THE IMPACT OF UK GOVERNANCE PROGRAMMING IN NIGERIA: EDUCATION REFORMS IN KADUNA (2009–2020)

Gareth Williams, Clare Cummings and Sunny Kulutuye

31.08.2021

Our Profile

Partnership to Engage, Reform and Learn (PERL)

The Partnership to Engage, Reform and Learn (PERL) is a five-year governance programme, funded by the UK's Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office (FCDO). The programme focuses support on governments, citizens, and evidence-based advocacy. PERL provides assistance to governments in the core areas of policy development and implementation. This is done by assisting them in tracking and accounting how these policies, plans and budgets are used in delivering public goods and services to promote growth and reduce poverty to the citizenry. The programme supports citizens to engage with these processes.

The PERL programme is being delivered through three 'pillars' which plan together to support sustainable service delivery reforms: Pillar 1. Accountable, Responsive & Capable Government (ARC); Pillar 2. Engaged Citizens (ECP); and Pillar 3. Learning, Evidencing and Advocacy Partnership (LEAP). The programme works at the federal level, in the partner states of Kano, Kaduna and Jigawa, and through regional learning and reform hubs in the South-West, South-East and North-East areas of Nigeria.

Contents

Acronyms and definitions

Acronym	Definition
ARC	Accountable, Responsive and Capable Government
APC	All Progressives Congress
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
ECP	Engaged Citizens (Partnership)
EDOREN	Education Data Research and Evaluation in Nigeria
ESSPIN	Education Sector Support Programme in Nigeria
HRM	Human Resource Management
KADBEAM	Kaduna Basic Education Accountability Mechanism
LEAP	Learning, Evidence and Advocacy Partnership
LGA	Local Government Area
MOE	Ministry of Education
MTSS	Medium Term Sector Strategy
PERL	Partnership to Engage, Reform and Learn
PFM	Public Financial Management
PTA	Parent Teachers Association
SAVI	State Accountability and Voice Initiative
SBMC	School Based Management Committee
SPARC	State Partnership for Accountability, Responsiveness and Capability
SUBEB	State Universal Basic Education Board
TDP	Teacher Development Programme

Executive Summary

This case study analyses improvements to primary education in Kaduna State, focusing on the 2009–2020 period before the COVID-19 school closures. It considers the broad trajectory of education reforms in Kaduna State, and the specific contribution of the Partnership to Engage, Reform and Learn (PERL) and other UK governance and education programmes.

The study finds evidence of important improvements to service delivery, including large increases in primary school enrolment and completion rates. These improvements have been particularly marked for girls whose enrolment and completion rates have moved close to parity with boys. Kaduna State Government is implementing a new education policy, which expands free schooling and reformed teacher recruitment and deployment practices. Public expenditure in the education sector has increased moderately as a share of total expenditure during a period of reduced government revenues. Public perceptions of government performance in the education sector have improved.

Despite these improvements, major weaknesses in the education sector remain, including continued problems with poor teaching quality, poor learning outcomes, inadequate infrastructure and weak budget execution.

The study finds that the education reforms were due to several factors, including strong support for and investment in the education sector by the incoming State Governor in 2015, fiscal pressure to rationalise expenditure, and evidence provided by previous UK education programmes highlighting critical shortcomings in the education sector. The large donor presence in the education sector has provided substantial resources for service delivery improvements.

This study also finds that UK governance and sector programmes including PERL, its predecessor governance programmes and education programmes made a significant contribution to education sector reforms. PERL support was focused in seven key areas including:

1. Development of comprehensive education policy, backed by a 10-year strategic plan and 3-year implementation plan.
2. Teacher recruitment, deployment and management policy.
3. Quality Assurance Policy to ensure that school performance is measured and performance gaps are addressed.
4. Organisational development support for the Ministry of Education and State Universal Basic Education Board.
5. Strengthening Public Financial Management in the education sector.
6. Citizens' participation in budget and policy processes and tracking of sector and school performance.
7. Encouraging media coverage of education policy, performance and accountability issues.

The report assesses the evidence of impact of reforms in each of these areas and the evidence of PERL contribution to the impact. The research team assessed the contribution and impact of most of the intervention areas as moderate to high. PERL's contribution was assessed as being particularly strong in the establishment of a network of civil society organisations, Kaduna Basic Education Accountability Mechanism (KADBEAM), focused on advocacy and accountability processes in the education sector. The contribution and impact of PERL support to broad education policy development, teacher recruitment policy and practice, organisational development and media coverage of education are also highlighted.

Key lessons for donor programming in the education sector in Kaduna include:
1. The critical importance of identifying and exploiting local momentum for reform, and catalysing support for it. PERL was able to identify the right moment and entry points to engage in the sector.
2. Looking for opportunities for governance and sectoral programmes to collaborate and complement each other. The collaboration between PERL and the Teacher Development Programme was critical to achieving results.

Investing in long term relationship building with the State Government, civil society actors and media organisations. PERL has been able to leverage these relationships and pre-existing trust to engage rapidly and effectively in the education sector. Its credibility with both government and civil society has enabled it to broker new forms of constructive engagement between these stakeholders that has been essential to driving the reforms.

Section One: Introduction

This case study analyses improvements to primary education in Kaduna State, focusing on the 2009–2020 period before the COVID-19 school closures. It considers the broad trajectory of education reforms in Kaduna State, and the specific contribution of the Partnership to Engage, Reform and Learn (PERL) and other UK governance and education sector programmes. The paper aims to assess what policy changes occurred in the education sector, what the impact of these changes was and how these changes came about through a combination of political processes taking place in the state and support from UK programmes.

The case study is based on a review of documentation (see Annex 1) and key informant interviews with PERL staff, Kaduna State government officials, politicians, media organisations and civil society partners (see Annex 2 for methodology and list of interviewees).

The UK programmes in Kaduna State of interest to this study are summarised in Box 1.

Box 1. Relevant UK programmes in Kaduna State

Governance Programmes

2008–2016 State Partnership for Accountability, Responsiveness and Capability (SPARC) (£65m): In ten states, including Kaduna, SPARC worked with state governments to strengthen policy and planning processes, improve public financial management (PFM) and support better public-service management.

2008–2016 State Accountability and Voice Initiative (SAVI) (£34m): In ten states, including Kaduna, SAVI aimed to enable civil society, the media and the State House of Assembly to engage effectively in voice and accountability processes focused on improving governance performance.

2016–2023 Partnership to Engage, Reform and Learn (PERL) (£133m): PERL works at federal level, in three partner states (including Kaduna), and until 2021 in two regional hubs (South West and South East) and in North East Nigeria. PERL aims to promote 'More accountable, effective and evidence-informed governments that prioritise the sustainable delivery of public goods and services that meet citizens' needs' (Programme impact statement from Results Framework). PERL is organised around three pillars: Accountable, Responsive and Capable Government (ARC), which works to strengthen government systems, Engaged Citizens (ECP), which works with civil society, the media and State Houses of Assembly to engage in advocacy and accountability processes and until 2021 the Learning, Evidence and Advocacy Partnership (LEAP), which supports PERL learning and evidence.

Sector Programmes

2008–2016 Education Sector Support Programme in Nigeria (ESSPIN) (£129m): The programme supported the planning, financing and delivery of sustainable and replicable basic education services to promote access, equity and quality at federal level and in six states, including Kaduna.

2012–2019 Teacher Development Programme (TDP) (£33m): This programme trained up to 66,000 teachers in six states, including Kaduna.

2013–2018 Education Data Research and Evaluation in Nigeria (EDOREN) (£7m): This project provided independent research and evidence on support in the education sector with a focus on northern Nigeria.

Section Two: Political Economy Context in Kaduna State

From 1999, Kaduna State experienced multiple weaknesses in governance, including patronage politics, weak public financial management (PFM), ineffective democratic oversight (including a subservient State House of Assembly), and disempowerment of local government. The health and education sectors were badly neglected.

Following the 2015 elections, the incoming Governor, Mallam Nasir El-Rufai, swiftly embarked on vigorous administrative reforms: ministries were cut from 19 to 13 and permanent secretaries from 35 to 18; and El-Rufai, his deputy and political appointees announced 50% cuts in their salaries and allowances. In the 2016 budget, overheads were cut by 60% and a biometric verification system was used to identify and remove 'ghost workers' from the civil service.[1]

The reforms were partly driven by the need to rationalise expenditure as oil revenue fell sharply, which was reflected in reduced federal allocations, but the State Governor and senior political leaders were also committed to reform. Governor El-Rufai welcomed support from SPARC, SAVI and PERL for core policy and planning functions, leading to the preparation of a comprehensive State Development Plan (2016–2020) and several Medium-Term Sector Strategies (MTSS) referred to as Sector Investment Plans. Budgetary allocation shifted towards the priority goals in the State Development Plan, including education. With PERL support, the State Government has established better revenue forecasting and fiscal planning frameworks, although there remain weaknesses in PFM, in particular budget realism and budget execution.

There have been several initiatives to strengthen government transparency and openness. In 2015, the Freedom of Information Act, long championed by SAVI civil society partners, was approved. In 2016, Kaduna became the first state in Nigeria to join the Open Government Partnership. Citizens' participation in planning, budgeting and accountability processes has been encouraged through Town Hall meetings, PERL-supported Community Development Charters, open budget and legislative hearings.

In 2017 major reforms were announced to strengthen the service delivery responsibility of local government. To address overstaffing, 4,000 council workers were retrenched and staff were deployed to frontline roles.[2] Local governments now have full financial autonomy and access to Joint Account funds, and are incentivised to achieve performance goals through the Local Government Fiscal Transparency, Accountability and Sustainability Programme funded by Kaduna State Government.

---

1 The Nation (2015) 'El-Rufai saved N1.2 billion in two months – Sani', 6 September (https://thenationonlineng.net/el-rufai-saved-n1-2-billion-in-two-months-sani/).

2 The Nation (2017) 'Why we disengaged 4,042 council workers, by El-Rufai', 29 November (https://thenationonlineng.net/disengaged-4042-council-workers-el-rufai-2/).

Section Three: Education Sector Improvements

3.1 Performance and Trends

The education sector in Kaduna State remains weak in terms of accessible, quality and equitable provision. According to Kaduna State Government's Strategic Plan for the sector, the state is far from reaching the Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 4 to achieve inclusive, equitable and quality education by 2030, for the following reasons.[3]

- **Poor teaching quality**. Education is undermined by weak teaching skills and poorly motivated teachers, large classes and inadequate and inappropriate teaching materials. The removal of 22,000 unqualified teachers and their replacement with qualified teachers was a key reform which started in 2015 (see Section 3.2). This generated considerable controversy at the time, but has enabled Kaduna to establish a system of merit-based recruitment into the teaching profession. Teaching quality issues persist mainly as a result of increased class sizes driven by increased school enrolment. In primary schools, the pupil–teacher ratio increased from 25 to 52 from the academic years 2009/2010 to 2019/2020.[4]

- **Inadequate infrastructure.** School buildings and facilities are frequently inadequate and dilapidated, which also leads to primary classes of up to 96 pupils.[5] It is often harder for pupils in remoter, rural areas to attend school, particularly at secondary level. The lack of funds for capital projects has slowed construction of new school facilities.[6]

- **Poor learning outcomes.** The Early Grade Reading Assessment (EGRA 2014) conducted at primary level showed that 93% of pupils scored zero on reading comprehension in both Hausa and English. Examination scores have since improved modestly, but from a very low base. The percentage of candidates achieving five credits (including English and Mathematics) in the West African Certification Examination rose from 17.5% in 2015 to 27.9% in 2018.[7]

Over the past decade, and particularly since 2015, there have been several positive trends leading to better performance in the education sector. These include:

---

3 Kaduna State Education Sector Strategic Plan 2019–2029, Ministry of Education.

4 Kaduna Annual School Census 2009/10 and 2019/20.

5 Kaduna State Education Sector Strategic Plan 2019–2029, Ministry of Education.

6 The annual school census indicates that the number of pre-primary and primary schools increased from 4,225 to 4,260 between academic years 2014/15 and 2017/18 and of junior secondary schools from 411 to 419 over the same period.

7 Kaduna State Education Sector Implementation Plan (2020–2022) November 2019.

- **Increasing primary school enrolment.** Figure 1 shows the growth in primary enrolment since the first UK-funded Annual School Census was conducted in the 2009/10 academic year, indicating a marked increase since 2015 both in absolute terms and the gross enrolment rate (GER).[8] Between 2014/2015 and 2019/20, primary enrolment increased by 62.9%.

- **Improving primary school completion rates.** Survey data indicates that the primary school completion rate increased from 21.9% in 2007 to 79% in 2016/17.[9] The Annual School Census provides a similar measure of the primary school completion rate of 77% in 2019/2020.

Figure 1: Primary school enrolment for academic years 2009/10 to 2019/20 (boys and girls)
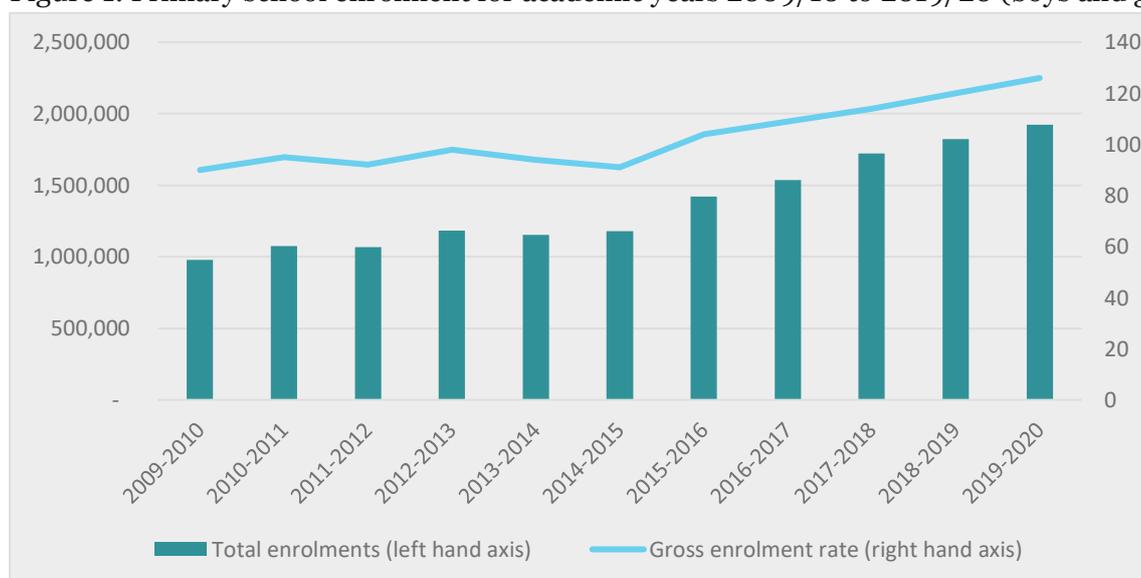
Source: Kaduna Annual School Census 2019/20 (see annex B for historical data)

- **Closing the gender gap.** Figure 2 shows the growth in primary enrolment for girls compared to boys. Girls' enrolment has increased more rapidly than for boys, significantly reducing the size of the gender disparity. Between 2009/10 and 2019/2020 the Gender Parity Index (ratio of girls' enrolment to boys' enrolment) rose from 0.87 to 0.96. There is also little gender disparity in primary school completion rates which according to the 2019/2020 Annual School Census were 78% for boys and 75% for girls.

---

8 The GER is the total primary enrolment in Kaduna State expressed as a percentage of the age cohort.

9 Multi Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS) 2007 and 2016/2017. Using a different methodology the 2019/2020 Annual School Census indicates a primary school completion rate of 77% in 2019/2020 (78% for boys and 75% for girls).

Figure 2: Primary school enrolment for academic years 2009/10 to 2019/20 (gender disaggregated)

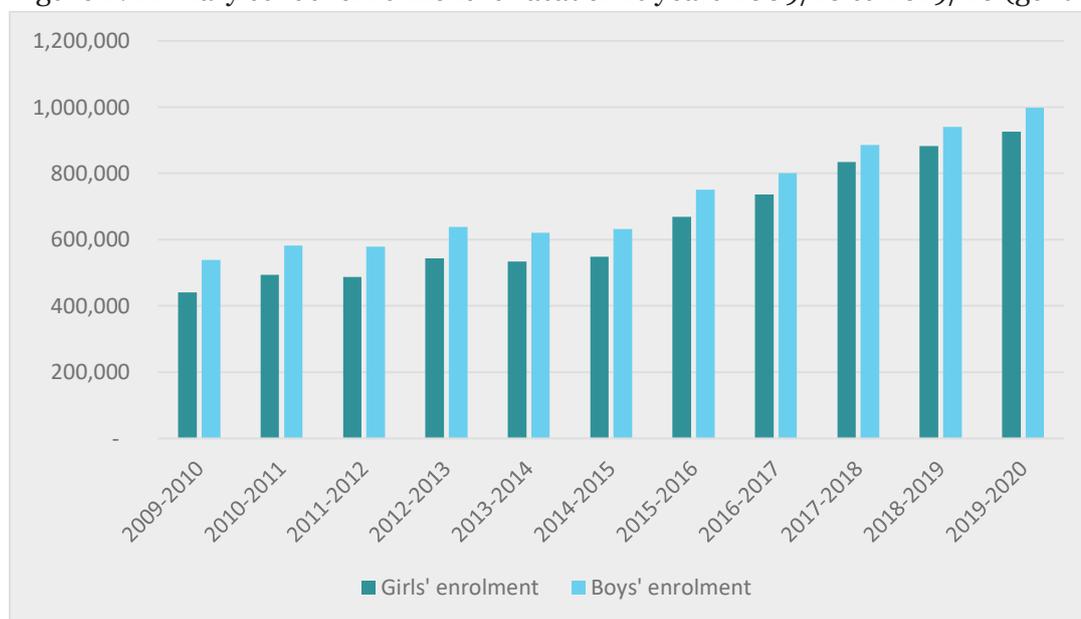Source: Kaduna Annual School Census 2019/20 (see annex B for historical data)

- **Improved public perception of government performance in the education sector.**
  Afrobarometer data for Kaduna State shows that the percentage of people who thought that a government was addressing education needs 'fairly well' or 'very well' increased from 52% to 70% between 2014 and 2018. [10]

3.2 Education Sector Reforms

Before 2015, the education sector tended to be a low political priority and was starved of resources. For the period 2008–2014, annual spending in the sector was less than 20% of public expenditure (see Section 5.1). The situation was aggravated by the weakness of systems for managing scarce financial and human resources in the sector.

Changes since 2015. The funding and performance of the education sector have changed markedly since 2015. During his election campaign, El-Rufai drew attention to the poor state of education and cited ESSPIN reports on the poor levels of numeracy and literacy among teachers and pupils in primary schools,[11] pledging to improve the state of education. On assuming office in 2015, El-Rufai announced that the education system was in a 'state of emergency' and appointed Ja'afaru Ibrahim

---

10 The data should be treated with caution since the sample size is small (n= 94 and n= 64 for 2014/5 and 2016/18 respectively), and the Afrobarometer question does not specify which level of government is being evaluated.

11 Daily Post (2018) 'Why I sacked 22,000 teachers in Kaduna – El-Rufai finally speaks', 1 January (https://dailypost.ng/2018/01/01/sacked-22000-teachers-kaduna-el-rufai-finally-speaks/).

Sani as Commissioner for Education. He is known for his personal commitment to public-sector reform, and has also worked in UK funded development programmes.

El-Rufai called on donors and consulting firms to provide technical and financial support for the government's reform agenda – and partnership with various international development organisations has shaped education reforms in Kaduna State. Spending on the education sector in 2015 was more than 35% of public expenditure, subsequently declining somewhat as fiscal conditions became tighter (see Section 5.1).

Measures to boost school enrolment, especially for girls. In 2015, the Kaduna State Government announced that primary education would be free, compulsory and universal. In 2018, the government made education free for girls up to senior secondary school level and, from 2020, also for boys.

In 2016, to encourage parents to send their children to school, Kaduna State began a school-feeding programme, which complemented the National Home-Grown School Feeding Programme funded by the federal government. The two programmes provided a free meal to all children in public primary schools up to grade 6. The state programme was discontinued after eight months for financial reasons, but the national programme has continued to provide a free meal to pupils in grades 1 to 3 – and in 2019, was benefiting around 1 million pupils in Kaduna State.[12]

In 2018, the Kaduna State Government introduced state-wide 'edu-marshalls' to enforce compulsory primary school attendance and combat truancy.

Teaching quality. In 2015, EDOREN research in one local government area found that most teachers had no basic skills in the subjects they were teaching, in response to which the State Government commissioned the National Open University to hold competency tests for all primary school teachers, and later for secondary school teachers. Despite opposition from the National Union of Teachers, the government announced that it would dismiss teachers failing to achieve 70% in the competency test (equivalent to primary 4-level examinations). Delivering on this commitment, more than 22,000 primary school teachers were sacked in 2017, leaving 11,000 teachers for 4,245 primary schools just as enrolment was rising.

In 2018, a new State Directorate of Employment used the EDOREN framework for teacher quality to inform the recruitment of new teachers. These received teacher training, supported by the Teacher Development Programme (TDP). Of the 15,897 new teachers recruited, 4,562 failed the competency test at the end of their probation period.[13] By 2019 there were 24,548 new recruits for primary schools. Another 7,600 secondary school teachers were being recruited but the COVID-19 crisis and school closures caused this process to be suspended.

---

12 Pulse (2019) 'School feeding: FG distributes bowls, spoons to 523,000 pupils in Kaduna', 16 July (https://www.pulse.ng/news/local/school-feeding-fg-distributes-bowls-spoons-to-523000-pupils-in-kaduna/80tg6rp).

13 LEAP (2018) Milestone Report: Evidence Informed Policy Discourse on Improving Teacher Quality, 13 July.

The teacher recruitment drive has resulted in an overall increase in the number of primary school teachers from 31,251 in 2015/16 to 36,733 in 2019/2020. Over this period, the percentage of qualified teachers rose from 67% to 92% and the percentage of female teachers from 47% to 53%.[14]

In 2019, Islamiyya, Qu'ranic and Tsangaya schools were required to teach the formal curriculum to ensure that pupils were also educated in non-religious subjects and will eventually be integrated into the state education system.

Teacher motivation. In 2018, it was announced that the administration of salaries for primary school teachers would be manged by a State Universal Basic Education Board (SUBEB) owing to long-standing problems with local government financial management. The Ministry of Education (MoE) increased salaries for teachers in urban areas by 27.5% and by 32.5% in rural areas.[15] Tax waivers were announced and teachers working in rural schools were promised other incentives, including accommodation and motorcycles.[16]

Support to girls' education. Between 2015 and 2017, the World Bank Global Partnership for Education programme provided conditional cash transfers for more than 8,050 schoolgirls.[17]

School building. Between 2015 and 2018, 165 new schools were built.[18] Most of these were senior secondary schools, primary Islamiyya Integrated, nomadic and special needs schools.

14 Source: Annual School Census 2015/16 and 2019/2020

15 Punch (2018) 'Kaduna increases teachers' salary by 32.5%', 1 February (https://punchng.com/kaduna-increases-teachers-salary-by-32-5/).

16 LEAP (2018).

17 World Bank (2017) 'Nigeria Partnership for Education Project (P143842), Implementation Status & Results Report'.

18 Kaduna State Annual School Census, 2018.

Section Four: UK Support to Governance and Education Reforms in Kaduna State

4.1 UK Support 2008–2016

Over the period 2008–2016 Kaduna State received substantial support from **ESSPIN**, which combined measures to strengthen core governance of the education sector at state and local government levels, with school-level interventions designed to improve teaching quality and management practices. Governance interventions focused on building the capacity of the MoE, the SUBEB and Local Government Education Authorities to manage education services. This included measures to strengthen evidence-based planning, budgeting and monitoring and evaluation (M&E) systems, including the introduction of the Annual School Census, an ESSPIN-led Composite Survey in 2012, 2014 and 2016 assessing teaching improvements, the development of the education MTSS, annual workplans, and annual performance monitoring.

ESSPIN eventually provided support to all primary schools in Kaduna State, including school visits, school development plans, skills development for teaching staff, and measures to promote school inclusiveness. A key innovation was the introduction of School Based Management Committees (SBMCs) to increase community participation in school management and oversight.

The main focus of **SPARC** was to support the Kaduna State Government to improve overall PFM, and in particular to address weak budget realism and budget execution, which had consistently hindered disbursements to the education sector. SPARC worked with ESSPIN to support the development, implementation and monitoring of MTSS and Sector Implementation Plans for the education sector.

SAVI worked with civil society, media and State House of Assembly members to promote inclusive education policies. In 2009, the SAVI-supported Gender Working Group conducted a gender analysis of the education policy and used its findings to engage in education MTSS processes.[19]

4.2 PERL Support 2016–2019

The closure of ESSPIN in 2016 and the transition from SPARC and SAVI to PERL marked major changes in UK support to governance and reforms in the education sector. PERL was requested to take on a greater role in the sector than its predecessor programmes working in partnership with the two remaining UK education programmes, TDP and EDOREN.

---

19 (http://savi-nigeria.org/casestudy/genderreformkaduna/#casestudy1).

PERL focused mainly on working with the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Budget and Planning, while also engaging actively with sectoral bodies including the MoE and SUBEB. Through Engaged Citizens, PERL increased engagement with civil society, the media and the State House of Assembly to support their participation in sectoral planning and accountability processes.

PERL's close relationship with the Commissioner of Education, Alhaji Jaafaru Sani, who was committed to governance reforms in the sector, led to a formal request that PERL support the education sector. The then Department for International Development (DFID - now the Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office, FCDO) suggested allocating £544,000 to the Partnership Fund to enable joint PERL–TDP programming over the period July–December 2018 before TDP closed down. In addition, TDP conducted teacher training, using around 60% of the Partnership Fund budget.

As shown in Table 1, each of the PERL activities was selected to address a specific bottleneck in governance systems. The impacts of these interventions are described in Section 5 and Table 2.

Table 1: PERL interventions in the education sector in Kaduna State and their links to governance

Governance blockages the intervention was designed to address	Intervention area
1. Lack of overall policy direction based on broad stakeholder consultation and linked to medium-term and annual budget planning cycles.	1. Development of comprehensive education policy backed by a 10-year strategic plan and 3-year implementation plan.
2. Poorly defined and applied standards and procedures for teacher recruitment, deployment and management.[20]	2. Teacher recruitment, deployment and management policy (linked to comprehensive education policy).
3. Lack of educational quality standards and effective mechanisms for monitoring and enforcement.	3. Quality Assurance Policy (linked to comprehensive education policy).
4. Lack of clarity on corporate functions, staff needs, job descriptions, and service standards for key agencies managing the education sector.	4. Organisational development support for MoE and SUBEB (corporate planning, establishment planning, succession planning, service charters).

20 The 2016 ESSPIN Programme Completion Review (p. 1) concluded that human resource management issues were a critical obstacle to sector development but had been underestimated in ESSPIN's original design.

5. Unrealistic budgeting and weak budget execution in the education sector.	5. Strengthening PFM in the education sector.
6. Weak mechanisms to hold government to account for school performance. Lack of participation of civil society in monitoring government policy and programme performance.	6. Citizens' participation in budget and policy processes and tracking of sector and school performance.
7. Limited public awareness and pressure for improvements in education provision.	7. Encouraging media coverage of education issues.

Education policy. In 2018, PERL and TDP, supported the MoE to develop a comprehensive policy framework for the education sector, supported by a ten-year strategic plan, a three-year costed implementation plan and an annual monitoring framework. PERL provided 13 technical experts (in addition to its core staff time) to facilitate consultations on the policy framework and the preparation of policy documents, budgets and plans. The policy extends free education for primary and junior secondary levels to boys as well as girls. It contains numerous targets to improve education coverage, inclusiveness and quality. As part of policy development, PERL facilitated multi-stakeholder consultations through the Kaduna Basic Education Accountability Mechanism (KADBEAM) network with more than 2,500 non-state stakeholders including SBMCs, Parent–Teacher Associations (PTAs), civil society organisations (CSOs), selected traditional rulers and the media. Recommendations were translated into Hausa and endorsed in Public Policy Dialogues in all 23 Local Government Areas (LGAs), so that people from rural areas or without access to social media could voice their opinions. Citizen representatives presented recommendations to the Commissioner for Education at an event facilitated by PERL. In early 2019, PERL organised a Senior Management Retreat for the MoE to discuss implementation planning.

Teacher recruitment, deployment and management policy. As part of the education policy, PERL funded technical experts sourced by TDP to support the development of a government policy on the recruitment, deployment and management of teachers. The policy sets out objectives, standards, procedures and organisational roles and responsibilities for teacher recruitment, retention, training, deployment, promotion and professional development. The new provisions have been applied in recruiting new teachers to replace those who were dismissed in 2017 and require candidates to have a university degree and to pass written aptitude and oral tests. PERL and TDP also helped the State Government to conduct a survey on gaps in service delivery coverage, addressing inequalities by deploying teachers to poorly served areas.

Quality assurance policy. PERL's support has included developing a quality assurance policy and implementation framework setting out learning standards for each year of education, standards for the learning environment, student care and school leadership. The policy is backed by the Kaduna State Schools Quality Assurance Authority (QAA), with clear mandates created by legislation passed on 16 June 2017. The policy explains the functions of the QAA in conducting school evaluations and

sets out the organisational processes it is required to follow. PERL facilitated consultations on the development of the quality standards and supported the drafting of key documents.

Organisational development support to the MoE. Critical weaknesses in organisational processes in the MoE and SUBEB undermine their ability to perform their functions, deploy human and financial resources and monitor their efficiency and effectiveness. PERL was requested by the State Government to provide comprehensive organisational development to MoE and SUBEB, including corporate planning, mandating reviews, organisational capability assessment, and aspects of human resource management (HRM), such as workforce planning, establishment planning and replacement planning. PERL supported the development of key accountability frameworks for the MoE and SUBEB, including organisational performance management and service charters, and provided technical experts to undertake these assessments in 2018 and 2019 as a precursor to the work on the comprehensive education policy. These plans were completed and approved by MoE for implementation during 2019.

Strengthening PFM in the education sector. In 2019, PERL worked with staff from the MoE and the Ministry of Budget and Planning to conduct a Public Financial Management Assessment of the education sector to identify blockages in the budget planning and disbursement process. This revealed very poor budget implementation, a lack of understanding among MoE staff of how to submit expenditure requests, lack of a clear budget ceiling, and the education budget not being aligned with the State Development Plan or Sector Implementation Plan. PERL facilitated reforms in the Ministry of Budget and Planning that enabled the MoE to receive earlier notification of the budget allocation (by 1 January) allowing more time for expenditure planning and the preparation of the budget defence.

Citizen participation in policy and budget processes and tracking of school performance. In October 2018, PERL initiated the establishment of KADBEAM, which was modelled on an accountability structure established in the health sector.[21] Acting as an umbrella body for numerous accountability activities, KADBEAM's membership comprises more than 25 CSOs, PTAs, SBMC members, and other activists.

KADBEAM provides a platform to co-ordinate and focus citizen voice and link this to policy and planning processes. It is co-chaired by government and civil society and has three sub-committees: evidence, advocacy, and knowledge management. It introduced a scorecard with 30 school-level performance indicators, providing the evidence to support policy advocacy at state level through the first 'Open Kaduna' Open Education interactive forum involving more than 130 stakeholders from across Kaduna State. The first forum was supported by PERL, but KADBEAM now functions independently and has since held a second forum. As part of the drive for greater transparency, KADBEAM is invited to observe the processes of contract bid opening and award.

---

21 KADBEAM is modelled on the Kaduna Maternal Accountability Mechanism (KADMAM), which evolved from a SAVI-supported advocacy partnership and has a long-established role in tracking service delivery in primary health care.

With the KADBEAM mechanism well embedded at state level, PERL has supported its extension to local government level, starting with 11 LGAs in 2019. The focus is on supporting community groups to engage in achieving and monitoring school improvement with school-level scorecards. In February 2020, this initiative was scaled up to cover 1,000 primary and lower secondary schools in Kaduna State, and it is planned to extend the network to all LGAs and schools.

Encouraging media coverage of education sector issues. PERL has trained and worked with 12 media producers in Kaduna State, increasing their awareness of education reforms. Support is intended to help producers to improve the content of their education-related programmes, strengthen their capacity to call attention to education-related challenges, and facilitate improved citizen engagement in education issues. As part of KADBEAM, media partners took part in a five-day fact-finding mission to identify policy-related bottlenecks in the education sector. The media were key to getting the issues raised at local government Public Policy Dialogue events in the 23 LGAs, as well as the state-wide public policy dialogue with education stakeholders. Radio stations invited citizens and government representatives to discuss these issues on air to build public confidence in government education reforms. As KADBEAM members, online, print and broadcast media staff, and social media platforms and influencers cover KADBEAM events, and contribute to the platform's monitoring, advocacy and investigative work.

PERL has provided advisory support to the weekly Open Kaduna radio programme, which is an influential forum, with phone-ins to discuss issues concerning public services in Kaduna and working with community groups to track the implementation and quality of school projects. PERL has also facilitated the News Agency of Nigeria (NAN) to cover education issues in Kaduna State, including problems with the government's school-feeding programme. Another media partner, the News Express Online, specifically aims to share the views of women and young people regarding problems in public health and education services. PERL media partners are also making extensive use of social media.

19

*Section Five: Evidence on the
Impact and Contribution of
UK Programmes*

# Section Five: Evidence on the Impact and Contribution of UK Programmes

This section reviews evidence on how successive UK governance programmes have contributed to improvements in the provision of primary and junior secondary schooling in Kaduna State, setting the context with a brief overview of government investment in the education sector.

5.1 Public expenditure on education

Figure 3 shows government spending in the education sector in Kaduna State in absolute terms and as a percentage of total actual (rather than budgeted) spending. The figures include all on-budget spending on education in Kaduna managed by the State Government including transfers from federal education programmes, which are expected to reach NGN 10.6 billion in 2020.[22] They do not include additional funding from donor programmes.

Figure 3: Government spending in the education sector in Kaduna (2008–2019)

… in billions of NGN
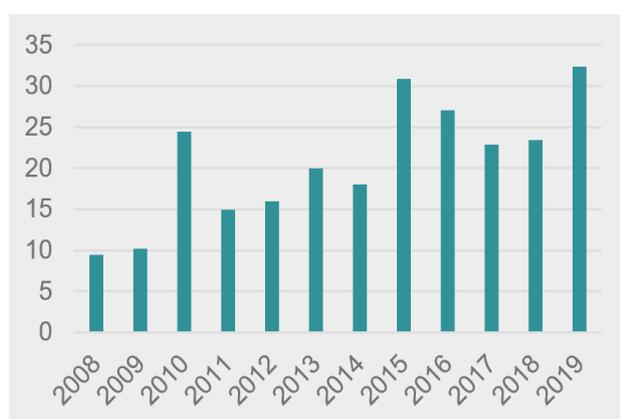
… as % of total government spending in Kaduna State
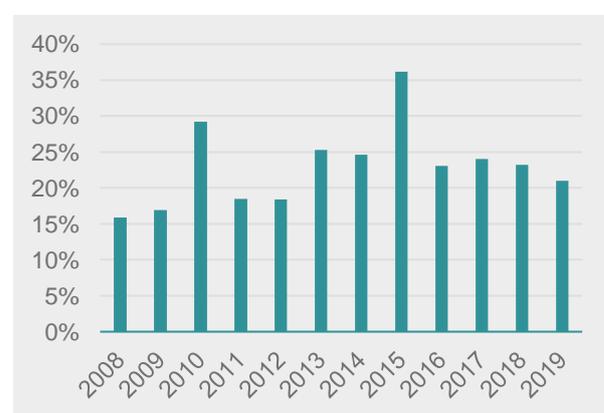
Source: PERL PFM database

Figure 3 indicates a long-term upward trend, with significant annual variations and spikes in election years (2010 and 2015). Since 2015 education spending has plateaued as a share of the budget, but

---

22 Kaduna State Education Sector Implementation Plan 2020–22, Table 3.5.

remains higher than for most of the period before 2015. In the period 2008–2012, education expenditure averaged 19.8% of actual spending, whereas for 2015–2019 it averaged 25.5%.

The fact that this share has increased over a period when overall revenues and expenditure have stagnated (and contracted in some years) indicates the political commitment to allocate resources to the education sector. However, increased spending on education has not yet been matched by greater budget execution and performance. As shown in Figure 4, most years have seen a large discrepancy between budgeted and actual expenditure in the sector.

Figure 4: Trends in Kaduna State education budget performance (2008–2019) (in NGN billions)
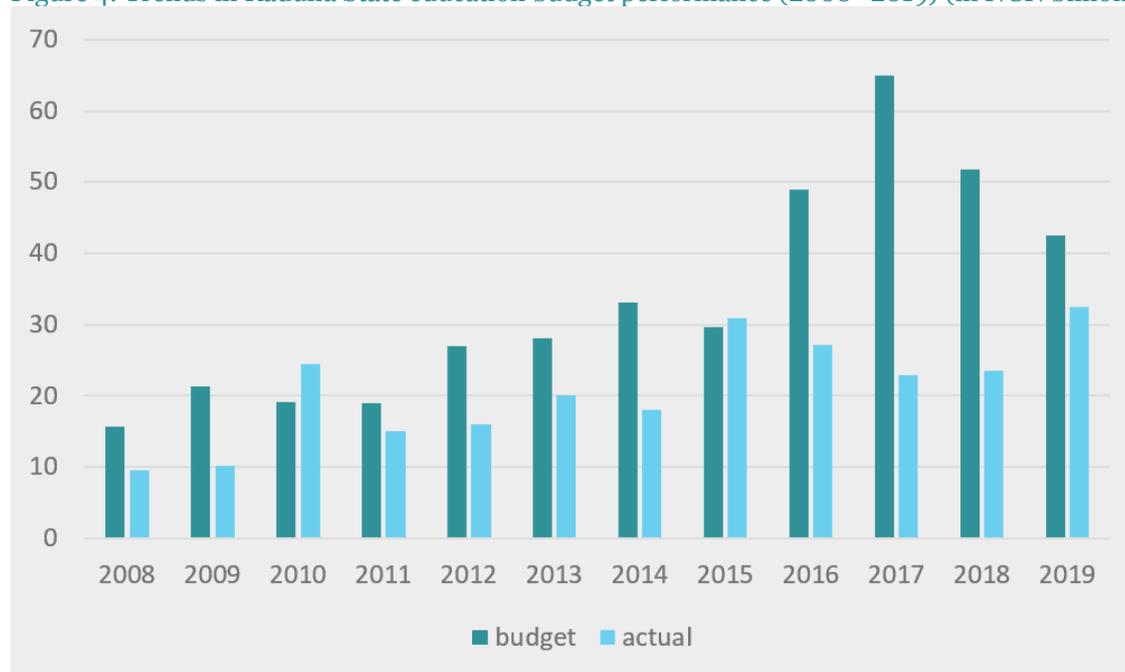
Source: PERL PFM database

Budget performance in the education sector has tended to track overall budget performance (the difference between total actual and total budgeted expenditure) (see Figure 5), reflecting the persistent problem of inflated budgeting in Kaduna State. A significant improvement in budget performance (76% budget execution) has been recorded for 2019, the most recent year for which audited accounts are available.

Figure 5: Budget performance in the education sector compared to overall budget performance (actual expenditure as a percentage of budgeted expenditure)

21

Section Five: Evidence on the
Impact and Contribution of
UK Programmes
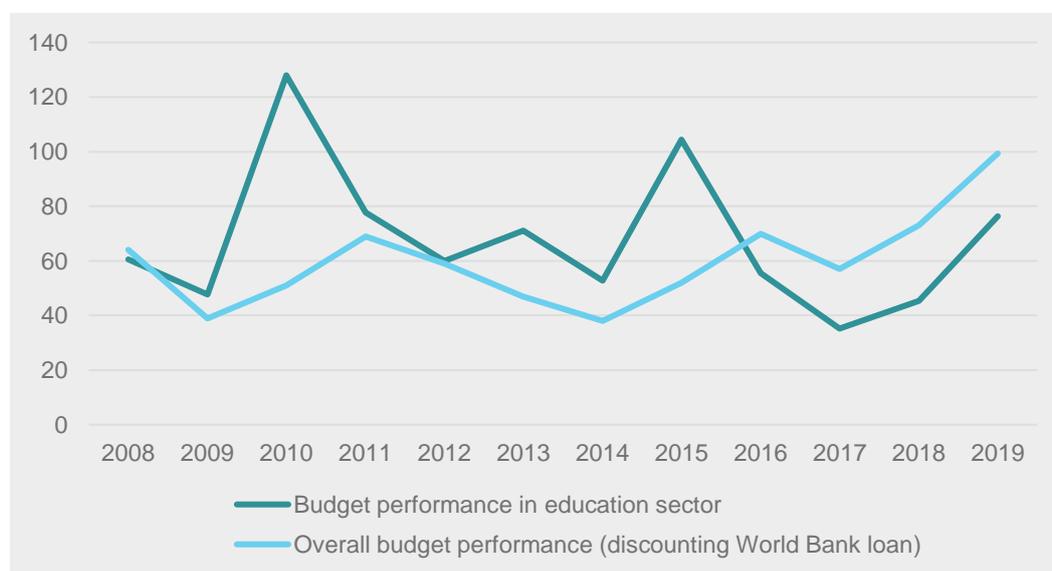
Source: PERL PFM database

Weak budget execution has been a longstanding problem in Kaduna State. It is likely to result from a combination of political and administrative challenges including political pressures to accommodate projects and technical difficulties in forecasting revenues.[23] Bureaucratic inefficiencies relate to the timing of the budget circular, delayed or cumbersome budget approval, disbursement requests and approvals.

Weak budget performance undoubtedly affected the ability of the Kaduna State Government to implement its education policies, although essential cutbacks have tended to fall on capital projects (such as building new schools) rather than recurrent spending (salaries and overheads). This ensures that basic service provision is protected, but restricts the government's capacity to improve facilities and expand provision in response to increased enrolment.

---

[23] Budget execution was negatively affected in 2018 when anticipated funds from a $350 million World Bank loan failed to materialise after the National Assembly rejected the loan.

22

Section Five: Evidence on the
Impact and Contribution of
UK Programmes

5.2 Impacts of UK predecessor programmes

The 2016 ESSPIN evaluation found that the programme had made significant progress in implementing the school improvement programme in Kaduna, including school management systems, the number and functionality of SBMCs across the state and a large increase in school enrolment. However, the 2017 State Level Programmes final evaluation raised significant concerns that learning outcomes had declined, with no improvement in teaching competence. The declining quality of education was attributed to increasing pupil–teacher ratios, teachers' weak subject knowledge, large class sizes and the lack of political commitment to address these weaknesses.[24] While ESSPIN did not succeed in raising learning outcomes during its implementation period, the programme does appear to have drawn attention to the sector's weak performance (e.g. by establishing the Annual School Census and Bi-annual Composite Survey). ESSPIN's evidence gathering on the very poor teaching standards and results in Kaduna State impressed Governor El-Rufai, influenced his manifesto, and set the stage for his subsequent reform drive.

SPARC and SAVI achieved limited results in the education sector in Kaduna. While SPARC had a major role in supporting the development of a MTSS and the Education Sector Plan 2009–2020, there was never strong local ownership or implementation of this plan. SAVI's interventions in the sector were limited to advocacy on inclusive education.

5.3 Impact of PERL Interventions

The pace of change of education reforms and results picked up significantly following the 2015 election and the beginning of PERL programming in 2016. This section reviews evidence on the impact of each of the PERL interventions. Table 2 summaries the evidence on each intervention and an overall 'traffic light' rating of 0–4 for the strength of impact and PERL contribution, explained in Box 2. These ratings were scored by independent researchers and validated in workshops with the PERL Kaduna delivery team in July 2020.

Most of the PERL interventions are judged to have had a moderate impact (score 2 or 3 out of 4) and moderate to strong contribution (score 3 or 4 out of 4). Since there is strong political support for education reform and investment in Kaduna State, it is very likely that many of the policy changes would have happened in some form without PERL support. However, PERL interventions helped to improve the quality and timeliness of policy documents, ensure more realistic and costed implementation plans, which have contributed to effective policy implementation and service delivery.

Some results show strong impact and strong PERL contribution. These include the development of the new education policy (intervention 1), which has had a major impact by eliminating school fees and is likely to have been a factor in increased school enrolment. In line with the Governor's manifesto commitments, the new policy provided for free and compulsory education for all pupils in primary and junior secondary school, and implementation started in 2019. PERL support to the teacher recruitment, deployment and management policy (intervention 2) is also judged to have had a strong

---

24 IMEP (2017) Performance Evaluation of the DFID Nigeria State Level Programmes: Final Evaluation Report, see page 266

(https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/678856/Independent-Monitoring-and-Evaluation-Project-for-the-

DFID-Nigeria-State-Level-Programmes-IMEP.pdf).

23

Section Five: Evidence on the
Impact and Contribution of
UK Programmes

impact because it was well supported at a technical level, well timed to coincide with a major recruitment drive and was well implemented. This also enabled strong complementarity between PERL and TDP. The TDP Project Completion Report states that PERL's assistance on developing the teacher recruitment policy was critical to the success of its support in the recruitment and training of 21,000 qualified teachers.[25]

Table 2 also highlights PERL's role in establishing the KADBEAM monitoring and accountability mechanism and its effectiveness in increasing the quality and level of implementation of reform.

---

25 DFID (2020) Teacher Development Programme, Project Completion Review.

Table 2 Evidence of PERL's impacts and contribution

	Evidence of impact of the intervention	**Evidence of PERL contribution** (see explanation of scale at end of table)
1. Policy development. Development of comprehensive education policy backed by a 10-year strategic plan and 3-year implementation plan	**Overall rating:** 3/4 Interviewees indicated that the policy is comprehensive and good quality. Ownership of the policy is stronger than previous attempts to develop a policy and planning framework for the sector (e.g. the Education Sector Plan 2009–2020, which was championed by ESSPIN but generated little political traction). The commitment to free basic education for all is highly significant but will be difficult to sustain fiscally (annual costs are around Naira 40 billion p.a.). The implementation of the policy has begun, including the removal of school fees. An annual implementation review is planned.	**Overall rating:** 3/4 PERL made a substantial technical contribution to developing the policy and implementation plan. A new education policy would have been developed without PERL support in view of the strong political drive to improve education services in the state. However, PERL helped ensure that policy documents were of good quality and matched with a realistic costing and implementation plan. PERL made a critical contribution to increasing the transparency of the policy and budget process and facilitating public consultations during the preparation of the new policy.
2. Teacher recruitment, deployment and management policy	**Overall rating:** 3/4 The new policy addresses a critical bottleneck undermining the quality of teaching and education. The new policy has been mostly implemented (requirements for qualifications, aptitude and oral testing have been adhered to) and progressively applied to the massive recruitment and redeployment of teachers since 2018. A TDP-commissioned study showed that the new teachers were of a much higher standard than those they replaced.[26] According to the Annual School Census, the proportion of qualified primary school teachers rose from 53.6% in 2009/10 to 80.2% in 2018/19.[27]	**Overall rating:** 3/4 PERL supported the development of a policy to address a critical bottleneck affecting the quality of education services and learning outcomes. It mobilised technical expertise to develop appropriate guidelines at a critical moment when the state was recruiting new teachers. The facilitation and brokering role performed by PERL in bringing together different stakeholders was also critical. Given the strong political commitment to reform in Kaduna State, it is likely that changes to teacher recruitment would have happened without PERL support, but PERL improved the quality and timeliness of the new policy. With PERL's encouragement, CSOs (through

---

26 DFID (2020) Teacher Development Programme, Project Completion Review, page vii.

27 Annual School Census 2009/10 and 2018/19.

		KADBEAM) have insisted on a gender balance in the recruitment of new teachers.
3. Quality Assurance Policy (QAA)	**Overall rating:** 2/4 The policy provides a useful set of quality standards and sets out clear organisational processes for monitoring and reporting that will be essential for the effective functioning of the Kaduna State Schools QAA. The QAA has been established with 57 staff and has begun inspections of public and private schools. It is too early to expect to observe improvements in school standards as a result of enhanced quality assurance processes, but some anecdotal reports of private schools closing as a result of quality concerns and loss of their customer base.	**Overall rating:** 3/4 PERL made a substantial technical contribution to developing the quality standards and quality assurance processes. The support was also critical and well timed to coincide with the major establishment and legislation of the QAA. Some quality assurance measures would have been adopted without PERL support, but PERL helped to accelerate and amplify the change.
4. Organisational development support for MoE and SUBEB (corporate planning, establishment planning, succession planning, service charters)	**Overall rating:** 3/4 The organisational development policies and plans adhere to good practice and are consistent with the requirements of the new education policy. The key changes to the organisational structure of the MoE have been established. New organigrams for the MoE and SUBEB are being used for planning purposes and new job descriptions are in place, as are service charters. However, succession planning remains a weakness. In early 2020, most MoE officials at Director level were abruptly removed, replaced by inexperienced appointees.	**Overall rating:** 3/4 PERL provided most of the technical inputs for the organisational assessments following a request from the Kaduna State Government.
5. Strengthening PFM in the education sector	**Overall rating:** 2/4 The PFM assessment in the education sector identified specific weaknesses in budget preparation processes in the education sector. Budget execution in the sector remains weak, but there have been some improvements in PFM practices resulting from the assessment, including a shift to zero-based budgeting and the earlier circulation of the budget call circular. which has given the MoE	**Overall rating:** 3/4 PERL provided most of the technical inputs for the PFM assessment.

	three extra months for budget planning and preparing the budget defence. Sectoral planning processes are now more clearly linked to multi-year and annual budgeting.	
6. Citizen tracking of sector and school performance	**Overall rating:** 3/4 KADBEAM has led to a significant strengthening of citizen voice in education sector policy development, raising issues of sector performance at the state level and monitoring school-level performance through the use of its scorecard. There are already some examples of policy and planning changes resulting from KADBEAM monitoring and advocacy, including: (1) changes in plans for the location of an education project in Zaria; (2) measures taken against a poorly performing contractor for a school construction project in Juji community in Chikun LGA; and (3) change in government procurement practices to invite KADBEAM participation in contract bid opening and contract processes for SUBEB projects.	**Overall rating:** 4/4 PERL took the leading role in establishing KADBEAM and ensuring that it functioned well as structure to coordinate and amplify citizen voice. The network would probably not exist in its present form without PERL support. There is already a high level of commitment and motivation within KADBEAM to take the agenda forward and to replicate KADBEAM structures at local government level. It is likely that KADBEAM will soon be able to sustain itself without PERL support.
7. Encouraging media coverage of education sector issues	**Overall impact:** 3/4 Before PERL's involvement there was limited media interest in the education sector. There is now a much higher level of media coverage, evidenced by the content and quality of stations such as Open Kaduna Radio and News Agency of Nigeria and News Express Online. There is greater media coverage of citizen tracking of sector and school performance (see line 6). The role of the media has been critical in building citizen support for the reforms and overcoming the resistance of the National Union of Teachers to the sacking of unqualified teachers.	**Overall rating:** 3/4 PERL made a substantial contribution to building media skills and interest in reporting on issues concerning the education sector, as well as linking media professionals to the KADBEAM network.

Box 2. Key to the 'traffic light' impact and contribution scales

The **impact scale** measures the significance of the policy change and the level of implementation.

Level	Explanation
0	No change in policy and no evidence of implementation
1	Minor change in policy with limited implementation
2	Moderate change in policy with evidence that implementation has been initiated
3	Major change in policy with evidence of moderate implementation
4	Major change in policy with evidence of complete implementation

Following the same methodology as the PERL Most Significant Change (MSC) stories, the **contribution scale** assesses the level of support for the following causal claim:

'PERL support was a <u>necessary</u> component (and sometimes the only component) of a package of causal factors that together were <u>sufficient</u> to cause this observed change.'

Level	Explanation
0	Evidence rejects and disproves the causal claim.
1	Evidence is limited or insufficient to suggest that PERL contributed to the change (for example only a single data source or piece of information).
2	Evidence supports and confirms a causal claim across multiple data sources but is marginal and influenced by external factors, such that the change was possibly likely even without PERL.
3	Evidence supports and confirms a causal claim across multiple data sources. Evidence of contribution is present as are other external factors and influences. PERL's contribution is modest (necessary but not critical) in relation to other external factors. The change might have occurred without PERL, but PERL helped accelerate or amplify the change.
4	Evidence supports and confirms a causal claim across multiple data sources. Evidence of contribution is unequivocal. While PERL may not be the only contributor, the change would not have been achieved without the programme's support.

28

Section Five: Evidence on the
Impact and Contribution of
UK Programmes

5.4 Summary of overall impact of PERL Interventions

The overall impact of PERL support can be summarised as follows.

At the level of governance processes:

1. PERL contributed to strengthening citizen voice in policy-making, budgeting and monitoring of service delivery in the education sector, resulting in more responsive policy and budgets and greater accountability to honour policy commitments.
2. PERL and predecessor programmes contributed to the improvement of sector planning, PFM and HRM processes in the education sector, enabling the more efficient use of resources.
3. PERL and predecessor programmes leveraged a modest increase in public expenditure on education.

At the level of service-delivery outcomes:

4. PERL contributed to policy changes leading to a large increase in school enrolment. Over the period covered by academic years 2015/16 to 2019/20 enrolment in primary education has increased by 502,357 (35.4%), with similar trends at junior secondary level.
5. PERL contributed to policy changes leading to more equitable school enrolment. Over the period covered by academic years 2015/16 to 2019/20, girls' enrolment at primary school increased by 38.2% and boys' by 32.8%.[28]
6. PERL contributed to policy changes resulting in vastly better primary completion rates, from 21.9% in 2007 to 79% in academic year 2016/2017.[29]
7. PERL contributed to the recruitment and deployment of better qualified teachers. There is tentative evidence from examination scores (see Section 3.1) that this is leading to better teaching and learning outcomes, but it is too early to confirm this trend.

28 Kaduna Annual School Census 2019-2020, Annex B for historical data

29 Multi Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS) 2007 and 2016/2017.

Section Six: Evidence on PERL's Theory of Change and Theory of Action

PERL's Theory of Change (ToC) is based on four testable propositions explaining how governance reform occurs in Nigeria, while its Theory of Action (ToA) includes six testable propositions explaining how the programme engages to support governance change processes in Nigeria. This section considers whether these ten propositions are fully or partially supported or refuted by the evidence from the case study of the education sector in Kaduna State.

6.1 Theory of Change

1 Governance reforms lead to service-delivery improvements. Reforms to core governance processes are required to address bottlenecks affecting the availability, accessibility and quality of public goods and services.

The case study shows clear evidence of improvements in core governance processes feeding into improved service delivery. The core governance reforms supported by PERL have been focused on critical bottlenecks impeding service delivery, in particular the inadequate resource allocation to the sector, weaknesses in budget processes, low teacher quality linked to deficiencies in recruitment and deployment policies and practices, lack of quality assurance and citizen-led monitoring (see Table 1). Addressing these bottlenecks has led to notable improvements, including the significant expansion of provision (the increase in school enrolment), and improvements in quality (recruitment of qualified teachers and introduction of more effective quality assurance processes).

Remaining bottlenecks at the level of core governance in the education sector include the continued weak budget execution (gap between budgeted and actual expenditure), which undermines effective planning and leads to inefficiency, waste of resources and missed opportunities to improve services.

2 Change occurs through a two-way cycle connecting citizen voice, policy and budget processes and service-delivery outcomes.

The evidence shows that reforms began with changes in budget and policy introduced by the State Government, but have increasingly brought in citizen voice through the PERL-facilitated policy consultation and advocacy, and accountability pressure channelled through the KADBEAM platform and the media; and also through citizen tracking of school performance through scorecards. These combined efforts have led to improved service-delivery outcomes that have in turn reinforced policy-makers' and citizens' interest and engagement in education reforms. It is noticeable that this is different to the sequencing of many PERL supported reforms which have started at the level of citizen voices and later influenced policies, budgets and service delivery.

3 Reform occurs through a combination of changes in supply, demand and evidence. This requires: (1) increased commitment to reform among state and non-state actors; (2) increased demand for, generation and use of evidence relevant to the reform; (3) changes to governance systems and processes; and (4) increased capability, opportunity and motivation of multiple stakeholders to make these systems and processes work effectively.

The evidence shows that the reform process was initially driven by the government and political leadership in a top-down way, but that it has been strengthened by increasing pressure from citizens' demands. This was made possible by the willingness of Kaduna State Government and political leadership to increase transparency and citizen participation and by PERL's facilitation of citizen voice and constructive engagement in the policy process through KADBEAM.

The use of evidence, in particular the low levels of numeracy and literacy among the state's teachers and schoolchildren, has been critical in stimulating reforms. Survey data and the Annual School Census have also been highly influential in guiding policy direction. Most of the evidence was generated with support from UK projects (ESSPIN and EDOREN in particular).

4 Transformational change results from the emergence and scaling up of islands of effectiveness. This occurs through processes of discovering or nurturing examples positive deviation, promoting their sustainability, replication, institutionalisation and broad adoption.

The evidence suggests that education reforms in Kaduna have not started with islands of effectiveness but rather to begin the process with radical, system-wide changes, such as the removal of school fees and mass dismissal of unqualified teachers. The ability to achieve system-wide reforms at an early stage was dependent on the incoming Governor's political commitment, willingness to protect the education sector from patronage politics and ability to withstand resistance from teachers' unions. Examples of expanding islands of reform include the advocacy and accountability work led by the KADBEAM platform and media partners, which started at a relatively small scale but gradually expanded and spread from the state to the local government level.

6.2 Theory of Action

5 PERL most effectively supports reform by incorporating locally led, problem-driven, context-appropriate, politically smart and adaptive approaches.

The evidence strongly supports this proposition, since PERL's intervention in the education sector in Kaduna State was initiated following a government request for support. The reforms were led locally by political leaders in Kaduna and through an intensive process of bringing together local stakeholders to engage in the design of the new education policy that PERL was instrumental in facilitating. This was closely linked to the Governor's manifesto commitment to improving education in the state. PERL and TDP provided technical support to translate this broad commitment into a feasible and costed policy and programme. The programmes supported a policy reform process that had already started, but played a key role in accelerating, embedding and sustaining the reform.

The design of the reforms and PERL's intervention strategy can be seen as a context-appropriate and politically smart response to the problem, capitalising on political interest and citizens' interest in the issue and providing evidence and technical assistance at critical moments. PERL's approach was

flexible and adaptive. It responded rapidly to the opportunity for reform, following Governor El-Rufai's election in 2015. It also applied lessons from other sectors to education, such as adapting the KADMAM platform from the health sector as a model for the KADBEAM platform.

Political economy analysis and public policy dialogues have enabled PERL and partners to understand the reform context better, to identify when reform openings arose and to focus technical support in ways that have helped the reform process to gain traction. PERL's relationships and trust established with key individuals in the state administration, including the Commissioner of Budget and Planning, were critical to identifying and responding quickly to reform openings.

6 PERL can use service-delivery problems as entry points to generate stakeholder interest and engagement in core governance reforms (issue-based approach).

The evidence from the case study supports this proposition. The problems identified in the education sector, especially poor teaching quality, provided a suitable entry point to generate stakeholder interest in addressing core governance weaknesses in PFM and HRM processes. There is a clear sequencing of the intervention starting from identifying a service-delivery problem and working back to the bottlenecks at the level of core governance processes. The PERL-supported public policy dialogues and media programmes are increasingly making the link between problems in service delivery and the need to strengthen core governance processes, including sectoral plans and budgets.

7 Joint working between PERL and sector programmes provides the best opportunities to connect core governance reforms to service-delivery outcomes.

The evidence from the case study strongly supports this proposition. The partnership between PERL and TDP (and to a lesser extent between SPARC, SAVI and ESSPIN) has been critical to achieving the results observed. In particular, the focused collaboration using the Partnership Fund enabled PERL and TDP to address the problem of teacher quality in a co-ordinated and complementary way (see Section 4.2). PERL benefited from TDP's competence in teacher training and skills development, and teacher recruitment practices, while TDP lacked PERL's resources and connections to government and civil society. As reported in the TDP Project Completion Review, this is a notably successful example of collaboration between core governance and sectoral programmes.

Over the period covered by this case study, there have also been instances where collaboration between core governance and sectoral programmes has not worked so well. During the SPARC-SAVI-ESSPIN period, there was a tendency to separate work at the centre of government (through SPARC) from sectoral engagement (through ESSPIN), which made it difficult to work on connections between core governance processes and sectoral outcomes. An evaluation of ESSPIN found that its work in the education sector was held back by its inability to influence the education budget,[30] and while ESSPIN did engage with MTSS, these were not well linked to the Ministry of Budget and Planning and have been poorly implemented. This suggests the need for improvements at all stages of the service-delivery chain. Support to education at the point of service delivery will not achieve sustainable results without reforms to PFM, HRM and accountability systems.

---

30 Steenbergen, V., Nnodu, I., Nwachukwu, T. and Nyager, S. (2016) Public Financing of Basic Education in Nigeria: An analysis of government budgeting and expenditures on basic school improvement in ESSPIN programme states. Report 16. Oxford: Oxford Policy Management.

The experience of joint working between PERL and TDP indicates the importance of incentivising collaboration between sector and core governance programmes so that changes are linked up along the service-delivery chain. Through the Partnership Fund, PERL was challenged to 'move out of the governance ghetto' with governance reforms seen as a 'means to an end' to catalyse tangible impacts in service delivery in the education sector.

During the gap between the closure of TDP in 2019 and the planned start of the Partnership for Learning for All in Nigeria programme, PERL has had no partner programme in the education sector. While PERL has continued to make progress in assisting education reforms, it has no education specialists or financial resources to intervene more broadly in the sector. PERL acknowledges that its increased role in education required a major effort for staff to gain the skills and connections to engage effectively in an unfamiliar sector, which may have had the effect of shifting resources and staff time away from other programme priorities. It is likely that more could have been achieved at this critical moment in the reform process if there had already been a strong education programme with which PERL could collaborate.

8 PERL can make an effective contribution by supporting the emergence and strengthening of multi-stakeholder coalitions bringing together state and non-state actors working on budget, policy and public-sector reform processes.

The evidence supports this proposition. Initially, the reforms were driven by a narrow group of stakeholders led by the Governor, who was determined to address the poor performance of the education sector. The increased involvement of citizen groups through the PERL-nurtured KADBEAM platform and greater media interest in education issues suggests that a multi-stakeholder coalition is starting to emerge. This coalition should create better conditions to reinforce commitment to reforms and continue progress in improving education services. PERL is playing a critical role in strengthening and broadening the multi-stakeholder coalition and extending its reach to the local government level. This should add value by bringing a wide range of stakeholder voices into policy preparation and monitoring processes. This will also be vital to sustain and deepen the reform progress since continued reform-minded leadership cannot be guaranteed beyond the present electoral term. Governor El-Rufai will leave office in 2023 after serving the maximum of two terms.

9 PERL can make an effective contribution by support the emergence and strengthening of national and regional platforms that can promote the scaling up of public-sector reform.

This case study has not tested this proposition, although there have been examples of PERL-supported cross-state learning on education reforms. For example, PERL facilitated a Policy Dialogue on Teacher Quality Issues bringing together stakeholders from Kaduna, Kano and Jigawa States in June 2018.

10 Working on the connections between different levels of government (federal, state and local) will enhance outcomes.

The case study has not tested this proposition. In the case of Kaduna State, the reform drive centred on the State Government level, although there is increasing focus on local government. It would also be useful to look at connections between the federal and state level, in relation to the federally allocated grants from the Universal Basic Education Commission and Tertiary Education Trust Fund grants, which make up close to 50% of state-level education spending. The incentives offered by the World Bank Better Education Service Delivery Programme for Results provide an additional opportunity to influence state-level policies from the federal and international levels.

6.3 Long term engagement

A critical lesson from this case study is that long-term consistency, commitment and investment by DFID (and now FCDO) has been critical to delivering results. Over the generations of UK programmes since 2007, there has been considerable continuity of approaches and staffing. Many PERL staff have worked in previous programmes. Across all states, PERL absorbed about 89% of the staff of SPARC and SAVI to ensure continuity of skills and relationships.[31]

PERL has been able to build on the structures of core governance reform established by predecessor programmes, in particular in its support to the State Development Plan, MTSS, medium term expenditure frameworks, the annual budget cycle and citizen engagement. PERL has also been able to build on institutions developed by earlier programmes, such as the SBMCs and PTAs established by ESSPIN, which have since been brought into the KADBEAM network. With incremental improvements each year, these processes are now well established and embedded, and have helped to build a strong relationship between PERL, the State Government, KADBEAM and civil society.

PERL benefits from well-established, collaborative relationships with government personnel at all levels, and with many organisations and individuals in civil society and the media. Successive UK programmes have helped to build a cadre of government and non-government personnel familiar with the processes of policy-making, planning and budgeting, and of working collaboratively. These long-term relationships and the trust and credibility that PERL has built over time, have enabled PERL to respond effectively to new opportunities and to bring stakeholders together to engage constructively in policy, planning, budgeting and accountability processes.

As key PERL allies change roles, they are also in a position to assist with building linkages and synergies. In 2019, for example, the former State Director of Budget in the State Ministry of Budget and Planning, who held the post from 2015 to 2019, was appointed State Permanent Secretary for Education. Her close working relationship with PERL helped facilitate synergy and alignment between education and core governance policies, programmes and budgets in the current administration. PERL staff claim that the State Permanent Secretary for Education comes to their office for advice; they do not have to go to her.

---

31 PERL Mid-Term Review Report, June 2019.

Annexes

Annex 1: References and documents reviewed

DFID (2020) Teacher Development Programme, Project Completion Review.

IMEP (2017) Performance Evaluation of the DFID Nigeria State Level Programmes: Final Evaluation Report, Independent Monitoring and Evaluation Project.

Kaduna State Education Sector Strategic Plan 2019–2029, Ministry of Education.

Kaduna Annual School Census reports 2009/10 to 2019/20.

Kaduna State Education Sector Implementation Plan (2020–2022) Ministry of Education, November 2019.

LEAP (2018) Milestone Report: Evidence Informed Policy Discourse on Improving Teacher Quality, Learning Evidencing and Advocacy Partnership, 13 July 2018.

PERL (2019) Mid-Term Review Report, Partnership to Engage, Reform and Learn, June 2019.

Steenbergen, V., Nnodu, I., Nwachukwu, T. and Nyager, S. (2016) Public Financing of Basic Education in Nigeria: An analysis of government budgeting and expenditures on basic school improvement in ESSPIN programme states. Report 16. Oxford: Oxford Policy Management.

World Bank (2017) 'Nigeria Partnership for Education Project (P143842), Implementation Status & Results Report'.

Annex 2: Methodology and list of interviewees

Programme documents and online media reports were used to draw up a timeline of reforms in Kaduna State, identify key informants, and develop interview guidelines. A first round of semi-structured key informant interviews and focus group discussions were conducted in Abuja and Kaduna State in November 2019, exploring stakeholders' perceptions of how education reforms had come about and verifying the timeline. Key informants included Kaduna-based PERL staff, Kaduna State government officials, politicians, media organisations, civil society partners and activists. Interview data was used to draw up an initial narrative explaining the reform process.

The specific contribution of PERL and its predecessor programmes was analysed by constructing a timeline of interventions and using a process tracing approach to identify immediate and longer-term impacts. In December 2019, a second round of interviews tested this analysis, adding detail and considering alternative explanations. During February and March 2020 there were further consultations and fact-checking.

The lessons from this reform experience were discussed during two workshops with the PERL Kaduna Delivery Team in July 2020, and are reflected in this case study.

List of interviewees
Abdiel Kudi, leader of community organisation, active within SAVI and ECP and Coalition for Free Education For All
Mrs Teresa Oiniyat, Coalition for Free Education For All
Mrs Ladi M Bonat, Coordinator of 'Grassroots vision for women's development' organisation
Victor Ashiriba and Ashiru Sani, PERL-ARC
Director, Assistant Secretary and Treasurer of the Kaduna branch of the National Union of Teachers
Ruth Leo, Planning officer, MoE
Musa Jimoh, Education Management Information and System, MoE
Director of Planning and Statistics, MoE
School-Based Management Committees – Kaduna State Chairman
Parent–Teachers Association Chairman
Head of the Kaduna branch of the National Union of Journalists
Linda Yakubu, Deputy Director Budget Department
Yusuf Auta, Deputy Director Development Aid Coordination Department
Joshua James, Open Kaduna Radio
Gloria Hassan, Bridge that gap initiative
Alex Uangboje, New Express Online
Sola Ojo, journalist
Hon. Ja'afaru Sani, Former Commissioner for Education

Istifanus Akau and Abel Adejor, ECP Kaduna
Aliyu Ahmed Tijani, Lifeline Education Foundation
Fine Ocholi, Co-Chair of KADBEAM
Kingsley Agwu, Connected Development (CODE)
Rebecca Sako John, Formerly member of SAVI in Kaduna State
Hadiza Umar, ESSPIN technical team member
Hope for Communities and Children Initiative
Millennium Hope Programme
Gender Awareness Trust
Girls Child Concerns
Abantu for Development
Gender Awareness Trust

Partnership to Engage, Reform and Learn