# IMPACT OF COST RECOVERY ON QUALITY, ACCESS AND UTILIZATION OF EDUCATION SERVICES

TECHNICAL REPORT OF AN INVESTIGATIVE PAN-AFRICAN STUDY [Nigerian Component]

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#### LIST OF ACRONYMS

CASSAD - Centre for African Settlement Studies and Development.

FGD - Focus Group Discussion

FGN - Federal Government of Nigeria FOS - Federal Office of Statistics

GER - Gross Enrolment Ratio

IDRC - International Development Research Centre

KII - Key Informants Interview
LGA \* - Local Government Authority

MC - Multiple Indicators Country Survey

NAR - Net Attendance Ratio

NC - North-Central NE - North-East

NER - Net Enrolment Ratio

NW - North-West

PTA - Parents Teachers Association
SAP - Structural Adjustment Programme

SC - School Certificate
SE - South-East
SS - South-South

SSCE - Senior School Certificate Examinations

SW - South-West

UNDP - United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO - United Nations Education, Social and Cultural

Organization

WASC - United Nations Children's Fund
West African Examination Council
WASC - West African School Certificate

#### **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

Between April 2000 and August 2002, CASSAD carried out a study on the impact of cost recovery (user fee charges) on education delivery services in Nigeria. The study was part of a Pan African Study which covered Ghana, Uganda and Nigeria.

### **Study Objectives**

The general objective of the study was to evaluate the impact of cost recovery as an aspect of education policy reform in Nigeria. The study characterized the contents and the direction of the policy and evaluated the extent to which the user fee concept has impacted negatively or positively on access, quality and utilization of education services and established how the impact varied by gender, socio-economic status and geographical regions in the country. The study also characterized and evaluated ability and willingness to pay and the coping strategies adopted by the people.

#### Methodology

The study utilized qualitative and quantitative data obtained through household surveys, key informant interviews, focus group discussions and case studies of selected educational institutions, ensuring the inclusion of the broad geopolitical areas of the country, namely, (the northern, western and eastern parts of Nigeria) South-West (SW), South-South (SS), South-East (SE), North-East (NE), North-Central (NC) and North-West (NW).

#### **Findings**

### 1. State of Record Keeping

The Ministries of Education and the individual schools in Nigeria did not keep the kinds and quality of records needed for systematic and reliable assessment of performance and effectiveness.

#### 2. The Contents of Education Policy Reform

Cost recovery in education, as a policy, became more prominent in Nigeria after 1986 and was implemented in all States, although there were variations in their contents and magnitude. Essentially, the policy was designed to ensure that government and the parents/wards were partners in cost sharing: the former to provide basic infrastructural facilities, equipment and staff salaries, while the latter were to contribute by way of fees and levies. Roughly or conceptually, the broad targets were set - 70 per cent contribution by government and 30 per cent by parents and wards.

#### 3. Direction in Policy Implementation

The study showed that there were variations among the States in the contents of the education policy before 1985 and between 1985 and 1999. There were also abuses in the implementation of the policy. Among the items for which user fees were charged in the different institutions were development, library, laboratory and school bus. Governments did not officially authorize some of the levies but, in most cases, closed their eyes to them.

#### 4. Impact of the Policy Reform

#### (a) Funding

In all the States selected for the study, the level of funding by the State governments declined in real terms in the post-1986 period. In some States, the level was as low as 3 per cent of the total budget; in terms of the time value of money, the education budget actually declined by between 200-500 per cent in the period 1985 to 1999.

#### (b) Access to Education Services

Access to education was captured by enrolment (Gross and Net Enrolment Ratios - (GER) and (NER), attendance (Net Attendance Ratio (NAR) and ease of accessibility to schools within the community. The following results were obtained:

- (i) With reference to access to education services, there was a sharp decline in the primary school GER, from 82 per cent in 1985 to 68 per cent in 1990.

  Government's effort to reverse the decline resulted in a recovery in the GER, reaching 86 per cent in 1993. However, the efforts faltered and by 1996 the GER had slumped to 70 per cent.
- (ii) Sixty-four per cent of primary school age children were in school in 1995, but this declined to 55 per cent in 1999, with the males having a slightly higher figure of 57 per cent than girls, with 53 per cent. In the SE and SS zones, enrolment was higher for girls than for boys.
- (iii) The pattern of enrolment in the universities was quite different, with a steady rise, perhaps because the universities did not operate cost recovery during the period under review.
- (iv) There were major geographical disparities in access to primary education, with the rural areas at a greater disadvantage compared with the urban areas; and the North worse off than the South.
- (v) The transition rate from primary to the junior secondary was, on the average, lower during the cost recovery years, though differing across geopolitical zones.
- (vi) There was evidence of declining access to quality education and there was no statistically significant difference observed between males and females, or across socio-economic strata, in terms of their proximity to school.

#### (c) Utilization of Education Services

The utilization of educational services was captured with reference to level of patronage, dropout rates/net attendant ratios, and attrition rates from primary to secondary and from secondary to tertiary.

In absolute terms, the enrolment in public schools in the post-cost recovery period was higher than in the pre-cost recovery era. However, the utilization of public schools in all the regions declined in the post-cost recovery era as compared with the pre-cost recovery era.

#### (d) Quality of Education

Quality of education was measured using six indicators, namely: students' performance, quality of teaching, adequacy of language and mathematics teachers, recreational facilities, laboratory facilities, library facilities and availability of teaching aids. The following patterns emerged:

- (i) All the primary and secondary schools selected for the study across the nation were in a state of progressive decline, in terms of the quality of education services, facilities and infrastructure.
- (ii) There was a marked shortfall in staffing as well as decline in the quality of classrooms, laboratories, workshops and libraries, leading to poor delivery of education services and poor student performance, especially in key subjects. In other words, payment of user fees did not translate into improved physical quality.
- (iii) Quality of education was found to be generally lower during the post than the pre-cost recovery period. Students' performance in key subjects English and Mathematics as well as in number of credits earned in the West African Examinations Council (WAEC) 'O' level examination in the six geopolitical zones worsened. Quality of teaching was

- (v) At all levels of the education system, during the cost recovery era, a higher percentage of pupils was unable to complete school. This high dropout rate contributed to the high incidence of street children and street hawkers, with all the attendant social problems.
- (vi) The dropout rate was higher for males than for females at all levels of the education system.

#### (f) Willingness to Pay

At both the primary and secondary school levels, about 50 per cent of the people were willing to pay for education, if they were sure of the quality of the education been received by their children.

- 5. Education Seeking Behaviour and Coping Strategies
- (i) In order to ensure attendance at school, parents spent extra money on transportation costs for their children to and from school. Those who could not afford encouraged their children to trek long distances to and from school.
- (ii) The long distance trekked to school, especially in rural areas, contributed very significantly to the pre-mature withdrawal of pupils from primary and secondary schools.
- (iii) In order to ensure that students received what parents considered quality education, parents and guardians, in most communities, formed themselves into Parents Teachers Associations (PTAs) which employed teachers in critical subjects (English, Mathematics and the Sciences). Levies were imposed by the PTAs on all the pupils/students in the schools. A significant proportion of the parents also employed private teachers to teach their children after school. Some sent their children to evening and/or extramural classes. Those who could not afford such supplementary education services found their children

performing poorly or withdrawing without completing their schooling.

- (iv) There was a significant increase in the proportion of parents who withdrew their children from public to private schools, where, though the fees were relatively higher, qualitative education could be assured.
- (v) In terms of coping strategies, top on the list of the strategies mentioned were: borrowing; reduction in household spending on other services; taking on multiple jobs; reducing responsibility to the extended family; sale of domestic properties, e.g. land; and premature sale of crops. Parents in the SS, SW and SE were more disposed to adopting the above coping strategies in order to send their children to school than parents in the NC, NE and NW. This probably explains the gap between the northern and the southern parts of this country in terms of level of literacy.

#### 6. General Conclusions

- (i) The introduction of user fees in the educational sector has resulted in a radical change in the attitude of Nigerians to education. The changes were both institutional and systemic.
- (ii) At the systemic level, introduction of user fees disrupted the traditional and age-long view of education as a means to an end. The people started to re-evaluate the cost and value of education, for some, education became a desire and not an absolutely necessary ambition; for others, the quality of education received became secondary.
- (iii) At the institutional level, educational activities became more disrupted and unstable. Teachers abandoned, or could not perform, most of their traditional functions of enforcing discipline and introducing morals to the children.

- (iv) Attendance at school became unstable, thus complicating the enforcement of school rules of attendance in classes. With several instances of temporary withdrawals from schools, threats of suspension or expulsion from school, among others, became ineffective.
- (v) In the larger society, people began to question not only the quality of education but also the functional utility of education. Unemployment became more acute, leading to disruption in the overall social, political and economic system.

#### 7. Recommendations

There is need to modify the implementation of the user fee policy to ensure:

- transparency and accountability;
- improved quality of education through a more generous allocation of the State budget to education and by ensuring that the amount received from user fee is used judiciously to improve the quality of the services delivered;
- meaningful involvement of the parents in the management and funding of the institutions; and
- sensitizing the public that qualitative education requires cost sharing between the government and the end users.

#### **CHAPTER ONE**

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# THE INTRODUCTION OF USER FEES IN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN NIGERIA

A s part of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), many African countries adopted the policy of cost recovery (incremental privatization) in the delivery of education services. The critical question to which there has been no satisfactory answer is: what have been the achievements and limitations of this policy?

In order to proffer an answer to this question, a research project, funded by the International Development and Research Centre (IDRC), Canada, was carried out to evaluate the impact of user fees on education in Nigeria. This monograph summarizes the findings of the study.

#### Background to the Introduction of Cost Recovery in Education

The worsening economic situation in the mid-80s led to the introduction of SAP, in compliance with the recommendation of the World Bank, which conceived the policy as the panacea to the economic problem facing Africa. In this regard, Nigeria introduced a number of social policy reforms, including structural changes in the mode of delivery of education and in the other areas such as health, waste management, security, provision of infrastructure, etc. (World Bank, 1989) (Box 1.1).

One key thrust of the policy change is *privatization*, which is in two forms:

- Programmed privatization which emphasizes the private sector delivery of services, whereby the users have to pay market rates for services enjoyed; and
- Incremental privatization of delivery of public sector services in a way that recognizes the role of the users in paying fees to access the public services so that the cost of providing such services can be recovered in part or in whole. This approach is referred to as cost recovery or cost sharing.

#### BOX 1.1

# THE ANTECEDENT TO THE COST RECOVERY POLICY

- Structural Adjustment Programme -SAP was the major import behind the introduction of user fee/cost recovery in education.
- Budget reduction to education (part of the conditionality of SAP)
  made it imperative for government to introduce cost recovery
  policy in education.
- Cost recovery in education refers to a system whereby government recovers in part or in whole; the cost of funding education through user-fee charges.
- User-fee ensures that consumers of education (parents and students) pay some amount before being able to access education.
- The basic assumptions therefore are that with user fees
  - Government will spend less on education
  - Consumers will incrementally bear part of the cost of providing education services
  - Quality of education (in all ramification) will improve.
- The need for an empirical perspective to these assumptions prompted the study that led to the workshop.

Before the oil boom, payment for education services at all levels was the norm in most of the States in Nigeria. Students paid token fees at the primary school level and relatively substantial fees at the secondary school and at higher institution (polytechnic and university) levels. However, with the oil boom in the early 1970s,

fees were abolished in most of the States of the federation, especially for primary and secondary level education. Similarly, at the university level, the federal government, which used to own all the institutions, waived payment of tuition fees and charged only a token amount for accommodation. The economic situation in the mid 1980s made this policy unsustainable, occasioning the cost-recovery policy.

Apart from payment of school fees, examination fees, Parents/Teachers Association levies, school development levies, etc., were introduced at the primary and secondary school levels. Thus, the fees charged for the conduct of examination increased by more than 400 per cent, while school fees rose by as much as 600 per cent in some parts of the country. State universities, in fact, started with tuition fees as well as operated off campus systems, to cut cost and ensure viability.

The application of the cost-recovery policy has been studied extensively, as shown by Jimonez (1987); Okojie, et al., (1996) and Korboe, (1995). However, there are gaps to fill (Box 1.2). Among these are:

- (i) the impact of the policy on quality of education services as perceived by the people;
- (ii) coping mechanism and alternative strategies adopted by the people to mitigate the impact of the education policy reform;
- the extent to which the coping/alternative strategies are effective in meeting the education needs of the people, especially the low income families; and
- (iv) the impact of user fees on household expenditure pattern.

Other research issues are contained in Box 1.2 while the specific study goals and objectives are shown in Box 1.3.

#### **BOX 1.2**

#### EDUCATION POLICY REFORM: THE RESEARCH ISSUES

- Comparison of the specific contents of the education policy reform in the six geopolitical zones of the country.
- Analysis of revenue generated, that is, analysis of income inflow from cost-sharing policy.
- 3. Impact analysis on:
  - (i) the rise in the share of cost borne by households
  - (ii) the retention of the pupils/ students in the school system
  - (iii) the capacity of the people to access quality education
  - (iv) the male/female composition in the schools
  - (v) growth in enrolment in public schools among children of school going age
  - (vi) the proportion of household incomes that are devoted to the provision of education
  - (vii) attrition rates from primary to junior secondary, and from junior secondary to senior secondary, and from senior secondary to tertiary, as may be due to the imposition of user fees.
- Coping mechanism/strategies adopted, that is, analysis of education seeking behaviour
- Gender, socio-economic and regional variations of impact and coping mechanism.
- 6. Comparison of the six geopolitical zones of the country in terms of similarity and differences in impact
- 7. National direction for education policy reforms in the new millennium.

#### BOX 1.3 SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES

- Ascertain the content of the education and health policy reforms with a view to providing an understanding of what the reform is expected to achieve.
- Evaluate the impact of cost recovery on quality, access and utilization of education and health services on the low-income families.
- Assess the impact of the user-fee on people's perceived quality of education services and how the perception has influenced their ability and willingness to pay for the services.
- Assess how the impact and the response to the impact vary according to gender and geo-political zones in Nigeria.

#### Methodology

Data for the study came from several sources (Box 1.4), including:

(i) Household survey of 2,100 heads of households selected by stratified random sampling technique from 6 urban communities and 6 rural communities in 6 States in Nigeria – one State from each of the six geo-political zones of Nigeria (Box 1.5).

# BOX 1.4 METHODOLOGY- 11 Components

- (a) Pre-Project Proposal Activities
- (b) The Study Design
- (c) National Workshop to harmonize experts' views
- (d) Pre-Test of Instruments
- (e) Field Work Collection of Primary and Secondary Data
- (f) Analysis of Data
- (g) Preparation of Draft Report
- (h) National Workshop to discuss and disseminate findings
- (i) Preparation of Final (Revised) Report
- (j) Preparation and Circulation of Policy Paper

(ii) Secondary data were collected from key ministries and institutions (Box 1.6).

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(iii) Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were held (using a structured FGD guide) with 10 different groups (both male and female) in each State, making a total of 60 FGDs.

(iv) An average of 20 key informants (community

#### BOX 1.5

#### STUDY SCOPE

One State was selected from each Geo-political zone in Nigeria.

Zones	Selected States
South - South	Cross River
South - West	Oyo
South - East	Enugu -
North - Central	Plateau
North - West	Kaduna
North - East	Borno

leaders, service operators and civil servants) were interviewed in each State (Box 1.6).

#### BOX 1.6

#### SECONDARY DATA

- Secondary information was collected from:
- Facility surveys (public)
  - Institutional surveys (Ministries, Schools and Colleges).
- Federal Office of Statistics (FOS)
  - Facility surveys shed more light on the quality and quantity of facilities in the various education services providing institutions.
  - The institutional surveys identified documents, reports, monographs, and books that deal with cost, recovery issues.

- (v) Twelve educational institutions were selected from each of the six States for in- depth case study of the trend shown by quality of services before and since the introduction of user fees.
- (vi) A two-day consultation and dissemination workshop was held at the end of the study to subject the draft report to critical analysis and to disseminate information. Key stakeholders in the education sectors participated in the workshop (Box 1.7)

The results of the study are summarized in the accompanying chapters.

#### BOX 1.7

# PARTICIPANTS INVITED TO THE DISSEMINATION WORKSHOP

- Representatives from the Senate House Committee on Education
- Representative of Federal Ministry of Education
- Representative of Federal Ministry of Finance
- Representatives of the six sampled States Ministries of Education
- Representatives of Non-Governmental Organizations
- Journalists and Pressmen.
- The Research Team
  - Administrators

#### **CHAPTER TWO**

### IMPACT OF USER FEES ON ACCESS, UTILIZATION AND QUALITY OF EDUCATION

#### User Fee Policy and Its Implementation

Ost recovery in education, as a policy, was re-introduced nation-wide in Nigeria, as stated in Chapter One, in 1986, although there were variations in the contents and magnitude in different areas of the country. Essentially, the policy was designed to ensure that the government and the parents/guardians became partners in funding education: the former to provide basic infrastructural facilities, equipment and staff salaries; while the latter contribute by way of fees and levies. Quantitatively, the target

was 70 per cent for government and 30 per cent for parents/wards (Box 2.1). The following emerged from the study:

(1) It was surprising to that discover specific structures were prescribed for implementation of the policy by the The government. items on which fees were charged were. generally however, agreed include to

#### **BOX 2.1**

# DIRECTION OF EDUCATION POLICY REFORMS

- Role of Government:
  - Provide basic facilities like classrooms, workshops, etc.
  - Provide basic equipment for use in schools
  - Pay basic salaries and emoluments of both teaching and non-teaching staff
  - Overall, to bear 70% of the cost of funding education.
- Parents:
  - Bear about 30% of the cost of provision of education services in form of fees.

development, library, laboratory and school bus levies, payment for small items such as toilet roll, soap and so on. At many of the Focus Group Discussion (FGD) sessions, the respondents stated that fees and levies were called by several names:

We have PTA levy, soap money, toilet roll levy; money for work, etc. If a child does not pay, he will be sent out of school, or he will not take exams., or will not be given report card - Female FGD session, Oyo State.

These fees and levies are too much. There is nothing that we don't pay for in the schools. We even pay for broom, blackboard, etc. - Female FGD session, Kaduna State.

Paying fees is not good for us because the charges are too much. They charge our children for so many things such as laboratories, library and even toilet paper. We have never seen this type of thing before, and upon all we are paying, we parents have not seen the benefits. The head-teachers and teachers collect these levies for their own personal use - Male FGD session, Cross River State.

(2) The policy documents found in the States did not list out all the fees and levies to be charged, thus making it difficult to empirically assess the level of performance and extent of authenticity. Opinions of the consumers were also divided regarding the degree of government's endorsement, with some respondents absolving the government, as exemplified by the following respondents in Kaduna and Enugu States:

Not all the fees is what government normally tells them to charge us, they just do their own.

Kaduna State

There are lots of fees paid by the pupils which we'don't think government instructed them to collect.

Enugu State

However, other respondents believed that government could not claim ignorance of the fees and levies. Even in States, such as Oyo State, where free education policy has been implemented for decades, the popular opinion was that the schools devised various other ways to collect fees from students:

After all, don't these government officials have their children or relatives' children in the schools?

- Oyo State

The agents of government in the Local Education Authorities (LEAs) and in the ministries get their own cut back from the monies they make us suffer to pay. That is why they don't condemn the schools action.

- Enugu State

Sometimes, the fees are not completely visible, but they are collected in indirect ways, such as fixing artificial charges. For example, they might say children want to go and play ball and parents should contribute.

- Kaduna State

When you calculate all the miscellaneous expenses and charges, you find out that it is even better to pay a stated school fees in the primary and secondary schools which they say is free.

- Oyo State

Nothing is free; money is still extorted from the parents.
- Plateau State

The expectations of the government and parents tallied, to a large extent, on the subsidy provided by the parents and other consumers of education services. The following were some of the views expressed by key informants and FGD participants:

Actually, one of the reasons for introducing the cost recovery policy was to allow more children

to go to school, and also to make education easy for the people in Plateau state, and, indeed, I believe, in all the States of the Federal Republic of Nigeria;

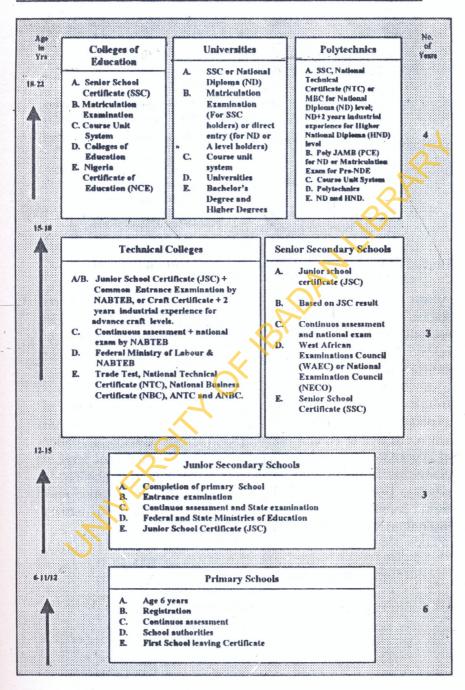
There would be improvement in quality of education being offered and, in turn, improvement in the quality of the products coming out of the nation's educational institutions.

Honestly, there is no significant change. We thought by paying the school fees and levies, things will improve. But no, there are no facilities in the schools.

#### Impact of Cost Recovery on Access to Education Services

Access to education was captured by Gross and Net Enrolment Ratios (GER and NER), Net Attendance Ratio (NAR), ease of accessibility to schools within the community and the number of schools available within the community. Fig. 2.1 shows the structure of the Nigerian education system.

In this study, therefore, physical access was measured in terms of availability of schools, proximity or ease of accessibility to the schools as well as enrolment ratio (Box 2.2). In addition, utilization of educational facilities/services was measured in terms of level of patronage; ability/inability of parents to pay for their children in schools; dropout rates/net attendant ratios (NAR) and attrition rates from primary to secondary and from secondary to tertiary institutions. The following pattern emerged:



Source: UNICEF (2001)

Non-Formal Education)

Fig. 2.1: Structure of the Nigerian Education System (Excluding Adult and

(a) There was sharp decline in the primary **GER** school from 82 per cent in 1985 to 68 per cent in 1990. Government's effort to reverse the decline resulted in recovery to 86

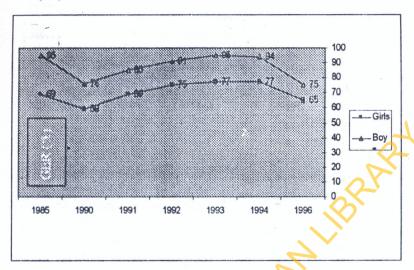
#### **BOX 2.2**

#### IMPACT ON ACCESS

- Captured by analyses of
  - Enrolment pattern
  - Patronage of schools
  - Proximity of schools/ accessibility

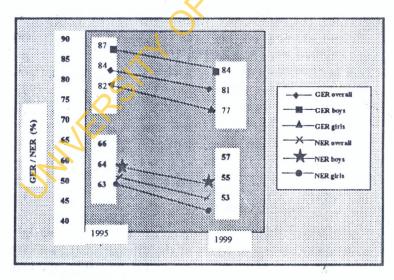
per cent in 1993. However, the efforts faltered soon afterwards such that by 1996 the GER had slumped to 70 per cent. In absolute terms, total primary enrolment fell from 16.2 million pupils in 1994 to 14.1 million pupils in 1996 (FGN/UNICEF/UNESCO/ UNDP, 2000).

- (b) For the Net Attendance Ratio (NAR) an indicator of attrition and drop out rate 64 per cent of primary school age children were in school in 1995, but declined to 55 per cent in 1999, with the males having a slightly higher figure of 57 per cent than females with 53 per cent [MICS, 1995; FGN/UNICEF, 1995; MICS, 1999; FOS/UNICEF, 2000] (Fig. 2.2). The NER, which was a finer measure of enrolment than the GER, showed a similar picture of progressive slide. Only 55 per cent of primary school age children were in schools in 1999 compared with 64 per cent in 1995 (Fig. 2.3).
- (c) Statistically, significant differences existed among the geographical zones in terms of the dropout rates, with the Northern States being much worse off than their southern counterparts. The NAR was almost three times higher in the South-West (81%) and the South-East (79%) than in the



Source: Comprehensive Education Analysis FGN/UNICEF/ UNESCO/UNDP, E-2000]

Fig. 2.2: Primary School Gross Envolment Ratio (Pupils enrolled as percentage of population aged 6-11).



Source: UNICEF, 2001

Fig 2.3: Primary School Gross Enrolment Ratio and Net Enrolment Ratio, 1995 & 1999

North-West (28%) and the North-East (39%). Some northern states (e.g. Sokoto, Kebbi) had primary school boys in the North-West (with an NAR gender ratio of 0.73). The South-East and North-East had gender ratios of 0.96 and 0.90, respectively.

(d) The decline in enrolment was steeper for girls than boys, indicating preference for boys at the expense of girls. Similarly, cost recovery impacted negatively at the secondary school level. Here, the girls were more severely affected in the Northern States, particularly in Katsina and Sokoto States in the North-West. In the South-East and South-South zones, however, enrolment was higher for girls than for boys; GER especially declined from 41 per cent in 1994 to 34 per cent in 1996. The pattern of enrolment in the Universities was quite different, with a steady rise.

As to rural/urban dimension, 53.3 per cent of respondents in urban low-income communities considered educational services highly accessible as against 40.9 per cent from the rural communities

- (e) The transition rate from primary to the junior secondary was, on the average, low during the cost recovery years but differed across geopolitical zones. After rising between 1990 and 1995, the Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) at the junior secondary level, as in the case of primary school level, started to decline. According to the Comprehensive Education Analysis, the GER peaked at 41 per cent in 1994, and fell to 34 per cent by 1996. Though actual figures were not available for years before the introduction of cost recovery, a steady decline in secondary school enrolment since 1987 was reported by interviewees.
- (f) Many more children accessed the junior secondary level during the period under consideration. The attrition or drop out rate at the intra secondary school level was also high,

with about 60 per cent of those who started the JS1 finishing up at the SS3 level.

- Using proximity to school as a measure of access, the (g) research revealed declining access over time (Tables 2.2 and 2.3). More pupils had to travel longer distances to school, not necessarily due to absence of schools (primary or secondary) close to where they lived, but in search of schools that they thought would meet their need better in terms of perceived quality of education and school environment. There was also evidence of increased level of dissatisfaction with public schools, leading to increased preference for private (fee-paying) schools, irrespective of the level of family income. With reference to rural-urban comparison, the urban centres had better access to public schools than the rural areas 53.3 per cent of the respondents in urban low-income communities considered educational services highly accessible as compared with 40.9 per cent for rural communities.
- (h) Since 1960, there has been a steady and fairly consistent increase in the number of tertiary institutions in Nigeria. By 2000, the total number of public universities stood at 45, with a student population of 345,581. Nevertheless, access to higher education remained restricted by both stringent eligibility requirements and intake quotas. Overall, the GER for higher education in Nigeria in 1998 stood at 6.1 per cent. This figure was almost three times higher than the figure for sub-Saharan Africa, but lower than the 9.6 per cent average for developing countries and 15.9 per cent for South Africa [UNESCO, 1999]. Gender disparity was particularly marked in the Science-based disciplines such as Engineering, Technology, Environmental Design and Veterinary Medicine.

#### Impact on Quality of Education Services

In the study, quality of education was measured using six indicators, namely: students' performance, quality of teaching, adequacy of teachers of English Language and Mathematics, recreational facilities, laboratory facilities, library facilities and availability of teaching aids. The findings are as follows:

#### (a) Overall Assessment of the Quality of Education

Quality of education was found to be generally low in the post cost-recovery era as compared with the pre cost-recovery era. Students' performance declined in the former period, as the quality of teaching as well as the availability of educational resources (adequacy of number of teachers, teaching aids, library and laboratory facilities) worsened (Box 2.3). Both male and temale respondents in both urban and rural level areas confirmed this situation.

# BOX 2.3 INDICATORS OF POOR EDUCATION QUALITY

- Basic structural facilities (classrooms, etc.) available but grossly inadequate, especially at the primary and secondary levels.
- Basic equipment in laboratories, etc.
   absent in many primary and secondary schools
   present but grossly inadequate at the tertiary level
- Salaries and Emolument for the period of study:
  - grossly inadequate highly irregular
- · Parents bore heavy burden
  - Paying up to between N5,000 and N7,500 at primary level and between N7,500 and N10,000 at secondary level
  - Paying for mundane things like toilet roll, soap, etc.
- Abuses crept in.

About 60 per cent of the respondents were of the opinion that the quality of education had declined, regardless of the indicator used for the assessment, while only about 20 per cent stated that the quality remained the same or improved after cost recovery (Table 2.1).

In a sense, therefore, cost recovery did not lead to any significant improvement in the quality of education; in fact the situation seems to be worse than before the introduction of user fees (Box 2.3 and Figs. 2.4 a-f).

Table 2.1: Respondents' Perception of Quality of Education

Aspects of Education	Level of Education Quality		
Quality	Same as	Declined	Improved
Students' performance	Before (%) 18.8	(%) 62.0	(%) 19.2
Quality of teaching	14.4	67.6	18.0
Adequacy of teachers for Mathematics & English	19.2	59.0	21.8
Recreational facilities	22.5	57.8	19.6
Laboratory facilities	22.5	57.8	19.6
Library Facilities	22.3	58.7	19.0
Availability of Teaching Aids	22.0	62.7	15.3

Source: Fieldwork 2001

Typical responses from parents are very illustrative of the declined quality of education following the introduction of user fees:

> Even after paying all these levies, a child cannot even write his/her name well. The teachers are not serious at teaching the children well. - FGD male, Borno State.

> Since we started paying fees, there has been no benefit. The children are nonentities; they do not know anything because the teachers don't settle down to teach them

- FGD female, Kaduna State

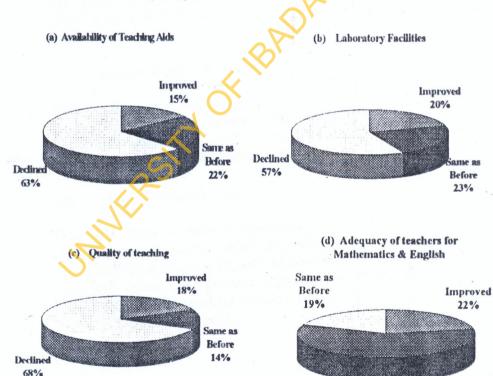
There is no improvement. When we were not paying fees, things were alright in schools. Our children were very sound and intelligent. Nowadays, they cannot even read simple stories. Things have gone bad

- FGD Female, Oyo State

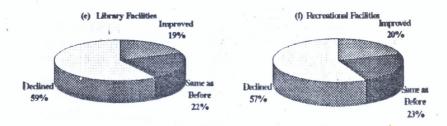
The quality of education is now very poor. For example, I stopped at standard 3 and I can read and write. My son who has finished SSCE cannot speak and write as well as I do. So, I become surprised about the kind of system we are running.

FGD male, Enugu state

Fig. 2.4 a-f: Some Indicators of Education Quality, as assessed by Respondents.



Declined 59%



Poor performance of students was also evident in the result of students in Mathematics and English Language since the early 1980s (Tables 2.2 and 2.3).

#### (b) Geopolitical Dimensions:

The quality of education was adjudged low by respondents in the different parts of the country, in spite of the introduction of user fees.

### (c) Gender Dimensions:

There were no statistically significant differences between male and female perceptions of quality, with 53.1 and 46.7 per cent respectively considering quality as poor, 24.3 and 23.2 per cent as fair and 42.4 and 30.1 per cent as good.

#### (d) Socio-Economic Status:

The data obtained showed significant differences in perception between the low and the middle socio-economic classes. Whereas the middle class recorded 15 per cent perception of good quality, the low class recorded 9.5 per cent. Similarly, while 49.5 per cent of the middle-class respondents recorded poor quality, the low-income families recorded 62.7 per cent.

#### (e) Rural/Urban Dimension:

Of the six indicators of assessment, only one - availability of teaching aids - was statistically significant with respect to the status of the community, with the record favouring those in the urban areas.

#### Quality of Educational Infrastructure and Resources

With reference to quality of school buildings and educational infrastructure, the research also revealed that the quality of physical infrastructure (of buildings, drainage, water and sanitation) went down in most of the educational institutions. Payment of user fees did not translate into improved physical quality, as aptly put by the respondents, from whom the following statements came:

Table 2.2: Students' Performance In Mathematics 1991-1998

	TOTAL	TOTAL	NUMBER AND		
	ENTRY	SAT	PERCENTAGES OBTAINING		
				CREDIT	
1991	299,338	294,079	32,727	115,240	146,112
	5	98.2%	11.1%	39.2%	49,7%
1992	366196	361,506	79.026	146.918	135,562
		98.7%	21.9%	40.6%	37.5%
1993	498775	491,755	53,559	211,813	226,383
		98.6%	10.9%	43.1%	46.0%
1994	526,525	518,118	83,192	215,108	200,262
		98.4%	16.1%	44.5%	44.4%
1995	466,971	462,273	76.080	185,931	270,202
		99.0%	16.5%	40.2%	43.3%
1996	519,656	514,342	51,587	190,899	272,356
		99.07%	10.01%	37.07%	52.90%
1997	612,841	616,923	47,252	161,526	408,145
		99.20%	7.65%	26.18%	66.16%
1998	640,624	635,686	70.858	159,000	390,962
		99.22%	11.14%	25.01%	61.50%

Source: Test division, West African Examinations Council (WAEC), Yaba, Lagos

#### On quality of schools:

If you look at the schools that are built, they are terrible. Before, the doors, windows and walls used to be well painted. But what do you see now? school buildings without windows and doors; just the frame works are present. The walls are not painted, no ceiling to the roofs and at times the roofs have been blown off.

FGD male, Cross River

Students don't have charts, posters on their walls, neither do they have specimens of plants and animals in their laboratories, nor do they have models of equipment that are too expensive or too heavy to be brought into the laboratories. Students learn in abstract. It is worse off at the tertiary level. Many of our doctors are certified to kill since they did not have enough practical apparatus during training. The same thing goes for other professions. We are only at the mercy of God.

- In-depth interview, Plateau State

#### On quality of teachers and teaching:

- (i) The teachers themselves are of poor quality. Some of them too cannot speak correct English. They are hawkers, bringing in wrappers, which they sell among themselves. A lot of them roam about during the school hours and the head teachers don't tell them anything.
  - FGD male Plateau State
- (ii) The teachers too are terribly substandard. Let me give you an example, there was a teacher who said 'we doesn't do that'. For Christ sake, that is a teacher teaching my son. If that kind of grammar comes from a teacher, what do you expect from the students? Go and read what they call comments after exams, you will feel like cutting off their heads. It is horrible. We are lucky that some of these private schools are trying. Rule the private schools out, and we have nothing.
  - In-depth interview, Oyo state.

Table 2.3: Students' Performance in English Language 'O' Level at the SC/SSC Examinations for Nigeria 1982 - 1986 & 1990 - 1998

* ·		TOTAL	NUMBER AND PERCENTAGES		
YEAR	TOTAL	FOR ENG.	OBTAINING GRADES 1-9		
	ENTRY	LANG	A1-C6	P7-P8	F9
1982	299,839	297,921	23,654	59,345	214.443
		99.36%	7.94%	19.92%	71.98%
1983	355,767	355,695	35,427	82,841	233.869
		98.80%	9.96%	23.29%	65.75%
1984	401,214	398,767	57,781	10,539	237,984
		99.39%	14.49%	26.43%	59.68%
1985	465,990	463,567	23,827	57,250	382,442
		99.48%	5.14%	12.35%	82.50%
1986	537,509	536,811	60,069	83,742	392,999
		99.87%	11.19%	15.60%	73.21%
1990	203,627	202,854	12,800	43,735	146,278
		99.62%	6.31%	21.56%	72.11%
1991	299,323	294,568	29,946	61,016	203,606
		98.40%	10.1%	20.7%	69.2%
1992	369,264	365,722	41,651	106,478	217,593
		99.01%	11.40%	29.10%	59.30%
1993	501,491	496,658	66,176	145,454	285,028
		99.01%	13.3%	29.30%	57.4%
1994	530,007	524,294	74,157	159,900	290,236
		98.90%	14.2%	30.5%	55.3%
1995	466,971	464,270	57,588	128,480	270,202
		99.4%	12.4%	27.7%	59.9%
1996	519,667	516,196	58,533	124,049	333,614
		99.33%	11.33%	24.03%	64.62%
1997	622,433	618,139	40,488	165,533	412,118
		99.31%	6.54%	26.77%	66.67%
1998	640,626	636,777	53,990	136,873	417,312
		99.39%	8.47%	21.49%	65.54%

Source: Test Division, West African Examinations Council (WAEC), Yaba, Lagos.

#### On inadequacy of teachers:

(i) Teachers are not adequate in the schools. When they call us for PTA meetings they tell us to recruit teachers for some subjects if we want our children to do well. We now have "PTA teachers" as different from "Government Teachers". Can you imagine government not supplying teachers and making parents recruit them?

- FGD, male, Enugu state.

(ii) Our children are suffering terribly from not having enough teachers in the sciences in particular. Many times, there are no physics, chemistry or maths teachers. A parent that wants the child to do well in these subjects has to take private teachers or enrol the child in private lessons.

- FGD, female, Oyo state

#### Patronage of Private Schools

Many parents withdrew their children from the public schools to private schools as a result of their dissatisfaction with quality of education. However, the percentages were low, with the tertiary level recording the lowest withdrawal rate (Table 2.4). Supplementary data revealed that the low-rate of withdrawal was as a result of parents' inability to pay the higher fees in private institutions.

Table 2.4: Withdrawal from Public to Private Schools during Post Cost Recovery period

Level	Yes	%	No.	%
Withdrawal from public primary school to private primary school	124	15.4	682	84.6
Withdrawal from public secondary school to private secondary school	80	9.9	731	90.1
Withdrawal from public tertiary institutions in Nigeria/abroad	04	0.9	465	99.1

#### Ability to Pay for Education Services

Under ability to pay, the following findings emerged:

(a) As evident from Table 2.5, following the introduction of user fees, an increasing number of parents were unable to pay for the education of their children and wards. Families that could pay with some difficulties increased from 35 to 70 per cent, from 58 to 78 per cent and from 65 to 81 per cent for primary, secondary and tertiary education, respectively.

Table 2.5: Actual Ability of Parents to Pay School Fees and Levies as a Function of Utilization (Overall)

Level	Level of ability to pay	Period before 1985	Between 1985 and 1999
	Pay without difficulty	65.2	29.9
a. Primary Level	Pay with some difficulty	34.8	69.7
	Unable to pay	-	0.3
	Pay without difficulty	41.0	17.8
b. Secondary Level	Pay with some difficulty	58.0	77.6
	Unable to pay	1.0	4.5
	Pay without difficulty	28.8	8.3
c. Tertiary Level	Pay with some difficulty	65.2	81.3
	Unable to pay	6.1	10.3

- (b) The decline in the patronage of public schools was also traced to unwillingness to pay, due to the consumers' perception of the quality of education in public schools as been poor.
- (c) There was no statistically significant difference between the male and the female-headed households in terms of ability to pay to keep their children in school.
- (d) Socio-economic status also did not have statistically significant influence on the views expressed by the respondents in terms of their ability to pay. That is, the urban low-income families, the rural families and the urban middle class families expressed similar views, except that the low-income families paid the fees at all the educational levels with greater difficulties. Moreover, more parents in each of the three socio-economic classes and communities found it difficult to pay the fees and levies for the primary and secondary levels after the introduction of cost-recovery policy than before it (Tables 2.6-2.7).

Table 2.6: Urban-Rural Dimension and Ability of Parents to Pay at Primary Level Over Time (in %)

	Urban lo	w Income	Urban Mi	ddle Class	F	tural
Payment ability level	Before 1985	Between 1985/ 1999	Before 1995	Between 1985/ 1999	Before 1985	Between 1985/1999
Able to pay without difficulty	52.9	51.1	17.1	7.6	45.4	39.5
Able to pay with some difficulty	44.8	47.9	2.8	18.0	52.4	55.2
Unable to pay	-	0.4	-	2.9	-	-

Table 2.7: Urban-Rural Dimension and Ability of Parents to Pay at Secondary Level Over Time (in %)

Payment	Urban Low Income		Urban N	Middle Class	Rural		
ability level	Before 1985	Between 1985/1999	Before 1995	Between 1985/1999	Before 1985	Between 1985/1999	
Able to pay without difficulty	61.0	55.5	52.4	30.6	40.9	33.7	
Able to pay with some difficulty	47.9	48.6	47.6	5.6	48.6	45.7	
Unable to pay	12.0	10.7		3.6	35.7	60.0	

(e) Statistically significant differences were noted between the urban and rural areas in terms of ability to pay at primary and secondary levels. Ability to pay at the primary school level with some difficulties increased from 45 to 48 per cent for the urban low income, from 3 to 18 per cent for urban middle class and from 52 to 55 per cent for the rural families (Table 2.6). The rural families experienced the greatest difficulty in paying for secondary and tertiary education, following the introduction of user fees (Tables 2.6-2.8)

Table 2.8: Urban-Rural Dimension and Ability of Parents to pay at Tertiary Level Over Time (in %)

4	Urba	Urban Low		Urban Intermediate		Rural		
Payment ability level	Before 1985	Between 1985/ 1999	Before 1995	Between 1985/19 99	Before 1985	Between 1985/ 1999		
Able to pay without difficulty	73.7	76.2	15.8	3.6	10.5	23.8		
Able to pay with some difficulty	48.8	56.1	14.0	57.1	37.2	, 40.0		
Unable to pay	50.0	42.3	-	42.9	50.0	34.6		

#### Consequences of Inability to Pay

(a) Some dire consequences resulted from parents' inability to pay the user fees, including: irregularity at school, temporary and complete withdrawal from school, insubordination from the children to their parents and lack of family cohesion. This finding applied across the geopolitical zones and for both male and female respondents (Tables 2.9-2.11).

Table 2.9: Consequences of Inability to Pay User Fee at Various Levels of Education and by Gender Between 1985 and 1999 (Figures in %)

	Level Affected							
Consequences	Primary school		Secondary school		Tertiary Leve			
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female		
i. Irregular at school	55.0	45.0	55.7	43.3	66.7	33.3		
ii. Had to withdraw temporarily.	72.2	27.8	53.3	46.7	38.9	61.1		
iii. Had to withdraw completely		-	72.9	48.8	37.5	62.5		

Source: Fieldwork 2001

(b) Attrition was consistently higher from the secondary to the tertiary level over time and across gender (Table 2.10). While available data on drop-out rate showed that at all levels of the education system, a higher percentage of pupils/students were unable to complete school because their parents were not able to pay the user fees (Table 2.11). The high dropout rate definitely contributed to the high incidence of street children and street hawkers, with all the attendant social problems.

Table 2.10: Attrition within Education Levels as a Consequence of Parents' Inability to Pay User Fees Over Time and Gender (in percentages)

Level	Gender	Before 1985	Between 1985/1999
From primary to secondary level	Male Female	65.8	54.5 57.4
From secondary level to tertiary institutions	Male Female	93.9 85.7	92.2 84.1

Table 2.11: Drop-Out Rate as a Consequence of Parents' Inability to Pay user fees (in percentages).

	able to	hildren complete lool	% of children unable to complete school		
the second of the second	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Primary School	33.4	30.3	56.7	41.5	
Secondary School	26.9	30.0	44.5	44.5	
Vocational School.	28.3	36.4	-	-	
Tertiary education	29.5	22.8	37.0	30.0	

Source: Fieldwork 2001

(c). The data on dropout rate, when disaggregated at the gender level, is higher for males than for females at all levels of the educational system. For example, while only 41.5 per cent of females were unable to complete schooling at the primary level, 56.7 percent of males were affected (Table 2.11).

## Willingness to Pay for Education Services

While ability to access quality education is a function of economic power (that is, the wherewithal to pay for education), willingness to pay is a function of the perception of the importance of the service in question. When there are perceived benefits that will be derived from acquiring a service, the readiness to pay increases and vice versa. In addition, willingness to pay may become stronger than the

ability to pay for a product if it is of good quality. Thus, in most cases, willingness to pay is dependent on the individual's disposition to the service in question regarding whether it is important, beneficial and necessary.

In this study, willingness to pay was measured in terms of how ready parents were to pay the prescribe fees and levies. Parents were asked to express their willingness to pay the various fees and levies before and after the introduction of the payment of user fees.

- (a) Following the introduction of user fees, an increasing number of parents were unable to pay for the education services. The families who could pay with some difficulties increased from 35 per cent to 70 per cent. From 58 to 78 per cent and from 65 to 81 per cent for primary, secondary and tertiary levels of education, respectively.
- (b) There were no significant differences between the rural and the urban areas, on the basis of gender and across different socio-economic strata.

#### CHAPTER THREE

# EDUCATION SEEKING BEHAVIOUR AND COPING STRATEGIES

Education-seeking behaviour was defined, for the purpose of this study, as what parents/guardians and their wards did to ensure that the children obtained education to the desired level.

## **Education Seeking Behaviours**

The following were some of the education seeking behaviours adopted by the households surveyed:

- Parents were compelled to employ teachers to coach their children by private arrangements;
- Many sent their children to evening coaching or extramural classes;
- PTAs employed teachers, recruited and paid by them;
   and
- Withdrawal of children and wards from schools became more prominent.

With reference to withdrawal, the study identified different types of withdrawal as an education-seeking behaviour and/or coping strategy, namely: withdrawal from public to private institutions; temporary withdrawal for financial and other related socio-economic reasons and permanent withdrawal or termination of education.

## (a) Withdrawal from Public to Private Educational Institutions

This was more pronounced in urban than rural areas, since most private primary and secondary schools were sited in urban centres. In all the cases of withdrawal from public to private schools, respondents explained that they withdrew their children and wards in order to access better quality education been offered by the private schools. Other specific reasons given by parents for withdrawing their children to private schools included:

- Incessant strikes embarked upon by teachers in public schools;
- Poor performance of pupils;
- Perceived poor performance of teachers;
- Dearth of teaching aids;
- Lack of an aesthetically enhancing school environment; and
- Uncommitted attitude of teachers.

Parents also believed that there was a greater level of supervision of teachers not only by private school proprietors or their agents, but also by the Ministry of Education officials. The belief was that there was better discipline of the teachers and better motivation for both staff and pupils in the private schools.

Withdrawal from public to private schools was, however, not a large-scale or massive phenomenon. This was probably because of parents' incapability to pay the high fees charged by these schools (Table 31).

Table 3.1: Trend In Withdrawal of Children from School Post Introduction of Cost Recovery

	Level and Gender Affected (in %)					
Withdrawal	At Primar Lev	At Secondary School Level				
	M	F	M	F		
Withdraw temporarily from school	72.2	27.8	53.3	. 46.7		
Withdraw completely from school	-	-	72.9	48.8		

## (b) Temporary withdrawal

One other reaction to the stress caused parents, guardians and wards by increased fees and charges in the educational system in Nigeria was temporary withdrawal. Indigent parents withdrew their children from schools due to inability to pay school fees. In the predominantly agricultural parts of the country, parents also withdrew their children, especially male children, from school, to assist in the farms during planting and harvesting seasons. (Table 3.1).

In this respect, more girls than boys were temporarily withdrawn from primary and secondary schools alike. This seems to confirm the traditional belief among Nigerians that it is more profitable to educate a male rather than a female child. That this traditional viewpoint is, however, might be changing was deduced from some respondents, especially those who kept the female children in school. Two examples are given:

We do not want our girls again only in the kitchen. We want them to become wives of Military Administrators and Service Chiefs. We therefore need to prepare them for this position when they have to make speeches as First Ladies and so on. Only the educated ones can shine forth in that position.

- Female FGD -Kaduna State

Girls have also demonstrated that they can be very successful in life with education. My daughter is very brilliant. I see no reason not to allow her to go to school.

- Male FGD - Plateau State

#### (c) Total/Permanent Withdrawal

Some respondents questioned the functional utility of formal education and withdrew male children from school. According to some FGD participants, there were no jobs for products of the educational institutions on the completion of schooling. Since a man

must be the bread winner of his household, it was considered expedient to withdraw the male child from school early to engage in what was believed to be more economically rewarding venture in the informal sector. This view was expressed thus by a respondent from one of the northern States:

What is the point wasting my son's time in the oyinbo school, when he will not get job and he will still end up trading in textile or wrist watches?

The phenomenon of male students withdrawing from primary and secondary schools was particularly common in the southeastern parts of the country, where the proportion of female students was higher than that of male students at the same primary and secondary school levels. This phenomenon alarmed several people that it has resulted in incessant campaigns to encourage parents to retain their boys in school.

### Coping Mechanisms and Strategies

The desire to give formal education to children and wards has always been strong among Nigerians, particularly in the Southern parts. The responsibility of providing this type of education rests mainly with the parents with relations sometimes contributing. With introduction of user fee policy, and the difficulties faced by parents to pay for their children's education, households devised various mechanisms to raise funds to meet the challenges of educating their children. These mechanisms/strategies varied widely and depended upon:

- (a) Whether parents could, either in the short or long term, continue educating their children;
- (b) Where the funds could be raised, either in the short or long term, to pay for school fees and other charges;
- (c) Which child should continue education; and
- (d) What sacrifice could be made to educate their children? (Table 3.2).

Table 3.2: Coping Strategies Adopted by Parents to Meet Payments of Fees (in %)

S/N	Coping Strategies	Male Parents	Female Parents
i.	Sale of land	23.6	26.0
ii.	Premature-sale of crops	68.5	52.6
iii.	Sale of domestic properties e.g. clothing, jewelry	76.9	71.7
iv.	Borrowing money from other sources	91.1	85.2
٧.	Befriending another man/woman (prostitution)	42.2	30.0
vi.	Withdrawing children from school temporarily	61.5	41.6
vii.	Delaying the girls and allowing the boys to go to school	43.8	27.7
viii	Engaging in more than one job	83.1	78.3
ix.	Changing to school with lower fees	51.1	37.7
Х.	Reducing household spending on other services	84.9	83.9
xi.	Reducing household spending on food	80.1	87.8
xii.	Reducing involvement in extended family responsibility	82.9	78.8
xiii.	Cutting down on purchase of clothing	78.7	85.4
xiv.	Moving to a lower cost accommodation	48.9	62.2
XV.	Relying on extended family system for support	68.0	60.6
xvi.	Relying on neighbour /community for help	54.3	41.7

The result showed that there were multiple choices as the same group of individuals adopted different mechanisms at different periods or even simultaneously. The following conclusions were drawn:

- (a) The strategies adopted ranged from sale of land to reliance on neighbors and friends for assistance (Table 3.2)
- (b) Both male and female adopted virtually the same set of mechanisms/strategies.
- (c) Some parents impoverished themselves in order to educate their children.
- (d) The students were also involved; they had to be temporarily withdrawn from school, presumably when funds were not available. There were also instances when female students were withdrawn from school in order to ensure that male siblings continued at school.
- (e) Focus group discussions revealed that the major source of borrowing money was the moneylender to whom they had to pay exorbitant interests, which left them in perpetual debt.
- Mover 75 per cent of both fathers and mothers engaged in more than one job (Weeks, 1994; Gilberts, 1994; and Potts, 1995). These jobs ranged from unskilled to skilled jobs. Civil servants, who owned vehicles, including motorcycles used them to carry passengers (Kabu-Kabu) in order to earn extra money. The female urban low-income workers engaged in laundry washing, petty trading and in human pottage. In the rural communities, men engaged in sharecropping, farm labor, and woodcutting among other activities.

(g) The sale of land was reported by only about 25 percent of the parents, but focus group discussions and the indepth interviews within both urban and rural communities revealed the agony suffered in the process. According to a male discussant:

Do you think we are very happy selling the land? We are in the process impoverishing ourselves and depriving these same children we are training today the hope of finding land to build their own houses.

- (xix) Borrowing of money featured as the first option in four of the geopolitical zones South-West, South-East, North-East and the North-West; the most frequently used coping option in the South-South zone and North-West zone was reduced involvement in extended family responsibility; the South-West and the South-East, in addition to the borrowing option, reduced spending on food and other services. The most frequently used option in the North-Central zone was sale of domestic properties followed by borrowing money. In the North-East zones, household heads, in addition to borrowing money, reduce household spending on other services; while respondents from the North-West zone reduced involvement in extended family responsibility and household spending on other services. (Table 3.3).
- (i) The most prominent coping strategy among both male and female students was involvement in informal sector activities (Table 3.4). These activities included street hawking before and after school and human portage. Street trading/hawking was particularly common in the communities where school boys and girls moved about in the streets, selling a wide variety of food and other manufactured items. These street hawkers were observed during the survey to position themselves strategically in areas where free flow of traffic, for one reason or another, was hampered. Others positioned themselves in motor parks, markets and railway stations.

**Table 3.3: Coping Mechanisms by Geographical Location (Number of respondents)** 

	Coping Strategy	SS	SW	SE	NC	NE	NW
i.	Sale of land	30.1	13.7	26	9.6	-	20.5
ii.	Premature sale of crops	34.4	6.4	20.8	12	3.2	23.2
iii.	Sale of domestic properties	8	42	20.4	14	1.6	14
iv.	Borrowing money from other sources	20	44.1	11.1	247	2.8	18
v.	Befriending another man /woman (prostitution)	37.5	28.5	12.5	) - ·	-	21.4
vi.	Withdrawing children from school temporarily	15.5	36.4	10	13.6	5.5	19.1
vii.	Delaying girls and allowing boys to go to school	3.4	63.8	10.3	1.7	5.2	15.5
viii.	Engaging in more than one job	18.1	62.4	4.7	4.0	0.7	10.1
ix.	Changing to school with lower fees	21.4	37.1	8.6	12.9	10	10
х.	Reducing household spending on other services	26.3	40.1	9.6	4.5	2	17.5
xi.	Reducing household spending on food	21.7	49.3	9.6	4.1	0.9	14.5
xii.	Reducing involvement in extended family responsibility	30.9	30.9	8.2	5.3	0.3	24.3
xiii.	Cutting down on purchase of clothing	28.1	41	5.7	5.7	0.5	19.0
xiv.	Moving to a lower cost accommodation	35.3	22.4	6.9	10.3	3.4	21.6
xv.	Relying on extended family system for support	-14	63.6	9.1	1.4	2.1	9.8

Table 3.4: Coping Strategies Employed by Male and Female Children (figures in %)

S/N	Coping Strategies	Male children	Female children
i.	Child compelled to sell before and after school	38.0	33.5
ii.	Child serving as house-help for sometime	3.5	8.1
iii.	<ul> <li>Sending child to live with relatives who can pay the fees/levies.</li> </ul>	9.8	10.3
iv.	Child deciding to be involved in street trading/hawking.	13.5	18.3
v.	Child carrying loads at market and motor parks	0.2	0.2
vi.	Child deciding to withdraw from school	5.6	2.0
vii.	Early betrothal of child to a man who will pay the fees/levies	• •	0.2
viii.	Compelling child to work on the farm	25.2	25.7
ix.	Child deciding to engage in farming activities.	2.3	1.7

Source: Fieldwork 2001

## Effectiveness of the Coping Strategies Adopted

Effectiveness in the context of this discussion was viewed from two perspectives; first, from the point of view of goal achievement and, second, from the viewpoint of the immediate and long-term psychosocial and economic effects. A coping mechanism was considered effective if the goal of enabling the children to access education and be present in school was achieved.

The findings from this study were as follows:

- (a) The results from focus group discussions revealed a high level of frustration in the communities. Among the reasons for frustration were:
  - (i) Poor performance of children who managed to access education;

- (ii) The time it took to educate those who actually completed their education; and
- (iii) Disruption of education of other members of the family.

In general, Nigerian parents considered that the sacrifices made to educate their children had not been matched by the end result, either in terms of number of their wards they managed to keep in school or in terms of the quality of education received;

- (b) Various psychosocial and economic effects accompanied the various coping mechanisms employed by parents to educate their children. For most respondents, the sale of land; particularly family agricultural land, sale of household properties and reduction on expenditure on food and other household items were harrowing experiences. A reduction on household spending on food also meant that balanced diet was not eaten leading to malnourished persons who were prone to infections and ailments of all kind.
- (c) The children who helped their parents in coping with the demand of the fees charged in the schools were also negatively impacted. For example, children that engaged in hawking were exposed to various risks. The children's wishes and rights were also trampled upon, an action that had psychological implication on the children. Even when the children willingly opted to work, the motive of keeping them in school had already been defeated. The girls suffered greater consequences, being exposed to such risks as sexual harassment, rape, molestation and various other temptations. Several of them were exposed to early sexual involvement with all the attendant risks of becoming infected with sexually transmitted diseases. children involved in child labour lost their focus and interest in the school because of the income that accrued to them. they also did not have enough time to devote to their studies, they generally did not perform well academically and eventually dropped out of school.

### **CHAPTER FOUR**

# CASE STUDY OF SELECTED EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

#### The Schools Studied

s explained in Chapter Onc, under the section on methodology, six primary and six secondary schools were selected, one each respectively in each of the six geo-political zones of the country, to serve as case studies. The cases were restricted to primary and secondary education because, as at the time of the study, virtually all tertiary education in Nigeria were public institution and tuition The six primary schools selected were: Wukari Primary free. School, Maiduguri (Borno State, NE); St. Peter's Primary School, Calabar (Cross River State, SS); Waziri Lawal Primary School, Zaria (Kaduna State, NW); Nurudeen Primary School, Jos (Plateau State, NC); Zik Avenue Primary School, Uwani (Enugu State, SE); and Methodist School, Bodija, Ibadan (Oyo State, SW). The six secondary schools were: Government Girls' College, Maiduguri (Borno State NE); Hope Waddell Training Institution, Calabar (Cross River State, SS); Uwani Secondary School, Enugu (Enugu State, SE); Barewa College, Zaria (Kaduna State, NW); St. Anne's School, Ibadan (Oyo State, SW); and GSS, Jos (Plateau State, NC). Data were also sourced from Ministries of Education both at the Federal and States levels (Appendix I).

#### The Results of the Study

The following observations were made, many of them confirming those already stated above:

- (a) Available data on the quality of educational resource inputs (funds, staff and facilities) was very weak in all States and in all the schools, irrespective of geopolitical location.
- (b) The Ministries of Education and the individual schools did not keep the kinds and length of records that would allow for systematic and reliable assessment whether of the budgetary provisions by governments as proprietors of the public school system, of the supplements by the PTAs or the various forms of levy.
- (c) In many cases, the schools had no record of the fees collected and of the grants received from government. In the case of the fees and charges, it was discovered that some were unauthorised and therefore were not documented.
- (d) Disaggregating expenditures and revenues by schools was impossible (Tables 4.1 and 4.2) (Fig. 4.1) (Box 4.1).
- (e) The budgetary allocation to education fell far short of the 26 per cent of total budget recommended by UNESCO (Table 4.1, 4.2, Fig. 4.1). Consequently, and until financial allocation is considerably upgraded, no amount of cost recovery through users fees would make meaningful and positive impact on the quality of education delivery. Exceptions were found in some of the Southern States. In Oyo State, for example, education budgets were 38 per cent, 15 per cent and 14 per cent, respectively, of the total budgets in 1990, 1995 and 2000.
- (f) Poor staffing, poor quality of infrastructure and teaching aids, low incentives to teachers and declining morale of both staff and students were prominent in all the schools, all resulting in the lowering of education quality and students performance (Box 4.1).

Table 4.1: Federal Govt. Expenditure on Education Expressed as Percentage of Total on all Sectors (NM)

		ALL SEC	TORS	EDUCATION				
Year	Recur- rent	Capital	Total	Recurrent	Capital	Total	Education Total as % of All Sectors' Total	
1980	6,022.0	8,395.6	14,417.6	509.1	729.1	238.2	8.59	
1986	7,696.9	9,076.8	16,743.7	483.8	371.4	875.2	5.22	
1990	36,49.6	24,929.5	61,149.1	2,402.8	416.3	2819.1	4.61	
1995	127,629.8	121,138.3	248,768.1	9,746.4	2,426.4	121,172.8	4.89	

Table 4.2. Showing Budgetary Allocation to Education in Kaduna State

	Kaduna State	Budget Total			Education	Education Sector	
Year	Recurrent	Capital	Grand Total	Recurrent	Capital	Total	Education as % of Total
1990	420,306,000	276,762,095	697,068,095	56,387.680	10,44,030	66,831,710	10.0
1995	799,559,485	1,482,547,120	2,282,106,605	98,060,255	78,143,000	176,203,255	8.0
1999	416,456,068	6,233,365,495	4,787,897,175	632,474,245	171,411,725	803,885,970	16.0
2000	594,000.000	10,060,394,000	1,600,039,400	1,016,190,795	368,800.000	2,401,181,590	entroller out of the

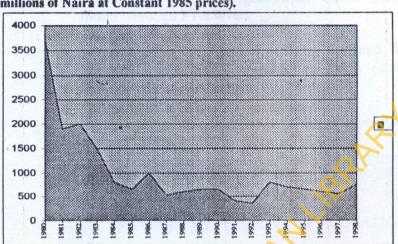


Figure 4.1: Federal Government Expenditure on Education, 1980-98 (in millions of Naira at Constant 1985 prices).

Source: CBN Annual Reports (1998)

## BOX 4.1 IMPACT ON QUALITY OF EDUCATION

There is no discernible impact of cost recovery through user fees because of:

- Teachers' shortfall in critical subjects
- Poor quality of classrooms, laboratories, workshops and libraries have, in tandem, led to poor delivery of educational services which have, in turn, resulted in poor performances, reflected in failure rates of up to 94% in English (Kaduna) and 91% in Mathematics (Plateau).
- The buildings and associated infrastructure have dilapidated so extensively that the number of classrooms have declined thus causing congestion and an environment not conducive to appropriate teaching and effective learning.
- Funding of education by government too low (as low as 3% of total, budget), and actual release abysmal.
- Heavy losses and leakages arising from mal-appropriation and mismanagement.

- (g) Contrary to the policy guidelines, capital projects were funded through PTA levies.
- (h) Public secondary school enrolment declined from 1985 onwards, particularly in rural areas, partly as a result of inability or unwillingness to pay.

The relationship between funding and quality of education is summarized in Box 4.2.

#### BOX 4.2

#### FUNDING AND QUALITY OF EDUCATION

- Government was supposed to fund eapital projects, but little was received therefrom; so, capital projects were funded substantially through PTA levies.
- PTA teachers' salaries were paid directly by PTA.
- School enrolment declined from 1985 onwards, particularly in rural areas because parents could not afford the various levies imposed by the schools.
- There was limited direct assistance to schools by international organizations.
- Willingness to pay was generally low particularly in rural areas; in urban areas, there was guarded willingness based on the conditionality of commensurate improvement in service delivery and moderate level of fees.
- · Ability to pay was generally low.
- Overwhelmingly, there was no obvious positive impact of cost recovery, since there were glaring signs of deterioration of structures, infrastructure and service delivery
- The emergence and apparent proliferation of private schools had negligible influence on the number of, and enrolment in, public schools, with the exception of Oyo State
- The commonest coping strategies were multiple jobs, supplementary economic activities, street hawking and temporary withdrawal from school by the students.

- (i) There was no discernible impact of the cost recovery policy (Box 4.1).
- (j) The common opinion was that of conditional willingness to pay, the condition premised on the supply of good teaching materials, improved welfare and regular payment of salaries of teachers.
- (k) The most prevalent coping strategies were borrowing, pawning, selling of landed property, jewelry and clothes. The school pupils were also engaged in hawking and in farming, oftentimes leading to temporary and sometimes permanent withdrawal from school.
- (I) In virtually all the schools studied, respondents lamented the recurring instability that characterized the educational sector during the study period. Parents, community leaders, policy makers and educationists were unanimous that elongation of academic periods, incessant teachers' strikes, students' riots and demonstrations, the emergence of destructive anti-social cult activities in educational institutions were the order of the day. These indicators were most frequent at the tertiary level where courses that ordinarily should be completed in three years took a minimum of five years to complete.
- (m) As for the secondary schools, the overall picture painted was that of a woeful failure of the school system nation-wide, but more glaring in such cases as Hope Waddel Training Institution, Calabar and the St. Anne's School, Ibadan. Hope Waddel (founded in 1895) had produced among the foremost nationalists and professionals in the country. For such a school to have recorded double-digit per cent failures in Mathematics and Science post-1985 was therefore a serious matter

Equally disturbing was the situation in the South-West of the country. For St. Anne's (100 years old) to have degenerated into recording 24 per cent failure rate in English in 1985, and 67 per cent in 1999; (the respective figures for Mathematics were 67 per cent to 75 per cent) definitely signify general decay in education services delivery, despite user fees.

Barewa College, the school of the Northern elite, was no exception, having suffered essentially the same fate. This was (and still is) a Government College which was the *cynosure of all eyes* in secondary education of the North. To have recorded a failure rate of 93 per cent in English and 80 per cent failure in Mathematics was, unthinkable.

- (n) With reference to teachers, there was a decline in the teacher-pupil ratio between 1985 and 1999, in most of the schools, with teachers lacking, especially in the key subjects Mathematics, English, Physics and Chemistry. The Laboratory facilities were also generally substandard, as virtually all of the schools studied were ill-equipped.
- (o) With regard to the amount recovered, most of the schools had no good record of what they actually recovered from fees. In most cases, PTA initiated the fees collected with or without the approval of the State/Local Government. Records of such fees were therefore not readily available. Secondly, the fees that were collected by the various schools are expected to be paid into the common account of the respective governments. The records were not available in some of the schools. Available data revealed, however, that the amounts officially recovered from user fees were very low in absolute terms, less than 1% of the expenditure required. FGDs revealed that higher rates of withdrawal from schools were recorded in the post-cost recovery period: In one of the regions in the country (S.E.), there was a drastic decline in male enrolment in schools, as most males tended to take up jobs as apprentices in the informal sector of the economy.
- (p) The staffing shortfall and the poor quality of classrooms, laboratories, workshops and libraries have led to poor delivery of educational services which, in turn, have resulted in poor student performances in most of the schools selected for study (Box 4.2).

#### CHAPTER FIVE

# POLICY IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the findings of this study, there are two ways we can view the issue of user fees in education. The first is to conclude that, since user fees have not had the desired impact on the quality of education, it should be scrapped, more so when many parents were either unable or unwilling to pay the fees. This viewpoint would, however, appear defeatist, more so when the study also identified some remedies for the lapses identified. The second view sees cost sharing as inevitable, based on the realities on the ground; e.g. that government alone cannot bear the rising cost of qualitative education at all levels.

We have adopted the second viewpoint. This view is strongly supported by the drastic decline, in real terms, in the government budget for education over the years and the corresponding decline in the overall quality of educational services. We also noted the increasing patronage of private schools, in spite of the high fees charged, by parents, including those from the middle and lowincome levels. The study revealed that people have come to realize the importance of education and many are willing to strain themselves to provide quality education for their children. The study also revealed that a significant proportion of families are willing to pay fees and levies if the quality of education their children would receive is assured. On the other hand, with declining revenue from petroleum, leading to relative decline of resources for recurrent and capital expenditure of government, the government's ability to fund education satisfactorily is doubtful. This view is supported by the constant lay off of staff, irregular

payment of teachers' salaries and incessant strikes in the various institutions – including primary and secondary schools – across the nation. It is on the premise explained above that the following recommendations are made:

### **Primary School Level**

- (a) Many primary schools in different parts of the country are not child-friendly the buildings are old and dilapidated, the classrooms are inadequate in number, the basic facilities (water and sanitation) are lacking and the environment is squalid and not conducive to learning. There is an urgent need for a national programme to rehabilitate primary schools in Nigeria.
- (b) While accepting the government position, as spelt out in the UBE scheme, i.e. that education at this level be free, it is necessary that the level of government funding and fund management for primary education be significantly increased. The Federal Government, through the UBE programme, should increase the allocation to LGAs to enable them effectively run the primary schools in their respective domains.
- (c) The Federal and State Governments should cease to have direct responsibility for the running of primary school education. It should, however, assist by setting minimum standard for primary education, as a foundation for national development.
- (d) Since whatever money given by government can never be adequate, parents and guardians should be encouraged to share the responsibility with government. The extent and nature of sharing will vary, depending upon the prevailing situations in different States and LGAs.
- (e) The learning environment should be improved by upgrading the facilities and the teaching aids in the schools. The various colleges of education, where the primary school teachers are trained, should also be improved; adequate monitoring and supervision of the schools should be put in place. Finally, the

teachers should be motivated through prompt payment of their emoluments and access to in-service training opportunities.

(f) The present policy of approving the establishment of private Nursery/Primary Schools should be continued, to offer competition to public schools and give parents the right of choice. Government should, however, monitor the schools to ensure that standards are not compromised.

### Secondary Level

- (a) Adequate provision should be made by state governments to ensure that internally generated revenue has the necessary impact.
- (b) Secondary schools should continue to be the responsibility of state governments, and operate a system of joint responsibility with parents and guardians. In this respect, fees should be paid in secondary schools.
- (c) Fees and charges need not be same across board. For example, urban schools might be made to charge more than the rural schools, based on well-researched differential level of affordability or means tests.
- (d) Scholarship or bursary scheme could be introduced to aid the children of poor families. LGAs, State Government, philanthropists, communities, PTAs and the organized private sector are possible sources of such scholarship/bursary.
- (e) Government should continue to encourage religious bodies, in particular, and the private sector in general, to establish secondary schools.

#### **Tertiary Level**

- (a) It seems reasonable that government should continue to bear responsibility for the capital cost (the cost for the equipment, research and library) and part of the salary and allowances of staff. The running cost (laboratories, maintenance of infrastructure, teaching aids, consumables, examination, medication in the clinics, electricity bills, etc) should be borne by parents and guardians through payment of fees and levies.
- (b) Each tertiary institution should be allowed to determine, within an overall policy framework, what fees it will charge, based on the extent of need and other peculiarities.
- (c) As in the case of secondary schools, government, organized private sector, foundations and philanthropists should be encouraged to offer scholarships and bursaries.
- (d) A revolving loan scheme should be instituted to assist indigent students.

#### General

- (a) For proper supervision, monitoring and continuous evaluation of education policy framework, the present outfits, notably the Local Education Authorities, State Primary Education Boards, Teaching Commissions, among others, should be strengthened to, among other things, establish:
  - norms for space requirements, including floor space per school pupil in relation to classrooms, libraries, laboratories, workshops, boarding rooms, etc.
  - staff recruitment norms based on established student/staff ratios, ensuring lower ratios for the compulsory core subjects (particularly English and Mathematics) which need closer contact and attention.

- funding allocation formulae based on student population and staff strength (which are themselves determined by established student/staff ratios).
- standardized record keeping with specific reference to budget and finance, academic programme and performance statistics; individual student and staff dossiers/dockets.
- A system of periodic External Evaluation/Visitation, perhaps every four years, should be formally and statutorily introduced to ensure the attainment and maintenance of the prescribed minimum standards.
- (b) There is need to work out guidelines for the various stakeholders as follows:

#### Government:

- There is need for government to address the problem of inadequate teachers in the primary and secondary schools, especially in the rural areas. The morale, commitment to work and efficiency of the teachers must be maintained through regular payment of salaries and other emoluments.
- (ii) The supply of adequate and qualified number of teachers to the schools has implication for teacher training. In this regard, government should ensure that teacher-training institutions are of the required standard.
- (iii) Teaching materials and other logistic supports to the schools (especially primary and secondary schools) must be urgently addressed if the quality of education in public schools is to improve.
- (iv) Poverty is the main cause of the inability of parents to pay the fees and levies. Government should endeavour to financially empower the populace, especially parents and guardians, to enable them meet their obligation under the

user fee policy. All existing schemes aimed at poverty alleviation should be vigorously and transparently implemented. New schemes should be conceived, tested and when found viable be also implemented without delay. Government should introduce economic policies that create jobs, so that the present high rate of unemployment among secondary and tertiary graduates will be reduced. Improved employment situation will improve the earning power of the families and thereby improve their disposable expenditure on education for their children.

#### **Parents**

The role of parents and guardians in ensuring an improvement in the quality of education should consist of the following, among others:

- (i) Parent-Teacher Associations (PTAs) should be encouraged to continue to exist in schools, and both PTAs and the institutions should cooperate, in the interest of the students.
- (ii) Parents should be encouraged to devote more time to, and show greater interest in, their children, especially their (children) academic pursuits.
- (iii) The practice of open days, when parents are invited to the schools to view their children's school work and interact with teachers on academic matters, should not only be continued but be improved upon.
- (iv) Parents should ensure that they provide the basic textbooks, exercise books and other stationery items for their children.
- (v) Parents and the society in general should be encouraged, through public enlightenment programme, to de-emphasize wasteful spending on expensive funeral and other such ceremonies and invest more on the education of their children.

#### **Teachers**

- (i) Teachers should be encouraged and supported to upgrade their knowledge through attendance at seminars, conferences and workshops that have bearing/relevance to their respective disciplines.
- (ii) They should be made, through thorough effective supervision, to work for the money they are earning, by ensuring that the prescribed teaching time is maximally utilized in the classroom and that syllabuses are covered adequately. Effective monitoring of the school system and school leadership will ensure this.

#### The Community

- (i) Communities where schools are situated should be encouraged to contribute their own quota to the enhancement of education since it is their children and wards who attend these schools. Communities should be encouraged to invest in community libraries in order to create the conditions that would improve students reading habit.
- (ii) Communities should be encouraged to assist in the renovation and rehabilitation of dilapidated school buildings. Provision of school furniture could also be supplemented by community effort. The schools should hold periodic meetings with opinion leaders in the communities to brainstorm on ways to enhance the quality of education in their respective communities.
- (iii) The extra-curricular activities of the schools should interest the communities. Donation of trophies, shields and other gift items for competition in various sports, debates, etc. and donation of teaching aids and other gift items are examples of this kind of interest.

#### Students

- (i) (i) The students must be made to realize, through public enlightenment activities, that it is their own future and the future of their country that is at stake vis-à-vis the quality of They must therefore be encouraged to take education education as a challenge. In this regard, students should be themselves to schooling apply encouraged to schoolwork. Situations where students go to school late, absent themselves from school without the knowledge of the parents, play truancy during the school hours, roam around and about the streets when they should be in class and get involved in all manner of juvenile delinquencies should be Discipline should be restored at all levels of discouraged. education.
- (ii) The standard of English Language is abysmally low in virtually all the levels of education. A major contributory factor is poor reading habit. Students should be encouraged to cultivate the habit of reading good novels and books to improve their English Language. They should be guided as to which magazines to read, definitely not the junk types we now have in the country.
- (iii) Students should be compelled to do their assignments, carry out their projects and other homework and turn them in on time
- (iv) Students at all educational levels, but especially at the tertiary level, should educate themselves about the principles and the benefits of the user fees. To do this, the grievances of students who engaged in riots, demonstrations and destruction of institutional properties because of user fees should be properly investigated and their inputs sought to achieve optimum results.

#### Conclusion

In conclusion, the evidence from this study shows that something must be done very urgently to improve education services delivery in Nigeria. Payment of user fees is a way of achieving quality education. Adequate consultation among all the stakeholders leading to a joint effort in planning and implementation will go a long way to enhance the adoption of user fees at the secondary and tertiary levels.

APPENDIX I: Summary of Findings from Key Informant Interviews

QUESTIONS &ISSUES	BORNO	CROSS RIVER	ENUGU	KADUNA	оуо	PLATEAU
Status of Informants.	Head Teacher, Wurari Pry School, Maiduguri; 20 years teaching, 16 years Head Teacher.	Principal, Hope Waddal Training Institution, Calabar, for 12 years.	Vice-Principal (Admin.), Uwani Sec. School, Enugu; served for 26 years.	VP (Acad.), Barewa College, Zaria; for 6 years.	Head Teacher in Methodist Pry School, Bodija, Ibadan, 30 year- experience.	Staff, Ministry of Education; for 21 years.
2. Government authorization of fee collection.	Yes, since Colonial Government periods, the 1940s.	Yes, since Colonial and Regional Government periods.	Yes, since 1987.	Yes, since 1987.	No, education is supposed to be free.	Yes, from Colonial and Missionary periods.
3. Funding and Execution of Capital Projects.	Government.	Government, but funds not released; poor infrastructure, school even purchases water.	Government, but very little funds released regardless of student enrolment, over the years.	Supposedly government, but actually through PTA levies; in 2000, PTA paid N25,000 for lab. Equipment.	Should be by government, but for a long time, parents through PTA levies.	Normally by government but no releases from PTA levies of up to N1,350/term.
Recurrent expenditure.	Teachers' salary by government, others through PTA N20 levy.	Teachers salary by government, parents, N900, including N530 tuition/term; commuous assessment booklet N150	Teachers' salary by government, parents, for tuition and sports.	Teachers' salary by government, school retains 80% of tuition fees.	Teachers' salary by government, others, also by government, but money not released.	Teachers' salary by government, through fees, Boarders N120; Day N40/term; also from levies.
5. State of school enrolment	Urban school enrolment fairly steady; rural declining because of poverty	Declining due to incessant teachers' strike for non- payment of fees	Generally decreasing due to charging of fees for tuition and sports	Declining due to fees and levies	Declining, but the introduction of kindergarten for 3-5 year olds is improving enrolment but strictly on non-fee-paying basis	Declining because of high fees being charged.
6. Assistance by international organizations	No	No	No	No	No	No

## Appendix

QUESTIONS AND ISSUES	BORNO	CROSS RIVER	ENUGU	KADUNA	OYO	PLATEAU
7. Willingness to pay.	Urban willing but rural not willing.	Low	Conditional, if there is commensurate improvement and if fees not high.	Low, only 20% of parents are willing.	Yes, but dampened by free education policy.	Low.
<ol><li>Ability to pay.</li></ol>	Very low, due to poverty.	Very low.	Very low.	Very low in rural, moderate in urban.	Moderate.	Very low.
9. Impact of cost recovery.	No tangible positive impact.	Saving the education system from total collapse.	No obvious improvement	Some improvement on quality of teaching and services since government allows schools to administer fees collected.  No impact on quality of teachers since government pays directly, thus ensuring qualified teachers, not guaranteed in private schools.	Lack of cost recovery has led to deterioration of buildings; e.g. storm-blown roofs not repaired, thus reducing number of classrooms to the extent of 3 classes and 3 teachers in 1 classroom; yet government actively discourages parents from assisting.	No discernible impact; despite fees, standard falling; poor environment and infrastructure not conducive to learning; no libraries; most textbooks not relevant to syllabus.
10. Impact of private schools.	Very little.	Negligible.	Insignificant.	Negligible since there are only 10,000 children in private schools compared with 150,000 in public schools.	Significant, due to massive withdrawal of children to private schools, leading to considerable decline in enrolment.	No impact
11. Coping strategy.		Students sponsor themselves by street hawking.	Multiple jobs and earning activities by parents; hawking by students.	Multiple and or supplementary activities by parents, farming by parents and students; e.g. 4 weeks after resumption and teaching in 2000, more than 50% of students did not return to school, in most cases, farming to help with fees.	Multiple jobs.	Relocation to low-fee schools, borrowing, disposal of properties, hawking and housemaid activities by students.

## Impact of User Charges on Education in Nigeria

QUESTIONS AND ISSUES	BORNO	CROSS RIVER	ENUGU	KADUNA	OYO	PLATEAU
12. Overall value of cost recovery.	Unspecified positive impact.	Marginal.	Not much.	Not really.		-
13. Suggestion for improving quality of education.	Recommend ed payment of N50 tuition/term.  Pressurize PTA to increase assistance.  Use traditional rulers, district heads and religious leaders to mount pressure on government to improve funding of education.	Government should release the N500/term that it currently retains out of the N900 collected by the school.	The need for the renovation of structures; too many broken down windows.  Additional buildings needed to replace or supplement renovated buildings.  Compound too small for the student enrolment of 2000.	Fee paying to be discontinued since it has not made any significant impact.  Government should make special grant for rehabilitation.  Government should increase funding substantially thereafter.	Schools should be allowed to charge fees (N500 for pry schools, N1,000 for secondary schools and N2,000 for higher institutions).  Reintroduce a vigorous scholarship scheme.  Improved government funding for buildings.  Family planning to reduce number of children.	Teaching profession needs greater respectability.  Current treatment is democratizing.  Massive funding to relieve parents of all levies; and charge only modest tuition fees.

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