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# Transforming education for girls in Nigeria:

## Baseline research summary report

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# Contents




**The 'Transforming Education for Girls Project' is run by Maarifa ni Ufunguo in Tanzania and Community Action for Popular Participation in Nigeria, supported by ActionAid and funded by Comic Relief and the Tubney Charitable Trust**


ALL PHOTOS: CHRIS HOLT/GCE/ACTIONAID


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# Foreword

This report is the culmination of much work by the Transforming Education for Girls in Nigeria and Tanzania (TEGINT) project partnership, in particular the work of the national implementing partner in Northern Nigeria, Community Action for Popular Participation (CAPP), and national research partners, particularly staff at the Institute for Development Reseach at Ahmadu Bello University Zaria and Usman DanFodiyo University Sokoto, who undertook work for this Baseline Study. This summary report was coordinated and compiled by the Institute of Education, University of London in August 2011.

The TEGINT project, which began in January 2008, aims to achieve a transformation in the education of girls in Nigeria and Tanzania, enabling them to enrol and succeed in school by addressing key challenges and obstacles that hinder their participation in education and increase their vulnerability to HIV and AIDS. Research is an integral part of the project, contributing to understanding and recognition of key issues for girls' education in Tanzania and Nigeria and internationally, and advancing the project's implementation and advocacy work.

The issues that emerge from this summary report of baseline research findings in Nigeria, including the critical obstacles for girls' education of early marriage, child pregnancy and poverty; the insufficient support for female teachers deployed in rural areas and for women's leadership in school committees; and the fees and levies that continue to be charged for basic education, are pertinent to education and development internationally and require all of us to take action to transform education and enable girls to achieve their aspirations.

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Acting Head of Education
ActionAid International
September 2011

# 1. Introduction

**This report on the baseline studies for the TEGINT (Transforming Education for Girls in Nigeria and Tanzania) project analyses data collected in Nigeria between 2007 and 2009 as part of the first phase of the project's work. TEGINT is a special education initiative, which started in 2007 as a partnership between Action Aid, Community Action for Popular Participation (CAPP) in Nigeria and Maarifa ni Ufunguo (Maarifa) in Tanzania, funded by Comic Relief and the Tubney Charitable Trust. The overall goal of the project is to achieve a transformation in the education of girls in Tanzania and Nigeria, enabling them to enrol and succeed in school by addressing key challenges and obstacles that hinder their participation in education and increase their vulnerability to HIV/AIDS. The TEGINT project is working in 72 schools (36 primary and 36 junior secondary) in eight states in Northern Nigeria: Bauchi, Federal Capital Territory (FCT), Gombe, Kaduna, Katsina, Nasarawa, Niger and Plateau.**

Three volumes of the baseline study are available (one on Tanzania, one on Nigeria and one cross-country comparative report). This document is a summary of volume two, reporting on a multi-faceted investigation undertaken in the schools in which TEGINT works in Nigeria (TEGINT, 2011). The report is the outcome of discussions within the project partnership over the design, analysis, and assessment of the findings from a number of inter-linked research projects concerned with collecting baseline data. It is thus in itself an attempt to rigorously monitor the project as part of a contribution to better understanding of policy and practice for girls' education.

The baseline study set out to investigate seven areas relating to the goal and objectives of TEGINT in the schools in which it is working:

1. What girls attending these schools say about their schooling, what obstacles they anticipate encountering and how they feel these can be overcome;

2. What the gender profiles in enrolment, attendance and progression in the schools in which the project is working are and how these may be similar or different to other schools in the district;

3. What insight these indicators suggest on girls' views relating to the support they receive with schooling;

4. Teacher conditions, notably class sizes, teacher qualifications, gender and teacher deployment, forms of training on gender and HIV and the extent to which teachers consider the schools in which they work support girls' education;

5. What payments schools' receive and how these relate to the school gender profiles and girls' views on their schooling;

6. The work of school committees, the training they have provided for their members and to parents, their approaches to addressing gender-based violence at school and how gender mainstreaming in management may or may not relate to gender profiles regarding girls' progression and attainment and girls' views on their schooling;

7. How gender, generation and processes for community connection bear on views about the obstacles girls confront in progressing their education and the forms of mobilisation that should be used to address this.

Data for the baseline study report was collected in three sweeps:

- A pilot collection of quantitative and qualitative data in November 2007
- The main baseline survey in March– July 2008
- Additional collection of qualitative data in November 2009.

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The pilot phase of the study was used to trial research instruments and approaches to data collection. This led to a decision to focus data collection for the main phase of the baseline on a survey, with some collection of administrative records and some observations in schools. Respondents to the survey comprised: teachers, girls in the last year of primary school (aged around12-13 years), Principals, members of school committees and Village Heads. In total 1726 respondents were surveyed, supplemented by collection of administrative records and observations in 72 schools.

A review of the analysis of the baseline data in March 2009 led to a decision to collect a small quantity of additional qualitative data to gain greater insights into issues of poverty, violence in schools and aspects of school management that had emerged as particularly pertinent in the main study phase. For this qualitative phase focus group discussions were organised in 16 selected schools and a 'poverty tree' participatory methodology was used and facilitated to better comprehend how violence is understood and handled and what are the structures of school governance.

# 2. Context

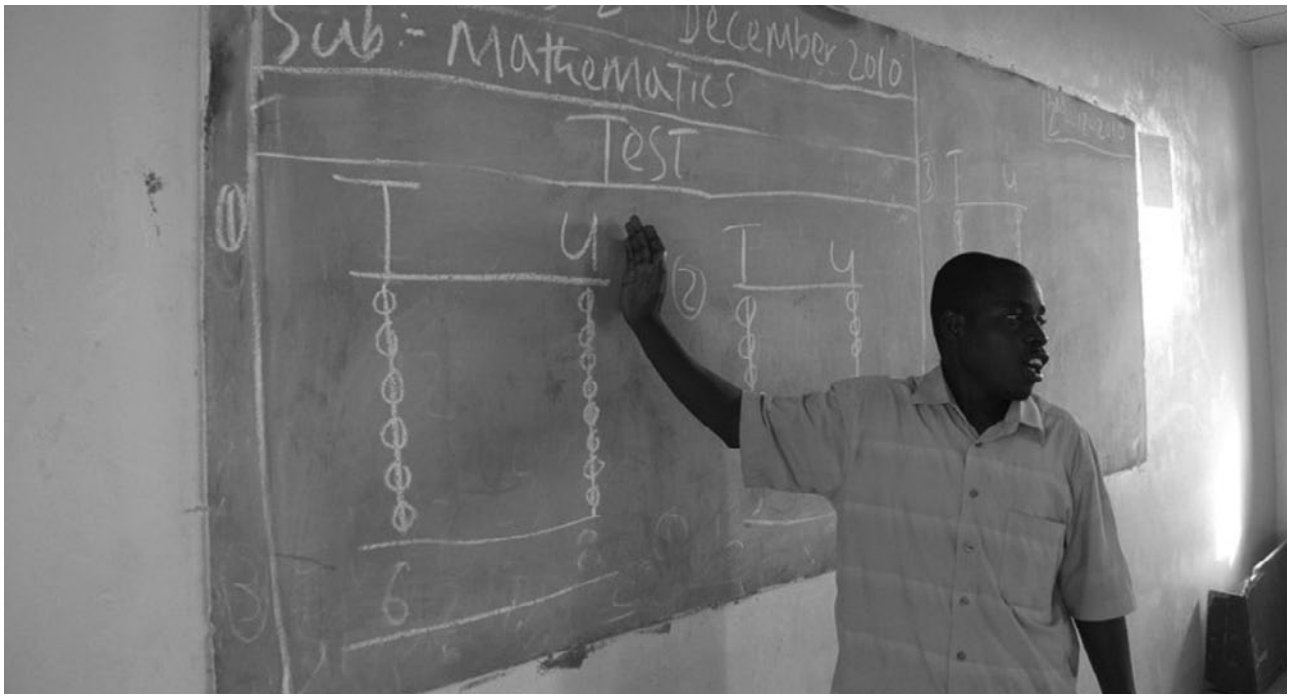
**The Federal Republic of Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa, with an estimated 155 million people, with over 50% of these being under 18 years and has generated enormous wealth, partly from the extraction of oil and partly from the enormous market and enterprise of its population. However, long period of military rule, lack of fiscal attention to basic services, and years of mismanagement in some states have resulted in an uneven distribution of education provision marked by severe inequalities. In some states there is still insufficient provision of schooling. Gender is an aspect of many of the features of inequality in society andgender inequities are manifest in every aspect of education, notably in access, participation, experiences, and many outcomes of schooling. Gender disparities and poverty are particularly pronounced in northern Nigeria, where the TEGINT project is located.**

Efforts to roll out compulsory, free Universal Basic Education during the past decade have yielded some results but implementation has been difficult, partly because of the complexity of government machinery and inadequate resources to address the gap that still exists in the basic education sub sector. Teacher management and support is a key area; more than half of teachers do not hold the minimum recommended qualification (Theobald et al. 2007). This is compounded by a highly complex system of managing and funding education between the federal government, states (especially SUBEB), LGAs and LGEAs, with an absence of transparency and accountability leading to low levels of trust and lack of appropriate demand for quality from LGEAs (Williams 2009). Schools regularly top up inadequate government funds through charging various fees and levies.

Nationally 63% of girls are enrolled in primary school (GPI 0.88), and 30% in secondary school (GPI 0.77) (UNESCO 2009). However there are considerable variations between states, and between boys and girls in urban and rural areas. Data from 2003 suggested that while children from the richest quintile achieved 10 years of schooling with little gaps between girls and boys or urban and rural areas, children from the poorest quintile on average completed just under 4 years of schooling, with variations that urban boys and girls from this quintile completed just over 6 years, while rural boys completed 4 years, and rural girls completed just over 2. Certain ethnic groups are particularly marginalised: poor rural Hausa boys complete on average 1 year of schooling, while poor rural Hausa girls do not even complete 1 month (UNESCO, 2010, 145). This illustrates the significance of the intersection between gender, poverty, ethnicity and location.

There has been some success in addressing HIV/AIDS, with prevalence dropping from 5 to 4% (African Economic Outlook 2011), helped by the National Agency for the Control of HIV/AIDS (NACA) coordinating a national response, including awareness-raising, advocacy and condom distribution. However, there is a poor legal framework to address violence against women, with no law against wife beating (as long it does not result in grievous harm such as disfigurement or broken bones) and no sanctions against spousal rape. Nigeria is a signatory to CEDAW, but there has been huge opposition to domesticating this Convention into law, particularly in many northern states of the country.

The results of the baseline study should therefore be set within the varied social, economic, political and historic contexts of the eight states in northern Nigeria in which the project is working. These comprise two states in the North-West geopolitical zone: Katsina and Kaduna. **Katsina** is one of the poorest states in Nigeria, with one of the highest Human Poverty Index level and a very high male underemployment rate. It also has some of the widest gender gaps in enrolment (GPI=0.6) and the lowest female literacy level (27%) of the eight states in which TEGINT works. Katsina was carved out of Kaduna state in 1987. The majority of the population are Hausa speaking Muslim. Sharia Law is in place and there are many

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Islamic schools in operation. Farming is the main source of livelihood. Child marriage, early pregnancy and female genital mutilation (FGM) are noted. Despite this, Junior Secondary Schooling is free, according to the Universal Basic Education Act of Nigeria, though some fees and levies are charged at different schools. There are a good number of secondary schools with relatively good facilities and high numbers of female teachers. A previous president of Nigeria, Alhaji Musa Yar Adua was a governor and during his governship tenure he prioritised education, especially for girls.

**Kaduna** state contrasts somewhat, having the lowest poverty levels of the eight states and tending to be positioned in the middle or upper rankings for education indicators. A better economic status may be partly to do with better employment opportunities in the state: with textiles the main industry in the north and agriculture in the South. The population is ethnically diverse with 32 ethnic groups. Sharia Law is implemented in the northern part of the state. Child marriage and FGM are noted, and federal laws on violence against women and children's rights have not been passed into state law.

In the North East geo-political zone the project is working in Bauchi and Gombe states. Of all the states in which the project works **Bauchi** has some of the highest poverty rates and proportion of underemployed men, the lowest levels of women's literacy and teacher qualifications and lowest primary school enrolment (and highest gender gap). Livelihoods depend on agriculture but are hampered by drought. There are differences between the north and south of the state. The north is almost entirely Muslim. Men farm (not women), and there are few women teachers and lower education levels. In the south there is a fairly equal distribution of Muslims and Christians. Women are involved in farming (although they do not own land) and trade, there are relatively more female teachers and higher levels of education. The state has seen recurring religious tensions and violence. The Boko-Haram movement opposes the introduction of Universal Basic Education, sometimes stressing an opposition to female education.

**Gombe** shares many characteristics with Bauchi, with the lowest indicators in terms of gender gaps in primary and secondary school, enrolment rates, teacher qualifications, women's literacy and access to credit and poverty rates. Gombe is predominantly Muslim with Christian elite. There are over 17 ethnic groups, with the Fulani the biggest group, and Tangale dominant in the south of the state. Livelihoods depend on agriculture - largely smallholder production. Gombe has high rates of HIV infection – 7.8% according to 2003 figures (UNFPA 2003).

TEGINT operates in four states in the North Central geo-political zone: Niger, FCT, Nasarawa, Plateau. This zone tends to rank higher on many development indicators than the North-East and North-West

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zones (although still disadvantaged compared to the south of the country). **Niger** education indicators are positioned somewhere in the middle when compared to the eight states. However, it has the highest underemployment of men and the lowest women's literacy levels (and biggest gender gaps in adult literacy). Women do have much greater access to credit in Niger compared to the other states though. There is a Muslim majority and Sharia law is in place. There are 22 ethnic groups, the major ones being Nupe, Hausa and Gbagyi. The economy of Niger state is largely based on agriculture.

The **Federal Capital Territory (FCT)** was carved out of Niger, Nasarawa and Kogi states in 1976 and shares many similarities, socially and economically, to Niger state. FCT includes the capital city Abuja, which provides a wide range of economic activities for men and women. Despite this there are high numbers of men and women who classify themselves as unemployed or underemployed. Women's literacy rates are highest of the eight states in which TEGINT works and there are many active women's church groups. FCT has the best education indicators, with the lowest gender gaps in primary and secondary enrolment and primary completion rates.

**Plateau** has relatively high levels of girls' enrolment and the highest teacher qualifications of the eight states. There are a wider range of economic opportunities for men and women, with commercial and subsistence agriculture (in which both women and men participate, although men own the land), particularly in the south; fishing; and tin mining in the north (in which women are also involved with children, many ofwhom leave school to mine). Christian ethnic groups dominate and tend to view Muslim Hausas as settlers. Late 2008 and early 2009 saw ethnic conflict erupt around the capital city of Jos, resulting in high numbers of displaced people and negatively affecting socio-economic development. The project is based in an area of mostly Fulani groups. Men keep animals and there is little crop production. Women trade, for example selling local beer, vegetables, meat and grains. Many girls help their mothers, which affects their education.

**Nasarawa** was carved out of Plateau state in 1996 and shares some characteristics with that state. There are large gender gaps in enrolment, completion and literacy levels and high levels of men's and women's underemployment. At the same time it has some of the best teacher qualifications, poverty indicators and access to credit for women. Economic activity and gendered division of labour is similar to Plateau, although mining of precious stones and salt also takes place. The population is predominantly Christian and multi-ethnic, with 52 ethnic groups (major groups being the Egom, Mada, Alago and Redre).

# 3. Research findings

**Research findings and conclusions are organised under the seven key questions that guided the baseline study.**

### 3.1 Obstacles to girls' education

Girls are generally very positive about their schools, with 73% of girls saying their school is supporting girls' education well or very well and only 4% saying poorly. They have high aspirations for their education, with 90% of girls saying they wish to go to university or obtain a tertiary qualification (Table 1). The reasons given are mostly economic but also linked to increasing their relative status in society.

**Table 1: Girls' educational aspirations**

| | | % responding |
|---|---|---|
| Level of education they wish to achieve | Primary | 1 |
| | Secondary | 10 |
| | Tertiary/University | 90 |
| Reason | Profession | 63 |
| | Employment | 64 |
| | Recognition | 29 |
| | Role Model | 30 |

The majority of girls surveyed (sampled in the last year of primary school) highlight poverty as the major obstacle they anticipate will prevent them from completing their desired level of education, followed by ill health and early marriage (Table 2). Girls more often mentioned household factors as barriers rather than problems relating to school conditions. Interestingly, girls are most likely to cite poverty as a barrier in states that have the lowest levels of poverty (such as FCT and Plateau) and least likely to do this in states that have high levels of poverty (such as Bauchi and Gombe). This suggests that relative, rather than absolute, levels of poverty might be particularly significant in whether or not girls can articulate demands to improve school conditions and reflect on the obstacles to education that they face. In states where poverty levels are somewhat lower and where girls can see other girls who do not experience poverty they appear more likely to mention poverty as a reason they may not finish school. Similar patterns could be seen between girls' views in urban and rural areas. Urban girls are more likely to articulate concerns with lack of facilities or distance to school than girls in rural areas, although one expects these to be to be less problematic in urban areas. The low frequency with which these problems were mentioned by girls in rural areas does not necessarily indicate they are not problems rather that these girls may have less perspective on the range of potential facilities they could have, than girls in urban areas, and they thus lower their expectations. In focus group discussions girls tended to attribute poverty to both internal (e.g. laziness, selfishness) and external factors (e.g. drought, lack of jobs, poor roads, bad governance). However, girls in FCT had an expanded view of poverty including the humiliation of being unable to meet societal expectations, for example taking a loan to buy food, or lacking in social support networks.

**Table 2: Girls' views on the obstacles that will prevent them from achieving their desired level of education, by state**

| | % who mentioned | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Bch | FCT | Gbe | Kdn | Ktsn | Nas | Ngr | Plt | All |
| Early marriage | 14 | 28 | 52 | 24 | 78 | 63 | 28 | 90 | 43 |
| Poverty | 41 | 100 | 51 | 83 | 83 | 88 | 58 | 100 | 70 |
| Parents withdraw from School | 20 | 28 | 30 | 12 | 78 | 75 | 15 | 73 | 38 |
| Old for class | 0 | 10 | 0 | 24 | 6 | 23 | 10 | 3 | 9 |
| Lack of facilities | 0 | 20 | 48 | 39 | 68 | 38 | 13 | 33 | 34 |
| Distance from school | 5 | 3 | 9 | 31 | 48 | 18 | 5 | 0 | 21 |
| Ill health | 4 | 43 | 36 | 49 | 71 | 68 | 26 | 100 | 44 |
| Pregnancy | 0 | 58 | 4 | 23 | 63 | 33 | 23 | 32 | 32 |

Girls' suggestions for transformation are partly economic, partly focused on enhancing provision within the school (improving the curriculum and facilities), and partly linked to challenging gender relations within their families and communities (Table 3). Girls in Bauchi and Gombe mentioned only a very few possible solutions to their difficulties; more solutions were suggested by girls in states with lower poverty levels and smaller education gender gaps. This suggests that it is useful to have more detailed discussions with girls and their families, particularly in some areas, on rights to education and links to socio-economic inequalities.

**Table 3: Girls' views on how to overcome obstacles to attaining their desired level of education, by district**

| | % who mentioned by stste | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Bch | FCT | Gbe | Kdn | Ktsn | Nas | Ngr | Plt |
| Sponsorship | 41 | 100 | 54 | 90 | 88 | 90 | 76 | 100 |
| Provision of facilities | 0 | 20 | 55 | 87 | 69 | 53 | 17 | 33 |
| Stop early marriage | 5 | 38 | 61 | 85 | 85 | 68 | 20 | 87 |
| Abolish fees and levies | 3 | 78 | 56 | 72 | 70 | 88 | 13 | 100 |
| Family Life Education | 0 | 65 | 53 | 83 | 69 | 55 | 24 | 97 |
| Enlightenment of parents | 21 | 33 | 51 | 89 | 83 | 65 | 35 | 73 |

Many fathers and boys interviewed blamed mothers for sending daughters to hawk or putting pressure to arrange early marriages. However, the actions of mothers need to be understood in a context where, in Kaduna, Bauchi, Katsina and Gombe, married women are secluded and cannot go to market to sell the crops they produce. Economic survival necessitates they send their daughters to hawk, which may mean girls miss school. In Katsina one teacher reported that classes are often empty on market day. In a number of discussions the point was made that when a father could not regularly feed his family, he cannot impose his authority against hawking. Girls do not appear to have any standing in the family to resist these demands.

Early marriage was often seen as a way to escape poverty, 'passing the burden of the girls onto the husband' and protecting girls from unmarried teenage pregnancy. Few girls question that due to resource limitations they, rather than their brothers, are withdrawn from school, perhaps because they see few examples of girls successfully finishing school. In the qualitative research no girl in participating schools in Bauchi was known to have finished secondary school or have a formal job. All teachers were male. Hunger is a very immediate issue for school-going children, with reports of girls forfeiting food for younger siblings, with resulting lapses in concentration and fatigue in school.

School based management committees (SBMCs) have addressed a few of these concerns in organising community mobilisation. There is a challenge to enhance communications between girls, teachers, SBMCs and community organisations in order to open the space for more substantive gender equality.

**Key finding: Girls have high aspirations for their education and can identify the obstacles they face and a wide range of solutions, but not in all states or schools.**

**Recommendation:** Work with girls' clubs to further develop girls' confidence and, where feasible, provide support to turn ideas for change into action. In addition, advocate to key decision-makers (eg. religious leaders, traditional leaders, fathers, and mothers) to effect changes that will help overcome the obstacles girls face in progressing in their education.

### 3.2 Is TEGINT working in the most gender inequitable schools?

Data gathered from the baseline for girls' and boys' enrolment in the primary schools in which TEGINT is working, disaggregated by state, are given in Table 4. There is a significant gender gap in primary school enrolment with an overall GPI of 0.8 Some states fared markedly worse than others, including Gombe, where male populations within schools associated with TEGINT were twice the size of female populations. Only in FCT, Kaduna and Nasarawa were there more girls than boys enrolled in the primary schools with which TEGINT works. Virtually all the schools in which TEGINT is working have better GPIs in enrolment than the state average. The exceptions are Gombe, where TEGINT operates schools below state averages in terms of a gender gap (0.48 compared with a state average of 0.70) and Plateau (state GPI of 0.93 compared to 0.84 in TEGINT associated schools). Gender gaps in enrolment at JSS are much larger, with half as many girls as boys enrolled. JSS gender gaps are largest in Bauchi, Katsina and Gombe.

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**Table 4: Gender parity in enrolment in primary schools where data collected**

| States | Average number of girls enrolled in primary | Average number of boys enrolled in primary | Gender parity 2008 | GPI state enrolment 2006 EMIS data* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bauchi | 154 | 200 | 0.78 | 0.67 |
| FCT | 300 | 289 | 1.09 | 0.92 |
| Gombe | 142 | 252 | 0.48 | 0.70 |
| Kaduna | 182 | 177 | 1.03 | 0.81 |
| Katsina | 1140 | 1328 | 0.86 | 0.60 |
| Nasarawa | 324 | 300 | 1.02 | 0.73 |
| Niger | 112 | 171 | 0.67 | 0.61 |
| Plateau | 261 | 309 | 0.84 | 0.93 |
| Urban | 886 | 986 | 0.92 | |
| Rural | 220 | 286 | 0.76 | |
| Total | 380 | 455 | 0.80 | 0.84 |

***** Source: UBEC 2008

**Note:** GPI is gender parity index, girls expressed as a proportion of boys. If the GPI is less than 1 there are more boys than girls. If it is higher than 1 there are more girls than boys.

There remain gender gaps when looking at attendance, although they are smaller than those for enrolment. Girls' primary school attendance rates are lowest in Gombe (66%) and also low in FCT, whilst Plateau has the highest attendance rates for girls. Attendance rates are mostly better than state averages elicited from government data. Enrolment and attendance in primary and JSS have both improved over time, with the biggest increases in rural areas.

No data on exam performance was available at primary school, although we were able to look at proportions of girls enrolled who sat exams. This showed overall gender parity (88% for girls, 86% for boys), but with much state variation. At JSS level pass rates are very similar for girls (93%) and boys (91%). The lowest pass rates are in Kaduna and Niger and, surprisingly, girls outperform boys in JSS3 exams in Bauchi and Gombe. Pass rates are better in rural than urban areas. However, if we look at pass rates as a proportion of children enrolled in JSS3 rather than as a proportion of those entered we see that girls' pass rates are lower than boys (Table 5). This suggests that boys are more likely than girls to be entered for exams. The reasons for significant numbers of girls not being entered merits further enquiry.

**Table 5: Numbers passing exams in 2008 as a proportion of numbers enrolled in JSS3, by state**

| States | Percentage of girls enrolled JSS 3 who pass exams | Percentage of boys enrolled JSS 3 who pass exams | GPI |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bauchi | 97 | 98 | 0.96 |
| FCT | 45 | 60 | 0.76 |
| Gombe | 55 | 83 | 0.63 |
| Kaduna | 75 | 87 | 0.92 |
| Katsina | 87 | 96 | 0.80 |
| Nasarawa | 158 | 169 | 0.94 |
| Niger | 117 | 98 | 1.32 |
| Plateau | 117 | 106 | 1.15 |
| Total | 89 | 94 | 0.95 |

Based on the data described above a 'gender profile' was constructed to gain a summary measure of outcomes that would capture the extent to which each project school was succeeding in supporting girls' education. A series of key variables (including enrolment, attendance, progression, and completion data, weighted in favour of attainment and completion) was grouped together and transformed into an overarching school 'score' on gender and education. Sixty-three schools (with sufficient data) were then ranked and grouped into three equal bands: 1) below average performance; 2) average performance; and 3) above average performance. However, of these 63 schools, 17 gender profiles were based on only one or two indicators due to data gaps. As we do not have a complete picture of all facets of gender parity in schools' gender profiles scores, the discussion below that compares gender profiles by states and a range of other dependent variables needs to be treated as indicative of relationships that require more detailed treatment with more robust data sets.

Distribution of gender profile scores by state (Tables 6 and 7) shows that primary schools seem to be centred more towards above average in terms of gender parity whilst JSS schools are more likely to fall in the bottom third of all schools in terms of gender parity, reflecting widening gender gaps as children progress through school. Gombe and Nasarawa are prominent as the states in which schools have poorer performance on girls' education. The schools associated with TEGINT in Plateau, and to a lesser extent Bauchi and FCT, have stronger overall performance on outcomes for girls. It should be borne in mind here, that *gender parity* rather than the promotion of girls' education *per se* is being measured. 'Success' in particular regions on girls' education can mean concerns around enrolment, attendance or progression for boys (i.e. both girls and boys could have poor outcomes, therefore there would be gender parity, which would mean a high gender profile score). Some of these scores are quite surprising given what we know about their socio-economic and educational contexts (for example Bauchi and Nasarawa). The table also shows that urban schools tend to do better in terms of gender parity than rural schools.

**Table 6: Primary school gender profiles, by state and urban-rural character**

| State | Below average % | Average % | Above average % |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bauchi | 0 | 50 | 50 |
| FCT | 0 | 50 | 50 |
| Gombe | 50 | 33 | 17 |
| Kaduna | 33 | 33 | 33 |
| Katsina | 0 | 67 | 33 |
| Nasarawa | 50 | 0 | 50 |
| Niger | 0 | 75 | 25 |
| Plateau | 0 | 33 | 67 |
| Urban | 0 | 43 | 57 |
| Rural | 22 | 44 | 33 |
| All schools | 17 | 46 | 37 |

The patterns are somewhat different in JSS, where all the schools in FCT and Katsina fall into the below average band, whilst schools in which the project is working in Gombe have the strongest scores (Table 7). However, it must be noted that these calculations are based on a small number of schools with data available. There was not a significant difference between urban and rural JS schools in terms of their performance on gender.

**Table 7: Junior Secondary School gender profiles, by state and urban-rural character**

| State | Below average % | Average % | Above average % |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bauchi | 40 | 40 | 20 |
| FCT | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| Gombe | 33 | 0 | 67 |
| Kaduna | 50 | 17 | 33 |
| Katsina | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| Nasarawa | 0 | 50 | 50 |
| Niger | 50 | 50 | 0 |
| Plateau | 50 | 0 | 50 |
| Urban | 56 | 22 | 22 |
| Rural | 53 | 18 | 29 |
| All schools | 54 | 18 | 29 |

It appears that at primary level TEGINT is not working in schools with the highest levels of gender disparity. While gender disparity is high in all the JSS, the schools in which TEGINT is working generally have better gender parity levels and pupil: teacher ratios (PTRs) than the average for the state.

**Key finding: A lack of school-level data and limited understanding of its purpose makes it difficult to monitor, assess and act on gender gaps, and the problems of girls' and boys' attendance, progression and attainment.**

**Recommendation:** Work with schools and LGEAs on record keeping, analysis and appropriate action. Strengthen links between SUBEB, LGEAS and schools to improve flow of data and actions based on its use. Advocate for improved political will at different levels to require accurate record keeping at school level. Strengthen SUBEB capacity to monitor quality of data collected at LGEA and school level.

### 3.3 Gender profiles and girls' perspectives on schooling

When girls' views about their aspirations for schooling are considered alongside schools' actual performance in supporting progression and achievement there are some worrying gaps. There was little difference in how girls rated their schools on supporting girls' education between those in low gender profile schools and those in high gender profile schools. In other words, girls who attend schools that, relative to other schools, do not do well by them with regard to enrolment or attainment, are still rated by girls as supporting them well. This suggests that girls surveyed tend to have high aspirations for their schooling but do not have much perspective on their potential for progression or attainment. Girls are not able to account for whether problems in attainment rest with them, their families, communities or with arrangements in school. This is unsurprising as, with the exception of highly politicised student mobilisations against aspects of schooling for example in South Africa in the 1970s and 1980s (Unterhalter et al, 1991; Nkomo, 1994), both of which involved mainly secondary school students, critical views by young people on their schooling are not much reported. However, we require more information from qualitative study regarding the ways in which girls might feel their school supports them. The gender profile would seem to be too blunt a summary variable to express this.

In schools that appear to do more on the areas measured by the gender profile (ensuring enrolment, attendance and passing exams), girls were more articulate about the problems they faced (Table 8). They are also more likely to cite solutions to overcome these obstacles. This suggests that in schools where there are better levels of gender parity, girls are more able to look critically at school conditions and comment more extensively on their education rights. We are not able to say on this data, whether girls who attend schools with greater levels of gender parity might come from families where there is more social awareness and that this is the reason for the comments they make, or whether there is something elicited by conditions in the school.

**Table 8: Girls' views on the obstacles that will prevent them from achieving their desired level of education, by school gender profile performance**

| | Gender profile of school % who mentioned | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Below average | Average | Above average |
| Early marriage | 40 | 44 | 42 |
| Poverty | 60 | 72 | 73 |
| Parents withdraw from school | 29 | 39 | 40 |
| Old for class | 2 | 14 | 13 |
| Lack of facilities | 27 | 33 | 38 |
| Distance from school | 17 | 23 | 21 |
| Ill health | 31 | 40 | 60 |
| Pregnancy | 30 | 30 | 36 |

It appears that in some contexts girls might be highly aspirational with regard to what they think their schools can achieve for them, despite schools not being able to support this (i.e. having low gender profiles). However, it appears that girls may complain or identify problems less if they attend schools with low gender profiles. The reasons for this needs further investigation but the challenge appears to be to work with schools on enhancing learning and teaching and with girls in helping them use that learning to articulate the challenges they face.

**Key finding:** Where teachers have higher levels of qualifications, schools do more to support girls' attendance and completion, and in states with more economic, political and educational opportunities for women, girls are more able to articulate a wider range of demands for their schooling.

**Recommendation:** Build girls' capacity and confidence to claim their rights through providing exposure to role models and communities, which offer opportunities to girls and women for economic, cultural and educational advancement. Improve teachers' qualifications and their capacity to support learning and attainment at school. Develop teachers' insights into their professional work and its relationship with girls' rights.

### 3.4 Teacher conditions and support to girls' schooling

Pupil: teacher ratios (PTRs) are 36:1 in schools in which the project is working, lower than the national average of 46:1. In most states (except FCT and Plateau) the PTRs in schools in which the project is working in are much lower than the state average. There are large variations across the project states, from 19:1 in Gombe to 66:1 in Katsina in the schools in which TEGINT works. PTRs are higher at JSS level, at 41:1, with similar state variation. Overall, there are more female than male teachers at primary level (Table 9) but this masks big differences across states: in Nasarawa there are over 3 females to every male teacher, whilst in Plateau there are 4 males to every female teacher. In some schools in which the project is working there are no female teachers at all. At JSS level there are many more male than female teachers in all states except Nasarawa. In many countries women teachers tend to be more concentrated in urban centres: we found this to be the case in JSS but not primary schools, where there is a higher proportion of female teachers in rural areas. Overall, this suggests that girls do have role models with regard to aspirations for future employment and do, potentially, have women they can turn to for advice.

**Table 9: Gender parity in teaching staff profiles by state in TEGINT schools, 2008**

| | Primary | JSS | All schools |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bauchi | 0.53 | 0.23 | 0.42 |
| FCT | 0.83 | 0.30 | 0.57 |
| Gombe | 0.67 | 0.19 | 0.43 |
| Kaduna | 2.48 | 0.62 | 1.55 |
| Katsina | 1.02 | 0.43 | 0.73 |
| Nasarawa | 3.08 | 1.40 | 2.24 |
| Niger | 0.83 | 0.44 | 0.66 |
| Plateau | 0.25 | 0.06 | 0.14 |
| All schools | 1.19 | 0.42 | 0.82 |

Table 10 shows the relationship between numbers and gender of teachers and girls' opportunities and outcomes at school. Interestingly, in schools with below average gender profiles there are more female teachers and smaller pupil: teacher ratios, while in schools with above average gender profiles there are quite large pupil: teacher ratios and more male teachers. This appears an important area for further investigation, as the qualitative data highlights the difficulties for girls in aspiring to finish school if no women are teachers in their location. However, the presence of female teachers does not appear significant in supporting girls' progression and attainment but this may be because there are many fewer women than men teachers in JSS, where some of the biggest inequalities in schooling are evident.

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**Table 10: Key teaching indicators and school gender profiles**

| School gender profiles | Ratio of pupils to teachers | Number of female to male teachers |
|---|---|---|
| Below average | 30 | 1.22 |
| Average | 26 | 0.69 |
| Above average | 47 | 0.69 |
| Total | 36 | 0.82 |

The majority of teachers (77% of men and women) were qualified up to NCE level or above (the recommended level set by government, Table 11). By inference, still almost a quarter of teachers in schools are insufficiently qualified. This contrasts with national data that shows much smaller proportions (around 4 in 10) to be qualified at this level. Women and men seem to be equally as well qualified, although men are more likely to hold higher degrees. The schools with the lowest qualified teachers are in Gombe state (36% of women and 28% of men) and highest in Katsina state, where all teachers are reported to be qualified at NCE level. JSS teachers are slightly better qualified than primary school teachers, but the difference is small.

**Table11: Percentage of female and male teachers holding each qualification, by state, in 2008**

| | Women SSCE GCE | OND | Diploma NCE | Degree | Men SSCE GCE | OND | Diploma NCE | Degree |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bauchi | 42 | 5 | 51 | 2 | 18 | 11 | 62 | 9 |
| FCT | 0 | 8 | 72 | 20 | 0 | 20 | 40 | 40 |
| Gombe | 38 | 26 | 36 | 0 | 50 | 22 | 25 | 3 |
| Kaduna | 8 | 13 | 57 | 22 | 4 | 10 | 61 | 25 |
| Katsina | 0 | 0 | 93 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 85 | 15 |
| Nasarawa | 9 | 9 | 65 | 17 | 0 | 10 | 80 | 10 |
| Niger | 40 | 20 | 35 | 5 | 15 | 8 | 45 | 32 |
| Plateau | 52 | 0 | 48 | 0 | 5 | 4 | 67 | 25 |
| Total | 15 | 8 | 67 | 10 | 14 | 9 | 60 | 17 |

A summary indicator on teacher qualifications for each school was calculated. Schools were then ranked and banded, much like for the school gender profile. In schools where there are more qualified teachers, girls were more able to articulate barriers to their education (Table 12), suggesting that teacher qualifications may contribute to wider social understanding amongst girls. Girls were also more likely to identify a range of solutions to overcoming these obstacles in schools with better teacher qualification profile scores. This suggests that the qualification level of teachers may be a very important strategy to pursue in supporting girls to assess their conditions and identify solutions for which they can help mobilise support. However, there is not a clear pattern between teacher qualifications and gender parity in girls' access and outcomes at school. The reasons for this merit closer investigation.

PHOTO: CHRIS HOLT/GCE/ACTIONAID

**Table 12: Girls' views on the obstacles that will prevent them from achieving their desired level of education, by teacher qualification profile**

| | Teacher qualification profile score | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Below average | Average | Above average | Total |
| % Early marriage | 39 | 42 | 48 | 43 |
| % Poverty | 59 | 71 | 76 | 70 |
| % Parents withdrawal from school | 33 | 32 | 45 | 38 |
| % Old for class | 4 | 13 | 9 | 9 |
| % Lack of facilities | 15 | 37 | 42 | 34 |
| % Distance from school | 10 | 15 | 32 | 21 |
| % Ill health | 29 | 52 | 49 | 45 |
| % Pregnancy | 22 | 29 | 41 | 33 |

In service teacher training on HIV and gender is patchy, with 51% having received training in HIV and 39% in gender in the past year. Coverage for gender and HIV training is 100% for both in Katsina and Bauchi. Data for Gombe and Niger are also low. Gender training is more concentrated in urban areas, whilst there is little difference for HIV training. HIV and gender training do appear to make a difference to girls': in schools where teachers had received HIV training girls were more likely to cite early marriage and pregnancy as obstacles to their education (there was not such a clear relationship with gender training). Girls in schools with teachers trained in gender and HIV are more likely to perceive a ban on early marriage as necessary for them to achieve their education goals. Teachers' in-service training on gender also seems to have a stronger relationship to girls' views on their education, with girls noting parental education as a possible solution to the obstacles they face. This all suggests that improved general qualifications for teachers combined with INSET gives particular support to girls in articulating the problems they confront and the range of solutions.

Teachers were asked how well they thought their school supported girls' education. Their responses were very similar to those of girls, with 81% thinking their school supports girls' education well or very well. Teachers in schools with the lowest gender profile scores tended to think that their school supported girls' education well, although this was not borne out by other data, while teachers in schools with higher gender profile scores appeared more realistic in their assumptions. This suggests that the highest performing schools for girls employ teachers who are more aware of acceptable standards and able

to critique school quality. It is notable that large proportions of teachers in the lowest performing schools consider their schools to be supporting girls' education well, and more work could be done in these schools to facilitate teachers' understanding of education rights and school conditions and how they relate to positive outcomes for girls.

**Key finding: Teachers improved levels of training are not translating into higher attainment for girls in all schools. Teacher training alone will not improve girls' access, attendance and progression. However, better trained teachers (through pre-service and in service training) are associated with girls speaking out more about obstacles to completing their education and possible solutions. The presence of female teachers, without these teachers having adequate training and support, is not necessarily associated with better educational attainment for girls.**

**Recommendation:** Advocate for all teachers to have NCE or higher and continuous good quality in service training and professional development in schools that promote rights through the commitments and actions of all stakeholders. Ensure plans for improving teacher qualifications are linked with policies and plans (developed by LGEAs, SBMCs, SUBEB) for developing whole school communities to take forward education rights. Advocate for more well-trained and supported female teachers in basic education level schools, possibly girls who live in rural areas being supported and trained for careers in teaching as being piloted in some states. Improve female teachers' capacity to be role models for girls.

### 3.5 School funding

It was only possible to collect a small amount of data on school funding from a few schools and it is therefore difficult to draw firm conclusions in relation to school finance. What is clear is that the proportion of schools charging levies to pupils, for what purpose and how much is charged, varies a lot between states (Table 13),Despite advocacy and policies to remove and prohibit fees and levies, as stipulated by the UBE Act, across the country, levies and fees is still charged across most states in Nigeria. Levies charged appear to be much higher in Plateau than other states, which may be related to the perceived or actual poverty levels in the areas in which the schools are located. Levies charged are higher overall at JSS level. It is important to note that some TEGIN schools in various states do not charge fees, as a result of the UBE Act.

**Table 13: Primary schools in which TEGINT is working: average levies charged per school by state (Naira)**

| | % | Levies charge (Naira) | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Charge fees or levies | School/ registration | PTA levy | Develop -ment levy | Sports levy | Health levy | Exam levy | Text books | Exercise books | Clubs & Societies |
| Bauchi | 50 | | 17 | 5 | | | 10 | | | |
| FCT | 50 | | | 50 | | | | | | |
| Gombe | 50 | 75 | 50 | | | 50 | | | | |
| Kaduna | 33 | 0 | 65 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 15 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Katsina | 50 | | 27 | | | | 5 | | | |
| Nasarawa | 100 | | 120 | | 50 | | | | | |
| Niger | 75 | | 50 | | | | | | | |
| Plateau | 100 | 0 | 683 | 10 | 7 | 0 | 150 | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Total | 58 | 30 | 158 | 15 | 14 | 13 | 58 | 7 | 0 | 0 |
| N | | 5 | 17 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 6 | 3 | 3 | 3 |

Table 14 considers the relationship between school levies and gender parity in girls' opportunities and outcomes at school. It appears that primary schools with lower gender profiles charge the most in levies.

**Table 14: Average levies charged (Naira) by gender profile band**

| School gender profile score band 2008 | Primary schools | | | JSS | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total levies charged | Mean number of pupils per school | Levies per pupil | Total levies charged | Mean number of pupils per school | Levies per pupil |
| Low | 545 | 451 | 1.21 | 633 | 825 | 0.77 |
| Medium | 40 | 1030 | 0.04 | 388 | 823 | 0.47 |
| High | 97 | 755 | 0.13 | 496 | 511 | 0.97 |
| Total | 170 | 835 | 0.20 | 525 | 770 | 0.68 |

The situation with regard to school levies in the schools in which TEGINT is working in Nigeria is slightly counter-intuitive as higher levies are charged in the schools in the lower gender profile band. In reflecting on the pattern in Nigeria implementing partners noted that SUBEB makes grants to the local government for text books, teacher materials and so on. This is meant to be based on the size of the school and needs of pupils. In reality however this may often not happen. In a highly politicised atmosphere, with widespread corruption, some schools inflate the number of pupils, and some schools receive more funds as a result of political patronage. It may be that schools in the higher gender profile band are schools attended by the children of better connected parents and this relative affluence and social capital reflects itself in more resources from government and less need to charge levies. Children whose parents are poorer in social capital are more likely to attend schools with lower gender profiles (which might explain why they are less likely to articulate demands about rights and obstacles to girls' education), and these parents, who are already poor, are being asked to pay high levies. When they cannot pay they keep their daughters out of school.

In the focus groups, drop out was associated with inability to pay fees and levies. Girls described feeling shame at being pointed at or beaten for not paying levies or having the correct equipment, and sometimes missing school or arriving late in an attempt to avoid humiliation. In FCT it was reported that many girls had to stop attending school because of a N300 levy on students by the PTA. One girl, interviewed for the qualitative study, said "The school demands for N340 my parents have nothing to give me, so I have to miss for some days within which I engaged in business to make-up the money". Her comment illustrates that it is sometimes not parents but girls themselves who struggle to find the money for levies.

**Key finding: Despite a legal framework, basic education is not free. Levies charged are contributing to girls not attending and progressing in school.**

**Recommendation:** Ensure zero tolerance for the imposition of school fees and levies. Advocate for more government funding to reach schools and that government makes regular periodic subventions to schools and that this is regularly monitored. Build skills in financial monitoring in SBMCs and enhance the capacity of SBMCs to raise additional funds outside levies.

### 3.6 School-based Management Committees and gender management profiles

There have been attempts to introduce forms of decentralised management in Nigeria since at least 2004, associated with GEP (Poulsen, 2009). In all the schools in which the project was working there was either a PTA or a SBMC, and in some cases both in parallel. However, SBMCs are widely reported to be non-functional, existing on paper only.

PTAs and (to an even great extent) SBMCs are overwhelmingly male dominated, with no women on any SBMC in schools in which TEGINT works in Kaduna and Niger. There is not a clear relationship between proportion of women on SBMCs and PTAs and gender parity in opportunities and outcomes at school, although there does seem to be slightly higher female participation in SBMCs in better performing schools.

**Table 15: Gender composition of PTAs and SBMCs by state and school gender profile**

| State | PTA | SMBC | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bauchi | 0.28 | | 0.28 |
| FCT | 0.36 | 0.36 | 0.36 |
| Gombe | 0.32 | 0.38 | 0.33 |
| Kaduna | 0.57 | 0.00 | 0.16 |
| Katsina | 0.17 | 0.23 | 0.19 |
| Nasarawa | 0.53 | | 0.53 |
| Niger | 0.35 | 0.00 | 0.36 |
| Plateau | 0.50 | | 0.41 |
| All | 0.52 | 0.03 | 0.25 |
| **School gender profile:** | | | |
| Below average | | | 0.39 |
| Average | | | 0.26 |
| Above average | | | 0.51 |

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Head teachers and SBMC members were asked how well they thought their school supported the education of girls. Head teachers were overwhelmingly positive, with 86% saying well or very well. Their views were quite similar to those of teachers and girls. School committee members were almost evenly split by opinion. These views are troubling: more than two-thirds of head teachers in charge of the bottom third of schools in terms of gender parity rated their schools positively (Table 16). SBMC members are more likely to rate positively in poor performing schools and more likely to rate negatively in better performing schools. It may be that members in better schools are more critical and aware of the need to improve standards, but the lack of awareness of those managing low performing schools is a concern. These tables suggest that head teachers and school committees have very little hard data on which to base their understanding of whether girls are or are not attending, progressing or achieving well at their school. This suggests the significance of working with school management to make them aware of techniques like gender profiling, and building insight into both the nature of and remedies for particular features of gender inequality.

**Table16: Head teachers' views on school quality compared with actual school gender profile performance**

| | By school gender profile | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Below | Average | Above | Total |
| Above average (very well or well ) | 69 | 83 | 76 | 45 |
| Average | 23 | 8 | 24 | 19 |
| Below average (poorly) | 8 | 8 | 0 | 5 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

A minority of school committee members have received training (Table 17). Whilst around one in six has had some HIV and gender training, very small proportions had received training in other areas of management, finance, Education For All (EFA) EFA and reproductive health. This suggests an unmet need, as school committees struggle to keep financial records and weaknesses in management are observed (Willaims, 2010). Most types of training are more likely to take place in low gender profile schools, except HIV and AIDS training, which is more likely to take place in high gender profile schools. Parents are more likely to be trained in the schools with higher gender profile scores. Considering the importance girls place on household related obstacles to their education this relationship suggests that outreach with parents may be working and is an important strategy. Important to note is that no training for parents was reported in Gombe, Katsina, Niger and FCT. Considering the factors that militate against girls' education in these states a focus on this here seems imperative.

**Table17: School board workshops for members, by school gender profile**

| | % mentioned, by gender profile | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Low | Medium | High | Total |
| HIV/AIDS | 0 | 16 | 21 | 14 |
| Gender | 15 | 21 | 16 | 18 |
| School management | 0 | 5 | 0 | 2 |
| MDGs/EFA | 8 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Reproductive health | 8 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Budget tracking | 8 | 0 | 5 | 4 |
| Resource mobilisation | 15 | 0 | 5 | 6 |

Head teachers were asked whether there had been any cases of violence reported in their schools, and if so whether action was taken and what sort. Very few head teachers admitting to any violence occurring (5 in 72 schools) despite widescale reports of physical punishment and sexual harassment at school by girls in the qualitative study. These silences by those in positions of authority are corroborated in other studies (e.g. Parkes and Heslop 2011) and may well be related to increased awareness that physical punishment in school is viewed as illegitimate. . However, 8% of head teachers agreed that sexual harassment or violence in school was a barrier to girls attending, suggesting that some head teachers are willing to acknowledge and discuss violence. Of the five head teachers admitting cases of violence, all of them said that action had been taken. Actions included physical punishment of the perpetrator and improving security. None mentioned more formal responses, such as reporting through school committees or community leaders or suspending a staff member.

According to the focus group discussions physical punishment is entrenched in the schools in which the project is working (and often connected to poverty, for example in response to non-payment of fees and lack of uniform or books), and parents and girls complained about this occurring but appeared powerless to stop it. Parents expressed frustration about the lack of action taken against perpetrators of gender violence, and some resorted to going through community structures as they felt schools to be unresponsive. A number of girls told stories about themselves or their friends being inappropriately touched, beaten or raped in their schools and communities. These anecdotes suggest the schools are under-reporting and under-concerned with gender-based violence.

Sexual harassment and violence were reported in FGDs in all schools in FCT and Niger state but there were no or little reported cases of sexual violence in Katsina, Kaduna and Bauchi. The strict Islamic code of behaviour may account for the low level

of reporting. School girls were reportedly lured into exchanging sexual activities to raise money for school, family and personal use. Hostility was expressed by many men and boys to girls being at school, connecting it with girls engaging in transactional sex, losing their religion or becoming too Westernised. A father interviewed in Bauchi said, 'you send a girl to school without pocket money, you are indirectly telling her to go to her boyfriend to collect.' This hostile perception regarding girls and their sexuality was associated with what were seen as rational decisions by poor parents, who refused to enrol their daughters or withdrew them from school. Meanwhile some girls who are at school may have little choice but to engage in sex in order to remain in school and achieve their goals. Hence many girls who are forced or coerced into sex may be blamed for a rape occurring, which may partially explain the lack of effective action taken when violence occurs.

Data collected for the baseline study from numerous sources were brought together in order to create a summary variable for school management performance on girls' education. Management performance on girls' education is conceptualised as comprising elements such as: provision of training and information for teachers, parents and pupils on issues including gender, HIV/AIDS, reproductive health and educational management; involvement with political campaigning organisations; outreach activities to help the most disadvantaged and socially excluded families; and the mobilisation of pupils and staff in order to promote community development. Schools were then ranked and grouped into three bands of equal size in the same way as school gender profile scores were: 1) below average performance; 2) average performance; and 3) above average performance.

Distribution of school management profiles by state (Table 18) shows that Nasarawa in particular has very high proactivity in terms of school management, whilst Plateau has the lowest level of action. Low levels of action in Plateau (lower than Gombe and Bauchi) are quite surprising considering the relative advantage of that state. Overall, schools are more mobilised around school management for girls' education in urban areas.

**Table 18: School management profiles, by state and urban-rural characteristic**

| | School management profile | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Below average % | Average % | Above average % | Total % |
| **Bauchi** | 25 | 33 | 42 | 100 |
| **FCT** | 25 | 25 | 50 | 100 |
| **Gombe** | 58 | 25 | 17 | 100 |
| **Kaduna** | 17 | 8 | 75 | 100 |
| **Katsina** | 54 | 31 | 15 | 100 |
| **Nasarawa** | 0 | 0 | 100 | 100 |
| **Niger** | 38 | 38 | 25 | 100 |
| **Plateau** | 88 | 14 | 0 | 100 |
| **Urban/rural** | | | | |
| **Urban** | 30 | 20 | 50 | 100 |
| **Rural** | 47 | 22 | 31 | 100 |

Table 19 examines the relationship between action on girls' education as expressed in the school's gender management profile and girls' opportunities and outcomes as expressed in the gender profile. The distributions suggest no very clear relationship between what an SBMC/PTA did and who its membership was and girls' enrolment and achievement at school.

We also looked at whether women participate in decisions about children's education, such a school fees, content of education or whether and where to send children to school. Again, there was little relationship between gender profile scores. This suggests there is at present little clear evidence regarding the learning question for TEGINT on working strategically at local level with different groups to take forward initiatives on girls' education. This will merit further investigation.

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**Table 19: School gender profile score by gender management profile**

| | Gender profile score | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **School management profile score** | **Low** | **Medium** | **High** | **Total** |
| **Low** | **29** | **43** | **33** | **35** |
| **Medium** | **29** | **19** | **29** | **25** |
| **High** | **43** | **38** | **38** | **40** |
| | **100** | **100** | **100** | **100** |

Although much training and activities have taken place, this may be un-coordinated and not strategic, because the baseline data suggests no clear relationship between the kinds of activities taking place with school committees and improved gender profiles. This might be because the causes of lack of gender parity in enrolment and attainment lie largely beyond the power of school committees to change, but it also suggests the need for school committees to look more carefully and strategically at how they work, how they involve women, and particularly how they can help to break the silences and taken for granted sexism associated with the many instances of gender based-violence reported.

Key finding: SBMCs/PTAs are not well informed to support children's attainment and respond to issues of concern to girls. They do not have enough female members and do not understand girls' particular experiences. Multiple forms of violence are reported, which SBMCs do not have the capacity to monitor and act upon. The policy framework that mentions violence in schools is not known at local levels and parents and teachers have limited understanding of the causes and effects of violence.

Recommendation: Work with SBMCs to identify active and qualified women who can be SBMC members. Develop SBMC members' capacity to monitor pupils' attendance and progression, the quality of teaching, and review responses to violence against children. Ensure full and active children's participation in SBMCs. Develop women's circles linked to SBMCs and make space for pupils to raise issues with SBMCs. Discuss teacher code of ethics with teachers and teacher unions and ways to ensure its implementation in each school.

### 3.7 Gender and generation

When girls' views on the obstacles they envisage in their education and how to overcome these are set alongside those of adults (with some responsibility for their schooling at community level), at first glance there does seem to be some alignment, particularly in the recognition of poverty and the opportunity cost of education (Table 20). However, in the qualitative interviews girls' often talked in terms of the real costs (including fees, levies, books, uniform) of education as a barrier, whilst only about half of members of SBMCs mentioned these, suggesting that many of those responsible for setting levies are unaware of the effect they have on girls. We have little information on what the particular health related concerns of girls are, but this seems to be an important obstacle for many girls, and this is not recognised by the majority of people in leadership and management roles. In contrast, leaders prioritised household chores as one of the greatest barriers, whilst girls tended not. This disconnect may reflect low levels of training for school managers, for example in EFA and gender.

PHOTO: CHRIS MORGAN/GCE/ACTIONAID

**Table 20: Stakeholders' most commonly cited reasons that girls do not attend school**

| Girls | Head teachers | SMCs | Village chair |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Poverty | 1. Required to work at home | 1. Income earning, contribution to family work | 1. Household chores |
| 2. Ill health | 2. Early marriage | 2. Work in the home | 2. Hawking |
| 3. Early marriage | 3. Required to work outside home | 3. Parents see educating sons as more important | 3. Family reasons |

How well do views of different groups (girls, teachers head teachers and SBMCs) align in terms of how well their school performs on gender parity and support for girls' attainment? In Bauchi, Kaduna, and Plateau in a minority of schools there was some variation of views, but in the majority of schools there was little variation. Views were greatly over-optimistic by all groups. It can be argued that school management, teachers, and head teachers have little data on which to assess the work they do to support girls' education or to understand levels of progression, dropout and attainment. While it may be unlikely that girls themselves would criticise their schools, it is clear they have many ideas about ways to change the obstacles they encounter and that their views are out of step with those of SBMCs, who do not appear to pay enough attention to the effects of school fees and levies on the inability of girls to attend school.

**Key finding: There are troubling silences and lack of understanding by some teachers, SBMCs, village heads and parents of the levels of violence girls are exposed to and the effects of poverty on children's schooling. Girls advocate for deepening parental understanding. Teachers in some schools are not aware enough that the school could do more to support children's education.**

**Recommendation:** Build capacity of parents and SBMCs to listen more to girls using participatory methodologies such as Reflect. Encourage schools to have an open process (e.g. report back day to community) so communities can see how their schools operate. Hold a multi-stakeholder consultation on violence and children to inform the development of policy and improve practice.

# 4. Conclusion

**The data from the baseline study suggests that TEGINT is working in complex local environments and that the picture of girls' education is different in particular locations. However, girls identify a number of key obstacles they encounter, and the support given by the school to learning and teaching, progression and exam performance may be an important aspect of helping girls to be clearer about these obstacles and what to do about them.**

There appear to be important links between girls' attainment and capacity to reflect with teachers' qualifications and in-service training. There also appears to be an association with training of parents and girls' outcomes, suggesting this may be a key focus area. Both areas need further investigation, as do the form of levies charged, and the effects of how schools have worked on aspects of HIV.

Several problems were identified with school committees: a lack of training for many, lack of capacity to monitor administrative records, and very few women - both on the committees and involved in making decisions on issues such as school fees or the content of education. The work of the school committees did not seem to have major effects on girls' outcomes, but this may be partly because many are dysfunctional and when action does take place it may not be strategic or take into account the needs and rights of girls. The relationship between girls' aspiration and understanding of change and processes associated with school organisation and management is a key area for further research and action.

There were concerning levels of violence reported and little knowledge by school communities, girls or their parents about what steps to take. There appeared to be some association between gender-based violence and the imposition of school fees, as some girls reported being forced to engage in transactional sex for school fees. While early marriage was mentioned by all groups as a matter of concern, more needs to be known about how and why this is practised, and what it tells us about gender relations and schooling.

The study confirms the importance of further investigation into working in a sustained and strategic way at multiple levels with teachers, parents, Village Chairs, school committees, communities and girls themselves to transform the education of girls. It highlights the importance of looking at both in-school and out-of-school factors to bring about significant change for gender equality.

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