Education International Research

Quality and Equalities:

a comparative study of public and low-cost private schools in Lagos

Elaine Unterhalter, Lynsey Robinson and Jibrin Ibrahim

May 2018

Education International
Internationale de l'Education
Internacional de la Educación
Bildungsinternationale

Education
International
Research

Quality and Equalities:

a comparative study of public and low-cost private schools in Lagos

Elaine Unterhalter, Lynsey Robinson
and Jibrin Ibrahim

May 2018

Published by Education International - May 2018
ISBN 978-92-95109-65-0 (PDF)

Cover picture: Amaly

About the authors:

Elaine Unterhalter

Professor of Education & International Development, Centre for Education and International Development (CEID), University College London Institute of Education, London

Lynsey Robinson

Research assistant, CEID, University College London

Jibrin Ibrahim

Senior Fellow, Centre for Democracy and Development, Abuja

Education International

Education International represents organisations of teachers and other education employees across the globe. It is the world's largest federation of unions and associations, representing thirty million education employees in about four hundred organisations in one hundred and seventy countries and territories, across the globe. Education International unites teachers and education employees.

Executive Summary

This study reports on research undertaken in 2017-2018 into quality and equalities in Lagos' primary schools. It comes against a backdrop where the greatest challenge facing Nigeria is rebuilding high-quality education for a future with jobs and opportunities for all. In 1977, the National Policy on Universal Primary Education guaranteed every child compulsory, free, quality primary education, later extended to encompass nine years of basic education. A range of commitments on extending basic education to all children have been adopted by the Federal and State governments. These complement international conventions, such as the Convention on the Rights of the Child, and international frameworks, notably the Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 4, which sets a target for free quality education for all children by 2030. However, these government policy promises have not been realised and the private sector – in the form of fee-charging schools - has intervened to fill the gap.

This study considers how public and private schools in Lagos deliver on quality and equality, particularly for children from poor households. In Lagos, there has been inadequate state provision of primary schooling since the 1980s. This led to the growth of a huge private sector, with limited effective regulation. As of 2017 18,000 private schools operate in Lagos, up to 50 per cent since 2011. Aid funding has contributed to this growth, with support from development assistance partners, notably the United Kingdom's Department for International Development. In 2014, £3.45 million of UK aid was paid to Bridge International Academies (BIA), a global chain of private schools aiming to 'deliver great schools and high-quality education' for the poor. This financial assistance was to facilitate BIA's entry into Lagos and help with start-up costs for BIA schools in the city.

The study collected data in three different neighbourhoods in Lagos. In each, interviews were conducted with teachers and parents from a public school (where education is free), a BIA school, and another low-cost private school provider. Fifty three interviews were completed with head teachers, teachers, parents, officials, aid organisations, and teacher unions. BIA's head office in Washington, United States of America, refused the authors' request for interviews. However, some BIA teachers and parents were interviewed outside school.

The analysis of the data explored fees charged, infrastructure, teacher qualifications, pay and support, and the views of parents and teachers in each type of school concerning quality, equality, and regulation.

While Lagos public schools deliver free education, the study revealed the fees associated with private education. BIA fees range from 16,000-18,000 Nigerian Naira for new entrants and then around 11,000 NAIRA per term, excluding uniforms and other charges. Other private providers charge between 50 NAIRA per day to 5,000 NAIRA per term. Non-payment of fees at BIA schools is more harshly dealt with than in other private providers, with non-paying children separated from classmates and known as 'Not Allowed in Class'. They are not permitted to sit exams or take home report cards. Other low-cost providers said they extend credit and a flexible fee structure if parents experienced financial difficulties.

The authors' observations showed that BIA pupils are not the poorest children in their neighbourhoods. Their uniforms, school bags, and lunch boxes were much better than those of children attending nearby public schools and other low-cost private schools. Teachers in public schools reported that pupils were poor and often came to school hungry. At BIA schools, the authors witnessed a number of children being driven to school in private cars, whereas nearly all children attending public schools walked. In comparison to the low cost and public schools, more children reported or were seen to travel by car and public transport to BIA schools.

In all three types of schools, information was gathered on teacher qualifications. Teachers in state schools had the highest level of qualification - all had formal teaching qualifications and some form of in-service training. BIA prides itself on employing teachers without recognised teaching qualifications, with teachers receiving three weeks' training in BIA methods. Teachers in the other low-cost private schools were high school graduates, with minimal teacher training. BIA teachers reported earnings of just above the Lagos minimum wage (around 19,000 NAIRA) and long working hours (7am-5.30pm). One BIA teacher said: "Pupils are given more than they pay for, but for teachers they are less paid". In other low-cost private schools, teachers are paid 5,000-8,000 NAIRA. In public schools, the starting salary for teachers is 52,000 NAIRA.

Teachers in public schools are free to join the union, but this is not allowed in BIA schools. Staff joining unions is not generally tolerated by the proprietors of other low cost private schools.

Ideas about quality linked to inclusion and equalities were formulated most fully by teachers and parents in public schools. In the state schools, teachers expressed views on quality associated with child-centred teaching and learning. A narrower perspective on quality, primarily linked to children achieving a limited

set of learning outcomes, was formulated by those associated with BIA schools. In the private schools, and most particularly at BIA, there was limited association of quality education with processes of inclusion. Instead, there was an emphasis on learning outcomes and access to employment. Public school teachers were more aware of inequalities and poverty than those in private schools. They mentioned the need to provide free school meals to help children learn and to think about the diversity of languages spoken. None of the BIA teachers interviewed mentioned poverty or had reflected on issues around inequalities.

The Lagos Ministry of Education's guidelines on private schools have changed to accommodate BIA and low-cost providers. They now include a section on community/low-income private schools, noting that conditions for approval "may be relaxed to give opportunity to children within the area of operation easy access to education". This suggests weakening oversight of quality in private schools. In state schools, there was a strong sense of accountability to the Local Government Education Authority and regulations administered by the Lagos state government. Public schools are regularly visited and audited. However, there was limited knowledge of accountability structures in the private schools, with mentions only of occasional visits from a health inspector. BIA teachers had a keen sense of responsiveness to parents whose children attended the school but spoke less about education provision for all children in Lagos.

Thus, this study highlights a link between private schools in Lagos and reductions in aspects of quality and equalities - denying teachers support, and reducing local democratic engagement. Aid funding to BIA is implicated in this. Teachers in state schools in Nigeria are often derided for failing to provide quality education, but this study found that teachers in these schools were more oriented towards quality and equality and more in tune with the vision outlined in national policy and SDG 4 than those working in the expanding private sector. The study highlights how programmes that are apparently targeted at helping the poorest and most vulnerable can end up subsidising the not-so-poor.

Acknowledgments

Our thanks to all those interviewed for this study who gave their time and reflections on quality and equalities in schools in Lagos and Edo. We are most grateful for the knowledge, help, and enthusiasm of the team who worked with us to collect data in Lagos and Benin City – Olabanke Lawson, Grace Nweke, and Abayomi Awelewa. In developing the study, Joanna Härmä gave very useful advice and we have been indebted to the discussions and networks we have worked with as part of the Equalities in Public Private Partnerships project. We gratefully acknowledge the support and valuable insight of the Nigeria Union of Teachers, and particularly the Lagos State Wing of the union. At all stages of the work on this study, from conceptualisation to final analysis, we have highly valued the assistance, discussions, and critical reflection we have engaged in with Nikola Wachter and Angelo Gavrielatos from Education International.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

Abbreviations

AFED	Association of Formidable Education Development
AIC	Allowed in Class
APPS	Association of Private Proprietors of Schools
BIA	Bridge International Academies
CDC	Commonwealth Development Corporation
CPD	Continuing professional development
CRC	Convention of the Rights of the Child
DFID	Department for International Development
DEEPEN	Developing Effective Private Education in Nigeria
DHS	Demographic Health Survey
EDOREN	Education Data Research and Evaluation Nigeria
EFA	Education for All
EI	Education International
EMIS	Education Management Information System
ESSPIN	Education Sector Support Programme in Nigeria
FME	Federal Ministry of Education
ICT	Information and communications technology
IDC	International Development Committee
LGA	Local Government Area
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MICS	Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys
NAIC	Not Allowed in Class
NCE	Nigeria Certificate in Education
NEDS	Nigeria Education Data Survey
NGOs	Non-Government Organisations
NQT	Newly Qualified Teachers
NUT	Nigeria Union of Teachers
P2	Primary 2
P3	Primary 3
PPP	Public-Private Partnership
PTA	Parent Teacher Associations
SBMC	School Based Management Committee
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SRGBV	School-related gender-based violence
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
SUBEB	State Universal Basic Education Board
UBE	Universal Basic Education
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UK	United Kingdom
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

Aim of the Study

This study, commissioned by Education International (EI), set out to investigate policies and practices for quality and equality in public and private schools which aim to serve low-income communities in Lagos State in Nigeria. A key focus was low-cost private schools, some of which were supported by international development assistance. One aim was to document how those working on the provision of education to children from low-income families understood quality and equality in education, exploring whether there were any different emphases between those working with poor children in public (wholly state supported) schools, and those working in low-cost private schools.

In view of the focus of Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 4 on the provision of free, equitable, and quality primary and secondary education to all children by 2030, this study was particularly interested in the levels of fees charged in both types of school, and the attendant working conditions of teachers.

In recent years, there has been considerable controversy concerning low-cost private schools and their ability to serve the most marginalised. This study contributes to this discussion considering views on education by those involved in the delivery of low-cost private schools and state schools serving low-income communities.

Lagos, a city where the number of low-cost private schools has increased dramatically in the past 10 years, partly through development assistance, was considered an appropriate setting for this exploration. The presence of a range of different kinds of schools for low-income communities – state, private, and public-private partnerships (PPPs) - made it particularly rich as a research setting.

In 2016, the Ministry of Education in Lagos State changed the guidelines for public and private schools to allow more flexible regulations to be applied to community/low-income private schools "with a view to providing access to education for children living within the community and children of low income earners" (Lagos Ministry of Education, 2016, p. 19). However, the relaxed regulations stipulated basic conditions for the building, water, and sanitation and all teachers were required to have academic and professional qualifications (Lagos Ministry of Education, 2016).[1] As an instance of a PPP working as a low-

1 The Regulations read: "they shall be owned by the community/individuals/groups with a view to providing access to education for children living within the community and children of low income earners...the conditions of approval as stated inter alia may be relaxed to give opportunity to children within the area of operation for easy access to education. However, the classrooms must be spacious and not inimical to total growth and development of the learner. Basic amenities such as good source of water and hygienic fecal disposal facilities must be in place." (Lagos Ministry of Education, 2016, p. 19).

cost private school, the authors chose to look at Bridge International Academies (BIA) which receives some development assistance support from public aid funding through the United Kingdom (UK)-based Department for International Development (DFID). In addition, BIA has been much lauded and much criticised (see below). In January 2018, field work was conducted in Lagos State and Edo State (where an expansion of aid-supported low-cost private schools is being considered). Additional interviews with key informants in Nigeria were conducted from London between January and March 2018. The data from the empirical study is discussed in relation to a brief review of the literature that assesses the expansion in the numbers of low-cost private schools in Lagos State.

The detailed aims of the study are to:

a) Document the political-economic and socio-cultural history that had given rise to the emergence of extensive provision of low-cost private schools in Lagos and review the export of this model to other states, notably Edo.

b) Document the establishment of the BIA in Lagos and other states in Nigeria.

c) Document the history of DFID support for funding low-cost private schools in Lagos.

d) Analyse the views of a range of stakeholders (parents, teachers, head teachers, government officials, union officials, and school chain managers) regarding their experiences of low-cost private schools (run by BIA and other providers) and public schools in Lagos, looking particularly at comments on qualities, equality, and conditions of teachers' work.

e) Assess regulation with regard to quality, equality, and teachers' conditions of work, particularly in private schools in low-income areas in Lagos.

The Report is organised in six sections:

- Section 1 gives the background on the policy on expanding access to primary schooling in Nigeria, the history of the growth of private schools for low-income communities in Lagos, and some of the response of international development co-operation partners to this. DFID's programmes in Lagos from 2000 and how these paved the way for DFID support for BIA in Lagos are outlined.
- Section 2 reviews the literature on public and private schools in Lagos, discusses quality and equality in Nigerian schools and assesses literature on teachers' work in Nigeria. This section concludes with a presentation of the debate concerning the regulation of private schools in Nigeria.

- Section 3 outlines the research design of this study, describes the research process including instrument development, data collection, and challenges encountered.
- Section 4 describes the three neighbourhoods in Lagos where the study was conducted and gives preliminary depictions of the three schools in each neighbourhood where data was collected.
- Section 5 presents analysis of the data around five main themes relating to quality and equality - what charges are levied in public and private schools in Lagos; how staff in these schools understand and practice quality, approach equality, and consider teachers' work; and issues of accountability and regulation.
- Section 6 presents conclusions drawing out some of the implications of the different views on free education, quality, and equality emerging from those working in and with different kinds of schools providing education for low income communities.

1. Background and Context

The greatest challenge facing Nigeria today is that of rebuilding a high-quality educational system to develop knowledge, skills, civic education, and critical thinking as a basis for a future that could provide jobs, opportunities, and progress for the majority.

In 1973, representatives of the Nigerian government took a National Pledge that every child born from the end of the civil war —January 1970— would be guaranteed free, quality, and compulsory primary education (Imam, 2012). Subsequently, this promise was incorporated into the 1977 national policy on Universal Primary Education and then extended from primary education to include nine years of free quality education for all Nigerian children. All state governments were to ensure that, each year, sufficient resources were made available to ensure that every child had the opportunity to attend school (Imam, 2012). To date, that pledge has not been kept, despite a range of policy commitments. The 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, adopted at the end of military rule, and the National Policy on Education (Federal Republic Ministry of Education, 2004, 2013) both acknowledged the importance of free and compulsory primary education for every Nigerian child. And the Nigerian Universal Basic Education Act (2004) led to the design of a range of Universal Basic Education (UBE) programmes to ensure free basic education for nine years to all Nigerian children. Many of these programmes had an explicit focus on girls and gender equality. In addition, a Gender in Basic Education Policy was enacted (Federal Republic Ministry of Education, 2007) to further the commitment of government and non-government organisations (NGOs) to gender equality in basic education. The 2004 Universal Basic Education Act also provided for inclusive education to cater for children with special needs, an Integrated Qur'anic school programme, and a programme for out-of-school children (Imam, 2012, p. 197). The Integrated Qur'anic School programme aims to ensure that children attending Qur'anic schools do not miss out on acquiring a formal basic education in their own cultural setting (Adediran, 2015, p. 15). However, Imam (2012) notes the implementation of the policy is fraught with problems (p. 199).

There is no shortage of good policies on education, but realising their objectives, given the historic, social, and political divisions in the country has been immensely difficult (Obanya, 2011).

1.1 Expanding School Provision: Public and Private

In 2000, Nigeria signed up to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and, in 2015, to the SDGs. The first target for SDG 4 outlines a vision for free, equitable, and quality schooling for all children. In Nigeria, however, the government's commitments on education have not been delivered (Imam, 2012; Federal Ministry of Education, 2015). The private sector has intervened and the significant number of private schools in Lagos and many other Nigerian cities continues to increase. In Lagos, education has become a major commercial endeavour with up to an estimated 18,000 private schools operating there – an approximate increase of 50 per cent since 2011 (Härmä, 2011a; Rosales-Rogge, Kadiri, & Hinton, 2014). Aid money has helped push this growth with DFID funding a special programme to support the expansion of private schools and public private partnerships (DFID, 2013). What does this mean for the SDG promise?

Accountability for enhancing access, participation, and attainment, thus addressing quality and equality, rests with the state government. Under the 2004 Universal Basic Education Act, basic education is managed by the states and local government, with some financial input and policy direction from the Federal Government (Imam, 2012). However, in Lagos, the state's investment in education has not kept pace with demand and accountability has often been interpreted as building relationships with the private sector, rather than earmarking resources to ensure free basic education for all (Adelabu & Rose, 2004; Roshan, Lomme, Hima & Santibanez, 2016).

Private schools began to proliferate in Lagos in the 1980s, linked by some to responses to the teachers' strikes in that decade (Adelabu & Rose, 2004, p. 50), which were part of widespread opposition to the effects of structural adjustments, which were particularly harsh in Nigeria. National spending per capita on education dropped from 5.6 NAIRA in 1981 to 1.1 NAIRA in 1988 and the share of education spending in the national budget fell from eight per cent in 1984 to about two per cent in 1988 (Babalola, Lungwangwa, & Adeyinka, 1999, p. 85-86). In 2004, it was estimated that 2.5 million children in Lagos were in school and one million of these (40 per cent) were attending unapproved private schools (Adelabu & Rose, 2004, p. 50).

A decade later, Härmä (2011a, 2013a) surveyed 11,896 schools in the state which had an enrolment of 1,385,190 pupils. Private schools accounted for 57 per cent of all enrolments with 12,098 private schools enumerated. These included schools serving children from both rich and relatively poor homes. Härmä (2013a) noted that 10,094 of these schools were primary schools, 2,335 served junior secondary level, and 1,713 served the senior secondary level. In contrast, the government ran 991 primary schools, 308 junior secondary, and 309 senior secondary schools. Härmä found that many of these private

schools were unregistered and unregulated: just over one-quarter were approved and operating legally. At the time of her study, the applications of 42 per cent were still being processed for approval, and 32 per cent were unapproved (Härmä, 2013a).

Härmä's 2011 survey was the first comprehensive private school census carried out in Lagos State and collected data between November 2010 and March 2011 from schools with children attending Nursery 1 up to Senior Secondary 3. A later survey using data from 2012 estimated that there were 18,000 private schools in Lagos employing 194,727 teachers and 80,673 support staff (Rosales-Rogge et al., 2014). The most recent government data indicates 62.1 per cent of primary school-aged children are enrolled in private schools in Lagos (National Population Commission, 2016, p. 25A).

The huge growth of private schooling in Lagos is primarily the result of inadequate state provision and the enormous demand for formal education and the qualifications it brings in the state (Härmä, 2013a; Baum et al., 2018). Administrative data and household surveys show that, nationally, there is a marked north-south divide. Enrolment rates and gender parity are much better in the south (e.g. Lagos and Edo states) compared to the north (e.g. Borno and Kano), and particularly high in Lagos as Table 1a indicates. A similar pattern applies to attendance rates (Table 1b).

Table 1a

Gross Enrolment Ratio Primary School 2016

	Male	Female	Both
Lagos	71.96	68.30	70.06
Edo	50.39	50.31	50.35
Borno	56.40	52.08	54.32
Kano	118.48	129.59	123.74

Net Enrolment Ratio Primary School 2016

	Male	Female	Both
Lagos	61.14	58.21	59.63
Edo	35.62	37.51	36.56
Borno	40.87	51.85	46.15
Kano	97.21	95.51	96.40

Federal Republic Ministry of Education, 2017a

Table 1b

Primary School Net Attendance Ratio

State	Male	Female	Total
Lagos (South West Nigeria)	86.1	82.6	84.4
Edo (South South Nigeria)	82.9	86.6	85.5
Borno (North East Nigeria)	19.3	15.3	17.4
Kano (North West Nigeria)	65.9	59.8	63.1
Region	**Male**	**Female**	**Total**
North Central	74.2	72.6	73.4
North East	44.2	41.2	42.8
North West	53.5	47.1	50.4
South East	85.2	86	85.6
South South	82.1	83.2	82.6
South West	82.8	81.8	82.3

Note: Adapted from National Population Commission, 2016, Table 4.1, p. A18.

The relatively higher levels of provision for schooling in Lagos state, compared to other states in Nigeria are evident in the data from household surveys which showed that, in 2013, only 14.6 per cent of men and 17.7 per cent of women aged 15-49 in Lagos State had little or no schooling (National Population Commission, 20133). In a survey of 1,005 households, Tooley (2013) found that only 1.3 per cent of school-age children were not attending school. Official figures from the Nigerian government's Education for All (EFA) Report in 2015 estimated that only 4.3 per cent of children in Lagos were not in primary school, and 6.3 per cent were out of secondary school (Federal Republic 2015, p. 75). The corresponding high level of participation is one indication of the huge demand for education in Lagos, where private providers outnumber state provision, as illustrated above.

1.2 Inequalities and the Problem of Quality

However, the high enrolment and attendance rates in the southern states generally and Lagos in particular do not, in and of themselves, assure quality education or attention to equality.

Equality and inequality can be viewed a number of ways in Lagos schools. One perspective is to focus on particular demographics, such as girls, or children from particular socio-economic groups. Primary school attendance data for 2015 in Lagos State (Table 1b) indicates similar levels of attendance for boys (86.1 per cent) and girls (82.6 per cent). However, data on socio-economic status shows some important divisions. Survey data based on households collected through MICS (Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys) shows that only

two-thirds of children from the poorest households enter the first grade at the appropriate age, and only three-quarters of children in the next poorest quintile (National Bureau of Statistics, 2017).

Table 2

Primary School Entry in Lagos in 2016-2017

Wealth Index Quintile	Percentage of Children of Primary School Entry Age Entering Grade 1* (Net Intake Rate)
Poorest	67.4
Second	78.8
Middle	83.7
Fourth	73.1
Richest	87.3

Note: Adapted from Lagos MICS, National Bureau of Statistics, 2017, p. 106.

* MICS indicator 7.3 - Net intake rate in primary education

While official figures show the proportion of children out of school in Lagos is relatively low, compared to other states in the south west (Federal Republic Ministry of Education, 2015), a range of data suggest that even though children are enrolled in school, completion levels and attainment in examinations are marked by inequalities. According to the 2015 National Education Data Survey (see Table 3), fees was the main reason for school dropout in the South West zone, of which Lagos comprises a significant part of the population. This shows that the proliferation of private schools has not reduced the likelihood of dropout or vulnerability to not completing school. Addressing these issues are key facets of quality.

Table 3

Factors in Pupil Dropout in South West Nigeria

Factor	Number (%)
Monetary Cost	36.6
Labour Needed	15.9
School Too Far	11.4
Very Sick	7.2
Disabled	7.2

Note: Adapted from National Population Commission, 2016, p. A39.

A range of data from the 2017 MICS study in Lagos show some aspects of school dropout or exclusion for low-income families. Thus, in the bottom three quintiles amongst women aged 15-19, 5.6 per cent (poorest quintile), 1.2 per cent (second poorest), and 9.4 per cent (middle) had begun childbearing,

compared to no young women in this age band in the two upper quintiles (National Bureau of Statistics, 2017, Table 3, p. 72). Only 84.7 per cent of young women in the poorest quintile aged 15-24 were literate, compared to 94 per cent and 99 per cent in the top two quintiles (National Bureau of Statistics, 2017, p. 103). Among young men in the poorest quintile in the same age band, 89 per cent were literate, although all of the men in all other quintiles were literate (National Bureau of Statistics, 2017, p. 104). Only 69 per cent of children in the poorest quintile made an effective transition at the end of primary school to junior secondary school, compared to 94 per cent in the middle quintile, and 100 per cent in the richest (National Bureau of Statistics, 2017, p. 112).

Social stratification is a key feature shaping the distribution of quality education and difficulty in achieving equality. In Lagos, large proportions of the population are classified as poor. In 2011, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) estimated that 64 per cent of the population could be classified as poor (UNDP/JICA, 2011). In 2014, a survey by the Lagos Bureau of Statistics reported 59.7 per cent of Lagosians living on less than $0.35 per day (Lagos Bureau of Statistics, 2014, p. 23) and the self-assessment result found that 71 per cent of household heads identified as poor (p. 23).

Public school provision for this large population is inadequate. On average, education has received less than 12 per cent of the Federal Government's national budget between 1997 and 2002, with a downward trend in allocation (Rose and Adelabu, 2007). Abdul-Hamid, Baum, Lusk-Stover, and Wesley (2015) documented a fall in education allocation in the Lagos State from 14.7 per cent in 2012 to 13.2 per cent in 2013. They note that Lagos has, by a wide margin, the smallest supply of public school services of any state in Nigeria. They calculated that there are 1,200 primary school-aged children for every available public primary school (Abdul-Hamid et al., 2015, p. 16), and that the proliferation of private schools fills a need the state has not been able or willing to provide for. However, this proliferation of private schools has not addressed issues of poverty and vulnerability and, indeed, may have exacerbated this. In 2014, 26 per cent of household heads reported that they were unable to provide food, clothing, and shelter to their families (Lagos Bureau of Statistics, 2014). Furthermore, the analysis shows that 27 per cent of the household heads were unable to meet the education and health needs of their families (Lagos Bureau of Statistics, 2014, p. 28).

The response of development assistance partners, such as DFID, however, has not been to examine this systemically, but to look at private schools for the poor as a key stop-gap measure where learning outcomes need to be supported (DFID, 2013). Tooley's study of 1,003 households in Lagos found 53.1 per cent of the population surveyed living below the poverty line, 29.1 per cent were near-poor —i.e. living at between one and two times above

the poverty line— and 17.8 per cent were middle class (two times above the poverty line) (Tooley, 2013, p. 13). Seventy-one per cent of the poorest families said some or all of their children attended private schools; 64 per cent of children from poor households attended. There appeared to be no distinctions made about gender with regards to the choice of public or private schools, but more so on age (Tooley, 2013, p. 24-25). Half of the families on or below the poverty line in the survey said they used private schools for all their children, 20.7 per cent used a mix of public and private, and 20 per cent said they used only public schools.

These findings largely confirm an earlier study by Härmä (2013a) based on a private school census in Lagos and household surveys in two slum areas of the city, Makoko and Iwaya. Härmä found that many parents used both public and private schools, with 17 per cent reporting they did this due to cost, particularly turning to public secondary schools as costs increased (Härmä, 2013a, p. 23).

1.3 Low-Cost Private Schools: Definitions and Development Assistance Support

The growth of the private school sector in Lagos over the past 30 years, and its expansion amongst low-income communities, has led to the emergence of a definitional discussion about new kinds of private schooling, and prompted development assistance interest in this area.

Tooley and Longfield defined low-cost private schools based on the assumption that households in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) spend between two and 10 per cent of their annual income on education expenses. Thus, private schools charging less than 10 per cent of household income to a family at the poverty line ($2) should be classed as low cost (Tooley and Longfield, 2013, p. 31). Tooley (2013) considered that private schools could be defined as low cost if a family on the poverty line could afford to send all its school-aged children to these schools without needing to excessively restrict spending in other essential areas. His calculations indicated that a total fee of 25,000 NAIRA per annum or lower per child could be classified as low cost, while 25,000-50,000 NAIRA could be classified as medium cost, and 50,000 NAIRA and above as high cost. These calculations continue to be used by DFID's DEEPEN (Developing Effective Private Education) programme which supports the development of low-cost private schools in Lagos (Rosales-Rogge et al., 2014, p. 7). The calculations raise questions about how household composition and the nature of the use of income by the poor are understood, and whether $2 per day is an appropriate poverty line. The many forms of school provision in Lagos —public, private, and PPP— entail that there is no single means for monitoring and evaluating quality and equalities. This signals the importance

of keeping these issues under review through research, public scrutiny, and debate.

In Nigeria, private schools come in many different forms, some catering for elites, some for the middle classes, and some for the poor. Private schools have different patterns of ownership and networks of support. Some are run by NGOs, some by faith-based organisations or small-scale entrepreneurs. Some are run by medium to large-size nationally based (Nigerian) enterprises, and work as either not-for-profit or profit-generating organisations. Some are part of global chains, with head offices outside Nigeria, which are organised either to generate profit, or as not-for-profit or corporate responsibility enterprises. Some run under PPP arrangements and, in some countries, such as Nigeria, aid money, raised through public taxation, has been used to support private schools. One such example is the DFID support for BIA, a global chain of private schools in Africa and Asia, which aims to partner with governments, communities, teachers and parents to "deliver great schools and high quality education" (BIA, 2017). In Nigeria, BIA sees itself doing this by bridging a gap left by the lack of adequate state provision. However, questions need to be asked as to how BIA works with national and local governments to fulfil obligations regarding the right to education and the remit of SDG 4 for free education for all.

From September 2013, the UK's DFID has supported private education in Lagos through its £18.5 million DEEPEN programme. DFID committed £0.5 million for design and pilot projects from January 2013 to October 2013, £15.8 million for implementation of DEEPEN as a five-year programme from October 2013 to October 2018 with evaluation of the programme over a seven-year period from October 2013 to October 2020 costed at £2.2 million (DFID, 2013). DEEPEN has engaged the Lagos State Government on regulating private schools and has encouraged banks and other financial institutions to invest in low-cost private schools (DFID, 2016).

BIA entered the Lagos market in the form of a PPP arrangement under the DEEPEN programme. As Kwauk and Perlman Robinson (2016) document, in 2015, BIA responded to a DFID request for bids to improve learning outcomes in the private market for education in Lagos. As part of the negotiations for this award, the Director General of Lagos's Ministry of Education travelled to Kenya to visit BIA's academies (Kwauk & Perlman Robinson, 2016, p. 14).

DEEPEN's involvement with BIA can be understood partly as a response to the evident limits on quality in locally owned chains. Investigating the nature of investment in low-cost private schools by Nigerian entrepreneurs and BIA, Härmä (2015) noted that some local proprietors do manage to expand from a single school to a chain. But there was no data on whether doing this led to a centralisation of training and support for teachers and thus an improvement

of quality. These chains, however, often lacked the necessary resources to address the challenges of management needed to promote quality education at a price affordable to the poor. Härmä (2015) found that BIA had potential for more teacher training and ICT than locally based chains could offer. She commented:

> The BIA model is going to take an extremely large number of pupils and schools in order to reach the critical level of high volume at low margin that it is planned will make the company profitable. At the same time, the fees are likely to be less accessible for the very poor than the smallest, individually-owned schools. (Härmä, 2015, p. 72)

Through DEEPEN, BIA received £3.45 million in October 2014, through an Innovation Fund to facilitate their entry into the Lagos market. This was "a 'start up' grant [IDC, 2017, 35] to share the risks for Bridge's entry into the Lagos market" providing access to "quality education to low income families". The DEEPEN start-up funds for BIA in Lagos were not the only disbursement to the chain. The IDC (2017) noted the following disbursements:

Table 4

Disbursements from UK aid to Bridge International Academies

Source	Amount
Commonwealth Development Corporation (CDC)	$6 million (Jan 2014)
International Finance Corporation (UK holds shares)	$10 million (2014)
DFID's Impact Investment Fund (managed by CDC)	$15 million (April 2014) investment in Novastar Ventures (BIA investor)
DFID's DEEPEN Innovation Fund	£3.45 million (Oct 2014) start-up grant for entry into the Lagos market

Note: Adapted from IDC, 2017, p. 35.

The use of aid money to support the work of BIA is controversial. After reviewing evidence on this in Uganda, Kenya, and Nigeria, the House of Commons International Development Select Committee concluded in a 2017 report that BIA is a contentious partner for DFID in achieving the aims of SDG 4 (IDC, 13 November 2017, HC 367). It also said that DFID should "take further steps to satisfy itself that the model of educational provision offered by Bridge International Academies offers an effective educational return on the ODA [overseas development assistance] committed to it" (IDC, 13 November 2017, HC 367, para 106). This should include assessment of whether the model is sustainable, cost-effective and scalable but also whether it could be modified or adapted to improve outcomes when compared to other operators and other models ' (IDC, 13 November , HC 367, p. 36). In a letter to the Secretary

of State for International Development, the Chair of the Committee made the following recommendations:

> We would not recommend DFID make any further investments in Bridge until it has seen clear, independent evidence that the schools produce positive learning outcomes for pupils. Even at that time, we would want to see a compelling case for any further DFID support, including evidence to prove that Bridge was providing education to the very poorest and most marginalised children which was not being provided elsewhere. (IDC, 13 November 2017, HC 367, p. 57)

This study has partly been developed as an engagement with this recommendation.

Currently, there are between 39 and 54 BIA schools in Lagos,[2] enrolling over 7,000 children with a promise of quality education (BIA, 2017). This is a small proportion of all the children attending primary school in Lagos State (1.2 per cent of enrolments in private schools, and only 0.007 per cent of all children enrolled) as Table 5 shows.

Table 5

Number of children enrolled in primary schools in Lagos State in 2014

Type of School	Total number (% of all enrolments)
Public	406,678 (37.8)
Private	561,571 (62.1)
Total	**968,249**
BIA	7,000 (0.0007 per cent of all enrolments and 1.2 per cent of private enrolments)

Note: Adapted from Lagos State Government 2014 Annual Education Sector Performance Report p. 1 and 2015 National Education Data Survey, p. A25.

Private schools in Lagos range from micro enterprises, comprising one classroom in a house, to large chains of high-end schools owned by multi-national corporations. The significance of the BIA presence is not the relatively small number of children enrolled in these schools, but the claims made by writers, such as Pearlman, Robinson & Winthrop, (2016) that this represents an important innovation in quality providing access to education for the poor. As a private chain of schools, BIA is not an unusual form of school provision in Lagos, but its significance rests in what this school form tells us about PPP arrangements and issues of accountability.

Through frameworks like the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR),

2 According to the BIA website http://www.bridgeinternationalacademies.com/approach/locations/ , there are 39 BIA schools in Lagos, but National Nigeria Union of Teachers (NUT) officials in Lagos interviewed for this study have counted 54 schools with BIA colours and signage.

the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), the MDGs, and the SDGs, governments and the wider international community are accountable for extending education rights and attending to quality and equality in education (UNESCO, 2017). Thus, it is important to document how people working in private schools in Lagos understand quality and equality in education and how these views are similar or different to state and PPP providers and what challenges and issues this raises for accountability frameworks with regards to national governments and international processes. BIA, and the PPP model it distils, has been promoted as particularly innovative in terms of high quality education for poor children, a good investment which will leverage other improvements in schooling (IFC, 2014). Perlman Robinson and Winthrop identified 14 core ingredients that contribute to scaling up quality learning:

> Local education needs, cost-effective learning, flexible adaptation, elevating teachers, education alliances, learning champions and leaders, technological advances, windows of opportunity, better data, flexible education financing, long-term education financing, middle-phase financing, supportive policy environment, and a culture of research and development. (Perlman Robinson and Winthrop, 2016, p. 9-11)

They noted BIA as a positive example of a low-fee school chain that has kept costs down, and made innovative use of technology, in transmitting lessons and evaluating progress:

> BIA is somewhat of a unique case in its ability to continuously strengthen its programs. It collects and mines an enormous amount of data in real time through the use of its teacher tablets in schools ... - so it can easily make any changes. (Perlman Robinson and Winthrop, 2016, p. 101)

The BIA model for low-cost private schools – also called an "academy in a box" (Kwauk and Perlman Robinson, 2016)- uses economies of scale to lower costs, leveraging technology, reducing the number of administrative staff at each academy to one, and employing primarily unqualified teaching staff who have gained certification after an intensive 235-hour training course at the BIA Training Institute (Bridge, 2018). According to Kwauk and Perlman Robinson, the intention is:

> To serve the "bottom of the pyramid" with a quality product at a price point that is feasible for poor communities, even if it is not affordable to the poorest of the poor, Bridge had to fixate on driving down costs at every point of its supply chain. (Kwauk and Perlman Robinson, 2016, p. 19)

It is BIA's claim to enhance quality for the poor while keeping down costs that has been disputed in several studies. Härmä's (2017) study in Lagos was based

on visits to three BIA schools in 2016, and interviews with 27 households who were sending children to BIA schools. She concluded that families using BIA schools were well-off and that no previously out-of-school children had been enrolled in BIA schools. Most children attending BIA had gone to those schools from other private schools. Families with children in BIA schools found costs were much higher than advertised due to additional expenses for books, supplies, lunches, and computer access.

Elsewhere in Africa, BIA has been challenged as to the legality of its operations in Kenya and Uganda, and queries as to whether the schools it has supported in Liberia do deliver better outcomes (EI and Kenya National Union of Teachers, 2016; Riep & Machacek, 2016; IDC, 2017). These controversies throw the issue of accountability into sharp relief. Some of the ways to enhance accountability for gender equality have been outlined in recent work on this theme and it has been suggested that multinational organisations, like BIA, and other kinds of private school providers, are not exempt from the scrutiny associated with accountability processes (UNESCO, 2017; Unterhalter, North, & Ward, 2018; Unterhalter, 2018). It was partly in view of these controversies and to look in detail at how accountability for quality and equality was being negotiated in Lagos schools that this study was designed to set the BIA schools in Lagos in a wider context of other forms of provision associated with states, and wider debates about the nature of quality and equalities.

2. Literature Review

This analysis of quality and equality in public and private schools in Lagos has been informed by reading in three areas. Firstly, debates over private schooling in Nigeria generally and in Lagos State, in particular. This literature takes in both a discussion of governance and regulation, assessments of the learning outcomes associated with children in private schools, and consideration of the demographics of those who use public and private schools. This discussion, which itself needs to be located within a wider socio-economic and political history of Lagos State, has been situated in relation to the controversy over aid, low-cost private schools, and PPPs.

There is no single definition of PPPs in education, where they take a range of forms. This includes public sector contracts with the private sector to deliver core components of the education system or support services, publicly subsidised education in private schools through vouchers or other financial arrangements, philanthropy in a range of guises spanning policy advocacy and building of public schools, and governance mechanisms which include collaborations between government, profit, and non-profit third sector organisations (LaRoque, 2008; Robertson, Mundy, & Verger; 2012; Pestoff, Brandsen, & Verschueren, 2013; Draxler, 2015; Unterhalter, 2017). The DFID-supported BIA initiative in Lagos comprises a number of these elements.

Much of the analysis of PPPs and low-cost private schools for the poor has been focused on cost, regulation, and learning outcomes. There has been less discussion of the equality and more multi-faceted dimensions of quality than learning outcomes in a small range of curriculum areas. This is the second theme in the literature reviewed, where a range of work by scholars in and on Nigeria as to how education quality and equality have been understood was considered.

The third area of literature reviewed concerned that is written about teachers, their work in schools, particularly those serving poor children in Nigeria, how aspects of the labour process and practice of teaching feed into work on quality and equality, and how the issue of public or private-school provision may be implicated in relationships and actions.

2.1 Expanding Basic Education: Public versus Private Provision

Since 2004, a range of studies on education for low-income communities in Lagos has documented the expansion of private provision, linking this with

parental choice, locations closer to where children live, smaller class sizes, increased teacher presence in school, some better facilities such as computers, more engaged teacher leadership, better school outcomes as measured by exam results, and more concern with child welfare (Adelabu and Rose, 2004; Tooley, Dixon, & Olanrewaju, 2005; Härmä, 2011a; Tooley, 2013; Dixon, Humble, & Tooley, 2017). Tooley et al. (2005) argued that the market form was beneficial to raising standards, and made the case for a voucher system for children to attend private schools, along the lines of that established in Chile, or the US Charter schools, although initiatives in both countries have elicited sharp criticism about the ensuing inequalities (Vallenzuel, Bellei, & Rios, 2014; Spring, 2017).

However, caution has also been raised about the low quality of education in some private schools over which the government has no regulatory authority (Adelabu and Rose, 2004, p. 48; Härmä, 2013b), the inherent inequality in that the poorest children are not able to pay even very low school fees (Adelabu and Rose, 2004, p. 64), the long hours of teachers' work, their lack of qualifications, low pay, the poor infrastructure, including lack of water and sanitation in some schools, and some of the political implications of the government relinquishing responsibility to the non-state sector (Adelabu and Rose, 2004, p. 45; Rose and Adelabu, 2007). In the 2010-2011 school census, Härmä (2011b) found that only 37 per cent of private schools were located in purpose-built proper structures; 63 per cent were in buildings not designed to be schools, or in makeshift structures, such as commercial spaces. More recent work in a smaller number of neighbourhoods has noted the proliferation of ever smaller schools employing unqualified teachers with even more minimal facilities as a feature of the expansion of market conditions (Härmä & Siddhu, 2017b). It is clear that a large proportion of these schools were in breach of official guidelines which require a school to be purpose built with an Approved Building Plan, adequate spatial separation from other buildings, and with standard plot requirements. The building and premises must be certified as suitable by the Ministry of Physical Planning and Urban Development (Lagos Ministry of Education, 2015, p. 4). These regulations were relaxed in 2016, but the latest legislation still requires that "the classrooms must be spacious and not inimical to total growth and development of the learner. Basic amenities such as a good source of water and hygienic faecal disposal facilities must be in place" (Lagos Ministry of Education, 2016, p. 19).

A number of studies have looked at social stratification amongst low-income communities and which socio-economic groups enrol children in private schools. Tooley (2013) showed a strong positive relationship between household income and school choice, with high levels of enrolment in both government and low-cost private schools among those living below the poverty line[3] and

3 Tooley (2013) defined the Lagos specific poverty line at the time of the study as 309 NAIRA per capita per

a sharp rise in enrolment in high-cost private schools after the poverty line is crossed. His data indicates that private schools were preferred because of their quality (despite lack of trained teachers) and government schools were perceived to have poor child welfare and overcrowding.

Dixon et al. (2017) investigated who, in the poor areas of Lagos, was choosing public or private schools and why. Drawn from a large sample, the data showed that the higher the education level and occupational status of a father, the more likely the family was to choose a low-cost private school, but that no bias towards sons or daughters was evident in these choices. Härmä and Siddhu (2017b), based on a census in two wards, recorded an annual fee of 9,000 NAIRA charged by small and medium unregistered schools and ten times that amount, 93,000 NAIRA, charged by medium-sized registered schools. These costs need contextualisation in the light of contemporary earnings to review what proportion of household income they represent. Härmä and Siddhu (unpublished b) surveyed a sample of 1,229 families in Alimosho Local Government Area (LGA) in 2016 from a range of wealth backgrounds investigating some of the effects of recession and austerity on the private school market. Their research found that a large proportion of families were choosing schools that were too expensive, that it was hard to allocate enough money for textbooks, transport, and that it was difficult and expensive for parents to change schools.

The neighbourhood distribution of schools and transport from home to school has also been a key area of investigation. Closeness to home was a key element in Härmä's 2011 survey. In 2013, Tooley identified several areas of Lagos where there were neither low-cost private primary schools or government schools but noted the extent of this was unknown (Tooley, 2013, p. 27). Härmä and Siddhu (2017b) carried out a survey in 179 low, medium and high-fee schools in two electoral wards of Alimosho LGA. They noted that, since the 2010-2011 census of private schools in these wards, there had been continued growth in school numbers, mostly unregistered – 42 per cent of surveyed schools had been established in the previous five years. Härmä and Siddhu (2017a) note the smallest, newest schools tended to be those charging low fees. They very often have no security of tenure on the sites they occupy, with rolling month-to-month agreements with their landlords. Their small size and poor facilities often mean that it is difficult for them to enrol additional pupils, and thereby gain more income, or invest in school improvement.

The question of what kind of regulation might be appropriate given this uneven development has been addressed in a number of studies. In 2002, the Nigerian Federal Inspectorate Service established Minimum Standards in Schools and responses to these were researched in case studies by Adelabu and Rose (2004). They looked at the Association of Formidable Educational

day (£1.25) (p. 7). Ultra-poor households were those living at or below 193 NAIRA per capita per day.

Development (AFED), which represents approved and unapproved private schools (charging both low and high fees), which had considerable grassroots support. They argued for changes to government regulations to make it less expensive to get approval to open schools in Lagos.

In 2003, when Adelabu and Rose (2004) conducted their study, state legislation required that private schools paid a range of fees to operate. Teachers had to have official teacher training diplomas and be registered with the Teacher Registration Council. There was a required pupil-teacher ratio, all schools had to be certified, information made available to parents, and schools reviewed through regular inspections (Adelabu and Rose, 2004). In 2015, strict building regulations for schools were still in place, which the Ministry of Education relaxed in 2016, while maintaining oversight of teacher qualifications (Lagos Ministry of Education, 2015, 2016). However, the capacity of the state to implement oversight of building conditions and teacher qualifications, given the proliferation of private schools and limited state bureaucracy, is a key question. Abdul–Hamid et al. (2015) noted that Lagos State legislation required that schools pay more than four types of fees to operate. Regular inspections of buildings, teachers' qualifications, and what students learned were required.

However, a range of studies document that inspection or support has not been regular and has never happened in some cases, or is associated with informal demands for a range of payments (Härmä & Siddhu, 2017a; Unterhalter, North, Ezegwu, & Shercliff, 2018; Härmä & Siddhu, unpublished a). In the 2010 census, Härmä (2011a) found that 74 per cent of the private schools surveyed were unapproved and had not been inspected or subject to any form of regulation.

This patchy form of private school regulation in Lagos has been a focus of DFID's work to improve the climate in which private schools operate and serve poor communities through the DEEPEN programme. However, the programme's capacity to appropriately focus on the needs of the very poor has been questioned. A review for the Education Data Research and Evaluation Nigeria (EDOREN) project found that DEEPEN was less clearly focused on targeting the poor than other programmes using PPP arrangements in Nigeria. DEEPEN gave a relatively low level of emphasis to understanding decisions about education at the lower end of the private education market and most of the proposed interventions, although not all, were not targeted at a specific segment of the market, but were intended to benefit all segments of the market i.e. low-fee schools, middle-fee schools and high fee schools. Only one-third of the project beneficiaries were expected to be children from low-income households (Bano, Crawfurd, Doherty & Rai, 2016, p. 3).

Control over land ownership has been a key way of administratively managing regulation. Härmä and Siddhu (2017) reviewed aspects of land tenure

and the fee structure in Lagos private schools. They found that, while land may be costly and difficult to acquire, once it has been secured through appropriate tenure rights, it brings the school security, allowing for investment in infrastructure and staff. However, most schools operate on rented land. Although the registration process requires land ownership, this requirement can be negotiated with the Ministry of Education – in reality, "this regulation is not strictly followed through in practice, with many schools gaining registration without owning land…" (Härmä and Siddhu, 2017, p. 20). BIA's entry into the Lagos market was negotiated with the agreement of the Ministry, which has permitted them to function on rented land providing that there is a lease of 10-15 years in place (Härmä & Siddhu, 2017, p. 64).

Regulation has been one way of managing accountability. But accountability itself has many aspects, some concerned with political processes of making visible obligations, and some concerned with more limited forms of administrative arrangement that do not develop relationships around citizenship or realisation of rights (UNESCO, 2017). In Lagos, the way regulation has been handled - administratively, concerned with bureaucratic registration, rather than politically linked with supporting provision of education to deliver on rights and equalities – has meant that private and PPP schools have been largely governed by government registration and market forms, rather than ideas about social citizenship and rights to education. Härmä (2013a) notes the absence of regulation as one facet of an absence of accountability and derogation of duty to deliver on rights. Cautioning against seeing the proliferation of private schools in Lagos as a promising measure to achieve EFA, she said:

> At the present time, these low-cost private schools are simply private citizens' entirely understandable, unplanned, spontaneous and entrepreneurial responses to the failures to fulfil state, national and international promises to all children, and should more sensibly be seen as a temporary solution for some families: a much-needed bandage for the problem underneath. (Härmä, 2013a, p. 29)

However, Härmä (2013b) also remarked that this temporary solution is needed in the absence of a state capacity to expand the number of schools they provide and improve the quality. The bureaucratic way the UBE has been implemented is seen by Bolaji, Campbell-Evans, and Gray (2016) as a major hindrance to its full implementation in Nigeria. They identify top-down hierarchies, slow implementation, and poor monitoring as major problems. Their focus is on enrolment, attendance, and progression as signals of quality and equality. But their observations raise issues for consideration about the history of the proliferation of private schooling in Lagos signalling that the issue of quality and equality needs to be understood both as a feature internal to the schools in Lagos, and as deriving from wider relationships that sustain these.

2.2 Quality and Equality in Nigerian Schools

Discussion abound in the academic and policy literature as to how to define quality education (e.g. Tikly & Barrett, 2013; Laurie, Nonoyama-Tarumi, McKeown & Hopkins, 2016; Iyer & Moore, 2017). Perlman Robinson and Winthrop's (2016) study has been particularly influential with donors and large multilateral organisations in detailing a stress on local contextual need, cost effectiveness, the importance of teachers, alliances with civil society, national and international champions in government, a supportive policy environment, long-term and flexible funding, and leveraging change through technology and cultures of monitoring, evaluation, and research. However, national and some international studies often emphasise developing citizenship or a sense of inclusion as integral to quality education (Umar, Saidu, & Azare, 2015; Larreguy & Marshall, 2017). Whether or not PPPs in education deliver on quality has been an area of controversy with two literature reviews indicating there is too little research to draw conclusions on what happens inside particular PPP arrangements, and suggesting the claims around what PPPs can achieve for quality need careful scrutiny (Languille, 2017; Verger, Fontdevila, & Zancajo, 2017).

Discussions on equality in education consider (a) distributional issues, for example who gets how much education, taking account of a range of social divisions concerned with income, ethnicity, race, gender, and disability; and (b) substantive equality, for example how particular groups are treated, described, engaged in discussion and decision-making, and how forms of inequality (for example of age or associated with disability) are negotiated (Comim & Nussbaum, 2014; Unterhalter, 2015; Moletsane & Theron, 2017). A sub-section of the discussion on equality is concerned with ways of addressing education and poverty, and the actions that can be taken in working with poor communities, which can range from discriminatory kinds of inclusion into a highly unequal system, to in-depth engagements, solidarities, and support that are explicitly pro-poor (Unterhalter, Yates, Makinda & North, 2012; Dyer, 2014; Fenwick, 2017). Work on equality and PPPs in education has highlighted how PPP arrangements are often associated with not addressing forms of inequality, and how the mutability of ideas around gender, for example, may feed into the fluidity of the PPP form and over-claiming around delivery on rights and justice (Verger et al., 2017; Unterhalter, 2017).

Studies on quality education in Nigeria take in the many facets associated with this area and the difficulty of documenting these. A review of literature on access, quality, and equity commissioned by EDOREN commented on the "unavailability, paucity and unreliability of available statistical data on education", the limitations of the Education Management Information System (EMIS) used by the state which made it difficult to plan or budget for education,

or undertake large-scale survey research (Humphreys and Crawfurd, 2016, p. 13). These data limitations are exacerbated when trying to understand the extent and nature of unregistered private schools which are not included in the data.

There are a range of views on how to define quality. In some studies, quality is linked, by both researchers and survey participants, with teaching, facilities and learning outcomes (Härmä, 2013a). Johnson (2008) sees the expansion of private schooling and PPP arrangements as a means to provide for quality, when the state is not able to secure this. Meanwhile, Härmä (2013a) notes that the proliferation of private schools in Lagos is not the way to achieve quality education as outlined by EFA because of the low quality of teaching in those schools. Parents interviewed for a recent study by Dixon et al. (2017) linked quality and affordability giving these as the main reasons for school choice.

In Outhred and MacAuslan's (2015) review of the DEEPEN programme quality is linked with school performance (EDOREN, 2016). The baseline survey at the start of the programme involved a research team visiting 358 private schools in four LGAs in Lagos to investigate school performance which was associated with learner proficiency. They assessed the learning outcomes of 2,444 pupils in the early stages of Primary 3 (P3, third grade) in a limited range of curriculum areas, notably literacy and numeracy. Just over half of those assessed were proficient in the official literacy curriculum and achieved within the range expected of P3 pupils. Only six per cent of P3 pupils were proficient in the numeracy curriculum, while 74 per cent were achieving within the Primary 2 (P2) proficiency range, and were thus up to a year behind.

Thus, it can be seen that there are a range of meanings of quality in use by researchers. It tends to be viewed as an attribute of a local school or group of schools, and can be associated with learning outcomes in a very narrow range of subject areas. In Lagos a number of commentators point out the state capacity to ensure quality either in state or private schools is very fragile, and there are large information gaps that make this even more difficult.

Definitions of quality and equality are sometimes linked with issues of accountability and participation in discussion about education (Yaro, Arshad, & Saleh, 2016; UNESCO, 2017). The need to improve local democracy in Lagos State to enhance education quality has also been noted in a number of studies (Adu, Akinlye, & Adu, 2015; Harber, 2017). Härmä (2017, p. 26), interviewing parents whose children attended BIA schools in Lagos, noted some concerns regarding their lack of involvement with quality issues. Parents reported they were not informed about the curriculum and did not have access to the school or teachers or know about teacher qualifications.

Studies on inequality and equality in education in Nigeria have looked at demographics and regional differentials. Kazeem, Jensen, and Stokes (2010)

concluded that while gender was a key factor in school attendance, socio-economic determinants, including location and parents' level of education were more significant. This conclusion was confirmed by Mezger (2016) who reviewed data on children aged 6-15 and their access to schooling from three rounds of Demographic and Health (DHS) surveys (2003, 2008, and 2011). She found that in the southern zones, where Lagos is located, the probability of being out of school had actually increased over time among the poorest segment of the population. Thus, while the predicted probabilities of remaining out of school have declined for most children except the poorest, Mezger suggests that the cost of schooling probably accounts for poorer households not sending children to school (Mezger, 2016, p. 17).

Gender inequality in education has been the focus of a number of reviews (British Council, 2012; Dev, Mberu, & Pongou, 2016). A detailed study of teachers' training and work on gender issues, which included empirical work in Lagos State, concluded that there was limited attention to gender and other inequalities in teacher education at universities and Colleges of Education. There were some differences between men and women with regards to how much they responded to and engaged with discussions of gender and education, but all teachers found it very difficult to put ideas about gender equality into practice in schools (Unterhalter et al., 2018). Some teachers interviewed in low-cost private schools in Lagos reported a particular commitment to equality, but they also expressed a high level of frustrations at not being able to realise this in practice because of school conditions (Unterhalter et al., 2018, p. 64).

Inequality has been documented as linked with particular groups who are excluded and discriminated against. While much of the argument for the promotion and expansion of low-cost private schools has been made on the basis of relatively higher learning outcomes in these schools for both girls and boys (Tooley & Dixon, 2013), these studies do not look into the range of gender discriminatory practices that may or may not take place in schools. Such practices, according to a range of studies, are associated with learning materials, teacher attitudes, forms of assessment, relationships between learners, school-related gender-based violence (SRGBV), and provision of food, water and sanitation (Unterhalter, North, Arnot, Lloyd, Moletsane, Murphy-Graham, Parkes, & Saito, 2014; Parkes, 2015; Sperling & Winthrop, 2015). In none of the literature on private schools in Lagos and learning outcomes reviewed was there any discussion of children with disabilities, children from ethnic groups who suffer discrimination, the children of migrants, or the effects of social dislocation, associated with family break-up, job loss, or illness.

In relation to inequality, poverty, and education, Rose and Adelabu (2007) noted that, while some private school proprietors did take actions that were pro-poor, allowing children who had not paid fees to remain in school, this

was short term and not sustainable. Härmä (2013a, 2013b) raised two equity issues associated with the proliferation of private schools in Lagos: (a) that families living in slum conditions were spending part of their very limited incomes on private schooling, thus depleting any capacity to save, develop small businesses, or improve living conditions; and (b) that private education exacerbated social division so that the most disadvantaged were grouped together attending government schools.

In summary, the literature on the expansion of private schooling in Lagos, particularly among low-income communities, has been mainly concerned with the size of the sector, the learning outcomes in a narrow range of curriculum areas, and forms of government regulation. It has paid much less attention to other facets of education quality, experiences of learning and teaching, and engagements with equality.

2.3 Teachers and Work conditions in Nigerian Schools

Teachers are crucial to delivering the SDGs, and central to the theme which cuts across all 17 SDGs of 'leave no one behind'. In Lagos State, the need for trained teachers is particularly acute, with very high pupil-teacher ratios in both public and private schools, considerable numbers of children still out of school or achieving at low levels, many untrained/non-professional teachers, and private providers sometimes trying to fill the gaps with controversial results (EDOREN, 2015; Härmä, 2016; Roshan, Lomme, Hima, & Santibanez, 2016; Unterhalter et al., 2018). A review of literature on basic education in Nigeria by Humphreys and Crawfurd (2014) observes that, at both primary and secondary levels, there is a dearth of evidence on classroom-based research around various subjects in relation to the curriculum in practice and various facets associated with quality and equalities, such as inclusion, citizenship, sustainability and "the emotional, affective side of teaching and learning, either from teachers or pupils" (Humphreys and Crawfurd, 2014, p. 46-47).

Table 6 shows the latest (2014) available data on teachers and their training in Lagos public schools.

Table 6

Teachers and their Training in Lagos Public Schools

	Graduate with Teacher Qualification		Nigeria Certificate in Education (NCE)		Total Qualified Teachers		Other Qualifications	
Year	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
2013	323	2,618	1,514	7,281	1,837	9,899	427	462
2014	437	3,057	1,498	7,319	1,935	10,376	189	302

Federal Ministry of Education. 2017b

Training and supporting adequate numbers of teachers has been a major source of concern for education planning at federal and state level (Erinosho, 2010; Adelokun & Akinola, 2015; Unterhalter et al., 2018). There has been much focus on teachers' basic educational qualifications, their levels of knowledge of key areas of the curriculum (Johnson, 2008), and their preparation to introduce learner-centred pedagogies (Lawson, 2018). Less attention has been given to softer skills such as ideas about gender, equality, or inclusion (Unterhalter et al., 2018).

Addressing teachers' content knowledge and pedagogic skills has been the focus of a number of intervention programmes in Nigeria (ESSPIN, 2015). One of these, the DFID programme, the Education Sector Support Programme in Nigeria (ESSPIN) implemented programmes that support education institutions including Colleges of Education and Ministries of Education. Many studies document the challenges of building teachers' subject and pedagogic knowledge so that their practice can enhance children's learning. Some portray this as a 'crisis' of quality (UNESCO, 2017; World Bank, 2018) although Unterhalter (2018) draws out some of the problematic assumptions this discourse rests on. A number of studies indicate that many teachers do not have enough knowledge and training (subject content, pedagogic methods or appropriate languages) to address the needs of the most vulnerable, marginalised and disadvantaged (e.g. Thomas, 2013). Other studies have highlighted a significant need to expand the teaching profession and to deepen teacher education and support to understand the issues of poverty, violence, and inequality that many children confront (Griffin, 2012; Parkes, Heslop, Ross, Westerveld, & Unterhalter, 2016; Sayed, 2018).

Unterhalter et al. (2018) found gender equality work has not featured prominently in teacher education programmes. Their research with a group of teachers and teacher educators from Lagos State found that, overall, women tended to hold more gender-equitable views than men, with teachers in the southern states of Lagos and Rivers having the most gender-equitable views (Unterhalter et al., 2018, p. 55). In the course of this longitudinal study, a group of teachers were followed from the final year of training into their first appointment in schools. In these schools, both newly qualified teachers and their colleagues were interviewed concerning quality and equality. In Lagos, there was a statistically significant negative relationship amongst the teachers surveyed between enjoyment of teaching and ability to work on inclusion, suggesting their enjoyment of teaching was marred by not being able to put their views about inclusion into practice (Unterhalter et al., 2018, p. 64).

While there has been a process of connecting teacher education with practice, research knowledge still needs to be developed on how to build teachers' understanding of the complexities of poverty, racial, ethnic and gender inequalities and into improving learning outcomes (Kramon & Posner, 2016;

Savolainen, Engelbrecht, Nel & Malinen et al., 2012; Raffo, 2013; Deacon, 2012; Deacon, 2015; Sayed, 2018). This includes addressing gender-based violence (Parkes et al., 2016; Hossain & Tamizi, 2012), working with children with disabilities (Kett & van Ommeren, 2009; Avramidis et al., 2000), and identifying how climate change can exacerbate inequalities (Bourn, Hunt, & Bamber, 2017). There is some evidence that the quality of teacher education and support given to teachers in relation to work on inequality enhances learning outcomes across social divisions (Unterhalter et al., 2014), but there is a need to model what works so that this can be shared with trainee and more experienced teachers to enhance their capacity and understanding of how to build opportunities for inclusion across multiple connected inequalities.

Teachers' working conditions often exacerbate the limited training they receive. Their working conditions in schools for the poorest children are often exceedingly difficult, with infrequent pay, poor infrastructure, and little support in addressing complex learning needs, as shown in studies in South Africa (Shalem & Hoadley, 2009; Declerq & Shalem, 2014) and Nigeria (Unterhalter et al., 2018). Teachers are often publicly blamed for children's poor performance in national tests, and this discourse of blame sometimes becomes part of the rationale not to provide better pay, management and support to teachers (Altinyelken and De Konig, 2013).

2.4 Conclusion

This brief review of literature on the expansion of private schooling, quality, equality, and teachers' training and work indicates how much the research promoting private schooling as responsive to the demands of parents in Lagos has dealt with a narrow conceptualisation of poverty, linked primarily with income. The research has not engaged with a wider range of issues about intersecting equalities in education, developing gender-responsive teachers, with insight into some of the structures and norms associated with inequality that undermine pedagogic processes. It has been largely silent on issues of teachers' training and work as a component of thinking about quality. These are key issues that concern regulation and private schools where, again, the focus has largely been on bureaucratic forms and not so much about wider obligations concerning rights and equality.

3. Research Process: Design, Methods, and Analysis

To investigate relevant views about the quality and equality in a range of school types in Lagos, a qualitative research design was developed. This aimed to compare the views of those working in and with public and private schools in Lagos, investigating BIA and other low-cost providers. Data was collected over three months —January to March 2018— with all the school interviews taking place in January.

Qualitative data was collected through interviews with teachers, head teachers, and parents in low-cost private schools and public schools. The aim was to gather interviewees' ideas about quality and equality in education in three areas of Lagos State - teachers and parents of children in BIA schools in the same three areas were also interviewed. The data collection team comprised three Lagos-based researchers and one researcher from the UK (see research team on page 2). Additional interviews were held with key stakeholders including government officials, teachers' union officials, DFID officials, and other key informants in Lagos and London in January 2018, and with union officials in Edo State in January 2018 and Abuja in March 2018.

In Lagos, three areas with BIA schools located among low-income communities were selected. In each area, observations of the neighbourhood, journeys to work and school, and housing provision were conducted. In each, three schools were selected for more detailed data collection - a public school, a BIA school, and a low-cost private school run by a different provider. The intention was to interview one head teacher, two teachers, and two parents in each school, and to conduct a school observation. However, that interview outline was not possible in one low-cost private school as there was only one head teacher and one teacher. In addition, BIA refused to permit access to their schools, despite initial approaches in London and Washington, and a detailed presentation of our research design and aims for the study). This meant that the data collection plan had to be re-designed to now feature interviews with two parents of children in BIA and two teachers in each of the areas, and to carry out a school observation.

3.1 Data Collection

Table 7

Phases of Data Collection

Date	Activity
January 2018	Data collection in three public schools, three low-cost private schools, and three BIA schools in Lagos State. Included interviews with head teachers, teachers, and parents, and school observations.
January 2018	Key informant interviews with government officials in the State Universal Basic Education Board (SUBEB), Ministry of Education, a DEEPEN official, AFED in Lagos, school chain manager in London.
January 2018	Key informant interview with Edo State NUT official
February 2018	Key informant interview with a DFID official in Abuja
March 2018	Key informant interview with NUT official in Abuja

3.2 Instruments

The instruments used in the study are available on request from research@ei-ie.org. These were developed building on the preliminary literature review conducted in November-December 2017 and discussions with academics and researchers working on low-cost private education in Lagos.

Participants in the study were asked a range of questions regarding their views on quality and equality in education. Some questions were adapted from a previous study on teachers' engagements with gender equality in a range of Nigerian schools (Unterhalter et al., 2018) but tailored questions relating to regulation, fee structure, and public and private provision were also developed. A school observation sheet was developed for each school, designed to be completed based on observations from the street, as access to the BIA schools had been refused. This collected information on buildings, the quality of children's uniforms, and details about school journeys.

A range of briefings and discussions with the field work team took place, which involved trialling the research instruments and discussion of the intention of the research design. All data was collected in English.

3.3 Ethical Clearance

Ethical clearance for the study was given by the Institute of Education, University College London, on 18 January 2018.[4] Permission for data collection in schools was granted by the State Universal Board in Lagos. At each school where the data was collected, the research team made a presentation of a small collection of books in English for the school library.

3.4 Data Collection: Participants and Site Selection

Data collection took place in January-March 2018. The research involved a total of 51 interviews with teachers, head teachers, parents, and key informants from government and civil society. 41 interviews took place in Lagos State with head teachers, teachers and parents in low-cost private schools, BIA schools, and public schools, along with school observations. A total of 18 parents, 15 teachers, and eight head teachers were interviewed. Interviews took place in three public schools and three low-cost private schools in three different LGAs in Lagos. Six parents and four teachers were interviewed in BIA schools in the same LGAs, but no formal interviews with head teachers at BIA schools took place).

To select schools in each neighbourhood, the researchers first identified the BIA school in the LGA, then located a low-cost private school (charging less than 25,000 NAIRA per year in fees) within walking distance, and then identified the nearest public school. The researchers approached the head teacher or owner of the low-cost private school to ask for permission to interview the head teacher, teachers, and parents in the school. Parents were approached when dropping off and collecting their children from school.

Table 8

Number of Interviews and Observations by Neighbourhood

	Head Teachers/ Proprietors	Teachers	Parents	Observations	Total
Area 1	2	3	6	3	14
Area 2	4	6	6	4	20
Area 3	2	6	6	3	17
Total	8	15	18	10	**51**

4 Full ethical approval for REC 1027 Quality and equality: a comparative study of public and low cost private schools in Lagos. Data protection registration number: No Z6364106/2018/01/28 social research

Table 9

Number of Interviews and Observations by Type of School

	Head Teachers/ Proprietors	Teachers	Parents	Observations	Total
BIA	-	4	6	4	14
Public Schools	4	6	6	3	19
Private Schools	4	5	6	3	18
Total	8	15	18	10	**51**

Teachers, head teachers, and parents were a mixture of men and women, but the majority of head teachers interviewed in all three school types were women:

Table 10

Interviewees by gender

	Head Teachers		Teachers		Parents	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Public Schools		4	4	2	2	5
BIA			3	1		6
Low-Cost Private Schools		4	1	3		6

Key informant interviews were also conducted with Lagos State government officials, Lagos and Edo StateNUT officials, AFED, DFID, DEEPEN officials, and practitioners with knowledge of schooling in Lagos.

Table 11

Key Informant Interviews

	Lagos	Edo	Abuja	Total
Government Officials	3	-	-	3
Union Representatives	3	1	1	5
Other Practitioners	3		1	4
Total	9	1	2	12

One manager of a private school chain in Lagos, who also had experience of working in the public sector, was interviewed in London. Government officials in the Ministry of Education and SUBEB were approached by the researchers in Lagos and were interviewed in their official capacity in their offices. The

research team contacted the NUT in Lagos and Edo State through EI and interviews took place at the union office. One interview with a union official in Abuja took place by Skype. The DEEPEN and DFID officials were interviewed face-to-face (a DEEPEN official in Lagos) and via Skype with a DFID official based in Abuja.

3.5 Data Analysis

All recorded interviews were transcribed and anonymised, and all field notes and collated observation and other schedules were assembled. Large data spreadsheets were constructed and, from these, initial readings for thematic analysis took place. Based on the preliminary thematic readings, five major areas were identified for detailed distillation:

- Views on charging fees
- Understandings of quality
- Engagements with equality
- Reflections on teachers' work
- Issues of regulation and accountability

3.6 Challenges in Data Collection and Analysis

Data collection in BIA schools was hampered by the refusal of the chain's management in the United States of America to permit access to their schools. This led to a decision by the research team to interview parents of children attending BIA schools and teachers willing to take part in the research, without approaching the schools directly. Thus, fewer teachers and parents associated with BIA are represented in this study, compared to those working in and with the public and other low-cost providers in each neighbourhood. During field work, the research team was made aware of email correspondence circulated around the BIA in Lagos warning teachers not to take part in interviews with outside researchers (field note 10 January 2018).

In data analysis, this presented some challenge for the comparative study as it did not allow for a comparison of the views of BIA head teachers with those in other schools. The teachers and parents interviewed from the BIA schools were not identified through the same process as those at the other schools where data was collected. Particular care was therefore taken in interpreting their comments, given that they were speaking more unofficially than the parents and teachers interviewed at other schools. Because of the refusal, sent from London, of an interview with BIA in Lagos, there is a gap in the analysis of those concerned with programmes regarding quality and equality in the low-cost private school sector. Attempts have been made to triangulate the data, drawing on views of government officials, a DFID official, and the organisations that support private schools.

4. Three Neighbourhoods: Contrasting School Settings

The three neighbourhoods where school-level data was collected were selected to give contrasting insights into Lagos as a fast-growing city with an enormous economy, where new housing is being built every year, and where school provision has not adequately kept up with the growth in population (Abdul-Hamid et al., 2015; Härmä & Siddhu, 2017a). All the neighbourhoods selected had BIA schools established there in the last three years, suggesting that these were low-income communities, given BIA's trend for setting up schools in such communities. Areas with contrasting histories of urbanisation were selected to give greater comparative depth and insight into how and where public and private schools operate in Lagos. The areas selected included one neighbourhood with an old established market, schools, and housing, where there has been some population decline over the past decade (Neighbourhood 1); one area in a rapidly expanding "suburb" of Lagos, with newly built public and private schools (Neighbourhood 2); and one neighbourhood a distance from the centre of metropolitan Lagos, close to the Benin border (Neighbourhood 3).

The following section provides an overview of the schools where data was collected in the three neighbourhoods, observations of the children attending the schools, and some data on the teachers, their qualifications and their views regarding their pay and working conditions. These are discussed in relation to the most recent (2016) state regulations which extended the same minimum guidelines regarding school premises and teacher quality to public and private schools 'to ensure equity, quality and sustainability' (Lagos Ministry of Education, 2016, vii).

4.1 Metropolitan Lagos

In Neighbourhood 1, the public school was on the junction of a main road with a lot of traffic passing by. The BIA school and the other low-cost private school were off the main road, not so easily accessed by car as the roads were untarmacked. There were some poorly constructed houses in the area around the three schools, but there were also new housing developments and some construction of non-residential buildings.

The single-storey public school building was painted in the Lagos State yellow, in a large compound with a sandy playground surrounded by high walls. The

pupil-teacher ratio was high at 80:1. The BIA school was also in a compound, surrounded by walls painted in the BIA green and with pictures of the children learning. There was a playground with equipment. We were not able to gather information in this location on the pupil: teacher ratio.

In contrast, the low-cost private school was in a single-storey building without windows. A wooden partition had been erected to separate the classroom from a room next door that was used to get to the houses at the back of the school (where the owner lived). The painting work on the outside of the building was fading and difficult to read. There was no yard for the children to play but most the children lived in the houses across from the school and there was a small yard for them to play. The pupil: teacher ratio in the lower classes was 9:1. In class 6 there were 35 pupils, but only 2 teachers for the whole school.

The condition of the children's uniforms attending the BIA school was good, whereas it was more mixed among those attending the public and other low-cost private school. The majority of children in the public school and all the BIA children had school bags. Around half of the children in the low-cost private school did not have school bags. Most of the children in the public school walked home without an adult, although some were collected on a motorbike. All the children in the low-cost private school walked home alone, with home less than five minutes away. The majority of children in the BIA school walked home alone without a parent, but some were collected by transport.

In the public school, both of the interviewed teachers and the head teacher had teaching qualifications. The head teacher's highest qualification was a degree from Lagos State University, which was necessary to become a head teacher. The starting salary for all public school teachers is 52,000 NAIRA. These teachers reported they had attended training organised by ESSPIN and the SUBEB on student-centred learning. In the low-cost private school, the owner, also the head teacher, was a qualified teacher, but the only other teacher in the school had a high-school qualification only. This teacher, as in other low-cost private schools, was paid 5,000-8,000 NAIRA. Due to the refusal by BIA headquarters, the researchers were unable to interview teachers or the head teacher in the BIA school in this neighbourhood.

The public-school teachers said they were not happy about their pay, but job satisfaction was high, partly because of job security and social and other activities outside of work. Job satisfaction was also reasonable for the teacher in the low-cost school. Although, there was no time or money for training, and her pay was low, the proximity of her home to the school meant this was not a big issue for her, and she was always paid on time.

4.2 A Lagos Suburb

In this fast-expanding neighbourhood, (Neighbourhood 2) there were a large number of schools. There were two public schools in the same compound, close to a busy main road with lots of cars, motorbikes, and small buses passing by. Each had over 1,000 pupils enrolled. Close by were more residential areas, with large houses, compounds, and apartments, in good condition, and a number of small shops. A BIA school was located close by. A number of other private schools were situated in the same neighbourhood, set back from the main road, with few cars passing through. One of these was selected as the comparison low-cost private school in the neighbourhood.

The quality of all school buildings was good, but the size of their compounds varied. The public schools were both multi-storey buildings set in a large compound with a large sandy playground but with no playground equipment. The pupil-teacher ratio was 75:1. Both the BIA school and low-cost private school had a small yard for the children to play in, surrounded by concrete walls. Another BIA school in this neighbourhood had a small swing set at the back of the yard but there was very little space to run around. The BIA schools were well-equipped, with bookshelves, desks and chairs in good repair, carpeted floors, and freshly painted walls. The pupil:teacher ratio was 35:1 in the lower classes and 15: 1 in Class 6.

The furniture in the low-cost private school was worn-looking, and the children's desks were close together. The owner said there were just 180 pupils enrolled, but that the school kept increasing in size. In the lower classes the pupil:teacher ratio was 30:1 and in class 6 it was 20:1.

The uniforms worn by the children attending the public school were generally in quite poor condition, and many of the children were without schoolbags. In the BIA and low-cost private school, the uniforms worn by pupils were in good condition, clean and neat, and all children observed carried school bags. The majority of the children attending the public school walked home alone, without a parent or adult. The majority of the children in the low-cost private school and BIA school were accompanied by an adult. There were two-three cars collecting children from the BIA school and some motorbikes. No transport of this kind was evident outside the public and low-cost private school.

In the public school, all the teachers are qualified. The head teacher had 34 years' experience and reported training provided by the SUBEB. Both of the BIA teachers interviewed were qualified. Since joining BIA, they had received two-and-a-half weeks of additional training and some training from BIA on information and communications technology (ICT) and classroom management. In the neighbouring low-cost private school, the teachers did not have teaching qualifications and the head teacher was studying part-time

for an NCE. Teachers in this school had not received any training, although the owner said she provided training for some staff but that it was expensive.

In all three schools, teachers reported they were unhappy with their salary (the only exception was the head teacher in the public school, who also receives help from a cooperative). In the low-cost private school, one teacher said he was happy with his salary "considering my qualification". In all of the schools, there was some consensus among the teachers that the job of teaching could fit well with family commitments and allowed good work-life balance.

4.3 On the Outskirts of Lagos

In this area (Neighbourhood 3), there was a lot of construction, with many houses and commercial buildings under construction. The public school was much smaller than in the metropolitan or suburban neighbourhoods. The pupil-teacher ratio was reported by the head teacher as 42:1. There were even smaller ratios reported by the teachers in the BIA school (17:1) and the other low-cost private school (7:1 in the lower classes and 55:1 as the general pattern across the school). The public school had a large sandy playground but no equipment. The low-cost private school did not have a play area for the pupils. The BIA school appeared to be situated in a large house that had been converted into a school, surrounded by high walls, with little apparent room for a playground. It was painted in the brand's green with pictures on the outside walls.

In the public school, six out of the ten children observed wore uniforms that were in a poor condition and four had uniforms that were in good condition. The quality of the uniforms worn by all the children attending the BIA school and the other low-cost provider in this neighbourhood was good. In all three schools, all of the children carried school bags. The majority of the children in the BIA school went home on foot with an adult present (one by motorbike); six of the children in the low-cost private school went home alone and four with an adult – all were walking. From the public school, six of the ten children observed walked, two were fetched by motorbike, and two took a taxi/small bus.

All of the teachers in the public school were qualified and had received some training from the SUBEB on classroom management and helping children learn. They reported an emphasis in continuing professional development (CPD) on counselling and mentoring. The BIA teachers were unqualified, although one had a technical/vocational post-school qualification. They reported that they received training at the end of every term and one teacher said they received subject training every week. Neither of the teachers in the low-cost private school were qualified teachers, and they had not received training, although the head teacher did say she had attended training provided by the National Association of Private Teachers on classroom management.

In the public school, teachers had mixed views on pay, with one teacher saying it was adequate, but they had not had a pay rise; the head teacher said the salary was too low, but it was paid on time. One teacher noted she had to buy books and materials for the students. At the BIA school, one teacher said they received 18,000 NAIRA per annum (the minimum wage in Nigeria); another teacher expressed dissatisfaction with their salary as they felt the day was too long 7am–5.30pm for what they were being paid. However, the same teacher was also satisfied with prospects of career progression from teacher to teacher trainer to ICT specialist. In the other low-cost provider, the teachers mentioned a high teacher turnover, and difficulties finding both permanent and supply teachers.

4.4 Conclusion

These vignettes of three neighbourhoods based on observations, interviews, and field notes suggest a number of themes for further analysis:

- Children attending public schools appear to be from poorer backgrounds than children attending BIA schools, based on our observations of uniforms, school bags, and whether or not children walked to school or were accompanied by an adult with transport (motorbike or car). This confirms Härmä's (2017) assessment that the children attending BIA schools were not from very poor backgrounds.
- The BIA schools observed were not in areas where there was no public school (or other private providers). Tooley (2013) had noted that as Lagos expanded there may be a major problem of lack of public schools in areas close to where people were living. The need to support improved quality in the private sector was part of the DEEPEN business case (DFID, 2013) and it was through DEEPEN that DFID's PPP with BIA was developed. But the BIA schools were found in areas where there were already large numbers of schools, close by, both public and private,
- There is a very sharp difference in qualification and pay between teachers in the public and private schools. All teachers in public schools have had training and some CPD, but teachers in private schools, some of whom worked for BIA, had a small amount of training, and others, employed by other low-cost providers, had minimal training and support. Teachers are better paid in public schools than in BIA or other private providers.

Some clear differences are evident between the conditions observed and the regulations regarding buildings (Lagos Ministry of Education, 2016). The regulations require all primary schools (public and private) to have, in addition to classrooms, a library with copies of Lagos State recommended textbooks

suitable for all levels, a sick bay with two wooden beds, first aid box with certified paramedic or first aider, a functional ICT suite with internet service, a science lab, a head teacher's office, a spacious staffroom, adequate toilets, and a sizeable multi-purpose hall (Lagos Ministry of Education, 2016, p. 4-5). While full site inspections of all three public schools were not conducted, each school was large enough to provide for the full range of services (library, sick room, ICT room, toilets and hall) specified in the regulations. Not one of the three non-BIA low-cost private schools was large enough to have these additional rooms; the schools mostly comprised a few classrooms and a teachers' room. Permission was not granted for the researchers to enter the three BIA schools, but observation revealed that one was in a converted house, which may not have been large enough to provide for all these required tooms.

The Lagos Ministry of Education Regulations require adequate academic and professional qualifications for all teachers in public and private schools and a pupil-teacher ratio of 35:1 (Lagos Ministry of Education, 2016, p. 3). The public schools exceeded the recommended number of pupils in each class but did comply with the regulation on teacher qualifications. At the BIA schools, on the basis of this study's interviews, it appeared that not all the teachers had the requisite academic or professional qualifications – one interviewed teacher had a vocational qualification. At the other low-cost private schools, some teachers were qualified, but some were only school leavers.

The location of the schools, and the pay and work satisfaction of teachers provide background information in interpreting how teachers understand quality, equality, engagements with poverty, a consider regulation and accountability. The next section presents detailed data on these themes. presents detailed data on these themes.

5. Poverty, Quality, Equality, Teachers' Working condtions and Regulation

Four cross-cutting themes through which to interpret the data collected were selected. In presenting reflections on these themes, an argument is developed about quality and equality building from interpretations that link quality, context and equality (Tikly, 2015; Unterhalter, 2015). The analysis reflects on these themes in the policy context provided by the 1999 Nigerian Constitutions, the 2004 legislation on UBE and the commitments to free quality education set out in SDG 4.1.

5.1 Poverty, Quality and the Fee Structure in Three School Types

Inclusion and free primary education is a key dimension of quality and equality. No fees were required in the public schools in all three neighbourhoods surveyed. Researchers probed as to whether charges were made for food, extra books, tuition, or additional activities, but were told by head teachers the education was completely free. In the central metropolitan neighbourhood, parents of children at the public school reported that they paid for uniforms, books, and writing materials. In the school on the outskirts of Lagos, one parent said teachers offered extra tuition for payment, but the head teacher said charges of this kind were not allowed. The head teacher of the centrally located school emphasised that the school could not accept payments: "[I] Cannot even take 1 NAIRA - even when organisations approach [our] schools directly, they direct the funds to SUBEB, which affects the level of support schools can get". Although the policy of not charging for education placed constraints on quality, teachers noted that it was highly valued by parents, whose children attended the public schools. In all three areas, parents of children at these schools described themselves as very poor, working very long hours for very low pay, and sometimes requiring children to undertake hawking (sell goods on the street) after school.

> If I was asked to pay, I would have kept my children at home. I only collect 10,000 NAIRA as salary and I have two children to feed. So, this government has helped us a lot with free education. – Public school parent, Lagos outskirts

> The free education is good, at least my children are in school. I didn't go to school. – Public school parent, Lagos outskirts

The data indicates that the free education available in Lagos schools meets the needs of a large proportion of the population who describe themselves as poor in census data. However, the under-investment of the government in that free education meant that facilities were inadequate, as teachers and the head teachers noted. For the head teacher of the public school in the suburban area, a remedy was to charge parents, but this was forbidden:

> [The] government drive to call the education free has frustrated efforts to get help from parents. In the past, children went home with list of textbooks to buy but all that has stopped because the government wants everything to be free. So, parents don't buy books, and the government can't provide the books, so students suffer. – Head teacher, suburban area

There is clearly a long way to go in building financial and other supports for free and compulsory education.

The reports received on the fees charged at the BIA schools varied across the three locations. In the centrally located school, two parents reported fees of 16,000 NAIRA when first starting at the school and then 11,000 NAIRA per term, with excursions 200 NAIRA extra. Parents also have to pay for books, pens and other materials. In the suburban school, parents reported fees of 12,300 NAIRA per term for primary children but lower for nursery aged children. Payments must be made before the end of term. In the school on the outskirts of Lagos, one BIA teacher said new entrants pay 18,000 NAIRA and then 11,000 NAIRA per term for tuition. One parent said she had paid 13,000 NAIRA, including uniform and sportswear, and that the base rate was 8,000 NAIRA per term.

This information suggests that the fee structure at BIA schools ranges between approximately 9,000-12,000 NAIRA per term, excluding books, sportswear, and enrolment fees. Thus, the annual fees are between 27,000- 36,000 NAIRA per year. Using the scales established by and utilised by DEEPEN, the BIA schools can be located in a middle band of low-cost private schools (Tooley & Longfield, 2016). They are thus considerably beyond the range of the poorest, and this was confirmed by field observations based on uniforms, school bags, and transport from school. The field study suggested that the parents of children attending BIA schools had higher incomes than those attending public schools). Härmä's (2017) study also found that the poorest families were not attending BIA schools. These findings were endorsed by a parent at the suburban BIA school who said: 'They [parents from children at BIA schools] are not from poor homes categorically'. However, another parent and a teacher at the same school added that some parents of children attending the BIA school were struggling to secure an income.

The BIA school fees can be contrasted with those charged by the other low-cost school providers in each of the surveyed neighbourhoods. The school in the central area charged 50 NAIRA per day - assuming three terms of 15 weeks, the fee can be estimated as 11,250 NAIRA per year.[5] In the suburban school, the charges were 5,000 NAIRA per term, i.e. 15,000 NAIRA per academic year with extra charges for books and uniforms. The head teacher did report that she gave all students the uniform for free the previous term. In the school on the outskirts of Lagos, the fee charged was 6,300 NAIRA per term, that is 18,900 NAIRA per year, with 11,000 NAIRA charged for registration. All three schools, close to the BIA and public schools in each neighbourhood, charged less than the BIA fees, but more than the free education available in the public schools. These low-cost schools were in the bracket which Tooley (2013) calculated was affordable by the poorest, and their low fees stand in contrast to those charged by BIA. Clearly, neither the aid support for the BIA schools nor the under-provision of public education, which necessitates the emergence of very low-cost private schools, can be interpreted as furthering the policy direction around free compulsory education in SDG 4 or the Nigerian legislation.

Responses to poverty associated with quality education go considerably beyond the commodity form associated with the amount charged for education, which is a right supported by national legislation and international obligations. In all three types of school, interviewees were asked what happened when children could not pay for books, tuition, participation in sports activities, or the recognised uniform. At the public schools, the suburban school principal and a teacher in the central metropolitan school expressed some concern that parents' inability to pay for books meant that children's education suffered. A teacher at the suburban public school noted that if parents could not afford uniforms, they did not send their children to school. In all three locations, teachers said they sometimes used their own money to buy books and stationery for children, and one teacher reported giving extra lessons for free.

At the BIA schools, by contrast, the ethos was commercial and the response to children whose families could not pay fees was humiliation. This study heard reports that, in the suburban school, payments have to be made before the end of term. If payments are not received, children are still permitted to attend the school but they are not allowed in class. One teacher from this school said that the separation happens after two weeks if fees have not been paid when term resumes. This is known as the Not Allowed in Class (NAIC) policy, which both a teacher and a parent described as a policy to put pressure on parents to pay fees.

5 These are informal schools so the number of school days per year is not formally set.

> If they can't pay, they separate the students into two groups – 'allowed' in class (AIC) and not allowed in class (NAIC) – then children relay the info to their parents. – BIA parent, suburban school

> Permitted to attend but, after some time, they are separated to pressure parents to pay. – BIA teacher, suburban school

> There is something called NAIC (not allowed in class). They are kept in a room after two weeks of resumption (if not paid). – BIA teacher, suburban school

In the centrally located BIA school, a parent said the children of parents who cannot pay are now sent home, as separating the children into a different classroom did not work. In the school on the outskirts of Lagos, different accounts were given by parents and teachers. Two parents and one teacher said that, if the fee is not paid, children are separated from their classmates and placed in a different classroom. One teacher, however, reported that this separation lasted for just two hours and not the whole day. However, a different teacher said that the BIA rule was to separate the children from the rest of the class, but that one particular teacher chose not to do this. However, children whose parents have not paid fees do not receive a report card and are excluded from exams.

> [If only] Part payment [is made] - no report card; no payment, no mid-term and end-term exam and report card - teachers not allowed to keep the students in class. But teachers "flaunt the rule to help their students (NAIC rule)". – BIA teacher, Lagos outskirts

These accounts indicate some different practices with regards to non-payment or part-payment of fees. However, there were no reports from the three BIA schools of debt forgiveness when fees were not paid or teachers giving children resources. Indeed, the undermining of children's health and wellbeing through the humiliations of separation, being sent home, or not receiving a report card, mitigate against provision of quality education and strategies of inclusion.

These rule-bound approaches to non-payment of fees associated with BIA stand in contrast both to the free education in public schools and the somewhat more neighbourly extension of credit in a more haphazard way recorded in some of the other low-cost private schools. Although education is commodified and a fee is charged, the relationships around fees are somewhat more elastic and responsive to the vulnerability of poor parents' livelihoods in the low-cost schools than that evident at BIA. At the low-cost school in the metropolitan area, both the head teacher (owner) and a parent said that the children were still allowed to attend even when they did not have the fees. In the low-cost school in the suburban area, there was some

confusion about when fee payments had to be made. The parents interviewed said weekly, the teachers interviewed said monthly, and the head teacher and proprietor said termly, which may reflect a plethora of different arrangements allowed. The teachers in this school said that children were suspended if payments were not made after one month, but the proprietor said children could continue to attend and the parents were given credit. However, a parent said that credit was given only for one month: 'They write us a letter giving us a month's notice to pay or our child should stay back at home'. In the school on the outskirts of Lagos, one teacher said, 'We don't send them home; if you do, the parents will not bring back their children'.

A third element of quality associated with working with children living in or close to poverty entails views on inclusion and support. A number of studies (Slee, 2011; Unterhalter et al., 2012; Dyer, 2014; Messiou, 2017) highlight how the attitudes of teachers are an important aspect of how much children feel included in school, and thus whether or not they can experience quality education.

At the public schools, teachers commented on the social distance that separated them from the parents of the children, whom they noted did not understand what the children were learning. But, in all three surveyed public schools, there was an understanding that the conditions of poverty, hunger, and poor housing made it difficult for children at school. At the public school in the central area, one teacher commented that the school was protective of the children who were 'very happy; they don't like it when it is time to go home. Many of them still have to … farm, trade, or clean'. This view was endorsed by a parent at that school who said:

> A parent's background and likewise the children's affects the child's experiences in school, but children seem a lot happier in schools as the schools shield them from the hardships they would have had to endure outside school and on the streets. So this has definitely improved quality of learning by students from poor background. – Public school parent, Central Lagos

By contrast, at the BIA schools, it was expected that parents would be supportive of the school, and there was little mention by parents or teachers of the effects of poverty. At the BIA school in a suburban neighbourhood, a teacher said:

> Parents are supportive but it's also because we made it so. We work very hard to keep parents informed and in the loop, keep them interested. Make sure they can pick up and drop off to get a chance to speak with the teachers. – BIA teacher, suburban area

At the BIA school on the outskirts of Lagos, teachers and parents reported that the school has a mixture of families that were earning enough and some that were poor. Some families had cars, and one parent reported that many of the families live and work in the nearby industrial area where they earn a decent salary. However, they did feel that the parents were not supportive enough of their children's education. One parent in this area, who described herself as 'not poor', linked the affordability of the fees with the quality of schooling: 'The fees are very affordable. The ease of payment makes me value the quality they are giving my children'. It can be seen that the model of engagement with parents at the BIA school assumes they have the time and financial resources to support their children's education. This is a very different approach to reaching across social divisions to provide a safe and secure learning environment to all children as a right, regardless of whether their parents are able to participate to support this.

The issue of the poverty of parents and children was rarely mentioned in the interviews with teachers, parents and head teachers in the other surveyed low-cost providers, except in noting fee or uniform arrangements. This silence may partly be the result of these very low-cost schools being forms of neighbourhood enterprises, attended by the children of the school proprietors and others living close by, where awareness of social distance was not as marked as between salaried teachers and poor parents in the public schools.

The data collected looking at responses to poverty as a facet of quality indicated that public schools delivering free education were highly valued by poor parents, but under-resourced. Teachers and head teachers understood the rationale for free provision, but felt frustrated by the lack of investment, and sometimes had to give support in kind to the very poor children they teach. By contrast, the BIA model had turned education into a commodity, and this undermined the delivery of quality as children who could not pay were excluded. The BIA schools did not serve the very poor, and this was acknowledged by teachers and parents, confirming the field work observations. Other low-cost providers did teach children from low-income households with a range of responses to non-payment, including some charity and some exclusion.

This study now looks at the way teachers and parents in all three types of school understand the notion of quality and equalities and how this might resonate with aspects of location and the financial arrangements shaping education.

5.2 Interpretations of Quality and Equality

5.2.1 Defining quality

Quality education has many interpretations, and the ways in which this is viewed can be particularly illuminating about how different constituencies and kinds of school understand the realisation of rights. In all three types of schools, questions were asked about how quality was understood, and this was also an issue canvassed with key informants, notably officials from the Lagos State education administration, from DFID, and from union representatives.

In the public schools, there was a very clear ethos amongst head teachers and teachers in all three areas that quality education was about being child-centred, making sure children understand what was being taught, meeting the needs of the children, and teachers focusing their work to engage the children. This view was in line with official government policy, as learner-centred pedagogy was incorporated into the curriculum reform of 2007, and has been promoted in a range of training by the SUBEB, although this is acknowledged to be uneven (Lawson, 2018;). A comprehensive definition of quality was given by the head teacher in the centrally located public school:

> Quality education is all encompassing: quality teachers and right teaching methods and willing students and government and parental support delivers quality education. – Head teacher, central Lagos

In the suburban school, the head teacher said: 'Quality education is education that meets needs.' In the public school in the outlying area, however, there was more emphasis on learning outcomes - 'Quality education is student performance and teacher dedication' - and this emphasis may reflect this school having the lowest pupil-teacher ratios of all the surveyed schools.

Teachers at all three public schools echoed these views about addressing learner needs and paying attention to pedagogic processes. A teacher in the central school picked up all these themes and placed the student at the centre: 'Quality education is when students understand what they are being taught and they apply it inside and outside'. For a teacher in the suburban public school, it entailed 'students getting access to education and students and teachers engaging to learn'. In line with the views expressed by the head teacher in the public school in the outlying area, one of the teachers interviewed in that neighbourhood remarked that quality needed to be understood in terms of the teaching process: 'Quality education is real based on schemes and quality of instruction' while another said it entailed a good relationship between teachers and students, a school environment which

promoted learning, encouraging children from low-income families to learn and pass tests:

> [Quality means] ... They also have a better relationship with teachers and these children despite the fact that all of them are engaged in one after-school job or the other, they are committed to their work. They want to pass. – Teacher, Lagos outskirts

In this school, teachers expressed some of the concerns with ranking and performance that have been noted in other systems to have some detrimental consequences for views about quality:

> ... the school and the government especially is determined to make sure Lagos State education ranked very high so there are lots of pressure to pass exams - no cheating ... Nobody wants to be shame. – Teacher, Lagos outskirts

But the capacity of public schools to deliver on this vision was viewed by teachers and head teachers as very constrained, partly because of the limited numbers of teachers employed. In both the central and suburban schools, the pupil-teacher ratio was very high and, even in the outlying area, it was at a demanding level for teachers. At the central school, which had been involved in the DFID-supported ESSPIN programme (which preceded DEEPEN), one teacher said, 'When ESSPIN was around, we still enjoyed some training, but that is no more'.

At the school in the outlying area, a teacher and the head teacher felt that, without collecting fees, they could not deliver on quality education, both in terms of resources and in terms of developing appreciation amongst parents: 'A little money will increase the commitment of parents and that may improve quality'. It might be that the emphasis on learning outcomes in this school, where a parent also mentioned teachers requesting money for tuition, might have increased a sense of responsibilisation among parents, which was very evident in the views collected from the BIA schools.

In all three areas, the parents whose children attended public schools viewed quality education in terms of the personal progression of their children: 'Quality education is when a child learns enough for the child to benefit his or her future' and 'Education they say is the best legacy you can give to a child'. The parents interviewed were satisfied with the teachers employed and the progress children made. At the public school in the central area, one parent said:

> Public education is very good because the government employs good teachers. I sent all my children to public school, including my relatives, and, today, they are grown up and most of them have finished their secondary education. – Public school parent, central area

A parent in the suburban public school contrasted the quality at the public school with that in a private school, emphasising teachers' commitment to students' learning:

> My children were going to a private school in Lagos until my husband lost his job and we moved to [suburban neighbourhood]. I kept them at home for some time because I was ashamed of taking them to a public school. When I changed my mind, and brought them here, I was shocked when the teacher said my children were below standard. But in less than one year, the teachers have turned my children around. Quality is not about how much you pay, it is about the teacher's passion to see a student learn. – Public school parent, suburban area

A parent, who served on the Parents' Forum (a school based association for parents) and worked as a journalist, was also complimentary about the capacity of public schools to support children:

> This school is helping children and the teachers are qualified. I am one of the PTA officials in the school and we meet from time to time. Public school is good, I graduated from a public school and today I am a journalist. Attending public school does not make you less than what you should be. – Public school parent, suburban area

This emphasis on quality, which associates it with facilitating children to realise what they want to be, stands in contrast to views expressed by teachers employed in the BIA schools, and the parents whose children attend these schools, who saw quality linked more to learning outcomes and attaining particular academic or personal goals.

At the BIA school in the suburban area, teachers focused on outcomes in the form of good exam results, reading and writing. Quality was associated with processes, particularly the technological inputs and teachers' actions that achieved this: 'What we offer is unique, each child has a learning tablet'. They understood the quality education they offered as 'a type of education that improves a child academically' and associated quality with the product delivered through the BIA model:

> Quality education in Bridge goes beyond teachers' qualifications and borders on impacting pupils in the area of reading, writing and practical application of knowledge. – BIA teacher

For one teacher, the payments associated with the model enhanced parents' commitment to ensuring appropriate results, which indicated the ways in which they took 'teaching seriously':

> The low tuition has given access to children who ordinarily have gone to the low-fee private school. Yet our quality is very high because we take teaching seriously. That's why we encourage parents to agree a payment plan and stick to it, to avoid the children missing out on learning. – BIA teacher

IA school in the outlying area of Lagos, the teachers interviewed mentioned quality associated with independent learning and children being given the skills to meet their goals in life.

The parents in the BIA schools where data were collected described quality education as 'useful' for life, and as beneficial for the future of the child enabling them to achieve 'their goals in life', which for some were associated with jobs. While the latter view was not that different from that expressed by parents whose children attended public schools, the BIA experience had led them to associate learning needs with inputs, such as textbooks, technology, and "the standard of the school'. One parent in the BIA school in the outlying area said: 'The school provides all the children's needs. The teachers are very good and the children like that they learn from the pad, it excites them'. Another parent at the same school linked quality with the independence of technology which would ensure 'access to a job. My child is independent and I can see quality'. In the central area, a parent linked quality education with what she paid for: 'Quality education is a function of money'. While the view of parents in the public schools was that quality was associated with the teachers employed, the view of parents at the BIA schools was that quality was what the child learned, regardless of how this was taught:

> Quality of education is about learning and the ability of a child to learn what has been taught. – BIA parent, central neighbourhood

Parents had clearly absorbed Pritchett's 'pivot' to learning (Pritchett, 2015), with one parent in the suburban school seeing quality as the capacity of children to become their own teachers.

It can be seen that quality interpreted by teachers working in BIA schools and parents whose children attend those schools is clearly linked with learning outcomes. An older formulation of quality entailing meeting needs and delivering on rights though attention to pedagogical processes (Tikly & Barrett, 2011) is expressed by those working in the public schools. This understanding of quality, which connects with inclusion and equality, has been displaced by a newer set of aspirations linked with results, independence, and confidence with technology.

In the low-cost private schools in all three areas, there was a mixture of views about independence, with some addressing the importance of teaching skills and the wide range of content. Thus, quality education was linked with

fostering independence, 'how to fend for themselves, to be independent and strong'. But views were also expressed about quality education helping to develop sociability, a better life, and an understanding of relationships in the world. According to the head teacher in a suburban area, quality was:

> … about the personality, knowing other people, animals, objects, more than writing and more than the four corners of the classroom – not just school …. Education is very important, nothing can be compared to education, great to be educated.

At the time of the interview, this head teacher was studying part time for her NCE, and this might have influenced her ideas both about the content of education and pedagogy.

A teacher in the school in the central area, who was a high school graduate, linked quality with the school environment and the teachers: 'If the teachers are capable as well, the education will be of good quality… Children here are not yet getting education as defined by quality education'. In the low-cost private school in the outlying area, the head teacher described quality in terms of standards, but did not describe what the standards were:

> Quality education is the education that has good standard … My school has not gotten to a very good standard, but I know that I am getting there. When I started this school, I did not start with teachers without university education. But I discovered later that it does not matter whether you have university education as you can still perform if you have a good secondary qualification.

The teachers at this school gave vague answers relating to children knowing what they need to know and understanding the importance of education: 'Quality education is when a child is taught what he/she needs to know at the right age and ensuring that they understand it'. Parents of children attending the low-cost private schools found it harder to respond to questions about how they understood quality, and the only definition suggested was by a parent at the centrally located school who said: 'Quality education is when a child is able to compete with his peers anywhere without being cheated'.

These different views regarding definitions and values associated with quality indicate a number of themes: It is evident that the fullest meanings of quality associated with pedagogic processes, such as those distilled by Westbrook et al. (2013), were expressed by teachers and parents of children attending public schools, where the resources to realise this were particularly strained. In these schools there was a strong sense of quality linked with responding to need. In the BIA schools, the emphasis was on learning outcomes, and children and families shared responsibility for this with teachers, Sometimes this was linked with a commodity form, and the notion that parents were

buying quality. The vaguest views about quality were expressed by teachers and parents in the low-cost private schools, reflecting fewer opportunities to think about or discuss quality education processes.

It is illuminating to put the different perspectives on quality, articulated by those close to delivering and receiving education in contemporary Lagos, into dialogue with those in policy communities who oversee decisions regarding funding and other forms of provision.

Amongst a number of officials, Pritchett's (2015) pivot to learning was a key theme in how quality was defined. This focus on learning, and the communities that support it, was one key approach to defining quality, and stood in contrast to views where quality was associated with a relationship between structures, processes, and outcomes. As a general rule of thumb, the more senior an official was, and the closer to international communities of practice, the more they articulated the 'learning outcome'-perspective articulated by teachers and parents in the BIA schools. The closer a respondent was to the work of teachers, they more they articulated the 'teaching and learning'-practice perspective, which had been articulated mainly by the teachers and parents in the public schools.

A key exponent of the learning outcome view was a senior Lagos government official:

> Quality education is where you allow the child to actually take more ownership of his or her learning, … quality education is where you develop the learner to become a great learner … learners can always be very innovative, be very creative. Learners are not just people who sit and listen to you because that used to be what 20th Century education used to be. For 21st Century education, … the whole thing has actually moved forward where children must be allowed to take ownership of their learning, they must actually be allowed to find out how things are happening … We're looking for teachers who can give quality education by using the different styles of learning … Some children are auditory learners, they can listen, some children are visual learners, they want to see what is happening, some children are kinaesthetic learners.

A similar perspective was articulated by a senior DFID official:

> [Defining quality is]… if you look at the end, you talk about the learning outcome, the improved learning outcome … There are a lot of factors that contribute to improved learning outcomes … the way teaching and learning is being delivered in classrooms … moving away from the old methodology … If children are passive in classrooms and they are passing the exams, I wouldn't say that is quality, because they are not using their intellectual power. So, we talk about certain things we want to see, where children are being

> praised, where children are being encouraged, the interaction pattern in the classroom because they are proxies for what you see in test scores.

In order to support quality, this official argued that what was needed was work with school communities, building:

> capacity of teachers … [the] capacity of head teachers.... A leadership that is actually providing support, support to teachers, doing observation of lessons and providing feedback to teachers and having a documentation of all those things.

This required attention to 'relationships between the parents and the school, the voice [of parents], accountability, the children being able to become what they are supposed to become'. In this view, there is little focus on rights, needs, inclusion or attending to diversity, either of learners, teachers or parents.

Another DFID official, working nationally, gave a more contextualised vision of the learning outcomes-perspective on education quality, but did not comment on different learning needs or rights. Education quality, in this account:

> … includes things around the learning environment so having a safe and public, secure, healthy learning environment that … would also include having competent and qualified teachers … schools that are guided by the national curriculum and it … would include at least a basic level literacy and numeracy as well as also, I think, ensuring that the learning outcomes are such that eventually, hopefully, would lead to a better society and better [opportunities] for students to benefit the society overall.

This view does not see learning outcomes as detached from any social resonance, as is a feature of other articulators of the learning outcomes perspective. The reference to the national curriculum echoes the statement in the Lagos State regulations requiring that "all schools and institutes shall adhere strictly to the prescribed National Curriculum and syllabi" (Lagos Ministry of Education, 2016, p.14) and that "some private schools may operate a foreign curriculum of their choice based on their chosen objectives. However, such schools [must] in addition teach Citizenship, Environmental Studies and Economics as well as aspects of Nigerian History, Culture and Language" (Lagos Ministry of Education, 2016, p. 15). In none of this study's interviews with teachers from BIA or the other low-cost private schools did adherence to the national curriculum feature prominently in discussions of quality education. Indeed, BIA teachers mentioned work on the curriculum having been carried out by learning expert teams in London and Washington.

By contrast, a second perspective defined quality as linked with teaching and learning giving attention either to practices in a classroom or in a particular

political setting, more closely echoing delineations by Alexander (2013) around the meaning of pedagogy. This view was expressed by union officials, all of whom placed more emphasis on how the teacher engaged with supporting learning, and what this meant in concrete terms. But some union officials also linked quality very explicitly with national development in a way that was quite strikingly absent from inputs by the Lagos State and one DFID official, who articulated a strong learning perspective. For a local union chairman, quality was an interaction of learning and the work of a teacher:

> By way of quality, you … give what you have learnt to those children, if what you have been employed to do, perform your function as a teacher, allow teaching and learning to be effective. Don't just go to the classroom and talk to the board, or talk to yourself and go out … you reach out to … ensure you carry such a child along, so that he too, or she, feels the effect of why you are being paid as a teacher.

A state union official said that quality linked the practice of a teacher with 'the pupil, society and education as a whole; all put together, it leads to national development'. For this official, quality was framed by 'all that is necessary to meet the expected targets within the purview of the national policy on education and all the related policies … either from the state or federal [level]'. A key element in this vision of quality education for a national NUT official was holding governments to account for their commitments on education.

A thread in this vision of quality as a situated practice concerned connecting quality with the needs of different groups of children. A political/ administrative official with responsibility for basic education in the state linked quality and the practice of teachers, who were responsive to diverse children's needs, tying this in with infrastructure:

> Quality education means having relevant and adequate infrastructures, having in place qualified teachers with training and training as you go along, making it accessible to children of all school ages, including the special needs children.

Between these two different perspectives on quality – a learning perspective and a politically situated political practice - was a notion of quality linked to the curriculum resources a school owner could afford. This was articulated by key informants representing private schools, who linked quality with resources (but not teachers) and with exam results or the outcomes of other monitoring evaluations.

It is clear that some sharply different perspectives are under negotiation regarding what quality comprises and who has particular obligations for this. The Ministry of Education Regulations (2016) outline a very clear vision of

quality linked with resources, teacher qualifications, and engagement with a national curriculum. However, these regulations, possibly because they were relatively new, or because the interviewing team were positioned as 'outsiders', were not the key framing document people used in formulating their ideas.

5.2.2 Quality and inclusion

A key element in the academic and policy definitions of quality drawn on is the theme of inclusion, as distilled in the document of the EFA movement's Framework for Action on Education 2030 which reviews the many different settings for and practices of education needed to ensure quality and inclusion (UNESCO, 2015b).

In all three types of school, teachers and parents were asked about practices concerning inclusion of discriminated-against groups. The language of inclusion and the differential learning needs of particular groups that faced discrimination or hardship was most familiar to those in the public schools, and least resonant in the low-cost private schools, where a number of ad hoc measures were taken by particular teachers, but there was no systemic approach reported.

Gender and language were highlighted in the public school in the central metropolitan area as issues requiring particular policies and practices around inclusion. The head teacher reported giving a sexual awareness talk every Tuesday to both the boys and the girls in the school, and had mentioned pregnancy as an issue at a recent talk. She also encouraged whole-class activities to discuss inclusion. They adapted the language of instruction according to children's level of comprehension of English, and the teacher provided additional support during class time and tutoring outside class time. One parent also said the school had called him several times to discuss his daughter's specific learning needs. This systemic approach was echoed in the public school in the suburban area, where it was reported that the school provided in-kind support to children, adapting the language of instruction as necessary, adapting learning materials and classroom layout, working with parents and an external organisation to help support children with special learning needs. In the public school in the outlying area, the head teacher reported the provision of school meals because of high levels of hunger.

For parents and teachers working with BIA schools, issues of poverty, gender inequality, children with disabilities or who might speak Hausa elicited no response, or teachers said these were not issues they encountered. While these respondents acknowledged that some financial hardship might be an issue, this was not seen as excluding in the way it was encountered in the public schools. In the centrally located BIA school, one parent said the

school supported children by providing free uniforms and books to the first 100 children and the tablet was mentioned as a way to support children's learning. Similar approaches to dealing in a piecemeal way with issues of low income were mentioned by one parent at the suburban school - they said the school had supported children by providing uniforms for some children. Both teachers interviewed at this school said they provided additional learning support in the classroom or worked with parents if children needed this. But none of the teachers or parents associated with the BIA schools had a language to describe forms of discrimination that might require particular whole-school or whole society policies.

In the low-cost private schools, there were similar sporadic actions around inclusion, but nothing systemic. In the suburban school, the owner and the head teacher said they focused on learning disabilities in the classroom. The teachers in this school said they gave additional tutoring inside the classroom and one teacher gave tutoring outside class time for an extra fee. In the central area, the owner, who was also the head teacher, said that some children only spoke Hausa. She worked to give some support inside the classroom. In the low-cost private school in the outlying area, the teacher also identified poverty as a barrier and the head teacher mentioned disability. They both said they were able to identify this by observing the children in the class. The head teacher said they worked with parents and the teacher said she gave extra time in class.

It is clear that one of the consequences of the fragmentation of provision of schooling in Lagos into public and multiple private schools means that it is extremely difficult to address deep structural inequalities that link with exclusion and undermine visions of quality. Issues such as poverty, SRGBV, which includes bullying, discrimination linked to language of instruction, and special needs remain hidden without teachers, policy makers or parents generally having a language to make demands or formulate ideas about actions for improvement. The interviews with key informants highlighted this. Thus, for those who emphasised quality as linked with learning outcomes, there was only partial attention to groups who might experience forms of exclusion. The Lagos official dealing with quality spoke of addressing the needs of only some children with disabilities in reviewing what quality meant:

> We've got the autistic children,. We've got children with Attention Deficit Disorder, some can't sit still but if you allow them to actually take more ownership where they can have a lot of kinaesthetic opportunities, you see more profound learning for them.

A DFID official did not differentiate between any groups who might experience discrimination:

> … to go and to have the skills to be able to be economically and meaningfully employed or being able to start up their own business but it's also important to be proper citizens.

Inclusion was linked explicitly with the practice of teaching by A local NUT chairman who, commented that work on quality entailed he must:

> Ensure that … your objectives are met, ensure that… in between what you are teaching, you ask questions and ensure that these questions are not answered by only one person, or a particular group.

State and national-level NUT officials identified politics and particularly the lack of finances as leading to systemic forms of exclusion and discrimination, but commented only in abstract terms on this.

Formulating the needs of particular groups has been a way that quality and inclusion has been thought about in academic and policy literature, but these field interviews indicated that discussion and practice on these themes was still preliminary in Lagos State and that the proliferation of private schools had probably worked to keep these issues off rather than on any political agenda.

5.2.3 Quality and equalities

Just as it was difficult for most respondents, particularly working in and with the private schools in this study, to formulate ideas about quality and inclusion, so too was engaging with ideas about equality. Many respondents commented on the theme of understanding equality in education, given the evident inequalities in Nigeria in general and Lagos State in particular. However, two perspectives emerged:

- Acknowledging that achieving equality in education was difficult, but that movement towards specific actions might be possible;
- Rejecting any merit in aiming for equalities of any kind.

The perspective that equality in education was difficult to achieve, but small actions might move in that direction, was most frequently articulated by teachers in public schools and parents whose children attended those schools. They also gave the most detailed accounts of what some of the sources of inequality were. The head teacher in the metropolitan area's public school in Lagos noted the unequal earning opportunities available to people who have gone to a public school rather than a private school, 'the way people naturally assume public education is worse than private sector and the segmenting that happens thereafter'. A parent at this school endorsed this, noting inequality between public and private education, despite free education. The head

teacher also remarked how having a high level of education (a Master's degree or a doctorate) does not lead to a higher salary. A teacher at this school remarked how inequality was exacerbated by nepotism and political influence: 'People use influence to post teachers where they are not needed, while other schools suffer'.

Additional facets of inequality mentioned by parents and teachers at public schools were associated with religion, the cost of education, and the existence of private schools, the distance children travelled, discrimination against out-of-state children, exclusion of pregnant schoolgirls, illness, disability, different perceptions of the value of education, and the low status of vocational skills.

The head teacher in the public school in suburban Lagos said: "Equality is difficult but is achievable by monitoring". She had a notion of education equality trying to "ensure all student needs are met", despite students' differences. A parent at the school in metropolitan Lagos spoke of free education as a step towards equality: 'Equality in education is relative to your condition at every point in time. But every student has access to education because public education is free …'. Similar views were articulated by teachers and parents at the public school on the outskirts of Lagos, such as that of the head teacher: 'Equal access for both students and teachers, no discrimination', and a parent: 'Equality is the same type of education for all children'.

Parents at the BIA schools defined equality much more narrowly in terms of their experience of what they were paying for, while the BIA teachers also focused on the classroom, not on society. Amongst this group, there was no general comment on the political, social, and economic inequalities in Lagos, except with regards to some comments about corruption.

At the suburban BIA school, one teacher remarked, 'Bridge's curriculum and the way it is administered ensures that every child has the same opportunity to learn'. A very similar opinion was given by another teacher at this school who said equality in education is 'when children have equal learning opportunities'. Only one teacher at a BIA school on the outskirts of Lagos expressed a more general vision about equality in education as 'having access to the same education, irrespective of background'.

Parents of children at BIA schools also had a view of equality focused on the school and the classroom. They mentioned their appreciation of BIA, 'teaching all the students the same way' which 'means there is a level playing ground for all children without any discrimination'. In the metropolitan BIA school, a parent was accepting of inequality, and thought a virtue of BIA was the social distance between parents and teachers which prevented corruption: She invoked a comparison 'Fingers are not equal and so education cannot be equal as well. Students at Bridge are treated equally, that is why parents and teachers are not allowed to be close to avoid inequality in delivery'. Another parent in this

area also said education was not equal, that it was related to school fees and what parents could afford. A parent in the BIA school on the Lagos outskirts said, 'Equality in education is not equal. Children go to whatever school they can afford'.

Thus, it appears that teachers and parents interviewed see BIA as a setting for equal opportunity, which has given them access to a form of schooling they are enthusiastic about. But In talking about this they do not express the same knowledge and critique of inequalities in Lagos, as teachers in the public schools.

For teachers in the low-cost private schools, the idea of equality in education was both abstract and puzzling: 'Equality is not seen in education because there are differences in different people'. For the head teacher in the suburban low-cost private school, inequality was associated with the differences between schools:

> There is inequality, look at the environment. If the parents paid more, then we could have better quality education, but money, they cannot pay more (50 NAIRA per day). But even when they don't have [money], they can still come.

School size was another point of difference remarked on the head teacher in the school in the outlying areas:

> Schools are not the same, bigger schools that have larger population and facilities tend to give people the impression that they are giving better education than those of us in a smaller facility. This is not always so, as we do better than some of them, though parents look down on us, going after bigger schools.

These more limited ideas about education and equality are not surprising, given the very small education enterprises these teachers run and some of their more restricted experiences.

The most in-depth discussion of education inequality, possibilities for equality, and the actions that may be possible in school and in the state was expressed by parents and teachers at the public schools. This may be partly due to the higher level of education of teachers in this school, but the parents interviewed were labourers, some working long hours in the market or an industrial estate, and only one worked as a journalist. What this suggests is that the commodity form associated with BIA and other low-cost private schools has particular discursive effects evident in the descriptions of parents and teachers, closing down discussion and political engagement around equality in education. Thus it appears that parents who can pay choose to turn a blind eye to the bigger picture as they see themselves as beneficiaries of the system.

Similar discursive effects were evident amongst key informants. Although there was broad agreement that equal education meant 'every child is able to access

education, irrespective of their means, irrespective of their backgrounds', as expressed by one senior Lagos government official, it was acknowledged that more needed to be done for specific groups, with children with disabilities and girls singled out by this official:

> … [What] we have done is to make sure that we actually make learning to suit their needs … we are not fully there yet … and even some of our private schools are doing excellent work with the special needs children. However, we still have a high percentage of schools where they are still finding it hard to identify the needs of the special needs children, where they are not being helped enough … Lagos State has done a lot of work to create a lot of awareness on how the girl child should be promoted in schools and, even when you look at our evolution schedule, … you will see that as well. We monitor schools to see how they are preparing for the girls in the school, how they cater for their needs and how they can actually address their needs, understand a lot of things that they need to do. However, there are still gaps. – Lagos government official

However, strikingly, this official did not comment on the significant differences between public and private schools as driving inequality, a point noted by a union official:

> Equality.. is not happening in Nigeria, [and] not even in Lagos State because,]… some children are in private schools, some are in public schools… – Union official

For DFID officials, there is an awareness of the inequality between public and private schools, but low-cost private schools are defended as offering better learning outcomes - or at least as good learning outcomes - than public schools to poor parents, and offering the possibility that parents can exert influence to ensure quality. However, there is limited awareness that the majority of children from the poorest quintiles do not attend private schools:

> If I want to send my child to private school or government school … there is a route. So, the key question you'd probably be asking is: Will the outcome be the same? Because in Lagos, you have medium private school children, medium cost, low cost - so you have a kind of school for different kinds of people's levels of income. So, I think the big issue is if I go down the low-cost route, will my child have the same learning outcome. And that's one of the things we are trying to bridge the gap… – DFID official

Much more detailed engagement with the causes of inequality, and the inequality between schools, were given by a state NUT official, who outlined in detail the government-linked processes that had generated these effects:

> The issue of inequality comes from many folds. One, access to education: When you talk about access to education … the people in the rural areas, do they have equal access to education, compared to those in the urban area? Is the government presence educationally felt by the rural dwellers, those who live in the shanties, those who live in the villages, and those who are living in the suburban areas? The concentration of funding of education, does it trickle equally to the schools in the remote areas, or is funding concentrated in schools in the urban [areas] to the detriment of schools in the rural [areas]? Are there provisions for those who work in the rural areas, for instance teachers, what efforts are communities making to keep teachers posted to the villages in the rural areas, instead of going back to the urban areas? Those who are managing education, what effort do they also put in place to ensure the teachers who are transferred to the rural areas are catered for in terms of their work environment, psychologically boosting their morale to be able to do the job. … they won't make accommodation available for teachers so when teachers, for instance, who grew up in the country are moved to the villages, they still find some element of comfort because the villagers made them comfortable. But, nowadays, you hardly can see that, our regional governments because they are operating schools here and there.

Again, two quite divergent perspectives open up in relation to inequality:

- Acceptance of the inequality between socio-economic and political group. This view is associated with work on forms of inclusion for the marginalised, and accepts the proliferation of private schools, aiming to make it easier for parents to get better learning outcomes from these;
- A critique of inequalities which sees these as the outcome of particular politico-economic structures and processes in which particular actors, including development co-operation partners, play a particular role.

All informants concluded that the proliferation of private and public schools was associated with inequality, but for those holding the second view linked political and economic change, not piecemeal amelioration was needed.

5.2.4 Teachers' work

In all three types of school where data was collected, teachers reported difficult working conditions. At public schools, extremely large classes and lack of training and support were evident. Although class sizes were smaller in the low-cost private schools, there was virtually no training. At BIA schools, there were smaller classes, some training, but very long hours.

At the public schools, these difficult conditions generated criticisms of the government, but also a sense of pride at the work they were doing for society.

At the BIA schools, there was a narrower focus on the particular school and its learning outcomes. These differences point to some of the issues Standing (2014) highlights concerning distinctions between work, which is associated with generating value, and labour, which is often commodified and exploitative.

At the public schools, teachers reported satisfaction with their work hours, but deemed the support given by the SUBEB as insufficient. Two head teachers and two teachers remarked that they used their own resources to buy additional materials for children and all commented on the lack of infrastructure, teaching aids, and the large classes.

> I understand why the government needs to make education free, but the cost is high, and we teachers are bearing the brunt. We don't have enough teaching aids, and the number of teachers to pupils is very low. [The] government is not employing. Not all subjects have teachers. We are just managing. – Public school teacher

At the suburban school, the head teacher had attended a short briefing since becoming head teacher on helping children learn, health, bullying, and drawing up a school development plan. He spent time with staff to develop skills in working together as a team and he received guidance from more experienced head teachers but would have liked more In-service/CPD days. This was a view echoed by the teachers interviewed. One remarked on the ways in which they felt unsupported and unacknowledged:

> [The] Government expectation [is] that teachers must endure hardship and terrible working conditions and lack of appreciation of the teaching profession. – Suburban public school teacher

This was echoed at the public school in central Lagos, but there was a sense of pride in what had been achieved through work, despite the odds.

> Our children are doing well and better than private school students in examinations. Even though we don't have enough teachers, the few we have are very qualified teachers and we are trained. The good relationship between students and teachers has improved learning and discussion because some of these kids know so much despite their background issues. – Metropolitan Lagos public school teacher

None of the teachers at the low-cost primary school had received extra training, although one owner said she had provided some. However, due to the cost of training, she could only provide training for some teachers in classroom management, decoration, assessment, and helping children to learn. One teacher said they did not have subject knowledge of the subject they were teaching, and another said the class size was too large. It is evident that, for all these teachers, the focus of the labour process was linked to

particular schools and local experiences and 'big picture' perceptions of work for education was not expressed.

The BIA teachers interviewed had a similar narrow focus on their own pay, hours of work, and what could be achieved with their classes, although some mentioned that books and tablets sometimes did not arrive on time. They did not formulate a larger vision of education or the work of teaching. One teacher commented, 'Pupils are given more than they pay for, but for teachers they are less paid'. The relationships around teaching and learning are thus clearly linked with an exchange of commodities. The focus on money for these teachers had also led to a suspicion that teachers at BIA schools were being short-changed:

> "The fees (salary) should be more but sponsors insist that fees [remain low]. Rumour has it they [teachers] are [presented to the sponsors as paid more but the Nigerians are short-changing the teachers. Teacher turnover is very high". – BIA Teacher, Area 3

The low levels of pay for BIA teachers were defended by key informants with knowledge of the history of the introduction of BIA into Lagos:

> Maybe if the programme [BIA] had had a longer time … [pay is] really a big issue … the only way to deal with the pay issue is through legislation. There is a legislation in place already that talks about minimum wage, and that is the only thing that can be done. So, the moment they say the minimum you can pay for people, that's the only thing you can enforce. – Government official, Lagos

Similar rationales were given by this official as to why such a brief training was currently permitted for BIA teachers. It was suggested this would need to be revised in the future:

> We looked at that [employing teachers without qualification and providing minimal training] because we had to tell them that you shouldn't just be doing the three weeks' training [for BIA]. The training must be ongoing because, even when you look at the UK style, even when you get your NQT, [newly qualified teacher] you still have that continuity of training every week because, at the end of the day, education is very very vast.

The data indicates different perceptions around teachers' work and quality education. In the public schools, there is an ethos of work linked to ideas about quality, often explicitly mentioning aspects of inclusion. In the private schools, both BIA and the low-cost schools, there is a sharper sense of what labour can be delivered by teachers with relatively short bursts of training and set levels of pay, linked to a narrower vision of learning outcomes.

5.2.5 Regulation and accountability

Very different approaches to regulation and accountability appear to be in play in the public and private schools, and the response of parents and teachers seem to vary in the different types of school.

All of the public schools are heavily regulated, with quarterly, termly, or monthly inspections. However, government administration has not helped build thriving school communities, as teachers and head teachers felt that neither the government nor parents supported the school enough. The existing committees, School based Management Committee (SBMC) and Parents' Forum was not functional at the school in the suburban area. In the public school in the outlying area, the Parents' Forum did not meet at all. In the central Lagos school, the Parents' Forum was active, but the head teacher noted that there had not been any successful building of professional communities of practice to support the school and a teacher mentioned the education system being overly influenced by politics, 'everything comes secondary to politics'.

The inspection regime for the BIA schools was much lighter than in the public schools and the relationships among the school community more cordial with functioning Parent Teacher Associations (PTAs) in all three schools and an SBMC in one. There was a more benign view of government by parents and teachers, compared to the public schools. This appears to be due partly because establishing these relationships is central to the BIA model, but also partly because the government, responding to the DFID initiatives, has enabled this. It has taken a very different approach to the more politicised engagements with public schools where lack of resources was a key theme in the relationship. Teachers and parents at the BIA schools were happy with the condition of the buildings but made no mention of government regulations and whether or not the schools conformed to theses. In the BIA school in the central Lagos area, the parent interviewed believed the school was registered with the Ministry of Education, but was unsure, and neither this nor the date of the last inspection was a matter of concern. At the BIA school in the suburban neighbourhood, a teacher said the school had been inspected twice in the last year by the SUBEB/ Ministry of Education. The parent interviewed in this neighbourhood thought these inspections were carried out by BIA. In the school on the outskirts of Lagos, one parent said BIA was overseen by the SUBEB, and the organisation's own Quality and Assurance department.

This government attention to BIA schools stands in contrast to the very limited forms of regulation/inspection/support offered to other low-cost providers. The low-cost school in central Lagos had not been visited by inspectors and was not registered with the Ministry of Education. The low-cost school in suburban Lagos had been inspected by the Ministry of Health twice since the

school opened. And, the low-cost school on the outskirts of Lagos had not been registered. The head teacher said that government officials sometimes came to collect money from the school.

All three low-cost private schools had some form of local accountability mechanism but did not meet the minimum standards laid down in the government regulations. The school in central Lagos served the local neighbourhood, with the head teacher living in the same community as the pupils' families. This meant parents could ask the head teacher directly to make changes. The suburban Lagos school has a PTA which meets once per term. The low-cost school on the outskirts of Lagos also had a PTA and a SBMC. A teacher reported that, 'At the last PTA meeting, we agreed that parents should pay in instalments to that children will not be sent out of school'. In these low-cost private schools, it was the absence of government that appeared to have helped build local accountability structures, but this grass-roots responsiveness needs to be read alongside the very inadequate buildings, teacher qualifications, and support.

In the public schools, teachers were concerned about how they could deliver quality education and parents were concerned about how their children could receive a good education. Both commented on the lack of resources and support and teachers' views often emerged from a clear sense of professionalism that could not be realised. By way of contrast, teachers and parents at BIA schools were enthusiastic about the model, but had a much more limited vision as to what education was about. They linked education to satisfying the more limited needs of particular children who attended the school and paid the fees.

> Bridge is a fantastic school. Informative and communicative. Keeps us on our toes. They want children to learn and our children are passionate about learning. They don't even allow parents to help. Bridge has changed our lives. My child is reading exceptionally, is confident and I know they are training him to go places. I have recommended as many as five parents who have taken their kids to Bridge. – BIA parent, metropolitan area

> Bridge is a good school, it is a godsend. When I discovered Bridge, it was like a dream come true for me, with regards to fees and quality. – BIA parent, suburban area

Both parents linked their praise to their particular family's experience, and one is very conscious of the fee value. But neither develops a wider notion of BIA delivering education for a wider community.

This enthusiasm for BIA was shared by teachers: 'I enjoy my job, Bridge is good", said one teacher in the suburban school. "BIA is a good school for

the parents and students and staff; though the salary is poor, you have the opportunity to improve [your]self', said a teacher in the BIA school on the outskirts of Lagos.

Here, too, a notion of individual self-improvement for the BIA community of learners displaces a wider vision of the community or the society.

Overall, the enthusiasm of BIA school parents and employees is noticeable in terms of filling a gap that the hand-to-mouth low-cost private schools cannot emulate, and that the hard-pressed public schools have no equivalent resources to match. And yet, as Härmä (2017) noted confusion exists among parents whose children attended three surveyed BIA schools, as to the BIA initiative itself. Härmä also noted that myths about the organisation had built up, including that BIA was an NGO, run at least partly on charitable contributions, and that it was registered with the government. There did not appear to be (or not in ways voiced by parents or teachers to this study's interview team) curiosity about how BIA could deliver its model, or whether it was conforming with government regulations.

The light-touch regulation and satisfaction among a few thousand families whose children attend BIA schools cannot be portrayed as leveraging a change in notions about quality and equality that will serve the millions of children in need of quality education in Lagos State and its environs. It is evident from the conditions of the public and other low-cost private schools that extensive investments are required to provide adequate education for all children. Although the government's regulations stipulate what is required to deliver quality education, the funding to finance this is not forthcoming. The existence of BIA and the use of development co-operation money to support it has not put more money into Lagos public schools, which evidently serve the poor and are so in need of expansion.

As NUT officials reported:

> … We need to encourage government at all levels to become more serious about education, because we have a situation where … there is a budget for education, [but] even the federal government is giving less than four per cent, five per cent, six per cent, eight per cent. I think that the highest has been 12 per cent, [maybe at one tie] 10 per cent of the total budget, when UNESCO is saying it should be 20 per cent. – NUT official, Abuja

> You see, the government does not want to take responsibility and, equally, parents are worried about […] when government refuses to pay, refuses to provide infrastructure, refuses to bring this or bring that. – NUT official, Edo state

> In Lagos, on the SUBEB, there was a view of communities being accountable for land purchases for schools that the government could then support.

> So, we always encourage the community to start something to show commitment, that truly, truly they are interested in it ….or whatever, just start something and government comes. – NUT official, Lagos

> But the level at which government might come currently appears inadequate to meet demand and need. – NUT official, Lagos

> These views of accountability portray the relationships as resting, first and foremost with national, state and local government who are fundamentally accountable for how education is resourced. These views stand in contrast with the view of DFID officials, for whom accountability is primarily about relationships with parents. 'you need a voice of the parents, voice and accountability… – DFID official

The data indicates that there are three regulation regimes at play in Lagos. One regime is for public schools, which are regularly inspected, but where resources are inadequate. One regime is for BIA schools, where there is very light-touch regulation, a focus on parents' voices, but the resources are linked to development assistance, so issues around sustainable resources are off the agenda. A third regime of regulation, as applied to other low-cost private schools, serving very poor communities, exists on paper, but is not carried out in practice.

6. Conclusion

This study set out to investigate policies and practices for quality and equality in public and private schools which aim to serve low-income communities in Lagos State. A key focus was low-cost private schools, some, like BIA, supported by international development assistance through PPP arrangements.

Through a review of relevant literature and analysis of data collected in public, BIA, and other low-cost private schools in three neighbourhoods of Lagos, this report explores contrasts in terms of buildings, levels of teachers' pay and qualifications, views of work and conditions, and understanding of quality education and equality. The study highlights the significant contribution of free public education, often overlooked in enthusiasm for supporting private schools. The study also indicates how resources intended for the poorest, such as the BIA schools, have become a resource for those with higher incomes. Whilst education was free in all three state schools and low fees were charged in the very informal schools (often staffed with unqualified teachers), the fees charged in the BIA schools were above a level that the poorest could pay. Children who did not pay fees in these schools were isolated from their classmates and not provided with a report card. This market form, where education is a commodity that is paid for, thus undermined quality, equality, and inclusion in these schools.

The ethos of public schools in relation to quality and equality was evident in what parents, teachers and head teachers said. All were frustrated at the limited resources and high pupil-teacher ratios, but were committed to their work with poor children. This stood in contrast to the narrow focus on learning outcomes in the private schools, where, most notably in the BIA schools, there was a more minimal concern with poverty and aspects of equality and inclusion. Parents, whose children attended these schools, were highly focused on the learning outcomes for their children, and found it difficult to articulate a wider vision of quality and equality associated with school.

This study highlights how private schools in Lagos are linked with a reduction in aspects of quality and equality - charging fees to poor children, denying teachers decent pay and support, and reducing local democracy through limiting regulation to bureaucratic forms of accountability or parental choice rather than developing sustainable policies and practices for quality and equality. Aid money is implicated in this, through financial support of the BIA model in particular. Whilst teachers in Nigeria's state schools are often derided for failing to provide quality education, this study found public school teachers more oriented towards

quality and equality and more in tune with the vision in Nigerian policy and outlined in SDG 4 than those working in the expanding private sector.

Thus, this study highlights a need to invest in and develop public schools, to enhance their work on equality and inclusion. This case was made powerfully by teachers and parents in these schools, and the diversion of development assistance from this task is deeply regrettable.

References

Abdul-Hamid, H., Baum, D., Lusk-Stover, O., Wesley, H. (2015). *The role of the private sector in Lagos, Nigeria. Systems approach for better education results*. Washington DC, USA: World Bank. Retrieved from https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/28469 License: CC BY 3.0 IGO.

Adediran, S. (2015). Forces of educational policy change since 2000 in Nigeria. *Background paper prepared for Education for All Global Monitoring Report*. Paris, France: UNESCO. Retrieved from http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0023/002324/232465E.pdf

Adelabu, M. & Rose, P. (2004). Non-state provision of basic education in Nigeria. In G. Larbi, M. Adelabu, P. Rose, D. Jawara, O. Nwaorgu, & S. Vyas (Eds.), *Nigeria: Study of non-state providers of basic services*. International Development Department, University of Birmingham. UK

Adelokun, A.S. & Akinola, O.B. (2015). The challenge of teacher quality and human development in Nigeria. *US-China Education Review, 5*(3), 191-198.

Adu, E.O., Akinloye, G.M., & Adu, K.O. (2015). School input factors and teacher effectiveness in some local government areas of Lagos State, Nigeria. *International Journal of Educational Sciences, 8*(3), 461-472.

Alexander, R. J. (2013). Essays on pedagogy. London: Routledge.

Avramidis, E., Bayliss, P., & Burden, R. (2000). A survey into mainstream teachers' attitudes towards the inclusion of children with special educational needs in the ordinary school in one local education authority. *Educational psychology, 20*(2), 191-211.

Avramidis, E. & Norwich, B. (2002). Teachers' attitudes towards integration/inclusion: a review of the literature. *European Journal of Special Needs Education, 17*(2), 129-147.

Babalola, J.B., Lungwangwa, G., & Adeyinka, A.A. (1999). Education under structural adjustment in Nigeria and Zambia. *McGill Journal of Education, 34*(1), 78–98.

Bano, M., Crawfurd, L., Doherty, R. & Rai, S. (2016) Can education markets work for the poor? *Report prepared for EDOREN*. Abuja, Nigeria: EDOREN. Retrieved from https://edorennigeria.files.wordpress.com/2014/07/edoren-can-education-markets-work-for-the-poor.pdf

Baum, D. R., Abdul-Hamid, H., & Wesley, H. T. (2018). Inequality of educational opportunity: the relationship between access, affordability, and quality of private schools in Lagos, Nigeria. *Oxford Review of Education*, 1-17.

Bolaji, S.D., Campbell-Evans, G., & Gray, J. (2016). Universal basic education policy implementation in Nigeria. *Journal of Educational Policy, 2*, 137–158.

Bridge International Academies. (2017). *Nigeria*. Lagos, Nigeria: Author. Retrieved from http://www.bridgeinternationalacademies.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/OFFICIAL-Nigeria-Bridge-one-sheeter-February-2017-.pptx.pdf

Bridge International Academies (2018). Supporting Teachers. Washington: Author. Retrieved from http://www.bridgeinternationalacademies.com/academics/supporting-teachers/

British Council. (2012). *Gender in Nigeria report 2012. Improving the lives of girls and women in Nigeria: Issues, policies, action*. Abuja, Nigeria: Author.

Bourn, D., Hunt, F., & Bamber, P. (2017). Teacher education, education for sustainable development and global citizenship. *A discussion paper for Global Monitoring Report*. Paris:UNESCO.

Comim, F. & Nussbaum, M.C. (Eds.). (2014). *Capabilities, gender, equality: Towards fundamental entitlements*. UK: Cambridge University Press.

Deacon, R. (2012). The initial teacher education research project: The initial professional development of teachers: A literature review. Johannesburg, South Africa: Jet Education Services. Retrieved from http://www.jet.org.za/publications/initial-teacher-education-research-project/deacon-initial-professional-development-of-teachers-literature-review-feb15web.pdf

Deacon, R., (2015). Report on the 2013 survey of final year initial teacher education students. Jet Education Services, available online at: http://www.jet.org.za/publications/initial-teacher-education-research-project/deacon-report-on-the-student-survey.pdf

De Clercq, F., & Shalem, Y. (2014). Teacher Knowledge and Employer-Driven Professional Development: A Critical Analysis of the Gauteng Department of Education programmes. *Southern African Review of Education with Education with Production, 20*(1): 129–147.

Dev, P., Mberu, B.U., & Pongou, R. (2016). Ethnic inequality: Theory and evidence from formal education in Nigeria. *Economic Development and Cultural Change, 64*(4), 603-660.

Department for International Development. (2013). Business case and summary: Developing effective private Education - Nigeria (DEEPEN), 1-44. Retrieved from https://devtracker.dfid.gov.uk/projects/GB-1-202678/documents

Department for International Development (2016) Annual Review Developing effective private Education - Nigeria (DEEPEN), June/July 2016, London : Department for International Development . Retrieved from Developing effective private Education - Nigeria (DEEPEN),

Dixon, P., Humble, S., & Tooley, J. (2017). How school choice is framed by parental preferences and family characteristics: A study in poor areas of Lagos State, Nigeria. *Economic Affairs, 37*(1), 53–65.

Draxler, A. (2015). Public private partnerships in education. In S. McGrath & Q. Gu (Eds.), *Routledge Handbook of International Education and Development*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Dyer, C. (2014). *Livelihoods and learning: education for all and the marginalisation of mobile pastoralists*. Abingdon: Routledge.

EDOREN, 2016, *Developing Effective Private Education Nigeria. Baseline Report* Abuja: Education, Data, Research and Evaluation in Nigeria.

Education International & Kenya National Union of Teachers. (2016). *Bridge vs reality: A study of Bridge International Academies' for-profit schooling in Kenya*. Education International, 1-82. Retrieved from https://download.ei-ie.org/Docs/WebDepot/Bridge%20vs%20Reality_GR%20Report.pdf

Erinosho, S.Y. (2010). Quality in (teacher) education in Nigeria, *West African Journal of Education, 30*, 102-111.

Fenwick, T. B. (2017). From CCTs to a social investment welfare state? Brazil's 'new' pro-poor strategy. *Development Policy Review, 35*(5), 659-674.

Federal Republic Ministry of Education. (2004). *National Policy on Education*. Abuja, Nigeria: Author.

Federal Republic Ministry of Education. (2007). *National Policy on Gender in Basic Education*. Abuja, Nigeria: Author.

Federal Republic Ministry of Education. (2013). *National Policy on Education, 6th Edition*. Abuja, Nigeria:Author.

Federal Republic Ministry of Education. (2015). *Education for All 2015 national review*. Abuja, NIgeria: Federal Ministry of Education

Federal Republic Ministry of Education. (2017a). Nigeria Education Indicators 2016. Abuja: Federal Ministry of Education

Federal Republic Ministry of Education. (2017b). Nigeria Digest of Education Statistics 2014-2016. Abuja.

Griffin, R. (Ed.). (2012, May). *Teacher education in Sub-Saharan Africa: closer perspectives*. Oxford, UK: Symposium Books.

Harber, C. (2017). *Schooling in Sub-Saharan Africa* Dordrecht: Springer.

Härmä, J. (2011a). *Household survey on private education in Lagos, DFID-Education sector support programme in Nigeria*. Report LG503. Lagos: DFID-Education sector support programme in Nigeria.

Härmä, J. (2011b). *Study of Private Schools in Lagos. Report LG303*. Abuja, Nigeria: Education Sector Support Programme in Nigeria.

Härmä, J. (2013a). Private responses to state failure: The growth in private education (and why) in Lagos, Nigeria (National Center for the Study of Privatization in Education Occasional Paper no. 215). New York, NY, USA: Teachers College, Columbia University.

Härmä, J. (2013b). Access or quality? Why do families living in slums choose low-cost private schools in Lagos, Nigeria? *Oxford Review of Education, 39*(4), 548–566.

Härmä, J. (2015). *A preliminary investigation of the potential for private schools chains in Lagos*. Lagos, Nigeria: DEEPEN.

Härmä, J. (2016). School choice in rural Nigeria? The limits of low-fee private schooling in Kwara State. *Comparative Education, 52*(2), 246-266.

Härmä, J. (2017). *Whose children go to Bridge International Academies? A school choice for the middle class in Ijegun*, Lagos Action Aid.

Härmä, J. & Siddhu, G. (2017a). *The challenges of land and security of tenure for private schools in Lagos*. Lagos: DEEPEN.

Härmä, J. & Siddhu, G. (2017b). Parental fee default: Extent, determinants and implications. Lagos:

Härmä, J. & Siddhu, G. (unpublished a) Parental fee default: Extent, determinants and implications.

Härmä, J. & Siddhu, G. (unpublished b) Why do parents default? Parental school choice and affordability in a time of recession.

Hossain, A. and Tarmizi, R.A. (2012). 'Gender-Related Effects of Group Learning on Mathematics Achievement among the Rural Secondary Students'. Eurasian Journal of Educational, Vol. 12(47): 1-22Humphreys, J. & Crawfurd, L. (2016). *Issues of educational access, quality, equity and impact in Nigeria: the EDOREN review of the literature on basic education*. Abuja, Nigeria: EDOREN.

Imam, H. (2012). Educational policy in Nigeria from the colonial era to the post-independence period. *Italian Journal of Sociology of Education, 1*, 181–204.

International Development Committee (2017). First Report of International Development Committee Session 2017-19 HC 367: *DFID's work on education: Leaving no one behind?* London: House of Commons.

International Finance Corporation. (2014). *Bridge International Academies*. IFC inclusive business case studies. Washington, USA: International Finance Corporation. Retrieved from https://www.ifc.org/wps/wcm/connect/0c4132e1-836c-4f0a-89f3-fffc58ec4af7/Bridge_Builtforchangereport.pdf?MOD=AJPERES

Iyer, P. & Moore, R. (2017). Measuring learning quality in Ethiopia, India and Vietnam: from primary to secondary school effectiveness. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education, 47*(6), 908-924.

Johnson, D. (2008). Improving the quality of education in Nigeria: a comparative evaluation of recent policy imperatives. In D. Johnson (Eds.), *The changing landscape of education in Africa: quality, equality and democracy*. Oxford: Symposium Books.

Kazeem, A., Jensen, L., & Stokes, C.S. (2010). School attendance in Nigeria: Understanding the impact and intersection of gender, urban-rural residence, and socioeconomic status. *Comparative Education Review, 54*(2).

Kett, M. & van Ommeren, M. (2009). Disability, conflict, and emergencies. *The Lancet, 374*(9704), 1801-1803.

Kramon, E. & Posner, D.N. (2016). Ethnic favoritism in education in Kenya. *Quarterly Journal of Political Science, 11*(1), 1-58.

Kwauk, C. & Perlman Robinson, J. (2016). *Bridge International Academies: delivering quality education at a low cost in Kenya, Nigeria and Uganda*. Washington,DC USA: Brookings Institute. https://drive.google.com/viewerng/viewer?url=https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/BRO1600220BridgeFINAL-1.pdf

Lagos State Ministry of Economic Planning and Budget. (2013). *Lagos State Government Budget Analysis*. Lagos: Author.

Lagos Bureau of Statistics. (2014). *Poverty profile for Lagos state*. Lagos: Ministry of Economic Planning and Budget. Retrieved from http://mepb.lagosstate.gov.ng/wp-content/uploads/sites/29/2017/01/Poverty-Profile-for-LASG-2014.pdf

Lagos Bureau of Statistics. (2016). *Selected public education statistics in Nigeria 2013-2014*. Lagos: Ministry of Economic Planning and Budget. Retrieved from https://www.proshareng.com/report/Nigerian%20Economy/Selected-Education---UBEC-Data/9064

Lagos, Ministry of Education. (2016). Guidelines for Public and Private Schools in Lagos State. Revised Edition. Lagos: Ministry of Education.

Languille, S. (2017). Public private partnerships in education and health in the global South: A literature review. *Journal of International and Comparative Social Policy, 33*(2), 142-165.

LaRocque, N. (2008). *Public-private partnerships in basic education: An international review*. Reading: CfBT Education Trust.

Larreguy, H. & Marshall, J. (2017). The effect of education on civic and political engagement in nonconsolidated democracies: Evidence from Nigeria. *Review of Economics and Statistics, 99*(3), 387-401.

Laurie, R., Nonoyama-Tarumi, Y., McKeown, R., & Hopkins, C. (2016). Contributions of education for sustainable development (ESD) to quality education: A synthesis of research. *Journal of Education for Sustainable Development, 10*(2), 226-242.

Lawson, O. (2018). *Curriculum reform process and teachers' perspectives. A study in a Lagos state school* (Unpublished MA dissertation). UCL Institute of Education, London, UK.

Messiou, K. (2017). Understanding marginalisation through dialogue: a strategy for promoting the inclusion of all students in schools. *Educational Review*, 1-12.

Mezger, C. (2016). Trends of inequality in access to schooling in Nigeria. Evidence from three DHS surveys (2003, 2008 and 2013). Paper prepared for EDOREN. Abuja, Nigeria: EDOREN. Retrieved from https://edorennigeria.files.wordpress.com/2014/07/edoren-inequalities-in-access-to-schooling.pdf

Moletsane, R. & Theron, L. (2017). Transforming social ecologies to enable resilience among girls and young women in the context of sexual violence. Abingdon: Taylor and Francis.

National Bureau of Statistics. (2017). *Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey Lagos, State Survey Finding Report*. Abuja, Nigeria: National Bureau of Statistics, Lagos Bureau of Statistics and UNICEF.

National Population Commission (Nigeria) & RTI International. (2016). *2015 Nigeria Education Data Survey (NEDS)*. Washington, DC, USA: United States Agency for International Development.

National Population Commission (Nigeria) & ICF International (2014) *2013 Nigeria Demographic and* Health Survey Abuja, Nigeria, and Rockville, Maryland, USA: NPC and ICF International.Obanya, P. (2011). Politics and the dilemma of meaningful access to education: The Nigerian story. *CREATE Working Paper*. UK: University of Sussex.

Outhred, R. & MacAuslan, I. (2015) What are children in private schools learning? Findings from four areas of Lagos. *EDOREN Policy Brief*. Abuja, Nigeria: EDOREN. Retrieved from https://edorennigeria.files.wordpress.com/2014/07/edoren_deepen_briefing_note_8pp-a4_lo-res_4.pdf

Parkes, J. (Ed.). (2015). *Gender violence in poverty contexts: The educational challenge*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Parkes, J., Heslop, J., Ross, F.J., Westerveld, R., & Unterhalter, E. (2016). *A rigorous review of global research evidence on policy and practice on school-related gender-based violence*. New York, USA: UNICEF.

Pearlman Robinson, J. & Winthrop, R. (2016). *Millions learning report*. Washington, USA: Brookings Institute. Retrieved from https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/FINAL-Millions-Learning-Report-1.pdf

Pestoff, V., Brandsen, T., & Verschuere, B. (Eds.). (2013). *New public governance, the third sector, and co-production*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.

Pritchett, L. (2015). Creating education systems coherent for learning outcomes: Making the transition from schooling to learning. *Research on Improving Systems of Education (RISE) Working Paper, Preliminary draft*.

Raffo, C. (2013). *Improving educational equity in urban contexts*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Riep, C. & Machacek, M. (2016). *Schooling the poor profitably: The innovations and deprivations of Bridge International Academies in Uganda*. Brussels: Education International.

Robertson, S., Mundy, K., & Verger, A. (Eds.). (2012). P*ublic private partnerships in education: New actors and modes of governance in a globalizing world* Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Rosales-Rogge, G., Kadiri, D., & Hinton, P. (2014). *Schools as a Sustainable Business*, Survey. UK: DEEPEN. Retrieved from https://deepen-nigeria.org/new/reports-and-documents

Rose, P. & Adelabu, M. (2007). Private sector contributions to education for all in Nigeria. In P. Srivastava & G. Walford (Eds.), *Private schooling in less economically developed countries: Asian and African perspectives*. Oxford, UK: Symposium Books.

Roshan, S., Lomme, R., Hima, H., & Santibanez, C. (2016). The Lagos Eko Secondary Education Sector Project. Abuja: Doing Development Differently World Bank Nigera Country Team accessed https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/24414/The0Lagos0Eko00s0at0the0state0level.pdf;sequence=1

Savolainen, H., Engelbrecht, P., Nel, M., & Malinen, O.P. (2012). Understanding teachers' attitudes and self-efficacy in inclusive education: implications for pre-service and in-service teacher education. *European Journal of Special Needs Education, 27*(1), 51-68.

Sayed, Y. (Ed.). (2018) *Continuing teacher professional development in Sub-Saharan Africa*. London: Bloomsbury.

Shalem, Y., & Hoadley, U. (2009). The dual economy of schooling and teacher morale in South Africa. International Studies in Sociology of Education, 19(2), 119-134.

Slee, R. (2011). *The irregular school: Exclusion, schooling and inclusive education*. Abingdon: Taylor & Francis.

Sperling, G.B. & Winthrop, R. (2015). *What works in girls' education: Evidence for the world's best investment*. Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press. Spring, J. (2017). American education. New York, USA: Routledge.

Standing, G. (2014). Understanding the precariat through labour and work. Development and change, 45(5), 963-980.

Thomas, H., 2011, *Study of Teacher Management and Deployment. Education Sector Support Programme in Nigeria*. Report No. 328 Lagos: ESSPIN.

Tikly, L. (2015). What works, for whom, and in what circumstances? Towards a critical realist understanding of learning in international and comparative education. *International Journal of Educational Development, 40*, 237-249.

Tikly, L., & Barrett, A. M. (2011). Social justice, capabilities and the quality of education in low income countries. *International Journal of Educational Development, 31*(1), 3-14.

Tikly, L. & Barrett, A.M. (Eds.). (2013). *Education quality and social justice in the global south: Challenges for policy, practice and research*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Tooley, J. (2013). *School choice in Lagos state*. London, UK: Department for International Development.

Tooley, J., Dixon, P., & Olanrewaju, O. (2005.) Private and public schooling in low-income areas of Lagos State, Nigeria: A census and comparative survey. *International Journal of Educational Research, 43*, 125–146.

Tooley, J., & Longfield, D. (2016). Affordability of private schools: Exploration of a conundrum and towards a definition of 'low-cost'. *Oxford Review of Education, 42*(4), 444-459.

Umar, M., Saidu, S., & Azare, Y.G. (2015). The impact of language and literature education in quality inclusive education for sustainable development in Nigeria. *National Journal of Inclusive Education, 3*(1), 99-106.

United Nations Development Programme & Japan International Cooperation Agency. (2011). Federal Republic of Nigeria Study for poverty profile (Africa), final report. Location: Mitsubishi UFJ Research and Consulting Co Ltd. Retrieved from http://www.jica.go.jp/activities/issues/poverty/profile/pdf/nig_02.pdf

United Nations Education Scientific and Cultural Organization. (2015a). *Global Monitoring Report*. Paris, France: Author.

United Nations Education Scientific and Cultural Organization. (2015b). *Education 2030 Incheon declaration and framework for action*. Paris, France: Author.

United Nations Education Scientific and Cultural Organization. (2017). *Global Education Monitor*. Paris, France: Author.

Unterhalter, E. (2015). Analysing inequalities in education. In T. McCowan & E. Unterhalter (Eds.), *Education and international development: An introduction*. 127-148. London, UK: Bloomsbury.

Unterhalter, E. (2017). A review of public private partnerships around girls' education in developing countries: flicking gender equality on and off. *Journal of International and Comparative Social Policy, 33*(2), 181-199.

Unterhalter, E. (2018). Making a way: Jagdish Gundara's intercultural methods and the discourse of a global learning. *Keynote lecture Jagdish Gundara Memorial Symposium*: Global Challenges to Social Justice and the Future of Intercultural Education, London: University College, 9 February. Retrieved at https://mediacentral.ucl.ac.uk/Play/11491

Unterhalter, E., North, A., Arnot, M., Lloyd, C., Moletsane, L., Murphy-Graham, E., Parkes, J., & Saito, M., (2014). *Education rigorous literature review: Girls' education and gender equality*. London, UK: Department for International Development.

Unterhalter, E., North, A., Ezegwu, C., & Shercliff, E. (2018). *Teacher education, teacher practice, gender and girls' schooling outcomes. A study in five Nigerian states*. Abuja, Nigeria: British Council.

Unterhalter, E., North, A., & Ward, O. (2018). Accountability for gender equality in education. *Background paper prepared for GEM Report*. Retrieved from. http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0026/002615/261596E.pdf

Unterhalter, E., Yates, C., Makinda, H., & North, A. (2012). Blaming the poor: Constructions of marginality and poverty in the Kenyan education sector. *Compare* 42, 2, 213-233.

Valenzuela, J.P., Bellei, C., & Ríos, D.D.L. (2014). Socioeconomic school segregation in a market-oriented educational system. The case of Chile. *Journal of education Policy, 29*(2), 217-241.

Verger, A., Altinyelken, H. K., & De Koning, M. (2013). Global managerial education reforms and teachers. Brussels: *Education International Research Institute*.

Vanner, C. (2018). 'This is a competition': The relationship between examination pressure and gender violence in primary schools in Kenya. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 62, 35-46.

Verger, A., Fontdevila, C., & Zancajo, A. (2017). Multiple paths towards education privatization in a globalizing world: A cultural political economy review. *Journal of Education Policy, 32*(6), 757-787.

Westbrook J, Durrani N, Brown R, Orr D, Pryor J, Boddy J, Salvi F (2013) Pedagogy, Curriculum, Teaching Practices and Teacher Education in Developing Countries. Final Report. Education Rigorous Literature Review. London: Department for International Development.

World Bank. 2018. *World Development Report 2018: Learning to Realize Education's Promise*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

Yaro, I., Arshad, R., & Salleh, D. (2016). Education stakeholders' constraints in policy decisions for effective policy implementation in Nigeria. *British Journal of Education, Society & Behavioural Science, 14*(1), 1-12.

Yngstrom, I. (2013). *Household poverty and school choice in low-income areas of Lagos. A qualitative case study approach*. London, UK: Department for International Development.

Education International
Internationale de l'Education
Internacional de la Educación
Bildungsinternationale

Education International Research

Quality and Equalities:

a comparative study of public and low-cost private schools in Lagos

Elaine Unterhalter, Lynsey Robinson and Jibrin Ibrahim

May 2018

Education International
Internationale de l'Education
Internacional de la Educación
Bildungsinternationale

Head office

5 bd du Roi Albert II
1210 Brussels, Belgium
Tel +32-2 224 0611
headoffice@ei-ie.org

www.ei-ie.org
#unite4ed

Education International represents organisations of teachers and other education employees across the globe. It is the world's largest federation of unions and associations, representing thirty million education employees in about four hundred organisations in one hundred and seventy countries and territories, across the globe. Education International unites teachers and education employees.

Cover picture: Amaly

Published by Education International - May 2018
ISBN 978-92-95109-65-0 (PDF)