access to safe water</td>
<td>50.9%</td>
<td>39.6%</td>
<td>18.9%</td>
<td>72.8%</td>
<td>28.5%</td>
<td>30.3%</td>
<td>73.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access to safe sanitation</td>
<td>13.8%</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
<td>29.7%</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
<td>23.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity</td>
<td>54.1%</td>
<td>38.1%</td>
<td>12.1%</td>
<td>85.3%</td>
<td>29.8%</td>
<td>29.5%</td>
<td>78.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improved waste disposal</td>
<td>15.8%</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>37.3%</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>6.1%</td>
<td>35.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult literacy rate 15–24 (in any language)</td>
<td>64.2%</td>
<td>56.9%</td>
<td>42.5%</td>
<td>78.6%</td>
<td>50.7%</td>
<td>40.7%</td>
<td>78.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>73.0%</td>
<td>66.7%</td>
<td>51.8%</td>
<td>85.2%</td>
<td>58.9%</td>
<td>50.6%</td>
<td>85.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>55.4%</td>
<td>47.3%</td>
<td>33.8%</td>
<td>71.8%</td>
<td>43.2%</td>
<td>30.4%</td>
<td>71.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access to primary</td>
<td>74.6%</td>
<td>70.5%</td>
<td>39.6%</td>
<td>85.6%</td>
<td>34.4%</td>
<td>70.2%</td>
<td>87.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access to secondary</td>
<td>46.3%</td>
<td>36.6%</td>
<td>9.6%</td>
<td>68.2%</td>
<td>13.4%</td>
<td>35.3%</td>
<td>68.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access to medical health services</td>
<td>54.1%</td>
<td>46.6%</td>
<td>15.3%</td>
<td>69.7%</td>
<td>15.3%</td>
<td>47.3%</td>
<td>72.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: adapted from UNDP 2009, p.71
Table 3.1 illustrates some of these inequalities in relation to selected core development indicators, comparing national averages with figures for the North East, which includes Adamawa State, and the South West, which is generally the most developed zone. The table also highlights differences between and within rural and urban locations. Across the indicators poor populations are below the national average in terms of access to services and literacy levels. Conditions are worse for poor populations in rural areas than poor populations in urban areas (with the exception of access to primary schooling) though access to safe sanitation and improved waste disposal remains very low across the whole country. Beyond these regional inequalities, there are variations in access to basic services across states, and within states across LGAs.

3.2 THE NIGERIAN EDUCATION SYSTEM

Education is seen as a key instrument for achieving Nigeria's national development goals of sustained, equitable socio-economic development and the eradication of poverty (FRN, 2004b; FME, 2009b). As a proportion of GDP, Nigeria's expenditure on education by both regional and global standards is high (World Bank, 2006) yet worryingly there has been an increase in the number of children out of school, which is currently estimated to be over 8.6 million (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2011).

Achieving the country's educational development goals is primarily envisaged through the state sector, which follows the usual tripartite arrangement of primary, secondary (divided into three years of junior secondary and three years of senior secondary) and post-basic education. Post-basic education can comprise three years of senior secondary schooling, a three-year science and technology programme or continuing education in a vocational institution (NPC and RTI International, 2011). Given the ever increasing demands for basic education (pre-primary, primary and junior secondary), the government now explicitly acknowledges the need to include non-state providers as a means of achieving its educational aims, provided they meet government standards (FRN, 2004b; Larbi et al., 2004). These include for-profit schools, religious schools (generally Muslim or Christian) which include some secular curriculum, and voluntary or community-based institutions.

The official age for entering Primary 1 is six years old. There is now a system of automatic promotion and the Primary School Leaving Certificate awarded at the end of Primary 6 is no longer supposed to be a standard terminal exam but based purely on continuous assessment (FRN, 2004b). However, in reality, practices vary.

State education at the federal level is directed by the government-funded Federal Ministry of Education (FME), under which lies the more recently formed Universal Basic Education Commission (UBEC), whose responsibilities are outlined more fully below. Though a government-funded department, it is also supported by international development agencies such as UNICEF (in particular), DFID, UNESCO, and the World Bank, and supported on the ground by various local and international NGOs. At state level, SUBEBs are responsible for basic education, while within each LGA the LGEA is responsible. Nevertheless, there are both overlaps and tensions in functions between the Local Government Council (LGC) of the LGA, the LGEA and SUBEBs, which in some cases are exacerbated by political interference, poor communication and a lack of transparency and trust among actors (Williams, 2009; Santcross et al., 2010). For example in Adamawa State, where the state UBE law makes provision for the establishment of Local Education Committee (LECs) at the community level, committees are yet to be established by the state government more than five years after the law was enacted.
Figure 3.1 shows the overlapping roles and functions of the three main bodies involved in implementing UBE at the state level.

Figure 3.1 Roles and functions of different educational actors.
Source: Williams, 2009, p.15

3.3 UNIVERSAL BASIC EDUCATION IN NIGERIA

3.3.1 Public schools
The Federal Government of Nigeria formally launched the Universal Basic Education Programme in September, 1999, allocating 46 billion Naira (equivalent to US$460 million) in the project’s first year to support the programme (Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN), 2000). However, when the FGN attempted to make deductions at source from the monthly financial allocations of states and LGAs for the UBE programme, it was taken to court. The High Court ruling that the deductions were unlawful caused a major setback but eventually, in 2004, the UBE programme was given full legal backing with the enactment of the Compulsory, Free, Universal Basic Education Act (FRN, 2004a). The act provides for nine years of compulsory and free continuous basic education, which comprises six years of primary and three years of junior secondary schooling. Central to programme implementation is a counterpart funding arrangement, which entails each state passing a UBE Law and depositing its counterpart fund before it can access the FGN funds. To date, several states have still not begun to access their funds (Umejei, 2011). Moreover, funding from the UBE Intervention Fund has to be spent in specific ways: 70% on infrastructure, 15% on instructional materials and 15% on teacher development.
Despite federal and state government legislation which prohibits payment of fees of any kind in public basic education schools, there is substantial evidence that most households are forced to pay for schooling, either directly – through fees and PTA levies or provision of uniforms and textbooks, for example – or indirectly, through loss of child labour (Sunal et al., 2003; Flett et al., 2005, cited in Theobald et al., 2007; Lincove, 2009; NPC and RTI International, 2011). This is partly due to shortfalls in government funding and variations in government spending across states, with much higher shares allocated to the south, and even greater variations across LGEAs (Santcross et al., 2010).

While the implementation of UBE at the federal level rests with UBEC, SUBEBs were established in all states to implement the UBE programme at state level. As mentioned above, although essentially government funded and administered, the federal government has more recently recognised that in order to achieve UBE, the state sector needs to work alongside the rapidly expanding private sector and together with religious schools (FRN, 2004b; FME, 2009b).

Nomadic education
Nigeria’s estimated 9.3 million nomadic population essentially comprises nomadic pastoralists (6.5 million) and migrant fishing communities (2.8 million) (FRN, 2004b), which predominantly inhabit the northern states. Since 1990 nomadic communities have been served by the National Commission for Nomadic Education (NCNE), which was established to help address inequalities in educational participation (Usman, 2006, 2008). Strategies include mobile schools, a more relevant skills-based curriculum and mother-tongue teaching where possible (Umar and Tahir, 2000; Usman, 2006). Adamawa State was the first state to launch the Nomadic Education Programme in 1998, establishing the first pilot nomadic school (see Chapter 4). Nevertheless, some state and local governments have been accused of failing to co-ordinate their activities to support the programme and not effectively monitoring what is going on in the schools (Aderinoye, Ojokheta and Olojede, 2007).

Enrolment rates for children of nomadic families generally remain low (lower than the national average), with literacy rates similarly low (Usman, 2006). Numbers attending school, however, have steadily been rising; between 2004 and 2008 alone, nomadic pupil enrolment increased by around a third, from approximately 7,000 to just over 10,000. The improvement in pupil enrolments has been matched by an increase in the number of nomadic primary schools and a doubling of the number of teachers, resulting in better teacher–pupil ratios (NPC and RTI International, 2011). Recent figures for the North East indicate almost 68,000 pupils are now enrolled in 508 nomadic schools, taught by 860 teachers (NCNE, 2008).

Theobald et al. (2007) assert that most work in nomadic education and mass literacy is being championed by individual states. In Jigawa, for example, goats are being offered to nomadic families as an incentive for them to enrol children in school (Jigawa State, 2010). See Chapter 4 for Adamawa State’s initiatives regarding nomadic schools. Despite improvements, however, there is still a tremendous shortfall in nomadic classrooms, teachers and pupil enrolments as an estimated 3.1 million (out of 3.5 million) nomadic and migrant children remain out of school (FME, 2009b).

3.3.2. Non-state providers

Private sector
Growth of the private sector can be traced to a combination of public dissatisfaction with pupil learning outcomes, as evidenced in mass failure in public examinations, and prolonged mass teachers’ strikes (NPC and RTI International, 2011) and in the non-availability or poor condition of government schools (Härma, 2011a, 2011b). No longer the exclusive privilege of the elite (Tooley, Dixon and Olaniyan, 2005), low-cost private education has proliferated since the 1970s, especially
in southern states and in urban and peri-urban areas (Urwick, 2002; Larbi et al., 2004; Tooley, Dixon and Olanian, 2005; NPC and RTI International, 2011). The 2010 NEDS indicates that nationally 26% of primary enrolments are now in private schools, an increase of 8% from the 2004 survey, but regional variations are considerable (NPC and RTI International, 2011). For example in both Enugu and Lagos States there are more private than public primary schools (Enugu State Ministry of Education, 2010; Härma, 2011a). There is a similar expansion of the private sector in secondary and higher education (World Bank, 2006; Yusuf, Saint and Nabeshima, 2009; NPC and RTI International, 2011).

Islamic education

In the northern states, in particular, Islamic schools constitute a major proportion of educational provision. An estimated 9.5 million school children are in Qur’anic schools nationally, with 8.5 million in the north (UBEC, 2010, cited in Hoechner, 2011). For example, in the most populous northern state of Kano in 2003 there were an estimated 23,000 Islamic schools to 4,000 government and private schools (ESSPIN, 2009).

The three main types of Islamic schools are: Qur’anic or Tsangaya schools, in which the main focus is on recitation of the Qur’an; the less numerous Ilmi schools, which are informal, ancient institutions of higher religious learning where senior Islamic scholars teach students about Islamic texts; and the more recently instituted Islamiyya, which provide a predominantly Islamic education but include some of the national curriculum (ESSPIN, 2009).

Recent initiatives by government are trying to include more Islamic schools in the provision of UBE (Theobald et al., 2007; Usman, 2008; Hoechner, 2011), for example by providing secular literacy and numeracy teaching in Islamiyya schools, which can comprise up to 20% of the timetable (Theobald et al., 2007). The Education Trust Fund (ETF) has been collaborating with Arewa House, Kaduna to establish model Integrated Islamiyya schools in Borno, Katsina, Kano, Bauchi and Yobe states, and hopes to accelerate more widespread integration of Qur’anic and modern formal education across the northern states. Thus, SUBEBS are now working together with state bodies that share responsibility for Islamic schooling, such as the Sharia Commission and the Islamic Education Department, though there is a perceived need to improve coordination and strengthen data gathering and monitoring (ESSPIN, 2009). Adamawa State too has been at the forefront of the drive to integrate Islamic schooling into mainstream education (see Chapter 4). To this end, UBEC has developed integrated curricula for Qur’anic schools in northern Nigeria (NERP 2005, cited in Theobald et al., 2007). One positive outcome would appear to be an increase in girls’ enrolments, which are now higher than boys’ in some Islamiyya schools in Kano, Borno and Sokoto States (FME, 2007a).

3.3.3 Gender disparities

Gender disparities persist in participation at all levels of education nationally and across all zones that are symptomatic of more deep-rooted inequalities (Bakari, 2011). Generally, the higher up the educational ladder, the lower the levels of participation for both males and females though the gender gap persists (UNDP, 2009) and girls’ completion rates are, on the whole, lower than for boys (British Council, 2012). Another disturbing trend, if the statistics are to be believed, is that an analysis of the NECO exam performances of female students at the end of secondary school have been deteriorating in recent years (2003–2007), with fewer reaching the threshold five credits (British Council, 2012). At both secondary and tertiary level female students are substantially underrepresented in science and technology (World Bank, 2006; Salman, Olawoye,

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5 In this survey ‘private’ includes religious schools that offer some of the national curriculum, e.g. Islamiyya, but not Tsangaya or purely Qur’anic schools.
and Yahaya, 2011). Differences between male and female educational participation are greater in the northern states than in the southern states and in rural rather than urban areas (NPC and ICF Macro, 2009; UNDP, 2009; NPC and RTI International, 2011). However, the NBS figures for the South East in 2008 (see Table 3.2) show nearly 5,000 more girls registered than boys and the 2010 NEDS presents a GPI of 1.0 and 1.01 in the South East and South South, respectively (NPC and RTI International, 2011). Participation in ‘formal academic schooling’ is also more restricted among Muslim girls, particularly in northern, rural areas (ibid.), though better in Islamiyya schools in some states (FME, 2007a).

The issue of lower participation in education for female children cannot be treated in isolation from the low adult literacy rate generally for women in Nigeria. For example, there is a positive correlation between girls’ participation in schooling, their mother’s educational level and household wealth (NBS, 2007; Lincove, 2009). The 2010 National Literacy Survey determined the adult literacy rate (in any language) at 71.1%: male literacy 79.3%, female 63.7% although in northern states the figures are much lower and the gender disparities wider (NBS and NMEC, 2010). Similar gender patterns were found in the youth literacy survey (ibid.). Moreover, given the limitation of the literacy test – the ability to read, though not necessarily understand, a single sentence – the levels of functional literacy are likely to be much lower.

Lower female participation at tertiary level is also likely to mean fewer qualified female teachers, who can provide important role models for female pupils (Aikman and Unterhalter, 2005; FME, 2007; USAID, 2009), especially in rural schools. To address this, the Female Teacher Trainee Scholarship Scheme (FTTSS) has been initiated in the states of Bauchi, Katsina, Niger and Sokoto, as part of the second Girls Education Project (GEP). The scheme is specifically designed “as a strategy to arrest the low supply of female teachers to rural schools; the resulting lack of female teacher role models; and the high vulnerability of girls to sexual harassment from male teachers and pupils” (Garuba, 2010, p.v). However, as a recent report noted (British Council, 2012), the near doubling of female teachers at secondary level has not been matched by a comparable increase in female enrolment at that level, suggesting perhaps that other factors are more important. Some of these are explored later in this chapter.

In 2007 a National Policy on Gender in Basic Education was established, focused on increasing girls’ participation (FME, 2007a) and several states have been taking positive steps to increase girls’ enrolment. For example, Kano State, in partnership with NGOs and CBOs, has started a major advocacy drive, especially in rural areas. In addition, it has abolished all forms of fees for girls and has established some girls-only schools at both primary and secondary levels; further, efforts are being made to increase the proportion of female teachers (Kano State, 2010). See Chapter 4 for initiatives in Adamawa State.

### 3.4 ACCESS TO PRIMARY EDUCATION

There are an estimated 8.6 million children not in school in Nigeria (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2011), which equates to around 23.9% of a total of the 36 million children within the 5–14 age cohort (NBS, 2009). In crude terms, this affects the north more than the south, rural areas more than urban, poorer households more than richer, and girls more than boys (NPC and RTI International, 2011). In the northern areas in particular, fewer Muslim than non-Muslim children are participating in formal academic schooling (ibid.). As highlighted above, nomadic and migrant

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6 This term is used in the 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011) section on Islamic schooling to include educational institutions that were not exclusively studying religious texts, such as Islamiyya schools.

7 Though according to the EFA Global Monitoring Report 2012 (UNESCO, 2012) that figure is 10.5 million, which may also point to the lack of reliable or consistent statistics in Nigeria.
children constitute an important category of children with a particularly high percentage out of school, as do children with disabilities (Lang, 2008; Smith, 2011). A comparison of the NAR between the 2003 and 2008 NDHS, however, shows that the percentage of school-age children in primary schooling nationally has improved very slightly from 60.1% to 62.1% and in the North East, from 41.7% to 43.7%.

The 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011) gives the latest figures on school-age children who have never gone to school. Of all the 6 to 16-year-olds surveyed, 31% were reported as never attending school. Of these 90% were from rural areas, 51% from the lowest socio-economic quintile and 84% from the North East and North West regions. Over a third of parents/guardians of 6- or 7-year-olds who had not been in school the previous year said that it was because the child was too young for school.

Slightly more females (54%) than males (46%) were reported as having never attended school. Around half of 5 to 16-year-olds in the North East are estimated never to have been to school, compared to only 3% in the South East. Under 10% of parents nationally attributed non-enrolment in primary school to parents considering school to be “not important”, though the figure was highest, at 12%, in the North East.

We now consider aspects of access in greater detail, looking both at the national picture but focusing on the North East. The data presented principally derive from the 2008 NDHS (NPC and ICF Macro, 2009) and the 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011). The 2010 NEDS is related to the 2008 NDHS in that it collected additional educational information from a subset of the NDHS sample (households with children 2–14) as well as extending the sample size to ensure sufficient numbers to make statistically significant observations at the state level. In addition, the tables taken from the 2010 NEDS report on the *de jure* household population (usual residents) whereas the 2008 NDHS tables refer to the *de facto* household population (people in the house at the time of the survey).

3.4.1 Primary school enrolment rates

Table 3.2 shows the NAR and GAR at the primary level from the 2008 NDHS (NPC and ICF Macro, 2009).
Table 3.2: Gender-disaggregated primary school enrolment (attendance) ratio by wealth quintile, residence and geo-political zone

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Background characteristic</th>
<th>NET ATTENDANCE RATIO</th>
<th>GROSS ATTENDANCE RATIO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Wealth quintile</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lowest</td>
<td>29.0</td>
<td>37.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>49.3</td>
<td>59.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>70.5</td>
<td>76.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth</td>
<td>78.2</td>
<td>80.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highest</td>
<td>76.7</td>
<td>78.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Residence</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>72.2</td>
<td>75.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>53.5</td>
<td>60.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Region</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Central</td>
<td>69.2</td>
<td>71.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North East</td>
<td>40.3</td>
<td>46.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North West</td>
<td>37.1</td>
<td>49.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South East</td>
<td>83.2</td>
<td>82.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South South</td>
<td>80.1</td>
<td>80.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South West</td>
<td>75.2</td>
<td>77.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>59.1</td>
<td>64.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 2008 NDHS, p.18 (NPC and ICF Macro, 2009)

It shows that, on the whole, a greater proportion of boys than girls are in primary school with notable zonal exceptions. Given the wide disparities between the NAR and GAR across the board (e.g. 53.5% NAR for rural females as opposed to 72.7% GAR), we can assume that numbers of overage pupils and/or repetition rates are high. The NAR and GAR are higher in urban areas than in rural areas for both female and male pupils though the gender gap is wider in rural areas, as reflected in the lower GPI figures for rural populations. Looking at household wealth, in broad terms the wealthier the family, the higher the proportion of children are in primary school and the narrower the gender gap is up until the fourth quintile. Then, there is a slight drop-off to the wealthiest quintile. Across the geo-political zones, there is a marked difference between the north and the south, with particularly low proportions of children enrolled in the North West and North East, which have GARs of 58.7 and 61.3, and NARs of 43.4 and 43.7, respectively. The gender disparities are also at their greatest in these two northern zones. In contrast, figures for North Central are comparable with those for the southern states. The South East and the South South have the highest GAR and NAR and the best figures for girls: the NAR in the South South shows gender parity with 80.1 for both females and males whereas in the South East, both GAR and NAR indicate a higher proportion of girls than boys enrolled in primary school, as reflected in the GPI (1.01 for both GAR and NAR). The 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011) shows that Adamawa State has the highest NAR for girls in the North East and the second highest figures for boys, at 55.4% and 59.4%, respectively.

3.4.2 Overage pupils
As the GAR in Table 3.2 indicates, many primary school children in Nigeria are overage. The definition of overage used by the NDHS is a child who is two or more years above the official age for that grade. There are huge variations in proportions of overage pupils both regionally and in terms of wealth and rural/urban location. In some regions, and among the poorer populations, the gender differences are also very marked.
Table 3.3: Gender-disagregated distribution of overage, underage and on-time pupils at primary level by grade

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary grade</th>
<th>Overage (%)</th>
<th>On-time (%)</th>
<th>Underage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>26.9</td>
<td>30.5</td>
<td>28.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>32.6</td>
<td>30.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>38.2</td>
<td>41.6</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>34.8</td>
<td>41.7</td>
<td>38.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>44.8</td>
<td>47.2</td>
<td>46.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>40.3</td>
<td>44.8</td>
<td>41.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>34.7</td>
<td>38.9</td>
<td>37.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 3.3 shows the distribution of overage, on-time and underage pupils by gender for each grade. It indicates that on average, nationally, over a third of the population enrolled in primary school are overage, with a greater percentage of boys being overage than girls. This is important because research across sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) shows that overage pupils are more likely to drop out of school, and that having high numbers of overage pupils in class can result in “psychosocial issues” (e.g. low self-esteem, bullying, sexual harassment) while increasing demands on teachers as they have to deal with the requirements of teaching pupils who may be at different stages of social and cognitive development (Lewin and Sabates, 2011). The percentage of overage pupils increases as pupils move through the grades on account of repetition, and/or dropout and re-enrolment. Conversely, the percentage of pupils who are enrolled at the right age for their grade decreases as children move up the grades. Very few pupils start school underage, though slightly more girls enrol than boys, and the proportion remains fairly constant. The main reasons given in the 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011) for late enrolment in primary schools are the cost of schooling, affecting just under a third of pupils, followed by around a quarter of parents considering their child to be too young. The latter reason is considered to apply to boys more than girls and was true for almost a quarter of respondents in the North East. The lack of, or distance to, school is also an important factor in overage enrolment in Primary 1 in the North East for around a fifth of children, above the national average of 12.7%.

3.4.3 Primary school repetition rates

Table 3.4 shows repetition rates for primary school. Despite an official policy in government schools of automatic promotion (FRN, 2004b), numerous pupils repeat years. Repetition rates are highest, by some margin, in Primary 6, which shows a substantial increase from figures in any of the other five grades. This is a common pattern, however, probably related in some way to the completion of the primary cycle. Primary 1 shows the second highest percentage of repeaters. In Primary 6, there is wide variation of repetition across the geo-political zones: North Central has 11.1% of pupils repeating Primary 6, double the percentage of repeaters found in the North East and South West, which have the next highest percentage of repeaters at 5.5% and 5.2%, respectively. In these two key grades of Primary 6 and Primary 1, the proportion of boys repeating the year is higher than that of girls though there is no clear pattern in the other grades. Similarly, rural rates for repetition are higher than urban rates in Primary 1 and 6, but with no discernible trend in between. There is no clear pattern across wealth quintiles. However, if the patterns shown in Table 3.3 are correct, the figures in Table 3.4 are likely to be under representations.
Table 3.4: Gender-disaggregated repetition rates (%) at primary level for each grade by wealth quintile, residence and geo-political zone

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Background characteristic</th>
<th>Primary school grade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wealth quintile</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lowest</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highest</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Central</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North East</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North West</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South East</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South South</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South West</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 2008 NDHS, p.19 (NPC and ICF Macro, 2009)

3.4.4. Primary school dropout rates

Patterns for dropout are similar to those for repetition with figures for dropout highest in Primary 6 by a substantial margin and with great variation according to geo-political zone and wealth quintile. Pupils in the lowest quintile are almost five times more likely to drop out of school in Primary 6 than pupils in the richest quintile. This is not surprising given that the most common reason cited in the 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011) for pupils aged 4–16 dropping out of primary school is the monetary cost of schooling. The much higher figures in Primary 6 are also unsurprising since Primary 6 represents the end of the primary cycle and because figures include both pupils who dropped out of school during the year and those who were “pushed-out” on account of the shortage, or inaccessibility, of JSS provision, which is particularly acute in rural areas (NPC and RTI International, 2011).

Figures from Primary 1 to 5 are very low, almost all under 1%, though overall trends still indicate the tendency towards increasing proportions of pupils dropping out the poorer the household. At the zonal level, it is again only in Primary 6 that numbers are high enough to see marked patterns. In the southern states, dropout rates are lower than in the northern states, ranging from 4.7% in the South West to 17.9% in the North East. Gender differences are slight across the grades until Primary 6, when girls are more likely to drop out (12.9%), on average, than boys (10.3%). Similarly, in Primary 6, children from rural populations (14.1%) are almost twice as likely to drop out of school as children from urban populations (7.5%).
Table 3.5: Dropout rates (%) at primary level for each grade by wealth quintile, residence, gender and geo-political zone

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Background characteristic</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Primary school grade</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lowest</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>24.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>19.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highest</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Residence                |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Urban                    | 0.7 | 0.5 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.4 | 7.5  |
| Rural                    | 0.3 | 0.0 | 0.4 | 0.6 | 0.5 | 14.1 |

| Gender                   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Female                   | 0.5 | 0.2 | 0.3 | 0.4 | 0.6 | 12.9 |
| Male                     | 0.4 | 0.2 | 0.3 | 0.4 | 0.4 | 10.3 |

| Region                   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| North Central            | 0.3 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.3 | 15.0 |
| North East               | 1.2 | 0.2 | 0.5 | 0.4 | 0.5 | 17.9 |
| North West               | 0.4 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.4 | 0.4 | 17.2 |
| South East               | 0.1 | 0.5 | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.6 | 9.9  |
| South South              | 0.3 | 0.0 | 0.6 | 0.8 | 0.8 | 12.7 |
| South West               | 0.3 | 0.4 | 0.4 | 0.4 | 0.2 | 4.7  |
| **TOTAL**                | 0.4 | 0.2 | 0.3 | 0.4 | 0.5 | 11.6 |

Source: 2008 NDHS, p.19 (NPC and ICF Macro, 2009)

Although numbers formally dropping out of school may be low, substantial evidence from the literature (see Appendix IV) and the study we are reporting on here indicate that many pupils who are theoretically enrolled in, or are attending school, are actually out of school for much of the time. For example, in the 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011), about a third of all children admitted to missing at least one day the previous month with the average number of days absent being 5.5, which is effectively a quarter of the month in terms of school days. The figure for Adamawa State is even higher at 6.3 days, the highest figures in the North East. Absenteeism is higher in the rural than urban areas with little difference between girls or boys. As both the literature and our case study research data show, many children miss days or sometimes whole weeks to engage in agriculture, petty trading, domestic work, or are absent from class due to illness, caring for others who are ill, or due to school-related factors such as avoiding punishment or bullying, or because the teachers themselves are absent.

3.4.5 Education of Muslim children

The 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011) includes a section on the education of Muslim children (aged 4–16) in Nigeria. It is reported here both because numbers of Muslim children are very high in Adamawa State and because Muslim children are less likely to be in school than non-Muslim children (ibid.). Table 3.6 shows the percentage of young Muslims attending Qur’anic school (ones which only teach the Qur’an), formal academic school (which may undertake religious teaching but also teaches subjects such as maths, e.g. Islamiyya schools), both academic and religious, or neither.
Table 3.6: Types of education for Muslim children aged 4–16 by wealth quintile, residence, gender and geo-political zone

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Background characteristic</th>
<th>Formal academic</th>
<th>Types of school currently attending</th>
<th>Neither type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Qur’anic</td>
<td>Both academic and Qur’anic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wealth quintile</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lowest</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>55.1</td>
<td>12.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>41.8</td>
<td>52.1</td>
<td>19.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>61.2</td>
<td>45.8</td>
<td>27.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth</td>
<td>76.2</td>
<td>47.8</td>
<td>37.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highest</td>
<td>90.2</td>
<td>50.4</td>
<td>47.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>74.9</td>
<td>49.7</td>
<td>37.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>40.1</td>
<td>51.6</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>45.0</td>
<td>50.5</td>
<td>21.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>53.5</td>
<td>51.6</td>
<td>27.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Central</td>
<td>61.7</td>
<td>57.3</td>
<td>36.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North East</td>
<td>36.0</td>
<td>45.0</td>
<td>15.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North West</td>
<td>42.7</td>
<td>52.4</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South East</td>
<td>87.7</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South South</td>
<td>96.0</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>27.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South West</td>
<td>87.4</td>
<td>53.2</td>
<td>48.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>49.4</td>
<td>51.1</td>
<td>24.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 2010 NEDS, p.72 (NPC and RTI International, 2011)

The vast majority attend some kind of school be it Qur’anic, formal academic (at pre-primary, primary or junior secondary level) or both; but just under a quarter attend neither type of school. Only slightly more Muslim children attend a Qur’anic school (51%) than a formal academic school (49%) though variations according to household wealth and location (discussed below) are striking. Almost a quarter of Muslim youth (24.3%) attend both formal academic school and Qur’anic school. There are also notable gender differences in participation in formal academic schooling (girls: 45%; boys: 53.5%) Most notable is the relationship between the percentage of children participating in formal academic schooling and economic status; participation increases steadily with economic status, ranging from 22% in the poorest quintile to 90.2% in the richest quintile. Rural–urban differences are also evident; slightly more children are attending Qur’anic schools in rural areas than in urban areas, but in urban areas almost three quarters of Muslim children are in formal academic schooling whereas in rural areas, well under half are in school (40.1%). Regional variations are also substantial though it should be noted that the number of Muslim children in the sample for the South East and South South is very small. Leaving aside the anomalous South East and South South, the proportion of children attending Qur’anic schools remains relatively constant, irrespective of wealth, residence, region or gender, ranging only from 45% to 55.1%. Significantly, for the purposes of our research, the North East has the lowest percentage of Muslim children in formal academic schooling (36%) and the highest number in neither type of school (34.8%).
3.5 FACTORS AFFECTING ACCESS TO PRIMARY EDUCATION IN NIGERIA

This section very briefly reviews the literature related to access to primary schooling in Nigeria, and in relation to the case study data in Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8. Evidence here is drawn from national and international studies as well as from national surveys, in particular the two from which the statistical data presented in the previous section derive: the 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011), and the 2008 NDHS (NPC and ICF Macro, 2009). As discussed in Chapter 2, factors affecting access to formal education (including issues of retention, dropout, quality and outcomes) depend upon the connections among and between the school, the community and educational administration as well as on the internal processes within these sectors. This summary of the literature is presented under these three headings although their interconnectedness should always be kept in mind.

3.5.1 Community

This section considers factors affecting primary school access at household and community level, with the latter implying multiple communities (residential, religious, ethnic, socio-economic etc.).

Poverty is a major determinant of whether children have the opportunity to attend school, and whether they manage to stay in school and/or have access to education of adequate quality. Although primary schooling is theoretically free for all, numerous studies have documented that many schools demand registration and/or examination fees and/or PTA levies (Urwick, 2002; Sunal et al., 2003; Flett et al., 2005, cited in Theobald et al., 2007; NPC and RTI International, 2011). In addition, there are various recurrent direct costs, such as uniforms, textbooks and stationery and indirect or opportunity costs incurred through loss of child labour (see below) either in paid employment, or engaged in domestic tasks such as looking after siblings (Urwick, 2002; Sunal et al., 2003; Lincove, 2009; NPC and RTI International, 2011). The 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011) found that around 60% of households were paying PTA levies, and almost all households had costs associated with books and supplies, with over 90% paying for school uniforms and other school materials, which, according to Lincove’s (2009) study, constitute the main costs of schooling. Crucially, among parent/guardians whose children had never been to school NEDS 2010 reported that monetary costs constitute the third most common reason for non-enrolment (after distance to school and the need for child labour), affecting around a quarter of children, though the figure was higher for the North East at 36%. Moreover, cost was the most commonly cited cause of dropping out of primary school, affecting a third of dropouts nationally, though with a slightly lower percentage for the North East. It has also been found to affect girls’ schooling in particular (see also Unterhalter and Heslop, 2011). In Lincove’s (2009) survey study of national data sets it was found that only 15% of children actually get free education and that free schooling was less likely in the North West and North East, in comparison with the southern regions; girls are less likely than boys, and Muslim pupils are less likely than non-Muslim pupils, to have free schooling.

Household inability to pay school fees or levies or to provide writing materials can result in children being denied admission to school, or being beaten by teachers, which in turn can be the cause of absenteeism and dropout (Flett et al. cited in Theobald et al., 2007; Unterhalter and Heslop, 2011, British Council, 2012). Pupils themselves will often be absent from school to earn money specifically to pay for educational costs (FOS/ILO, 2001; Unterhalter and Heslop, 2011).

Nevertheless, the relationship between poverty and enrolment in schooling is not straightforward as other factors such as educational quality and potential gains from schooling come into play. Even poor families are prepared to pay to send children to school (Lincove, 2009; Härma, 2011b) though consideration of educational quality, however it is defined, is an important factor (Sunal et al., 2003). Data from the 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011) back this up...
by reporting that nationally poor quality was a reason for not attending school (16.8%) and for drop out (10.9%). In the North East poor quality was cited more often than in all other states as a reason for not sending children to school (28.6%) and for drop out (10.9%). The main consideration by parents for primary school selection included school proximity (53%, and 76% in the North East) whereas least expensive was only identified by 13% of households nationally and only 5% in the North East. Contradictorily, costs were cited as reasons for starting late (31.7%, and 29.7% in the North East) and not attending at all (25.3%, with 35.5 in the North East).

Household needs for child labour or work constitute a major reason why some children never enroll or are absent from and/or drop out from school (FOS/ILO, 2001; UNICEF, 2006; NBS, 2007; UNDP Nigeria, 2010). A national survey on the welfare of children and women (NBS, 2007) found that 29% of 5–17-year-olds nationally were engaged in child labour, though the numbers were slightly lower for the North East (25%) and even lower for Adamawa State (18%). Many combine schooling with work (ibid.). Nationally, there was little difference between girls and boys, but marked differences according to location and socio-economic circumstances, with percentages much higher in poorer households where the mother is less educated, in rural areas and in the north. Although in general most children were involved in the family business, in the North East, including Adamawa State, the vast majority were engaged in unpaid labour outside the household. Many children working for wages save some of their incomes to pay for their schooling (FOS/ILO, 2001; Omokhodian, Omokhodian and Odutse, 2006). Labour practices are gendered in that boys are more likely to drop out because they have greater access to income-generating activities whereas girls may drop out because of doing more domestic chores and looking after siblings (Bakari, 2011).

Street children, predominantly boys, form a particularly vulnerable category of working children, the vast majority of which are out of school and increasing in number, especially in urban areas (Aransiola et al., 2009; Ikechebelu et al., 2008). Of particular relevance to our research is the large number of almajiri. There are currently an estimated 9.5 million in Nigeria, according to the Executive Secretary of UBEC (Umejei, 2011), with 8.5 million in the north (Hoechner, 2011). They are often propelled into this existence through a combination of the poor quality of public schooling, especially in rural areas, low returns on education in terms of employment (FME, 2008, cited in Hoechner, 2011), the erosion of the rural economy and modern schooling’s historical association with Christianity (Hoechner, 2011). Hoechner’s small-scale study also found that although parents felt that access to materials other than the Qur’an distracts boys from learning the Qur’an properly, the boys themselves disagreed, wanting access to other Islamic texts available to the children in the Islamiyya schools, and approving of “modern” education more generally as they believed it would lead to economic success.

Child health, which is often related to poverty and/or conditions of child labour, often impacts heavily on schooling. As the 2010 NEDS succinctly summarised:

School-age children suffer from nutritional problems that may affect their physical and cognitive development, as well as their capacity to attend school, stay in school, and learn while attending school. Previous research has found correlations between nutrition and school enrolment/attendance, performance in school, age of entry, absenteeism, repetition, and dropout (NPC and RTI International, 2011, pp. 37–38).

The survey showed that many children aged 4–10 are malnourished, again considerably more in rural and northern regions. Ill health was by far the most commonly cited reason for missing

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8 While the term originally derives from a corruption of the Arabic “almuhajirun”, which means “immigrant”, referring to boys who would leave home in search of Qur’anic learning, it has been debased in current parlance in Nigeria to refer to Muslim boys begging in the street.
school given by over a third of primary school respondents. In a study on girls’ education in eight states in Nigeria, illness was also identified as a major obstacle to schooling among 44% of respondents (UNDP Nigeria, 2010; Unterhalter and Heslop, 2011). Another major health challenge is HIV and AIDS; an estimated 2.8 million children under 17 are living with HIV in Nigeria, many of whom are not attending school (Boston University Center for Global Health and Development, 2009); additionally, the latest figures from the 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011) suggest that in the North East around 10% of households reported knowing children in the community they believed were absent from school because a parent or guardian was ill with either HIV or AIDS. Malaria has also been highlighted as a major health hazard (Boston University Center for Global Health and Development, 2009) while crucially, ill-health due to poor sanitation and access to clean water has been identified as a major impediment to achieving UBE (UNDP Nigeria, 2010).

Socio-cultural attitudes are also major determinants of educational participation. Formal academic schooling’s historical associations with Christianity act as a deterrent for many Muslim families, especially in rural areas (Iro, 2001; FME 2008, cited in Hoechner, 2011). Similarly, formal schooling’s association with westernization, and therefore the erosion of traditional values, deters more traditional, rural communities (both Christian and Muslim) from sending their children to school (Avotri et al., 2000; Academy for Educational Development, 2002). The Hausa-Fulani nomadic pastoralists, prevalent in northern Nigeria, are particularly concerned in this regard (Usman, 2006) though aspects of the school system itself (see below) also affect their educational participation.

Formal community participation in schooling predominantly occurs through the Parent Teachers Association (PTA), which provides a lot of financial support and labour, particularly in constructing and maintaining school buildings, but also in teacher recruitment and provision of learning materials (Theobald et al., 2007). Though now banned in many states, termly PTA levies are still widespread (Lincove, 2009; NPC and RTI International, 2011) and for many years have been the only source of income for some resource-constrained schools, yet a financial burden on many families (Poulsen, 2009). Criticisms of PTAs, however, have included political interference, concentration of power in the hands of a minority – usually the head teacher and the PTA chair, with LGEA influence (ibid.) – and lack of accountability, especially as regards finances (Williams, 2009).

Despite examples of positive efforts to support schools by community organisations (see Urwick, 2002; Sherry, 2008; Poulsen, 2009), tensions have also been highlighted between schools and communities. Teachers often have a deficit view of parents, claiming they do not value education, and do not listen to teachers’ views on their childrens’ capabilities (Sherry, 2008); conversely, some parents and community members see teachers as lacking the requisite qualifications, commitment and professionalism (ibid.). More generally, there is a reported lack of trust between civil organisations and government despite recognition of the need to work together to improve education (Urwick and Allyu, 2003).

3.5.2. School issues

What goes on in school is equally important in terms of getting children into school and keeping them there. One of Nigeria’s major problems is a shortage of qualified teachers (Sunal et al., 2003; Urwick and Aliyu, 2003; Theobald et al., 2007; Ahmed et al., 2008; FME, 2009a; Omo-Ojugo, 2009; USAID, 2009) although qualifications in themselves are no guarantee of possessing the requisite skills or knowledge to teach effectively (Theobald et al., 2007; Johnson, 2009) as initial teacher education suffers from outdated curriculum content and teaching methodology (Akinbote, 2007; Bakari, 2007; Tahir and Girei, 2008; Omo-Ojugo, 2009; USAID, 2009), and overcrowded lecture theatres (Sherry, 2008). In addition, unqualified teachers are sometimes
appointed in preference to qualified teachers because they are cheaper, or have better political connections (Urwick and Aliyu, 2003; Williams, 2009). As mentioned earlier, a shortage of female teachers in rural areas has also been highlighted as hindering the participation of girls in school, although the FTTS pilot scheme has had some success (Garuba, 2010).

Teacher absenteeism, which has been described as “endemic” in some public primary schools, especially in rural areas (Urwick and Aliyu, 2003; Ahmed et al., 2008), is another major issue affecting access and educational quality. It is symptomatic of low teacher morale due to low salaries, irregular payments and poor working conditions (Sherry, 2008; FME, 2009b). Even when teachers are in the classroom, concern has been voiced about the quality of teaching and learning (Omo-Ojugo, 2009; Arong and Ogbadu, 2010), which has been cited as a major factor in non-enrolment or school dropout (Sunal et al., 2003) and low performance in public examinations (Omo-Ojugo, 2009; British Council, 2012), or migration to the private sector (Urwick and Aliyu, 2003). Two fairly recent large-scale, primarily quantitative classroom-based studies (Hardman, Abd-Kadir and Smith, 2008; Davison, 2010) looked at pedagogy. Both studies showed a consistently high level of what has been characterized as “safe talk” (Chick, 1996): routinised classroom interaction that makes very little cognitive demands of pupils, “with little attention being paid to securing pupil understanding” (Hardman, Abd-Kadir and Smith, 2008, p.55). Such ritualised exchanges have been observed in many African classroom settings (see Dembelé and Miaro-II, 2003) and interpreted as coping strategies which allow teachers and pupils to save face and maintain the appearance that effective teaching and learning is taking place when teaching under difficult circumstances, struggling with the academic content of lessons and/or the language of instruction (Chick, 1996; Ouane and Glanz, 2010). In addition, the language of instruction has also been identified as an important factor for minority linguistic groups; when their language is included in the curriculum, parents feel greater commitment to schooling (see McCaffery et al., 2006; Usman, 2006); conversely when it is not included, their children are less likely to be enrolled or persist in school (Sunal et al., 2003). Learning in a local language is also associated with greater oral participation by girls (Ouane and Glanz, 2010).

The 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011) noted other issues of school quality of concern to parents: in the North East around half of all parents interviewed voiced concern about the condition of buildings and classrooms and overcrowding; in both cases the percentage was above the national average. Findings from GEP suggest that adequate water and sanitation can improve school attendance (British Council, 2012); conversely, poor sanitation and provision of water can lead to non-enrolment and dropout, especially of girls (UNDP Nigeria, 2010; Bakari, 2011).

However, possibly the most contentious in-school factor affecting whether pupils enrol and/or stay in school is corporal punishment. Despite the fact that in the 2010 NEDS parents nationwide overwhelmingly backed caning pupils as a way of ensuring better quality education in schools (96% in favour in the North East), corporal punishment has proved to be a source of conflict between teachers and parents (Sherry, 2008) and can result in pupils missing school and/or dropping out (Flett et al. cited in Theobald et al., 2007; Unterhalter and Heslop, 2011). Bullying and peer violence has also been found to cause some pupils to miss school (FME, 2007b). Girls in particular seem more affected (British Council, 2012). Gender violence (in the narrow sense of violence against girls and women, which is also likely to comprise some of the bullying and peer violence mentioned above), has also been reported in various studies (see also FME, 2007b; Action Aid, 2004, cited in Antonowicz, 2010; Para-Mallam, 2010; Bakari, 2011; Unterhalter and Heslop, 2011). However, other than Osakue’s assertion that it inhibits girls’ access to schooling (Osakue, 2006) little is known about its impact on educational participation in Nigeria. The 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011) also noted that over a third of parents in the North East
are concerned about pupil safety, which may refer to issues such as teacher and pupil violence. This was also a concern voiced by pupils in Bakari’s (2011) study of junior secondary schools in Kogi State. The NEDS report also notes that in the region around a fifth of pupils drop out of primary school because of “lack of interest”; this is a sizeable proportion and an issue which merits further investigation since the underlying reasons could relate to a range of factors (NPC and RTI International, 2011).

3.5.3 Educational administration

The educational administration at federal, state and local government level to varying degrees hold ultimate responsibility for the provision and quality of schooling, which inevitably are fundamental to whether children come to school, stay in school, and gain a meaningful education. The overlap, duplication and lack of coordination among the three tiers of government have been identified as major obstacles in this regard (Larbi et al., 2004; Theobald et al., 2007; USAID, 2009; Williams, 2009) though there is acknowledgement that some states are starting to address the issue (Orbach, 2004; Williams, 2009).

There is also huge variation in government funding across states and even greater variation across LGEAs (Santcross et al., 2010). This affects the supply and location of schools, which are major determinants in whether pupils are enrolled in primary school; according to the 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011), distance to school is the most commonly cited factor by parents in the North East (43%) for why children are not in school. The NEDS also pointed out that although just over half the population live under a kilometre from a primary school (well below the national average of 68%), almost 20% are three kilometres or more from the nearest primary school.

Variation in government funding is sometimes compounded by an absence of transparency and accountability, for example about disbursement of funds and appointments (Williams, 2009). With regard to the latter, it can result in people being appointed to senior positions who lack the requisite experience and/or qualifications (see Sherry, 2008; Williams, 2009; Urwick and Aliyu, 2003). In addition, concern has been voiced about school monitoring and inspection services provided by LGEAs and states (Urwick and Aliyu, 2003; Orbach, 2004; Sherry, 2008), and the need for better training of supervisors and inspectors (Tahir and Girei, 2008). Many teachers and head teachers are aware that they need more training and supervision (Sherry, 2008), which would seem to be confirmed by the fact that the 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011) reports that over 10% of primary pupils in the North East drop out of school because of “poor school quality”, though this may also refer to the quality of school infrastructure and/or treatment of pupils.

A major development in the drive to improve transparency and accountability in schools with the ultimate aim of bolstering pupil enrolment has been the establishment of school-based management committees (SBMCs) (Theobald et al., 2007). However, a study in the ESSPIN states (Williams, 2009) revealed that various government stakeholders had differing views as to the SBMC’s main purpose, ranging from seeing it as a governmental tool to ease the financial burden of government, to a way to promote community ownership, or a way to inform or ‘sensitise’ communities. The confusion of roles, Poulsen (2009) maintains, has resulted in a lack of commitment to SBMCs, with most only existing on paper and/or being dominated by elite individuals (Poulsen, 2009; Antononis, 2010; Unterhalter and Heslop, 2011). In short, like PTAs they suffer from political interference and the concentration of power in the hands of a minority – usually the head teacher and the PTA chair, with LGEA influence (Poulsen, 2009) – and lack of participation by the ordinary community member. Crucially, no government financial support has been allocated for SBMCs, which, Poulsen concludes, is likely to exacerbate inequalities among
communities “in that those communities in the poorest areas with the least resources will end up with the poorest schools” (2009, p.49).

In this chapter we have provided an overview of the national context and begun to relate it to the broader context within which Adamawa State is located and operates. We have raised multiple concerns about education in general and in the next chapter we will continue in this vein moving from the national context to focus on the state, selected LGEAs and the case study schools.
CHAPTER 4 STATE EDUCATIONAL PROFILE

4.1 INTRODUCTION
In this chapter we present the educational profile of Adamawa State with an emphasis on the primary sector. The data for this chapter have been developed using analysis of the available quantitative data from EMIS, the School Census and the 2008 NDHS (NPC and ICF Macro, 2009). At several points these data sets reported different, incomplete or inconsistent statistics, leaving us with uncertainties about the quality and reliability of the data collection, processing and storage. Nevertheless, we have selected data from the available datasets and presented these below. In addition, we used data from observations, and from formal and informal interviews with a wide range of respondents in ADSUBEB and in the case study schools and LGEAs. Where possible we have linked the discussions about Adamawa State to the national context (see Chapter 3) and to the six case studies (see Appendix I). The case studies are from six LGEAs in Adamawa, two in each of the three senatorial zones (northern, central and southern) and although not strictly representative of these zones, they do provide insights into the range of school contexts that make up Adamawa as a whole.

We begin this chapter with generic socio-geographic and geo-political descriptions of Adamawa State then consider the educational background, including educational governance and statistics, to provide a profile of key elements of this research i.e. access and enrolment in primary schools with specific reference to girls.

4.2 ADAMAWA STATE
Adamawa State is the southernmost of the six states that make up the North East zone of Nigeria.

Figure 4.1 Map of Adamawa State
Source: 2006 Population and Housing Census (NPC, 2010)
The other states in the region are Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Taraba and Yobe. Created in 1991 from part of the then Gongola State, Adamawa covers a land area of just under 40,000km², has a population of just over 3.1 million (NBS, 2009), and is located along Nigeria’s eastern border with Cameroon. The rapidly expanding state capital Yola lies on the western bank of the Benue River as it enters Nigeria from Cameroon.

The climate is tropical with rainy and dry seasons. Though there are regional variations, on average the rainy season lasts from June to the end of October while the dry season commences around November continuing until the end of May or early June. The months of August and September usually record the highest volume of rainfall while the dry season is at its peak in March. The state is characterised by sub-Sudan zone vegetation in the north – short grasses interspersed with short trees – and Northern Guinea Savannah in the South, comprising denser vegetation with taller trees and grasses. This mix of vegetation, alongside the presence of two of Nigeria’s major rivers, the Benue and the Gongola, make the state one of the country’s centres of crop cultivation and animal husbandry. Around 50% of the population are involved in agriculture; farmers in the state cultivate a variety of crops including cotton, maize, rice, millet, groundnuts and other food staples, both for subsistence and in commercial quantities. Just under half the state’s women are engaged in agriculture, with around 37% involved in petty trading; this compares with 56% of men involved in agriculture and 29% working as traders (UNFPA, 2010). Fishing is also important for communities living on the riverbanks, often on a nomadic basis, and is dominated mainly by the Jukuns, an ethnic group from neighbouring Taraba State. Other prominent fishing communities in Adamawa are the Bachamas, the Mbulas and the Batas.

The main roads in the state run north from Yola to Mubi and beyond to Borno State, west through Numan to Gombe State and south to Ganye. These main highways are predominantly tarred but elsewhere (especially in the interior) roads are sand tracks resulting in more difficult transport and communication.

Adamawa is sub-divided into 21 LGAs that are clustered into three senatorial zones: the Central Zone, comprising seven LGAs and a population of just over 3 million; the Southern Zone, with nine LGAs and a similar population; and the Northern Zone, with five LGAs and a much smaller population of around 680,000. It is one of the most ethnically and linguistically diverse states in the country. The major ethnic groups are the Hausa-Fulanis, the Batas, the Bachamas, the Higgi, Margi, Kilba, Gude and Mbula. These are ethnic groups that are considered native and indigenous and are found in more than one LGA. However the Hausa-Fulanis are found in all the LGAs while the Hausas also have significant presence in majority of the LGAs but mainly as settlers.

Similar to other states in the North East Zone access to basic services in Adamawa State is poor and varies particularly depending on socio-economic status and rural or urban location. Only about 27% of the population have access to treated water (water bore hole, hand pump or protected well), and the situation is worse in rural areas (23.6%) than in urban areas (34.9%), where distances to water sources are also greater (NBS, 2009). The rural and urban divide is even more pronounced regarding access to electricity with only 13.3% homes benefiting in rural areas, as opposed to 65% in urban areas. Thus, in zonal terms, the more urbanised central zone, which includes the state capital, Yola, also has better access to electricity (39%) whereas less than a quarter of the population in the northern and southern zones have electricity (ibid.). Yola offers the best access to medical services (UNFPA, 2010).
4.3 EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND IN ADAMAWA STATE

Adamawa is officially categorised as an educationally disadvantaged state (EDS), a category to which all the states within the northern part of the country and some in the South South Zone belong. These states are characterised by low participation in education at all levels. Various measures have been taken to encourage participation in these states, such as federally agreed quotas for places in higher education and state-sponsored bursaries. In educational statistical returns by region the North East along with the North West often occupy the bottom ranks in the whole of Nigeria. A summary of selected educational indicators drawn from the 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011) is presented in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Gender-disaggregated education statistics in the North East

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>Female (%)</th>
<th>Male (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Literate (aged 15–59)</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>51.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literate (aged 5–16)</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>18.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literate parents (%)</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>38.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years in school (pop aged 15+)</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents mean years in school</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never attended school (aged 5–24)</td>
<td>56.8</td>
<td>48.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011)

Table 4.1 shows low levels of school attendance and literacy among the population, which still appears to be strongly gendered and characterises the younger generation. The more limited history and experience with schooling across the state adds further difficulty for efforts towards increasing school access and suggests the need for advocacy. Consistent with this, ADSUBEB has made substantial investment in community mobilisation, which remains an important element of the educational development programme. The 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011) is informative in this regard as it indicates that in the North East the decision to send children to school is made predominantly by the male parent/guardian (73.3%) compared to females (5.4%). It is therefore evident that fathers should be targeted in advocacy and community mobilisation activities. The data also show that households in the North East have the lowest expenditure per pupil on primary schooling in Nigeria and that 27% parents in the region say that they do not send their children to school because it is too expensive.

The low enrolment in primary school cannot be isolated from the general low adult literacy rate in the region and state (See Table 4.1). Despite contravening usual conventions in the presentation of statistics, Table 4.2 presents data from different sources to provide some sense of enrolment levels and to locate Adamawa within the North East region.

Table 4.2 Gender-disaggregated primary enrolment in the North East and Adamawa State (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>Data Source</th>
<th>Female (%)</th>
<th>Male (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North East</td>
<td>Net Attendance Rate (NAR)</td>
<td>Household survey*</td>
<td>38.00</td>
<td>43.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North East</td>
<td>Gross Attendance Rate (GAR)</td>
<td>Household survey*</td>
<td>53.30</td>
<td>64.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adamawa</td>
<td>Gross Enrolment Rate</td>
<td>EMIS**</td>
<td>45.38</td>
<td>54.62</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Extracted from 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011)
** Calculated from EMIS (2009–10)

The figures for the region show low levels of school attendance that are strongly gendered with lower proportions of females gaining access to school. The difference between NAR and GAR point to a significant proportion of overage children in schools, which may be expected given that only 29.7% of children in the region enter school aged six or younger (NPC and RTI
International, 2011). These figures suggest that over 70% of children in the North East are overage, compared to 37% for the country as a whole. Interestingly, at the national level, a slightly greater proportion of boys rather than girls appear to be overage. Questions about access are far more complex than age at first entry and we will return to these later in this chapter.

Low levels of school enrolment in Adamawa coincide with low adult literacy. The most recent national literacy survey (NBS and NMEC, 2010) concluded that the adult literacy rate in the state stood at 57.9% in English (males 65.1%; females 50.6%), and at 71.6% (males 79.3%; females 63.7%) in any language, with significant gender disparities. However, this was based on self-reporting. The 2010 NEDS results are more sobering, calculating the state adult literacy average at 23%, and even this assessment was based only on being able to read one sentence. Literacy classes, however, have not been popular. A survey of enrolment in post-literacy classes conducted by NMEC between 1997 and 2007 (NBS and NMEC, 2010) recorded not even one single individual enrolled in the programme in Adamawa State within the period. This contrasts to Akwa Ibom State which recorded over 12,000 enrolments.

Mirroring the picture at regional level, gender disparities exist in access and participation in formal public schooling at the state level too, particularly among rural girls and especially those belonging to nomadic pastoralist communities, with girls reaching 45.3% of those enrolled. However, the current educational administration is clearly taking gender equality seriously as evidenced by the recent introduction of a policy of providing free school uniforms for all girls at public schools in Primary 1, a policy that is to be extended to all primary children. Moreover, the formerly taboo topic of gender violence is also being taken seriously; in March 2011, for example, ADSUBEB took the unprecedented step of dismissing two school teachers for raping school girls under their care.

Specific challenges to educational provision and up-take include poverty, nomadic lifestyles and fear among the Muslim communities based on religious and cultural concerns. Again ADSUBEB has made positive steps to directly address all three concerns through the provision of school uniform, the development of nomadic and integrated (religious and secular) schools and in community mobilisation campaigns. These developments will be discussed in Section 4.7.

4.4 EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

The importance of research for informing policy and practice is widely acknowledged and this study is a first step in taking a broader analytical perspective on the educational provision within Adamawa State. There have been only a couple of small-scale educational studies previously conducted in the state. Joda et al. (2008) studied small rural schools in Adamawa State looking at teaching and learning with particular reference to the challenges, practices and strategies that teachers employ to cope in a rural environment. Teachers from a cluster of schools within each of the three zones in the state were selected for the study. The findings reported that according to the teachers, hawking was the most prominent reason for pupil lateness and irregular attendance. In addition, they claimed that low access to continuing professional development opportunities was considered one of the major inhibitions to effective teacher performance in rural schools. The study also assessed the teacher capacity-building needs in the state. These all have implications for policy and practice initiatives.

There is an obvious need for more research in Adamawa given the educational development ambitions of ADSUBEB. Systematic and reliable quantitative and qualitative data gathering and analysis is central to building an understanding of the educational context and in shaping the development of future educational provision. In this study, difficulties experienced with access to up-to-date reliable statistical data would suggest that despite recent improvements in data capture and processing, more input is needed to upgrade this arm of ADSUBEB and to help inform critical areas for policy and practice interventions. While this is a wide-scale preliminary
study there are multiple ways that more targeted research might provide insights and impetus towards improvements in access, quality and outcomes across the state. There is a wide range of possibilities ranging from a focus on community-school engagement, to teacher action research, to explorations of pupil perspectives on their schooling. The point remains that policy and practice both need to be evidence-based.

4.5 EDUCATIONAL GOVERNANCE

ADSUBEB is the government agency with statutory responsibility for the control and management of basic education in the State. The Board is comprised of an Executive Chair, two permanent members, a Board Secretary and members representing the interests of different stakeholders, including the teachers’ union and PTAs. The Board’s Management Team is headed by the Executive Chair and it includes the two Permanent Members, the Board Secretary and Principal Officers (Directors in charge of School Services, Personnel Management, Finance and Administration and Social Mobilisation). The Director of Personnel Management serves as the Secretary to the Management Team. ADSUBEB operates through a committee system with each critical function area being managed by a committee. The committees are in most cases headed by a director. In addition, there are a number of officials that have specific responsibilities, which include nomadic education, gender, early childhood care and education (ECCE), disability and SBMCs. Alongside these there are numbers of administrative and ancillary staff who work on the ADSUBEB HQ compound in Yola. These support the multiple functions of the ADSUBEB offices, which include managing conference facilities, as well as a distribution centre for school text and uniform materials.

As described in Section 3.2, the channels of communication to and from schools operate through the LGEAs located within the 21 LGAs in the three state zones. Although there is a system of school supervision and inspection, local education committees (LECs) mandated in law to provide an educational management, communication and accountability structures have yet to be instituted within Adamawa State. Within each LGEA the Education Secretary (ES) occupies a key office and is appointed for a four-year term through a process of nomination by the Chair of Local Government Council (LGC) and selection by ADSUBEB. They have significant influence and responsibilities for the delivery of education and support for schools within their LGA area. They appoint head teachers, post teachers, manage a team of School Supervisors (SS) and facilitate school-community links.

Direct support for schools and teachers is provided by the SS team, each holding responsibility for a number of schools within a specific catchment or circuit. As one ADSUBEB officer described:

They’re largely expected to be in schools and supervise the teaching and learning, largely that’s their main responsibility. And give a report on every school, monthly report on all the schools that they monitor. And they’re supposed to be there to see what’s happening, help the teachers through but again you can still have a problem with some of them lacking the requisite experience.

The local management of schools is structured to facilitate three-way communication between the school or head teacher, the community and the LGEA. For example, the SS can be brought in to advise and witness a meeting between a head and the community or the community may take issues to the LGEA through the head. Communication between schools and communities is crucial to an effective decentralised system and to the local management of schools but data reported in the 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011) indicate that in the North East only 32% of parents made more than one or more visit to school. This suggests a rather distant relationship between schools and families, which, if strengthened, might reap positive effects. Without data we do not know whether the situation in Adamawa is more encouraging or whether it is an aspect of school development that needs further strategic impetus.
SBMCs introduced in 2007 were designed to operate as a key accountability link between the school and community and to play an important role in the development and quality assurance of the school. Head teacher, teacher and pupil representatives, together with a number of elected local representatives, should comprise the SBMC, with a minimum participation of four females. Evidence from interviews with senior education officials and from an SBMC workshop in ADSUBEB headquarters indicated that eligibility criteria for SBMC appointments are unclear. Associated with this, some schools were reported to have appointed influential and/or wealthy people not necessarily domiciled in the school location rather than current community members because they were likely to have more lobbying potential at LGEA or state level. Little was reported about pupil or female representation and voice. As the link to state structures, the ES and SS in combination have responsibilities for the system of educational governance, the processes of decentralisation and the operation of SBMCs. In many senses the implementation of SBMCs and their operation as an integral element of the local management of school might be described as faltering in Adamawa. Several interviewees also reported that political influence and the lobbying power of particular SBMCs had worked along religious lines such that more predominantly Muslim schools appeared to have improved their conditions in ways that predominantly Christians schools have not. Clear and transparent criteria and processes for SBMC appointment and responsibilities as well as for central resource allocation might contribute positively to improving the local management of schools, the wider integration of the system and to increasing trust.

The PTA also represents a school–community link that operates at the school level contributing to development through fund raising or building classrooms. While the PTA has a different composition and less official power, the distinction from the SBMC appears to be more blurred in practice. The limited female representation and voice on both these bodies was noted by an ADSUBEB official as an area that had shown some improvement but was still in need of further concerted development.

Echoing points raised in Chapter 3 and in other research (e.g. Williams, 2009; Santcross et al., 2010), several respondents across this study have pointed to difficulties with the system of school management. These included: the negative influence of poor communications; overlapping responsibilities and political interference militating against effective accountabilities; the need for quality improvements; and inequalities that produced a general and sustained lack of trust. For example, the appointment and distribution of teachers may be subject to multiple legitimate and illegitimate influences that leaves some schools with too few qualified teachers or some who have remained in the same school beyond the recommended 5–10 years. The uneven distribution of teachers results from a number of factors including budgetary concerns in the LGEAs that pay teachers, since better qualified and more experienced teachers cost more; teacher resistance to transfer for a variety of domestic and financial reasons – local money-making scams included; and personal threats and the political aspirations of educational personnel linked with the potential of teachers to influence local communities. As one ADSUBEB official noted:

Because the Chairman of the local governments are products of elections . . . most of them are of the view, most of them, that if they have the support of teachers then they may win because the teachers are the most educated. They are the electoral officers, the electoral supervisors. And they're also mobilisers in their own communities. So for that they always want to bring like their own particular associates. And that's one area again where the law needs to be looked into.

Some respondents also acknowledged the efforts to improve the capacity and operation of school administration at all levels. Within ADSUBEB, officials described a range of strategies in various stages of development and implementation to address the problems, which included improved incentives (loans, transport), better career structures and conditions, greater
management participation and capacity development opportunities. Many of these issues will be discussed further in later chapters of this report.

The evidence from this research suggests that development of a transparent, responsive and accountable system of school governance is a high priority in addressing quality and equality in educational service provision in Adamawa State.

4.6 SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS

Data from the Adamawa School Census (2009) in Table 4.3 show the number of schools in four sectors (pre-primary; primary, junior secondary and senior secondary). The primary sector is the largest with 1,890 public schools with primary classes, the majority (nearly 80%) of which comprise only primary classes. As reported in Chapter 3, private provision of schools in the North East and in Adamawa is small compared to the national level of 26%, which is on an upward growth curve. In Adamawa the private sector is most concentrated at pre-primary level (35% private), compared to around 10% or less in other school types. Importantly, a minimal 3% of primary-only schools are supplied by private providers.

Table 4.3   Number of public and private schools by level in Adamawa State

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Schools with . . .</th>
<th>Public</th>
<th>Private</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>% Public</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pre-primary classes</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>651</td>
<td>65.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-primary classes only</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>29.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary classes</td>
<td>1,890</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>2,145</td>
<td>88.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary only</td>
<td>1,479</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>1,525</td>
<td>97.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior secondary classes</td>
<td>425</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>462</td>
<td>92.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior secondary only</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>86.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior secondary classes</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>91.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior secondary only</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>99.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adamawa School Census, 2009

Other schools within the State include a school for children with visual and hearing impairment with boarding facilities in the northern LGEA of Jada, integrated Islamiyya schools, and nomadic schools.

Since 2007 there have been sustained efforts by ADSUBEB to integrate traditional Qur’anic teaching with the public school curriculum in some schools. This is in line with national policy (FRN, 2004b) and a significant strategy in widening access to education given that the 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011) reports that 45% of Muslims only attend Qur’anic schools. This strategy has realised the development of 3,004 schools across the state, ranging from small Tsangayas with one mallam and 20–50 mixed-grade pupils to new, much larger boarding schools with two-storey classroom blocks. These integrated schools offer both religious teaching on the Qur’an, Islamic jurisprudence and theology alongside a secular curriculum including language, mathematics, science, social science, life skills and vocational education. For the traditional small schools the curriculum breadth presents significant teacher capacity challenges. Alongside this, considerable ADSUBEB efforts continue to be channelled into relieving fears within Muslim communities that schools are a mechanism for Christian evangelism or the imposition of the “ways of the white man, the way of the western world” (senior education officer). In acknowledgement of some resistance by (some) Muslim communities, considerable work continues to take place in gaining the support of religious leaders and on advocacy. To date over 200,000 pupils attend the 3,004 integrated schools with an average of 68.2 pupils per school.
There is a higher proportion of boys (58.5%) than girls (41.5%) in these schools (ADSUBEB, 2011). The building of more and new integrated schools is a key development initiative that when realised will see an estimated three boarding and three day schools in all LGEAS in the state (ADSUBEB member).

Nomadic schools have also been targeted for development by ADSUBEB, drawing substantial financial resources. For example, nomadic school development has commanded an unprecedented 5% of the educational budget. These schools have been developed to address the educational needs of two main nomadic groups in the state: the Hausa-Fulani pastoralists and a much smaller group of migrant fishing families (Jauro, 2010). The predominant focus on the Hausa-Fulani nomadic pastoralists relates to the size of their population and, to a lesser extent, to the fact that Hausa-Fulani constitute the dominant ethnic group both in term of population and control of state apparatus. As in other states, nomadic children suffer from low enrolment and completion rates and high dropout as well as poor transition to junior secondary school. In 2010 there were 110 nomadic schools in Adamawa, a figure that had risen to 117 by 2012 (ADSUBEB, 2012). With 564 nomadic teachers, 88.7% males and 11.3% females, there are an average of 4.8 teachers per school. Pupil numbers have reached 13,583, meaning that the average school has 116 pupils, a pupil–teacher ratio of 24 and a much better pupil gender balance of 54.2% males and 45.7% females than among teachers. Similarly, records show that of those who make the transition to JSS, 58.3% are males and 41.7% are females (ADSUBEB, 2012). The specific resource needs of nomadic schools are constantly on the agenda as the delivery of education to children in the nomadic population presents particular ongoing challenges.

The number of public primary school teachers in the state and within the LGEAs of the six case study schools is presented in Table 4.4. There are over 13,000 primary teachers in Adamawa public schools, of which 60% are qualified and 9% are graduates. It is important to note that higher proportions of female teachers are qualified. Calculations based on EMIS 2009–10 show 37.5% female teachers are qualified compared to only 30.8% males. This might suggest that unqualified male teachers may find employment opportunities more easily than similarly unqualified females. Overall, it is a predominantly male profession. In all categories the proportion of women is lower than that of men with women comprising only 35% of the state teaching force and one third (33%) of graduate teachers. It is only in the Southern 2 and Central 1 LGEAs that the proportion of females who are qualified or who are graduate teachers is higher than for males. The distribution of female teachers appears to be more complex than a rural-urban divide as the Central 2 LGEA shows the lowest proportions of females in all categories and reflects patterns similar to the more rural LGEAs. The higher number of female teachers in urban LGEAs concurs with findings from elsewhere in SSA although the data from Adamawa indicate that other variables are at play. Explanations for low numbers of female teachers in Central 2, for example, might be related to cultural views and practices in the predominantly Muslim surrounding population (See Appendix IE).
Table 4.4 Public primary school teachers by gender and qualified status in Adamawa State and the case study LGEAs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>Qualified teachers*</th>
<th>Graduate teachers**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STATE TOTAL</td>
<td>13,309</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern 1</td>
<td>1,177</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern 2</td>
<td>692</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central 1</td>
<td>708</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central 2</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern 1</td>
<td>850</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern 2</td>
<td>511</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Qualified teachers are those with the following qualifications: NCE, PGDE, B.Ed or Equivalent and M.Ed or equivalent.
**Graduate teachers include all qualified teachers with a graduate degree or above (PGDE, B.Ed or equivalent and M.Ed or equivalent).


A complex range of factors, including the wider population characteristics, cultural and religious practices and labour market specificities within each LGEA, is likely to influence teacher numbers and the LGEA's demographic character. It is informative to compare public school statistics with those in the private sector, which, although small, shows a much higher proportion of female teachers. Empirical explorations of this pattern would be useful.

Reference to the case studies reminds us that within each LGEA the schools might present patterns that are quite different from their LGEA as a whole. Kilfi Primary School, for example, with over 45% of female teachers, contrasts with the LGEA average of only 11%. The case study school data in Table 4.5 allow us to compare schools in specific locations. It can be seen that urban schools tend to be larger and, with one exception, have a predominantly male teaching workforce. Five of the case study schools have less than 50% female teachers and in the rural schools the percentage drops significantly to as low as 15% female staff. The concentration of female teachers in urban schools has been reported elsewhere in the literature and it is a pattern of deployment that raises at least three sets of issues. The first are equity concerns in relation to labour market, training and deployment/promotion opportunities for females. The second concerns the more difficult conditions in rural areas combined with the traditional domestic roles of women such that there tends to be limited access to teaching careers for rural females and a reluctance by female teachers from elsewhere to take up a rural posting either for safety or for family/domestic reasons. Thirdly, the low proportion of female teachers has implications for the quality of the school environment, the experiences of female and male pupils and staff as well as, perhaps, for safety concerns expressed by parents.

Table 4.5 Teachers in the case study schools

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>LGEA</th>
<th>School location</th>
<th>Teachers (n)</th>
<th>% Female</th>
<th>% Qualified</th>
<th>% F qualified</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kanti</td>
<td>N1</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>22.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domingo</td>
<td>N2</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>35.9</td>
<td>76.9</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metropolis</td>
<td>C1</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>34.2</td>
<td>82.6</td>
<td>33.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kilfi</td>
<td>C2</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>45.6</td>
<td>65.0</td>
<td>43.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doya</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>39.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baobab</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>79.5</td>
<td>69.0</td>
<td>78.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Case studies, Appendix I
Teacher qualifications, often used as an indicator of school quality, also vary across the case study schools. In general, rural schools have fewer qualified teachers and in one case 61% of the teaching staff are unqualified, which compares to more than 80% qualified teachers in one urban school. A gender analysis reflects the same patterns of under-representation of qualified female teachers in the cases studies as across the state. There is one urban case study in which there are more qualified females than males although this is slightly lower than their proportion within the school. In contrast, in one rural school there are no qualified female teachers.

As a whole, the data suggest that there are problems with the supply and distribution of female teachers with significant inequalities in the proportion of female teachers in rural areas and among qualified staff. In other contexts with similar teacher distribution patterns, special provision has been introduced for posting female and qualified teachers to rural areas; these have included specific measures to ensure safety, provide accommodation, link rural posting to career development, or pay salary supplements.

In Chapter 6, Teacher Management, issues related to teacher appointments, distribution and discipline, which are matters for the LGEA and ES, are reported on in further detail.

4.7 PRIMARY ENROLMENT

4.7.1 Enrolment patterns and out-of-school children

Gross enrolments

In this section we report on primary enrolments in Adamawa. The data, however, from different sources and in some cases from the same source, are discrepant and so we present the statistics with caution. To add to this, we have referred to data from 2009–10 and earlier although since conducting this study, further data have been gathered and reported. These reservations re-iterate our concerns with the collection and processing of data that is vital for informing policy, advocacy and practice initiatives to improve all aspects of education service delivery.

**Table 4.6 Public primary enrolments in Adamawa State and the case study LGEAs (2009–10)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Pupil enrolment numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>State total</td>
<td>378,433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern 1</td>
<td>25,810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern 2</td>
<td>19,404</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central 1</td>
<td>19,487</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central 2</td>
<td>21,351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern 1</td>
<td>25,342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern 2</td>
<td>12,398</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: EMIS 2009–10

Table 4.6 shows gross enrolment numbers in the state as a whole and in the six case study LGEAs. Based on EMIS 2009–10 data, it shows that by 2010 almost 380,000 children were enrolled in school. While these data are certainly important they are of limited value if unprocessed. Difficulties with available data have made calculations of net and gross enrolments impossible. To provide some sense of the proportions of children still out of school we have attempted an estimate, which is presented in Table 4.7. For various statistical reasons these calculations are likely to be under-estimates and need to be treated with caution as they have been based on data from different sources and time periods. They do indicate, however, that more than a quarter of children of school age in Adamawa are not in school.
**Table 4.7 Estimated out-of-school children in Adamawa State**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total*</th>
<th>%**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>140,480</td>
<td>26.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>281,705</td>
<td>68.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Calculated as the difference between the age-group relevant population reported in the Census 2006 and the enrolled school population in 2009.

**Calculated as a percentage of the total amount of relevant age group not enrolled over the total population reported in the Census 2006.

This estimate of 26.4% of primary age children out of school compares with the national out-of-school figures of 23.9% of 5–14 year olds (see Chapter 3). The converse of this is that over 73% of school-age children are in school in Adamawa. We used this estimation to explore patterns of gross enrolment by grade, which are presented in Figure 4.2. It is important to highlight that this graph refers to gross numbers, that is, all pupils irrespective of age and offers no analytical distinction around age that might be informative for understanding patterns of age at first enrolment and/or progression through grades.

**Figure 4.2 Gross enrolments by grade for public and private schools in Adamawa State**

Source: EMIS 2009–10

This graph shows the small private sector in Adamawa and more pertinently here it shows an underlying decrease in gross enrolments over grades in the public sector. Notable fluctuations include a significant hike in Grade 6, the final year in the primary sector, followed by a massive drop off into Junior Secondary 1. This suggests particular enrolment or repetition practices in Grade 6 and problems with transition to JSS despite ADSUBEB’s aim to make the move into junior secondary available to all pupils. Again this reflects patterns at the national level discussed in Chapter 3. Other statistics about the school population are available; for example, from the 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011), which is based on household survey rather than school
data, Adamawa State has the highest NAR for girls in the North East and the second highest figures for boys, at 55.4% and 59.4%, respectively.

Data and analysis of gross and net enrolments rates are critical for understanding the extent of educational uptake and for informing how policy and practice may be more precisely directed towards the achievement of the EFA goals and the MDGs. This is a key area in which more systematic research and data are needed. Exploiting data to illuminate the particularities of the pupil population has important implications, for example, for teacher preparation, pupil management or community practices.

**Overage**

Relatively simple data manipulation can reveal the proportion of overage children in the primary sector. As reported earlier, with only 29.7% of children in the North East region entering school aged six or younger, there is a strong likelihood that many pupils in school are overage. In addition to the reasons for pupils being overage at first entry to school, discussed in Chapter 3, in Adamawa the practice of sending children and especially boys to study under a *mallam* until the age of 12 undoubtedly contributes to the numbers of overage children in public schools. Head teachers within three of the case study schools completed returns that enabled us to trace proportions of overage pupils. These are presented in Table 4.8 and show that overage pupils ranged from over 8% to over 19% across these schools and that the rural schools in Kanti and Doya showed higher proportions of overage pupils than urban Domingo. The school data are not very reliable and much higher estimates are given in national data, which claim that one third of school pupils are overage and these tend to include more boys (see Chapter 3).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Kanti F</th>
<th>Kanti M</th>
<th>Kanti Total</th>
<th>Domingo F</th>
<th>Domingo M</th>
<th>Domingo Total</th>
<th>Doya F</th>
<th>Doya M</th>
<th>Doya Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2007–8</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008–9</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009–10</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.8 Overage* pupils by gender in selected case study schools (2007–2011)

Patterns by gender or religion are difficult to ascertain but there is an expected trend that indicates increased overage pupils moving up through the grades and a significant hike in Grade 6. These overage pupils are a significant proportion of their respective school populations and they reflect a combination of starting school late, or of dropping out and coming back into school. In either case the causes of overage, which are likely to be a combination of home/community and school quality issues, need to be addressed since the literature suggests that overage children are more likely to drop out and fail to complete primary schooling (see Hunt, 2008). Overage pupils are also reported to have problems learning alongside younger pupils and to have a significant influence on the dynamics within the classroom (Dunne and Ananga, 2013). In view of the number of children still out of school and those still to gain access, the proportion of overage children is likely to remain relatively high for some years to come. In this case, it might be worthwhile considering how these pupils might be enabled to progress continually through school without further periods of absence that work to exacerbate overage. Creative systems of pupil management and/or pedagogical approaches are worth considering in order to address the needs of older pupils.
**Gender**

Gender is a key international educational priority. Data presented in Table 4.9 show that gender parity has not yet been achieved across the state (45.38% female) and that urban LGEAs tended to have a higher proportion of female enrolment than in rural areas.

**Table 4.9 Public primary enrolments by gender in Adamawa and the case study LGEAs (2009–10)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LGEA</th>
<th>Total (n)</th>
<th>Female (%)</th>
<th>Male (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>State total</td>
<td>378,433</td>
<td>45.38</td>
<td>54.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern 1</td>
<td>25,810</td>
<td>41.69</td>
<td>58.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern 2</td>
<td>19,404</td>
<td>43.36</td>
<td>56.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central 1</td>
<td>19,487</td>
<td>48.49</td>
<td>51.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central 2</td>
<td>21,351</td>
<td>43.47</td>
<td>56.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern 1</td>
<td>25,342</td>
<td>44.34</td>
<td>55.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern 2</td>
<td>12,398</td>
<td>49.73</td>
<td>50.27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: EMIS 2009–10

The urban LGEAS, Central 1 and Southern 2, are on the cusp of parity whereas Central 2, with a predominantly Muslim population, lags behind some of the LGEAs in rural locations. Looking more widely across the state, data from the School Census (2010) indicate that across all the LGEAs in Adamawa only in two rural LGEAs is the proportion of females enrolled below 40%, and one urban LGEA has reached parity.

The picture on enrolment by gender in the case study schools is shown in Table 4.10. We need to bear in mind that these case studies are only six schools in a state with currently around 1,900 schools. The picture varies considerably across the case studies with three schools showing slight decreases in enrolments [DOMINGO, METROPOLIS, KILFI] and two rural school showing slight positive fluctuations [KANTI, DOYA] and one urban school with a massive increase in pupil numbers [BAOBAB]. In terms of gender, all have a higher proportion of girls than the state average (45.3%) except for the two rural schools and only the two Southern Zone schools have averages below those of their respective LGEAs. Four schools have shown stability or slight decreases in the gender gap over recent years and the two Central Zone urban schools now show a balance in favour of girls [METROPOLIS, 60.1%; KILFI, 51.1% female].

**Table 4.10 Enrolments in the case study schools by gender and religion (2010–11)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>LGEA</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Muslim</th>
<th>Christian</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kanti</td>
<td>N1</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>305 (45.2%)</td>
<td>370 (54.8%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>675 (100%)</td>
<td>675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domingo</td>
<td>N2</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>535 (49.7%)</td>
<td>541 (50.3%)</td>
<td>572 (53.2%)</td>
<td>504 (46.8%)</td>
<td>1076</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metropolis</td>
<td>C1</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>1032 (60.1%)</td>
<td>684 (39.9%)</td>
<td>1533 (89.3%)</td>
<td>183 (18.4%)</td>
<td>1716</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kilfi</td>
<td>C2</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>518 (51.1%)</td>
<td>496 (48.9%)</td>
<td>827 (81.6%)</td>
<td>187 (18.4%)</td>
<td>1014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doya</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>223 (43.5%)</td>
<td>290 (56.5%)</td>
<td>280 (54.6%)</td>
<td>233 (45.4%)</td>
<td>513</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baobab</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>1,441 (47.1%)</td>
<td>1,617 (52.9%)</td>
<td>1,938 (63.4%)</td>
<td>1,120 (36.6%)</td>
<td>3,058</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: School data from case study pupil statistics form

49
These trends in school enrolments, however, are more complex as other demographic variables and changes over time interact. These effects are important and might be explored, for example, to reveal the effectiveness of the ADSUBEB-sponsored community mobilisation campaigns. Comment here, however, is limited as all the selected case study schools were majority Muslim schools, with the exception of Kanti in LGEA N1, which was exclusively Christian. School-level data do indicate increases in the proportion of Muslims in all five schools. This is a rather simplistic observation, which could reveal much more with the availability of more fine-grained, LGEA-wide data to trace patterns of enrolment by population group.

**Patterns over time and school quality**

Longer-term enrolment data are important for tracing the extent to which children have sustained access to schools. Enrolment data by grade for 2009–10 are shown in Table 4.11 and presented visually in Figure 4.3. A grade-by-grade pattern emerges that shows a gradual decrease in enrolments up through the grades. There are some fluctuations in certain LGEAs but the dominant trend remains.

Understanding why these patterns arise is a key question for ADSUBEB and the explanations are especially important for informing policy and practice. The trend, observable at the national level, suggests that parents have supported initial access to school but that conditions in the home and or in school have produced cumulative levels of drop out. To a large extent educational administration is responsible for setting out and ensuring school quality standards. In Nigeria, as in other countries in SSA, low school quality has been found to be a large part of the reason for dropout (see for example, Dunne, et al., 2005; FME, 2007b; UNESCO, 2011) and, especially in the North East of Nigeria, a reason for parents not sending their children to school or for taking them out (NPC and RTI International, 2011). Although notable advances have been reported in the state, again, data and evidence are thin.

**Table 4.11 Public primary enrolments by grade in Adamawa State and the case study LGEAs (2009–10)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>State Total</th>
<th>Northern 1</th>
<th>Northern 2</th>
<th>Central 1</th>
<th>Central 2</th>
<th>Southern 1</th>
<th>Southern 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G1</td>
<td>71,581</td>
<td>3,674</td>
<td>3,294</td>
<td>2,932</td>
<td>4,157</td>
<td>4,795</td>
<td>2,284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G2</td>
<td>68,284</td>
<td>3,828</td>
<td>3,386</td>
<td>3,508</td>
<td>4,190</td>
<td>4,666</td>
<td>2,401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G3</td>
<td>63,779</td>
<td>3,744</td>
<td>3,140</td>
<td>3,695</td>
<td>3,969</td>
<td>4,491</td>
<td>2,174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G4</td>
<td>66,257</td>
<td>7,659</td>
<td>3,337</td>
<td>3,594</td>
<td>3,351</td>
<td>4,275</td>
<td>2,049</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G5</td>
<td>56,803</td>
<td>3,533</td>
<td>3,115</td>
<td>3,014</td>
<td>2,971</td>
<td>3,726</td>
<td>1,819</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G6</td>
<td>51,729</td>
<td>3,372</td>
<td>3,132</td>
<td>2,744</td>
<td>2,713</td>
<td>3,389</td>
<td>1,671</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>378,433</strong></td>
<td><strong>25,810</strong></td>
<td><strong>19,404</strong></td>
<td><strong>19,487</strong></td>
<td><strong>21,351</strong></td>
<td><strong>25,342</strong></td>
<td><strong>12,398</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: EMIS 2009–10
*Note: Northern 1 is not included as it has an extreme value in the enrolment reported in Grade 4. It was considered that such a large value must be a mistake that would bias the cross-case analysis.

**Figure 4.3 Public primary and JSS enrolments by grade in the case study LGEAs**

*Source: EMIS 2009–10*

One available indicator of school quality, the pupil–teacher ratio, was calculated and shows that Adamawa State as a whole and the case study LGEAs all have ratios that better the national target of 35 pupils per teacher (FRN, 2004b). This is shown in Table 4.12.

**Table 4.12 Pupil–teacher ratio in public primary schools in Adamawa State and the case study LGEAs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pupils (n)</th>
<th>Teachers (n)</th>
<th>Pupil–teacher ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northern 1</td>
<td>25,810</td>
<td>1,177</td>
<td>21.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern 2</td>
<td>19,404</td>
<td>692</td>
<td>28.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central 1</td>
<td>19,487</td>
<td>708</td>
<td>27.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central 2</td>
<td>21,351</td>
<td>--*</td>
<td>--*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern 1</td>
<td>25,342</td>
<td>850</td>
<td>29.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern 2</td>
<td>12,398</td>
<td>511</td>
<td>24.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>State total</strong></td>
<td><strong>378,433</strong></td>
<td><strong>13,309</strong></td>
<td><strong>28.4</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*These data appear to be discrepant and therefore have not been included

The analysis provided in Chapter 6 on Teacher Management, however, suggests that either the case study schools are outliers in their respective LGEAs and/or that the above data are seriously flawed. The difficulty with gauging school quality presents particular problems for developing strategies to ensure sustained school access. Together this points to the need for more research, data, monitoring and evaluation in Adamawa. Having said this, important efforts to improve school quality through school building and refurbishment are currently part of a school access and quality strategy, which is reported on in Chapter 5, Infrastructure.
4.8.2 Retention, repetition and completion

**Attrition**

As discussed earlier there are substantial proportions of overage children in primary school who may have simply started late or dropped out for a period and then returned to school.

![Image of attrition rates in public primary schools in Adamawa State and the case study LGEAs](source: EMIS 2009–10)

**Figure 4.4 Attrition rates in public primary schools in Adamawa State and the case study LGEAs**

These children are at a high risk of dropping out and of non-completion of primary school. The State’s efforts to ensure sustained school access therefore needs to take retention seriously. Figure 4.4 plots retention across the case study LGEAs and illustrates that there is a gradual increase in attrition per grade up through the primary grades. While there are examples such as LGEA C1 where grade size increases, especially in the early grades, the dominant pattern shows levels of attrition that reach just below 20% in Grades 4–5 and 5–6. LGEA C2 shows a consistent pattern of these levels of attrition. Importantly, there tend to be higher levels of attrition among male pupils, especially marked in the later grades.

There are salutary messages here about the balance between efforts in community mobilisation to get children into school and the efforts to keep them in. More research is needed on the main causes of attrition and might ascertain whether this is caused by factors external to the school that pull pupils out, or factors within the school that push pupils out, or a combination of both. According to the literature, school quality is a key factor, suggesting that initial access to school needs to be followed by high quality teaching and learning and a favourable learning environment, otherwise high levels of attrition are inevitable. This phenomenon produces considerable inefficiencies in the school system. For example, although there is a system of automatic promotion within the state, repetition might partially explain both the levels of
attrition (in other words, the number of pupils who do not progress to the next grade), and/or the proportions of overage pupils.

**Repetition and attendance**

Fig 4.5 illustrates levels of repetition for the state and for each of the case study LGEAs. We can see that in Grades 1–5 the repetition rate is around 8% despite the automatic promotion. In general the case study LGEAs show repetition below the state average except for C1 and S2, which both include sizeable urban centres. Although it is not uniformly the case, in the majority of grades and LGEAs there tend to be more boys than girls repeating. This gender effect has also been observed in the national data (see Chapter 3).

![Figure 4.5 Percentage of repeaters by grade in public schools in Adamawa State and the case study LGEAs](source: EMIS 2009–10)

Poor attendance puts pupils at risk of dropout and poor learning outcomes, which in turn can produce attrition and repetition. The reported pupil average of 5.5 days absent from school in the month prior to the 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011) alerts us to the importance of attendance and its centrality to the effort to ensure school access for all Adamawa children (see Chapter 7, Section 7.3.2 for case study data). At the national level, for example, illness was given as the main factor for school absenteeism and reference to the data on the North East shows it has the highest statistics for stunting (28%) wasting (9%) and underweight (23%) children. These statistics mirror those in the national sample in the lowest wealth quintile and those with no schooling. The links between health and education are critical and explanations of low attendance based on state-level data would be informative. Similarly, collaborative ventures between health and educational administration might reap positive benefits for children.

There are very little reliable data on attendance, however, and reference to the case study schools (see Appendix I) shows that these problems also apply to dropout and performance data. In all cases the figures provided by head teachers appear to be at odds with observations and the qualitative data gathered during the research visits to schools. For example, research
visits to the schools suggested that absenteeism by pupils and teachers was higher than the school data provided would suggest. Stakeholder interviews also reported that some pupils are absent for whole terms and that seasonal absenteeism e.g. for harvesting, was common. The lack of systematic data on attendance also points to potential slippage between what is considered as poor attendance and as dropout. Schools reported widely different levels of dropout from around 5% to more than 15% and patterns by population group, where discernible, varied across the cases. The 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011) reported in Chapter 3, however, quotes a dropout figure of 17.9% in the North East, which is the highest national rate. In addition, it indicates that girls and rural children are more likely to drop out. The same problems occur with the case study performance data, where inconsistencies suggest that they are largely unreliable.

**Transition to junior secondary school**

Transition to JSS is often used as a proxy indicator for primary school quality. As the national definition of basic education has expanded to include the pre-primary, primary and JJS years, this statistic becomes increasingly important. These data are presented in Figure 4.6.

Transition rates at state level remain below 60%. The (under-) estimation that nearly 68% of secondary school age children are out of school in Table 4.7 suggests that a large proportion of those making the transition are overage. Nevertheless, Figure 4.6 does indicate a wide range in transition rates from less than 20% (LGEA S1) to more than 100% (LGEA S2). In all cases more boys make the transition than girls, with as much as a 40% difference in LGEA C1.

The issue with unreliable data has been repeated several times in this report; it seems clear that if head teachers do not ensure that data at school level are collected, checked and stored properly then they can serve very little purpose in understanding the realities of school contexts, in any kind of monitoring or evaluation; nor can they feed into practice and policy implementation in the school. High quality data at school level are fundamental to these vital processes. The problems with data are obviously magnified at the state level, where they are dependent on school returns that have been completed by head teachers, who may be untrained or unaware of the data’s value. Data are then cleaned and analysed in an uncertain process such that their potential to inform is minimally exploited. Planning and development initiatives may be seriously misguided if left uninformed by indicators of school access and quality, which include attendance, dropout and performance data. There is very little point in sustaining community mobilisation to encourage access, for example, if low quality schooling is driving absenteeism and dropout.

![Figure 4.6 Public school transition to JSS by gender in Adamawa State and the case study LGEAs](source: EMIS 2009–10)
4.8 RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

The appointment of Dr Salihu Bakari as the Executive Chair of ADSUBEB in 2008 marked a significant turning point in educational administration in Adamawa, as he was the first professionally trained and experienced educator to serve in the post. On assumption of office, Dr Bakari disclosed that the Board had inherited a chaotic situation, as “we did not know how many primary schools we had, how many pupils we had in schools” (Olanrewaju, 2011, p.42). One of the significant steps taken by the new administration was to conduct a school survey, which revealed that schools in the state were in poor condition. Specifically, 3,445 classes were under shade, 2,779 classrooms were in need of repair and 4,339 additional classrooms were needed (ADSUBEB, 2010).

The Board also established an EMIS unit to ensure more reliable data on which to base educational planning. This development is still in the early stages of development: access to processed data remains difficult, and its use to inform policy or implementation decisions is still limited. Much of the data presented in this report have been drawn from EMIS, which clearly still has some teething problems in that the data suffer from certain inconsistencies, to indicate that further efforts are needed to improve the quality of the data collection and processing.

Other major steps taken to widen access and provide better quality basic education in the state include:

- Sensitisation and mobilisation of the target groups (pupils, parents, community, religious and opinion leaders) and other stakeholders to enable them to appreciate the essence of UBE and their respective roles in ensuring full access and participation in the programme.
- Provision of free school uniforms for primary school pupils beginning with those in Primary I.
- Refinement of the machinery for monitoring and evaluating the UBE scheme through appointment and training of school supervisors to facilitate regular supervision of schools.
- Development of a library and computer complex in at least sixteen out of twenty LGEAs in the state.
- Construction of classroom blocks and office buildings in schools. Of note here is the introduction of multi-storey buildings in highly populated urban schools to address the problem of lack of space for expansion.
- Introduction of boarding junior secondary schools in the state (ADSUBEB, n.d.).
- Improvements in the provision of education for children from nomadic families. Adamawa State has also been selected as the North East Zone’s pilot state to trial Interactive Radio Instruction (IRI) methodology in ten nomadic schools across ten LGAs (Jauro, 2010). At the Federal College of Education in Yola a pre-service teacher training programme to produce teachers from nomadic communities to teach in their respective communities is reportedly paying dividends in terms of teacher retention, and is said to have increased nomadic parents’ confidence in the education programme (ibid.). A further African Development Fund-assisted initiative has involved offering bursaries to teacher trainees from nomadic communities on condition that they teach in nomadic schools for three years. Nevertheless, overall there is still a lack of suitably qualified teachers and poor teacher retention in nomadic schools (ibid.).

In recognition of the various efforts that the Board had taken to revamp basic education in the state, UBEC ranked ADSUBEB as the second, first and second state basic education board in the country in 2008, 2009 and 2010, respectively. However, there is awareness that while many positive developments have been taking place over the last few years, many challenges still
remain to address unequal access to and meaningful participation in basic education, and to improve the overall quality of basic education that is offered. It is within this context that the present research collaboration between ABSUBEB and the Centre for International Education at the University of Sussex, UK, constitutes a first step towards providing research evidence to aid future educational planning within Adamawa State. This active problem-solving approach to educational development in the state has been sustained with the appointment of Dr Halilu Hamma as the new Executive Chair of the Board in 2012.

4.9 SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS FOR ACCESS (QUALITY AND OUTCOMES)

This chapter has provided an overview of education in Adamawa State and although the later chapters will expand on various dimensions of educational services, there are some important summary points to highlight here with respect to improved access and quality.

At a basic level, information systems are in need of upgrading to improve the data gathering process, the accuracy of the data provided, and a year-on-year systematic analysis. There will be multiple benefits from investment in better quantitative data in terms of understanding key variables within the context, including those that drive improved and sustained access to schooling. Accurate quantitative data provide the basis on which to develop new policies as well as to monitor and evaluate their impacts. It is important, however, to ensure that more qualitative data are included, which are essential to understanding the drivers and barriers of access and the perspectives of the multiple stakeholders that are vital to the success of any strategy aimed at widening access and improving quality.

Teacher appointment and deployment processes need to be made clearer and more transparent. There are specific gender dynamics that need to be the focus of policy and practice attention. The patterns and processes of teacher appointment, professional development and promotion need to be monitored and used to inform strategies that ensure fairer distribution and greater equity across and within the profession and administration.

The system of educational governance across the state needs to be improved and revitalised. Although there are policy documents available, the evidence from this research suggests that development of a transparent, responsive and accountable system of school governance is a high priority. School governance arrangements are vital for addressing quality and equality in educational service provision in Adamawa State. Where political interference influences educational administration it disrupts accountability relations that in turn can skew the due acquisition of both professional position and resources. While this will be impossible to expunge completely, levels of professionalism in the administrative and educational hierarchy would enhance trust in a more objective set of processes, rewards and disciplinary procedures. This would help to move these important state functions out of the realm of personal influence towards one of professional practice.

Educational decentralisation needs to be further developed and supported. The responsibilities of the stakeholder bodies, communications with other stakeholders, and accountabilities need to be made clear. This might address some ambiguities around the operation of SBMCs and PTAs and issues of representation and voice within them.

School and teacher support systems need to be strengthened, especially with respect to school–community relations, teacher professional development and teaching quality. There is an important relationship between access and school quality, and the latter needs to be addressed head on. Teachers need to be encouraged in the continual development of their work especially as policy demands more pupil-centred teaching and learning (see FRN, 2004b). Systems of
teacher reward might usefully be linked to quality improvements. The development of active professional teacher groups is one strategy to build local level capacity and quality.

Questions of equity need to be highlighted in terms of gender and other disadvantaged groups. Although there have been important gains, for example, in girls’ access to schools, gender stereotypes still limit the opportunities of girls and boys. The gender balance across the multiple stakeholders groups including pupils, parents, PTAs, SBMCs, LGEAs and ADSUBEB all need to be the focus of concerted and sustained action.
CHAPTER 5 INFRASTRUCTURE

5.1 INTRODUCTION
National survey results show that 96% of parents view school buildings as an important quality of a good school. School proximity was cited by 53% of parents nationally as a key consideration in school selection and by 43% of parents in the North East and distance to school was one of the main reasons for non-enrolment (NPC and RTI International, 2011). Additionally, children who live far away from school are more likely to enrol late and overage children are also more likely to drop out (Hunt, 2008). The crucial influence of infrastructure on school access has been emphasised by survey results showing that in the North East a reported 60% of parents/guardians thought there was a problem with school buildings (NPC and RTI International, 2011). In acknowledgement of this, over recent years ADSUBEB, supported by the UBE Intervention Fund, has exerted a concerted effort both to construct new schools and upgrade existing school buildings. This has provided a strong signal of the importance of educational access in Adamawa.

In this chapter we draw on case study evidence, refer to data from national reports, and extract statistical data predominantly drawn from the Adamawa School Census (2009–10). The census consists of a compiled data set based on school returns; for 2009–10 84.2% of public primary schools made returns. ADSUBEB has also been furnished with a state-wide audit of schools, which outlines the condition of classroom buildings and amenities undertaken by a private construction company (ADSUBEB, 2010).

5.2 SCHOOL AND CLASSROOMS
The pace of infrastructural development may be seen in Table 5.1, which compares school census data of 2008–9 and 2009–10 for selected case study LGEAs in Adamawa. Increases in the number of schools range from more than 10% in LGEA C1 to nearly 20% in LGEA N2. This has important implications for encouraging greater and sustained school enrolments in LGEAs like S2 in which Baobab Primary School reports pupils coming to class from a distance of up to 8km away.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LGEAS</th>
<th>Number of schools (2008–2009)*</th>
<th>Number of schools (2009–2010)**</th>
<th>Increase in number of schools (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N1</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N2</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C2</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: *Adamawa School Census, 2008–9, **Adamawa School Census 2009–10

Evidence from the case studies testifies to the positive impact of the concerted attention being paid to school infrastructure within the state. The new buildings and usable classrooms in three of the sample schools [METRO, KILFI, BAOBAB] provided an agreeable learning environment and made these schools clearly identifiable within their local setting. As reported elsewhere across Nigeria, however, poor finishing of buildings in places detracted somewhat from the quality of these new schools, indicating a need to review contracts and the commissioning processes (Ikoya and Onoyase, 2008; see also BAOBAB, case study Appendix IG)
While many stakeholders from the community, schools and LGEAs also applauded ADSUBEB’s support in the refurbishment of classrooms and response to disaster e.g. a classroom roof collapsing [KANTI], most pointed to the need for more government assistance. This was particularly the case with the three schools in the more rural locations, where there were dilapidated and unusable classrooms as well as classes under shade. This rural-urban difference is also reflected at the national level (NPC and RTI International, 2011). Table 5.2 presents data on the condition of classrooms across the state and in the selected case study LGEAs, and shows that less than one third of the classrooms in Adamawa are described as being in ‘good’ condition. The majority of classrooms are in poor condition, needing either minor or major repairs, are under construction or are unusable. One consequence of this is shown in the final column of Table 5.2, which indicates an extremely high average pupil to classroom ratio of 279 at the state level and in excess of that in three of the case study LGEAs, reaching 381 in LGEA S1. The data support the stakeholders’ view on the ongoing need for further building and rehabilitation work across the primary school sector in Adamawa State.

Table 5.2 Classroom numbers and conditions in public primary schools in Adamawa State and the case study LGEAs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LGEA</th>
<th>No. of rooms</th>
<th>Good condition</th>
<th>Needing minor repairs</th>
<th>Needing major repairs</th>
<th>Total in poor condition</th>
<th>Pupil- c’room ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N1</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>20 27.8%</td>
<td>21 29%</td>
<td>23 32%</td>
<td>52 72%</td>
<td>358.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N2</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>23 26.4%</td>
<td>24 28%</td>
<td>28 32%</td>
<td>64 74%</td>
<td>142.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C1</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>15 28.3%</td>
<td>7 13%</td>
<td>21 40%</td>
<td>38 72%</td>
<td>367.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C2</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>33 42.3%</td>
<td>24 31%</td>
<td>13 17%</td>
<td>45 58%</td>
<td>273.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S1</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>32 52.5%</td>
<td>21 34%</td>
<td>3 5%</td>
<td>29 48%</td>
<td>381.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>51 28.8%</td>
<td>56 32%</td>
<td>48 27%</td>
<td>125 71%</td>
<td>109.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
<td>1700</td>
<td>552 32.5%</td>
<td>448 26%</td>
<td>503 30%</td>
<td>1145 67%</td>
<td>279.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adamawa School Census 2009–10

Community mobilisation in Adamawa has increased enrolments to schools across the state. In the case study LGEAs a range of stakeholders, including the PTA, village heads, ES and head teachers in the case study schools [DOYA, BAOBAB], have been involved in community mobilisation that has stimulated increased access to school. These successes have heightened pressure for more schools and classrooms, producing the overcrowding indicated by the high pupil-to-classroom ratios presented in Table 5.2 [KANTI, DOYA]. This is consistent with the 2010 NEDS results that show that almost half of parents/guardians in the North East thought there was a serious problem with classroom overcrowding (NPC and RTI International, 2011). As a consequence, lessons often take place in sub-standard classrooms or under shade, where teaching and learning is more difficult. There are evident strains between the need to provide schooling for all Adamawa children and the successful mobilisation campaigns when the school environment they are invited into is less than conducive to quality teaching and learning. Another important factor, (discussed in Chapter 6 on Teacher Management) concerns the compounding influence of the number of teachers in school, such that, where there is a shortage of teachers and inadequate classrooms, large multi-grade classes tend to take place [KANTI]. In the longer term, the inadequate supply of school buildings (and teachers in school) is likely to work against the advocacy message for sustained school access.

The parents, community leader and teachers of pupils in Kanti, a rural school in the Northern Zone, illustrate the upset and dissatisfaction with the over-crowding and the continued need for three classes to have lessons under shade. In addition, even where there were buildings, lessons
took place in classrooms that were often dirty, with earth floors, termite mounds, leaking roofs, poor light, illegible chalkboards and no furniture. In Doya too, many buildings were very old and not in good condition, some with un-cemented potholed floors and no windows. Here, lessons also took place under the trees, where pupils used the earth to write on due to the lack of a legible chalkboard and pupil resources. While there was consensus about government responsibilities in terms of infrastructure, in all the case study schools, the PTA made an important contribution to the physical fabric of their schools. For example, in Kanti the PTA had sponsored two classroom buildings and in Doya they had constructed a nursery but did not have enough funds to equip it.

While the work of the PTA bridged a gap in the availability of classrooms and was often admired, it also had some potentially negative associations. First, at the national level research indicates that for some, the need for PTA involvement signalled a lack of political commitment to UBE (Ikoya and Onoyase, 2008), with systems in which the lines of authority, responsibility and accountability were unclear, not transparent, subject to political interference and characterised by mistrust (Urwick and Aliyu, 2003; Williams, 2009; also see BAOBAB). In the face of the high financial burden associated with building projects, an incremental approach had been adopted in which schools and locations identified for infrastructural development were recommended to ADSUBEB through the LGEAs. In the rural case study schools, where the building stock was in need of most urgent attention, there was some concern about the equity in the processes by which schools were identified for remedial building works [KANTI, DOMINGO, DOYA].

Second, within the case study schools parental failure to pay the PTA levy often led to pupil exclusion from school or disciplinary actions (see Chapter 7 on Pupil Management) with detrimental consequences for school access. Third, during the building work, the PTAs often enlisted unpaid pupil labour to carry sand and water for building purposes [e.g. KANTI]. This use of child labour (see www.ilo.org/ipec/facts/lang--en/index.htm) limits the association of attending school with meaningful learning, which may encourage dropout, especially in the North East, where 69.8% of school children already combine schooling with working (FOS/ILO, 2001). In addition, families might consider this child labour could be better deployed to increase family income or to improve domestic conditions [KANTI, DOYA, BAOBAB].

However, some of the case study schools did not appear overcrowded. Baobab, for example, had a head teacher’s office, staffroom and adequate classrooms with smooth floors, doors, windows, electricity, lights and fans. There was also a library and a computer suite although pupils were not observed using either facility. This evoked an overwhelmingly positive response from many stakeholders including members of the SBMC and PTA; the pupils described the classrooms as the thing they most like about school, and the LGEA staff linked the quality of the school buildings with increased school access.

5.3 AMENITIES

5.3.1 Water
In addition to the buildings, water, toilets and electricity are important amenities in schools. Water is vital and a basic human requirement, which is in constant demand in the hot and often dusty prevailing conditions. Table 5.3 shows, however, that an average of 52% schools were without a water source across the state. In four out of the six case study LGEAs the situation was worse, with LGEA N2 registering nearly 80% of schools with no water source.

Across the case study schools even those with relatively new good quality buildings did not necessarily have access to water. In one urban school [KILFI], however, a water source was available in a walled compound and this was used in controlled but positive ways with the
surrounding community. The lack of available water was problematic, especially in the more rural case study schools though some schools had made attempts to have water available [e.g. DOYA]. Teachers and pupils in Kanti, where there was a dispute about school use of the nearest bore-hole, saw the lack of water as detrimental to performance in school. LGEA staff also recognised it as a major access issue. In schools without a water source, pupils and teachers alike were forced to leave the school compound to get (often untreated) water. It was reported that these pupils often did not return to school, thereby increasing absenteeism, which is a precursor to dropout [KANTI, DOYA, BAOBAB].

Table 5.3 Availability of water in public primary schools in Adamawa State and the case study LGEAs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LGEA</th>
<th>Number of schools</th>
<th>Schools with no water source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(n)</td>
<td>(%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N2</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C1</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C2</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S1</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
<td>1,890</td>
<td>877</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adamawa School Census 2009–10

The water situation in schools has evident influence on access; nevertheless, it is worth acknowledging that across the state only about 27% of the population have access to treated water (water bore hole, hand pump or protected well), and in rural areas the proportion is less (23.6%) and distances to water sources are further (NBS, 2009). In the case studies, the demand for water in schools and communities often required negotiations between community leaders and school heads. Evidence from the case studies illustrates how, on the one hand, it had caused a rift between them [KANTI] and, on the other hand, it had been used as an opportunity to engage positively with community members, who were permitted to use the water source under the supervision of the security guard [KILFI].

5.3.2 Toilets

The availability of toilets is also important to school access. The state census included pit latrines, toilets with water flush and bucket arrangements for pupils only, teachers only and mixed teacher and pupil use. Pit latrines were by far the most common toilets provided in schools. Tables 5.4 and 5.5 show a startling absence of toilet facilities in the schools across the state.

As might be expected from their respective numbers in school, in every case, with the exception of LGEA N1, the proportion of teacher toilets per school was less than for pupils. Nevertheless, the lack of water and toilets has been shown to have negative effects on teacher motivation (Sherry, 2008; FME, 2009b). For pupils, there was effectively one pupil toilet available for every two schools at the state level, and less than that in three sample LGEAs. Only urban LGEA C1 had an average of more than one pupil toilet per school. There was very little difference between the availability of toilets for girls and for boys within the LGEAs, yet at the state level there were only 87 toilets for girls for every one hundred toilets for boys. The general lack of toilet facilities for girls in Nigeria, and elsewhere, has been cited as a significant barrier to their sustained access to school and explained in terms of the need for greater privacy for girls when relieving themselves publicly, and during the onset of menstruation (Lidonde, 2004; Theobald et al., 2007; WaterAid, 2009; UNDP Nigeria, 2010).
Table 5.4 Teacher toilets in public primary schools in the case study LGEAs and Adamawa State

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LGEA</th>
<th>Schools (n)</th>
<th>Teacher pit latrines (n)*</th>
<th>All toilets (n)</th>
<th>Average (n) toilets per school</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N2</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C1</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C2</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S1</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
<td>1,890</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* includes teacher-only and mixed pupil and teacher latrines

Source: Adamawa School Census 2009–10

Table 5.5 Pupil toilets in public primary schools in the case study LGEAs and Adamawa State

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LGEA</th>
<th>Schools (n)</th>
<th>Pupil pit latrines (n)*</th>
<th>All toilets (n)</th>
<th>Average toilets per school</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N2</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C1</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C2</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S1</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
<td>1,890</td>
<td>287</td>
<td>329</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* includes pupil-only and mixed pupil-and-teacher latrines

Source: Adamawa School Census, (2009–10)

The LGEA averages in Table 5.5 are difficult to reconcile with case study observations, which revealed no toilets for pupils in Kanti, although the teachers were permitted to use the JSS facilities; four dilapidated latrines in Domingo; four blocks in Metropolis, with one exclusively for teachers; two of three blocks in Kilfi for pupil use; two latrines in Doya and six blocks in Baobab. Observations indicated that there was very limited pupil access to any toilets in most case study schools as they were often either locked, unavailable to pupils, filthy or unsafe (see section on School security later in this chapter). In the urban schools, even where there were more toilets available, male pupils were seen kneeling down in many different parts of the school compound to relieve themselves [KILFI], or both girls and boys used the latrine walls [DOMINGO] and, especially in the more rural settings, pupils often went into the bush [KANTI, DOYA]. LGEA staff claimed that as village communities were used to defecating in the bush, the lack of toilet facilities would not be a deterrent to school attendance. Observations in the case study schools provided evidence of a range of toilet practices that included defecating around the toilet area and even in the classrooms, though outsiders were said to be responsible for the latter. This health hazard needs to be addressed and although there was one reported case of a counsellor showing boys who soiled classrooms where to urinate [KANTI], it appears that pupils and perhaps community members need to be trained how to use the toilets and understand the health risks associated with mis-using classrooms in this way. For many female pupils this was a particular issue as they were often required to clean toilets and classrooms of human (and sometimes animal) excrement.
Water and sanitation have not necessarily been an integral part of school building development even though they are crucial to a healthy school environment. Their relevance to access has been asserted by other research findings:

Attendance rates can rise by as much as 30% when issues such as water and sanitation facilities are addressed." (British Council 2012, p.3)

5.3.3 Health Services

Given the statistical descriptions in Tables 5.3 and 5.5, pupils may be exposed to a number of health risks in school especially where either toilet facilities and/or potable water are not available or not used properly. Previous research shows that although most adult stakeholders do not consider health to be a major problem, many children consider problems with health as a cause of absenteeism and major barrier to school (NPC and RTI International, 2011; Unterhalter and Heslop, 2011; see also DOYA). This difference alone suggests the need for further investigation of pupil health. In the case studies the findings are similar; it was only in Kanti that Teachers and a PTA member raised the problems of health and hunger for both pupil attendance and quality of learning.

According to the Adamawa School Census 2009–10 there are no schools in the state with a health worker, clinic or first aid box. The census also reported no school with a specialist HIV/AIDS health worker, despite reports in a national survey that around 10% of households in the North East reported knowing children in the community they believed were absent from school because a parent or guardian was ill with either HIV or AIDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011). In Baobab case study school, however, there was at least a first aid kit in the head teacher’s office and community sensitisation about HIV/AIDS and pregnancy had taken place as a means to improve access and reduce the dropout of girls in particular. Further, prompted by health concerns, the community leader had expressed the view that the school needed a clinic (see BAOBAB case study, Appendix IG).

5.3.4 Electrical power

In Adamawa State only 13.3% homes in rural areas, compared to 65% in urban areas have electrical supply (NBS, 2009). While the school census indicates there are only 1% of schools with a power source (ADSUBEB, 2010), case study evidence shows that three of the urban schools have power. Consistent with the rural–urban differences among households, neither of the rural schools has power. While electrical power may not be a high priority in current times, given the above issues with infrastructure and other amenities, it does have a bearing on curriculum offerings in ICT, school security and the use of school facilities after dark. There are some creative possibilities in which with some investment, perhaps through a public–private partnership, schools may be able to generate their own power for use in the classroom.
5.4 THE SCHOOL COMPOUND AND SECURITY

5.4.1 The compound space and use

The case study schools were all set in spacious grounds with plenty of room for break time exercise and play and for assembly, usually between classroom blocks. In two cases churches were adjacent to the compound [KANTI, DOYA] and signalled a historic connection with the schools and in the case of Kanti, the dominant religion of the school population. The flag pole was the central feature of the assembly grounds and in some cases an improvised school bell was hanging from a tree in the same location. Some schools shared their grounds with the JJS [KANTI, DOMINGO, METROPOLIS], a pre-school [KILFI, DOYA] or both [BAOBAB]. This often resulted in the mixing of pupils of different ages (including overage pupils) during break. In Kanti the arrangement of the buildings and over-crowding gave a sense of congestion. The school occupied a corner of a shared school campus with buildings built on three sides and a road on the fourth side. The space enclosed by the buildings had three classes under shade, the de facto staff room and was used by pupils at break. The larger playing fields and school farm were behind the classrooms and there was a pathway to the JSS. The head teacher had planted tress to cut this path off and demarcate the boundary with the JSS [KANTI]. In most schools, with the exception of Baobab, there were attempts to keep the school neat and tidy. The pupils’ daily or weekly routine included cleaning the compound and classrooms.

While the small crowded compound in Kanti offered a lot of shade, in other schools the shade was minimal and this produced areas of crowding at break times as both teachers and pupils sought cooler conditions [DOMINGO, DOYA, BAOBAB]. Besides the use of the grounds for playing football, mostly by boys and a few small group games often by the younger girls, there were no play facilities in the schools except in the walled compound of the urban Kilfi, although they were for pre-school children. The lack of facilities for sports and play, the unsuitability of the stony, uneven grounds for play, and the way its use was gendered, were issues raised by parents and LGEA staff in Doya. They thought that the availability of these facilities would encourage enrolment and retention.

5.4.2 School gates and fences

A key issue in all schools was the school fence/wall. Again with the exception of urban Kilfi and Metropolis, which were both fenced and with security guards on the main gate, none of the other four case study schools had a secure perimeter or gate. The location of all the schools relatively near to a road heightened the significance of compound security for all stakeholders in the four schools that were unfenced. The need for a secure perimeter was described as a top priority by the SBMC, PTA and parents in Kanti, where young pupils had to leave the school compound and cross the road to get to the available water source. In this school, and elsewhere, the proximity of roads to unfenced schools had caused traffic accidents involving school pupils [KANTI, DOMINGO]. In two other cases there were thoroughfares actually through the school grounds. Even in the recently upgraded Baobab, a road with cars, motorbikes, cycles and pedestrians went straight through the middle of the school playgrounds between pre-school and primary classrooms. This was a continuous disruption and distraction that also brought the dangers of road traffic into the school compound and near some very young school pupils. In the more rural location of Doya, farmers and villagers crossed the school grounds at will, with goats and sheep sometimes straying into the classrooms.

The school fence or wall raised many issues of school security that are highly significant to school access and strongly related to the way the school and the community worked together. Baobab provides a prime example of the problems. Despite constant efforts by the school and some community members to maintain the perimeter cement wall and lockable gate, they were persistently breached and broken by people moving around and through the school. Although
the LGEA had contributed temporarily with a security guard, he had apparently not been paid and stopped working. The lack of resolution or action concerning the ongoing situation raises the question of responsibility and accountability for school security; in this case most community stakeholders and teachers thought responsibility lay with the government or LGEA, whereas the LGEA staff regarded it as the head teacher’s responsibility [BAOBAB].

A school fence may also have positive benefits for both the management of teachers and pupils as well as for their security. In addition to marking the school out within the community, a secure fence and gate can help monitor the flow of strangers through the school compound. It can also facilitate better management control over both pupils and teachers, and reduce truancy and absenteeism, thereby bolstering efforts to improve quality teaching, learning and performance. To this extent the gate and fence are integral to the school building and a vital aspect of infrastructural development.

The siting of schools was at the heart of some of these security problems. At the national level too, the problems of school location have been reported as problematic such as the mobile and fixed school initiatives for children from nomadic communities (Iro, 2001; Usman, 2006). In the case study example of Baobab, it transpired that although most of the community wanted the school, the location and road closure had not been negotiated with the wider community. In other schools too, the issue of school land continues to be contentious causing poor relations between the school and the community [KANTI, DOYA]. In one case the LGEA staff had intervened with respect to the land but the lack of funds to repair the nearby school water pump had left the school without accessible drinking water [KANTI]. The issue of school land and safe access to water continue to feed tensions between schools and communities [DOYA]. Without the existence of good relations, a process for resolution or the intervention by government/the LGEA, such cases tend to be dealt with (if at all) in an adhoc way that depends on personalities and influence rather than systems of responsibility or accountability (See Chapter 9 for further discussion).

5.4.4 Outsider encroachment

All four schools without secure fencing and gates experienced problems associated with unauthorised access to the school. Given the high premium on the safety of children, and of girls in particular, this is a critical access and retention issue. Across the case studies there are several examples of both pupils and teachers leaving school unquestioned, unsupervised and unmonitored [KANTI, DOMINGO, DOYA, BAOBAB]. Even in the fenced or walled schools, there was evidence of pupil pathways out of the compound, for example gaps in the fence or ladder holes cut into the high walls [METROPOLIS, KILFI]. Pupils often left school to look for food, water or pencils and books – often they did not return.

The multiple incidents of outsiders entering and loitering in and around the school compound threatened school and pupil security. Hawkers, mainly women and girls, are a constant feature of school grounds even in the walled Kilfi compound. In certain schools this was more regulated [KILFI, BAOBAB] as these traders were sent away after break but in other cases they loitered in the compound or at an edge by the roadside. In Baobab, very young out-of-school girls were among the hawkers, who were joined by other schoolgirl hawkers coming from class to trade during break.

In some schools, passers-by entered compounds from any direction and wandered through the school and classrooms rarely being challenged [KANTI, DOMINGO, DOYA]. Some shouted at pupils and teachers and others waited for break and the opportunity to mix with the pupils [KANTI]. The apparent disrespect for the school boundaries by some community members was visible in the dumping of rubbish and the presence of goats or sheep in classrooms, with their
droppings alongside human faeces found in classrooms, around the edges of the school grounds or around latrines [DOYA]. The health hazards were multiplied where the school grounds were liable to flooding [BAOBAB]. Pupils, teachers, community members and LGEA staff all raised these issues and the issue of vandalism that had at various times spoiled efforts to beautify the compound, plant trees for shade, or maintain classroom conditions e.g. putting in glass windows panes.

These encroachments onto the school compound took place both during and after school hours in several of the case study schools. Observations indicated young men loitering around unfenced school compounds, some apparently drinking alcohol or using drugs, usually near toilet blocks or around the school perimeter and the main entrance. The effect was to make the toilets an intimidating place to go near, especially for young girls who require more privacy than boys. In Baobab young pupils trying to get into school often used holes in the wall or side entrances avoiding the main gates where these disaffected youths were often found. In other cases in Baobab, pupils were reportedly abused and insulted on their way into school by ‘okada’ drivers or ‘area boys’ often from outside the immediate community, who were also reported to have intruded into the school buildings to disrupt pupils during school hours.

At night some schools were used as gathering places, or party venues, by men and some women. The proximity of a late-opening music bar in Kanti, for example, was a particular problem. The resultant mess in the school was usually left for pupils, mainly girls, to clear up the next morning before class. This can act as a disincentive to come to school on time, or at all, and it was one of the key complaints from pupils in Kanti. Although not reported in the case studies, national-level research suggests that although under-reported, there are increased risks of gender violence in these unregulated and insecure environments (Ikechebelu et al., 2008; Aransiola et al., 2009).

5.5 SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS FOR ACCESS (QUALITY AND OUTCOMES)
The interweaving of case study research data, national and state-level surveys and previous research in this chapter have highlighted the significance of infrastructure to issues of access, retention and quality in school. Summary points have been drawn together in this section and these include elaborating on specific gender effects.

The proximity of schools to communities and families was important for encouraging access and for retention. Pupils who live furthest from school tend to start late and remain at risk of drop out. This is especially significant for girls in Adamawa as their enrolments lag behind those of boys and safety concerns are among the key reasons not to send girls to school.

The appearance and quality of school buildings is important to decisions about school choice, for parents and pupils. The presence of a well-kept school makes a statement about the importance of education and is referred to by all stakeholders as a context to both enjoy and admire. There appeared to be greater status attached to schools with blocks of more than one storey.

The quality of new school buildings and the finishing was disappointing in places, which suggests that the commissioning processes and quality control measures need to be tightened.

Much has been accomplished but clearly a lot remains to be done. The incremental upgrading and development of schools invites questions about the processes through which schools are ‘selected’ for refurbishment or rebuilding. While recommendations pass from LGEAs to ADSUBEB, there appear to be political influences interfering with a systematic and equitable decision-making process. The potential for disgruntlement and disaffection of teachers, parents and others trying hard to improve educational opportunities in their communities is high. A more
explicit process perhaps based on a school development plan could contribute to a more transparent selection process.

There is an evident need to balance community mobilisation efforts with infrastructural development. The detrimental effects of overcrowding on school quality and retention in the longer term need to be borne in mind especially in poor communities, where child labour is in demand to sustain family life. There may be some creative opportunities to consider different school types or timings in ways that still reach those who are at risk of missing school or learning very little if they do attend.

A secure school compound is critical for a school and must be included in infrastructural plans. In addition to the fences and gates needed to demarcate the school boundaries, there is an apparent need for paid security personnel to monitor outsiders entering and leaving the compound. These measures are fundamental to pupil and teacher safety within school, and to reassuring parents that their children, especially girls, are not endangered while at school.

A water source and clean, working toilets are also basic to school infrastructure and integral to the establishment of a school. Without these basic amenities pupils remain at risk of truancy and teachers at risk of absenteeism. The lack of these basic amenities is associated with health and safety risks that are raised by pupils as a reason to truant or not to attend school. This has particular implications for girls, who require greater privacy in usual circumstances and particularly in the on-set of menstruation.

Communications between the school, the community and the LGEA are vital to the establishment and location of the school. A forum that highlights the importance of negotiation and collaboration between these three interest groups has the potential to strengthen school–community cohesion in ways that could increase school access, improve conditions and educational quality. Many problems with access and retention appear to have emerged from miscommunication and lack of consultation.

Channelling health education through schools represents one way to deal with the evident issues around toilet use, basic hygiene and communicable diseases for pupils, communities and teachers. It could facilitate a cleaner safer environment, deal with the ‘mysteries’ around menstruation, and help to address the dropout caused by pupil and family illness and girls reaching puberty. It might also work to enhance reciprocal relations between schools and communities.
CHAPTER 6 TEACHERS AND TEACHER MANAGEMENT

6.1 INTRODUCTION
This chapter considers teachers and teacher management, drawing on data from the case study schools and LGEAs as well as interview data from ADSUBEB members. A national study of teacher motivation among primary and junior secondary school teachers has pointed to low morale and a lack of commitment among teachers (Sherry, 2008), resulting in serious teacher absenteeism, which has been described as “endemic” in some public primary schools, especially in rural areas (Urwick and Aliyu, 2003; Ahmed et al., 2008). The Federal Ministry of Education recognises this, and the fact that in part it is due to low pay, inadequate teacher support and inadequate school infrastructure (FME, 2009b). ADSUBEB interviewees also raised concerns about teacher professionalism and motivation and confirmed that it is a priority to ensure that teachers are motivated, committed, disciplined and adequately trained and supervised so that teaching quality is improved [ADSUBEB officers]. As one Board member put it: “Teachers are the bedrock of educational development” and therefore we need to “work on teachers in terms of welfare, quality and discipline.” These and other issues are explored in this chapter.

First, teacher appointments, qualifications and distribution are considered, focusing on the processes of appointing and distributing teachers at state, LGEA and school level, and the relative distribution of qualified and unqualified teachers according to gender. The lens then turns to teachers’ pay and conditions, which, as stated above, have been identified as pivotal to the lack of teacher motivation and professionalism among many teachers, as has a poor teaching environment (Sherry, 2008). The next section looks at teachers’ roles within the school, in terms of responsibilities, before considering teacher management and support more generally. The chapter ends by examining the data on teacher discipline, both the disciplinary issues that occur, such as absenteeism and unregulated corporal punishment, and the procedures and practices that deal with such infractions. The chapter ends with a summary of the main points concerning teachers and teacher management and the implications for school access and educational quality.

6.2 APPOINTMENTS, QUALIFICATIONS AND DISTRIBUTION
Only half the teachers nationally hold the minimum teacher qualification, the National Certificate in Education (NCE) (FME, 2009a; Omo-Ojugo, 2009; USAID, 2009), and this lack of qualified teachers has been reported as worse in the more rural, northern regions of the country (FME, 2009a). Data from 2006 indicate that in Adamawa State only 37% of primary school teachers were qualified, as opposed to 90% in Lagos State (NBS and NMEC, 2010). Our analysis of 2009–10 EMIS data, however, indicates that 60% of the 13,000 public primary teachers in Adamawa State are now qualified, and 9% are graduates. As highlighted in Chapter 4, in Adamawa State the profession is male-dominated, and there are fewer female teachers and fewer qualified teachers in rural areas. Table 6.1 below also illustrates that generally a higher proportion of male teachers are qualified than female teachers. At the state level, the ratio of qualified to unqualified teachers is 2.7:1 for female teachers and 3.2:1 for male teachers although the figures for the case study LGEAs show considerable variation. In LGEA N1, for example, where the 6:1 ratio indicates that there are six times as many qualified than unqualified male teachers, it is only 1.3:1 for female teachers. In other words, there are almost as many unqualified as qualified female teachers. This may be due in part, at least, to the formal and informal practices that discriminate against female staff and students that have been reported in colleges of education (Bakari, 2004) and/or to how teachers are deployed. In two of the case study LGEAs [N2 and S2], however, there was very little
difference in the ratios, and in two other urban LGEAs the ratio of qualified to unqualified teachers was better for women than for men [C1 and S1].

Table 6.1 Ratio of qualified to unqualified teachers by gender in public primary schools in Adamawa State and the case study LGEAs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LGEA</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>Female teachers</th>
<th>Male teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>State total</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern 1</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern 2</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central 1</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central 2</td>
<td>..*</td>
<td>..*</td>
<td>..*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern 1</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern 2</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*EMIS data for teachers in LGEA C2 is an extreme value so it has been excluded from the analysis.

Source: EMIS 2009–10

At the same time, however, it should be borne in mind that possession of a paper qualification is not necessarily a guarantee of greater professional competence. As one Board member said: “NCE is only a paper qualification. About 80–85% of teachers would not pass any proper testing”, though this problem is not restricted to Adamawa. For example, a large-scale assessment of teacher development needs conducted in Kwara State concluded that out of over 19,000 basic education teachers, “only 75 reached even minimum standards” (Thomas, 2011).

When it comes to head teachers, the gender difference is even more marked, as Table 6.2 also illustrates. Over 90% of head teachers are male across the state; even in LGEA S2, where a greater proportion of public primary school teachers are female, over three-quarters of head teachers are male; and in C1, where 63% of the teaching force is said to be female, still 95.9% of school heads are male. Figures for Central 1 suggest gender parity among head teachers, but the fact that these figures are severely out of line with data for other LGEAs casts doubt on their reliability. The extreme gender imbalances in head teacher appointments cannot be explained simply as a result of the fewer qualified female teachers from which to select a head teacher. The processes of being appointed as a teacher, of gaining qualifications, and of being promoted to head teacher clearly need closer scrutiny. This is important both for improving gender equality for female teachers, and for increasing girls’ participation in school, which the Federal Government explicitly acknowledges in its National Policy on Gender in Basic Education (FME, 2007a). The processes of teacher appointment and distribution, as explained below, give some indication as to the reasons for these persistent inequities.

Table 6.2 Number and percentage of qualified teachers by gender in public primary schools in Adamawa State and the case study LGEAs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LGEA</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>Teachers (%F)</th>
<th>Teachers (%M)</th>
<th>Head teachers</th>
<th>Head teachers (%F)</th>
<th>Head teachers (%M)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northern 1</td>
<td>1,177</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>90.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern 2</td>
<td>692</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>95.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central 1</td>
<td>708</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central 2</td>
<td>..*</td>
<td>..*</td>
<td>..*</td>
<td>..*</td>
<td>..*</td>
<td>..*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern 1</td>
<td>850</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>94.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern 2</td>
<td>511</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>76.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State total</td>
<td>13,309</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>1,490</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>91.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Extreme values entered in database and therefore not used for calculation

Source: EMIS 2009–10
Within Adamawa, the appointment and posting of teachers is managed by the state board and by LGEAs. As in other states, ADSUBEB has oversight of several teacher employment-related responsibilities including recruitment, promotion, salaries of qualified teachers and serious disciplinary issues although much of this has been further devolved to the LGEA level [ADSUBEB member]. So, for example, teacher appointments are made through ADSUBEB but teacher deployment is done by the LGEA. According to some Board members, despite the sufficient recruitment of teachers, they are poorly distributed within the state leaving some schools with very few qualified teachers [ADSUBEB members]. Data for our case study LGEAs and schools bear this out, showing great variation among LGEAs and among schools, and even within LGEAs, as figures for some of the case study schools vary greatly from the LGEA average. So, for example in Baobab school 79.5% of teachers are female, as compared to the LGEA S2 figure of 55%; in line with national trends, the two most rural schools in our study have the lowest percentages both of qualified teachers and of female teachers in our sample. See Chapter 4 for further details.

A key reason given for this situation was cited as the failure of the ES to move teachers, which in turn was related to politics at the LGEA level. This resonates with findings reported elsewhere in Nigeria (Urwick and Aliyu, 2003; Williams, 2009). The interface between political representation and educational governance has particular significance at the LGEA level as the ES is appointed by the SUBEB from candidates recommended by the chair of the LGC, who is affiliated to the local ruling party, but, as has been found in other states, may not necessarily have the requisite educational expertise (Williams, 2009).

Once appointed, the ES is then responsible for the appointment of head teachers and the transfer of teachers. Attempts to address problems of distribution by ADSUBEB have included setting teacher transfer deadlines for some ESs who, in some cases, have been compromised by threats when they have tried to move teachers [ADSUBEB officials]. The reluctance to transfer results from teachers not wanting to work in ‘ordinary’ schools, female teacher preference for urban schools where they can stay with their husbands, and teachers operating lucrative ‘scams’ or swindling parents. In addition to this, the higher costs of qualified teachers also influence teacher distribution within LGEAS [ADSUBEB officials]. There were complaints from three of the six case study LGEAs about the politicisation of appointments, be they of teachers, head teachers and/or school supervisors [KANTI, DOMINGO, METROPOLIS].

At the head teacher level, in addition to political considerations, an ES may prefer to appoint a head teacher on a lower grade if they themselves are only at Level 12 in order to feel less threatened [ADSUBEB member]. On the other hand, it has been found that teachers lack trust, loyalty and respect for the head teacher’s authority if the appointment has not been made on the basis of qualifications, experience and ability, [ADSUBEB member], resonating with findings from the national study on teacher motivation (Sherry, 2008).

At the case study level it was only in one out of six schools, Baobab, that satisfaction was expressed in general about the numbers of qualified teachers. In other schools, school, community and LGEA staff bemoaned the shortage of qualified teachers either within the case study school or across the LGEA more generally [KANTI, DOMINGO, KILFI, DOYA]. The specific problem of the non-replacement of teachers transferred from rural schools was voiced by community members and recognised by LGEA staff [DOYA, BAOBAB]. Specific shortages were also reported, including of female teachers; Doya in particular, a rural school, had only two unqualified female teachers out of a total of thirteen staff (one away on maternity leave; the other only temporary). Other reported shortages included teachers of Islamic Religious
Knowledge (IRK) and Christian Religious Knowledge (CRK) [DOYA, BAOBAB], and teachers with a good command of English [KANTI].

Efforts to improve the availability of teachers included head teachers asking for unpaid help from community members with some form of educational certification, even if not for teaching, and from school leavers [DOYA]; parents helping by collectively contributing ₦500 to ₦1000 a month to pay for three retired school teachers to teach part-time [DOYA]; and LGEAs starting to consider ways to experiment with teacher transfer and to offer allowances for teachers who agree to go to rural areas [DOMINGO, BAOBAB]. One LGEA said they were already practising a teacher recruitment policy that favoured employing “indigenes”, who would then be posted to their home town or village [KILFI].

6.3 TEACHER ROLES WITHIN SCHOOL
In addition to classroom teaching, teachers across the case study schools fulfilled a number of other functions within the schools. All schools had at least one assistant head teacher. Other special responsibilities mentioned included discipline, health, games, quizzes, debates, counselling, exams, pupil labour, school houses, uniforms and the library. In addition to these more long-term responsibilities, there were duty teachers who rotated; they were usually in charge of dealing with pupil latecoming, patrolling the compound at break, and sometimes during lesson times, and conducting assembly. In the three schools where criteria for allocation of responsibilities were mentioned, appointments were said to be based on “merit” [KANTI, DOMINGO, METROPOLIS], which in two schools included neatness [KANTI, DOMINGO], among other criteria such as punctuality, attitude towards pupils and knowledge. For example in one school the teacher in charge of health was a local pharmacist [KANTI]; in another school, a teacher with a qualification in guidance and counselling was put in charge of counselling [DOMINGO].

There were insufficient data to do a complete gender analysis of the roles and responsibilities across the schools but the available data suggest a certain degree of gender stereotyping with teacher responsibilities, in that more men were in senior management positions and in charge of traditionally masculine jobs such as labour and discipline whereas women were often favoured for the stereotypically female nurturing role of health (see Bakari, 2011, for similar findings at JSS level). All head teachers were male and most assistant head teachers were male, though two schools had female assistant head teachers [KANTI, BAOBAB]. It was unclear whether the “senior mistress” mentioned in two schools [BAOBAB, METROPOLIS] had similar management status. In addition, teachers in charge of discipline were male [KANTI, DOMINGO, KILFI, DOYA], except where discipline was the responsibility of the rotating duty teachers [BAOBAB], or where there was a “discipline master” in charge of boys, and a “discipline mistress” in charge of girls [METROPOLIS]. In all four schools that mentioned having a teacher responsible for pupil labour, which also often involved a disciplinary function, the post holder was male [KANTI, METROPOLIS, DOYA, BAOBAB]. In one school the head teacher acknowledged that it was theoretically possible for a female teacher to be a “discipline master” [KANTI] though another head teacher said that it had to be someone that the pupils feared [DOMINGO]. In contrast, in three of the four schools that reported having a teacher in charge of health, the incumbent was female; the one male was selected for the post because he was a practising pharmacist, as mentioned above.
6.4 PAY AND CONDITIONS

Pay was a key issue for teachers as they earned below the minimum wage despite being paid an inducement allowance that gives them more income than other civil servants. The funds for teacher pay are channelled from the federal government to the state government and then to local government based on a formula calculated on EMIS data returns [ADSUBEB member]. In all six case study schools, teachers’ main complaints about their job overwhelmingly related to low salaries and delays in payments and/or increments, and lack of a consistent pay structure, echoing the findings in Sherry’s (2008) national study on teacher motivation. Teachers often interpreted low or late pay as a sign of a lack of concern or neglect by government [DOMINGO, KILFI, METROPOLIS, BAOBAB], again resonating with the national study. LGEA staff, parents and community members were often sympathetic to teachers’ concerns about pay, regarding it as an important issue to be addressed by government [DOMINGO, METROPOLIS, DOYA, BAOBAB].

The consequences of low and delayed pay were described in terms of low teacher morale [DOMINGO, METROPOLIS, DOYA], teacher absenteeism [DOMINGO, DOYA, BAOBAB] and teachers’ strikes [DOMINGO, DOYA, BAOBAB], which in turn were associated with poor educational quality [DOMINGO, METROPOLIS, DOYA, BAOBAB]. One LGEA official identified low salaries as affecting the retention of male teachers in particular since the salaries were insufficient to support a family [BAOBAB], a point also made in the national study on teachers’ voice (Sherry, 2008). Teachers in one school also admitted that the reluctance to use teaching aids other than chalk was directly related to problems with their pay [BAOBAB]. In addition, one ES proposed abolishing the Level 14 salary cap for degree-holding primary teachers, who could reach Level 17 if they were teaching at secondary school, arguing that it encourages a brain drain from primary schools [DOMINGO].

In addition to improved pay and prompt salary payments, suggested incentives to address teacher motivation included increased opportunities for further study or training [KANTI, DOYA], teacher housing on or near the school [DOYA], transfer of teachers to posts nearer their home [DOMINGO], and provision of more opportunities for teacher promotion [KANTI, DOMINGO, METROPOLIS, DOYA]. LGEA officials [N2, C1, S2] raised the need for a duty post allowances to be used as incentives and one official had promised allowances to head teachers and school supervisors in their LGEA [N2]. On the other hand ADSUBEB members described some cash incentives for teachers who engaged in after school coaching of pupils in the examination year, which had worked well in raising examination performance; the Board was also about to start a housing loan scheme for teachers [ADSUBEB officials].

6.5 SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT

School and classroom conditions are also crucial to teacher motivation and teaching quality. The issue of classroom overcrowding was raised by teachers in several case study schools [DOMINGO, METROPOLIS, DOYA]; it was also brought up in the national survey (Sherry, 2008), and was recognised at the Board level as affecting teachers’ ability to carry out effective teaching [ADSUBEB officer]. One of the main indicators used to determine the extent of classroom overcrowding is the pupil–teacher ratio. Table 6.3 shows the pupil–teacher ratios for public primary schools in Adamawa State, focusing on the case study LGEAs, using the 2009–10 EMIS data. The table offers a comparison with research data supplied by the case study schools.

The EMIS data indicate that the pupil–teacher ratio for the state and all the case study LGEAs is better than the nationally recommended ratio of 35:1 (FRN, 2004b), with a state average of 28:1. The EMIS data also suggest very little variation among LGEAs in terms of the pupil–teacher ratio, ranging from only 21.9 to 29.8, yet among the case study schools the variation is vast, from an improbable 17:1 to 41.9:1. A comparison of the schools’ pupil–teacher ratios with the class sizes of
the lessons that were observed raises even further questions. For example, in Domingo, which
supposedly has a pupil–teacher ratio of 27.4:1, the class sizes of the seven observed lessons
ranged from 65 to 76 in size; conversely, in Baobab, the pupil–teacher ratio of 41.9 is considerably
higher than the 24.3 for the LGEA while the observed class sizes of 20 to 27 are improbably small,
given that the school has over 3,000 pupils enrolled. Possible explanations for the higher
observed class sizes than the pupil–teacher ratio indicates may be because classes are put
together when teachers are absent or because there are insufficient classrooms in the school.
Indeed in some observed classes two teachers were with the class. Pupil absenteeism may
explain the low pupil numbers in some classes.

Table 6.3 Pupil–teacher ratio in public primary schools in Adamawa State and the case study
schools and LGEAs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LGEA</th>
<th>Pupil–teacher ratio *</th>
<th>Case study school</th>
<th>Pupil–teacher ratio **</th>
<th>Observed class sizes ***</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northern 1</td>
<td>21.9</td>
<td>Kanti</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>35–49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern 2</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>Domingo</td>
<td>27.6</td>
<td>65–76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central 1</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>Metropolis</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>35–49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central 2</td>
<td>... ****</td>
<td>Kilifi</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>38–50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern 1</td>
<td>29.8</td>
<td>Doya</td>
<td>39.4</td>
<td>28–36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern 2</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>Baobab</td>
<td>41.9</td>
<td>20–27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>State average</strong></td>
<td><strong>28.0</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>28.0</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*EMIS 2009–10  **Data supplied by the case study schools for 2010–11  ***Observational data from school visits  ****Extreme values entered appear improbable and so were not used for calculation.

Thus, a comparison of the EMIS data with the two sets of data supplied by the case study schools
raises questions both about the reliability of the EMIS data and the usefulness of the pupil–
teacher ratio as an indicator of classroom overcrowding and as a basis for decision-making about
teacher distribution (see Section 6.1 above). As regards the effect of overcrowded classrooms on
teachers, the national teacher motivation survey (Sherry, 2008) concluded that large classes
contributed to teacher pressure, often leading to excessive use of corporal punishment. Excessive and unregulated beating of pupils was also evident in our study (see Section 6.7)

Shortage of textbooks was also a major concern among teachers in the case study schools
[KANTI, DOMINGO, METROPOLIS, DOYA, BAOBAB], as was a shortage of teaching aids [DOYA],
echoing the national survey, in which lack of school learning materials was the second most
demotivating factor affecting teachers, after issues related to pay and conditions (Sherry, 2008).
At the same time it was widely recognised that ADSUBEB had substantially increased textbook
provision [KANTI, DOMINGO, METROPOLIS, KILFI, BAOBAB]. As one Board member explained,
textbook distribution is being changed from distribution via the LGEA, to direct distribution to
schools based on EMIS data on pupil numbers since previously some LGEAs did not collect their
book allocation from ADSUBEB, and others did not distribute fairly to schools, preferring to send
books to the larger schools. Additionally there was some “leakage” with books ending up in
homes or for sale in markets. ADSUBEB’s initiative of customising books with a “not for sale”
watermark and direct distribution to schools was thought to be helping to address the shortage
of textbooks in schools. To ensure the book distribution was working well, the Board had
budgeted for a monitoring team to visit a third, to two thirds of schools to check that the books
have arrived. The Board member further explained that although ADSUBEB lacks the financial
capacity for every child to have all the textbooks they are aiming for one textbook per subject
between two children.
Poor teaching conditions were also brought up as a reason for teacher dissatisfaction in a few schools, specifically, leaking classrooms [KANTI, DOMINGO] and inadequate furniture [KANTI, DOMINGO, DOYA]. As a teacher in one school put it: “Even the teachers, sometimes we stand; we don’t have seats” [DOMINGO]. Lack of security due to unfenced compounds was a further issue of dissatisfaction and stress for teachers, with teachers complaining of filthy classrooms or compounds, which sometimes contained human faeces [DOMINGO, BAOBAB], and of the difficulty in monitoring and apprehending latecomers and/or preventing pupils from leaving the premises [DOYA, BAOBAB]. The ease with which pupils could disappear during the day adversely affected some teachers’ motivation to go to class [BAOBAB]. Again, however, it was recognised that considerable progress had been made by the Board to improve teaching conditions in some schools, especially through new infrastructure and furniture [METROPOLIS, KILFI, BAOBAB].

6.6 TEACHER MANAGEMENT AND SUPPORT

6.6.1. At the school level
Nationally, there is a dearth of available research on school management at primary level, though the national teacher motivation study (Sherry, 2008) indicates that there is no policy on the roles and responsibilities of head teachers and widely divergent views among stakeholders. Information on school management from the case study schools is also fairly limited. The school management team in the case study schools consisted of a head teacher, appointed at LGEA level by the ES, and assistant head teacher(s) and/or “senior mistress”, appointed by the head teacher. ADSUBEB eventually plans to develop criteria to monitor head teacher quality [ADSUBEB member]. Currently, head teachers get no extra duty allowance [ADSUBEB member] although head teachers had requested one [DOMINGO, METROPOLIS], which one LGEA has promised to implement [N2].

In all six case study schools and/or LGEAs there was evidence of the head teacher’s involvement in appointing teachers to special responsibilities within the school and in disciplining teachers (and pupils), which one head teacher pointed out can cause friction between head teachers and teaching staff: “Affected teachers feel the impact. It never happened in my school, but in some schools they (teachers) harass the head teacher, by shouting at the head teacher that he causes this and that but they finally come to school to teach.”[KANTI]. However, as one Board member explained, and the study on teachers’ voice concluded (Sherry, 2008), teachers will only respect and cooperate with the head teacher if they think the head teacher has been appointed on merit. Section 6.7 below looks in more detail at head teachers’ involvement in disciplining teachers.

In a national study on teachers, it was thought that head teachers were often aware of their shortcomings and wanted management training; head teachers that had some training apparently felt more comfortable in their jobs and were generally better appreciated by teachers (Sherry, 2008). In the case study schools, only one head teacher and assistant head teacher expressed a need for further training [METROPOLIS] while another praised a training course he had attended [KILFI]. However, the difficulty several head teachers experienced in understanding and completing the school data sheets points to the need for further professional development and capacity building.

Very little data were gathered on head teachers’ involvement, or not, in offering pedagogical support to teachers although mention was made of monitoring teachers’ work [DOMINGO], sending teachers on workshops [METROPOLIS], passing on learning from their own training to teachers [KILFI], and organising in-house training for staff on new concepts and pedagogy, conducted by teachers who have had further training [METROPOLIS].
6.6.2 At the LGEA level

Head teachers and teachers generally felt that LGEAs, and school supervisors in particular, offered support to teachers, in particular by providing or sending teachers on in-service training, often to upgrade their qualifications to NCE [KANTI, METROPOLIS, KILFI, DOYA, BAOBAB] although as highlighted earlier (Section 6.2), possession of paper qualifications is no guarantee of possessing the requisite skills or knowledge to teach effectively (Theobald et al., 2007; Johnson, 2009). School supervisors reportedly visited schools regularly although it was clear that this support was primarily advisory and administrative, as found in other states in Nigeria (Williams, 2009), with supervisors checking registers, lesson notes and the whether or not teachers were in class teaching [DOMINGO, KILFI, DOYA]. However, there were also reports of LGEAs offering training on specific issues, such as how to use teaching aids or lesson notes [DOMINGO, DOYA, BAOBAB], though it is not known how effective the training was. LGEA officials too recognised that teachers need regular professional development to improve teaching quality [DOMINGO, DOYA, BAOBAB], although as one Board member explained, new ideas passed on in workshops are rarely tried out in the classroom, and while teachers are keen to attend workshops, the educational content is not always the greatest priority. Other Board members also acknowledged what is suggested in the literature, namely that the quality of teacher education itself is a problem (Akinbote, 2007; Bakari, 2007; Tahir and Girei, 2008; USAID, 2009; Omo-Ojugo, 2009; UNDP Nigeria, 2010). The need to revise teacher development programmes, involving less lecturing and more school-based training, following diagnostic work with teachers, as suggested in other studies (e.g. Hardman Abd-Kadir and Smith, 2008) was recognised by one Board member; so too was the need to enhance the capacity of school supervisors and head teachers to enable them to give appropriate support to teachers [ADSUBEB member]. It was acknowledged that outside expertise might need to be sought since many teacher educators were themselves suffering from poor professional knowledge and skills being products of a similar less than adequate teacher training [ADSUBEB member]. In the words of one ES: “We need new innovations in our profession.” The new national initiative to start a two-year internship for newly qualified teachers with NCE, and a one-year one for graduates, would seem to be a step in the right direction but the need for further training of supervisors and head teachers to support this intervention still remains.

6.7 TEACHER DISCIPLINE

Teacher discipline, like teacher appointments, has primarily been devolved to the sub-national level despite the existence of the Teachers’ Registration Council (TCRN). This is the national body that aims to control and regulate the teaching profession at all levels, and includes the Teachers’ Investigative Panel (TIP), which is open to any member of the public to register a complaint about a teaching professional. Complaints, in turn, are investigated by the Teachers’ Disciplinary Committee (TDC), which exists at national and state level. However, in none of the data gathered in this research was any mention made of the TCRN, TIP or TDC, perhaps because these have only recently been established. In practice, it appears that teachers are initially accountable to the head teacher although the head teacher has no right to dismiss a teacher [ADSUBEB official]. If a teacher fails to reform after being spoken to by the head teacher, then they are referred to the LGEA, generally via the school supervisor, and, failing that, to ADSUBEB.

6.7.1 Disciplinary issues

This section first summarises the findings on teacher discipline in terms of teacher self-discipline and professionalism before considering the actual disciplining of teachers.

Respondents across the six case studies expressed concern about the lack of teacher professionalism among some teachers, which affected the case study schools to varying degrees, and was said to be an issue across all the LGEAS more broadly. The main criticism levelled at
teachers was absenteeism and truancy [KANTI, DOMINGO, METROPOLIS, KILFI, DOYA, BAOBAB], especially on market days [DOYA], and teacher latecoming [DOMINGO, METROPOLIS, KILFI, BAOBAB], which is also widely reported in the literature (Urwick and Aliyu, 2003; Ahmed et al., 2008; Sherry, 2008), and was confirmed by Board members. School observations showed the problem to be particularly acute in one rural school, where no teaching occurred on two of the four research visits [DOYA], and in one of the urban schools, where teaching often petered out after break [BAOBAB]. Some teachers reportedly come to school, but often sit around under the trees when they should be teaching [KANTI, DOMINGO, DOYA, BAOBAB]. Researcher observations confirmed this. In a couple of schools pupils thought that absenteeism and latecoming particularly applied to some female teachers [DOMINGO, BAOBAB]. Persistent teacher absenteeism and latecoming was said to have a negative impact on pupil attendance, punctuality and retention [DOMINGO, METROPOLIS, BAOBAB], to be detrimental to educational quality [DOMINGO, BAOBAB], and to affect the morale of other teachers [KILFI, BAOBAB].

In addition, criticisms of teachers at school or LGEA-level included a lack of, or inadequate, lesson preparation [METROPOLIS, DOYA, BAOBAB]; no use of instructional materials [KILFI]; and non-adherence to the syllabus or skipping topics [KILFI, DOYA, BAOBAB] (see Chapter 8). Issues with teacher drunkenness [S1] and misuse of loans [N1] were also mentioned in two LGEAs.

The main explanation given for teacher absenteeism, truancy, latecoming or unprofessional conduct in the classroom was low morale and lack of commitment, for the reasons cited in Section 6.4 [DOMINGO, METROPOLIS, DOYA, BAOBAB], which Board members also referred to. Other reasons for absenteeism and latecoming included teachers living far from the school [DOMINGO, KILFI, DOYA], undertaking part-time studies [METROPOLIS], or attending to family issues [DOMINGO]. The Board was intending to begin offering teachers loans to start addressing the housing issues [ADSUBEB member]. In one school, it was suggested that more female teachers were late, or did not prepare their lessons properly, because they had to finish household chores before school [METROPOLIS]. In terms of addressing issues related to teaching, it was recognised that teachers need greater professional support, as discussed in Section 6.5.

Another pervasive disciplinary problem was excessive or unauthorised use of corporal punishment by teachers [ALL SCHOOLS], which could result in poor pupil learning experiences, pupil truancy and dropout [KANTI, DOMINGO, METROPOLIS, KILFI, BAOBAB]. This issue was generally seen to apply more to male teachers [KANTI, DOMINGO, METROPOLIS, KILFI, BAOBAB]. The reasons for excessive corporal punishment suggested by one Board member and the national teachers' voice survey (Sherry, 2008) include teacher frustration at their inability to carry out their job in difficult circumstances. The issue of corporal punishment is discussed further in Chapter 7. Even before the Professional Standards for Nigerian Teachers (FME, 2011) spelt out that corporal punishment is no longer acceptable in school, ADSUBEB had demanded its abolition while recognising that there was much resistance among teachers [ADSUBEB members].

Finally, the sensitive issue of sexual harassment or violence by some male teachers (or male pupils) was only explicitly mentioned in one LGEA, [C1] in relation to several rape cases that were successfully prosecuted by ADSUBEB. Silence on the issue is unsurprising given denial of sexual violence by teachers and other adults was a feature of the FME's national assessment on violence in basic education (FME, 2007b); although around 11% female learners admitted they knew of cases of rape in school, not one female teacher acknowledged its existence and only 2% of male teachers did. Board members acknowledged that sexual harassment is more widespread [ADSUBEB officials], as other studies in Nigeria, and elsewhere, have shown (Action Aid 2004,
cited in Antonowicz, 2010; Osakue, 2006; FME, 2007b; Para-Mallam, 2010), and as is explicitly acknowledged in the National Policy on Gender in Basic Education. (FME, 2007a).

6.7.2 Disciplinary procedures

As highlighted above, procedures regarding teacher accountability went upwards from the head teacher, to the LGEA via the school supervisor and/or the ES, and then to ABSUBEB. There were no procedures specified concerning accountability outwards to the community and actions that the community could take as regards teacher (or head teacher) professionalism beyond voicing concerns to the school via the PTA executive.

The disciplinary procedures as explained by an ADSUBEB member, were as follows: a teacher who is absent for a day without permission, or who commits any other kind of offence should get a warning from the head teacher, ideally a written query, copied to the LGEA, including the SS. Then, depending on the response, the head teacher should inform the LGEA. The LGEA reserves the right to act if the offence is serious, and should also inform ADSUBEB. A teacher who is absent from school for a week without giving a reason should automatically be dismissed [ADSUBEB member]. The head teacher does not have the authority to dismiss a teacher and in practice, according to one Board member, there is often a degree of collusion and cover-up at school or LGEA level [ADSUBEB member].

Only limited data were gathered on teacher discipline in practice and teacher absenteeism was almost the only offence that was specifically mentioned. Head teachers reported that they generally discussed the issue with the teacher concerned [KANTI, DOMINGO, BAOBAB], or sometimes referred them to the counselling teacher [DOMINGO, METROPOLIS, BAOBAB]. If that does not work, they may talk to friends of the teacher concerned [KILFI, BAOBAB]. In one school, teachers were reportedly referred to a disciplinary or advisory committee [KILFI, METROPOLIS]. Mention was made by one head teacher of giving a verbal warning [BAOBAB]; otherwise, “persistent offenders” are referred to the LGEA, either to the school supervisor, or the ES [KANTI, DOMINGO, METROPOLIS, KILFI, DOYA]. The LGEA then summons the teacher to the LGEA. In one school the school supervisor said they preferred to sort issues at the school level rather than involving the ES [METROPOLIS]. Very serious offences are referred to the Board [KANTI, METROPOLIS]. However, it was not clear from the data, whether any precise guidelines existed as to what constituted a “persistent offender”, or whether it was a more ad hoc decision.

Measures taken by the LGEA included “counselling” or “advising” a teacher [METROPOLIS, BAOBAB]; giving a verbal or written warning [KANTI, KILFI, DOYA, BAOBAB]; transferring the teacher [KANTI, DOMINGO]; deducting some of the teacher’s salary [KANTI, KILFI]; or the ES coming to the school to “solve the matter” [DOMINGO]. In the case of three teachers accused of rape, the matter was reported to the Board, who upon finding the teachers guilty, dismissed them from service [METROPOLIS]. One Board member said that teachers absent for four weeks are often dismissed and that one LGEA had dismissed 27 teachers, largely on account of absenteeism.

School inspection in Nigeria occurs at national, state and LGEA level. In the case study schools, LGEA officials, and school supervisors in particular, were said to visit schools regularly to check registers, schemes of work, lesson plans and to ensure that teachers are in class teaching [DOMINGO, KILFI, DOYA] though it was not clear what happens if the situation is not satisfactory. In the case study schools, school management was said to check that teachers are in class and teaching and/or were observed doing so [KILFI]. In one school, teachers were seen signing an attendance register in the head teacher’s office [KANTI], though, in another school, teachers noted that some of their peers falsified their arrival time in the register [KILFI]. In one school SBMC and/or PTA members appeared to have an unofficial disciplinary role, in that on
school visits they would make teachers who were sitting around outside go to class [KANTI] and PTA members reportedly checked the register [KILFI]. There was a call in a couple of schools by parents and/or community members for closer monitoring and stricter disciplining of teachers [DOMINGO, KILFI]. A report of improved teacher discipline since the arrival of the new head teacher in one school would seem to underline the importance of having a good head teacher in order to ensure teacher discipline [KANTI].

6.8 SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS FOR ACCESS (QUALITY AND OUTCOMES)
There were fewer qualified female teachers in Adamawa State as a whole, with substantial differences between male and female teachers in some LGEAs, and a vast gender disparity in the numbers of head teachers. This raises questions about gender equity in access to teacher education and in the appointment and promotion process. In addition, greater participation by female teachers was perceived to have a positive effect on girls' participation in schooling.

Fewer qualified teachers and fewer female teachers were found in the rural case study schools, though only one of the case study schools actually expressed satisfaction with the number of qualified teachers. The disparity in staffing between urban and rural schools also raises questions about the fairness of teacher appointments and transfer, and indicates that pupils in rural schools in particular are being disadvantaged, although initiatives are being tried to address this inequality, such as offering incentives to teachers who work in rural areas, or appointing teachers to their home community where possible.

Political interference was reported regarding appointments and promotion at school- and LGEA-level. This was found to impact negatively on staff morale, trust, and working relations. It will also affect educational quality when appointees lack the requisite expertise to carry out their job (e.g. teach, manage teachers or give educational supervision and support).

There has been an increase in the number of qualified teachers in the state. However, there is some recognition by ADSUBEB that possession of a qualification is not in itself a guarantee of teaching competence and that in order to improve the quality of education the current teacher education system needs major revision. Suggested changes included involving more practical, school-based professional development, diagnostic activities, and bringing in outside expertise.

There was some evidence that although staff responsibilities within school were said to be allocated on merit, there was some gender-stereotyping; for example men were generally appointed to be in charge of discipline and labour, and women were appointed to be in charge of health. Head teachers need to ensure equitable appointments that avoid stereotyping. The link to career progression might also strengthen teacher effort and active participation in the school and with pupils.

Teachers were overwhelmingly dissatisfied with their pay and conditions of service, in particular low pay, delayed payments, lack of duty allowances (e.g. for head teachers) and opportunities for promotion, which clearly affected teacher morale, commitment and professionalism, which in turn adversely affected educational quality (e.g. through teacher absenteeism). In one LGEA low pay reportedly affected the retention of male teachers. Suggestions for addressing the issue included duty allowances, an improved pay structure, including more possibilities for promotion, and removal of the Level 14 salary cap to stem the “brain drain” of good primary teachers to secondary level.

Poor classroom conditions were also said to affect teachers’ morale and their ability to teach effectively, specifically lack of teaching materials, and dilapidated and overcrowded classrooms.
In the first two cases it was acknowledged that ADSUBEB had improved textbook provision and infrastructure in some schools, though conditions varied among the case study schools. Although EMIS data for pupil–teacher ratios suggest primary class sizes in Adamawa State are in line with the nationally recommended class size of 35:1, evidence on the ground suggested severe overcrowding in some cases; this may have been due to classes doubling up on account of absent teachers and/or lack of classroom space, and/or to inaccurate EMIS data. This needs to be explored further as overcrowded classes adversely affected educational quality and the range of pedagogical strategies that could be used, which, in turn, were reported to impact on pupil retention.

Teacher support at the LGEA level was widely reported across the case study schools in terms of regular visits by SSs, who checked registers, lesson notes and ensured teachers were teaching; while this is important, SSs need to be able to assist more with providing professional development (in terms of subject content, pedagogy etc.) to teachers. This might include drawing head teachers into school-based professional development activities.

In-service training courses and workshops to upgrade qualifications and provide professional development on specific issues were widely reported, though more were requested and there was some recognition by Board members that workshops alone are not sufficient to change classroom practice. The quality of the workshops was not mentioned although this and pre-service teacher education might benefit from monitoring and evaluation as a means to ensure quality improvements and relevance to the teachers. The potential role of the head teacher in teacher leadership, support and management was not mentioned even though some LGEA officials called for a head teacher’s duty allowance associated with management and administrative training and duties in school.

Lack of professionalism by some teachers was a pressing issue across the case study schools and LGEAs, to varying degrees. Issues of particular concern were teacher absenteeism, excessive use of corporal punishment, non-adherence to the syllabus and/or skipping topics on the syllabus. All these practices had a severely detrimental effect on educational quality and on pupil enrolment, punctuality, attendance, retention and performance (see also Chapters 7 & 8). It should be highlighted that the Board has already begun to address the root-causes (low teacher morale, difficult teaching conditions, inadequate professional training) through pay increases and incentives and improvements in classroom conditions for some schools. Teacher support by head teachers regarding pedagogy, subject content, assessment etc. was generally absent even though it is essential to school quality improvements.

Teacher accountability, which is critical to ensuring educational quality, went upwards through the head teacher, to the LGEA via the school supervisor and/or the ES, then to ADSUBEB, in the case of serious infractions. However, while the data across the case studies showed teacher disciplinary procedures to be similar in broad terms, the degree of enforcement differed among schools and LGEAs. Communities could play an important role here and they may need to be encouraged to demand greater accountability from schools and teachers, to help improve teacher professionalism.

Senior ADSUBEB members mentioned the need to tackle sexual harassment of female pupils and the strong line the Board has shown in dismissing three male teachers for rape sends a strong signal that the Board is serious about addressing this aspect of gender equality. However, the fact that in all the case study data, only one LGEA officer made mention of the matter indicates a need to open out debate on the issue within schools and communities and create safe spaces
and precise procedures within schools that ensures such incidents are reported and then acted upon. This is important for improving both educational quality and gender equality in school.
CHAPTER 7 PUPIL MANAGEMENT

7.1 INTRODUCTION
This chapter uses the case study data to examine various aspects of pupil management within the school, including pupil–pupil relations, but it excludes much of what happens in the classroom, which is covered in Chapter 8 on Teaching and Learning. The chapter begins with consideration of school requirements for pupils to attend school in the first place, such as school fees and PTA levies, school uniform and writing materials (exercise book and pen or pencil). The 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011) shows that school costs are the main cause of dropout and late enrolment of primary school pupils in the North East, affecting 30.9% and 29.7% of households, respectively, and the third most common reason for non-enrolment of pupils who have never been to school, affecting 35.5% of households. In addition, non-provision of the requisite uniform or materials can also result in a child’s exclusion or punishment and absenteeism (Flett et al., 2005, cited in Theobald et al., 2007; Unterhalter and Heslop, 2011). The chapter then describes gender-specific school routines, such as assembly and pupil duties, which are central to giving strong messages about appropriate behaviour and expectations for girls and boys, thereby reinforcing gender stereotypes and gender inequalities (Bakari, 2011). These often play out in pupils’ peer relations in school, which are considered next. Several studies in Nigeria have indicated that violence (both physical and psychological) is widespread in schools (Egbochuku, 2007; FME, 2007b; Adefunke, 2010), including sexual harassment and sexual violence by both male teachers and pupils (Para-Mallam, 2010; Bakari, 2011; Unterhalter and Heslop, 2011) though it is often underreported and/or not acknowledged by teachers (FME, 2007b; Unterhalter and Heslop, 2011). The FME survey also noted that around 6% of respondents admitted missing school because of violence – girls slightly more than boys.

Next is a section on school discipline, including the prefect and monitor system, focusing on corporal punishment in particular, which has been shown to impact negatively on pupils’ participation in class and can result in absenteeism and dropout (Flett et al., 2005, cited in Theobald et al., 2007; FME, 2007b; Unterhalter and Heslop, 2011). Finally, the ways in which teachers are involved in the management of pupils (outside the classroom) are discussed before the chapter concludes by summarising the implications of the various aspects of pupil management and pupil peer relations in relation to school access.

In acknowledgement of some of the above-mentioned issues, ADSUBEB has abolished school fees within the state and put a cap on PTA levies at N50 per term. At the start of this research project, the Board was also providing school uniforms for Primary 1 girls to encourage enrolment; towards the end of the project this policy was being expanded to include school uniform provision for primary girls and boys in all years, starting with Primary 1. Regarding corporal punishment, in the last few years ADSUBEB officials have consistently been emphasising to LGEA officials and head teachers that corporal punishment must not be used in schools [ADSUBEB members].

7.2 SCHOOL REQUIREMENTS
In order to attend school, pupils needed to wear school uniform, bring writing materials and pay set fees, which invariably included the termly PTA levy and sometimes other fees, which varied across the case study schools. The degree to which the various schools enforced these requirements also varied, as did their responses to non-compliance.
7.2.1 Fees

Although basic education is supposed to be free for all children in Nigeria, school fees and PTA levies are commonplace across the country (Sunal et al., 2003; Flett et al., 2005, cited in Theobald et al., 2007; Lincover, 2009; NPC and RTI International, 2011). The same was true for the case study schools.

Both the amount charged for fees and the types of fees charged varied across the case study schools. As Table 7.1 shows, one school charged admission or readmission fees while another charged exam fees. In addition, all schools charged PTA levies of N50 per term in accordance with the ADSUBEB-recommended maximum charge. In some schools the PTA also asks for one-off contributions for particular development projects, such as building classrooms or repairing furniture, and in one school parents and other community members were collectively paying N500 to N1000 a month to pay for three retired school teachers to teach part-time, to make up for the shortfall of teachers in the school [DOYA]. However, it should be noted that some respondents in schools reported higher figures or additional fees to the ones officially quoted below. In a couple of cases the school said that these fees had been abandoned at the Board’s insistence.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 7.1 Fees charged by the case study schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kanti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Admission/ readmission fee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PTA levy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exam fee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other expenses</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The inability of some parents/guardians to pay school fees and/or PTA levies was said to have an adverse effect on enrolment, attendance and dropout in three of the six schools [KANTI, DOMINGO, KILFI]. In the other three schools, it was nevertheless implied in the fact that some children were reportedly unable to enrol in school and/or were forced to drop out due to the need to work. Although one LGEA official [C1] maintained that non-payment of the PTA levy is no longer an access issue, female pupils in the case study school called on government to pay the PTA levies. Some pupils reportedly have to work to pay their own school costs [KANTI, DOYA], echoing findings in other studies (FOS/ILO, 2001; Omokhodian, Omokhodian and Odusote, 2006; Unterhalter and Heslop, 2011).

In line with findings from other research (e.g. Flett et al., 2005, cited in Theobald et al., 2007; Unterhalter and Heslop, 2011), inability to pay fees or levies could also result in exclusion from school or punishment. In one school pupils were observed being publicly flogged in assembly for non-payment of the PTA levy [BAOBAB]. A staff member in another school reported that the PTA had previously fined parents for not paying the levy but had abandoned the practice because they thought it would reflect badly on the LGA [METROPOLIS].
7.2.2 Uniform

Lincove’s (2009) national study of determinants of schooling found school uniform to be one of the main school expenses for many parents. In this study it proved to be a barrier to children accessing schools in five out of the six schools [KANTI, DOMINGO, KILFI, DOYA, BAOBAB]. Even in the sixth school, pupils and LGEA officials were requesting free uniforms to be provided by government, possibly implying that parents’ ability to afford school uniform, nevertheless, was an issue. In addition, in four schools there were reports of pupils being excluded and/or punished for not having a uniform, for missing some part of the uniform such as shoes, for having a torn or dirty uniform, or for wearing it incorrectly, such as with the trousers hanging off the hips (“swagger ass down”) [KANTI, KILFI, DOYA, BAOBAB]. In one school, pupils were observed being caned in assembly for poor appearance [BAOBAB] as inspection of school uniform and general appearance was carried out during assembly [KANTI, DOMINGO, KILFI, DOYA]. The head teacher of one school that reportedly allows pupils to attend without wearing uniform recounted a case in which a parent had complained to him that their child had, nevertheless, been excluded from school by a teacher for wearing a “shabby” uniform [KANTI]. One school had “social prefects”, whose main responsibility was to monitor pupils’ dress [DOYA].

For one school in particular the issue of school uniform was a major source of conflict between the school and community [KILFI], according to PTA members and parents – both those interviewed formally and those encountered informally. One community member said the issue had still not been resolved because the PTA was still reportedly insisting that school rules demand that all pupils should wear uniform. As one parent explained: “In another school, it was pointed out that because the children sit on the floor for lessons their uniforms get dirty fast and most parents are too poor to buy detergent every day [DOYA]. Teachers in the same school also confirmed that pupils, and girls in particular, often tease each other for wearing torn, patched or dirty uniforms, or for not taking a bath:

Sometimes some pupils with new uniforms come to class and show off by teasing those with dirty uniforms; sometimes they laugh at those without good uniforms. (male teacher, DOYA)

On research visits, almost all pupils in the case study schools were seen wearing a uniform although this is possibly because those not in uniform had been excluded from the school or were absent for fear of being punished and/or teased by peers.

While acknowledging the contributions of the Board in providing girls in Primary 1 with free uniforms, LGEA, school and community respondents in four case studies called for free uniforms to be provided by government to help further improve enrolment and/or retention [DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI, DOYA] although in one school parents felt it was their responsibility to provide uniforms [DOMINGO]. In one school the more affluent community members sometimes donated uniforms to the school [KANTI] whereas in another school Primary 1 pupils did not have to wear a uniform [DOYA].

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My name is Gambo Umar. I am 10 years old. We are four in my house that are not in school one of them is older than me. We all want to enter school. I am saving money to enrol in school. I fetch water for people and they pay me to enable me enter school. I have saved five hundred Naira so far. I want to buy uniform, sandals and socks to enable me enter school. I want government to provide uniform, sandal and socks for me so I can enter school. My mother will buy books for me. But for the head teacher, I don't know what he will do for me because he said if he gets money he will enrol us in school. (out-of-school boy, LGEA C2)
7.2.3 Writing materials

Pupils in all schools had to supply writing materials. Some parents/guardians in several schools also provided their own textbooks for children [METRO, KILFI, DOYA, BAOBAB] and parents/guardians in several schools were also urged to buy textbooks [METRO, BAOBAB].

In Lincove’s (2009) study, books and materials generally constituted families’ main educational expense. In all six case study schools, and sometimes more widely in the LGEA, respondents reported that some parents/guardians were too poor to afford the writing materials and that this expense prevented some children from attending or staying in school. Given that pupils were reportedly punished and/or sent home for not having writing materials in some schools [BAOBAB], it is likely that some pupils avoided punishment by not coming to school until they had procured the necessary stationery, which in some cases may have meant earning sufficient money themselves to buy them. Unterhalter and Heslop’s (2011) study in Nigeria and Tanzania noted how girls felt shame at being pointed at or beaten for not paying charges, or having the right equipment. They would then miss school or come late in order to avoid humiliation; or go and earn enough money to make the payments. In the two rural case study schools, there were reports of pupils without books stealing either from other pupils [DOYA] or breaking into the school office [KANTI]. It is likely that some other cases of theft, which was widely reported in all schools, also related to writing materials or textbooks.

In one school, where the Primary 1 class was held under shade, no books or pens (or uniform) were required so that even very poor pupils could attend school [DOYA].

7.3 THE SCHOOL DAY

7.3.1 Timetable

Timetables varied across the case study schools, and were particularly dependent on whether the school operated a double shift. One school shared its premises with the JSS [DOMINGO], and another split the primary classes over two shifts [BAOBAB].
### Table 7.2 School timetables and pupil duties in the case study schools

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Timetable</th>
<th>Kanti</th>
<th>Domingo</th>
<th>Metro</th>
<th>Kilfi</th>
<th>Doya</th>
<th>Baobab</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assembly days</td>
<td>Mon, Wed, Fri</td>
<td>Mon, Thurs</td>
<td>Mon, Wed, Fri</td>
<td>Mon, Wed, Fri</td>
<td>Daily</td>
<td>Mon, Wed, Fri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assembly times</td>
<td>7–7:30am</td>
<td>Mon 7:45–8:15</td>
<td>7:50–8am</td>
<td>7:30–8am</td>
<td>7:30/45–8/8.15am</td>
<td>7:30–8am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lessons begin</td>
<td>7:30am</td>
<td>8:45</td>
<td>8am</td>
<td>8am</td>
<td>8/8.15am</td>
<td>8am/noon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lessons end</td>
<td>1:30pm</td>
<td>Noon</td>
<td>12.30 or 1:05pm</td>
<td>Noon (P1–3)</td>
<td>1:05pm</td>
<td>Noon/4pm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main breaks</td>
<td>1 hr + 2 x 5 mins</td>
<td>9:15–9:55</td>
<td>10–10:30</td>
<td>9:30–10</td>
<td>10–10:30</td>
<td>9:30–10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length of teaching time (daily)</td>
<td>4hr 50min</td>
<td>2hr 35min</td>
<td>3hr 55min/4hr 30min</td>
<td>3hr 10min/3hr 40min</td>
<td>4hr 20 min/4hr 35min</td>
<td>3hr 30min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleaning*</td>
<td>Daily pre-class/assembly</td>
<td>Daily litter picking 8/8.15–8.45</td>
<td>Daily pre-class/assembly</td>
<td>Daily pre-class/assembly</td>
<td>Daily 6.30am</td>
<td>Daily 6.30am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour day/general cleaning</td>
<td>Fri</td>
<td>Mon 7:15–7:45</td>
<td>Thur 8–9am every 2 weeks</td>
<td>Thur 7:30–9:30</td>
<td>Fri 8–10am</td>
<td>Fri 7:30–9:30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other duties</td>
<td>i. School farm – Fri on rota in rainy season; ii fetch sand and water</td>
<td>Arranging stones once per week</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Watering plants</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Classroom and compound

As Table 7.2 shows, lessons were generally timetabled to begin at 8am and end from noon up to 1.30pm though the length of the school day and the amount of timetabled lesson time per day (excluding assembly, cleaning and break time) varied enormously from only 2hr 35min in class at one extreme to 4hr 50mins at the other. For general cleaning, or on labour day (see below), even less time was scheduled to be spent in class. The main break time ranged from 30 minutes to one hour and two schools had additional, shorter breaks.

In practice, however, the school day sometimes started late, or even not at all because of bad weather (e.g. Harmattan, rain, cold), which delayed pupils, or meant they were unable to reach school [KANTI, KILFI, DOYA]. One school supervisor had reportedly urged school heads to adjust their school timetable during the Harmattan (November/December) since the skies remain dark and children wake up later, though no evidence was given as to whether any had complied with this in a systematic way [KANTI]. The school day also started late sometimes because pupils were late for other reasons, such as attending Qur’anic school [METRO].

Duty teachers and or male time-keeping prefects were in charge of ringing the school bell to signal the start of school. However, the bell did not always sound on time (or at all) in the schools visited; nor was the timetable always followed.
7.3.2. Registers and attendance

Registers are supposed to be taken twice a day, once at the start of school, and once just before school finishes. However, according to one Board member, the second register is often forgotten and some pupils who arrive late are often marked absent.

Data were requested from the case study schools on the number of pupil absences for each term over a three-year period (2007–8 to 2010–11) for each grade and according to gender and religion. In all the schools the figures clearly represented considerable underestimations. The annual totals were averaged out in relation to the number of pupils enrolled for each year, which across the schools scarcely averaged out at more than one day absent per pupil per year. However, the 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011) relates that primary school pupils reported being absent, on average, for 5.5 days the previous month, which amounts to around 25% of the time pupils should be in school. The qualitative data across the case study schools and LGEAs similarly point to far greater levels of pupil absenteeism. In addition, the attendance data provided by the schools did not show any seasonal variation despite widespread reports that pupil absenteeism was much higher during the rainy season on account of pupils working in the fields to plant and harvest crops and/or because they were unable to get to school and/or because lessons could not be held.

It may be, however, that the registers themselves did not have accurate records of pupil absences9. However, registers are supposedly countersigned by the head teacher [DOMINGO] – and were reportedly on public display in one school at the request of the PTA [KILFI] – and checked by school supervisors as part of their monitoring [KILFI], which raises the question of exactly what they are checking and how they verify the accuracy of the records. Moreover, the high levels of teacher latecoming and absenteeism reported across the case study schools and the LGEAs more generally also begs the question of whether a register is taken at all if the teacher is absent.

The qualitative data findings overwhelmingly indicate high levels of pupil latecoming across the case studies. Late coming was generally due to pupils variously having to complete home chores (especially girls), work on the farm, look after cattle (boys), or run errands, and, for many Muslim pupils, attend Qur’anic school (see Chapter 9). Additionally, some pupils arrived late because of the distance to school [KANTI, DOMINGO, METRO] (see Chapter 5).

All schools suffered from high levels of pupil absenteeism. Schools which included more rural populations reported higher levels of pupil absenteeism, with some missing a whole term, in the rainy season, when pupils are needed to help plant or harvest crops, or when pupils in rural areas are unable to get to school [KANTI, DOMINGO, KILFI, DOYA, BAOBAB]. Many boys, especially older boys, missed school to learn an apprenticeship [DOMINGO METRO, BAOBAB] or to go trading, with rates of absenteeism said to be higher on market days [KANTI, DOMINGO, BAOBAB]. Several schools said pupil numbers drop off after break when pupils go off in search of food and/or water and some do not return [KANTI, DOMINGO, METRO, DOYA, BAOBAB]. In all schools some pupils often missed occasional days due to ill health. Truancy among (some) boys was cited as an issue in all schools, with many boys reportedly preferring to roam the streets or idle about. Chapter 9 gives further details on all the above. Teacher latecoming or absenteeism also impacted on pupil latecoming and attendance [DOMINGO, METRO]. In all schools, it was suggested that in-school factors such as corporal punishment, bullying and teasing, which are discussed below, caused some pupils to miss school.

9 An alternative explanation or contributory factor may be that extracting the data to give to the research team was too time-consuming and/or the task was not clear to the school.
7.3.3 Assembly
As shown in Table 7.2, assemblies were generally timetabled to be held two or three times a week. At least once a week in assembly pupils’ uniforms and general appearance was inspected [KANTI, DOMINGO, DOYA, BAOBAB]. Assemblies were conducted variously by the head teacher or by duty teachers with prefects often assisting. Pupils were generally arranged in classes with boys and girls lined up separately by class often with older, larger pupils at the back.

Where there was a functioning flagpole the flag was raised by one (or more) of the male prefects, the national anthem was sung and the national pledge given. Islamic and/or Christian prayers were held, depending on the school intake. In the two schools where assemblies were witnessed, Islamic prayers were said first [DOMINGO, BAOBAB].

One school reported that the school supervisor sometimes addressed pupils in assemblies about behaviour [BAOBAB]. Sometimes pupils were publicly flogged, particularly for what are deemed to be “serious offences.” This was observed and/or reported in several schools, for example for not paying PTA levies [BAOBAB], for insulting teachers, for theft [KANTI, DOYA], or for bullying [DOMINGO]. More positively, pupils were also observed being applauded in assembly for their house coming first in school cleaning [DOMINGO]. In practice, assemblies, like lessons, could start late or be cancelled, due to bad weather, for example.

7.3.4 Pupil duties
Pupils were usually expected to be in school before assembly or lessons, sometimes as early as 6.30am, to undertake duties, generally associated with cleaning (see Table 7.2). In one school some Muslim pupils reportedly came as early as 5.30am to complete their cleaning duties before attending Qur’anic school and then returning to the public school [BAOBAB]. In almost all the schools the classrooms and the compound area immediately around the classrooms were cleaned on a daily basis, usually supervised by monitors, prefects and/or duty teachers. In the remaining school, cleaning, which consisted of picking up litter across the compound, occurred after assembly [DOMINGO]. Duties were frequently gender specific, as in Bakari’s (2011) JSS study (see also Dunne et al., 2005, in Ghana and Botswana). Generally, girls swept the inside of the classrooms while boys lifted the furniture, in the apparent belief, to use the words of one male labour prefect, that “boys are stronger” [KANTI, DOMINGO, KILFI]. Other ad hoc tasks or duties that pupils were asked to do, and which were sometimes given as punishment, included arranging stones [DOMINGO]; fetching sand and water for construction [KANTI]; fetching drinking water and cleaning toilets, which were generally tasks given to girls [KANTI, DOMINGO, KILFI].

Both girls and boys in one school complained that too much time was spent sweeping in the school [DOYA], and in two schools girls were particularly resentful of the fact that boys did not have to sweep the classrooms [DOMINGO, KILFI]. In the most extreme case, girls reportedly had to sweep the classrooms and compound, pick up litter, fill the water bottles for the staffroom and clean the nursery rooms at break whereas boys only had to weed the compound with a hoe [KILFI]. Thus, girls frequently did more of the chores at school, as at home (see Chapter 9).

A “general cleaning” or “labour day” was timetabled for at least two hours a week in all schools and in the rural school which also possessed a school farm pupils from Primary 3 and above were also sent to work on the farm on a rota basis [KANTI]. Outside one primary school at the beginning of term, a group of male JSS students was seen chatting as a group of female students headed off to school; when asked why they were not going there too, they declared that the entire first week of term was spent cleaning the school, which they wanted to avoid; they said they would go to school once lessons began. One ADSUBEB member said that the Board was making efforts to stop labour day.
7.3.5 Pupil–pupil relations

At break in all six case study schools, pupils were generally observed socialising in gender-segregated and age-related groups although younger boys and girls were seen interacting more freely in one school [DOYA]. Interestingly, in another school [METRO] one group of female pupils thought girls and boys mixed and played well together whereas two groups of boys within the same school made gender-stereotyped, disparaging remarks about girls to explain gender-segregated play, for example: “Boys play alone because girls are not strong.”

During break in all six schools, boys and girls often bought food from vendors in the school, usually sharing it in same-gender groups. Girls were seen chatting, singing, clapping and playing catch-and-throw games. Boys were observed engaged in a greater range of activities, often more physically active: playing football, wrestling, riding bikes, playing round the embers of a fire and making crafts. In one school, a ball purchased with school funds was given alternately to girls and to boys to play with [KANTI]. In a school with slides and swings for pre-school pupils, both girls and boys were seen playing, supervised by a female teacher [KILFI].

However, pupils in all schools complained of “teasing”, bullying and fighting and what in one case was termed “rough play” [METRO]. It is difficult to know exactly what was meant by each of these overlapping terms, especially bullying and teasing. Indeed in one school, teachers and girls interviewed accused (some) boys of bullying girls, whereas the boys interviewed maintained: “We tease; we don’t bully.” [DOYA]. Whatever the terminology, several groups of pupils identified such behaviours as what they most disliked about the school [DOMINGO, METRO], and they were also identified as resulting in reduced classroom participation [KANTI, DOMINGO, METRO – see also Chapter 8] and, occasionally, absenteeism [BAOBAB, DOMINGO].

In general, across the schools both teachers and pupils agreed that more boys were involved in bullying girls and/or younger boys [DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI BAOBAB]. That said, there were reports too of (some) girls fighting, insulting other pupils and being aggressive [KANTI, DOMINGO, METRO]; one girl was seen slapping a boy in the face in one school [KILFI], and girls were seen pushing and shoving each other on the way back to class from assembly [DOMINGO]. More commonly, girls, as often as boys, were accused of “teasing” and making fun of other pupils, especially in class (see below).

Bigger, overage boys in particular were singled out as being particularly associated with bullying and harassing younger boys and girls [KANTI, DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI, BAOBAB – and LGEA S2s]. In one or two cases (some) overage girls were also identified as bullies [METRO]. At the same time overage pupils were also identified as potential victims of bullying because they were often teased on account of their age, especially if they were not doing well academically [DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI]. Overage pupils were reportedly ridiculed, insulted and called names such as “big for nothing”, which were said to result in feelings of anger and isolation, non-participation in class, absenteeism and/or eventual dropout [DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI] (see also Chapter 8).

Other pupils identified as being prone to bullying/teasing included long-term absentees, such as pupils who miss a whole term from school, who are laughed at, insulted or shunned by their friends on their return [KANTI, DOMINGO, KILFI]. Some pupils were said to shun returnees in this way because they believed that “most of them cheat” to pass exams [KILFI].

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10 From some of the interview data, it was unclear whether comments related to interaction in the classroom or in the compound, or even outside school, and whether the interaction occurred at break or before or after class.
In contrast, some pupils reported trying to encourage those that miss school to attend more regularly [METRO, KILFI].

Specific bullying and violent behaviours observed and/or mentioned by school respondents included stealing, beating, poking, slapping or punching someone, throwing stones, laughing at or insulting someone, rubbing a sneezing substance in another pupil’s eyes, or slicing someone with a razor blade. In all schools pupils said that teachers and/or prefects usually intervened in cases of bullying/fighting (see below), though some instances were observed when there was little or no intervention [DOMINGO, KILFI, DOYA, BAOBAB].

Classroom observations and teacher interviews often suggested that pupils generally got on well together in class [KANTI, METRO, KILFI, DOYA] and a number of classes were observed which included amicable cross-gender interactions [KANTI, KILFI, DOYA]. Even so, interactions were more generally observed within gender categories, for example girls borrowing pens and pencils from other girls, and boys from boys, even when seating was mixed (See Chapter 8). There was some suggestion too that older Muslim girls and boys in particular found it more difficult to interact with each other in class, which was explained in terms of religious culture [DOMINGO, METRO, BAOBAB].

However, pupil interviews in all six schools suggested that pupil–pupil relations could be difficult. Much depended on whether the teacher was in the classroom, and when there, whether they could control and hold the interest of the class. In one school during the exam period, several of the lower primary classes were without a teacher, and in two classes some boys were seen beating girls and the female and male monitors were also seen beating their peers. In a lesson observation in the same school, where the teacher was present but did not have control of the class, the researcher witnessed physical and verbal violence. This included older, bigger boys calling names, punching and stealing stationery from other boys and girls [DOMINGO].

Even though physical and verbal violence between or among pupils was not always directly observed, pupil and/or teacher interviews in all six schools reported its occurrence in class though its prevalence seemed to vary across and within schools. In addition, it was not always clear from pupil accounts whether the teacher was in the classroom at the time. Girls in particular complained about being teased and verbally and physically bullied by some boys [KANTI, DOMINGO, METRO, DOYA, BAOBAB]; one group of girls talked about being poked, prodded and touched [DOYA]. Male pupils interviewed also said that some boys fight among themselves in class, which observations confirmed [DOMINGO, BAOBAB]. The aggressive male behaviour exhibited by some boys towards girls in particular was explained in terms of boys trying to assert their presumed superiority, of which assertion of physical superiority formed an integral part:

- Boys are more stubborn. They always want to show off that they are boys. (teacher, DOMINGO)
- Boys do not want to be disrespected. (male pupil, KILFI)
- Boys are likely to tease girls more because they are boys and feel superior. (teacher, BAOBAB)
- There is bullying; pupils fight, misbehave and some are jealous because you are more hardworking than them so they try to beat you [up]. The senior boys are fond of bullying the younger girls. (female pupil, METRO)

However, boys too complained about being teased by girls [DOMINGO, DOYA], especially for not doing better than girls academically [DOYA]. Some boys, in turn explained that they preferred to sit apart from girls claiming that girls cheated and copied off them [METRO, BAOBAB].

For fear of harassment, bullying and teasing, girls therefore often expressed a preference for keeping away from boys in class [KANTI, BAOBAB] and in one school harassment was thought to be a cause of dropout among some girls [BAOBAB], which one of the Board members confirmed was common:
The boys bully her today; she goes home crying. Tomorrow they do the same thing; there's another time, and definitely the parents will withdraw her from school. So bullying in school also discourages children from school.

However, teachers were either unaware or unwilling to acknowledge underlying gender antagonism between many girls and boys, more often interpreting girls’ unwillingness to mix with boys as due to innate “shyness”, or on account of religion or culture [METRO, BAOBAB].

In the classroom, the situation was similar since in all six schools it was either reported or observed that both girls and boys “teased” other pupils in class. One of the main sources of teasing related to boys and girls being seated next to each other, which only occurred when teachers insisted (see Chapter 8). This often resulted in pupils being teased that they were married, which a number of female pupils said they disliked [KANTI, KILFI, DOYA, BAOBAB]. However, boys in one school were adamant that girls were just as guilty as boys of this: “We are teased husband and wife and girls fight back.” [DOYA]. The second main source of teasing in class concerned pupils who were not able to answer a question in class, or did badly in tests, which could result in feelings of shame, non-participation or even absenteeism or dropout [DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI, BAOBAB] (See Chapter 8). However, as one Board member pointed out, the teasing does not necessarily stop in the school especially as regards test results. Since pupils are ranked from first to last position in each class on the basis of exam results, those in the bottom three positions are often given hurtful nicknames such as “dummyhead” and are teased outside school.

7.4 DISCIPLINE
In this section we consider school discipline in broad terms but will outline the findings in relation to corporal punishment first since it was the most contentious aspect of school discipline. Although the term corporal punishment is sometimes used to include various forms of physical punishment, such as frog-jumping, we use the term here in the narrower more traditional sense of caning or beating with a similar instrument, though other forms of physical punishment are also discussed. Then we examine alternatives to corporal punishment that were being practised in the schools, before considering the prefect systems.

7.4.1 Policy and practice
The recently published Professional Standards for Nigerian Teachers (FME, 2011) state that “teachers do NOT [original emphasis] under any circumstance administer corporal punishment on learners” (p.39). However, even prior to these new professional standards, the Executive Chair of ADSUBEB had reportedly made it clear in the media and to all LGEAs that in Adamawa State corporal punishment should not be practised. This was also confirmed in all interviews with LGEA officials, although one claimed corporal punishment could be applied in “exceptional circumstances”. Even so one LGEA official admitted that excessive beating of pupils, especially by male teachers, was a problem across the LGEA [METRO, LGEA S2]. Given the numerous reports of excessive corporal punishment in school in other studies in Nigeria (Chianu, 2000; Urwick and Aliyu, 2003; Adegbehingbe and Kayode, 2007; Sherry, 2008; Mahmoud, Abdulkabir and Salman, 2011), the problem is likely to be more widespread across the other LGEAs.

At the school level the picture was very different with mixed messages being given by the head teachers in some schools and by many of the staff, as exemplified in the following interview extract:

Head teacher: The school policy on discipline says the child who misbehaves or steals or fights for instance, must be investigated before he [sic.] is disciplined. If a child steals we do cane him sometimes. We don’t allow male teachers to discipline girls but it depends on the offence
committed. If it requires caning, we don't allow male teachers to cane girls; we ask female teachers to cane girls.

**Researcher:** Do you have school policy on discipline?

**Head teacher:** Yes, normally, well, corporal punishment, we do it before but now we don't give it. We substitute it with simple, simple discipline like asking the child to kneel down, fetch water to water flowers, trees, go round the classes and another by caning them. [LGEA N1]

As the above quote illustrates, at the same time as stating that corporal punishment is no longer allowed, some head teachers and/or teachers would explain its preferred practice, which was usually that: it should preferably be administered by a senior member of staff, usually by the head teacher, or a deputy or discipline teacher; it should be recorded in the punishment book; and it should be gender-differentiated, with girls being caned lightly on the hand or back of the legs, and boys caned more harshly on the back or the buttocks. Where possible female teachers were to discipline female pupils, male teachers were to discipline male pupils.

Yet, whatever the intended discipline policy of the school, head teachers admitted that it was not always followed by teachers [KANTI, DOMINGO, METRO] and some teachers openly stated that they were in favour of being able to apply corporal punishment themselves [DOMINGO, METRO]. Two Christian teachers in different schools called on phrases from the Bible to justify its practice. In two urban schools, management seemed to be trying to move away from corporal punishment and replace it with manual labour [METRO, KILFI], which was often gender-specific. Individual teachers in other schools were similarly broadening the range of disciplinary sanctions. For example, boys would weed the compound or dig a trench to dispose of litter while girls were made to clean the toilets though in some schools both girls and boys were given these tasks. In another, ironically a whole day of labour on the school farm was the punishment for poor attendance or long-term absenteeism [KANTI].

In practice, however, (some) teachers, prefects and monitors in all six schools practised gender-differentiated corporal punishment to varying degrees. In all schools one or more teachers and/or prefects were seen wandering round school during lessons or at break, carrying a cane or a stick. In all schools, late coming, absenteeism, bullying, fighting, insulting teachers and stealing could result in corporal punishment even if the school policy, in the words of one head teacher, was one of “verbal corrective discipline.” Additionally, in one or more cases, inadequate or incomplete school uniform, lack of writing materials, non-payment of PTA levy, answering incorrectly or in a local language in class, to give just a few examples, could also result in being beaten.

The national study on teacher motivation (Sherry 2008) concluded that use of corporal punishment has been increasing as teachers become increasingly frustrated and struggle to cope with difficult working conditions such as overcrowded classes of pupils of different ages, who can be similarly unmotivated and unruly due to unfavourable learning conditions, which include absent teachers, unplanned lessons, and inappropriate teaching methods and classroom processes (see also Chapter 8). One Board member felt that teachers often “lack the technical capacity to manage.”

Although canes were generally used to beat children, use of fan belts, cables and sticks was also reported by pupils [DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI, DOYA]. There was a suggestion by a few pupil groups that (some) male teachers gave harsher punishment and/or flogged more [KANTI, DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI, BAOBAB]; this may partly have been because male teachers were suppose to cane boys and the expected gender-differentiated punishment was said to be harsher [METRO, DOYA]. In one school female teachers reportedly tend to send pupils to the (male) discipline teacher for punishment [KIFLI].
Other forms of physical and often humiliating punishments included being made to run round the classroom, carrying a heavy stone, or frog-jumping. Inside the classroom in particular, pupils were made to kneel down for a length of time, sometimes with their arms outstretched (“machine-riding”), or maintain an awkward balancing position, known as the cockroach [DOMINGO, METRO, BAOBAB] (see also Chapter 9). For offences that were deemed serious and/or for “persistent offenders”, parents were sometimes called to the school, sometimes to witness their child being beaten [KANTI, BAOBAB, LGEAs N1, S2].

Across the schools, corporal punishment was shown to impact negatively on pupils’ schooling. Reported and observed negative effects included: emotional distress; fear and loss of concentration and/or non-participation in class; truancy to avoid punishment; dropout and non-enrolment; or withdrawal from school [KANTI, DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI, BAOBAB]. The following quotes from pupils illustrate the point:

- Flogging makes pupils cry, [be] angry and annoyed. (female pupil, KANTI)
- Flogging put my mind off school. (male pupil, KANTI)
- Beating makes us not to concentrate in class (male pupil, DOMINGO).
- I check my younger ones (brother and sister), who normally come late and hide behind classes.
- They don’t enter class because they fear beatings in the school. (JSS male student, DOMINGO)
- We have classmates that left school because they were flogged. (female pupil, KILFI)
- Some disliked and dropped out of school because of flogging. (female pupil, KILFI)
- I feel bad and don't participate in class for the rest of the day. (female pupil, METRO)

Although a small minority of pupils across the schools thought corporal punishment could rectify bad behaviour in some circumstances [DOMINGO, METRO], the vast majority were against its use, especially as a punishment for latecoming. Moreover, many pupils, and girls in particular, defined a good teacher as one who did not beat and/or was kind to pupils [DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI, BAOBAB]. Girls have been shown to be particularly affected by the shame associated with being beaten or being singled out, causing them to come late or miss school to avoid the humiliation (Unterhalter and Heslop, 2011).

Parental views on corporal punishment, or its application within the school, were also mixed, with some reportedly transferring their children from the school on account of excessive beating [DOMINGO], or going into school to confront teachers about the way they disciplined their child [DOMINGO, DOYA]. Conversely, some brought their child to school specifically to be beaten [KANTI, DOMINGO, BAOBAB, KILFI]. In one school where a high level of beating was both reported and observed, corporal punishment was a major source of friction between parents and teachers [DOMINGO] (also see Chapter 9), echoing findings in the VSO national study on teachers (Sherry, 2008).

At the same time, it should be pointed out that not all disciplinary sanctions involved corporal punishment or manual labour; in all schools examples were given (though generally by teachers) of cases when pupils are given verbal warnings or are sent to the counselling or discipline teacher for a talk. In lesson observations too very little corporal punishment was witnessed and only in two schools [DOMINGO, KILFI], though this might have been because classroom teachers were more reticent to cane pupils in front of observers given that many knew that it was prohibited.

Exclusion from school was another form of punishment, applied in some cases for not wearing a uniform [KILFI], not bringing writing materials [BAOBAB], or latecoming [METRO]. In some cases, punishment through exclusion was as controversial as corporal punishment. In one school, parents, in particular were angry that if their child/ward came late to school they were refused entry, pointing out that exclusion from school hinders learning [METRO]. Girls too in one school said what they disliked most about the school was being sent home from school [DOMINGO].
Sometimes, as mentioned earlier, parents were called to school to discuss issues of pupil absenteeism or persistent latecoming [KANTI, METRO, DOYA, BAOBAB] (see also Chapter 9), or home visits were made by PTA or SBMC members, teachers or LGEA staff [KANTI, KILFI, DOYA, BAOBAB].

In contrast, there were also examples of positive disciplinary practices. Two head teachers offered termly rewards to pupils for punctuality [KANTI, BAOBAB] and one said he gave out old textbooks for pupils who turn up on the first day of term, to help improve attendance [KANTI]. In addition to the annual prize-giving, some school teachers were said to give rewards for good exam or classroom performance (see Chapter 8).

7.4.2 Prefects and monitors
Prefect systems operated in all six schools, and their main function was to assist teachers in disciplining pupils and organising them in activities such as assembly or school cleaning. Prefects operated under the leadership of the head boy and head girl, under a gendered, hierarchical system in which the head boy was also the head prefect, in charge of all prefects, and the head girl was only in charge of female prefects. Although in most of the schools there were both female and male prefects, in one school [DOYA], most of the prefects were said to be male. Similarly, the tasks were gendered. Notably, jobs that carried status and responsibility were allocated to male prefects, such as ringing the school bell or raising the flag [KANTI, DOMINGO, METRO, DOYA, BAOBAB]. In contrast, the “office girl”, who was in charge of cleaning the head teacher’s office, was invariably female. The allocation of prefect and pupil responsibilities and duties reinforced gender stereotypes about male superiority and leadership and female inferiority and domesticity, which give powerful gender messages about the different types of positions and activities appropriate to girls and boys.

A couple of schools reported particularly sophisticated prefect systems, which had specialised cadres of prefects [DOMINGO, DOYA]. One school had “social prefects”, selected to regulate other pupils’ uniform and general appearance [DOYA]. The other had “police prefects” who, among other duties, had the job of tracking down absentee pupils, which took them out of school, and which one male prefect complained about [DOMINGO]. “Doctors”, which existed in the same school, were the only prefects mentioned in any context who had purely pastoral duties, concerned with pupils’ health issues.

However, as mentioned above, in all the schools prefects’ main duties related to organising pupils for assembly and cleaning, and disciplining pupils. Supervising school cleaning also often involved beating pupils perceived not to be applying themselves well enough [KANTI, DOMINGO]. Prefects were also expected to apprehend latecomers, and in some cases cane them [KANTI, DOMINGO, DOYA]; in one case prefects were observed bringing latecomers to teachers to be caned [BAOBAB]. During break, they often intervened in cases of pupil bullying and fighting, though again this often involved beating the culprit(s) [KANTI, DOMINGO, METRO, DOYA].

Given that prefects often physically punished pupils, it is unsurprising that prefects were sometimes bullied too [BAOBAB]. It is also pertinent to note that prefects sometimes missed lessons to carry out their duties [DOMINGO; METRO], or had to arrive at school very early to carry out their tasks [DOYA].

Prefects were selected from Primary 5 and 6 by teacher committee, sometimes after recommendation by class teachers. The criteria for selection across all the schools included academic performance, especially in English, neatness and punctuality and general attitude
towards school. In several cases size and physique was said to matter, which resulted in some overage boys being selected irrespective of their academic performance [METRO, KILFI, DOYA].

Class monitors also formed part of schools’ disciplinary systems; their main aim was to maintain discipline in the classroom when the teacher was not present and report noise-makers to the teacher on their return, as well as organise classroom cleaning. However, monitors were often seen (or reported) taking matters into their own hands and beating their peers [KANTI, DOMINGO, METRO]. In one school male monitors were observed disciplining pupils even when the teacher was in the classroom [DOMINGO]. There was usually a female and male monitor per class; again the male monitor appeared to have greater authority. Indeed in one school the boy was called the “monitor”, and the girl was the “assistant monitor” [KILFI].

7.4.3 Teachers and the organisation of pupils
In addition to teachers’ duties in the classroom (see Chapter 8), teachers in all the schools were assigned more general school responsibilities in relation to pupils, as discussed in Chapter 6.

Teachers were also said to be involved in organising extra-curricular activities such as games, quizzes and debates [KANTI, METRO, KILFI], which were considered to boost enrolment and motivate pupils although no organised extra-curricular activities were actually witnessed on research visits and data were not collected on how often such activities took place. One LGEA reported that NGOs were helping to sponsor extra-curricular activities such as games and sporting competitions [KILFI].

Teachers varied both across and within schools as to the degree of interest and concern they showed towards individual pupils. In all schools pupils identified some teachers who were kind, understanding or caring. In addition to perceived professional competence, a number of pupils identified teachers who showed interest and concern for individual pupils as being characteristic of a good teacher [DOMINGO]. In particular, the only female teacher in one school saw the welfare of female pupils as an important responsibility and called on government to supply sanitary pads to improve girls’ attendance at school during menstruation:

One of my responsibilities is to take care of girls concerning their health, to be tidy always. Sometimes I notice girls that are menstruating; sometimes they complain about stomach problem and headache. Some don’t come to school during their period and if I find out I report to the class teacher so that they will not be punished. I suggest that government should help encourage girls by providing pads to girls as an awareness. There was a time I told my class to stand up, when they did, one girl was menstruating and was wet, [so] the whole class started laughing at her. Since at the moment [that time] I’ve [still] nothing to assist her; [I] simply told her to go home and bath, which she did, and she came back to school the next day. (DOYA, female teacher).

Pupils said they appreciated it when teachers took time to visit pupils’ homes when they were absent to find out why they were absent and whether they were well [KILFI, BAOBAB]. In one school, this was part of a more systematic school-wide campaign to improve attendance and/or punctuality, which sometimes involved community members. [KILFI]

The existence of sexual harassment or rape by either teachers or pupils was not explicitly referred to in any of the case study interview data (except by one LGEA official) though equally respondents were not questioned on the matter directly. However, its prevalence at secondary level has been noted in other states (FME 2007b; Bakari, 2011; Unterhalter and Heslop, 2011) and several Board members acknowledged its existence in Adamawa. They pointed out that fear of sexual violence as much as its occurrence, both on the way to school and in school, can affect girls’ enrolment and retention although one Board member asserted that the risk of violence on the way to school had been reduced through ADSUBEB’s increased provision of schools.
Although ADSUBEB dismissed three male teachers from service for rape in one of the case study LGEAs, Board members interviewed said prosecution is difficult as families, and Muslim families in particular, often do not want to pursue the case so as not to damage the girl’s reputation and consequently her chances of marriage. This reluctance to report sexual violence was also highlighted in the national FME (2007b) survey on school violence, which pointed out that although around 11% of female pupils/students admitted they knew of rape cases in school, not one female teacher acknowledged its existence and only 2% of male teachers did.

7.5 SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS FOR ACCESS (QUALITY AND OUTCOMES)

In this section the key points about the various aspects of pupil management and pupil–pupil relations are summarised and drawn together in relation to issues of access.

Educational costs in terms of school fees, PTA levies, one-off development payments and the purchase of school uniforms and study materials collectively constituted a major obstacle to the enrolment and/or retention of some children in school. ADSUBEB’s efforts in preventing schools from charging excessive PTA levies and other school fees and providing Primary 1 girls with free school uniform have succeeded in enabling more children, and girls in particular, to enrol in school. However, close monitoring will be needed to ensure that schools adhere to the regulations regarding fees and levies since there are indications that in some cases unsanctioned fees are still being demanded by schools and pressure is being put on parents/guardians to buy textbooks, which will negatively affect enrolment.

The research also indicated that ADSUBEB’s intended expansion of the school uniform initiative to include both girls and boys of all years should significantly impact on school enrolment and retention.

Some schools showed themselves to be unsympathetic to financial difficulty with the result that a pupil’s inability to provide writing materials, or pay a PTA levy could result in temporary exclusion from school or corporal punishment, which in turn sometimes led to pupil absenteeism and/or dropout.

Across the six case study schools, the pupils’ school day was highly regimented and controlled within a timetable which bore little relation to the demands of pupils’ lives outside school and which resulted in persistent punishment for late coming and/or absenteeism for some pupils (see Chapter 9). Inspections of pupil appearance and neatness and school cleaning were given particular emphasis, with punishment and/or exclusion for those who did not live up to standards, which in turn sometimes led to further absenteeism and dropout.

The proportion of the school timetable allocated to teaching and learning varied dramatically among schools and in some cases was as little as 2hrs 35mins, which was relatively short, especially when compared to time allocated to cleaning, assembly and other labour tasks. The time on leaning needs to be the focus of a reconsideration of school timetable allocations and actual practices. In consultation with families and communities the school day and timetable should be reviewed (see Chapter 9), to redress the balance between class time and cleaning/administration time, and the fit with community lifestyle demands, their other household needs, farming duties and/or Qur’anic schooling. This would likely have a positive impact on enrolment and attendance and has the potential to improve educational quality.

Pupils were managed within a highly authoritarian system in which a clear gender hierarchy operated and in which corporal and other physical punishment and manual labour played a central role. Despite the efforts of ADSUBEB, LGEA officials and some head teachers to ban
corporal punishment, many teachers proved to be reluctant to stop, and its practice was widespread and often unregulated. Yet, corporal punishment had an unequivocally negative effect on pupil access and school quality as it variously affected pupils’ concentration, confidence and participation in class (see also Chapter 8) and resulted in pupil late coming, absenteeism, dropout or withdrawal by parents from school. Echoing the findings of the VSO study on teacher motivation in Nigeria (Sherry 2008), these data show that excessive corporal punishment can also have a negative impact on parent-teacher and teacher–pupil relations. At the same time data also showed that there was clearly some parental support for corporal punishment; indeed the 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011), showed that parents/guardians were overwhelmingly in favour of caning pupils to maintain discipline (86.5%–95.5%). This indicates that further attempts to discourage the use of corporal punishment in school will likely need to address parental as well as teacher attitudes in order to be successful.

Some schools and individual teachers were visibly attempting to replace corporal punishment with manual labour, such as cleaning toilets, or other physical punishments such as being made to kneel in class with arms outstretched. However, these can be just as painful and/or humiliating and can cause pupils to miss time that could be spent learning in class. It is therefore crucial that schools establish disciplinary systems that respect children’s dignity and do not further deprive them of time or energy that could be spent learning. Such a system would enhance pupils’ experience of schooling and reduce the negative impact that current disciplinary practices have on pupil enrolment, attendance, retention and school quality.

The prefect and monitor system as it currently stands forms an integral part of the school’s disciplinary system. However, the example in one school of having health prefects shows the potential for developing a prefect (and monitor) system in which prefects have more supportive and pastoral roles, rather than regulatory and punitive ones, which often only perpetuate a culture of violence in school. Reconceptualising the prefect system would therefore help improve school quality and pupil retention. It could also help address some of the gender stereotypes and inequalities that the system currently reinforces. For example, corporal punishment was usually harsher for boys based on boys’ presumed ‘natural’ ability to endure more pain, and girls’ presumed physical delicateness. Similarly, the head boy was usually in charge of boys and girls, whereas the head girl only supervised girls, thus reinforcing a notion of male leadership and superiority and female inferiority, especially as tasks of responsibility and ones that presumed to involve greater physical strength were allocated to male prefects and to boys (See also gendered teacher responsibilities above). In contrast, the greater amount of domestic chores given to girls in some schools also replicated the unequal division of household work at home (see Chapter 9) and sent powerful gender messages to girls and boys about their relative position in society, their responsibilities and capabilities, which in turn can limit the educational expectations and aspirations and learning outcomes of girls in particular. However, gender stereotyping can also have damaging effects on boys’ participation in schooling when their classroom or exam performances fail to live up to this ideal of masculine superiority that school itself has helped perpetuate (see also Chapter 8). These gender messages were at odds with the Board’s positive messages about educating girls on an equal basis with boys.

Positive and respectful relations between and among pupils are critical to pupils’ positive experience of schooling, which in turn increase the likelihood of pupils staying in school and performing better. Whereas theft or physical violence between pupils appeared to result in teacher intervention, there was a greater tolerance of “teasing” and verbal harassment, which can have a similarly negative impact on the recipient, especially on girls and overage pupils, resulting in reduced classroom participation and increased absenteeism and the likelihood of dropout.
Good teacher–pupil relationships are also crucial to both teacher and pupil motivation and therefore likely to impact on learning quality and outcomes (Sherry, 2008). One way of encouraging positive relations among pupils, and improving teacher–pupil relations, as suggested in several schools, is to provide facilities and/or equipment to increase teacher and pupil involvement in extra-curricular activities. It was also thought such activities would improve pupil enrolment and retention.

Similarly, the efforts of individual teachers showing concern for pupils’ welfare and reasons for absenteeism clearly made a difference to pupils’ feelings towards school and were likely to have a positive impact on attendance and retention. Conversely, gross transgressions of professional responsibility and duty of care by teachers, such as brutal corporal punishment or sexual harassment of pupils, had the opposite effect and need to be reported and dealt with in a consistent and confidential manner that encourages more open reporting of such issues.
CHAPTER 8 TEACHING AND LEARNING

8.1 INTRODUCTION
ADSUEBE has spent considerable resources aimed at widening access and improving educational quality in primary schools within the state. Thus far, they have primarily been directed at improving infrastructure and teaching resources, thereby improving the conditions of teaching and learning; upgrading teachers’ paper qualifications; and widening access through social mobilisation and incentives such as free school uniforms. However, ultimately whether pupils have meaningful learning opportunities and successful learning outcomes depends to a large extent on the quality of the interaction between teacher and pupils, and among pupils, that goes on in lessons. These processes of learning will in turn have a bearing on whether pupils stay in school or drop out, and on pupil outcomes in assessment. Given the importance of the learning process, it is strange that there are few available empirical classroom-based studies that have focused on it in Nigeria although two primarily quantitative studies examined Maths and English, (and in one case, Science) classes at primary school level (with one considering secondary level classes too) across a number of states, predominantly in the north (Hardman Abd-Kadir and Smith, 2008; Davison, 2010). These are discussed later.

This chapter first considers the classroom conditions under which lessons were held in the case study schools, and the resources available. Then, it looks at classroom pedagogies including seating arrangements, medium of instruction, teaching methods, assessment and teacher pupil relations. Finally, classroom discipline is discussed

8.2 CLASSROOM CONDITIONS

8.2.1 Seats and space
Classroom conditions varied both across and within the case study schools. In three of the schools pupils enjoyed learning in new or newly renovated classrooms with smooth cement floors, sufficient functioning benches, tables, legible chalkboards, sufficient light and electricity [METRO, KILFI, BAOBAB]. There was recognition among various respondents that clean and well-equipped classrooms helped pupil learning [KANTI, KILFI, BAOBAB] whereas poor classroom conditions, such as learning under shade or in dirty classrooms with inadequate roofing or furniture, illegible chalk boards hindered learning [KANTI, DOYA]. See Table 5.2 in Chapter 5 for further details of the classroom conditions in the case study LGEAS.

In the other three schools conditions were less favourable and varied within the school [KANTI, DOMINGO, DOYA]. Two of these were rural schools with Primary 1 classes held under shade [KANTI, DOYA]. In one of the schools parents were particularly upset about this, and the community leader reported that pupils complained of pain in their buttocks from sitting on tree trunks [KANTI]. There was some evidence that classroom conditions improved as pupils moved up the grades [KANTI, DOYA]. In one school, for example, Primary 1 pupils were under shade. Primary 2 classes were held in a dark earth-floor room with termite mounds, filthy walls, piles of rubble and metal sheeting in the corner, as well as a collapsing roof, and an illegible board. Some pupils were seated on planks; others sat on the bare floor. In contrast, Primary 6 pupils learned in a lighter and brighter classroom that had been recently renovated by the state; it possessed a good cement floor, legible chalkboards and pupils were seated on proper benches with desks. The classrooms for the grades in between suffered variously from pot-holed floors, illegible boards, broken or insufficient furniture, termite mounds, broken doors or windows [KANTI]. Insufficient furniture was a problem in classes of three schools [KANTI, DOMINGO, DOYA], and teachers in one school also complained that they themselves lacked seats [DOMINGO].
Leaking roofs and dark classrooms were observed to cause classes to be interrupted or stopped when it rained [KANTI] and in one LGEA, where there were schools that still lacked classrooms, it was said that teaching stopped at 10am because it got too hot to teach under shade, even assuming there was sufficient shade [S2].

The issue of overcrowding in Nigerian classrooms has been shown to have a profoundly detrimental effect on teacher morale and educational quality (Sherry, 2008), and in the 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011) it was highlighted as a major concern of parents/guardians. Overcrowding was observed and/or reported in five of the schools [KANTI, DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI, DOYA], even where classroom facilities were good. Overcrowding was also highlighted as a more widespread issue in a couple of LGEAs [S1 & S2]. Class sizes in the observed lessons varied from 20 to 76, but numbers of pupils enrolled were often higher. Given the complaints about overcrowding and reports of high levels of absenteeism, a low number of pupils in an observed lesson was more likely to be evidence of pupil absenteeism and/or dropout than of a small class size. In fact the overcrowding and consequent effect on educational quality might in itself be a factor in pupil absenteeism and/or dropout. For example, parents in one school complained of pupils sitting six a bench, and having to sit on the floor or on the windowsill, yet in the lesson observations no more than 36 pupils were seen in class, with only three to four pupils per bench [DOYA].

In schools that lacked adequate security (see Chapter 5), pupils also complained about outsiders sometimes defecating in [KANTI, DOMINGO] or vandalising classrooms [KANTI, DOMINGO, BAOBAB] or similarly using the compound as a toilet [BAOBAB]. Animal excrement is also likely to have been an issue in one of the rural schools where animals were regularly brought through school grounds and a goat was seen in the classroom on one occasion [DOYA].

Whether new or old classrooms, however, observations in all schools recorded bare walls, except in one classroom, which had some wall charts displayed [KILFI].

8.2.2 Teaching and learning resources
As discussed in Chapter 7, although pupils were required to provide writing materials for school, some did not. This was either because they could not afford them, which was the case for some pupils in all six schools (and was mentioned as a more widespread issue across several LGEAs), or because pupils forgot them [METRO, DOYA]. In most of the lessons observed across the schools, however, the majority of pupils had exercise books and a pen or pencil although as pointed out in Chapter 7, this could be due to the fact that those without writing materials might have been excluded from school or had absented themselves to avoid punishment.

However, those pupils who lacked an exercise book were not able to copy down information from the board, or note down or do classroom exercises or homework. Those who lacked a pen or pencil were seen borrowing from other pupils who had finished the work. The borrowers, however, generally did not have time to complete the task before the teacher moved on to another activity and/or the lesson finished.

The issue of textbook provision was hotly debated in all six schools. While there was widespread acknowledgement and appreciation that the Board had vastly improved textbook provision in the state [KANTI, DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI, BAOBAB] (see Chapter 5 also), there were calls across all six schools and LGEAs for government to provide more textbooks. In addition, some schools simultaneously called on more parents to buy textbooks [DOMINGO, METRO] and even where not urged, some parents who could afford the textbooks supplied them [DOYA, KILFI, BAOBAB]. Across the six schools, an increase in the provision of textbooks was variously seen as an important means of improving enrolment and retention, decreasing dropout and/or
enhancing teaching and learning. For a group of pupils in one school a definition of a good teacher was “someone who is always using a textbook.” Teacher’s guides, which were also seen as important to improving teaching quality, were also requested [KANTI, DOMINGO]. Pupils in several schools requested more books that they could take home, or have in the school library [KANTI, METRO, KILFI, DOYA].

Both within and across schools, differences in textbook availability in class varied. Even in well-resourced schools, lessons varied from where only one textbook was visible to others where almost all pupils had textbooks [METRO, KILFI]. In a couple of schools (one of which was not a case study school) unused boxes of books were seen in the head teacher’s office. However, this may be because textbooks were seen as too valuable to give out to pupils. The following example of one school also lends support to this theory. All teachers were observed with a teacher’s handbook and some were observed teaching from the textbook in class. Although the head teacher thought that textbooks were given out to pupils for classroom use, teachers and pupils said that this did not happen, both arguing that the textbooks would be ruined if used in class. “Pupils will destroy them if they are given”, one pupil said. The few pupils whose parents bought the textbooks reportedly used them and were encouraged to share in class [BAOBAB]. This attitude might also explain why in two schools which had both well-stocked libraries and computer centres, pupils were never seen using them [METRO, BAOBAB]. In one case, pupils complained that they had asked to use the computers but maintained that only staff and paying outsiders were allowed to use them [BAOBAB]. In the third school [KILFI], which possessed both a library and computer room, pupils were seen being taught computing skills, which one pupil said helped them learn, although while being observed neither pupils nor teachers actually touched a computer. Nevertheless, some pupils mentioned liking the facilities. In the library of the same school, two library assistants were seen supervising pupils who were studying.

Other issues raised about textbooks included praise for standardising textbooks across the LGEA, allowing for a centralised exam system [METRO], and concern that frequent changes to prescribed textbooks constituted a major challenge to the school [DOYA].

Teaching aids were also considered by some teachers and LGEA staff to be important to improving teaching quality and encouraging enrolment [DOMINGO, DOYA, BAOBAB]. One school supervisor explained that they had run workshops for teachers on using teaching aids [BAOBAB] and in one school there was mention of some teachers improvising teaching aids, though none were seen in class [DOMINGO]. In fact no teaching aids were used (besides chalk and the chalkboard) in any of the 34 lessons that were observed across the schools. In one school teachers explained that they had not made any teaching aids because of delays in salary payment [BAOBAB]; in another, teachers wanted them to be provided by government [DOYA].
8.3 PEDAGOGIES

Before discussing classroom pedagogies in greater detail, it should be noted that researchers often had the feeling that they were witnessing a display lesson, which had already been taught with that class beforehand. Even where this may have been the case, in a number of instances many pupils still seemed not to understand what was going on.

8.3.1 Seating arrangements

Benches and desks were universally arranged in traditional columns and rows, separated by two to three aisles. Pupils were generally allowed to choose where they sat and chose to sit in gender-segregated groups [KANTI, DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI, BAOBAB]. One school operated a mixed-seating policy aimed at cutting down classroom noise and playing around [DOYA]. For similar reasons a head teacher of another school, and individual teachers in other schools had attempted mixed-gender seating but reported that pupils tended to self-segregate once the teacher had left the room, which observations confirmed [KANTI, DOMINGO, KILFI, BAOBAB]. Lesson observations also showed girls and boys preferring to be squeezed onto a crowded bench rather than sit next to someone of the “opposite sex” on an emptier bench [DOMINGO, BAOBAB]. Significantly, teacher and pupil explanations for pupil preference for same-gender seating varied. Teachers in particular thought that for “cultural reasons” Muslim pupils, and girls in particular, preferred to sit apart [DOMINGO, METRO, BAOBAB], some reportedly due to parental pressure [DOMINGO]. Yet, in the school that operated a whole-school mixed-seating policy, parents said they accepted the seating arrangement as it was official school policy and “it aids learning” although it should be noted that all the parents interviewed were Christian. However, pupils gave other reasons for preferring same-gender seating. Girls in all six schools complained of (some) boys physically and/or verbally harassing, bullying or teasing them. A common complaint concerned other pupils – predominantly but not exclusively boys – teasing them about being married if they were seated next to a boy [KANTI, KILFI, BAOBAB]. Although some boys also complained about being teased in this way, the data suggest girls were more affected. In contrast, boys in two schools said they did not want to sit next to girls because they copied answers off them [METRO, BAOBAB], although “giraffing” (copying) by both girls and boys was witnessed in classes.

Overage pupils and irregular attenders also tended to self-segregate with overage boys in particular congregating on the back rows [KANTI, DOMINGO, KILFI], probably to protect themselves from being teased by other pupils, which pupils readily acknowledged (see Chapter 7).

8.3.2 Language of instruction

The language of instruction, English, constituted a major impediment to many pupils’ learning in all the case study schools and LGEAs, confirmed by both observational and interview data. This was obvious even in lessons where researchers knew that they were witnessing a repeat performance of an earlier lesson.

National government policy on the medium of instruction dictates that the “language of the immediate environment” should be used for the first three years of primary schooling, with English as a subject. “From the fourth year, English shall progressively be used as a medium of instruction and the language of the immediate environment and French shall be taught as subjects” (FRN, 2004b, p.16). Thus, in primary schools teaching is predominantly carried out in Hausa in the north, Igbo in the South East and Yoruba in the South West (Theobald et al., 2007) and code-switching is prevalent (Hardman, Abd-Kadir and Smith, 2008; Salami, 2008). In Hardman, Abd-Kadir and Smith’s (2008) survey of Primary 6 Maths, English and Science lessons in twenty schools, primarily in the north, code-switching was observed in around three-quarters of lessons though fewer than a quarter of teachers admitted to the practice in the questionnaires.
Salami's (2008) study of code-switching in primary schools in the South West had similar findings. The difference between professed and observed practice is likely explained by teachers not wanting to admit to contravening government policy (Hardman, Abd-Kadir and Smith, 2008; Salami, 2008).

However, as Salami (2008) points out, language learning theory suggests that cognitive development is best achieved through a solid foundation of learning in a child’s first language(s), before embarking on learning in a second or foreign language (see also Benson, 2004; Alidou et al., 2006). Additional benefits of mother-tongue teaching demonstrated in other studies in SSA have included more active pupil participation, involving greater numbers of pupils (Benson 2004; Hovens, 2002; Heugh et al. 2007), more relaxed teacher–pupil relations (Benson, 2004; Brock-Utne, 2007), and better pedagogy (Hovens, 2002; Brock-Utne, 2007). Over 60% of the children in Salami’s study expressed a preference for teaching in English and Yoruba. Salami (2008) concludes that “mother-tongue” teaching should be given an enhanced role alongside English in Nigeria so that teachers can enjoy the “educational benefits [of code-switching] in a situation of bi- or multilingualism, low English proficiency, lack of or poor language teacher education training, and lack or scarcity of material resources in mother-tongue education” (p.109). Thus, greater proficiency in English as a subject can be achieved by learning it in (a) familiar language(s) (Alidou et al., 2006).

However, there is pressure, not least from parents, for English-only tuition (Ango et al. 2003, cited in Akyeampong et al., 2009) even at pre-school level (see Ajayi, 2008). In two of the case study schools pupils considered the ability to teach well in English as a feature of a good teacher [DOMINGO, KILFI]. English-medium teaching is associated with private schools (and by implication better teaching) and with better socio-economic opportunities (Osokoya, 2004; Salami, 2008). One school inspector in Salami’s (2008) study explained that it was precisely because of competition for enrolments from English-medium private schools in the area that they were actually encouraging teachers to teach in English from Primary 1, contrary to government policy.

However, parental attitudes can vary. In Sunal et al.’s (2003) study of parental and teacher attitudes to schooling, all parents thought children could learn better in their home language and half the parents and all the teachers noted that children from ethno-linguistic minorities were deprived of this opportunity and that this discouraged their children from completing school. A few parents from minority linguistic groups confirmed that they had not enrolled their children in school because the exclusion of their language made them feel disconnected from their culture. Programmes with Fulani nomads, for example, have demonstrated greater parental commitment to formal schooling when learning and teaching materials are in Fulfulde (see McCaffery et al., 2006; Usman, 2006). However, many “minority” languages are under threat as they lack trained language teachers and orthographies that would enable teaching materials to be produced and encourage formal inclusion in the curriculum (Ango et al., 2003, cited in Akyeampong et al., 2009). Although parents were not asked about the medium of instruction in school in this study, their views will be critical to any future shift in policy.

Most teachers used a mixture of Hausa and English to teach [KANTI, DOMINGO, KILFI, DOYA, BAOBAB]. In the most urban school, however, almost all lessons were wholly or predominantly in English, partly because some teachers were non-Hausa speakers [METRO]. Some English lessons in other schools were also taught wholly or almost wholly in English; however, the fact that some of these teachers also admitted to using Hausa at other times suggests that normal classroom practice was not observed, perhaps because they did not want to contravene official policy while being observed, as other studies have suggested (Hardman, Abd-Kadir and Smith, 2008; Salami,
Moreover, some teachers also found it difficult to teach in English [KANTI, DOYA, BAOBAB]. A tiny minority of lessons were conducted wholly, or almost wholly, in Hausa [KANTI, DOMINGO]. Other local languages which teachers were seen to use in class included Higgi, Chamba and Fulfulde, as teachers acknowledged that some pupils even struggled to understand Hausa [KANTI, DOMINGO, KILFI, DOYA]. Teachers across the case studies were generally in favour of teaching using both English and Hausa, which is what most said they practised, because they said many pupils struggled to understand in English, which observations confirmed. The reported negative impacts of teaching in English included discouraging pupils [BAOBAB], slowing down the lesson and wasting time [BAOBAB], low classroom participation [KANTI, METRO], pupil absenteeism and dropout [KANTI and LGEA N1] and exam failure [METRO]. In addition, pupils were sometimes reprimanded, including being flogged, or threatened for speaking in Hausa or other local languages in class [BAOBAB, METRO, DOYA] although teachers’ tolerance for use of local languages in class varied.

The majority of pupils interviewed also generally favoured learning in English and Hausa [KANTI, DOMINGO, KILFI] although a few groups said they preferred to learn wholly in Hausa or another local language [KANTI, BAOBAB] and others expressed a desire to learn wholly in English, even when their competence in English was clearly inadequate for the task [KANTI, DOMINGO, METRO]. This might possibly have been because the ability to teach in English was seen as characteristic of a good teacher [DOMINGO, KILFI]. In contrast, one head teacher said that the number of non-Hausa-speaking teachers in his school was hampering attempts to implement “mother-tongue” teaching in Primary 1 to 3.

### 8.3.3 Teaching methods

The national policy on education (FRN, 2004b) is aiming for teaching that uses “practical, exploratory and experimental methods” (p.15). However, all observations across the six case study schools exemplified traditional didactic whole-class teaching, led by the teacher from the front of the class, and encompassing broadly similar teaching methods. Some teachers stood at the front of the class and predominantly monologued for the duration of the lesson [KANTI, DOMINGO, METRO, DOYA] whereas most teachers across the schools interspersed their talk to varying degrees with choral repetition and/or question-and-answer routines, which demanded either choral or individual responses. In almost all cases, the questions demanded simple factual recall. Similar patterns have been recorded in two quantitative surveys of classroom practice in Nigeria taking in primary and junior secondary schools (Hardman, Abd-Kadir and Smith, 2008; Davison, 2010).

The chalkboard was the only teaching aid used by the majority of teachers; some wrote on the board and asked pupils to copy into their exercise books; in some cases pupils were asked to answer questions or solve the problems that had been put on the board [KANTI, DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI, BAOBAB] A few Maths teachers asked a few individual pupils to come to the board to solve a problem [KANTI, METRO, KILFI]. In Davison’s study of over 1000 Maths and English lessons, teachers spent over 50% of their time at the board, writing on it, reading from it or watching a pupil write on it (Davison, 2010). In this study, as in Davison’s, textbooks were rarely used. Davison speculates that this might be because not all pupils had access to a textbook but noted that textbooks were generally only used to set homework or a class exercise rather than as a teaching tool, though sometimes a pupil was asked to read aloud from one. The same was true in the case study schools. Where teachers had textbooks available, they perhaps needed support in how they could use the books more creatively. Alternatively, as suggested earlier, it could be that they considered textbooks too precious to use.

The case study classroom observations were similar to those in the other classroom-based studies (Hardman, Abd-Kadir and Smith, 2008; Davison, 2010), in that they showed a consistently high level of “safe talk” (Chick, 1996): routinised classroom interaction which makes very limited
cognitive demands of pupils, with a lot of pseudo checking of answers. Such ritualised exchanges have been observed in many African classroom settings (see Dembelé and Miario-Ill, 2003) and interpreted as a coping strategy which allows teachers and pupils to save face and maintain the appearance that effective teaching and learning is taking place when actually struggling with the language of instruction and/or academic content of lessons (Chick, 1996). The comments from the case studies about pupils struggling with English (and sometimes Hausa) provide further evidence in this regard; so too does the observation made in a couple of schools that teachers sometimes skipped topics on the syllabus that they found too difficult to teach [DOYA, BAOBAB].

There was some acknowledgement by teachers in one school that better teaching methods, including making lessons more interesting, would improve pupils’ learning, punctuality and retention [KANTI]. This was a view echoed by the occasional head teacher and LGEA official [KILFI, DOMINGO, KANTI]. However, generally there was very little awareness, or acknowledgement, by teachers that the teaching methods they were using might have a negative impact on pupil learning and motivation and therefore ultimately on attendance, performance and retention. Pupils in one school, however, clearly identified aspects of didactic teaching that could improve their learning: teachers giving good explanations, repeating information if necessary, speaking audibly, and writing clearly on the board; “step by step teaching and [teachers] not jumping topics”; more correction of homework and class assignments [KILFI].

Opportunities for oral participation in class, beyond choral repetition or sentence completion, were overall very limited, and non-existent in some lessons. Low participation was recognised by some teachers and attributed variously to pupils’ difficulties in English [ALL SCHOOLS] and, in one case, poor teaching methods [KANTI], in addition to the gender-differentiated explanations described below. However, it is likely that fear of being punished for an incorrect answer and/or laughed at by peers, as reported by both pupils and teachers, was also a major factor, as some admitted [METRO, KILFI].

No particular gender patterns were discernable in classroom participation: in some classes the teacher seemed to focus on girls, in others on boys and sometimes they asked questions to both to answer. More often teachers focused on a few star pupils. Teachers’ views on whether girls or boys participated more varied across and within schools. Interestingly, in three schools pupils’ views were split along gender lines, with girls maintaining that girls participated more and boys arguing that boys did [DOMINGO, METRO, DOYA]. In some cases gender stereotypes were invoked to explain more or less participation in class. Low participation by girls, and Muslim girls in particular, was often ascribed to their being “shy” and lacking in confidence [KANTI, DOMINGO, KILFI, BAOBAB] although one head teacher thought that they could participate more with female teachers. Low participation by boys was ascribed to their “lacking interest” or being “inattentive” or “playful” although both girls and boys were variously accused of playing around in class, which observations confirmed, especially when they were not learning anything. Greater participation by boys in one school was put down to their being “freer”, “talking a lot” and because “they can learn faster” [KANTI, DOMINGO, METRO].

Overage pupils too were singled out as having low participation [KANTI, DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI]. This is potentially a significant issue given the size of this population in the primary sector reported in Chapter 4 (see Section 4.8 and Table 4.8) and the number of them who will continue to enter late and drop out and re-enter school. In one school, overage girls were said to “follow boys into the night” [KANTI] and so not concentrate in class; otherwise overage pupils were said not to participate because they feel self-conscious about their age and about being teased when they get an answer wrong [DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI] (see Chapter 7, Section 7.3.5). There were
also reports of overage pupils in particular being called names such as “fool” and “big for nothing.” [DOMINGO]. Indeed the whole issue of pupils teasing each other for making mistakes in class, which observers witnessed, was said to affect pupils’ participation in general, especially girls [KILFI]. As one teacher explained: “Girls are always shy; they fear pupils will laugh at them whenever they give wrong answers.” Thus, it would seem that teasing, rather than being shy, may be the main issue. Though both girls and boys teased and were teased, girls were reportedly affected more, in some cases dropping out of school as a result [DOMINGO, BAOBAB]. One teacher thought boys generally teased girls because they felt superior. In contrast a male pupil in another school said that if he answered questions in class, he was criticised by his peers for bragging [KANTI]. Fear of being beaten in class also affected pupil participation, which was most noticeable in one lesson observation where the teacher was seen to beat pupils who answered incorrectly [METRO, KILFI]. One boy said the best way to avoid any punishment in class was to keep silent [METRO].

Praise for pupils giving correct answers was observed in a few lessons [KANTI, KILFI], as was encouragement for pupils to clap for their peers [KILFI, BAOBAB]. In many classes, however, feedback and/or praise for pupils’ answers was limited or non-existent. On the other hand, some teachers gave rewards for good performance such as snacks and stationery, sometimes paid for out of their own pocket [DOYA, BAOBAB, LGEA S1], in addition to the annual class prizes given out at prize-giving. Pupils in one school thought that rewards for good performance helped them learn better [DOYA].

Homework was given in several observed lessons and was equated with good teaching by parents and community members in particular [BAOBAB]. However, parents complained about insufficient homework being given in a couple of schools [METRO, DOYA] and pupils in one school requested more homework to be corrected [KILFI].

No state-level assessment data were available from ADSUBEB and the Primary 6 assessment data provided by the case study schools were unreliable in most cases (see individual case study reports in Appendix I). However, schools talked about “pupil performance” generally in terms of tests and exams although one school mentioned continuous assessment, which is now supposed to be the basis for the Primary School Leaving Certificate at the end of Primary 6 (FRN, 2004b). As with classroom participation, opinions were divided or undecided as to gender patterns in exam performance. Reasons put forward to explain some girls doing better included getting more parental assistance from spending more time at home [DOMINGO], and not playing around [KILFI]. The main reason given for why (some) girls might not do well related to their presumed focus on marriage [DOMINGO, METRO, DOYA]; other reasons included girls going out at night [DOYA], playing a lot [DOMINGO] and petty trading [DOMINGO]. The main reason given to explain (some) boys’ poor performance was that they “play a lot” [DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI, DOYA]. Some were also said not to concentrate or listen in class [METRO, KILFI, BAOBAB], or to spend time in the beer parlour [KANTI]. Christian pupils, and boys in particular, were thought to get better results in one school because they were used to studying (including learning from a chalkboard, sitting on benches and learning in English) from Sunday school [DOYA]. In a similar vein, in another school it was thought that pupils that attended the church pre-school also did well [KANTI]. Overage, and underage pupils were identified as groups of pupils that often did not perform well in exams and tests [KANTI, DOMINGO, KILFI, BAOBAB]. Long-term absentees and (some) Muslim girls were also thought to fail or attain low marks [KANTI, KILFI, METRO]. However, in the absence of reliable assessment data no further comment can be made.

In the case of overage pupils, similar reasons were given to those made concerning low participation in class, namely that pupils feel self-conscious about their age [KILFI, BAOBAB]...
though it is likely that the widespread culture of teasing/insulting overage pupils will affect their performance. A teacher in one school noted that she had a 21-year-old man in her class who could neither read nor write and she had no idea what to do with him [METRO].

Poor performance in tests and examinations also resulted in pupils being teased. As one Board member said, the teasing does not stop in the school, especially as regards test results. Since pupils are ranked from first to last position in each class on the basis of exam results, they explained that those in the bottom three positions are given hurtful nicknames such as “dummyhead” and are teased outside school and/or are beaten at home. All this, the Board member said, leads to exam malpractice. This may explain to some extent the high number of accusations about cheating and copying in class. Boys accused girls of copying answers/cheating in four schools [DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI, BAOBAB] whereas girls levelled the same accusation at boys in one [DOMINGO]. Long-term absentees were also accused of cheating in exams [KILFI].

Although automatic promotion is now official government policy, schools still reported repeating pupils, sometimes at the request of parents [e.g. DOMINGO] and ADSUBEB collects statistics on repetition at school. As outlined in Chapter 4 (see Section 4.8.2 and Fig 4.5), repetition rates varied greatly among schools and LGEAs and within grades. The main interrelated reasons for pupils repeating were poor exam/test performance and long-term absenteeism [KANTI, DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI]. One school had a policy of accepting no more than five repeaters per class in order to prevent further overcrowding although one teacher thought more should be allowed to repeat to prevent pupil dropout or transfer to other schools [METRO].

Two schools mentioned extra catch-up classes for overage pupils [KANTI, METRO]. One school had a special class for overage pupils taught by experienced staff, adopting an individualised instruction strategy [METRO]. The idea was for the pupils to later join the regular class at an appropriate level according to “individual ability”. This remedial class had been cancelled by the previous management, but was about to be revived by the new head teacher. The class would now also take care of repeaters or pupils that had previously dropped out. In the other school, the counselling teacher organised catch-up classes for overage pupils [KANTI].

Good teacher–pupil relations were invariably identified as being central to good teaching, according to pupils across all six schools. Specifically, they appreciated teachers who could interact well with pupils without shouting at them or beating them, and who treated them equally but were respectful of individual differences. Teacher–pupil relations in class across the schools were generally considered to be authoritarian but supportive, according to observations and pupil reports, with some teachers offering praise and encouragement to pupils, as mentioned earlier. Nevertheless, teacher–pupil relations varied across and within schools, with the occasional teacher appearing indifferent and/or intimidating. In the latter cases this manifested itself either in lessons in which the teacher failed to maintain the pupils’ interest and had no control of the class, or was very intimidating (usually with the threat or corporal punishment) [DOMINGO, KILFI, BAOBAB]. In one school, the “good teachers” were identified as being what the pupils most liked about the school [METRO]. In another school, one group of pupils expressed satisfaction that there was “no fighting with teachers as in other schools.” [KILFI]. As highlighted in Chapter 7, mention was made in a couple of schools of some teachers making special efforts to care for pupils by lending or buying pencils or pencils for those who could not afford them, or sometimes giving pupils money to buy stationery [KANTI, BAOBAB].

Although most pupils said teachers generally treated pupils equally and fairly, pupils in one school thought that “more intelligent” pupils were favoured [DOMINGO]. There was also a suggestion among pupils in two schools that some female teachers were often in a hurry to leave class and “sit around under trees” [DOMINGO, BAOBAB]. A senior member of staff in another
school agreed that some female teachers were more often absent and did not plan lessons but pointed out that it is because they often struggle to juggle work with household chores [METRO]. Bakari’s (2011) study also noted that some female teachers have to miss school to care for a sick child, which can be mistakenly interpreted as a lack of professionalism.

8.3.4 Discipline
Teachers’ ability to maintain control of the class was essential to pupil learning. Pupils in four of the six schools complained about other pupils making noise, eating food, messing about and fighting or bullying, and the fact that these distractions prevented them from being able to concentrate and learn [DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI, DOYA]. As one boy put it: “Bam mu son duka, surutu da neman fada” [We don’t want flogging, noise making and some pupils (both boys and girls) looking for trouble]. In large classes it was relatively easy to mess around at the back, where overage boys in particular tended to gather. A number of observations across the schools confirmed all this and sometimes the teachers did not attempt to regulate the behaviour. In contrast, in a class in one school, pupils behaved well with minimal noise perhaps because the lesson was relatively more interactive, the teacher was supportive and encouraging and more pupils appeared to understand [BAOBAB].

Corporal punishment was witnessed in only a handful of classroom observations, sometimes applied by the classroom monitor [DOMINGO, KILFI] though canes were carried by some teachers but not used during the observed lessons [DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI]. However, as one Board member pointed out, even holding a cane is sufficient to prevent pupils from learning:

You are holding a cane in the class, so the child will be scared to say the wrong thing. If you are the type using the cane for not saying the right thing, so it will affect their ability [to learn].

In one lesson the teacher was observed beating pupils (mainly boys) for failing to solve a problem at the chalkboard and after being beaten they would return sobbing to their seats. As reported in Chapter 7, corporal punishment was widely practised in the classroom by (some) staff in all six schools. Another very common classroom punishment was to make pupils kneel or stand [DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI, BAOBAB]; other punishments included sending pupils outside, or making them run round the classroom, pick up litter or weed the compound [DOYA, BAOBAB]. Serious cases were referred to the discipline teacher [DOMINGO, KILFI]. All of these tasks effectively took more time away from pupils which could be spent in learning, and were designed to cause pupils humiliation and/or pain or physical discomfort.

Verbal reprimands were less commonly commented on either by pupils or researchers though it was noted that in one lesson the teacher rebuked pupils for laughing at a boy who got the answer wrong [DOYA]; however, on other occasions pupils were insulted or laughed at by their peers with no teacher intervention [KILFI]. As highlighted in Chapter 7, this kind of behaviour can result in pupils experiencing feelings of shame, or in non-participation in class or even absenteeism and/or dropout [DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI, BAOBAB,]. In a similar way, humiliating comments were made by a couple of female teachers to reprimand boys. For example: “Look at your shirt, like a dog played on it” and “You’re a dummy if you can’t answer this question.” [BAOBAB]. The tendency for some female teachers to direct personal comments to boys in particular has been noted in other studies in Africa, often compensating for the fact that female teachers struggle to control (some) male pupils (See for example, Dunne et al., 2005).
8.4 SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS FOR ACCESS (QUALITY AND OUTCOMES)

This chapter has examined teaching and learning in the classroom, making the argument that it lies at the core of educational quality, which in turn will impact on access to the curriculum, pupil retention and educational outcomes. In particular the focus has been on classroom processes, both the formal interactions between teachers and pupils and the informal interactions among pupils. The analysis has drawn on the classroom observations made in the case study schools, and relevant interview data, which have also been related to previous research. In this section key points are summarised and specific gender effects are highlighted.

Classroom conditions that are conducive to learning are essential to the motivation of teachers and pupils and to improving educational quality. These conditions include large bright classrooms with roofs that do not leak, clear chalk boards, cement floors, sufficient benches and desks and a teacher–pupil ratio that is close to the recommended government ratio of 1:35. Much has been achieved by ADSUBEB in improving classroom conditions in some schools; however others lag behind with detrimental effects on educational quality (see also Chapter 5).

As a result of increasing enrolments in schools, classes in some schools are becoming overcrowded with insufficient furniture for pupils (and sometimes teachers) and some furniture of poor quality, thereby threatening educational quality, which in turn leads to pupil absenteeism and eventual dropout.

There is widespread recognition that textbook provision has vastly improved in many schools, although distribution varied dramatically among and within the case study schools, in some cases because books were considered too precious for pupils to use. Textbooks are only valuable tools in teaching and learning if pupils are allowed to use them in class and have regular access to them in school libraries. In addition, teachers would benefit from professional development on how to use textbooks in class in ways that go beyond reading passages aloud or setting exercises, and which impact positively on learning.

Proficiency in the medium of instruction in schools is crucial to pupils’ ability to access the curriculum. Pupils’ lack of proficiency in English (and that of some teachers too), denied many pupils access to the curriculum. It also contributed to teacher and pupil frustration, pupil failure in exams and to pupil absenteeism and dropout. Even the common practice of teaching in a mixture of English and Hausa causes other quality issues as it takes longer to cover lesson material. Minority language speakers not fluent in Hausa are even further disadvantaged, as are Hausa-speaking pupils taught by non-Hausa speakers.

Teaching methods were universally didactic and teacher-centred. In attempting to overcome the large class sizes, difficult classroom conditions, wide-ranging ages and pupils’ (and sometimes the teacher’s) lack of proficiency in English, teachers often resorted to monologue interspersed with a mixture of choral repetition and ritualised question-and-answer routines. This often resulted in limited learning opportunities and unruly classes, which were frustrating for pupils and teachers alike and made it easier for “teasing”, harassment and bullying to go on unchecked.

The problem of large classes and the lack of resources will need to be overcome, and teachers will need more school-based professional support for them to be able to begin to implement the more reflective, interactive teaching methods desired by government.

The issue of overage pupils in particular needs to be addressed as their presence in mainstream classes was often shown to have a detrimental effect on their own learning and that of other pupils, also sometimes resulting in absenteeism and dropout. The idea of separate remedial
classes for older pupils, which a couple of schools were doing, would seem worthwhile pursuing though teachers again will need support in how best to engage these pupils.

Classroom teasing and bullying was a serious issue, which had a negative impact on pupils and on girls in particular, discouraging them from participation in class. Gender stereotypes persisted, particularly among pupils, about male superiority and greater physical strength, which may limit girls’ successful participation and outcomes in school and put undue pressure on boys to live up to these ideals.
CHAPTER 9 SCHOOL–COMMUNITY RELATIONS

9.1 INTRODUCTION
This chapter looks at relations between the school and the community, focusing directly on the case study schools. We use the notion of ‘community’ fairly broadly to include the geographical community in which the school is located, as well as the community, or communities, of parents. These two communities overlap to varying degrees depending on the case study school. The chapter starts with a brief overview of the socio-economic context followed by the general health issues pupils and communities face. As the 2010 NEDS succinctly summarised:

School-age children suffer from nutritional problems that may affect their physical and cognitive development, as well as their capacity to attend school, stay in school, and learn while attending school. Previous research has found correlations between nutrition and school enrolment/attendance, performance in school, age-of-entry, absenteeism, repetition, and dropout (NPC and RTI International, 2011, pp. 37–38).

The survey showed that many children in Nigeria aged 4–10 were malnourished, again considerably more in rural and northern regions, and speculated that the discontinuation of the Home Grown School Feeding programme in the majority of states may have helped discourage additional enrolment after 2007 (ibid., p.4). In the same survey ill health was by far the most commonly cited reason for missing school, given by over a third of primary school respondents. In a study on girls’ education in eight states in Nigeria, illness was also identified as a major obstacle to schooling among 44% of respondents (Unterhalter and Heslop, 2011).

Next, attention is focused on family practices regarding children’s work – both paid and unpaid. Studies have shown that girls are usually engaged in more household tasks and for longer and more often cite such work as reasons for being absent from school (UNESCO, 2003) whereas boys’ greater access to income-generating activities or the greater demand made by families for male labour for certain agricultural work is often the reason that they eventually drop out of school (ibid.).

The discussion then turns to parenting, parental attitudes towards formal education, and issues of parental choice in terms of which school and which child(ren) are sent to school, particularly in relation to gender. As highlighted in Chapter 3, historically, formal education in Nigeria (and elsewhere) has been associated with Christianity (Iro, 2001; Rufa’i 2006, cited in Akyeampong et al., 2009; FME 2008, cited in Hoechner, 2011), and more recently with “westernisation” (Academy for Educational Development, 2002; Bray, 2003). Muslim communities in West Africa (including Nigeria) are often implicitly criticised for not wanting girls in particular to go to school in case they are subject to harmful western influences (Avotri et al., 2000; Academy for Educational Development, 2002).

Next, the importance of school quality is raised as research in Nigeria has shown that even poor parents are prepared to make sacrifices to send their children to school (Lincove, 2009; Härma, 2011b) provided the quality (however that may be determined) is perceived to be adequate (Sunal et al., 2003). Data from the 2010 NEDS back this up. For example, when parents/guardians were asked to identify the main consideration for school selection, cost was only cited by 13% of households whereas school quality was cited by 30% of respondents (NPC and RTI International, 2011).
Community representation and community ‘voice’ are considered next, particularly in relation to the PTA and SBMC. Studies in the ESSPIN states have found that SBMCs have yet to be established in many areas (Antononis, 2010; Unterhalter and Heslop, 2011), that the different roles of PTAs and SBMCs are often overlapping and/or unclear (Poulsen, 2009), and that both committees often lack participation from the ordinary community member (Poulsen, 2009; Williams, 2009).

School–community relations more generally are considered next. Although several studies give examples of positive efforts to support schools by community or other organisations, such as the Fulani Commission (see Urwick, 2002; Sherry, 2008; Poulsen, 2009), they also highlight tensions between schools and communities. Teachers often have a deficit view of parents, claiming they do not value education, and do not listen to teachers’ views on their childrens’ capabilities (Sherry, 2008); conversely, some parents and community members see teachers as lacking the requisite qualifications, commitment and professionalism (ibid.). Studies elsewhere in SSA have shown that poor parent-teacher relations can be associated with pupil non-enrolment and dropout (e.g. Engelbrecht et al., 2005, in South Africa; Pryor, 2005, in Ghana).

The chapter concludes by looking at LGEA involvement in school–community relations before concluding by summarising the implications of the various aspects of school–community relations as regards school access.

9.2 COMMUNITY PROFILES

9.2.1 Socio-economic context

As described in Chapter 2, the six case study primary schools were spread out across the three senatorial zones of Adamawa State: two in the north, two in the south and two in the central zone. Two schools were rural; four were urban, one of which was in a large central urban area, with the other three in smaller, and/or less central urban areas (see Chapter 2.5 for a pen picture of each case study and Appendix I for more detail). Apart from the most urbanised school where most parents were traders, in the other five schools most parents were farmers involved in subsistence agriculture and/or animal husbandry, with a sprinkling of petty traders, civil servants and families from fishing communities. High levels of household poverty were reported across the case study schools and LGEAs. The predominant farming communities have a lifestyle that demands periods of intensive labour during the rainy season (generally June to December), which in terms of income and survival is non-negotiable.

9.2.2 Health issues

With such widespread poverty reported, it was unsurprising that pupils groups across all six schools said they were sometimes absent from school due to ill health, which was confirmed by other respondents and identified as an LGEA-wide issue by two education secretaries [N2, S1]. Pupils, and girls in particular, were also said to miss school on occasions to care for a sick relative [DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI, BAOBAB]. Hunger too was explicitly identified in all schools as a major reason for pupil absenteeism or late coming as pupils either waited for food to be served at home or had to go out and find food before class. The problem seemed to be particularly acute in Domingo Primary School. Hunger was also identified as a reason for some children leaving school during school hours [DOMINGO, DOYA, BAOBAB]; some did not return [BAOBAB]. It was thought to cause dropout among a small minority in one LGEA [N2]. It was also recognised that lack of food has an adverse effect on children’s learning [KANTI, DOMINGO, KILFI]; teachers in one school reported having to discuss the matter with parents, urging them to feed their children “no matter the hardship.” [DOMINGO]. As the head teacher also pointed out: “Hunger stops pupils from learning at school.”
Figures from the 2010 NEDS for the North East also indicated that around 10% of households knew children in the community they believed were absent from school because a parent or guardian was ill with either HIV or AIDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011) though in our study neither HIV or AIDS was raised as a factor in absenteeism though this might have been because of the associated stigma. The lack of adequate toilet facilities or available water was noted in the case study schools and more widely across Adamawa schools (see Chapter 5). There is potential to improve these and thereby support more healthy conditions in schools for both teacher and pupils.

9.3 FAMILY PRACTICES

9.3.1 Children’s work

The need for children to work rather than attend school was identified as a major factor in non-enrolment, absenteeism, repetition and dropout across the six schools, and more widely across the LGEAS. Farming affected pupils in all but the most urban school, especially during the rainy season, generally June to December but April to October in one school [DOYA]. For fishing communities in one school and LGEA, the peak seasons were September to November and February to March [BAOBAB]. Planting and harvesting were identified as the busiest times, especially harvesting when extra paid work was said to be available [DOYA, BAOBAB]. Labour activities were often gendered. While both girls and boys were needed to plant and harvest crops during the rainy season boys were more often identified as needing to work in the fields or to tend cattle both before and during school hours, resulting in late coming or absenteeism [KANTI, DOMINGO, KILFI DOYA, BAOBAB]. Children of Higgi and nomadic Hausa-Fulani parents, in particular, were said to be absent from school for many months as they move their livestock [DOMINGO, KILFI]. Pupils reportedly both work on their family land [KANTI, DOMINGO, DOYA, BAOBAB] – with some pupils having their own fields to cultivate [DOYA] – but some also earned money on other people’s farms [DOYA, BAOBAB]. One ES explained that rearing cattle for a year would earn a boy a cow in payment [DOYA]. Moreover, some children, particularly overage pupils (arguably young adults), were already economically self-supporting [KANTI, DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI]. Importantly, in Nigeria children needing to work long hours has also been associated with ill health (UNICEF, 2006), which, as noted above, also relates to hunger and poverty.

In all six schools petty trading was also a cause of absenteeism, especially on market days, and eventual dropout, among boys in particular [KANTI, BAOBAB, KILFI]. Some boys were said to move away from home to try their hand at business, returning as overage pupils if they do not succeed [DOYA, BAOBAB, DOMINGO]. Absenteeism and dropout among some boys in more urban areas was also due to taking on apprenticeships as mechanics, welders or electricians [DOMINGO, METRO, BAOBAB]. In the most urban school, (some) Christian boys were said to be late for school because they have to open up their parents’ business whereas some Christian (Igbo) girls who worked as maids were sometimes late or absent because they had to run errands for their employees [METRO]. Across all six schools some girls were said to miss or drop out of school to hawk goods, which reportedly applied to Muslim girls in particular [METRO, DOYA, BAOBAB], sometimes to earn money for their marriage [BAOBAB], echoing findings in Robson’s (2004) ethnographic study of a community in Hausaland.

Pupils were said not to enrol in school or to drop out to earn money for a variety of reasons. In many cases, across all six case studies, they were following parental wishes, often driven by financial necessity. In some cases, parental attitudes towards schooling also played a role (see below). At other times, pupils themselves decided to miss school or drop out, sometimes without parental knowledge [ALL SCHOOLS]. In many cases respondents were unaware of the reasons why some pupils, and boys in particular, dropped out of school to work [KANTI, DOMINGO,
This is consistent with other studies in SSA (Dunne, Akyeampong and Humphreys, 2007). In some cases it was attributed to children not liking school [METRO, DOYA, BAOBAB] (see Chapter 7) or because finishing school was perceived to make no difference to their chances of getting employed [KANTI, DOMINGO, DOYA]. It was also suggested that some boys simply preferred earning money to being in school [KANTI, BAOBAB].

Household chores also impacted heavily on school punctuality, attendance and retention. It was widely recognised among respondents across all six schools that although both girls and boys undertook household chores, girls were more affected as they had more tasks to do. In one school Muslim girls in particular were singled out [DOMINGO], perhaps because some may have to fit in Qur’anic schooling as well as domestic chores before coming to class. As a result of household chores, girls were said to have less time to complete homework [KILFI] and suffered in terms of exam performance [DOYA]. In one extreme case, a teacher reported that one female pupil usually got up at 3.30am to begin her chores and as a result was often asleep in class [METRO]. In another school, parents complained that school started too early for pupils to be able to complete their chores. [BAOBAB]. In addition, as Robson (2004) found in her study, some girls also have to stay at home to look after newly born and younger siblings [KANTI, DOMINGO, DOYA], while the mother goes out to work. In addition, as mentioned above, girls sometimes had to look after sick relatives [BAOBAB, KILFI, DOMINGO].

9.3.2 Parenting

Lack of parental supervision by some parents was seen as a cause of latecoming, absenteeism and dropout across all six schools, to varying degrees, and often more widely across the LGEA. LGEA, school and PTA/SMBC members in particular were often most critical of (some) parents although some pupils and parents also admitted it was a problem. Specifically, some parents were said to be sending children on errands when they should be going to school [BAOBAB], not getting children to bed or waking them up on time [DOYA, BAOBAB], and/or not ensuring that they reach school [DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI, BAOBAB]. Parents were said to be unaware sometimes that their children/wards were absent from, or had dropped out of school [KANTI, METRO, KILFI, BAOBAB]. Some children apparently left home dressed for school and took their uniform off on the way [METRO, BAOBAB]. Although there was mention in one school of girls staying out “playing” [DOYA], it was commonly agreed that girls’ activities were generally more closely monitored at home whereas boys were less supervised, and/or boys were less easily controlled [DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI, DOYA, BAOBAB]. As a result, some boys reportedly stayed out late at night playing, or got “distracted” on the way to school, playing around, or drifting off to watch football on TV, drink or smoke or hang out with bad company [DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI, DOYA, BAOBAB]. In a couple of schools this was ascribed to their giving in to peer pressure [KANTI, KILFI].

On the other hand, there was only limited recognition that because many parents work long hours, especially farming during the rainy season [KANTI, METRO] and/or because fathers may be away from home for long periods looking for work, it is difficult to supervise children [KANTI, BAOBAB]. As the following two parents explained:

- Mu iyaye, laifinmu shine; bamu da lokachi mu lura da zuwan yaranmu makaranta. Iyaye mata kuma suna chikin tare tare da aikin gida, baza su sami lokachin yin ma yara magana su tafi da wuri ba” [Our problem as parents is that we are always busy with work to monitor our children going to school early. Mothers are also busy with home chores; they will not have time to ensure children go to school early]. (male parent, METRO)

- I am a farmer both seasonal and dry season. I leave home very early every morning and return in the evenings so that my family can feed. (male parent, BAOBAB)
Indeed there was frequent mention that some children were “fending for themselves” at home [KANTI, DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI]. As a PTA member of one school pointed out, it was no surprise that pupils were not in school when some of them had even left home: “Some children even left home completely, how much less of [let alone] school?” [DOMINGO].

However, there was also some acknowledgement that some parents were active in ensuring that their charges reached and/or stayed in school and in disciplining them for absenteeism [DOMINGO, BAOBAB]. There was an expectation among some school respondents that parents should also help with, or check, their children’s homework [DOMINGO, METRO] although other respondents complained that some family members did the homework for the children rather than assisting them to do it [METRO, DOYA]. Many pupils interviewed said parents or siblings could help them with homework [KANTI, DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI, DOYA] but it was thought that (some) Muslim pupils, more than Christian pupils, had nobody at home who could help [DOMINGO, DOYA], which was thought to disadvantage these pupils in their studies [DOYA].

9.3.3 Educational choice and parent and community attitudes to schooling

Parental attitudes were said to be changing among more conservative parents, both Christian and Muslim, who had previously been against sending their children to school [METRO, BAOBAB, DOMINGO], especially girls. [METRO, DOMINGO]. This was attributed in varying degrees to successful collaborations in social mobilisation campaigns run by LGEAs, the Board and community leaders (see below). Even so, enrolments were still said to be particularly low among nomadic Hausa-Fulani [METRO, KILFI, DOMINGO], especially girls [METRO] and among Muslim Chamba girls [DOYA].

Despite increases in primary school enrolments, and reports of changing attitudes among some parents, it was recognised across all six case studies that some communities and/or parents were still not convinced about the value of formal education. LGEA and school respondents in particular complained that non- or late enrolment, withdrawal or dropout of some pupils from public school was due to “negative parental attitudes”. In five schools these reportedly ranged from active dislike to what officials referred to as an “I-don’t-care attitude” towards what was universally termed as “western education”, especially by (some) Muslim parents [DOMINGO, KILFI, METRO, DOYA, KANTI]. (Some) nomadic Hausa-Fulani were also singled out as being against formal education [KILFI].

Some Muslim parents were said to perceive public schools as corrupting influences [KILFI, BAOBAB]. One LGEA official explained: “There are some communities that think that western education corrupts their culture.” However, with reference to nomadic Fulani, one Board member felt that the issue related to economics more than to religious conviction and that if education did not help them to meet their economic needs then it would not be perceived to be useful: “If there is no economic benefit then even my religion, I will abandon my religion.”

In contrast, in one school, LGEA officials felt there was a greater commitment to formal education among the Christian parents [DOMINGO]. Nevertheless, some Christian communities were also identified as being against formal education. One senior LGEA official disclosed that in mountain communities some Higgi parents did not allow their children to go to school because of a long-held belief that any kind of schooling was negatively associated with the conquering Fulani leader Hamman Yaji (Ruler of Madagali from 1912–1927), who had tried to convert villagers to Islam.
Some parents who were said to be against sending children to school reportedly voiced a more pragmatic view that formal education has no value if school-leavers were going to be unemployed [DOYA, KANTI, METRO]. Some respondents therefore urged government to increase employment opportunities, in the belief that it would help boost school enrolment and retention [DOYA]. On the other hand, other parents believed that precisely because they did not have the opportunity to go to school, their children should have that opportunity [KANTI, METRO, BAOBAB]. The following quotes are typical of a number of parents interviewed:

We are from Sokoto; our parents ran away from there because they were forced to take us to school but they preferred us to go and rear animals or farm. Today we are regret[ful] and that is why I have all my children in school. Most are girls. (parent, BAOBAB)

I regret not to have gone to school to be educated today. I would have been a better person today; our parents have cheated us but my children must all go to school. (parent, BAOBAB)

As Sunal et al. (2003) noted in their study, school quality is an important factor in whether pupils are enrolled in school, and that even very poor parents are prepared to pay for schooling provided they think the quality is good. In the 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011) too school quality was mentioned by 28.6% of respondents in the North East as an important factor in whether children were enrolled in school. In the same survey, school quality was also mentioned by 10.9% of respondents in the North East as a reason for children dropping out of school although school quality might also have been a factor for the 19.9% who were said to have dropped out because of “lack of interest” in school. School quality was only explicitly mentioned in one of the case study schools as a factor affecting pupil enrolment and retention [KILFI]. However, issues commonly equated with school quality were commonly mentioned, such as teachers not being in the classroom [KILFI, METRO, DOMINGO, KANTI], and pupil treatment, particularly the excessive use of corporal punishment, [DOMINGO, DOYA] or pupil bullying [ALL SCHOOLS]. Given these issues, it may be that some parents, and/or children, were not necessarily against formal schooling per se, just not in favour of what was on offer. As one Board member put it:

I'm assuring you that if these children are getting what they should get in school, like proper tuition, proper learning, they will always object to being asked to go to the farm.

Decisions about which school to send children to, and which children to educate, often depended on one or more of the following factors: school availability (see also Chapter 5); perceptions about what we might term school quality (e.g. infrastructure, resources, teaching and classroom relations); household financial constraints; religious considerations; or a combination of the above. Educational choice varied among the case studies with more public and private schools available in the more urban areas. In the one wholly Christian village in the sample, the case study public primary school was the only school in the immediate vicinity and the only available private school was the church-run nursery school. A new public school was said to be necessary [KANTI]. On the other hand, in the most urbanised area, there were numerous public and private primary schools, both secular and religious [METRO]. In all the other case study areas, other schools were available, particularly Islamiyya or Tsangaya schools. Private schooling, including Islamiyya schools, was generally seen as more desirable since the quality was perceived to be better, but considered too expensive for most community members [KANTI, DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI, BAOBAB,]. In a couple of the case study schools the declining number of Christian pupils was attributed to some Christian parents withdrawing children to send to private school [DOMINGO, METRO].

Distance to school was also a consideration in school choice [KILFI], echoing findings in the 2010 NEDS (NPC and RTI International, 2011), in which over three quarters of respondents in the North East said they chose the closest school with availability (see also Chapters 4 & 5). The state of the
school infrastructure also affected parental choice; new buildings and facilities were said to have influenced some parents to send their children to the case study school [METRO, KILFI, BAOBAB] (see also Chapter 5).

Although some Muslim parents reportedly preferred their children to have a purely Qur’anic education, others tried to combine Islamic and public schooling either by sending their children to Islamiyya schools, which include secular subjects in the curriculum, or by combining Tsangaya schooling with public schooling [DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI, BAOBAB]. This generally entailed sending children to Qur’anic school in the morning before public school began. Alternatively, as reported in two case study schools, boys underwent Qur’anic schooling until the age of ten or twelve, sometimes in another town under the tutelage of an itinerant mallam, before returning home and being enrolled as significantly overage pupils in a public primary school [DOMINGO, METRO], with all the attendant disadvantages of being more susceptible to bullying and less likely to complete schooling (see Chapters 7, section 7.3.5 and Chapter 8, Section 8.3.1). Pupils attending Qur’anic school before public school often arrived late, which often resulted in their missing lessons and/or being punished [DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI, BAOBAB] (see also Chapter 7). In one school it was reported that some children are later withdrawn to attend Tsangaya school full time [BAOBAB]. Some teachers and one LGEA official thought there should be greater communication with the mallams to persuade them to hold Qur’anic schooling in the evening [DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI], which would help reduce persistent latecoming. ADSUBEB’s initiative to establish more new fully-funded government Islamiyya schools in each senatorial district will be important in helping address some of the above issues which are currently hindering the formal education of some Muslim pupils (Board Member) (see Chapter 4).

Evidence in the study also hinted that some parents may also withdraw their children/wards on account of issues regarding school quality, as the following statements suggest:

- Some parents know [about dropout] and some don’t while some of the children it is the parents that take them out of school when their children make complaints to them. (pupil, KILFI)
- Some parents have transferred their children to another school on account of the beating. (SBMC member, DOMINGO)
- Pupils do not like to go to school and instead of leaving them idle, we [parents] engage them in business, selling soup items fried groundnut etc., at least to make money for the family. (parent, BAOBAB)

**Girls’ schooling**

The other main choice parents have to make as regards sending children to school relates to which children to send. Historically, girls, and Muslim girls in particular, have been less likely to be formally educated than boys in Nigeria (Rufa’i 2006, cited in Akyeampong et al., 2009). Despite question marks about the reliability of some of the figures, enrolment statistics in the case study schools and LGEAs indicate that the numbers of girls in particular have been increasing over the last few years (See Chapter 8, Section 4.8). Of particular note is the fact that ADSUBEB has now established 19 girls-only primary schools, providing uniforms, instructional materials and all-female staff because female teachers are thought to act as important role models for girls, thereby helping to boost the enrolment of female pupils (FME, 2007a; USAID, 2009).

The qualitative data have also provided evidence of increasingly positive attitudes among many parents regarding sending girls to school [DOMINGO, METRO, BAOBAB]. Nevertheless, traditional attitudes were found to persist among many respondents, based on gender-stereotyped views that consider boys’ education to be more important because boys are going to be the main breadwinners, become heads of families [KANTI, KILFI] and have better job prospects [DOMINGO], whereas girls are going to get married and leave the family [KANTI, KILFI,
DOYA, BAOBAB], or are less likely to find jobs [DOYA]. Counter-arguments were put forward by some in favour of educating girls though they too were often similarly instrumental and gender-stereotyped, such as educating girls in order for them to get a good husband, or to enable them to help their husband [KANTI, BAOBAB], or because girls are thought more likely to pass on their knowledge to children [METRO], and care for parents [KANTI]. The following comments illustrate the range of views:

Boys’ education and progress is [for] my own progress [benefit], but girls will soon get married to someone. (male parent, KILFI)

Mata sun fi maza kula da iyaye ; wane namiji ne zai tashi yaje wajen mamansa yace; mama me yake damun ki? [Females take good care of parents more than males; which man will go to his mother and ask her: Mama what is disturbing you?] (female parent, KANTI)

Educating one girl means educating a nation whereas the boys will be busy looking after their business. (male parent, METRO)

Here we say girls’ education ends up in their husband’s kitchen, so the girls know that whatever they do, they will end up getting married; they get discouraged about furthering their education. (male teacher, DOYA)

The belief that women’s education ends in the kitchen is no longer true. (female teacher, METRO)

Women’s education is a waste of the little money the family has. (male PTA committee member)

One head teacher, however, said that it was important for girls to be educated for themselves. Interestingly, pupil views were also mixed about the relative merits of educating boys and girls, reflecting similar gender-stereotyped arguments.

Although two ADSUBEB interviewees pointed out that the average age at which girls and boys get married is gradually increasing, in all case study schools there were reports of girls – both Christian and Muslim – dropping out of primary school due to pregnancy and, more often, marriage, a trend which was acknowledged by several Board members. Some Muslim boys too were also said to drop out to marry, but often returned to school as overage pupils [METRO, BAOBAB]. It is worth noting that in Sunal et al.’s (2003) interview-based study, parents admitted that even if in principle they wanted all children to go to school, when money was tight decisions had to be made about who to school (see also Bakari, 2011).

Three Board members also mentioned that girls were sometimes not enrolled in school for fear of sexual harassment or assault by boys on the way to school, and even by some male teachers (albeit a small minority). One Board member also thought that the risk of a child being kidnapped for rituals was a factor, although they added that the chance of that happening was very small. In the 2010 NEDS too, it was noted that just over 16% of respondents in the North East thought safety was a serious issue in school (although the exact nature of the of this was a little vague) though the vast majority thought it was not a problem.

Chapter 4 gives details of the primary school building development in Adamawa, in which ADSUBEB has constructed or rehabilitated just under 6,000 classrooms, built 1,240 new toilets and 312 new primary school since 2007, which are all highlighted as helping to minimise the risk to girls (and boys) by decreasing the distance they have to walk to reach school [ADSUBEB member].
9.4 COMMUNITY REPRESENTATION AND ‘VOICE’ (PTAS AND SBMCs)

Community views and representation primarily occurred through the PTA, and to a lesser extent the SBMC. As Table 9.1 illustrates, PTAs were said to be active in five schools, whereas SBMCs were only either newly formed or minimally active across all schools. The size of the PTA executive ranged from 5–8 whereas the SBMC varied between 6–19 members. Male representation was greater on all PTA and particularly on SBMC executive committees. According to one Board member, there was generally greater female representation on SBMCs in Christian communities. Nomadic communities, however, had raised specific objection to the imposition of female representation on SBMCs [ADSUBEB officials]. The chair on all PTA committees and SBMCs were also male, as were the main post holders, such as secretary and treasurer, in the cases where such data were gathered. In one school, SBMC membership had followed ministry guidelines by nominally including the head girl and head boy on the executive membership list although in practice they did not participate [KANTI].

Table 9.1 PTAs and SBMCs in the case study schools

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Kanti</th>
<th>Domingo</th>
<th>Metro</th>
<th>Kilfi</th>
<th>Doya</th>
<th>Baobab</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PTA</td>
<td>active</td>
<td>active</td>
<td>inactive</td>
<td>active</td>
<td>active</td>
<td>active (but not in LGEA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PTA executive</td>
<td>8 (F:2; M:6)</td>
<td>5 (F:2; M:3)</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>8 (F:2; M:6)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>7 (F:3; M:4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main issues discussed</td>
<td>classroom &amp; toilet construction, pupils' health, school uniforms</td>
<td>furniture repairs, pots for water</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Renovations, desk repairs, school security, uniforms, attendance, latecoming, enrolment</td>
<td>decline of education in village, uniforms, improving enrolment</td>
<td>increasing female enrolment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recent actions</td>
<td>renovated windows, doors, benches &amp; roofs</td>
<td>assisted management</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>register checks home visits to absent pupils</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>not given</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBMC</td>
<td>recently reactivated</td>
<td>newly formed, “weak”</td>
<td>newly formed</td>
<td>newly formed</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>minimally active</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBMC executive</td>
<td>19 (F:2; M:17)</td>
<td>6 (F:2; M:4)</td>
<td>7 (F:2; M:5)</td>
<td>15 (F:3; M:12)</td>
<td>17 (F:2; M:15)</td>
<td>10 (F:3; M:7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main issues discussed</td>
<td>pupil lateness, attendance &amp; dropout, fund-raising, building classrooms</td>
<td>new members, toilets</td>
<td>potable water, pupils’ performance</td>
<td>assess school needs, improve infrastructure</td>
<td>drug &amp; alcohol abuse among children, pupil performance</td>
<td>counselling parents on early marriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recent actions</td>
<td>started classroom construction</td>
<td>assisted with management</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>repaired roof, hand pump &amp; generator</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Information collated primarily from the school and community profile (completed by the head teacher) together with interview data from the PTA, SMBC and head teacher.

From the case study evidence the PTAs fulfilled three main functions: they provided a means of communication (and sometimes mediation) between the school and the community; they raised funds, material and labour for infrastructural development and school-related activities; and they gave the community a ‘voice’ in the school.
As regards the first function, where PTAs were operative they clearly provided the main means of communication between the school and the community, though the direction of communication was principally from the school to the community (see below) [KANTI, DOMINGO, KILFI, DOYA, BAOBAB]. Moreover, several schools noted that attendance at PTA meetings was low [DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI, BAOBAB]. One school got around low parental attendance by selecting representatives from each ward, who are contacted by the school via the ward heads to feed back information to other parents [KILFI]. In all six schools ward heads, who were sometimes also on the PTA committee, were said to provide important links between the school and community, and were often responsible for calling community meetings. This is discussed further below (see Section 9.5).

The second and related function of the PTA was to give community members a ‘voice’ in the school, in particular raising issues of concern to the community with the head teacher. Examples of issues raised by the PTA were less widely cited but included: asking for attendance registers to be displayed in school [KILFI] and improving security [KILFI], both of which had been addressed; complaining about the cost of school uniform requirements and teaching materials [KILFI]; requesting more (and qualified) teachers [DOYA]; asking teachers to teach, rather than sit around outside [BAOBAB]. Similar concerns were raised by parents in interviews at other schools, in addition to other issues, though it was not clear whether they had raised these issues with the PTA or the school in question. Table 9.1 above outlines the issues reportedly discussed at PTA committee meetings, which in addition to the issues mentioned above also include concerns about pupils’ health [KANTI] and drug and alcohol abuse among children [DOYA]. However, it is not known whether the issues mentioned were raised by parents, or by the school, or both, and no indication what action, if any, has been taken to try and address the issues.

Parents interviewed across the schools generally thought that the PTA did a good job of representing their views and concerns to the school [KANTI, DOMINGO, KILFI, DOYA, BAOBAB]. However, as reported in Chapter 2, among the very small sample of parents interviewed there was sometimes minimal or no representation from more marginalised groups within the school community (e.g. women, nomads or ethnic minorities). Besides, given that the parents were generally selected for interview by the school, they are likely to have been more involved in school than the average parent. As participation was said to be low at PTA meetings in four of the case study schools (see above), it is likely that the ‘voice’ of the ordinary community member, who is too busy working to attend meetings, is not heard.

That said, concerns were raised by parents in three schools about transparency and accountability regarding management of PTA funds [KANTI, METRO, BAOBAB] though again it was not clear whether these concerns had been articulated at PTA meetings, and if so what steps were being taken to increase transparency. Parents in one school also said they were reluctant to take up specific cases involving their child/ward with the school in case their child was then victimised at school [BAOBAB]. As a result, they said most parents do not follow up on complaints about the school. On the other hand, in another school, some parents reportedly took matters into their own hands, as regards tackling teachers about corporal punishment, rather than go through the PTA [DOMINGO]. This might be because the PTA does not always take the side of parents in cases of conflict or disagreement, an issue that is discussed further in the next section.

SBMCs, in contrast, were not mentioned by parents in interviews, and scarcely mentioned by other community members, which is not surprising because, as Table 9.1 shows, they had either been newly formed or were inactive. Head teachers and LGEA officials had more to say about them; this is discussed in more detail in Section 9.6.
9.5 SCHOOL–COMMUNITY RELATIONS
A review of research within SSA (and elsewhere) has shown that community participation works well in the rare instances where there are good understandings and relations between schools, communities and local educational authorities and a genuine commitment to community decision-making (Dunne, Akyeampong & Humphreys, 2007; see for example the Academy for Academic Development, 2002, and De Grauwe et al., 2005, on some countries in West Africa). However, as found in the ESSPIN states (see Poulsen, 2009), and in this study, the direction of communication between schools and communities is generally unidirectional, from the school to the community, usually via the PTA and/or community leaders. Schools passed on information to parents; schools made requests for extra funding or other assistance for projects; and schools sometimes chastised parents for not “co-operating” with the school. Although there were a few examples of parents complaining to and/or making demands of schools (see below), parents seemed to expect schools to tell them how to help [METRO].

Community meetings were generally convened through the PTA and/or ward heads to talk, or complain to parents about pupil late coming, absenteeism, dropout or enrolment [KANTI, DOMINGO, KILFI, DOYA, BAOBAB], pupils’ lack of uniform and/or writing materials [KANTI, KILFI, BAOBAB], encroachment on school land [DOMINGO], or if the school wanted something done in the way of school development [METRO, DOMINGO]. Religious leaders were also identified by schools as important in communicating with communities [KANTI, DOMINGO, KILFI] though there was recognition that there needed to be greater involvement of religious leaders [DOMINGO, KILFI].

School–community relations were typically described as “cordial” by head teachers [DOMINGO, METRO, DOYA, BAOBAB] and “good” in a couple of cases [KANTI, KILFI] though other respondents varied in their assessment and there were clearly points of tension between schools and communities, or at least with some sections of communities. These often related to land access and included bringing animals through school grounds [DOYA], driving motorbikes or cars through or near the school premises [KANTI, DOMINGO, BAOBAB], dumping rubbish in school grounds [DOMINGO, BAOBAB], vandalism and/or out-of-hours use of school property by young people, including using the place as a toilet [KANTI, DOMINGO, DOYA, BAOBAB] and smoking Indian hemp (cannabis) and/or drinking alcohol [KANTI, DOYA, BAOBAB].

There was also tension between schools and (some) parents regarding pupil late coming and/or absenteeism on account of children attending Qur’anic school [DOMINGO, METRO, KILFI, DOYA, BAOBAB], labouring on the farm or tending cattle [KANTI, DOMINGO, BAOBAB, KILFI, DOYA], petty trading or hawking [ALL SCHOOLS], doing home chores [ALL SCHOOLS], or on account of apparent lack of parental supervision to ensure pupils get to school, and arrive on time [ALL SCHOOLS]. In addition, there were also tensions between some parents and schools in relation to teacher absenteeism [KANTI], corporal punishment [DOMINGO, DOYA], school uniform [KILFI], and pressure for parents to provide textbooks [BAOBAB], as discussed in earlier chapters.

Views differed among respondents in two schools as to the degree of communication between the school and the community [DOMINGO, DOYA]. In one school parents noted that the school encouraged parents to make comments and suggestions about the school [METRO] though the more widespread view was that school–community communication and relations needed to be improved [DOMINGO, METRO, DOYA]. In two of the cases even pupils brought up the matter. Further exploration of the calls for “greater dialogue” or “collaboration” between schools and parents were predominantly understood in terms of telling parents what to do, as the following quotes illustrate:
Let there be announcements telling children to come back to school. Their parents should be called upon so that they can be advised to bring their children to school. (DOYA teacher, on greater school-parent collaboration)

_Idan an bamu zarafi, zamu inganta sadaswa stakanin malamai da iyayaye da kuma masu anguwa. Domin I dan yaro bai zo makaranta ba, yaka mata malamai su gaya wa iyaye ta wurin masu anguwanne. Kuma idan malamai suna da wani magana sai su gaya wa masu anguwanne, su kuma sai su gaya wa iyaye._ [If given the chance, we will improve communication between teachers and parents through the ward heads. Whenever a child does not come to school, it will be proper for teachers to inform his parents through the ward head. What's more, if teachers have something they want to communicate, let them tell the ward heads and the ward heads will tell the parents.] (parent, METRO)

School-community relations in all schools were generally at their strongest in terms of communities providing funds, materials and/or labour for school infrastructural development as community and school members agreed on the importance of improving and maintaining school infrastructure. Such developments were funded by the termly PTA levies paid by parents and other ad-hoc payments, usually for specific projects. Even so there were differences of opinion over the extent to which parents and communities, rather than government, should be funding developments. The following quotes reflect the range of views:

- Community people are poor and can’t repair it [the school gate]. Some fathers leave their home for three to four days to look for money. Are you expecting the community to repair it? (parent, BAOBAB)

- The community needs to help financially. We cannot wait for government to do everything. (parent, BAOBAB)

- If you look at our school, there is nothing from the community. During raining season, most of the classes are leaking. (teacher, DOMINGO)

It was also noticeable that the PTA members sometimes seemed to take the side of the school in disputes rather than support the parents. For example in one school, parents had reportedly made their views known about school costs, including uniforms, being a barrier to access but the PTA had responded that school rules demanded that pupils wear uniform [KILFI]. In another case, the PTA reported having to mediate between teachers and some parents regarding corporal punishment, yet there was no suggestion that they upheld the parents’ complaints, even though, as researcher observations confirmed, there was considerable unregulated beating of pupils being carried out in the school [DOMINGO].

As highlighted in this chapter’s introduction, the national study of teachers’ voice (Sherry, 2008) found that teachers in Nigeria often have a deficit view of parents, claiming they do not value education, and do not listen to teachers’ views on their children’s capabilities whereas parents and community members see teachers as lacking the requisite qualifications, commitment and professionalism. In this study, the parents interviewed were less forthcoming about openly criticising teachers; however, (some) teachers, LGEA officials, SBMC and PTA members, community leaders and even some parents and pupils were more forthright in expressing their deficit views of parents who were perceived to have negative attitudes towards the school. Such parents were described as “not co-operating” “ignorant” and/or with an “I-don’t-care attitude” [ALL SCHOOLS].

There was almost no acknowledgement among respondents that issues regarding school quality (e.g. absent teachers, excessive corporal punishment, overcrowded classrooms), which were brought up by respondents, might, at least in part, explain why some parents had negative attitudes towards the school and/or a preference for children to work. Since only parents with
children in the case study schools were interviewed in this research, this is certainly an area that merits further research.

An important assumption that seemed to underpin school–community relations was that school priorities come first. Thus, even though it was recognised that some parents could not afford uniforms or writing materials, or needed children to work or look after siblings, or wanted to ensure a Qur’anic education for their children (as highlighted earlier in the chapter), the bottom line argument was that parents should send pupils to public school on the school’s terms. There was very little evidence of schools showing flexibility towards parental and community needs or preferences. One notable exception was the school that allowed Primary 1 children to come to school without uniform and writing materials as a means of increasing enrolment [DOYA].

9.6 LGEA INVOLVEMENT
The LGEAs’ main involvement with communities was community mobilisation, in particular to increase pupil enrolment [ALL SCHOOLS], especially of girls [DOMINGO, METRO, BAOBAB], which Board members who were interviewed confirmed was a priority and had achieved great success. Methods have included house-to-house visits [BAOBAB] and addressing communities in mosques and churches [DOYA] to discourage parents from arranging early marriages. In the words of one ES: “Parents are sensitized about early marriage, early pregnancy, [the] importance of education, especially for the girl child, early pregnancies and HIV/AIDS”. One group of parents wanted more female motivational speakers who have achieved success through education to be invited to community meetings to encourage other parents to send girls to school [DOMINGO]. This one Board member confirmed to be one of ADSUBEB’s strategies to get more girls into school (see also Para-Mallam, 2010; Okoje, 2011). Other mobilisation efforts directed at parents, and reported by the LGEA, included encouraging pupils to be punctual, to attend regularly and to bring writing materials [BAOBAB].

LGEA officials also mediated between the school and community, usually on behalf of the school, such as negotiating with community leaders to get community members to stop dumping rubbish or building in the school compound [METRO, BAOBAB], or resolving a school–community dispute regarding school access to water [KANTI].

LGEA officials were the respondents most likely to talk about the SBMC. Although SBMCS were reportedly either inactive or newly formed in the case study schools (see Table 9.1), LGEA officials reported attending SBMC meetings in other schools and SBMC representation was said to exist on the district and local education committees in one LGEA [C2]. District education committees, however, were said not to be functioning in two LGEAs [N1, N2] and elsewhere were not mentioned. As found in the ESSPIN states (see Poulsen, 2009; Williams, 2009), it was not clear what the differing roles and responsibilities were of these various committees.

Officials in two LGEAs mentioned SBMCS as being important bodies in school governance, with calls for even greater involvement of SBMCS [DOMINGO, DOYA] although the only specific functions of the SBMCS mentioned in the study related not so much to governance but to mobilising funds for development projects [DOMINGO, BAOBAB] or to community sensitisation [KILFI]. As in Poulsen’s (2009) case study research in ten schools and communities in the ESSPIN states, LGEA officials in Adamawa seemed to imply that SBMCS were accountable to LGEAs although as Poulsen also pointed out (ibid.), LGEAs did not provide any resources, nor did they have any mandate according to the SBMC Guidance Notes. As one LGEA official put it with regards to the SBMC’s role: “I do ask the community to do whatever they can do to assist the school before government can come in.” Another said: “Communities should participate in running the school like in classroom construction, providing shelter to the schools; you know
some communities do.” One Board member emphasised that encouraging communities to engage in self-help projects was one of the main functions of the social mobilization brief within Adamawa: “Active involvement of the community in the self-help projects has demonstrated the success of the mobilization.” However, as Poulsen (2009) also points out, this will result in greater educational inequalities among schools because schools in poorer communities will receive less financial support for the school.

Only in one LGEA did the ES say that the SBMCs dealt directly with schools with no LGEA involvement [METRO]. If the main function of SBMCs in practice continues to be fund raising and social mobilisation, ordinary community members, and women in particular, are less likely to be involved as their earning and lobbying potential is generally more limited. Notably, all ten SBMC interviewees (from five of the case study schools) were male.

One research team member attended part of a state-wide conference on SBMCs with senior LGEA officials in Yola, from which it was apparent that there is still a lack of clarity among some officials as to the different roles and responsibilities of PTAs and SBMCs, and that guidelines for membership were neither clear, nor were being followed in all cases. It was therefore not surprising that there was variation and a similar lack of clarity among the case study schools and LGEAs.

Other key people in communities that LGEA officials reportedly interacted with included ward heads, village heads and other community and religious leaders [ALL SCHOOLS]. Even so there were calls for further involvement of religious leaders by LGEAs and/or schools [KANTI, DOMINGO, KILFI].

Yet while there was clearly some level of interaction between LGEAs, community leaders and PTA committee members, there was less agreement between parents and LGEA officials as to the degree of contact the ordinary community member had with the LGEA and the amount of consultation, with some parents claiming no or little contact with the LGEA [KANTI, KILFI, BAOBAB]. There were several calls for greater community consultation by the LGEA [DOMINGO, DOYA, KANTI] and even a suggestion from one school respondent that LGEA committee meetings could be used to improve school, community and LGEA cooperation [BAOBAB].

9.7 SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS FOR ACCESS (QUALITY AND OUTCOMES)
The need for children to earn money and/or to help parents in agricultural labour, and/or with petty trading was widely recognised as having a significant impact on enrolment, latecoming, absenteeism and retention in school, particularly during the planting and harvesting season. There would therefore seem to be a need for negotiation between LGEAs, schools and communities for more flexible school timetabling to accommodate this and thereby improve enrolment, attendance and retention in school.

The preference of some children, especially boys, to drop out of school to earn money were ascribed in some cases to the perceived lack of tangible benefits of schooling (i.e. low or no employment opportunities) and/or the low quality of schooling impacting negatively on retention, although in other cases the precise reasons for dropping out to earn money were not known. Improving employment opportunities and school quality would inevitably help reduce dropout.

There was evidence that in some schools quality issues such as excessive corporal punishment and teacher absenteeism were encouraging parents to withdraw their children from school.
There was little evidence of SBMCs as integral to the local management of schools taking any actions with regards to teacher management.

In predominantly Muslim schools, there is a need to communicate with communities and Islamic leaders to negotiate timetables that fit with both Islamic and public schooling since persistent latecoming is causing absenteeism and recurring punishment, which affect both school quality and retention. Despite successful communication with communities by LGEAs and schools which have reportedly improved punctuality and attendance in the short term, the problems persist in the long term possibly because the root causes (e.g. clash of timetables due to parental desires to give their children both an Islamic and a secular education) have not been addressed, or because poor school quality makes formal education less of a priority.

Sensitisation campaigns by LGEAs and schools among Muslim families have clearly helped improve the enrolment of girls in school though the evidence suggests there is more work to be done. In addition, the gender-stereotyped arguments in favour of educating boys before girls evident among some pupils suggests that similar sensitisation work needs to take place within schools too to prevent girls from not completing school or from underachieving.

Pregnancy and early marriage is still preventing some pupils, especially girls, from finishing their schooling. Although boys who marry may return as overage pupils, they are then more likely to be bullied and less likely to finish their schooling.

Family obligations to pay PTA levies and make other payments are preventing some families from enrolling or from keeping their children in school. This is likely to be particularly so in schools where the ABSUBE guideline of only a maximum of ₦50 per term is being ignored and other unsanctioned costs are being asked of parents.

PTAs fulfilled three main functions: they provided the main means of communication between schools and communities; they raised funds, material and labour for infrastructural development and school-related activities; and they gave the community a ‘voice’ in the school. However, there is evidence that the ordinary community member could be more involved in, or consulted by, the PTA committee, which would help address more effectively the enrolment and retention issues affecting their children.

SBMCs are only just being established in schools and there is clearly variation and lack of clarity as to their purpose, an overlap with the PTA, especially as regards fund raising, and a similar narrow social base in terms of membership. If SBMCs are to help strengthen school governance, as envisaged (and thereby help improve educational quality and pupil retention), their membership base will need to be broadened and community members will need more support and training to enable them to participate more fully and effectively.

As one of the aims of communities providing financial and other support for school development is to encourage community ownership of the school, then clearly there needs to be more accountability out to communities as a whole and not just to a small (male) elite.

LGEA, school and community respondents interviewed often talked about other parents who were not sending their pupils to formal school in terms of deficit – in need of sensitisation, “enlightenment” and even to be “called to order”, with rarely any acknowledgement that the poor quality of schooling on offer might be a determining factor in non-enrolment and/or dropout, or that parents might have more pressing needs.
LGEA involvement in school–community relations consists primarily of social mobilisation and sensitisation to increase and encourage enrolment, particularly of girls, and the settling of disputes between schools and communities. With the requisite capacity building, greater involvement in school governance by the LGEA could help improve the quality of schooling.

Many respondents recognised the need for greater engagement between schools, LGEAs and communities. However, genuine engagement, such as negotiating changing timetables to suit community labour needs or to fit in with Qur’anic schooling, or relaxing uniform regulations to widen access (rather than LGEAs and schools telling communities what to do), is more likely to be successful in improving punctuality and attendance in the long term. There is clearly a fine line between LGEAs encouraging community involvement in schools and school development and relying too heavily on communities to provide, thereby exacerbating educational inequalities between wealthier and poorer communities, which will inevitably impact negatively on pupil access, retention and school quality.
CHAPTER 10 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

10.1 INTRODUCTION
The purpose of this chapter is to distil the main findings from the research and provide highlights to inform future policy, practice and intervention to improve access, quality and outcomes of primary education, with special attention to gender. The summary points listed below are elaborated on both in the six case studies in Appendix I as well as within the main body of the research report. The analysis presented in the written reports was based on data generated by the case studies and from respondents and observations in the wider education context in Adamawa. In the process of constructing this summary, detail is inevitably lost. We therefore recommend reading the previous chapters and the case studies in order to better understand some of the social complexities of schools and communities that are the context in which educational development in Adamawa has, and will take place.

This wide-scale preliminary research has touched on the multiple aspects of educational service provision in Adamawa State. This has resulted in a wider range of recommendations than might be expected from more focused and targeted research. It will be evident that using this research as the basis for educational development within Adamawa State will demand some strategic decision-making on priorities that takes account of the budgetary limitations, which are not reported on here.

Inevitably, a multi-faceted research design means that some areas of educational service provision have been more accessible to exploration and the development of findings than others. This has led to some imbalances in the depth and quality of the data, which has implications for the development of findings and recommendations. In most cases, given the magnitude of concerns around education, further, more targeted research and situational analysis will be an important accompaniment to strategic action and development initiatives.

We have presented the conclusions and recommendations together to fit with the triangular model used in the data analysis, shown in Figure 2.1 in Chapter 2, which necessarily provides us with overlapping sets of recommendations. As elaborated on earlier, these recommendations refer to the three sets of stakeholders (educational administration, schools and communities), including relations within each group. However, it is the communications and relations between them that must be emphasised as key to high-quality, efficient, equitable and accountable education service delivery. We begin with educational administration as the main orchestrator of educational service delivery, then we move to schools, as the hub for access and quality provision, and finally to the communities, whose support and engagement is vital to successful provision of education to all children.

10.2 EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

10.2.1 Educational data management

*Main findings*
State policy provides the primary guidance for educational practice and development and as such it needs to be informed by high-quality data and evidence from the multiple institutions and processes that together provide educational services. While statistical returns have been collected periodically for several years, these quantitative data are under-utilised to inform policy, difficult to access, and attempts to use the data exposed a number of discrepancies that reduce confidence in the statistics provided. Discrepancies and incorrect data entry caused difficulties in the analysis reported in Chapter 4.
Reliable statistical data and analysis are vital to understand what is going on in education and in revealing trends over time. In the longer term, poorly entered and processed data will reduce their value for statistical manipulation and thereby their capacity to inform about the current situation and/or to gauge the impact of any interventions to improve educational access and quality. There were also gaps in the data (e.g. on overage pupils), blurred categories (e.g. on dropout) and limited analysis by social group (wealth quintile, gender or religion etc.). These data are critical to shaping strategies to improve access and quality in public schools and to understanding the impacts of policy and practice interventions.

The research reported here represents one of the first systematic qualitative studies within Adamawa State. Optimally, policy would be informed by a combination of traditional quantitative data with qualitative data, to capture insights to explain the trends observable in statistical analysis. The voice and perspectives of multiple stakeholder groups are highly relevant, and the inclusion of the more marginalised voices of women, parents and young people, in particular, has the potential to highlight specific problems in educational access and to energise processes and communications to boost developments in educational decentralisation and the local management of schools.

**Recommendations**

- Improve school survey and EMIS data quality, data analysis and reporting. The system of data collection and its analysis needs to be upgraded and streamlined. Every stage of the data trail will need to be sharpened. This should include support for data gathering at school level, and the training of head teachers in completing returns as well as in checking and validating the school returns. The same applies at LGEA and state levels.

- Establish an internal system of supporting and monitoring these recommended data processes. This should include all stages of the data trail, both to validate data and indicate if and where data support needs to be targeted. Data monitoring and evaluation (M & E) might assist with the definition of categorical variables, such as overage and dropout, and the development of further relevant statistical manipulation. This might usefully be linked to the production of school development plans by head teachers and SBMCs.

- Institute an annual timetable to provide deadlines for data submission, processing and presentations of the data. A series of deadlines are needed through the year, starting with one for school returns, and followed by others for data entry and cleaning, processing and analysis, and finally compilation and presentation of a state statistical report to feed into annual planning and policy formulation. In the interest of developing targeted policy and practice, the data and analysis then need to be presented in valid forms that are accessible to head teachers, communities, LGEAs and ADSUBEB. The format used in the presentation of the 2009 state data with the assistance of the then VSO officer in Adamawa provides one possible and appropriate format.

- Highlight and mainstream gender as a key variable to be reported on with respect to all aspects of educational policy, participation and practice. This also relates to the educational workforce, pupil populations and community involvement in school.
10.2.2 Communications, accountability and leadership

Main findings

The research provided evidence that a coherent and consistent picture of the current state of education was difficult to access at school, LGEA and state levels. At times respondents gave vague descriptions of educational access, quality and performance within the LGEA, such as exam pass rates, or made bold statements about increased enrolments, without reference to evidence. On the whole, there was little ongoing monitoring or evaluation with which to inform school, LGEA and state plans in the short or longer term. Associated with this there was little or no support for the production of school development plans even after the LGEA or the state led in-service and other capacity development inputs for head teachers and SBMCs. The value of M&E to direct strategies and to provide a basis to celebrate accomplishments was thereby lost.

In a context of decentralisation the educational administration has a pivotal role in leading changes that demarcate and shift responsibilities and accountability chains throughout the system between the communities, schools, LGEAs to ADSUBEB. Accordingly, infrastructural development, the appointment and deployment of teachers, school support, community mobilisation, school–community relations and SBMCs are all operationalized through ADSUBEB and LGEA efforts. Evidence from this research, however, suggests that in places the communications through the administrative system are not working well and that accountability chains are broken. More straightforward examples included the stock of unclaimed textbooks in ADSUBEB headquarters despite evidence in classrooms of the absence or shortage of these materials. Such incidents, however, point to a certain lack of communication or performance of duty within the system. There appeared to be generic problems with communications and with particular educational personnel neither carrying out their responsibilities nor being held accountable for dereliction of duty. Monitoring and evaluation could assist in identifying the problems, which may simply be due to a lack of capacity or understanding of professional responsibilities.

A range of respondents referred to political interference at all levels within state educational services. While in most systems globally there are links between political governance and civil service institutions, most respondents described more local or personalised forms of political alliance and favour that undermined due process and the operations of equitable and transparent educational administration. These issues were raised particularly in relation to the appointment and professional development of educational personnel as well as to infrastructural developments (see 10.2.3 and 10.2.4 below). All have profound negative implications internally within the administration and more widely for the educational system as a whole. Political interference in appointments and access to training, for example, was found to impact negatively on LGEA and school staff morale, trust and working relations. Where political interference is endemic and insidious it erodes levels of confidence and accountability within schools and communities. Gaps in accountability chains around educational services have particular negative implications in a decentralising educational system aspiring to operate local management of schools through SBMCs. The effects of political interference and undue process on both appointments and accountability run counter to the quest for quality and equality set out as targets for the state, the nation and within internationally agreed targets described in the MDGs and EFA goals.
Recommendations

Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E)

- Oversee a step-wise introduction or revitalisation of existing M&E systems to include qualitative data collection from multiple stakeholders as well as gender-disaggregated data and analysis. Contingency measures will also need to be put in place for the collection of these data in the event of non-submission of returns by schools.

- Establish a cyclical monitoring process that could strengthen systems, improve equity and ensure accountability in ways that are likely to have a positive influence on school quality and on sustained school access. Capacity building for LGEA personnel will be needed to carry out these functions.

- Highlight and mainstream gender as a key variable in M&E to be reported on all with respect to all aspects of educational policy, administration, participation and practice. This relates to the educational workforce, pupil populations and community involvement.

10.2.3 Infrastructure

Main findings

The wide-scale infrastructural development efforts of ADSUBEB have proved to be an important positive strategy in improving access and educational quality across the state.

The appearance and quality of school buildings was found to be important to school choice decisions for parents and pupils. In addition, the proximity of schools to communities and families was highlighted in one case study as important for encouraging access and retention. The presence of a well-kept school makes a statement about the importance of education and this was clearly the source of pride for many stakeholders, especially where the buildings included two-storey blocks. Unfortunately, the quality of the finishing was sometimes disappointing, with evidence that building materials were sometimes left around the compound of new schools and/or that painting was unfinished and grounds and paths left uneven. Computer suites were also appreciated though crucially pupils seemed to have limited, if any access.

Despite the extensive infrastructural developments highlighted above, it is clear that much remains to be done. There are evidently many children still learning under shade, or in classrooms that are in a very poor state of repair, or are very overcrowded. This had a negative effect on pupil access and educational quality that worked against efforts in community mobilisation in the immediate and longer term. Poor quality infrastructure and lack of resources were also found to have a negative effect on teacher morale, with knock-on effects for teaching quality, learning experiences and pupil outcomes.

Beyond the building of classrooms, the research evidence highlighted the importance of an accessible water source and clean working toilets. The provision of safe clean toilet facilities and accessible water was found to affect both teacher and pupil absenteeism, with particular implications for the attendance and truancy of girls, especially during menstruation. Wider research also asserts large positive gains in access when these amenities are provided in schools (British Council, 2012).

The need for a secure school compound was also found to be a major priority across the case studies. Uncontrolled entry or exit from the school compound of pupils, teachers, hawkers, farmers and others was a major issue of concern among school and community respondents; it undermined security and parental trust that their children, especially girls, are safe in school. The research also showed that where there was a lack of a secure compound, it was difficult to
regulate pupil and teacher latecoming and absenteeism, and restrict ‘outsiders’ from entering the school.

In addition, the outside space in schools was also regarded as important for children at break. Respondents brought up the need for sufficient shade and equipment for play (balls, apparatus etc.), which they thought would improve pupil–pupil relations and encourage enrolment and retention in school.

Evidence from the study showed that on occasions local communities are in dispute with the school. Respondent accounts suggested that this has resulted from inadequate consultation with the community. In one case this related to the siting of a school and its boundary, which led to persistent problems with community incursion and the destruction of the school wall. Other cases included direct disputes over land, property, school security and access to water. There were also reports of the unsanctioned use of school buildings after school hours by community members, often leaving the classrooms soiled by human and or animal excreta or using them for animal shelter. This is not a healthy environment for teachers to work in or for pupil learning especially for those (usually girls) who are required to clean the classroom before school starts.

High-cost infrastructural development clearly needs to be implemented in an incremental way and despite an official system of referral up through the LGEAs the lack of transparency in the process produced disaffection among those who are central to the delivery of quality education. There was understandable frustration for those with sincere aspirations to improve the conditions for teaching and learning in their schools. As found in 10.2.2 above, there were suggestions that political interference or favouritism worked in the processes of nomination and recommendation for infrastructural development in ways that militated against an accountable and equitable decision-making process.

Recommendations

Buildings and amenities

- Introduce and communicate an explicit, open and transparent and public process for school selection for infrastructural development. This might usefully be based on a school development plan produced through the collaboration of the head teacher, SS and SBMC. Appropriate capacity building would be needed to enable the development of such plans.
- Institute a process of building contract commissioning that includes tightened quality control, inspection and payment on results to deal with problems of poor quality completion of school building projects.
- Continue to increase the number of schools as some communities do not have a nearby school and parents are reluctant to send children to school if it is very far away, especially if they regard the distance as too far for young children to walk.
- Expand existing schools and build more classrooms to cope with overcrowding, which would reduce the number of children and teachers working under shade and widen local pupils’ access to school.
- Continue to improve the quality of school infrastructure (classroom buildings, rooms, desks, chairs) where necessary as it influences family decisions to send their children to school and influences which school they choose. Upgrade the quality of walls, floors, doors and lighting. Fit classrooms and storerooms with locks to improve the safety and accessibility of resources.
- Provide libraries and computer labs to schools and allow pupils access to these facilities for learning.
- Continue to improve the number and conditions of toilets in all schools. Access to toilet facilities is especially important for females and segregated toilets for pupils and staff.
should be provided where possible. These will need to be serviced and cleaned regularly and some pupils may need to be trained to use the toilets alongside training in other basic hygiene and health issues.

- Ensure there is a water supply on the school compound and make it accessible to teachers and pupils. This might be partly accomplished with through roof water capture, which should be included in the design and construction of classrooms.

- Strengthen education on basic hygiene and health, making links with the Ministry of Health regarding policy and strategies concerning the welfare of pupils and where possible hosting a health centre on or near the school grounds either on a permanent or weekly basis. More locally, collaborations with health service providers and the community could be increased on ways to provide a cleaner, healthier environment.

- Provide ‘play’ resources (e.g. a ball, playground equipment, board games etc.) and ensure equal gender and grade access during break, as well as establishing clubs and extra-curricular activities.

- Ensure that there is sufficient shade in the school compound as well as a sufficient area for safe break-time activities.

**Compound security**

- Fence and gate all school compounds, as the lack of security for children is a reason for parents not sending their children to school and the lack of regulated entry and exit to school grounds encouraged both teacher and pupil absenteeism.

- Ensure community negotiation and agreement over school fencing and access to resources. Improved communication and consultation between key stakeholder groups is crucial to the safety and health of pupils and teachers. Time and effort might be usefully spent on strengthening school–community relations to engender greater cohesion and to capitalise on their energy and resources as a means to increase school access, improve conditions and bolster educational quality.

- Ensure provision of security guards during and after school times and in school holidays.

- Provided safety and security issues are addressed, consider making facilities available (perhaps with a small fee to go to school funds) for community events, such as for using the computer suite, which was happening in one school.

### 10.2.4 Teacher management

**Main findings**

The slippage between the official criteria and processes and actual practices of staff appointment, deployment, and promotion in schools and LGEAs was a key management concern for most teachers (see also 2.2.2). Their reference to political influence/interference rather than objective transparent processes eroded their trust and confidence in the education administration system. For many it undermined the value of professional competence derived through qualifications and/or experience and its importance for career development. In several reported cases unqualified, inexperienced and/or incompetent personnel were appointed to leadership and management positions with responsibilities for other educational professionals. Some of the reported consequences included reduced management and leadership authority of head teachers, reductions in teaching quality, poor teacher discipline, a lack of teacher incentives, low morale and limited school development plans. In broad terms, the irregularities and lack of transparency in systems for appointments, deployment and promotions has detrimental effects on the quality of education provided and on the career aspirations of teachers and other education professionals. Further, this is a significant axis of inequality.
There is a gender gradient evident in the state, which shows only 35% of teachers are female. Reference to the case study LGEAs reveals that this under-representation of females in the primary sector is further exacerbated in rural areas reaching as low as 10%. Generally, in rural areas there were fewer female teachers; they were less qualified and fewer were graduates than their male colleagues. By contrast, in urban schools there were more female teachers (and female pupils), and a higher proportion were qualified and were graduates than was the case with their male colleagues. The exception to this pattern was found in a predominantly Muslim urban LGEA, where the statistics for female teachers showed similar patterns to the rural LGEAs. Most of the case study schools reported shortages of teachers generally, and in particular of female teachers, Christian and Islamic Religious Knowledge teachers and teachers with good spoken English.

In the two urban LGEAs with a high proportion of female teachers there were also high proportions of female pupils, reaching more than 49% in one case. All LGEAS, however, showed more than 40% of school pupils were female. The relationship between the numbers of female teachers in a school and the proportion of girls enrolled in unclear within this study and within the wider literature although a positive correlation is commonly assumed. The main point here, however, is that there is clearly a gender dynamic around the qualification and appointment of teachers that reflects wider gender inequalities, and which needs to be systematically addressed at LGEA and state levels.

Issues surrounding teachers’ salaries (poor and late pay, lack of duty allowances) were identified by teachers, unions and most educational administrators as a major barrier to motivation and professionalism. Although this is largely beyond the remit of this study, it is important to concerns for teacher practices, morale, professional identity and career structures, which all influence the quality of education provided for pupils in schools.

The level of professional discipline among teachers evident in the case study schools varied considerably with it notably absent in several cases. It was not uncommon to find teachers on the school compound but not in class during lesson times. In other cases they were completely absent from school attending to their banking affairs and/or farming. Head teachers reportedly used a series of disciplinary strategies including verbal and written warnings, and referral to the LGEA, but consistent application of this system appeared to be limited. Importantly, however, a case of the sexual abuse of pupils by teachers within the state had been taken through the layered disciplinary procedures. The teachers had been dismissed, but at the time of writing the criminal punishment for their professional misconduct was not known. Issues of teacher discipline and professionalism are clearly linked and they lie at the heart of quality improvements (with their knock-on effects on wider access) and evidence from the case studies suggests there is scope for a multi-pronged approach to a more professional and better managed teaching force. See also Section 10.3.2.

**Recommendations**

**Appointments and professional competence**

- Transparent criteria for the recruitment, deployment and promotion of all educational personnel need to be confirmed and practised. These need to be explicit for both individual teachers and schools. Exemplary practice in educational administration will provide an explicit signal of the importance of due process.
- Ensure job descriptions are in place and hard copies are distributed to personnel and available in schools and LGEAs. Make sure appointees are made aware of and apply their professional, line-management and decision-making responsibilities.
• Improve the administration of teacher pay to enable prompt and regular payment and review.
• Develop a pay, career and promotion structure for teachers, including management positions in larger schools. Subject to negotiations with teacher representatives this should be linked to professional standards, a reward and discipline structure and quality improvements in schools, including pupil performance, bearing in mind differences in school intake and conditions.
• Develop a system of incentives (e.g. through salary supplements, promotion or accommodation provision) to ensure staff deployment to rural schools, especially for female teachers.
• Institute a system of gender-disaggregated data-gathering, analysis and M&E on teacher experience, promotion, deployment and posts of responsibility to ensure equitable career progression within the state. See Section 10.2.2 above.

10.2.5 Pupil management

Main findings
These are reported more fully in 10.3.3 below. The ways that pupils are managed within schools is highly relevant to access, quality and outcomes. The strategies for pupil discipline, time on task and in-class learning and the wider authoritarian ethos were all raised as issues for concern. There are clear implications for teacher management and continuing professional development (CPD).

Recommendations
Management of pupils in schools
• Advise and support schools and teachers in halting the use of gender as an organising structure within schools, for example in class lines, seating in the class and for specific activities in class and in the school compound.
• Advise and support schools and teachers in minimising the use of pupil labour around the school, and in eliminating corporal punishment and other punishment that is humiliating and/or takes pupils away from lesson time.
• Guide schools and teachers to use most school time for active teaching and learning.
• Work with schools and teachers in the development and use of an incremental set of pupil disciplinary sanctions to avoid the use of erratic and violent punishment.
• Support schools in encouraging wider access to school working with the parents/guardians, the PTA and SBMC to develop solutions and strategies to deal with poor attendance, lateness and pupil/family difficulties with uniform and levy requirements. This might include some slight daily or seasonal changes to the school timetable to accommodate community lifestyles e.g. during harvest time, and/or the development of disciplinary procedures that do not involve the pupil missing class. See 10.2.6 recommendations on CPD.

10.2.6 Teaching and learning

Main findings
These are reported more fully in 10.3.4 and require attention from all three sets of stakeholders. The main points for educational administration support and attention are summarised below. There remains a need to increase the number of classrooms and to improve the condition of many classrooms. The quality of the teaching and learning experience is enhanced in secure solid classrooms that are not overcrowded and have adequate furniture. See also 10.2.3 above.

Access to textbooks in schools was limited. There are evident problems with distribution that need to be addressed. However, even where available, teachers were often reluctant for pupils to use textbooks in case of damage. In addition, classroom observations showed that where teachers actually used textbooks, it was in a very limited way.
Both observational and interview data across the case studies confirmed that use of English as the medium of instruction was a major impediment to educational quality, pupil retention and learning outcomes, resulting variously in pupil discouragement, slow lesson coverage and time wasted in translation, low classroom participation, pupil absenteeism, exam failure and dropout. In practice, a mixture of English and Hausa was commonly used in class although this also presented a number of problems for teachers and pupils with a notable low proficiency in English. Several LGEA officials were aware of the problem and expressed their concern.

The dominant approach to teaching and learning was teacher centred. Teacher support was primarily through the SS although there was a mixed picture about the frequency of SS visits and they tended to focus on inspection of lesson plans and registers (see also Section 10.2.4) rather than on professional support for pedagogy and practice although some advice on use of teaching aids was recounted.

The frequency of CPD workshops for teachers and their access to them was uneven. This was another arena in which personal influence was believed to be central to who was given opportunities for CPD. Some respondents at state and LGEA-level raised questions about the quality of both in-service and pre-service teacher education provision.

**Recommendations**

**Continuing Professional Development (CPD)**

- Provide CPD for LGEA officers and head teachers in M&E, supporting professional practice, (including pedagogy) and line management skills.
- LGEA officers (ES and SS) need to work with teachers to improve levels of professional practice and commitment. This support must include a focus on the implementation of more learner-centred teaching and learning, with attention to pupil learning progress and outcomes, and a move away from the technical inspection of lesson plans. Ideally, such CPD should itself be delivered in a participatory, learner-centred way. Teacher support for maximising the meaningful use of textbooks in the classroom is obviously one area of CPD need.
- Consider more cluster-based or locally connected CPD. For example, school clusters managed through LGEAs (ES and SS) could provide a basis for the responsive development of CPD, the delivery of school-based CPD and to sponsor professional exchange and learning between teachers and school within a specific location.
- Allocate around five specific in-service days to schools both to provide a forum for school-based development and to integrate CPD as fundamental to the work and careers of all education professionals. Plans and reports of objectives and activities during these days are essential and these might feed into a wider plan for school and teacher development.
- Ensure M&E and teacher evaluations of CPD and collaborate with other teacher education providers to review the substance and quality of teacher preparation programmes (including pre-service provision).
- Ensure that gender awareness activities are incorporated into CPD activities as the avoidance of gender stereotyping pupils is also important to improving pupil learning experiences.

**Resources**

- Continue to improve the free supply, distribution and use of textbooks (including teacher’s guides) so that head teachers and teachers are using them meaningfully in the classroom and pupils have better access to books. Ensure the supply of additional writing materials and exercise books for pupils in financial hardship.
**Language**

- Revisit language policy and its influence on learning to consider the use of local languages and bi-/multi-lingual approaches to teaching in schools. This would need to be accompanied by CPD for teachers and awareness-raising activities with parents too so that they understand that teaching in English does not necessarily mean pupils learn English better.
- Align textbooks to language policy e.g. if pursuing a bi-lingual policy, ensure bi-lingual books are available.
- Strengthen the use of English in the classroom, possibly by developing a cadre of specialist English teachers.
- Consider a language code to avoid stereotyped references to “Western education”, “office girl”, “discipline master”, “head master” and “executive chairman”.

**10.2.7 Community and community relations**

**Main findings**

The main findings in relation to the community are reported in Section 10.4 but these require specific attention from all three stakeholder groups. The main points relevant to educational administration are summarised here.

Poverty is a key barrier to educational access and it is incumbent on the educational administration to relieve the pressures on poor families that militate against their children going to school. The ADSUBEB initiative of providing free school uniform for girls in primary one (and its decision to extend this provision to all primary children) is one such initiative. However, the reported practices of excluding pupils whose families were unable to pay levies or irregular fees reduced access and retention in school. Other barriers to access included the way in which the school timetable does not fit with the lifestyle rhythms of families, especially those surviving on subsistence farming and/or attending Qur’anic school alongside public school.

It was evident that community mobilisation campaigns have successfully improved school enrolment, especially of girls. However, the success of these campaigns has been tempered by the quality of educational provision in schools, including, for example, harsh disciplinary regimes, overcrowded classrooms and teacher absenteeism, which, the research showed, has resulted in absenteeism and eventual dropout.

There were positive examples of LGEA support with school and community relations, both in terms of social mobilisation and sensitisation as well as mediation in school–community disputes, often working together with religious and traditional community leaders. However, there was little mention among LGEA officials about the needs of nomadic children. There was also an overriding lack of clarity about the functions and powers of the principal community liaison bodies, the SBMC and PTA committee. There was limited female representation on both bodies and the eligibility for membership was vague. Further, it was evident that communities were required to follow the school lead whereas there was much less consultation with, or response to community issues and needs. Accountability to communities from the LGEA or schools was weak, including, in some cases, a lack of transparency in the use of PTA funds and other fees.
Recommendations
Addressing the needs of poor children

- Ensure the supply of writing materials and exercise books for pupils in financial hardship.
- Continue to improve the supply and distribution of free school uniform.
- Explore with schools and teachers ways in which parents might contribute to the school in non-financial terms and relax the requirement for PTA levies for families in financial difficulties. Other services such as building, cleaning or fencing school grounds might be received instead of cash.

Encouraging school access

- Continue social mobilisation using local NGOs and CBOs to support LGEA activities to ensure that communities are aware of each child’s right to education and primary schooling.
- Continue awareness raising and sensitisation to gender inequalities, gender-based violence and encouragement in the use of non-violent discipline in the home.
- Improve outreach and systems of communication between schools and communities as a means to increase and sustain pupil access to school. This should be supported by the LGEA and operationalised through open consultation with communities (including traditional rulers and religious leaders) to consider and develop school plans. This might include the siting of schools, building projects, the provision of amenities and/or fencing and security of the school compound.
- Focus on the needs of rural communities with a multi-dimensional approach that includes community mobilisation, consultations and innovative practices to increase the sustained enrolment in schools. Strategies might include the recruitment of more female teachers to rural areas, supervised school ‘walking buses’ to school and/or seasonal alterations to school timetables.
- Ensure the availability for religious learning of different faiths as required within any school. Intensify the development of integrated schools (formal with Qur’anic) where possible and where children are attending both Qur’anic and public schools work with religious leaders, head teachers and parents to adjust timetables to enable pupils to attend both.
- Encourage a duty of care within the community to support access to school for all children and to encourage other parents and guardians to send children to school and inspire the children to keep going to school.
- Strengthen the efficiency and reach of nomadic schools.

School–community relations

- Enhance two-way communications between the community and school, such that the school perspective does not dominate and community perspectives are aired, for example as regards more flexible school timetabling to accommodate community lifestyles.
- Support the establishment and operation of SBMCs in their role to support and help manage their respective schools.
- Ensure that community representation on the SBMC and PTA is equitable in terms of gender, socio-economic status, ethnicity and religion. Consider an increased number of PTA meetings to include consultation with community members who may not be current parents or guardians of school pupils.
- Ensure greater accountability to the parents and community with respect to the use of PTA and SBMC funds.
• Encourage parents and the community to respect the integrity of the school during lesson time but encourage them to visit school at appointed times and/or use the facilities at specified times and for appropriate activities e.g. institute a health and mothers club, adult literacy classes, sports clubs, religious learning, language classes, computer clubs, gender-awareness activities (see also Section 10.2.3).

• Explore how CBOs, including private sector commercial companies or significant local business people, might contribute resources and facilities to support the profile and development of the school (see also Section 10.2.3).

10.3 SCHOOLS, HEAD TEACHERS AND TEACHERS

10.3.1 Educational data management

Findings
The process of data collection in this research indicated that in some cases head teacher capacity to complete data returns was limited. This becomes a significant barrier to assessing the successes and challenges each school faces, and to the subsequent elaboration of school development strategies. In addition, it poses a threat to data quality as school returns feed into LGEA and state data sets.

Recommendations
HEAD TEACHERS
• Ensure that data returns are completed and submitted to the LGEA as part of a timetable of annual data reporting. Where necessary the LGEA should support head teachers in these processes.
• Guide and monitor teachers in the routine collection and storage of data about school attendance and absence. Develop contingency measures for record-keeping in the cases when a class teacher is absent and unable to collect the data.
• Use these data as part of an annual school review and to inform strategic development plans for the school.

TEACHERS
• Collect school and pupil records and keep them up to date and secure. Check and submit to the head teacher as required.

10.3.2 Infrastructure

Main findings
This is largely reported in Section 10.2.3 above, although points relevant at the school level are summarised here. The conditions of school buildings and furniture varied dramatically across the case studies in terms of maintenance, cleanliness and security. Where buildings were in poor repair, classrooms were unclean (usually due to incursions by outsiders) and security was lacking, these issues were of major concern to parents, community members and school staff.

Recommendations
HEAD TEACHERS
• Ensure that teachers and pupils treat existing buildings and facilities with respect and care.
• Ensure that water and clean toilets are available on the compound to all teachers and pupils. This might form the basis for inclusion in health education and to inform on better hygiene practices for pupils, as was being encouraged in one LGEA.
• Explore links to local health services to consider reciprocal arrangements around the siting of a clinic on or near the school. This would permit the development of shared buildings and services and may encourage more community members to see the school as a community asset. The community, SBMC, PTA and LGEA might be asked to consider the feasibility of this and to assist in this process.

• Take measures to increase the security of the compound by controlling entry and exit to the school compound and buildings while the school is in session, after classes and during vacations. Boundary fencing, locked classrooms and security staff might be included in these measures.

• Include the school infrastructure developments and amenities as part of the school development plan.

• Seek support from other stakeholders (SS, LGEA, SBMC, PTA and local community) in the development of the school with regard to all aspects of the infrastructure, amenities and security. This might involve negotiations with the community and representative bodies about the specific requirements and could include reciprocal arrangements in which community meetings are held in school buildings after school, provided buildings and amenities are left clean and tidy after the meeting has finished.

TEACHERS

• Ensure that pupils are respectful of existing buildings, furniture and amenities and leave classrooms and toilets clean after use.

• Be vigilant about outsiders on the school compound; discourage them and exercise a duty of care for the pupils during the school day.

10.3.3 Teacher management

Main findings

Many findings are reported in Section 10.2.4 but those relevant to the school level are also included here. The management of teachers within schools was variable. In some cases, and often those in more urban contexts, teachers were more obviously active in the classroom and teaching regularly took place and school management was clearly monitoring the process. However, in many cases it was not uncommon for teachers to be on the school compound but not in class during lesson times. In other cases they were absent from school attending to their banking affairs and or farming. At times, the head teacher was either not in evidence, or appeared not to intervene. Often pupils were found in class without a teacher or with a prefect/monitor armed with a stick dispensing corporal punishment to peers.

Irregularities and lack of transparency in systems for appointments, deployment, CPD opportunities and promotions (see Section 10.2.4) had reported negative consequences for the management and leadership authority of head teachers, teaching quality, teacher discipline, teacher incentives, career aspirations, morale and the existence of school development plans. Although some head teachers referred to the positive support of the SS, there was little evidence of how this assisted them in the management of teachers in school.

Problems with appointments and promotions noted in Section 10.2.2 are a significant axis of inequality with known gender effects, including fewer female teachers and female head teachers in schools across the state. At the school level, gender was often used to distinguish among teachers and pupils with duties and tasks allocated on a gender basis. For example male teachers were usually responsible for discipline and school labour and female pupils for cleaning the head teacher’s office and classrooms. Such regulations were not necessary and worked to accentuate gender stereotypes that have been found to restrict the opportunities and aspirations of female and male teachers and pupils alike. Teacher management therefore needs to be gender aware.
In reference to teacher management, head teachers tended to describe disciplinary sanctions and not rewards. The disciplinary strategies they listed for teachers included verbal warnings, written warnings, referral to the LGEA and salary deductions (through the LGEA). When and how systematically these procedures were followed was unclear. The use of this system appeared to be limited although, as reported in Section 10.2.4, a case of the sexual abuse of pupils by three teachers within the state had been taken through the layered procedures. Issues of teacher discipline and professionalism are clearly linked; suggestions relevant to the school level to improve both included: head teacher workshops, better implementation of systems of teacher reward and systematic teacher support and CPD.

Recommendations

HEAD TEACHERS

• Monitor teacher punctuality and attendance in school and in the classroom especially after break times and have explicit procedures and consistently applied sanctions where necessary to deal with unprofessional teacher conduct.
• Provide oversight of teacher career development with regard to their responsibilities and performance. Discuss this with each teacher at least on an annual basis.
• Ensure gender equality and avoid gender stereotyping in the appointment of teachers to posts of responsibility and in their career progression.
• Hold regular staff meetings to discuss school development plans as well as emergent issues associated with the operation of the school, the quality of learning, teacher concerns and CPD.
• Negotiate and enlist the support of LGEAs and SBMCs in systematic and regularised processes of teacher management, reward and discipline.
• Head teachers need support and training from the SS and LGEA to enable them to carry out their management functions more effectively. Systematic management training especially as the confidence in the processes of appointment is not strong. The support of the LGEA and SS is vital here.

10.3.3 Pupil management

Main findings

A primary concern with pupils relates to the ways that schools manage the process of admission and attendance (see also Sections 10.2.5. and 10.4). There are known gender effects in school access in which, due to economic, cultural and/or safety concerns, girls are less likely to be sent to school than boys. Despite community poverty, most schools required payment of fees and/or levies as an admission requirement. There were reported cases of these levies and fees exceeding the stipulated ₦50 maximum imposed by ADSUBEB. These, together with other schooling costs, such as providing writing materials, constituted a major obstacle to educational access for children, especially those from poor families. To exacerbate this, some schools showed themselves to be unsympathetic to family financial difficulties and children who turned up at school without fees, writing materials or their uniform were often met with corporal punishment and/or temporary exclusion from school. Some pupils reportedly avoided such public disgrace and beatings by simply absenting themselves. The size and frequency of the fee demands and the treatment of children from families who did not pay were key negative influences on school access.

School timetables appeared to be set down without taking account of the lifestyle demands or commitments of the surrounding community. In turn this led to pupil late coming, which was often treated harshly, often through corporal punishment or exclusion. Again this led to pupils not gaining access to education due either to teachers’ punishments or to pupils staying away to avoid the punishment. Although some slight daily or seasonal changes to the school timetable to
accommodate community lifestyles might have addressed some of the causes of persistent latecoming, there was very limited evidence that this was even considered within schools.

Often within schools there was an unsatisfactory balance between time for learning and for other activities. In one school as little as 2hr 35min per day was allocated to lessons. Timetables often bore little relation to the lessons taking place or the time spent on task in teaching and learning. In many cases pupils were in classrooms not actively engaged in learning or busy cleaning or doing other physical work, or in assembly. What children do in school and the quality of their teaching and learning is critically important to promoting access, attendance and to pupil outcomes. The connections to teacher management were clear within the case studies: where the teachers were well managed and acting in a professional way, the pupils were more likely to be in class and engaged in learning.

There were a few examples of positive disciplinary practices in schools, such as termly books awards for punctual pupils, or prizes for good classroom or exam performance. There were also isolated examples of individual teachers showing care for individual pupils, such as following up on absent pupils at home, which was appreciated by the pupils. That said, pupil management practices in schools were often overpoweringly authoritarian and highly gendered. The most common disciplinary sanction was corporal punishment, which was used widely and often in an unregulated way in schools by teachers and prefects. It was more likely to be dispensed by male teachers and received by male pupils. Other painful and/or humiliating disciplinary strategies included manual labour, such as cleaning toilets, or being made to kneel or stand in a fixed pose for prolonged periods, missing time for learning in class. These practices were variously found to affect pupils’ concentration, confidence and participation in class and resulted in pupil latecoming, absenteeism, dropout or withdrawal by parents from school. Thus, these pupil management practices had strongly negative effects on pupil access and school quality as well as on teacher–pupil and parent–teacher relations. Attempts to ban corporal punishment from all levels (ADSUBEB, LGEA and in schools) appeared to have had limited influence, perhaps in part because many teachers and parents favour strong, explicit discipline.

Prefects and monitors were often used in schools to supplement teacher discipline, often dispensing corporal punishment and monitoring school labour activities. Only in one school, which had specialist “doctor prefects”, did prefects also fulfil a more supportive function. Importantly, in some cases, prefects missed class, and therefore were being denied access to learning opportunities in order to carry out their duties. Appointments were made along gender lines reflecting the domestic division of labour and male superiority e.g. bell-ringing and flag-raising duties were habitually given to a male prefect and the head boy had superior authority to the head girl. These gender stereotypes perpetuated in the organisation and daily life of schools are limiting and work against equality messages around rights to educational access, social equality and female leadership.

There were widespread observed and reported examples of pupil bullying and “teasing” – both physical and verbal. In general, teachers were seen to intervene in more explicit violent interactions but were less likely to intervene otherwise. Forms of exclusion and teasing between pupils were found to have a significant negative effect, especially on girls and overage pupils. The research indicated that it could lead to reduced classroom participation and ultimately to absenteeism and eventual dropout. Teacher intervention in the social relations within school is an important aspect of their duty of care that encompasses pupil–pupil interactions and those with their teacher colleagues. Gross transgressions of professional responsibility such as brutal corporal punishment or sexual harassment of pupils also need to be reported and dealt with in a consistent and confidential manner that encourages more open reporting of such issues.
The provision of a more stimulating school environment is one way of encouraging positive relations among pupils, and improving teacher–pupil relations. Respondents in several schools suggested that this might be accomplished by more play facilities and/or equipment e.g. for sports, that also have the potential to increase teacher and pupil involvement in extra-curricular activities and even draw in community members. This in turn was thought to have a potentially positive influence on pupil enrolment and retention (see also Section 10.2.3).

**Recommendations**

**HEAD TEACHERS**

**Access**

- Consider and negotiate small daily or seasonal adjustments to school times to facilitate pupils’ timely arrival and attendance at school. This might include changes to accommodate the need for pupil work at home during harvest time and/or a later start to facilitate pupils going to Qur’anic school. This will require PTA, SBMC, LGEA and wider community support.
- In consultation with the PTA, SBMC and LGEA, develop a range of ways that levies might be paid through non-financial means. This might include providing labour to work on buildings, maintenance and school cleaning.
- Ensure that pupil movements in and out of school are monitored and recorded. Follow up cases of persistent lateness, absconding or absenteeism with the pupil and if necessary with their family.
- Ensure pupils safety in school, making sure that outsider entry to the school is stopped or minimised and that pupils are not at risk from their peers or teachers. The gender dimensions (harsh corporal punishment of boys, sexual harassment of girls) need special attention.
- Increase the amount of time that pupils are in the classroom learning when drawing up school timetables and ensure that this happens in practice. Non-learning pupil activities need to be minimal, the use of pupil labour needs to be further reduced and punishments that result in time away from learning need to be curtailed.
- Ensure that prefects, in carrying out their duties, are not taken away from learning time, or made to spend longer in school than they would otherwise.

**Discipline**

- Develop and implement a structured system of non-violent and incremental disciplinary sanctions to avoid the use of harsh and humiliating punishments, or ones that entail pupils missing lessons. This will require LGEA support to address teacher and parent attitudes around the use of corporal punishment and consensus on alternative sanctions.
- In consultation with pupils and teachers develop a code of pupil behaviour that clearly outlines that violence and bullying between pupils is not acceptable and is a disciplinary offence. Systems for reporting these behaviours will need to be explicit.
- Specific care and attention needs to be taken to stem gender-based violence. In such cases the school response should be uncompromising towards perpetrators and include victim support and counselling.
- Develop a system of pupil rewards to provide incentives for improvements in attendance, behaviour and performance.
Pupil representation
• Dismantle the gender hierarchy in schools so that a girl as well as a boy might be the senior head prefect, and tasks are allocated based on criteria that are not dependent on gender. Equality should be upheld as a central principle within the school, among pupils and teachers.
• Reconceptualise the prefects and monitor system to move away from one concerned with punishing and managing peers, to a system that focuses on setting a good example to peers and offering support. Develop a system of pupil representation within the school, for example on a pupil council, as well as on the SBMC (as required by the guidelines). This could ensure that the pupil perspective is heard more generally on issues of school quality, pupil retention and access, which has enormous positive potential for stemming violence, reducing gender stereotyping, and improving learning quality and retention.

TEACHERS
• Contribute to the development and implementation of an incremental system of non-violent disciplinary sanctions.
• Dispense a duty of care for pupils in the school with specific reference to the prevention of gender-based violence, teasing and bullying by and of older and overage pupils in school.
• Intervene in pupil conflicts and cases of gender-based violence in a non-violent way and in accordance with a code of professional practice and the school pupil disciplinary structures.
• Support school systems of reward and punishment as described through consultation with the head teacher, LGEA and/or SBMC.

10.3.4 Teaching and learning

Main findings
Large bright classrooms with roofs that do not leak, clear chalkboards, cement floors, sufficient benches and desks are essential conditions for improved educational quality and teacher motivation (see also Section 10.2.6). The achievements of ADSUBEB in providing and upgrading classrooms have been critical in this regard. As discussed in 10.2.3 and 10.3.2 above, however, more investment is needed if all children are to be housed in adequately furnished classrooms with a teacher–pupil ratio at or below the government recommended ratio of 1:35.

There was evidence of PTA support for provision and repair of classroom buildings and furniture although it was rare that PTA committees or SBMCs were reported as having a direct interest in matters of teaching and learning. While in some cases, community members showed concern for the conditions of school property, in other cases, as reported earlier in Section 10.2.3, some community members demonstrated little respect for the school compound and buildings, leaving them in a bad state of cleanliness that is not conducive to good quality teaching and learning.

As highlighted in Section 10.3.3, some school timetables allocated relatively little time to lessons, as opposed to labour tasks, assembly and break time; and even less time was given over to lessons in practice when school started late or break times were extended. The time that children spent on task, which should not be confused with the time spent in school or in the classroom (see also Section 10.3.3), was also highly variable.

Textbooks are a key resource for teaching and learning when and if they are used but evidence from the case studies indicates that teachers and pupils often did not have access to them. The widely acknowledged improvement in ADSUBEB supply was not evident in all case schools and the unclaimed stock in ADSUBEB headquarters attested to problems with distribution. A second
problem with textbook access was within the schools, where books remained in the head teacher's office and their use in the classroom or availability in a library was severely restricted. This, it was suggested in some cases, was due to a fear that pupils would spoil the books. Thirdly, teachers often used textbooks in a very limited way.

Language use and the medium of instruction play a critical role in pupils’ ability to access the curriculum. There was widespread evidence that some teachers and the many pupils had difficulties in teaching and learning in English. Teaching in a mixture of English and Hausa was common to help pupil understanding but it both took longer to cover lesson material and excluded children from minority language groups. Other reported negative impacts of teaching in English, which were often interrelated, included: pupil discouragement; reduced classroom participation; teasing by peers; pupil punishment for not answering in English; pupil absenteeism; exam failure; and dropout.

Despite the policy push to more learner-centred pedagogies, the dominant approach was teacher-centred, involving teachers speaking for extended periods with little active learning and an occasional choral response or question and answer routine. In the prevailing conditions, which included poor English language skills (on the part of the pupils too), overcrowded classrooms, a wide age range and limited resources, this teacher-centred approach might be very hard to shift. Overage pupils were pinpointed by some respondents as needing special treatment due to difficulties arising from earlier disrupted school attendance. It was widely noted that their participation in class was limited and exam performance often poor as they reportedly felt self-conscious and were teased and bullied if they made mistakes. Alternatively, they themselves were said to be disruptive and/or bully other pupils. They therefore often remained at risk of dropping out. In recognition of these difficulties, a couple of schools were either considering, or already practising remedial classes for overage pupils.

The social context of the classroom provides the conditions in which learning takes place. As wider research has shown, and this study confirmed, negative social experiences have detrimental effects on classroom participation and pupil learning, and can often result in absenteeism and dropout. Pupils in all case study schools reported some level of teasing, bullying and fighting and younger boys, girls, overage pupils and long-term absentees were reportedly often the victims. Teachers and prefects were often said to intervene, though observations indicated that this was not always the case.

Teacher professional development was supported by the LGEAs through the SS and through CPD workshops. Although there was a common understanding of the support to be offered by the SS, there was a mixed and variable picture about the frequency of the SS visits to schools and the focus and quality of their support. Most commonly they were described as checking registers, lesson notes and whether teachers were in class teaching although the specific nature of these checks was unclear and whether and how this impacts on improving teaching and learning was similarly vague. Some respondents pinpointed specific needs for teacher CPD in child-centred pedagogy, lesson planning and in classroom discipline strategies.

**Recommendations**

**HEAD TEACHERS**

- Maximise the use of available texts and other teaching aids within classrooms. Support teachers in finding innovative and interactive ways to use texts in teaching and learning.
- Consider a school-based approach to addressing particular problems in schools e.g. using a bilingual approach and/ or deployment of non lingua franca teachers to upper classes where pupil capacity in English is better. In larger schools teacher teams might be formed
to develop schemes of work or teaching support activities in core subjects that could be used as a school resource for other teachers to use and adapt. School CPD days could usefully be used for the collaborative development of these curriculum resources.

- Institute a system to monitor pupil progress and to identify specific difficulties experienced by teachers and learners. This needs to be followed by strategies for teacher and pupil support to address the difficulties.
- Ensure that teachers and pupils adhere to a code of conduct that engenders respect and equality. Cases of bully, harassment or gender-based violence should be treated seriously through a non-violent, incremental disciplinary system.
- Engage the SS to focus teacher support mainly on teaching and learning in the classroom. This might be linked to an ongoing monitoring of improved classroom practices and pupil outcomes and perhaps include space for action research as a form of teacher CPD. This is likely to require SS and head teacher CPD to develop capacity.
- Focus on and develop forms of teacher support to improve teaching quality, use a more child-centred, interactive pedagogy, and encourage professional practice. Working with the LGEA this might include providing school-based or local in-school clusters, including a system of classroom and peer observation with constructive feedback, which might encourage peer professional exchange within and among schools.
- Consult with the LGEA, teachers and the SBMC about the focus of CPD input for educational staff and incorporate their ideas into school and teacher development plans. Specific teacher CPD topics might include teaching methodology, use of active learning, lesson content and the use of visual aids and textbooks.
- Quality improvements in learning and outcomes can be achieved in the first instance by improved teacher management and more CPD (see Section 10.3.5).
- Institute a system of recording and tracing pupil progress, providing appropriate learning opportunities to address areas of difficulty where satisfactory progress is not being made.

TEACHERS

- Work toward increased levels of child-centred learning and pupil participation within lessons.
- Improve the proportion of time that pupils spend ‘on task’ and learning during the school day.
- Regularly check, record and feedback the learning progress of each pupil in their class including to the pupils themselves.
- Refine a system of pupil assessment to report learning progress annually for each grade perhaps linked to a centrally administered system used for school and teacher development.
- Keep records of pupil attendance and progress and submit to the head teacher as required.
- Plan and implement schemes of work and lesson plans for their different classes. Where possible collaborate with teacher colleagues to share, evaluate and improve approaches to teaching and learning.
- Encourage pupil–pupil interactions that are characterised by respect and equality. Be vigilant and intervene in all cases of teasing, bullying, harassment or gender violence. These should be treated seriously through non-violent disciplinary sanctions. At the same time work against gender stereotyping in which images of male superiority and greater physical strength are assumed and acted out in ways that both limit girls’ classroom participation and learning progress and put boys under pressure to act out stereotypical, aggressive masculinities. Addressing gender stereotypes and assumptions is a crucial part
of any equality strategy with specific implications for pupil access, retention and outcomes.

- Engage proactively in CPD and with the community of educational professionals within the school, other local schools (in a cluster) and the SS from the LGEA.

10.4. COMMUNITIES

10.4.1 School–community relations

*Main findings*

Here we report the main findings relevant to the community although these have also been discussed in Sections 10.2.7, 10.3.3 and 10.3.4 above.

Parental and community support are vital to increased school access. Problems with sustained access to school most commonly referred to problems of acute poverty. For all poor families the economic and opportunity costs of sending a child to school militated against school access. In such circumstances PTA levies and other sundry fees, often in excess of the ₦50 per term maximum stipulated by ADSUBEB, presented a barrier to access (see Section 3.5). In these conditions, the provision of free uniforms by ADSUBEB, recently expanded to all primary pupils, has been an important positive initiative in encouraging school access. Poor families usually depended on the domestic or income-generating labour of their children to survive; for rural communities this was particularly the case during the planting and harvesting seasons. Even children in school were often required, though perhaps in a reduced form, to contribute to the household. The combination of pressures at home and at school variously led to pupil latecoming (and therefore punishment) to non-enrolment, absenteeism and drop out.

Although each school and community might reach their own particular compromise, some respondent suggestions included a slight change to school times to enable home tasks to be completed before school or to facilitate Qur’anic school attendance earlier in the day. Similarly, seasonal flexibilities were also suggested to accommodate farming communities etc. Respondents also highlighted issues of school quality as directly related to demand for schooling. Parents and community members in particular pointed to corporal punishment, teacher absenteeism and the uncertain benefits of education to employment as negative influences on access and retention. For many boys, their experiences and learning in school did little to counteract their motivation to drop out and take up opportunities to earn cash.

With such widespread poverty reported, it was unsurprising that respondents across all six schools confirmed that pupils sometimes missed school due to ill health, or in the case of some girls, due to caring for a sick relative. Hunger too was explicitly identified in all schools as a major reason for pupil absenteeism or latecoming as pupils either waited for food to be served at home or had to go out and find food before or during class. It was also widely recognised that lack of food adversely affected children’s learning, which in one school prompted teachers to bring the matter up with parents.

There are also known gender effects in school access in which, due to economic, cultural and/or safety concerns, girls are less likely to be sent to school than boys. Wider examples cited that threatened school access and completion included pregnancy and early marriage, which prevent girls from finishing school. Alternatively, along with boys who marry, girls were said to return as overage pupils, who are at high risk of dropping out. Sensitisation campaigns by LGEAs and schools have clearly helped improve the school enrolment of girls, especially among Muslim families. The evidence suggests, however, that there is more work to be done both with respect to the right of every child to education and to gender discrimination. Explicit and implicit gender
discrimination, found to be widespread in communities, schools and among pupils, is a key axis for intervention and more sensitisation work as it has a deep and sustained influence on girls’ access, experiences, retention and outcomes of school. The gendered school environment that projected masculine dominance and superiority was left unchallenged by community members and representative bodies (PTA/SBMC).

Liaison between the school and community was supported by the LGEA primarily in social mobilisation and sensitisation to encourage enrolment, especially of girls. The LGEA also assisted in mediating disputes, attending PTA meetings and with the establishment and operation of the SBMCs. Evidence from the case studies suggests that SBMCs are neither fully functioning as yet, nor fully representative of the different constituent groups (e.g. females and pupils). There are further difficulties that relate to a lack of clarity about the distinction between the SBMC and the PTA. There was evidence of overlapping functions that were concerned with communications between the school and community, providing a space for the community voice, and with supporting school development through raising funds, as well as providing material and labour for infrastructural development and other school-related activities. This study indicates, however, that the SBMC was not enacting a school or teacher management role, and evidence of their performing a community liaison function was very limited. In general, the community voice about school, teacher and pupil management was very faint. While there were reported cases of some parents objecting to pupil discipline strategies and regulations concerning school uniform, for example, far less was reported about individual parents or community members raising issues about teachers or teaching and learning quality, either directly or through the PTA or SBMC.

In some case studies respondents reported difficulties for parents or community members in accessing the PTA or SBMC, and evidence suggests that the direction of communication tended to be from the school to the parents/community rather than in the other direction, which entails the school listening to the community. A negative, deficit view of the parents or community members was sometimes articulated within social mobilisation efforts in ways that did not appear to acknowledge that poor school quality (e.g. excessive corporal punishment, overcrowded classrooms, teacher tolerance of teasing and bullying, or teacher absenteeism) could be a determining factor in pupil non-enrolment and/or dropout, or that parents might have more pressing needs.

**Recommendations**

- Parents and community members should enact their duty of care to children and respect their rights to education by ensuring that all children – both girls and boys – are in school. This should also include offering encouragement for other parents and families to send their children to school. The PTA and SBMC should also champion this.
- Parents and community members should make efforts to support school development and to establish schools as community-based organisations and as an important community resource. This support might include payment of levies, offering labour and time to school projects (especially where families are unable to afford levies), and ensuring that the school compound and buildings are treated with respect. All of these forms of support would enable the development and the up-keep of a pleasant school environment.
- The PTA should work on the inclusion of more marginalised parents in discussions concerning pupil access, retention and school quality.
- The PTA and SBMC should work within the community to sponsor a sense of respect for the school and classrooms so that buildings and the compound are kept in good condition and only used with the permission of the head teacher. They should encourage parents and the community to respect the integrity of the school during lesson time but
encourage them to visit school at appointed times and/or use the facilities at specified times and for appropriate activities e.g. by instituting a health and mothers club, adult literacy classes, sports clubs, religious learning, language classes, computer clubs, gender-awareness activities.

- The PTA and SBMC should find ways to encourage wider parental engagement in school developments, actively ‘listen’ to the parents’/community’s perspectives and take these up at their respective meetings.

- The PTA and SBMC should ensure that the communications and accountability link from the school to the community is operational and consistently used. Through this an improved dialogue between the school and community could promote more positive and reciprocal relations.

- The PTA and SBMC should work harder to make their respective representative functions clearer and more available to parents and the community. Both bodies need to be active in representing community perspectives to the staff and at SBMC meetings. They should encourage parents/community to express their concerns on all aspects of the school including infrastructure, timetabling, teacher conduct and the quality of teaching and learning.

- The SBMC needs to formalise its school management function. This includes the establishment of its membership according to government guidelines, transparent accounts and minuted formal meetings, both for reference and for increased accountability. Capacity building may need to be provided for this.

- Issues of equality need to be embedded in the SBMC and PTA with respect to membership, operation, the available space for female and minority voices as well as within the issues and points of action under discussion. Both bodies should be explicitly non-discriminatory.

- The SBMC governance remit among other concerns should include the quality of the teaching and learning, CPD, staff and pupil discipline, pupil engagement and performance and infrastructure and resources. It should also seek community perspectives on how the school might better fit with lifestyle and economic demands impinging on community life.

- The PTA supported by the SBMC should generate community interest and support and encourage parents/guardians to take an active interest in the learning and progress of their children and in the school as a whole.

- The SBMC should galvanise wider support for school development and, for example, explore how CBOs, including private sector commercial companies or significant local business people or other groups within the community, might contribute resources and facilities to support the profile and development of the school.

- Capacity building is needed for the SBMC to fulfil its crucial mandate in the local management of schools, and to enable it to facilitate three-way communications between LGEAs, schools and communities, as a means to fulfil its critical accountability functions.

- The PTA and SBMC should encourage negotiations between school and community over timetabling flexibility to help reduce pupil absenteeism, latecoming, and dropout due to pupil pressures and commitments outside school.
REFERENCES


