Managing primary teachers in Kaduna and Katsina states

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Acknowledgements

We are grateful to the teachers, head teachers, SBMC chairs and state officials who took part in this research. This study would not have been possible without them. In keeping with the traditions of qualitative research, they were promised anonymity and so they cannot be individually named. However, we would like to thank them for giving up their time and for sharing their experiences of being managed and managing in a frank and forthright manner.

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Executive summary

The appropriate management of primary school teachers is recognised as a key element in the challenge of delivering quality primary education in Nigeria and elsewhere. The research reported here set out to address the question: **How effectively are teachers managed in Nigerian public primary schools?** It was conducted in order to develop a better understanding of issues influencing the delivery of primary education and to provide an evidence base for potential changes in policy and practice.

The study focused on four key areas of management:

- recruitment and deployment;
- pay and remuneration;
- training and support; and
- aspirations and expectations.

Qualitative research was conducted in 30 schools in Kaduna and Katsina States. 150 teachers were interviewed about their experiences of being managed. Their head teachers and SBMC Chairs and State officials were also interviewed about the practice of managing them and themselves being managed.

Detailed accounts of teacher management in the four key areas are presented in the full report from the perspectives of the teachers and those responsible for school and state level management.

There were high levels of congruence in the accounts of the teachers and those responsible for managing them at school and state levels. This suggests considerable potential for addressing concerns and improving the experience of managers and those being managed.

The key findings are:

There is currently a lack of adherence to standardised procedures concerning the **recruitment and deployment** of primary school teachers. Poor matching of school staffing needs to teacher deployment present challenges to those responsible for school management. Attempts are being made to address this but there is no systematic process for dealing with these issues. Problems are made worse by a shortage of trained teachers able to teach the core primary subjects of Mathematics, Science and English, or to present themselves as broadly-based primary teachers.

State officials report attempts to improve recruitment and deployment practices but there is a need for greater transparency.

**Pay and remuneration** are significant areas of frustration for teachers, as are delayed promotions. Underlying problems of salary levels are Federal matters and most teachers feel the NUT is not doing enough to represent them. Electronic transfers mean there are now few complaints about irregular payments but there are some problems for new teachers. Wider concerns are often exacerbated by a lack of clarity about the allowances to which teachers are entitled and deductions made from their pay. Many, but not all, teachers receive a detailed pay slip and making this standard practice would address many of their concerns.

The importance of **training and support** is widely recognised by teachers and those responsible for managing them. Many teachers want to improve their levels of qualification and appear resigned
to paying for appropriate courses. Short-term training opportunities are offered by a range of providers. These are popular and have considerable potential to improve the quality of education delivered in the states. However, there is often a lack of transparency about selection processes and this needs to be addressed. Some teachers share their new learning in their schools but this is not formally required and this also needs to be addressed in the context of improving school-level planning.

Appropriate management of teachers’ aspirations and expectations is an important element in retaining them and ensuring their professionalism. Most are enthusiastic about teaching but wearied by their working conditions. Most have high aspirations, particularly obtaining higher qualifications, but acknowledge limited expectations of meeting them. The desire to become a better teacher was a widespread aspiration and this can be managed through appropriate school and state level training and support. The greater recognition of their professionalism can address some of the teachers’ concerns about the links between salary and social status and can increase motivation and enthusiasm for teaching.

The lack of clarity and transparency in the policies and practices of teacher management was a major issue running through all four of the key areas considered in this study.

The full report concludes with a framework for addressing the concerns of teachers and those responsible for managing them. It is offered as a means of ensuring open and robust practices that have the potential to enhance the professionalism of primary school teachers and so contribute to the quality of primary education in Nigeria.

Based on the evidence generated by the study and presented in the full report, the following recommendations are made:

**Recruitment and Deployment**

1. The existing statutory processes for the selection and appointment of primary teachers should be fully utilised [Practice].
2. Much stronger links should be developed between the staffing needs of each school and the deployment process [Policy + Practice].
3. A clear benefit package for teachers posted to rural schools should be developed and delivered [Policy + Practice].
4. Existing best practice in the induction of newly appointed teachers, whether beginners or experienced teachers, should become institutionalised in all schools [Policy + Practice].

**Pay and Remuneration**

1. Providing teachers with electronically generated pay slips detailing all allowances and deductions should be extended to all schools [Practice].

**Training and Support**

1. The authorities, when assessing up-grading qualification applications (typically for NTI/NCE), should consider the relevance and priority of the choice of programme
proposed; to give the highest priority to those teachers offering Primary Education Studies, English, Mathematics and Science [Policy + Practice].

2. The criteria by which teachers are chosen to participate in external, short-term training programmes should be made explicit and transparent [Policy + Practice].

3. When teachers return to school from external training, they should automatically expect to share with their colleagues their new knowledge and skills, in a suitable forum [Practice].

**Aspirations and Expectations**

1. There should be clearer and closer links between promotion and performance [Policy + Practice].

2. There should be closer articulation of the appointment of teachers to higher grades and the implementation of those promotions [Policy + Practice].

3. The criteria by which teachers are chosen to participate in external, short-term training programmes should be made explicit and transparent [Policy + Practice].

4. Current best practice of involving teachers in school-based decision-making processes should be extended to all schools [Policy + Practice].
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List of abbreviations

CoE       College of Education
CPD       Continuing Professional Development
CSS       Consolidated Salary Structure
DFID      Department for International Development (UK)
DSO       District Support Officer
EMIS      Education Management Information System
ES        Education Secretary
ESA       Education Sector Analysis
ESSPIN    Education Sector Support Programme in Nigeria
FCT       Federal Capital Territory
FME       Federal Ministry of Education
GEP       Girls Education Project
INSET     In-service education and training
IMF       International Monetary Fund
JICA      Japan International Cooperation Agency
LGA       Local Government Authority
LGEA      Local Government Education Authority
MDG       Millennium Development Goals
MoE       Ministry of Education
MoES      Ministry of Education and Sports (Uganda)
NALABE    National Assessment of Learning Achievement in Basic Education
NAUPEB    National Assessment of Universal Basic Education Programme
NCCE      National Commission for Colleges of Education
NCE       Nigeria Certificate of Education
NEI       Northern Education Initiative
NTI       National Teachers’ Institute
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>PTA</td>
<td>Parent–Teacher Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>SBMC</td>
<td>School-Based Management Committee</td>
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<tr>
<td>SMASE</td>
<td>Strengthening Mathematics and Science Education (JICA)</td>
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<tr>
<td>SSCE</td>
<td>Senior School Certificate Examination</td>
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<tr>
<td>SSO</td>
<td>School Support Officer</td>
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<tr>
<td>SIT</td>
<td>School Improvement Team</td>
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<tr>
<td>SUBEB</td>
<td>State Universal Basic Education Board</td>
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<tr>
<td>TDP</td>
<td>Teacher Development Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TFD</td>
<td>Theatre for Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRCN</td>
<td>Teachers’ Registration Council of Nigeria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRD</td>
<td>Teacher Recruitment and Deployment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TSS</td>
<td>Teachers’ Salary Scheme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UBEC</td>
<td>Universal Basic Education Commission</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNICEF</td>
<td>United Nations Children’s Fund</td>
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1 Introduction

1.1 Research context: an EDOREN perspective

The importance of further research into the management of school teachers as a contribution to improving the quality of primary education was made clear by EDOREN’s Review of the Literature on Basic Education in Nigeria: Issues of Access, Quality, Outcomes and Equity (EDOREN, 2014), stakeholder consultations (November 2013 to March 2014 and again in September 2014) and recognition of the UK Department for International Development’s (DFID’s) education sector programme priorities.

Recent data analysed collected by EDOREN and other DFID education projects suggest that learning outcomes in northern Nigeria are even poorer than suspected (Mezger 2014a; De and Pettersson 2015, Cameron 2015), and may be worsening for poorer students (Mezger 2014a). One 2014 survey in selected schools in Katsina, Jigawa and Zamfara found that only 3% of grade-3 students demonstrated grade-2 English (De and Pettersson 2015). These studies indicate that poor learning outcomes are partly caused by the poor quality of teaching (De and Pettersson 2015, Cameron 2015), which is in turn driven in part by low levels of teacher knowledge. The same study found only 0.1% of interviewed teachers with sufficient knowledge to teach English effectively (De and Pettersson 2015).

Poor teacher knowledge in northern Nigeria is known and being addressed through DFID-funded programmes such as the Teacher Development Programme and the Girls’ Education Project. However, evidence also indicates that poor teacher management is likely to be a substantial driver of teacher performance and therefore learning (Humphreys and Crawfurd 2014).

The present study informs current policy debate in Nigeria and complements other EDOREN work by exploring experiences of teacher management. The findings and recommendations are relevant to government teacher policy, and this fits within a larger reform programme as recommended by EDOREN’s assessment of basic education reform in Nigeria (Gershberg et al 2015). These findings are in the context of an urgent need to recruit (and then manage) many more teachers over the next few years, as set out in EDOREN’s work on teacher supply and demand in Katsina (Bennell et al 2014).

There is now broad agreement, both in Nigeria and more widely, that significant improvement in the effectiveness of primary schooling will be highly dependent on the performance of classroom teachers on a day-to-day basis. In turn, this is affected by several factors, which include: (i) the professional education of the teacher; (ii) the resources and environment provided for her/his work; and (iii) the level of support provided by the management structures both within the school (head teacher and School-Based Management Committee (SBMC)) and at state levels (Local Government Education Authority (LGEA), State Universal Basic Education Board (SUBEB), Ministry of Education (MoE)). It is with the last of these factors, the level of support provided by the management structures, that this study is concerned.

Teacher management in Nigeria has been identified as a research topic in relation to which there is a clear gap, in terms of quality evidence, and a clear need, in terms of policy development. Addressing this gap and ensuring that the research is used will enable EDOREN to contribute to

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1 These schools were not selected to be statistically representative of the state, so these results should be taken as indicative.
improved policy-making by DFID’s education portfolio and by the Government of Nigeria. While management practices across the whole educational sector deserve scrutiny, this study deliberately focuses on the primary school sub-sector, reflecting both the federal government’s priorities and the reflection of those which provide the basis for DFID’s contributions.

Finally, the study contributes to the development of capacity to generate quality research in Nigeria by building the capacity of Nigerian researchers through formal and on-the-job training.

1.2 Research overview

The central research question of the study is: “How effectively are teachers managed in Nigerian public primary schools?” The broad objective has been to establish a clear understanding of issues relating to the management of primary teachers in two Nigerian states, including their recruitment and deployment, in order to provide evidence for any necessary changes in policy and practice.

The study was undertaken on the basis that it is important to understand clearly the circumstances, personal and professional needs, career expectations and aspirations and the other concerns of teachers if sensible and workable improvements in teacher management are to be introduced and sustained. Four key areas of management are addressed in the study:

- recruitment and deployment;
- pay and remuneration;
- training and support; and
- aspirations and expectations

An assumption under-pinning the whole study is that a well-managed teacher (or head teacher) may reasonably be expected to be a more professional and committed teacher than one without this support structure. The study does not present research into the professional competencies of teachers. This lies in the domain of other DFID Nigeria (DFID-N) projects (Education Sector Support Programme in Nigeria (ESSPIN) and Teacher Development Programme (TDP)). It is about the management of teachers as public service employees. In this context, management is taken to include recruitment, deployment, remuneration, support, career progression and any other management strategies designed to enhance teacher professionalism, motivation and commitment.

Although not pursued here, this should translate as greater commitment to the fundamentals of good teaching in her/his classroom practice. The table below suggests the effects/effectiveness which may reasonably derive from attention to the four management themes.
Table 1.1 Teacher management and teacher effectiveness

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Management dimension</th>
<th>Effect/ Effectiveness</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Recruitment and deployment</td>
<td>Professionally ‘settled’ [Posted appropriately to training, experience, age group, subject specialism]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Personally ‘settled’ [Type and location of school]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pay and remuneration</td>
<td>Enhanced motivation leading to greater commitment and contribution to the school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Better attendance and classroom practice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training and support</td>
<td>Positive attitudes to being a professional teacher, with enhanced and relevant knowledge, skills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Better attendance and classroom practice leading to improved pupil learning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspirations and expectations</td>
<td>Stronger knowledge and skill levels pointing towards legitimate interest in promotion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wider knowledge of education</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As a precursor to the main empirical study, a thorough study of available documentation, at all levels of the education system, recorded and synthesised the existing policy requirements and recommendations relating to all aspects of the management of teachers in Nigerian public schools. This literature study is presented at the beginning of each of the four later sections reflecting the four areas listed above.

The study looks at these areas of teacher management from two perspectives: the teachers’ experiences of being managed, and the effectiveness of state public service systems (state ministries, SUBEBs, LGEAs, head teachers and SBMCs) in managing teachers. Those responsible for the management of teachers can be presented in three groups:

- State level/SUBEB
- LGEA (including District Support Officers/School Support Officers (DSO/SSO))
- Head teachers/SBMCs.

The engagement or lack of it, of each of these three groups of managers is considered against each of the four research areas and used later in the interpretation of the findings.

Elaboration of the four areas was undertaken through a process of discussion with a wide range of specialists, resulting in the four sets of questions presented below.
### Table 1.2 Thematic research on teacher management research questions

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Thematic research on teacher management research questions</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1. The Management of Recruitment and Deployment (to, within and between schools)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is the experience of teachers in: (a) being recruited; (b) being posted to a school; (c) being deployed within a school; and (d) being re-posted to another school?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is the experience of: (a) head teachers; and (b) school management committees in deploying teachers within their school (new teachers, qualified teachers, unqualified teachers, male teachers, female teachers)? And of ensuring that teachers fulfil their teaching schedules?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is the experience of SMoE, SUBEB, LGA and LEA managers and officials in managing the recruitment and deployment of teachers?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2. The Management of Remuneration and Allowances</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is the experience of teachers in relation to: (a) pay grade placement and progression; (b) the management of salary payments; and (c) entitlement to allowances (including housing)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is the experience of (a) head teachers and (b) school management committees in deciding and managing any aspects of teacher remuneration and allowances?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is the experience of SMoE, SUBEB, LGA and LEA managers in: (a) determining the pay grades of individual teachers; (b) the administration of salary payments; (c) deciding on allowances; and (d) managing the disposition of allowances?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3. The Management of Teacher Support (personnel and professional support)</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>What is the experience of teachers in relation to: (a) receiving personal support and professional advice within the school and the school community; and (b) from different levels of the State system? To what extent do teacher unions provide effective support services?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What roles do head teachers and school management committees’ play in: (a) fulfilling prescribed teacher support requirements; and (b) using their own initiatives in providing teacher support?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In what ways do SMoE, SUBEB, LGA and LEA managers provide effective personnel and professional teacher support services?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4. The Management of Career Aspirations, Expectations and Progression</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What are teachers’ aspirations and expectations of a career in teaching? What motivates or demotivates them? Where do they see themselves being in 10 years’ time? How do they perceive their status in society?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do head teachers and school management committees play any roles in helping teachers to meet/manage their expectations and career progression opportunities?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How do State, SUBEB, LGA and LEA managers manage teacher career progression?</td>
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As is documented fully in the following section on research methodology, an expert meeting held in Abuja in September 2014 turned these broad questions into more detailed sets of interview questions.

The degree of congruence between the understandings and experience of teachers and of the practice of teacher management systems lies at the heart of this research. If lack of congruence
was to be identified, workable proposals to address barriers to good practice could be identified that take account of legislative, political and technical considerations.

The research was conducted in Kaduna and Katsina States and focused on fifteen schools in each state. A qualitative approach, based on face-to-face interviews, was taken in order to obtain in-depth understandings of the experience of primary teachers. Five teachers were interviewed in each school, along with their head teachers and SBMC chairs. Further interviews were carried out with officials having management responsibilities relating to primary teachers in both states. 150 interviews were conducted with teachers and a further 60 with head teachers and SBMC chairs. 37 interviews were conducted with state officials. There was an outstanding level of cooperation on the part of these research participants, particularly the teachers. All 247 interviews were conducted by a team of 12 field researchers. These researchers, together with the EDOREN researcher who carried out the literature review, are named as the main authors of this report.

The majority of teachers in Nigeria’s primary sector, and two thirds of those participating in this study, are female (details of the research participants are outlined in the methodology section, below). Thus, the report as a whole should be considered as addressing DFID’s concern with gender and education. The key gendered issues reported here are as follows:

- Married female teachers seek deployment close to their homes and unmarried female teachers may be reluctant to be posted to extremely rural schools. Both concerns are legitimate and understandable.
- There was some, but not much, evidence of female teachers having lower aspirations and expectations than their male colleagues. This was not pursued in detail but can reasonably be attributed to the prevalence of gendered roles in society and/or a greater concern for family-based aspirations.

The next section of the report provides a detailed account of the methodology used in the study.

The main findings of the research are then presented in four thematic chapters:

- recruitment and deployment;
- pay and remuneration;
- training and support; and
- aspirations and expectations.

Each chapter is structured in a standard format, including an introduction to relevant literature, showing the perspectives of the different actors (State officials (from the perspective of this study, managing), Head teachers (managing and managed), and teachers (managed)), and concluding.

The final section explores the policy implications of the findings, followed by a series of recommendations.
2 Research methodology and participant selection

This study used a qualitative case study research methodology (Stake, 1995, 2006). Most educational research conducted in and beyond Nigeria is quantitative but:

- Adelabu (2005) reports on a study in five Southwest states (Lagos, Ogun, Oyo, Osun and Ekiti) and the Federal Capital Territory that collected data through in-depth, semi-structured interviews and secondary documentary sources. The study made some interesting observations but it does not include Nigeria’s educationally disadvantaged states in the northern parts of the country where the greatest needs are located (see FME, 2011). It also highlights the need to examine teachers’ situation in less educationally developed Nigerian regions.

- Sherry (2008) reports on a qualitative study of teachers’ feelings and views about the teaching profession through a multi-method approach (including focus group discussions, interviews, questionnaires, desk research and Theatre for Development (TFD)). The study included various stakeholders (including participants from LGEA, SUBEB and agencies of the Ministry of Education) from twelve states across the six geopolitical zones of Nigeria. Data collection methods were not uniform across the states and various categories of respondents. Focus group discussions were held in ten states with primary and lower secondary school teachers of public, private, nomadic and special needs schools while two community TFD workshops were held in Bayelsa and Akwa Ibom states.

- Ememe, Egu and Ezeh (2013) report on a descriptive survey that examined teacher motivation for educational transformation in Abia State with 500 secondary school teachers (about 10% of the teacher population in the state). The report notes that the structure of teacher salary payments requires urgent attention.

- Kamoh, Ughili and Abada (2013) surveyed 1000 adults drawn from various professional fields in Plateau State to understand factors that affect job satisfaction among Nigerian teachers. The findings note, inter alia, that challenges arising within the teaching profession include low wages, low social status, high pupil-teacher ratios, poor work environment, weak career advancement opportunities, inadequate fringe benefits and irregular payment of salaries.

A qualitative approach was taken in this research because it was felt necessary to develop a context-based understanding of the individual experiences of the participating teachers and those responsible for managing them.

Quantitative research typically enables an understanding of what is happening in the focus of study. Qualitative research, however, provides insight into why it happens. It focuses on the diversity of participants’ experiences rather than just their typicality. In this sense, it can be seen as ‘filling in the gaps between the numbers’ in order facilitate a better understanding of key issues.

Case study research is concerned with the close examination of the ‘case’ – here, the management of primary school teachers in the States of Kaduna and Katsina – and usually explores it from different and multiple perspectives. It allows significant contextual issues (such as how management issues are understood at the state level) to be taken into account. This is particularly important in a study such as this because how teachers experience and respond to being managed can differ in different contexts. The understanding of contextual issues is also important because it facilitates the wider use of the immediate study. Qualitative research is concerned with the transferability of findings rather than their generalizability. That is, understanding the significance of contextual matters in the context of the case enables those findings to be considered elsewhere.
providing that those matters are taken into account. This means here that the detailed findings generated by the close examination of teacher management in Kaduna and Katsina States can be applied beyond them.

Face-to-face interviews were the main research method used to generate the data for this study. However, some additional data was generated through a workshop at which State officials were invited to comment on the study’s interim findings. Face-to-face interviews were conducted at fifteen schools in each of the two States. Five teachers in each school were interviewed as well as the schools’ head teachers and SBMC Chairs. Interviews were also conducted with State officials (MOE, SUBEB, LGEA, LGA and also the NUT) responsible for the management of primary school teachers. The total numbers of participants interviewed for this study were:

- 150 teachers
- 30 head teachers
- 30 SBMC Chairs
- 25 officials from Kaduna State
- 12 officials from Katsina State

The interviews were semi-structured to ensure consistency and to allow particular experiences and issues to be explored in greater detail. The participants were promised and given anonymity in order to encourage them to discuss pertinent issues in depth and detail. Contemporaneous notes were made during the conduct of each interview. The main points were summarised at the end of each interview in order to ensure its accuracy and fairness and to give participants the opportunity to add to or correct the notes. Full, and anonymous, accounts were then written up immediately after each interview.

These accounts were then thematically analysed. Each individual interview was considered as a separate case. School level cases (based on the accounts of the teachers, head teachers and SBMC Chairs in each school) and state level cases (based on all the school level cases in each State) were then constructed and examined. The analyses focused on each of the four main areas. Key issues were identified and contextualised and then compared within and across each of the cases.

The data were triangulated at three stages: (i) each individual account was checked for internal consistency; (ii) intra-school comparisons, based on the school level cases, were made; and (iii) intra-state comparisons were made between each of the fifteen schools in the two states. This facilitated the identification of common and discrepant issues. Both were referred back to the primary data for verification and reported within their contexts.

Excerpts from the interviews are used in the following sections to illustrate salient points and to act as a reminder of the significance of the individual experiences of teachers in being managed and of those responsible for managing them.

2.1 The research instruments

The study used semi-structured interviews as the main research instrument. Semi-structured interviews utilise a set of core questions asked of all participants whilst giving the researchers room to ask further questions if appropriate and necessary. The use of the core questions ensures consistency across the whole dataset. In this study it meant that all participants were asked about
their experiences of teacher management in each of the four key areas. The use of follow-up questions gave the researchers the opportunity to seek clarification and obtain further details.

Three sets of research instruments were used in this study focusing on: (i) teachers; (ii) head teachers and SBMC chairs; and (iii) state level officials. The instruments were drafted in English and then translated into Hausa. The English versions of these instruments are available separately on request.

EDOREN and the report’s editors drafted the core questions. The research instruments were informed by key issues highlighted in EDOREN’s *Review of the Literature on Basic Education in Nigeria: issues of access, quality, outcomes and equity* (EDOREN, 2014) and during stakeholder consultations held from November, 2013 to March, 2014 and again in September, 2014. The research instruments were then scrutinised by the Nigerian researchers (below) and the instrument for interviewing teachers was piloted by them in an Abuja primary school during the December, 2014 training session (below). Some small refinements were subsequently made to the Hausa translations of the questions. The initial stages of the fieldwork acted as a second pilot (below).

### 2.2 The research team

Significant emphasis was placed on the capacity building opportunities presented by the study. The report’s editors – Terry Allsop and Michael Watts, both experienced qualitative researchers – led two week-long workshops for the researchers and maintained oversight of their fieldwork.

The first workshop was held in Abuja in December, 2014 and was attended by twenty Nigerian researchers identified and invited by EDOREN. It focused on qualitative interviewing skills and addressed the practical and ethical dimensions of qualitative research. The workshop included the visit to the local primary school at which the research instrument for teachers was piloted (above).

EDOREN had identified two of these researchers as team leaders. The report’s editors and the team leaders then selected ten of the workshop participants to undertake the fieldwork for this study. They were chosen on the basis of their engagement with the workshop and the quality of the interviews they conducted when piloting the teacher research instrument.

The two teams conducted the interviews during the period from 19th January to 6th February, 2015. The researchers reported to the team leaders who maintained contact with the editors throughout this period of data collection. The fieldwork was scheduled so that the first sets of interview data could be sent to the editors for comment and guidance. This therefore acted as a second level of piloting. It should be noted that little additional guidance was required and this mostly concerned the importance of encouraging research participants to detail their personal experiences of being managed rather than simply summarising them.

The members of the research teams then attended a second week-long workshop in March, 2015. The focus of this workshop was the analysis of the research data and the drafting of the research report.

The editors had read all the accounts and devised an analytic framework based on them. The researchers then conducted detailed analyses of each interview account. The editors checked 24 randomly selected analyses (i.e. 10% of the total) against the original interview accounts to ensure the accuracy and fairness of those analyses and the interpretations of the data. There were no
significant problems with the research teams’ analyses and interpretations of the data and the work of the Nigerian researchers forms the basis of this report.

2.3 Site and participant selection

The bulk of the research was conducted in primary schools in Kaduna and Katsina. Fifteen schools in each state were selected. Within each state, five schools from each of the three senatorial districts were identified for the practical purpose of reducing inter-school travelling to a minimum. Care was taken to maintain a balance between schools serving rural and urban populations.

The team leaders had visited both states before the fieldwork started in order to discuss the research with state officials and to obtain their approval of the research. This state level approval facilitated access to the schools. The purpose of the research and its voluntary and anonymous nature was then explained to and discussed with the head teachers and SBMC chairs of those schools provisionally identified for participation. All 30 schools initially approached agreed to take part in the research.

The purpose of the research, as well as its voluntary and anonymous nature, was then explained to the teachers in these schools and they were asked to volunteer to take part in the study. Where more than five teachers from one school volunteered, selection was based on the need to incorporate the diversity of teachers according to their gender, length of service, level of qualification and subject specialisation.

These selection criteria ensured that the study addressed a wide range of management issues experienced by the participating teachers and those responsible for managing them.

The following tables summarise the participants in this study.
### Table 2.1 Kaduna state officials

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/N</th>
<th>Official</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>MoE Director PRS</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>MoE Director SS</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>SUBEB Director Finance</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>SUBEB Director PRS</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>SUBEB Director QA</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>SUBEB Director SS</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>LGEA Education Secretaries</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>LGEA HOD Finance</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>LGEA HOD HRD</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>LGEA HOD School Services</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>LGEA HOD QA</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>LGEA HOD PRS</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>NUT Chair LGEA</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 23 officials, 23M

### Table 2.2 Katsina state officials

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/N</th>
<th>Official</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>MoE Assistant Director Q&amp;A</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>MoE Katsina Director Exams &amp; Admin</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>SUBEB Permanent Members</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>SUBEB Director Q&amp;A</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>SUBEB Assist Director Q&amp;A</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>LGEA Education Secretaries</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Teachers Service Board Katsina, Dir School Services</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Teachers Service Board Katsina, Secretary Recr &amp; Deploy</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>NUT LGEA Chair</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>NUT State Chair</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13M/1F</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 14 officials, 13M/1F
Table 2.3 Head teachers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Kaduna</th>
<th>Katsina</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years as Head Teacher</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Range</td>
<td>1 - 12</td>
<td>1 - 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years of Teaching (inc. as Head Teacher)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Range</td>
<td>8 - 33</td>
<td>12 - 34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.4 Teachers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Kaduna</th>
<th>Katsina</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qualification²</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCE</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years of Teaching</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 – 4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 – 10</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10+</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>14.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Range</td>
<td>1 - 36</td>
<td>1 - 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Schools Taught in</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>12</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5+</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

² The table shows the basic qualifications these teachers have achieved, including obtaining the NCE whilst in service. Many have gone on to take degrees in more specialised or other areas.
Table 2.5 Teachers by main subject qualification

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Kaduna</th>
<th>Katsina</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary Education</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maths</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural Science</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Automobile Tech</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business Education</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computing</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR Studies</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geography</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hausa</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home Economics</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IR Studies</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metalwork</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PHE</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Studies</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Specified</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The study does not claim to represent the typicality of teachers’ experiences of being managed in these two states. That is not its purpose. It set out to explore and understand key issues concerning teacher management in four areas identified by the EDOREN literature review and stakeholder meetings. The study set out to apprehend and contextualise the range of these issues.

It did this through face-to-face interviews with 150 teachers and further interviews with those responsible for managing them at school and state levels. There is a risk in all educational research studies – whether qualitative or quantitative – that the selection of participants is unrepresentative. However, this is less of a problem in qualitative studies where the concern is to consider the diversity rather than the typicality of experience. It could also be argued that this risk is greater in qualitative research because potential participants with critical views may not put themselves forward for participation. However, this was mitigated here by the assurance of individual and institutional anonymity in the public reporting of the research findings.

It could be argued that the teachers’ self-reported experiences of being managed subjectively distorts the study’s findings (e.g. most teachers, in and beyond Nigeria, are likely to complain that they are not paid enough). However, the qualitative approach taken in this study addresses this

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3 Figures for Kaduna record all subjects, including double main NCE subject. Figures for Katsina record only the main subject identified by the teachers during interview.
concern through appropriate contextualisation (e.g. complaints about not being paid enough were contextualised through comparison with other state employees).

This is both the strength and weakness of such qualitative research: it provides context-based insight into key issues but does not seek to quantify them. No study can reasonably claim to provide a definitive account of primary teacher management. This qualitative study, however, reasonably claims to apprehend and explain the diverse complexities of teacher management within the four areas of: (i) recruitment and deployment; (ii) pay and remuneration; (iii) training and support; and (iv) aspirations and expectations.
Managing Primary Teachers in Kaduna and Katsina States

3 Managing the recruitment and deployment of teachers

3.1 The literature

Effective teacher recruitment and deployment is necessary for quality delivery of basic education. Scholarly observations in Nigeria indicate that such recruitment cannot be guaranteed. An important factor is overlapping responsibilities among various agencies that play duplicating and sometimes conflicting roles in teacher recruitment, training, deployment and transfer (Adelabu, 2005; Williams, 2009; FME, 2012; Humphreys and Crawfurd, 2014). This leads to inconsistency in management and also creates situations in which there is either no clear information about who does what or there is over concentration of effort in some areas while others are neglected. Adelabu (2005, p. 9) reports that:

“The NUT national president observed that the existing teacher recruitment and retention policies are not uniformly applicable at the three tiers of government in both public and private schools in the country... teachers are recruited as civil servants at the federal level through the federal Civil Service Commission, but at the state and local government levels, they are treated as public servants and employed by State Education Boards or Commissions. Such inconsistency means that teachers, often, do not enjoy uniform conditions of service and career prospects.”

The teacher recruitment and deployment system has been observed to be subject to political interference, which tends to influence the teachers’ appointment, impact on their morale, working relations and overall school management (Dunne et al., 2013). At the LGEA level appointments and transfers are sometimes made to particular areas based on political pressure and patronage (Williams, 2009; Dunne et al., 2013; Humphreys and Crawfurd, 2014). Similarly, a report on the Female Teacher Trainee Scholarship Scheme in Niger and Bauchi states notes that bureaucratic bottlenecks in the process of deployment remain a major barrier to the meaningful posting of graduate teachers to schools (EDOREN, 2015).

A case study report by ESSPIN in Kwara, Kaduna and Kano states observes that "Staffing levels vary significantly across the three states and teachers are not well utilised, many having only little direct teaching time. The appointment of teachers is an obscure process undertaken by the LGEAs” (ESSPIN, 2009, p. 4). In Katsina, a recent EDOREN study finds a wide range of staff levels across LGEAs and a requirement to recruit up to 20,000 more teachers in the next ten years merely to keep pace with population growth and rising enrolment rates (Bennell et al 2014).

Other observations in the literature include:

- uncoordinated efforts towards increasing teacher supply (FME, 2005)
- uneven distribution of teachers across states, especially in core subjects (FME, 2005)
- confused and/or absence of discernible recruitment and deployment norms across the states (FME, 2005)
- contention regarding how to pay, and who pays, teachers’ salaries
- difficulties in recruitment and retention of quality teachers due to poor remuneration, delayed salary and the profession’s low public esteem, “such teachers can neither inspire confidence nor command respect of those they teach” (FME, 2012, p. 45)
the five most important factors that weaken teaching as a profession, as noted in the ESA, include poor regard for teachers in the society, poor working conditions, poor salaries, lack of promotion prospects and lack of teaching facilities (FME, 2005)

sometimes, unqualified instead of qualified teachers are appointed because they are considered cheaper for the resource-constrained LGEA thus, not only weakening the quality of education delivery but also having a negative effect on teacher morale (Sherry 2008; Dunne et al., 2013), and

teacher deployment has been observed to be inappropriate and teachers’ specialised training does not usually match their postings (FME, 2005; Adekola, 2007; Thomas, 2011).

Although the National Certificate of Education (NCE) curriculum has been revised (see National Commission for Colleges of Education (NCCE, 2012)), a large number of teachers trained under the old curriculum perceive themselves as subject specialist teachers, which means they are actually poorly prepared for teaching in the primary school classroom (see Adekola, 2007; Thomas, 2011; Humphreys and Crawfurd, 2014).

Across Africa similar shortcomings have been noted. Mulkeen (2008) reports on a study in Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Uganda and Tanzania which observed that teacher deployment, particularly in rural African schools, faces major challenges. The study found that there exist uneven deployment patterns, with surpluses in certain schools and shortages in others, despite the availability of unemployed qualified teachers. There seems to be a general pattern of weak qualified teacher supply to rural areas. Summarising the five-country experiences, Mulkeen argues that the problem of teachers is usually perceived as a problem of teacher supply, which is partially true, but there is also a serious problem of teacher deployment. In many countries unemployed qualified teachers are found in urban areas while rural schools remain understaffed. He observes “This pattern of simultaneous surplus and shortage is strong evidence that the problem of teachers for rural schools will not be solved simply by providing more teachers” (op.cit. p. 2).

An examination of the conditions of teachers and teaching in rural schools across African countries shows that education authorities often face challenges in finding qualified teachers for rural schools and communities (Adedeji and Olaniyan, 2011). A 2013 study by the Ugandan Ministry of Education and Sports (MoES) notes that that there were 37% schools with a surplus of teachers, 45% of schools with a deficit of teachers and 17% of schools with an adequate number of teachers across the country (MoES, 2013). Bennell and Akyeampong (2007, p. 36) report that:

“Remote location coupled with relatively poor working conditions results in under-staffing of rural schools with high vacancy rates. The rural teacher in South Asia usually has more than one class to teach. In Ghana, five percent of schools have only one or no teacher and these are all in rural areas. In contrast, urban schools tend to be over-staffed. Where patron-client networks are strong, as in South Asia, teachers use their connections to secure appointments in preferred locations.”

### 3.2 The state officials

**Kaduna**

Teacher recruitment is the responsibility of the LGEA. The LGEA works with a recruitment committee which is made up of representatives of the various government stakeholders, teachers unions, communities and faith-based groups. The official recruitment process involves a call for
applications, short listing of qualified applicants, oral and written interviews, verification of candidates’ credentials, and finally, issuance of employment letters.

Protocols covering appointments are clear and well understood. Unfortunately, there has not been any systematic recruitment of primary teachers in the state for four years, until the most recent year, under new leadership. Over this period, as teachers have died or retired, recruitment and transfer has been carried out on an ad hoc basis. This approach has proved to be very susceptible to political pressures. One LGEA reported that it was threatened that their Education Secretary would be sacked if s/he did not comply with certain posting requests. It was suggested that: “There is a lot of political interference. Everyone wants his father, brother or sister posted to the town.” In the stakeholder meeting, however, Kaduna representatives assured us that this may now be seen as a historical problem.

There is a huge problem of teachers going to and remaining in rural areas, while urban schools are full of teachers. Kaduna has not had the resources to put in place meaningful incentives for teachers to be attracted to working in rural areas. As the table below shows, there is a strong and well-understood awareness of gender and qualification issues in relation to teacher locations.

Table 3.1 Qualified and female teachers in selected LGAs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Selected LGAs</th>
<th>% Qualified teachers</th>
<th>% Female Teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kaduna North (urban)</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zaria (urban)</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ikara (rural)</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kubau (rural)</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State total</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One MoE interviewee wanted teachers to be posted ‘blind’ to rural areas, thus matching postings to needs.

The general, traditional practice of preference in appointments being given to indigenes may sometimes have negative implications as in some cases their qualifications have been historically lower than those of other candidates. However, this is now seen as being a minor issue.

Katsina

The state is subject to a moratorium on the general recruitment of primary teachers, with recruitment being restricted solely to the replacement of teachers who leave the service. Within this ceiling, the Teacher Recruitment and Deployment (TRD) protocols are understood and implemented. The state has been able to overcome some shortages by the recruitment by LGAs of unqualified teachers – up to one hundred in number – at a salary of ₦10, 000. These teachers are expected to enrol for training to achieve NCE level qualifications.
Generally, recruitment is based on qualifications and experience. There was an overall sense of recruitment processes improving (e.g. the recruitment of appropriately qualified teachers) but also a willingness to recognise problems (e.g. shortages in key subject areas).

Deployment attempts to take account of school needs but there remain significant barriers, particularly in: (i) the deployment of teachers to rural schools; (ii) the reasonable expectation of married female teachers that they will be deployed in such a way as to keep the family together; and (iii) the understandable reluctance of single female teachers to take isolated rural postings. Interviewees were very clear that the issue of specific incentives for teachers in rural schools needed to be addressed urgently.

3.3 The head teachers

Kaduna

Head teachers are typically not consulted or involved in the recruitment and deployment process: “I have no involvement whatsoever in the recruitment of teachers. We just see new teachers arrive in the school with their letters of appointment.”

They are also not expected to scout for teachers locally. However, some do engage volunteer teachers who are funded by the SBMCs. Based on school needs, head teachers may write to the Education Secretary of the LGEA requesting additional or replacement teachers, but this process is slow and not always effective: “From 2000s, until now, only ‘political teachers’ have been recruited.”

Since the state-wide embargo on official recruitment, head teacher accounts of ad hoc recruitment in some LGAs suggest that this does not follow due process and is heavily influenced by politicians. Unqualified teachers are hired because of political connections, and teachers are routinely posted to schools with no consideration for teachers’ specialisations or school needs. The process for the verification of credentials is not robust and some unqualified teachers are able to pass off fake certificates or impersonate other teachers to gain employment.

Low capacity is an issue for both qualified and unqualified teachers. According to one head teacher, “Some of the teachers even with certificates cannot prepare good lesson notes.” Primary school teachers are expected to be able to teach subjects outside their area of specialisation when the need arises but this is not always possible especially for religious studies teachers who do not possess the minimum teaching qualification. One urban school visited had 20 Islamic Religious Knowledge teachers, but the head teacher was forced to recruit a volunteer maths teacher to meet demand after official requests were not addressed.

Head teachers cannot reject unqualified or incapable teachers posted to their schools. Instead they address these deficiencies by organising periodic in-house training and/or by attaching new teachers to more experienced teachers for mentoring and lesson supervision.

Codes of conduct for teachers are supposed to be issued to teachers when they receive their letters of employment but these are not commonly available or used and some head teachers are not aware of them. Common disciplinary issues faced by head teachers in the management of teachers include insubordination, late attendance and absenteeism. Teachers cite the causes of
late attendance and absenteeism as being the cost and distance of travel from home to the school, lack of transportation, competing family commitments and health issues.

Head teachers employ a wide range of methods to ensure that teachers fulfil their teaching schedules, including the strict use of attendance registers, regular reviews of lesson plans, classroom observation, and the monitoring and supervision of teachers during lesson times. In some schools, SBMCs conduct impromptu monitoring visits which keep teachers focused on their work, for fear of disciplinary action. When a teacher’s performance is repeatedly found to be inadequate, the head teacher first discusses the issue and provides advice. If this fails to result in the desired change, the issue is raised in staff meetings, with school disciplinary committees (which include senior teaching staff) and with the SBMC. As a last resort an official complaint is sent to the LGEA via the SSO for disciplinary action. Disciplinary action can take the form of a warning, suspension without pay or transfer to a more remote school.

**Katsina**

Recruitment is an on-going process in Katsina State and several teachers have been recently recruited to the schools visited by the research team. The LGEA is responsible for teacher recruitment and deployment. There are two systems of recruitment in the state, as described by head teachers in the 15 sampled schools.

- The first is recruitment based on merit. When vacancies arise (due to deaths or the resignation of teachers), the LGEA advertises the positions and invites applications from qualified candidates. Suitable candidates are shortlisted for interviews and if successful, are issued with appointment letters. However, interested candidates may also submit prospective applications to the LGA.

- In the second approach to recruitment, placements are given to elites, traditional rulers, politicians and other influential people, and unqualified teachers are sometimes employed based on their recommendations. Political interference also extends to deployment, and teachers without political connections are often posted to rural areas or to schools which are far away from their homes. “Most of these politicians candidates are not even interested in the teaching job they just want the salary, you won’t even see them coming to school and you can’t report them. Those that want to do the job and have the qualification are not employed.”

The level of involvement of head teachers in the recruitment process varies from one school to another. Some head teachers say that they are consulted by the SBMCs and LGEAs on school needs and specific teacher requirements in terms of subject specialisations or qualifications. They may be given the opportunity to recommend volunteer teachers who have experience in the school to the LGEA for recruitment. Others head teachers are not involved at all and only become aware of any recruitment and deployment activity when the new teachers appear at the school. Most head teachers in the state typically do not scout for teachers and view this as being the responsibility of the LGEA. However they can make requests for new teachers either by informing their SBMC, writing to the Zonal Inspector of Education or applying directly to the Education Secretary of the LGEA. These requests are not always granted in their entirety and they are also subject to delays. Similarly, the level of involvement of the SBMC varies by school and may include lobbying the LGEA for additional teachers to meet school needs.
Head teachers believe that the recruitment process would be improved if there was no political influence and if head teachers were more involved in the process through: (i) participation in the interview process; (ii) scouting for new teachers who live within the communities; and/or (iii) providing information on the subject specialisations needed in their schools.

Although recruited teachers possess the required minimum qualifications, many have limited capacity to discharge their duties. Unqualified teachers are often posted to rural areas. As one head teacher complained: “Let me tell you from my experience, most of the schools in the very rural areas have very incompetent teachers. I have a friend who is also a head teacher in another very rural school. He called me one day to visit his school and he showed me something that surprised me – 70%-80% of the teachers could not read or write.”

Head teachers routinely pair new or unqualified teachers with older and more experienced teachers for mentoring and guidance on lesson note preparation, teaching methods and class control. They may also assign unqualified teachers to more administrative roles in place of teaching classes. Head teachers provide teaching materials to new teachers, and monitor and supervise teachers by regularly checking their lesson plans, pupil attendance registers and teacher attendance registers. They also carry out spot checks during lesson hours and classroom observations. SBMCs also conduct surprise inspection visits to check that teachers are fulfilling their schedules.

Common disciplinary challenges are late attendance, absenteeism and failure to prepare lesson notes. Where lateness is due to the distance between the school and their homes the head teacher and the SBMC may assist the teacher in securing accommodation within the community. Head teachers are not aware of any guides relating to teachers’ conduct. When teachers are not fulfilling expected teaching schedules or are found wanting in any way, the first action by the head teacher is usually to speak with the teacher concerned and issue warning or advice. If this fails, the case is reported in a school management meeting or to the SBMC. If these efforts fail, an official report is made to the LGEA as a last resort.

3.4 The teachers

Kaduna

There are clearly laid down processes for teacher recruitment, involving a written application and interview. Encouragingly, a few teachers reported having been asked to carry out a small piece of teaching as part of their interview. However, with the suspension of regular recruitment since 2010, the need to fill gaps caused by retirement and other departures from the system has opened the door to less regular practices, sometimes based on favouritism. This has been a particular issue for rural schools, where filling gaps is significantly more difficult.

Deployment to teaching posts is a major issue. Pre-2010, posting was carried out through general teacher transfer, with no consideration of individual requests. Since then, the ad hoc gap-filling referred to above has caused considerable variation in deployment outcomes. Specific points of concern are:

- The distance from the teacher’s current residence to the school is a major concern which is not taken into account. Information about the teacher’s location should therefore be recorded before deployment.
• Some teachers made requests relating to posting locations and were left waiting for up to two years for a job. However, as these requests typically applied to urban postings this is, perhaps, the price that has to be paid for a more desirable posting.

• In the deployment exercise, little or no attention is paid to the identified subject needs of the individual school. This appears to be because there are simply not enough teachers available to fill gaps in the key subject areas of Maths, English and Science and even fewer teachers able to teach the full primary subject range.

• The interviewees in this sample identified specific cases where political influence and/or cash were used to influence deployments. There is a general background of awareness of these practices through many interview reports. As one teacher explained: “Teaching is not a profession because the gate of entrance is too porous and anyone can be employed to teach.”

What happens on arrival at the teaching school after deployment is rather variable. In the minimal case, the new teacher is assigned a class and left to get on with the job. In others, and most frequently, the new teacher is linked with a more experienced teacher who offers a modest mentoring role, focused often on the generation of lesson notes and teaching aids. Assignment of teaching subjects is rather variable, with often a weak linkage between the assignment and the teacher’s qualifications. The issue of being asked/required to teach the full range of core primary subjects is clearly not resolved. For example, in one of the study schools, only two out of the six teachers interviewed were teaching all subjects.

Head teachers and SBMCs are not generally involved in the process of recruiting and deploying teachers. There is poor or non-existent matching of school needs to postings.

Katsina

It is important to record that large-scale primary teacher recruitment has not taken place in Katsina since 2006. In the intervening period – and perhaps predictably (after all, it is said that nature abhors a vacuum) – mechanisms for filling vacancies in primary schools have been very variable, being a mix of due process (written applications plus interviews) and use of influence or ‘godfathering’ (involving officials at various levels). Many of our interviewees described non-standard practices. Two of the consequences of this are presented below:

• Teachers are appointed with inappropriate qualifications, with many not holding the required NCE and some even having only passed the Senior Secondary School Examination (SSCE).

• When interviewed for an appointment, the subject knowledge of the teachers in relation to what they will be expected to teach is rarely tested.

There is an interesting voice from the teachers which suggests that the old Grade II teaching qualification is more appropriate for the role of being a good all-round primary teacher than is the training of the typical current NCE graduate. This is likely to continue to be the case for as long as the Primary Teaching course in Colleges of Education (CoE) remains seriously under-subscribed, resulting in NCE graduates emerging without the appropriate background in the teaching of core primary subjects.

As with recruitment, deployment of teachers is carried out through a mix of due process and influence. This state of affairs has likely become more prevalent since the recruitment hiatus in 2006, with informal mechanisms operating in the absence of mass transfers and postings: “Most
Managing Primary Teachers in Kaduna and Katsina States

of the teachers recruited are either related to [someone of influence] or know one or two people in the LGEA.”

This results in:

- A good deal of re-posting on request, typically for female teachers for perfectly reasonable family reasons. This seems to be reasonable in the prevailing social context.
- Re-deployment being frequently used as a punishment – for a variety of reasons but most often as a result of quarrels and disagreements between the teacher and officials, head teachers or other teachers.

There is a particularly interesting situation in relation to large urban schools which often appear to have teacher shortages despite the wishes of many teachers to live and work in the urban areas. Ironically, rural schools tend to be much smaller and to have relatively favourable pupil-teacher ratios. One teacher’s comments sum up the problems for these large urban schools: “We have over 6000 pupils in this school and about 200 or more in each classroom. Can you imagine the stress?” This school presently has a shortfall of 15 teachers against its establishment. In such a situation, should we be surprised that newly-appointed teachers take one look and walk away?

3.5 Conclusions

The summary table below registers themes and issues identified by respondents in each of the states.

Table 3.2 Summary of issues concerning the recruitment and deployment of teachers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme/Issue</th>
<th>State officials</th>
<th>Head teachers</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kaduna</td>
<td>Katsina</td>
<td>Kaduna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Lack of adherence to recruitment procedures</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Current informal, political replacement of teachers</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Lack of consultation regarding school needs and vacancies</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Little attempt to match curriculum coverage in appointments</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Doubts about authenticity of qualifications of applicants</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Codes of conduct not issued at appointment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Deployment a major issue, particularly to rural schools</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Postings to urban schools also an issue</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>9. Positive support systems for new teachers</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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</table>
• In both States, for clear historical reasons, recruitment into primary teaching is currently confused and unsatisfactory, although both are struggling to bring coherence to the processes used. Standardised procedures for appointments, involving written applications and formal interviews, are essential tools for identifying appropriate candidates. They also provide the strongest possible response to the widely reported knowledge that many appointments are made through unacceptable, informal channels, based on the use of influence with officials. A speedy end to the embargo on primary teacher recruitment should result in a sharp reduction in the non-professional influencing of teacher appointments. The recruitment processes must not only be open and robust, they must be seen to be open and robust.

• It continues to surprise that, generally, head teachers have very little or no part to play in the selection of teachers for their school, resulting in serious imbalances in their staffing. They are often not consulted about their staffing needs and they typically simply receive new teachers to fill numerical gaps in their establishment. It seems almost self-evident that a head teacher, as their future manager, should have a key part to play in selection of her/his teachers. As has been discussed above, and despite recognition that there are clear procedures laid down for appointments, head teachers indicate that there is now often a political dimension in the outcomes of applications. Why is there no systematic attempt, perhaps using DSO/SSO, to map the staffing needs of each school on an annual basis, taking particular account of the need to provide both age-range and curriculum coverage? Unfortunately, part of the response to this question lies in the serious imbalance in the technical skills of those in the application market for primary teaching. Far too few candidates offer expertise, or even qualifications, in the core subject areas of Mathematics, Science and English; even fewer offer the most desirable skill-set of teaching the full (or at least broad core) range of subject areas in the lower primary school. There are huge policy implications for those training future primary school teachers.

• As with recruitment, watertight procedures for postings of teachers to their schools need to be implemented and enforced. However, a degree of sensitivity needs to be introduced into the system so that teachers do have an opportunity to present their preferences for posting. While it may seem that a large majority will prefer an urban posting, there is also the phenomenon of teacher flight from large urban primary schools. Clear strategies, developed at federal level, are urgently needed to address the shortages of trained teachers in rural primary schools through a judicious mix of meaningful allowances and smart postings. The process used in Bauchi State should be reviewed as it appears to have successfully resolved the issue there.

• There is evidence of good practice in the ways in which some newly appointed teachers – whether beginners or experienced teachers – are introduced to their local authorities and schools. It would be helpful if this practice were codified and made a standard requirement. These interviews identify significant commitment by head teachers to their tasks as managers of their new colleagues while also recognising that levels of resourcing often limit what they can achieve.

• The role of SBMCs in relation to teacher recruitment is generally minimal, appears generally non-controversial, supportive and politically benign. There are occasions when SBMC is involved in locating a volunteer teacher to cover an emergency vacancy.
4 Managing the pay and remuneration of teachers

4.1 The literature

The payment of salaries and allowances are major factors in teacher motivation in Nigeria and across Africa. The ESA study observed that head teachers, in collaboration with local education authorities, used various financial incentives and rewards to keep teachers motivated. These included: the confirmation of appointments, paid annual leave, transport allowances, annual leave allowances, meal subsidies, seasonal bonuses, payment of overtime allowances and rent allowances (FME, 2005). However, it is not clear how effective these incentives have been. Other studies indicate that teaching staff are not adequately motivated and remunerated for their services, which impacts negatively on the quality of services, teaching and learning processes in schools (UBE, 2011; Humphreys and Crawfurd, 2014). The NALABE report shows that 16.3% of primary school teachers were not satisfied with the job (UBE, 2011).

In many of the countries studied by Bennell and Akyeampong (2007) teachers’ salaries are not only very low, they are also not paid regularly on time, often in the context of acute fiscal crises. Also in some countries, it was observed that newly recruited teachers had to wait for up to a year before being included on the payroll.

Other key issues observed in Nigeria and other African and Asian country case studies include:

- While allowances constitute the bulk of teachers’ remuneration package in a few countries (particularly India and Bangladesh), many African countries have phased out allowances as a consequence of public sector salary reforms influenced by IMF and World Bank agendas.
- Teachers are not usually entitled to similar allowances that other civil servants enjoy, such as car and housing loans.
- The level of remote area allowances on the overall rural-urban staffing imbalances is too small for real impact (Bennell and Akyeampong, 2007).

The World Bank (2010) reported on the outcome of a workshop on improving teacher management in challenging situations which drew participants from Ministries of Education in Eritrea, Kenya, Liberia, Somalia, South Sudan, Uganda and Zimbabwe. The report notes that:

“Despite the crucial role that management systems play in the delivery of education services it is often the case that disproportionately few technical resources from government or donors are devoted to making sure that the “pipe” through which pay flows is efficient and leak free. Little attention is paid to monitoring and, where necessary, improving the match between output and pay. Problems in teacher management are well known and include “ghost teachers”, teacher absenteeism, poor performance, irregular, and insufficiently transparent and/or insufficiently secure pay processes.”

Teacher motivation is very weak, especially in rural areas. Teacher pay and working conditions were the main source of dissatisfaction reported among teachers in a number of studies (Bennell and Akyeampong, 2007; Sherry, 2008; Humphreys and Crawfurd, 2014). However, the ESA identified low status of the profession as the key factor that fuels teacher job dissatisfaction (FME, 2005). It was observed that teachers posted to remote areas usually experience demotivation resulting from lack of relevant incentives. Up to 66% of the education parastatal respondents in
the FME (2005) study were aware of this. It has been observed that low teacher motivation in Nigeria exhibits as widespread teacher absenteeism in public primary schools, which is endemic in rural areas and also been linked to inadequate teacher support, inadequate school infrastructure and low pay (Adelabu, 2005; Adekola, 2007; Sherry, 2008; FME, 2009; Dunne et al., 2013). Evidence also suggests that teachers’ low morale is reflected in the quality of their teaching (Dunnes et al., 2013).

Slow promotion and poor salary demotivate teachers. According to FME’s ESA study report, “an appreciable proportion of teachers have remained on the same salary grade level and have therefore not been promoted for 7–9 years (5.9 percent) or for over 10 years (9.6 percent)... It is therefore not surprising that an appreciable proportion (43 percent) of teachers yearn for alternative employment” (FME, 2005, p. 137). In their study of 12 African and Asian countries, Bennell and Akyeampong (op.cit., p. 26) observe that low levels of motivation were apparent and resulted in teachers seeking ways out of teaching.

“In general, most teachers see teaching as a ‘stepping stone’ to careers that they feel are more respected and are better paying than teaching. This is particularly the case for early career teachers who enter teaching much younger than those who entered a generation or two ago, and whose aspirations can hardly be contained by what the profession offers, in terms of remuneration and working conditions.”

In Adelabu's (2005) study, stakeholders emphasised the need to raise primary teachers’ motivation and job satisfaction through: regular payment of salaries; improved working environments; linking of promotion to professional achievement; regular provision of opportunities for in-service training; and reliable payment of pension and gratuities. Adedeji and Olaniyan (2011) examined teachers’ condition across several African countries and explained that the degree to which teachers are inspired and encouraged is very crucial for effective delivery of quality education.

Studies across Nigeria highlight other factors that contribute to demotivate teachers and weaken the esteem of teaching profession:

- Low and delayed payment, especially in comparison with other civil servants, which is worsened by high cost of living (Adelabu, 2005; FME, 2005; Adekola, 2007; Sherry, 2008; Dunne et al., 2013; Humphreys and Crawfurd, 2014).
- Although there exists a Teachers’ Salary Scale (TSS), salary and remuneration practices currently vary (Humphreys and Crawfurd, 2014).
- Promotion of teachers is based on academic qualifications and number of years in the service rather than individual competence (Adelabu, 2005; Adekola, 2007).

The findings of this current study corroborate many of these issues, particularly concerns about low salaries and allowances and how these influence perceptions of status.
4.2 The state officials

Kaduna

Some historically contentious issues have been addressed. Salaries are now paid regularly by direct electronic payments from SUBEB to the teachers’ bank accounts and allowances are now clearly stated in each teacher’s pay slip. However, the ability to discipline teachers is seen to be reduced as a result of direct electronic salary payments from SUBEB to bank accounts.

Katsina

Pay scales are centrally determined and depend on qualification levels. Officials acknowledge that equivalence with other public sector worker salaries is not the case, with rewards to health workers being often cited. Electronic payment of salaries and allowances means regular and reliable payment, with no reported problems.

4.3 The head teachers

Head teachers and SBMCs are not responsible for the payment of teachers’ salaries and allowances or for making deductions from their pay. It was suggested that this does not allow them to properly represent the teachers in terms of their pay and remuneration. It also means that they cannot use the threat of deductions to enforce discipline but it was also suggested that this prevented them from making arbitrary deductions. In terms of managing pay and remuneration, head teachers and SBMCs are limited to listening to the complaints of their teachers about low salaries and related issues.

Kaduna

Teachers’ salaries and allowances are determined by the SUBEB and LGEA based on their grade levels in the civil service pay scale and paid directly into individual bank accounts on a monthly basis. Head teachers’ involvement is limited to forwarding any pay-related complaints or updates to teachers’ personal details to the LGEA for action. Neither head teachers nor SBMCs play any role in determining the level of teachers’ remuneration or in paying them.

Previously salaries were paid at the school level and the head teacher could withhold payment as a method of ensuring teacher discipline. With the new e-payments system, salaries can only be withheld if the teacher has been absent for over a week and the head teacher must first write to the LGEA to approve this action. This may take several weeks to implement and the process is subject to political interference, making it significantly less effective.

E-payments of all teachers’ salaries and allowances has significantly improved the timeliness of payments and reduced instances of leakages or fraud. However, there are still complaints about late payments for newly appointed teachers, unexplained salary deductions (NUT levies, ENDWELL loans, NTI fees for continuing education) and promotions which are not reflected in salaries for many years. There is no established procedure by the LGEA for communicating to teachers on any pay related issues. Complaints are resolved on an individual basis, with the head teacher writing to the LGEA on behalf of the concerned teacher.
Most teachers do not understand the various deductions from their salaries, and would greatly benefit from receiving payslips, and having these explained to them by the head teacher.

**Katsina**

Teachers are entitled to several allowances which are either paid annually (leave, housing and/or promotion allowances) or monthly (transport, responsibility and/or hazard allowances). However many head teachers claim that teachers do not receive these allowances. It is possible that salaries and allowances are lumped together in monthly payments and teachers do not receive payslips so are not aware that these allowances are in fact included in their take-home pay.

Salaries are paid now via e-payments directly to teachers’ bank accounts. “In fact every month in Katsina State, it’s the primary teachers that receive their salary first before any other civil servant. We usually start receiving our salary on the 22nd of each month. This seriously motivates primary school teachers.” With the current administration, salaries have been paid regularly and on time every month, but leave allowances and yearly increments are not paid regularly.

Head teachers and SBMCs are not involved in paying salaries, although they assist teachers to follow up with the LGEA on any issues such as omissions from payroll or deductions from teachers’ salaries. They may also provide some financial assistance to new teachers until they begin receiving their salaries.

### 4.4 The teachers

**Kaduna**

There is widespread concern about the ‘very meagre’ salaries paid to teachers. Most made unfavourable comparisons with the salaries paid to other civil servants (e.g. health workers) and workers in the private sector and drew links between pay and social status. General levels of dissatisfaction with pay and remuneration meant that some teachers were actively looking for other teaching positions or work in other professions. However, a small number of teachers acknowledged that at least they had a job for which they were regularly paid. Levels of dissatisfaction about pay and remuneration were higher in the urban schools where the cost of living is higher.

All teachers appreciated having their salaries paid regularly into their bank accounts. There was concern, though, that they are not properly informed about their salaries and deductions from them. Not all teachers received pay slips explaining their salary and the deductions from it. This typically led to a feeling of distrust. The problem of not being given pay slips was higher in the rural schools.

The teachers typically reported disparities in levels of pay and this was a particular cause for complaint when teachers on the same Grade Level were paid less and when they felt that their experiences were not acknowledged. There were also widespread complaints that extra responsibilities were not recognised in either their salaries or allowances.

Teachers are paid a range of allowances including housing, meal subsidies, teaching allowances and transport. Qualified teachers also benefit from the Teachers’ Salary Scheme (TSS) allowance
which makes up a significant part (27.5%) of their salary. However, most teachers felt that these allowances were insufficient: “Allowances do not match the realities on ground.”

Unexplained and inconsistent deductions were a constant source of complaint. Again, unfavourable comparisons were drawn with other civil service jobs in which entitlements and deductions are clearly stated. Deductions for NUT membership were particularly resented because the teachers saw no benefit from their membership.

The promotion system was a source of dissatisfaction because it was typically seen as rewarding length of service rather than performance.

“Even my pupils are promoted from one class to the next and it shows their progress but I, the teacher, have remained on level 07 since I started... What does that portray? No progress. This annoys and discourages me a lot.”

Delayed promotions – which were typically described as ‘promotions on paper’ – are a common problem and widely recognised as demoralising. Some teachers reported waiting up to ten years for their promotions. This was a cause of deep unhappiness because of the impact on the teachers’ salaries. This was made worse because arrears are not paid when the promotion is finally completed. Another problem is that the delays in the process are not explained. One teacher explained how she had to bribe the local authorities when she was promoted in order to have the promotion confirmed and to receive the increased salary.

Katsina

Most teachers complained that they were not paid enough and made unfavourable comparisons with other professions. Some teachers suggested that their levels of pay had improved since the introduction of the minimum wage. Unqualified teachers and those working in rural schools were more likely to be satisfied with their pay. However, there was a widespread concern that low salaries are demotivating and one teacher carefully explained how this problem can have an influence on the quality of teaching:

“Most teachers have small business of their own because their salaries is not enough and sometimes they don’t do their work well because of that.”

Disparities in levels of pay were a source of frustration, particularly for qualified teachers. Some teachers reported being on the minimum wage but others are paid through the Consolidated Salary Structure (CSS). A small number of teachers did not know what structure was used to pay them.

Despite these concerns, all teachers acknowledged and appreciated that they were paid regularly.

The lack of transparency about allowances is a major problem. The introduction of the Consolidated Salary Structure (CSS) has caused some confusion. It has also led to resentment when teachers perceive that allowances they had previously received (e.g. for transportation) have been removed. A particular concern was that hazard and rural allowances are not properly paid.

A significant proportion of teachers in the Katsina schools reported that they did not receive any allowances. Some teachers acknowledged that they were paid through the CSS but complained
that they were insufficient. Other teachers, including some on the CSS, believed they were entitled to allowances but that they did not receive them. Teachers paid outside the CSS were more likely to complain that they received no allowances.

There was also resentment about the deductions taken from the teachers’ salaries. The lack of transparency about deductions was a constant problem but this was overshadowed by two major concerns. One source of frustration for some teachers was that they had been asked to pay ₦2,000 for the TRCN (Teachers Registration Council of Nigeria) licence in order to receive allowances but that they had not got them. Similar concerns were expressed about deductions for NUT membership because they did not believe they were obtaining any benefits from it.

Delays in the implementation of promotions were widely reported, with one teacher explaining that he had been waiting seven years to have his promotion confirmed. This led to resentment because increased salaries were not paid.

### 4.5 Conclusions

The summary table below registers themes and issues identified by respondents in each of the states.

**Table 4.1 Summary of issues concerning pay and remuneration of teachers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme/Issue</th>
<th>State Officials</th>
<th>Head Teachers</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kaduna</td>
<td>Katsina</td>
<td>Kaduna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salary levels</td>
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<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delayed promotions</td>
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<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electronic payments</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Payment of allowances</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explanation of allowances and deductions</td>
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Teachers in both states typically feel they are underpaid, particularly in comparison to other civil servants. There is an impact on their social standing in the wider community. A more significant problem is that it can affect motivation and performance. The financial implications of delayed promotions and the failure to explain allowances and deductions cause resentment. Some teachers have other employment and others are seeking other jobs.

Salary levels and promotion processes are federal and/or state level matters but can be managed more effectively at the state level by providing greater transparency. Head teachers and SBMCs have no management role in the pay and remuneration of their teachers. However, acknowledging these issues can facilitate their management to a limited extent.
Teachers want to know what allowances they are entitled to and paid and what deductions are made from their salaries. While still more can be done to achieve full transparency in the way in which primary teachers are rewarded for their work, huge strides have been taken in addressing this issue through regular electronic payment of salaries. The relatively simple refinement of accompanying the payment with an electronically generated pay-slip, documenting all allowances paid and deductions made, would complete the task. The use of detailed pay slips (the absence of which appears to be a significant problem in Kaduna’s rural schools) would provide the transparency sought by the teachers.

The introduction of the Consolidated Salary Structure has caused particular problems in Katsina because not all teachers are aware that it incorporates allowances that had previously been paid separately into their salaries. It is also a concern for teachers who are not paid through the CSS yet do not receive separate allowances. Clearer guidance on the CSS, which could be offered in schools, would address at least some of these concerns by providing greater transparency.

The most widely resented deduction is the payments to the NUT. Not one teacher taking part in this study believed the NUT was properly representing them. This is particularly ironic when considering their pay and remuneration because of the NUT’s role in negotiating salaries.

At school and state levels, the most effective means of addressing teachers’ concerns about their pay and remuneration is to ensure greater transparency. In particular, any allowances to which they are entitled and deductions that are made need to be clearly explained.
5 Managing the training and support of teachers

5.1 The literature

Professional induction, orientation, mentoring and support are necessary for teachers (especially newly employed teachers) to be effective. FME (2012) observes that “formal orientation of new teachers is virtually non-existent in the country”. New graduates are employed and deployed to classrooms without adequate preparation and induction. It is noteworthy that a number of donor projects in Nigeria, such as COMPASS, ESSPIN, Girls Education Project (GEP) and Northern Education Initiative (NEI) have developed integrated school-based, in-service development programmes that mentor and support teachers. Available information on the detail and outcomes of these programmes is limited in the public literature (Humphreys and Crawfurd, 2014).

In Adamawa, one study showed that “administrative and in-school support for teachers tended to be rather bureaucratic in nature and variable in frequency across the case study schools and LGEAs. There was only limited evidence of assisting teachers with pedagogy or content” (Dunne et al., 2013, p. xvi).

The findings of the multi-country studies by Bennell and Akyeampong suggest that teachers in many countries do not feel that they are adequately managed and supported. Shortcomings are observed in in-school monitoring, corruption, mismanagement and poor accountability at all levels of teacher management. In Nigeria, teacher supervision and support tend to be erratic, with the result that they are rarely seen as being tools for improving the quality of education delivery. Bennell and Akyeampong (2007, p. 44) explain that in Nigeria “teacher consultation is minimal and overall management is ‘autocratic’ and ‘high-handed’ with minimal teacher consultation. Inspectors lower morale through unfair administrative and supervisory practices.”

A review of literature on basic education by Humphreys and Crawfurd (2014, p. xiv) observes that "disciplinary sanctions are often applied in an ad hoc fashion, and it may depend on the teacher’s connections as to whether any action is taken."

Head teachers are responsible for day-to-day in-school teacher administration and management in Nigeria but there is a policy gap regarding their actual roles and responsibilities (Sherry, 2008). In Ghana, it was observed that, the appointments of head teachers are not based on competence and managerial skills but on the basis of number of years in teaching profession. On appointment, most head teachers are not given requisite training to enable them to perform their duties (Bennell and Akyeampong, 2007).

Definitions

A range of terminologies describe the professional development opportunities for Nigeria teachers. They may be practically grouped under three headings, thus:

- **In-service training** – leading to achievement of additional qualifications
- **External training** - comprising short courses, workshops and seminars; offered by a wide range of providers, typically by international partners
- **Internal training** - comprising in-school activities, professional development meetings, ‘step-down’ de-briefings, mentoring
This leaves familiar internationally recognised acronyms like INSET and CPD on one side, as these two cross the three categories above. Of course, intelligent external training should be symbiotic with follow-up at school level. In this section we shall try to use consistently the three terms: in-service training, external training, and internal training.

5.2 The state officials

Kaduna

Interviews with staff of the HRD and DSO/SSO teams presented a positive rhetoric about centrally delivered training (external training) with many appropriate descriptors being used (peer coaching, mentoring, etc.) in describing their plans.

Budgets for training rely almost entirely on international partners. There was very positive feedback on the work of ESSPIN and the School Improvement Teams (SIT) throughout the state.

In the context of support for teacher training, relationships between state bodies and NUT are cordial (both sides concur).

No evidence was presented of gender discrimination in access to training.

Katsina

Newly appointed teachers are expected to receive a one-week induction programme before deployment.

The importance of and need for professional development are widely recognised, particularly in the key areas of Science, Maths and language teaching. This can contribute to some teachers in other subjects feeling discriminated against in relation to access to professional development opportunities.

There is no gender discrimination in access to training.

International organisations provide high levels of support for training with the NUT covering transport and other related costs.

There is an expectation that teachers who participate in external training activities will ‘step down’ what they have learned to their colleagues. However, this may just be too simplistic a proposition.

5.3 The head teachers

It is clear that the role of the head teacher (and associated colleagues) in leadership and management of the school teaching staff in regard to teachers’ professional development is being strengthened. There are three significant elements to this:

- The creation of School Improvement Teams (SIT).
- The development of the notion of coaching/mentoring for new or insecure teachers by senior colleagues from inside and outside the school.
The communication of learning to the whole school from teachers who have been participated in external training programmes.

Kaduna

Teachers receive training and support mainly through external workshops and seminars, in-school training and in-service training. External training is often organised by NGOs (ESSPIN, MDGs and JICA/SMASE) and covers subject areas such as Maths, English and Basic Science or grade levels, such as Early Child Care and Development. The head teacher or School Services Department in the LGEA nominates teachers to attend the various training workshops. There is high demand for these workshops but limited places. External training events often provide an allowance to cover meals, accommodation and transport as required. This is a modest but significant additional income for teachers.

Nomination should be based on the criteria provided by the organisers such as the subject specialisation of teachers or specific grade levels taught by the teachers. However there are reports of teachers giving bribes to officials, or using political connections to attend these training events and collect the allowances.

Once a teacher has been nominated, attendance is compulsory. Teachers are also encouraged to share what they have learnt with a wider group of teachers in their school during internal training. Head teachers organise these sessions, led by external resource persons, the head teacher or experienced teachers. They encourage knowledge sharing within the school and provide learning opportunities for new teachers. In some cases, this is funded by the community through the SBMC or from the head teachers’ personal finances.

The number of teachers receiving in-service training leading to qualifications has increased following the recent government policy which stipulates the NCE as the minimum requirement for teaching. As one head teacher explained: “There is competition among teachers to obtain high qualifications. It is now possible to have graduates teaching in schools.”

Head teachers also provide support, advice and encouragement to teachers seeking to enhance their professional capabilities. They forward requests for in-service training and support teachers who need to be absent from school to take exams or attend classes. They also facilitate internal training and professional development meetings in the school, and encourage mentoring among teachers. They may also lobby the LGEA for specific training needs of teachers in their school and request instructional materials.

Katsina

Donor programmes such as UNICEF, Millennium Development Goals, Save the Children and DFID’s Teacher Development Programme run training workshops for teachers. There are limited place available and high demand so teachers are nominated by either their head teachers or the LGEA based on criteria provided by the organisers. Thoughtful head teachers try to rotate the nominations so that all teachers eventually get the chance to participate in external training. SBMCs may lobby for additional slots for their schools so that more teachers are able to benefit from these training workshops. The NTI, SUBEB and LGEA organise similar workshops. In some cases the head teacher provides support to teachers for training out of personal funds, and SBMCs and PTAs also fund teacher training.
Teachers are encouraged to obtain higher professional qualifications through in-service training. After three years in service, teachers can apply for permission to register for in-service training and will continue to receive their salaries while they study. In some cases they may also receive sponsorship to pay for registration fees and tuition. Selection of eligible teachers is done at the LGEA level so there are politics involved and obtaining the approval for these programmes can be difficult.

Teachers also have opportunities to develop their capacity through in-school training organised by head teachers which cover subject knowledge, teaching methods and class control. These are led by the head teacher or experienced teachers and include ‘step down’ training by teachers who have attended external training.

5.4 The teachers

Kaduna

Policies relating to access to in-service mode courses leading to qualifications are generally well understood. Courses, often provided by NTI, are part-time, typically combining an element of distance learning with attendance at face-to-face sessions in school holidays. A prime population is those teachers seeking to meet the minimum requirement of holding an NCE. There is generally no sponsorship available for these courses, although a small number of teachers report that it is possible to receive the equivalent of one month of salary sponsorship.

The role of development partners (including ESSPIN, SMASE, MDG and UNICEF) in liaison with UBEC, SUBEB and occasionally LGEA in generating a menu of short-term external training opportunities, typically of up to two weeks in duration, is well documented. The relevance of these courses for improving the quality of teachers and teaching is frequently stated, with more of these opportunities being available now than ever before.

However, a number of issues do arise, including:

- Some irritation that only permanent teachers can participate. This is understandable but the greatest needs might be those of temporary teachers.
- The courses are not always well publicised, which breeds suspicion that access to them may not be transparent. A number of teachers indicated that bribery of LGEA/SUBEB officials did occur in relation to course access: “Because of the issue of connections, favouritism and bribery, some teachers did not attend any workshops or seminars.”
- Nomination for participation in external short courses is by the head teacher (or occasionally the LGEA) and is reasonably based on the school’s own needs and priorities, particularly in relation to the strength in a particular subject specialisation needing to be enhanced. For those whose subject specialism is not within the range of Maths, English and Science there is scope to feel that discrimination in selection is occurring. One teacher had not attended any training course after 14 years in one school. Such teachers express high levels of frustration.
- There appears to be a bias towards teachers from urban schools when it comes to selection for course participation.
- It is acknowledged that materials, transport and feeding for these training programmes are reliably provided.
Many of the teachers who have participated in external training programmes indicate that, on return to their schools, they have engaged in ‘step-down’ (cascade) training with colleagues, usually in a much abbreviated form. This process is managed by the head teacher. A few schools organise in-school training at least once a term, with some emphasis on feedback from training courses: “When they come back from the workshop sometimes they tell us what they learnt.”

Overall, these programmes receive considerable acclaim, thus, one teacher “suggests training and retraining of teachers on a massive scale to improve quality of education.”

Katsina

Katsina teachers are familiar with the processes to be undertaken in order to access courses leading to further qualifications. They also indicate that there are no resources to support them during extended study periods while working in their spare time, typically for an NCE or BEd. It is believed that a period of service of three years is required before application may be made.

The external training programmes offered by MDG, ESSPIN and TDP, along with State cluster activities – the latter being workshops in the core subjects of Maths, Science and English – are very positively received: “If we only get more training like this, teachers will be the best and people will start removing their children from private schools and start taking them to government schools.”

However, selection for participation in these programmes is a contentious issue, as seen below:

- From some schools, all teachers have attended TDP/MDG courses.
- In others, there seems to be a variety of modes of selection, including: (i) by LGEA/SUBEB ‘godfathers’; (ii) by head teachers acting alone; and/or (iii) by discussion in a staff meeting where recommendations are made to the head teacher. The third version provides a good democratic model – but it is not one that is commonly used.
- In urban schools there is a lot of lobbying for places on courses. In rural schools the LGEA decides on participation, in zones or batches, with no complaints emerging.

There is an underlying current of concern that places on external training courses can be ‘bought’, the deal apparently being that the allowance for participating is shared with the ‘sponsor’. Thus: “Even if your name is selected by LGEA or SUBEB for training, they replace you with someone else who can share the training allowance with them. It is unfortunate that corruption is everywhere.”

5.5 Conclusions

The summary table below registers themes and issues identified by respondents in each of the states.
Table 5.1 Summary of issues concerning the training and support of teachers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme/Issue</th>
<th>State officials</th>
<th>Head teachers</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Entitlement to access courses leading to higher qualifications</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value of short-term, externally provided training programmes</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strengthen transparency in allocation of places on training programmes</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ensure new learning from training programmes is shared on return to school</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ensure returning teachers are supported and have early practice opportunities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Entitlement for all primary teachers of at least three years standing to undertake in-service courses of study leading to higher qualifications is well understood in both states. Clearly, those leading to the required NCE are the most needed, but other courses leading to graduate qualifications are popular. Sponsorship by states having lapsed, it seems unlikely that it will return, and teachers are resigned to paying their own fees.

- The importance of short-term external training opportunities, from whichever provider, is increasingly recognised by all parties (officials, head teachers and teachers) as contributing to improvement in the quality of schooling in the states.

- The role of the head teacher in identifying teachers to participate in these training opportunities is central. There is a need to strengthen the transparency in allocation of places on these courses, to include at least the following:
  - Clear advertising/publicity for courses coming forward, including indications of priorities within the school development plan.
  - Transparent procedures for teachers to apply to join a course.
  - Transparent selection process.

- A commitment to engage in the communication of their new understandings and skills on return from a course with colleagues in their own school (‘step down’) should be a requirement for every participating teacher. The opportunity so to do needs to be structured into the in-school training timetable of each school.

- Which leads to the need for managers to understand what is needed for new learning to be translated into improved classroom performance. Specifically, that the teacher should have (a) early opportunities to practice their newly developed skills, and (b) appropriate
mentoring/coaching support. The limited response to these last two points, by all respondents, suggests that there is a significant gap in understanding of change processes, which has important implications for the effectiveness of the system.
Managing the aspirations and expectations of teachers

6.1 The literature

The management of teachers’ aspirations and expectations is often linked to their continuing professional development (CPD). An important factor in teachers’ development is “the mismatch between teaching qualifications and teacher skills and competences” (FME, 2012: 86). Consistent professional development opportunities for teachers contribute to ensuring that they have relevant and up-to-date capacity for quality teaching. Both ESA and other studies, such as the National Assessment of Learning Achievements in Basic Education Programme (NALABE) and National Assessment of Universal Basic Education Programme (NAUPEB) indicate that teachers are given opportunities for professional development. Over 90% of primary school teachers were involved in various forms of CPD programme between 2003 and 2006, while about 51% of them were between 2006 and 2009 (UBEC, 2009, 2013). However, these figures should be treated with caution because they reveal nothing about the quality and effectiveness of the training in relation to teachers’ development needs. FME (2012, p. 86) notes that “where continuing professional development exists, it is often of very poor quality. In addition to poor quality, there are also not enough channels for effective teacher professional development.” Exchange programmes that promote sharing of best practices are also lacking.

Elsewhere in Africa, it has been noted that promotion opportunities are few. In Uganda, MoES (2013, p. 95) notes that “the current career structure provides little upward opportunities and increase in pay other than promotion to managerial posts thus limiting opportunities to real career progress and evolution. Career structures are relatively flat, at both primary and secondary/post-primary levels.” The current teaching professional career structure tends to limit career development opportunities. “Upward mobility within subsectors is particularly slack, especially for primary teachers which represent the bulk of the teaching force.” (op. cit., p. 106). Nevertheless, on the basis of the high number of applications in relation to limited vacancies, MoES (2013) claims that teaching jobs are highly sought after. However, it notes that 47% of teachers stated that they are dissatisfied with their job, 59% stated they would not choose teaching profession again if they had the opportunity to choose a new job. 78% of the teachers perceived that their colleagues were not satisfied with their job. Salary was the major source of dissatisfaction.

Bennell and Akyeampong (2007, p. 37) note that:

“Career progression opportunities remain limited in most countries, which mean that a teacher’s salary increases by relatively little over time. Being able to double one’s salary over a 30-year career is still the exception in Africa. Teachers in some countries (such as Malawi) complain that their promotion prospects are considerably worse than for other civil servants in comparable occupations. Promotion criteria are also still based largely on qualifications and years of service. Consequently, both good and bad teachers get promoted together, which many teachers find very demoralising. In some countries (such as Malawi) promotions are based on interviews, which are widely criticised for their lack of transparency. In Bangladesh, only 5-10 percent of teachers manage to get promoted to higher positions during their careers. There are clear guidelines for promotion in Nepal, but they are ‘rarely applied’. In Kenya, teachers who live in remote areas have virtually no chance of being visited by an inspector, which dramatically reduces their promotion prospects. In Pakistan, teachers have to acquire additional qualifications in order to be promoted, which many, especially women and those working in remoter areas, find especially difficult to study.”
These issues, which are addressed more closely in the previous section, typically influenced the aspirations and expectations of the teachers taking part in this study. They linked them to perceptions of social standing. Interestingly, but perhaps inevitably, they were more optimistic about status when considering it in the context of their aspirations and expectations than in the context of their pay and remuneration.

6.2 The state officials

Kaduna

Teachers are encouraged to take further qualifications up to BEd level but have to pay their own course fees.

The State claims to be up-to-date with its step-wise promotion of teachers, although it recognises that the linked payments are often very much delayed. There is an argument for promotion being linked to classroom performance, although it is well understood that this would have to be preceded by a radically different approach to annual reporting processes.

Katsina

There are protocols in place for regular promotions on a three-yearly cycle. Officials reported no problems with this process, except in cases where teachers failed to complete and submit the required assessment (APPER) forms. Adjustment of salaries to reflect promotions seems to be a more problematic case.

6.3 The head teachers

Kaduna

One head teacher noted that: “Most teachers have the desire to further their education to improve their teaching career and enhance their earning, because the more you add qualification, the more the salary is increased.” It is common for teachers to hope to gain more advanced qualifications – NCE, BEd and MEd – and to eventually become head teachers. Head-teachers’ aspirations are similar: obtaining higher qualifications, finding an opportunity to teach in Colleges of Education or to become Education Secretaries of their LGEAs.

Even after obtaining the required qualifications, promotions and matching salary increases are often delayed. A number of head teachers expressed surprise at being promoted to their positions without “knowing anybody.”

There are several opportunities for teachers to advance their careers through workshops and seminars, in-service training and promotions. Most teachers desire higher qualifications in education which is relevant to their work. Government supports this by granting approval for part-time study in Colleges of Education, Training Institutes or Universities. However, this training is self-funded and some teachers may not be able to afford this. In the case of workshops and seminars “all these are not regular and to access such support involves a lot of lobbying including bribery.”
Head teachers support and encourage teachers’ aspirations by nominating them for workshops and training, facilitating requests for approval of in-service training, and awarding prizes to high performing teachers. The SBMCs have little involvement in issues of career progression, or supporting teacher’s aspirations. In some cases, they may support the head teacher in lobbying the LGEA on behalf of a teacher whose promotion has been delayed.

Teachers are highly regarded in the communities and their role is perceived as an important contribution to society. It is also acknowledged that they do a very difficult job with little pay. Some teachers join the profession because they want to contribute to human development and teach the younger ones and because of the job security. However, quite a number only teach because they had no other alternative. Due to poor remuneration, teaching is often viewed as a last resort career and many teachers would leave if they had better paying alternatives. Furthermore, promotions are delayed and pensions are not paid regularly during retirement.

### Katsina

Many teachers entered the profession because of a desire to teach young children and because they are highly valued in the community and seen as character builders. According to one head teacher, the expressions on peoples’ faces when he meets them in the streets is what gives him the confidence and courage in his work, and it is obvious that they appreciate the school in general. However, teachers are also considered the least among the civil servants in terms of remuneration: “My assistant went to ask for a girl’s hand in marriage and they refused him because he is a teacher.” Many take on teaching jobs because they had no other alternatives and would move on to a different career if they had the opportunity.

Teachers’ aspirations include a desire to obtain higher qualifications and to be promoted to more senior positions such as head teacher or Inspector of Education at the Zonal Education Office. Head teachers support teachers in realising their aspirations by encouraging them to obtain higher degrees, nominating them for workshops and in-service training and even supporting them to attend this training out of their own personal funds. Teachers in rural schools appear to have less access to external training and are less motivated to pursue higher qualifications beyond the NCE.

It is interesting to note that most head teachers expressed surprise that they were able to reach their positions based merely on recognition of their hard work and excellent performance, citing others who have more experience and the expectation that only those with political connections could be appointed as head teachers.

### 6.4 The teachers

### Kaduna

Most of the teachers wanted to stay in education despite the frustrations and problems they encountered. As one explained: “I’ll remain a teacher for life, even if I retire.” However, not all of them wanted to remain in primary education. Some expressed a desire to work in higher education but none were considering working in secondary education.

Their aspirations are typically high and include becoming head teachers, university lecturers, Education Secretary and even State Commissioner for Education. Several teachers, especially those aspiring to high office, explained that having seen other primary school teachers progress to
such positions inspired them. Importantly, most aspired to become better teachers and to raise the standards of teaching. For example: “I would like to be a school head teacher so that I can direct other teachers on how to do things right.”

It was suggested that raising the minimum qualifications required for primary teaching had raised aspirations across the profession. Most teachers wanted to obtain higher qualifications. The few teachers who did not wish to undertake further studies either had lower qualifications and/or were nearing retirement.

Most teachers had registered with the TRCN to improve their professional development. However, their aspirations were typically moderated by their working conditions. The problems with pay and remuneration, particularly the failure to implement promotions, and with training and support noted above limited their expectations of achieving those aspirations. This was particularly problematic in the rural schools where the teaching environments tend to be more impoverished. One teacher was reported as saying: “As one stays in teaching, especially at primary school level, one’s aspirations are lost.” Another complained that he had not attended a training workshop in over thirty years and that he had consequently lost his aspiration ‘to become somebody in society.’

These cases highlight the importance of professional recognition. Recognition from the school (including from head teachers and students) and from society was appreciated. Rewards for outstanding performance, such as public awards or material support, are important and help improve teachers’ esteem. However, so too are day-to-day examples of recognition such as being included in decision-making processes at the school. There was some concern that political, religious and tribal issues could influence which teachers were recommended for awards but only a few teachers complained about this. As indicated above, the lack of such recognition can be extremely damaging to teachers’ aspirations and expectations.

Although teachers had complained that their relatively low pay meant they were seen to have a relatively low status, they typically believed that teaching was seen as a respectable and worthwhile career. Their status could be enhanced by pay and promotion, training opportunities and public recognition because these all acknowledge their professionalism. This acknowledgement is important and some teachers, particularly those with higher qualifications, reported being willing to defend themselves as guardians of the nation’s children: “The teaching job is a blessing to every teacher because it is a noble course.”

Despite the problems they face, primary teachers in Kaduna are mostly enthusiastic about their teaching and this is helped by the growing recognition of their professionalism.

Katsina

Teachers in Katsina are generally enthusiastic about their teaching and have high aspirations even though they acknowledge that their opportunities to achieve them may be limited. However, some acknowledged that their working conditions were so poor that they were looking for other employment, with one teacher explaining: “I am not too comfortable with the teaching profession and may leave primary education if there are other opportunities.”

Most teachers, though, want to stay in education. Their working conditions, outlined in the sections above and addressed below, inform the aspiration of most teachers to be better teachers and to have their professionalism acknowledged. They want to see their pupils benefitting from
their education and recognise that they need to improve their own qualifications if they are to achieve this. There is therefore a widespread desire to obtain higher qualifications and teachers with NCEs were particularly keen to obtain university degrees. Better qualifications are also seen as necessary for those teachers wanting to move into educational management positions.

Most teachers hoping to obtain better qualifications to meet their aspirations were also hoping to obtain sponsorship for their studies.

There appear to be some slight links between gender and high aspirations with some female teachers matching their aspirations to socially determined expectations. One, who felt that teaching was the only respectable profession for her as a woman, explained: “The NCE is enough. I don’t want to further my education.” Most female teachers, though, had higher aspirations than this. However, the high aspirations of most teachers were tempered by realistic expectations. The lack of opportunities to meet those aspirations was acknowledged and some teachers had limited their hopes: “This [lack of opportunity] seriously discourages me in having an aspiration. All I want is to retire peacefully.”

The teachers generally wanted more training to help them achieve their professional aspirations and become better teachers. Recognition of their professionalism had the potential to motivate them. This could be achieved through such training as well as by rewarding outstanding performance and registration with the TRCN (Teachers Registration Council of Nigeria).

It was widely reported that working conditions, particularly a lack of encouragement and limited teaching materials – limited their professional expectations and so undermined their aspirations. Other concerns included disparities in pay, delays in the implementation of promotions, the lack of rewards for good teaching and poor salaries. Some teachers also complained that junior colleagues were promoted to senior positions ahead of them and it was implied that this was achieved through connections rather than based on merit. These issues were typically more problematic for teachers in rural schools.

The absence of appropriate training was acknowledged as a barrier to achieving their professional aspirations. Arabic and Religious Knowledge teachers were less likely to receive such training. This appears to have limited their expectations but not their aspirations.

Although most teachers had linked low salaries to low social status, most felt they were well regarded in society. It was generally acknowledged that they needed to act professionally to merit that recognition. This tended to add to their frustration that they were not given the opportunities for professional development.

6.5 Conclusions

The summary table below registers themes and issues identified by respondents in each of the states.
Managing Primary Teachers in Kaduna and Katsina States

Table 6.1 Summary of issues concerning the aspirations and expectations of teachers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme/Issue</th>
<th>State Officials</th>
<th>Head Teachers</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kaduna</td>
<td>Katsina</td>
<td>Kaduna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgement of high aspirations</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delayed promotions</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Further study</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-financed study</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor working conditions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seeking other employment</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The majority of teachers taking part in this study emphasised their commitment to teaching. Some, however, admitted that it was simply the best career option available to them and that they would quit if better opportunities became available. Given the widespread concerns about working conditions addressed in the previous sections, this indicates the importance of managing teachers’ aspirations and expectations. Most have high professional aspirations, particularly obtaining higher qualifications, but these are typically tempered by the acknowledgement that opportunities to realise them are limited. That is, they have high aspirations but limited expectations.

Managing many of these aspirations and expectations (e.g. providing opportunities and funding for further study) is beyond the power of head teachers and SBMCs. This appears to be generally understood by the teachers. However, there are opportunities to manage their professional aspirations and expectations within schools. Most teachers expressed the desire to become better teachers and, importantly, to have that recognised. Their professionalism can be recognised by and in schools through public acknowledgement of good performance and involving them in decision-making processes. Further opportunities for such recognition should be encouraged where appropriate (i.e. when teachers demonstrate the professionalism to which they aspire). Mentoring and in-school training can facilitate this.

This requires professionalism from the teachers and schools can manage this through appropriate advice and support through mentoring and in-school training. There is evidence to suggest that this is happening and that the aspirations and expectations are being managed as far as possible in most schools. However, some teachers feel that the schools are not doing enough to support them (even when their concerns cannot be addressed by the schools).

As many opportunities for professional development (e.g. taking part in training courses) are the responsibility of state level officials, the states need to pay attention to the training and support issues addressed above. However, it is not clear whether or not state officials fully understand the extent to which working conditions (e.g. the lack of resources) impact on teachers’ aspirations and expectations.
There were some links between gender and subject specialisation and the aspirations and expectations of teachers. Female teachers and Religious Knowledge teachers tended to have lower aspirations and expectations. These links were not consistent but both concerns appear to be more pronounced in Katsina. There was no evidence that teachers in urban schools had higher aspirations but those in rural schools may appear to have lower aspirations because of their lower qualifications and because of more limited opportunities for professional development.

Recognition of teachers’ professionalism can mitigate some of their concerns about the links between salary and social status and address some of the other problems identified above. However, this should not be taken for granted as there are indications that at least some teachers would be willing to swap the social status associated with the teaching profession for higher salaries paid elsewhere in the labour market.

The aspirations and expectations of teachers can be better managed by:

- Implementing promotions, including salary increases, in a timely manner.
- Ensuring transparency when nominating them for CPD courses.
- Involving them in school-based decision-making processes.
- Publicly acknowledging their professionalism.
7 Discussion

The key proposition underlying this study is that well-managed primary school teachers – in and beyond Nigeria – will be more effective in their core task of encouraging and supervising the learning of their young charges who will, in turn, become more successful learners. Four key dimensions which contribute to sound management practice, both for teachers and more generally, were identified:

- recruitment and deployment;
- remuneration and allowances;
- professional development; and
- career progression.

Four important general themes need to be highlighted before any specific conclusions are presented. The first theme is, in a sense, tangential to the study. The rest, however, are of key relevance.

Firstly, the current expectation of the delivery of the primary curriculum across Nigeria is that in the early years the core subjects of English (i.e. literacy), Mathematics (i.e. numeracy) and Science will be taught by a single teacher who has received an appropriately broad training in their college preparation. Unfortunately, the proportion of new and experienced teachers with this background and accompanying confidence is very small (in our small sample, only 12% of the Kaduna teachers had taken Primary Education Studies as their college major, 9 out of 75; those offering English, Mathematics or Science were respectively: 11, 1 and 8). This has profound implications for all those engaged with the staffing of primary schools, be they state officials or head teachers. The extent of the mismatch between the need to provide each school with a balance of generalists and subject specialists and the available pool of teachers available for posting is huge. For the preparation of beginning teachers in colleges, there are very clear implications – offer far more places for those students offering primary education as their major study. For the bulk of the present teaching force who identify themselves as subject specialists, the scale of professional development required to significantly change their skill portfolio is considerable. In the meantime, every time they sit down to generate a school curriculum and timetable, head teachers are faced with insoluble dilemmas. When faced with classrooms full of children with no teacher, the present timetabling, which allows teachers to say that they have taught their subject classes for the day, gives the head teacher little purchase to insist that all her/his classrooms are staffed at all times.

Secondly, a significant majority of the teachers interviewed in this study had been recruited into primary teaching during ‘normal’ times. This was prior to 2006 in Katsina and 2010 in Kaduna, when bulk recruitment of teachers was carried out at state level. Recruited teachers had, in general, been put through an appropriate, standard selection process involving written applications and interviews (sometimes supplemented by written tests, and in rare cases being asked to teach a sample lesson). They had few complaints about this process. The same teachers reported a general slippage in the standards applied in the appointment of teachers since those key dates, as vacancies in schools resulting from retirement or death have been filled on an ad hoc basis, which is much more open to abuse. Officials from both states are aware of this and profess to be attempting to return to a well-ordered and transparent due process. There has to be a
general concern, addressed below, as to whether or not mass, state-wide recruitment of primary teachers, followed by centralised posting, should be the preferred mode.

Thirdly is the issue of promotion, which, for most teachers, is simply a mechanistic process. At present, promotion is simply linked to years of completed service, with promotion to the next level occurring every three years and generating a salary increase. There have been backlogs in promotion processes but both states now indicate that they are up-to-date (although many teachers complain of the delayed implementation of their promotions). What is barely visible is any dimension of performance in the process, beyond the mere functionality of the submission of annual reports. What could be considered is a radical overhaul of the promotion system, which would, en passant, strengthen the roles of DSOs, SSOs and head teachers in an accountability process.

Fourthly, a significant concern regarding teacher professionalism emerges from this study, which permeates all four of the themes specifically addressed. The focus throughout on the need for visibility of due process (e.g. when deploying teachers, nominating them for external training programmes, etc.), suggests that teachers are not only concerned about their own jobs but with the status and perception of the profession. This contributes to the issue of the legitimacy of teaching and so relates quite directly to their social status. This is particularly pertinent given teachers’ understandable concerns over pay and how that is seen as a measure of their importance to the society. This has potential repercussions for both the employment and retention of teachers.

7.1 Recruitment and deployment

Recruitment into primary teaching in both Kaduna and Katsina is currently confused and unsatisfactory, for clear historical reasons. Officials in both states are struggling to bring coherence to the processes used. Standardised procedures for appointments, involving written applications and formal interviews, are essential tools for identifying appropriate candidates and for addressing the widespread knowledge that many appointments are made through unacceptable, informal channels and based on the use of influence with officials. The recruitment processes must not only be robust, they must be seen to be open.

The weak, or non-existent, matching of school staffing needs to posted teachers presents serious challenges, in many cases, for head teachers and school management. Why is there no systematic attempt, perhaps using DSOs/SSOs, to map the staffing needs of each school on an annual basis, taking particular account of the need to provide both age-range and curriculum coverage? Unfortunately, part of the response to this question lies in the serious imbalance in the technical skills of those in the application market for primary teaching, as introduced above. Far too few candidates offer expertise, or even qualifications, in the core subject areas of Mathematics (i.e. numeracy), Science and English (i.e. literacy), and even fewer offer the most desirable skill-set of teaching the full range (or at least a broad core) of subject areas in the lower primary school. This has huge policy implications, beyond the scope of this study, for those training future primary teachers.

As with recruitment, watertight procedures for postings of teachers to their schools need to be implemented and enforced. However, a degree of sensitivity needs to be introduced into the system, so that teachers do have an opportunity to present their preferences prior to posting. The particular issue of ensuring that rural primary schools are properly staffed according to their
agreed pupil-teacher ratio remains acute, with the posting of female teachers presenting particular challenges. A recent study (Tao and Iwuamadi, 2012) in Kwara State argues that it is possible to describe a package of measures which can make rural postings more appealing, to both female and male teachers. Of the issues they cite – family; living conditions; security; mobility; working conditions; and salary – all except one (working conditions) are external to the school, and all apply to a greater or lesser extent to male as well as female teachers. They argue that it is possible, as seems to have been achieved in Bauchi State, to initiate a rural teacher incentive package which will make a difference.

There is evidence of good work being done in the ways some newly appointed teachers – whether beginners or experienced teachers – are introduced to their local authorities and schools. It would be helpful if this practice were codified and made standard.

7.2 Pay and remuneration

While still more can be done to achieve full transparency in the way in which primary teachers are rewarded for their work, huge strides have been taken in addressing this issue through regular electronic payment of salaries. The relatively simple refinement of accompanying the payment with an electronically generated pay-slip, documenting all allowances paid and deductions made would complete the task.

7.3 Training and support

Entitlement for all primary teachers of at least three years standing to undertake courses of study leading to higher qualifications is well understood in both states, with those leading to the required NCE being the most popular. The need for participation in these courses to be relevant to the real needs of primary teaching is paramount but not yet widely guaranteed. Sponsorship by states having lapsed, it seems unlikely that it will return, and teachers are resigned to paying their own fees.

The importance of short-term externally-provided training opportunities, from whichever source, is increasingly being recognised as contributing to improvement in the quality of schooling in the states. However, there is some urgency for selection processes to be made much more open and transparent, with it being clear for all to see as to why an individual teacher was assigned to a specific training course.

It should be a requirement that every participating teacher engages in the sharing of their new understandings and skills with colleagues in their own school, on return from a course. The opportunity to make such a contribution needs to be structured into the CPD timetable of each school.

7.4 Aspirations and expectations

Overall, the teachers interviewed in this study, in both states, recognise the importance of the role of primary teachers in the society. They feel that theirs is a job worth doing. However, they also make clear that they are frequently not provided with the tools necessary to deliver of their best. Key concerns include: (i) access to teaching/learning materials; (ii) access to professional development opportunities; (iii) and access to benefits, such as housing and other allowances, which would allow them to focus better on their school tasks.
Teachers and head teachers understand that their legitimately high aspirations have to be tempered by the realities of their contexts. They still believe that they have a measure of respect in their communities and feel that their job is key to the development of their country.

7.5 Enhancing the management of primary school teachers

It may be a step too far to speak of every teacher having an entitlement to specific conditions in respect of the various dimensions of being managed. However, is it too much to ask that there be a written code of conduct produced by and for management (and perhaps negotiated with the NUT) and made known to every teacher at the point at which he or she is offered an appointment?

Table 7.1, presented below, suggests a format which could be used, minimally, as a statement of intent. It indicates the key management issues identified in this study and, in due course, could perhaps be elaborated for use as a contractual agreement that would be binding on all parties.
Table 7.1 Enhancing the management of primary school teachers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Professional theme</th>
<th>Management commitment</th>
<th>Teacher commitment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Recruitment and posting</td>
<td>An annual census of vacant posts, specifying school needs, will be made through DSOs/SSOs and head teachers. It will form the basis for all recruitment and postings. All of the identified vacancies will be advertised. All qualified applicants will be interviewed using appropriate instruments.</td>
<td>All applicants will submit a written application in a standard format, stating, <em>inter alia</em>, their qualifications and experience. Applicants will be invited at interview to identify any particular posting requests (but these will not necessarily be met). The applicant will accept the posting which is offered or will not be permitted to join the teaching profession.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remuneration and allowances</td>
<td>All posts will be advertised with published levels of remuneration. Salaries will be paid electronically on time. Pay slips will be issued, detailing any allowances and deductions.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qualification enhancement</td>
<td>State authorities will describe acceptable routes for qualification enhancement. State authorities will check that courses leading to a qualification are pertinent to the curriculum needs of primary schools. State authorities will consider, from time to time, the possibility of providing subsidy for such courses.</td>
<td>Teachers will commit to registering for any course which is deemed necessary for them to meet minimum levels of qualification.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In-service training</td>
<td>All teachers will have entitlement to regular in-service training. Training opportunities will always be advertised and appropriate application processes put in place.</td>
<td>After training, teachers will commit to communicating their new skills and understandings to their school colleagues, as deemed appropriate by their head teacher and SIT.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promotion</td>
<td>The performance of all teachers will be subject to a review by relevant officials over a stated time period. Promotion will be directly linked to the teacher’s performance.</td>
<td>Teachers will have an entitlement to a regular performance discussion with their head teacher and with LGEA officials.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.6 Final message

This study set out to explore the question: How effectively are teachers managed in Nigerian public primary schools? To address this question, interviews were conducted with a total of 150 primary school teachers in Kaduna and Katsina States, and with their head teachers and SBMC chairs. Interviews were also conducted with officials in both states. The interviews focused on four key areas of teacher management:

- recruitment and deployment;
- pay and remuneration;
- training and support; and
• aspirations and expectations.

The literature review highlighted the paucity of research in these areas in the two states and across Nigeria. This study therefore has the potential to inform both the policies and practices of teacher management in Nigeria.

There were inevitably different perceptions of these four areas in and across the cohorts, but there was also a very high level of congruence. Importantly, this indicates that those responsible for the management of primary school teachers – their head teachers and the state officials – understand the conditions under which those teachers work, and the environments that inform their experiences and perceptions of these four key areas.

Most teachers are enthusiastic about their work, even though they teach under difficult circumstances. The evidence suggests that most in-school management of primary school teachers is good. Most of the concerns raised during this study require state and/or federal level action if they are to be properly addressed.

There is widespread concern about the professionalism – both actual and perceived – of primary school teaching. This could be addressed by open and robust management practices. A suggested outline for such practices is given above. This report should act as an evidence base for these suggestions. This outline would enhance the professionalism of primary school teaching and help to more effectively manage teachers. It would also encourage and support teachers as they continue to strive towards greater professionalism.
8 Recommendations

8.1 Recruitment and Deployment

1. The existing statutory processes for the selection and appointment of primary teachers should be fully utilised [Practice]. All appointments should follow due process – written application in standard format, interview, and competency test as appropriate. Candidates should be informed in writing of the outcome of their application.

2. Much stronger links should be developed between the staffing needs of each school and the deployment process [Policy + Practice]. This should be based on the need for a much closer match being achieved between demand and supply, particularly with regard to the teaching specialism of the teachers. DSO/SSO and head teachers should be the key players in this exercise.

3. A clear benefit package for teachers posted to rural schools should be developed and delivered [Policy + Practice]. If financing can be found to implement this recommendation, then it should be the case that if a teacher is deployed to a rural school after selection, they cannot argue against the placement.

4. Existing best practice in the induction of newly appointed teachers, whether beginners or experienced teachers, should become institutionalised in all schools [Policy + Practice]. This process will give real substance to the work of DSO/SSO. They will work in tandem with the head teacher. It may be that opportunities will be created to bring together newly appointed teachers in cluster-level meetings.

8.2 Pay and Remuneration

1. Providing teachers with electronically generated pay slips detailing all allowances and deductions should be extended to all schools [Practice]. This will enable greater transparency and address widespread concerns about unfair deductions.

8.3 Training and Support

1. The authorities, when assessing up-grading qualification applications (typically for NTI/NCE), should consider the relevance and priority of the choice of programme proposed; to give the highest priority to those teachers offering Primary Education Studies, English, Mathematics and Science [Policy + Practice]. Without such prioritisation, the schools will continue to have major imbalances in their staffing, as illustrated throughout this study.

2. The criteria by which teachers are chosen to participate in external, short-term training programmes should be made explicit and transparent [Policy + Practice]. If this is not done, there will continue to be disabling envy and suspicion which is so damaging to the morale of teachers in the affected school.

3. When teachers return to school from external training, they should automatically expect to share with their colleagues their new knowledge and skills, in a suitable forum [Practice]. This communication process should involve leadership by DSO/SSO and,
obviously, the head teacher. Those who lead the process should show awareness of best understandings in relation to transfer of training – including early practice of newly attained skills, and mentoring – in order to embed the learning in the normal working of the school.

8.4 Aspirations and Expectations

1. **There should be clearer and closer links between promotion and performance [Policy + Practice].** This will clearly indicate the importance of good professional conduct and will provide pay- and status-related incentives to improve the quality of education teachers deliver.

2. **There should be closer articulation of the appointment of teachers to higher grades and the implementation of those promotions [Policy + Practice].** This will address widespread frustration with delayed promotions. However, it will be necessary for this process to expedite promotions rather than delaying them.

3. **The criteria by which teachers are chosen to participate in external, short-term training programmes should be made explicit and transparent [Policy + Practice].** This will ensure appropriate matching of teachers to training opportunities and so enhance the quality of education delivered. Greater transparency will also address concerns about favouritism and personal/political interference.

4. **Current best practice of involving teachers in school-based decision-making processes should be extended to all schools [Policy + Practice].** This can enhance the teachers’ sense of professionalism and so can enhance their status. It must be acknowledged, though, that not all teachers want additional responsibilities. It may be necessary to provide head teachers with appropriate training to encourage this more democratic approach to school-based matters.
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Managing primary teachers in Kaduna and Katsina states

This EDOREN report sets out to address how effectively teachers are managed in public primary schools in Kaduna and Katsina. The appropriate management of primary school teachers is key to improving the quality of Nigeria’s basic education. The report focuses on four areas of management:

• Recruitment and deployment;
• Pay and remuneration;
• Training and support; and
• Aspirations and expectations.

The research was conducted across two states, Kaduna and Katsina. This covered 30 schools, and includes findings from interviews of 150 teachers, head teachers, SBMC Chairs and State officials about the general practices of managing and being managed. It provides an important evidence base for potential changes in policy and practice to improve Nigeria’s basic education sector.

EDOREN is a consortium of leading organisations in international development and education managed by Oxford Policy Management (OPM). It includes the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) at the University of Sussex, and is supported by UK Aid. Also visit our website, www.nigeria-education.org, to subscribe to reports, articles and other materials.

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