

**Education Sector Support Programme in Nigeria
(ESSPIN)**

Assignment Report

**Islamiyya versus State School: Impact on Female
Students' Life Trajectories**

Report Number: ESSPIN 342

IQTE Development Communication Network

October 2016



www.esspin.org

Report Distribution and Revision Sheet

Project Name: Education Sector Support Programme in Nigeria

Code: 337662

Report No.: ESSPIN 342

Report Title: Islamiyya versus State School: Impact on Female Students' Life Trajectories

Rev No	Date of issue	Originator	Checker	Approver	Scope of checking
01	Oct 2016	IQTE Dev. Comms. Network	John Kay	Kayode Sanni	Accuracy, completeness, formatting

Scope of Checking

This report has been discussed with the originator and checked in the light of the requirements of the terms of reference. In addition the report has been checked to ensure editorial consistencies, accuracy of data, completeness of scope and responsiveness to client's requirements.

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

ESSPIN	Education Sector Support Programme in Nigeria
IQTE	Islamiyah, Qur'anic and Tsangaya Education
LGA	Local Government Authority
SSS	Senior Secondary School

Abstract

1. This report presents results from the follow up survey carried out in 2016 as part of a longitudinal study implemented by ESSPIN with students from Islamiyya and Senior Secondary (SS) Schools in three LGAs in Kano. While the baseline data gathered in 2011, helped compare the socio-economic profiles and future aspirations of the students in the two school types when still in school (See ESSPIN Report No: 431), the follow up survey with a section of the same student population four or five years after those students had left the school helps compare the actual choices made by graduates of these two different school types in critical areas of their lives: higher education, employment, marriage and child birth. The follow up survey shows that 37 per cent of the students surveyed in 2016 had gotten married and 60% of these had also had a child within the first year of marriage. This confirms the general pattern of early marriages among women in northern Nigeria. However, the survey also shows that married women demonstrate greater degree of autonomy than normally assumed. Further, the survey results show the importance of differentiating between integrated and un-integrated Islamiyya schools as the latter, which are normally referred to as pure Islamiyya, have higher share of girls who struggle to carry on to higher education.

Executive Summary

2. Girls' education remains a key ingredient in ensuring female empowerment. In contexts, such as northern Nigeria where overall educational challenges remain severe, opportunities for quality education for girls remain particularly limited. Development agencies have thus rightly made supporting girls' access to quality education a key priority. In case of northern Nigeria, a popular intervention in this regard has involved extending support to Islamiyya schools, an integrated schooling model, where curriculum is divided equally between Islamic and modern subjects. In conservative Muslim communities, these integrated school models seem to attract more female students than regular state schools. The latter are viewed to promote western cultural values among girls causing concern among the parents. Despite growing donor engagement with Islamiyya schools, we, however, still know very little if participation in Islamiyya schools as opposed to regular state schools has any specific implications for the future life options pursued by these girls. Since Islamiyya schools are preferred for their perceived ability to preserve Islamic cultural values, could these schools be restricting women's agency?
3. In order to refine our understanding of the Islamiyya schools, under its IQTE portfolio ESSPIN launched a longitudinal study with female students from Islamiyya and regular state schools in Kano. The baseline survey was carried out in 2011 and the resulting report ([ESSPIN Report No: 431](#)) reaffirmed that investing in Islamiyya schools as a way to reach girl child in northern Nigeria is a viable strategy for development agencies: girls in Islamiyya schools showed equally high aspirations for professional careers as did those in state schools. While the baseline survey captures girls' socio-economic profiles and future aspirations, the follow up survey was designed to compare the choices girls actually make once they leave their respective school. This follow up survey was administrated in the summer of 2016 with a section of the girls covered in the baseline survey. This report shares the key findings.
4. The data shows that in northern Nigeria a fair share of girls do remain vulnerable to early marriages irrespective of the school type they are attending and most of those who get married have a child within the first year of marriage. Further, the report also shows that the male members of the family, whether the father or the husband, bear a heavy influence on critical decisions related to the girls, such as whether to continue with higher education, which specific degree to follow, and when and with whom to get married. However, we also see that both single and married girls demonstrate greater degree of autonomy than normally assumed. On many critical life decisions, the majority of the girls' report taking joint decisions in consultation with their parent or husband instead of being forced into making those choices.

5. The report shows that the most vulnerable girls are actually within the pure Islamiyya schools, which offer no modern subjects. These girls record the lowest ability to complete secondary school education or to pursue higher education. Compared to the baseline survey report, a key contribution of this report is that it presents a comparison of responses not just between Islamiyya and secular school students but it divides the response from within the Islamiyya schools into the two well-known sub-categories (integrated and un-integrated). The results show that such a distinction is important as the main differences in responses appear not between students of integrated Islamiyya and secular schools but between their students and those in pure Islamiyya schools. The report thus upholds ESSPIN's strategy of working with pure Islamiyya schools to reach the most disadvantaged girls in northern Nigeria.

Introduction

6. Islamiyya schools constitute a major share of the schooling landscape in northern Nigeria. They are particularly popular among Muslim parents as a preferred choice for educating their daughters. This is because Islamiyya schools cover Islamic subjects in addition to modern subjects and thereby are perceived as preserving the traditional values better than the government schools. There are two main categories of Islamiyya schools: integrated and pure Islamiyya (un-integrated). The difference between the two mainly results in the ratio of modern subjects they teach. Integrated Islamiyya follow a set curriculum developed by SUBEB that requires them to have 50:50 ratio of modern and Islamic subjects. The pure Islamiyya on the other hand are often less resourced and only focus on teaching of Islamic subjects. Often the lack of focus on modern subjects is indicative not of an ideological resistance but the inability of the school management to pay for salaries of modern subject teachers.

7. In general, Islamiyya schools in Kano are seen to have a higher female to male ratio of 55:45 (ESSPIN 2011). However, we know little about the impact participation in Islamiyya school might have on the actual life choices a woman makes. This report summarises findings from a follow up survey carried out with girls from Islamiyya and state schools in Kano in the summer of 2016. The baseline survey was carried out in 2011 soon after ESSPIN started developing interventions for supporting IQTE schools (see [ESSPIN Report No: 431](#)). The objective of developing this longitudinal study was to help develop a clearer picture of what it really means for a woman in northern Nigeria to study in an Islamiyya school as compared to the regular state school.

8. Such a study was viewed to be useful not just for understanding the impact of Islamiyya schools on future life choices of women in northern Nigeria but could also potentially contribute to a broader debate on this issue in the international development arena. In many other Muslim country contexts, there is evidence of similar preference among conservative Muslim parents for these hybrid Islamic schools that combine modern and Islamic education over regular state schools. The high demand for Aliya madrasas over regular state schools in rural Bangladesh is one well-documented example where parents are seen to prefer sending girls to Aliya madrasas that combine modern and Islamic education as opposed to sending them to state schools.

9. The results from the 2011 baseline survey which was carried with girls from senior years in both categories of school countered the assumptions about Islamiyya schools having a detrimental impact on girls' future life aspirations. The report showed that there was no significant difference in the levels of religiosity or future aspirations among the girls in Islamiyya versus state senior secondary schools. These results though initially surprising were understandable when we keep in mind the overall high levels of religiosity in northern Nigeria, including the state of Kano, and the overall limited employment opportunities

available for women. It is then not surprisingly that even girls in state schools show very high levels of religiosity which come very close to those observed by girls in Islamiyya schools. Further, girls in both the schools showed very high aspirations for pursuing a career even though we know in reality very few girls are actually able to materialise this dream.

10. This report presents findings from a follow up survey which was implemented with a section of the girls covered in the baseline survey. The objective of tracing some of these girls from the baseline survey was to see if the actual choices they made since completing their secondary schooling (as opposed to aspiration that were stated in 2011 survey) show any visible differences.

Structure of the Report

11. The report has three sections. The next section presents a brief summary of the methodology. The following section on findings presents the analysis on four core areas: higher education decisions, marriage decisions, birth control decision, and autonomy within the household. The concluding section summarises the implications of these findings for developing interventions with Islamiyya schools.

Methodology

12. In 2011, a baseline survey was implemented with 1602 girls from nine Islamiyya and nine SS schools across three LGAs in Kano: Fagge (urban), Kumbotso (semi-urban), and Albasu (rural). While equal number of schools were selected from both the categories the actual number of students covered was higher for SS schools mainly due to much larger class sizes than those in Islamiyya schools. Students were selected randomly from the final year of school in both the categories. Further, the selected Islamiyya schools comprise of both integrated and pure Islamiyya. The baseline survey instrument captured information on the individual characteristics of the students, the socio-economic profile of their families, their levels of religious knowledge and conviction, and their future life aspirations.
13. In the baseline survey, when selecting the schools, a purposive sampling method was used. The criteria were to select some of the most established and well reputed schools from the two categories in the selected LGAs. Such a selection criteria was justified on the grounds that looking at the best cases would help understand what are the best possible outcome for girls in the two school types. The stronger schools were expected to be also more effective at transmitting the school ethos to the children. Therefore, given that the focus of the survey was to understand any likely links between school type and attitudes, beliefs and future aspirations of the students, focusing on more established schools in both the categories was viewed to be the appropriate selection criteria.

14. The focus of the 2011 baseline survey instrument was on measuring differences in the two populations on four dimensions:
 - (i) The students' levels of religiosity to compare if studying in Islamiyya schools leads to higher levels of religious devotion;
 - (ii) The students' level of self-confidence, measured through a set of questions developed within psychological literature, normally referred to as *locus of control*, to see if girls in SS schools place more confidence on their own ability to control things and if those in Islamiyya schools leave things to fate;
 - (iii) The students' levels of material aspirations to understand if being in an Islamiyya school lowered girls' material aspirations and professional ambitions for material prosperity and economic empowerment;
 - (iv) The socio-economic profile of the students with a view to understand if students in the two school types come from distinctly different socio-economic family backgrounds.

15. When planning the 2016 follow-up survey, the key challenge was to trace sufficient number of girls from the baseline survey to ensure that some meaningful results can be secured. Tracing girls within their communities requires a major financial and time commitment; the target was thus set to trace at least 300 students with representation from all the schools that participated in the baseline survey. As we can see in Table 0.1, a total of 344 female students from the baseline survey were eventually traced. Further, the girls traced represented both Islamiyya and senior secondary schools as well as allowing to observe the variations between integrated and pure Islamiyya.

16. The same enumerators who had implemented the 2011 survey within the schools were trained to now trace the girls within the community. The enumerators first contacted the schools to try to secure any information available with the principal, teachers or the school staff about the current location of the students. For those for whom the address could be located, the enumerators approached them within their homes and communities. The total number of responses in the 2016 survey is thus only a quarter of the original number covered in 2011 but the numbers covered from each school type are still reasonable enough to provide some important insights into the questions asked. The table below provides the number of students traced from each category of school.

Table 0.2. Number of total respondents

<i>Type of school</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
<i>Integrated</i>		
<i>Islamiyya</i>	160	46.51%
<i>Modern School</i>	113	32.85%
<i>Pure Islamiyya</i>	71	20.64%
<i>Total</i>	344	100.00%

17. As can be noted, the table shows a break down for three types of schooling because of making a distinction between Islamiyya integrated and the pure Islamiyya (also referred to as un-integrated Islamiyya).

18. While the follow up survey questionnaire (see Annex 1) repeated some of the questions about socio-economic profile and religiosity levels from the baseline survey, its main focus was on addressing new questions which help understand the level of autonomy these girls enjoy in making critical life decisions. The main areas covered are:

- (v) Marriage decisions: Has the student been married since the baseline survey; if yes, then what was the age at the time of marriage; does her husband has other wives; was she consulted in making the marriage decision or agreed under duress;
- (vi) Motherhood decisions: If married has she had children; if yes, then at what age; spacing within children; family planning choices; control over decisions related to mother and child health, etc.;
- (vii) Level of confidence: In making independent decisions, and dealing with parents/brothers, husbands, and in-laws.
- (viii) Education and employment choices: Is the student pursuing higher education; if yes then at what level; what are the future career plans; if working then in which sector and in what position, etc.;

Findings

19. One of the core comparative findings is that the difference in the responses of students from integrated Islamiyya and state schools is not significant; the main difference often rests between the responses of girls from these two categories of schools as compared to those of pure Islamiyya schools. Girls from pure Islamiyya schools seem more vulnerable to dropping out of the education system earlier; interestingly they also seem less prone to early marriages. This might mean that they are doubly disadvantaged as they are neither in a position to pursue higher education nor is their family in a position to secure them a husband that can enable them to lead a new life. The results below are divided in five main sections: Basic facts; personal assessment of state of well-being; monthly disposable income; education and employment decisions; and, marriage and family planning decisions.

Section 1: Basic facts

20. The main issues covered under basic facts include girls' ability to complete secondary education, their current marital status, and their current educational commitments.

Degree Completion

21. As can be seen in Table 1.1, a high percentage of students from integrated Islamiyya as well as SS school were able to complete their secondary education. However, there is a major difference in responses of students from Pure Islamiyya schools where only 56 % reported completing the degree as opposed to 91% and 84% for SS and Integrated Islamiyya respectively.

Table 1.1 Degree completion

Type of school	Frequency		
	No	Yes	Total
Integrated Islamiyya	24 (16)	124 (84)	148
Modern School	10 (9)	99 (91)	109
Pure Islamiyya	28 (44)	36 (56)	64
Total	62	259	321
Missing Values	23		

Marital Status

22. In Table 3, we see that overall 37% of the girls have been married four years since completing their senior secondary school. The survey data records the average age of the girls across the three school types as being 20 years old. This means that as per the popular perceptions, for many girls the age of marriage in northern Nigeria remains quite low. 37% of the girls interviewed have been married between the ages of 16-20 years of age. In terms of comparative analysis, the ratio of marriage is highest among Integrated Islamiyya graduates. Since compared to parents of girls in government schools, parents of Islamiyya school girls are seen to be more conservative this difference is partially understandable.

23. Why, however, students from Pure Islamiyya schools, who actually find it more difficult to complete secondary education and have less exposure to study of modern subjects should have lower marriage ratio than integrated Islamiyya is an interesting question. This might indicate that it is the combination of religiosity and affluence that facilitates early marriage rather than religiosity and poverty. The poor parents might need more time to accumulate the required assets to get the daughter married off.

Table 1.2. Marital Status

Type of school	Frequency				
	Single	Married	Divorced	Widowed	Total
Integrated Islamiyya	82 (52%)	76 (48%)	0	1	159
Modern School	75 (66%)	35 (31%)	3	0	113
Pure Islamiyya	53 (75%)	18 (25%)	0	0	71
Total	210	129	3	1	343
Missing Values	1				

Studying for additional Qualification

24. Even though the Pure Islamiyya had higher ratio of girls who did not complete the senior secondary grade, when it comes to pursuing education beyond secondary education, girls from all three categories of schools show limited ability. Across the three school type, close to 70% of the girls are unable to pursue higher education even those who complete secondary school cycle.

Table 1.3. Pursuing Higher Education

Type of school	Frequency						Total
	None	Federal College	Polytechnic	College	University	Others	
Integrated Islamiyya	103 (68%)	16 (11%)	9 (9%)	6 (4%)	14 (9%)	3	151
Modern School	76 (71%)	14 (13%)	1	6 (6%)	3 (3%)	7	107
Pure Islamiyya	51 (75%)	0 (0%)	0	9 (13%)	7 (10%)	1	68
Total	230	30	10	21	24	11	326

Section 2: Personal assessment of the state of wellbeing

25. The survey also attempted to explore girls' perception of their own well-being.

26. a). Assessment of the last five years

Table 2.1 shows that majority of the girls (close to 70%) across the three school types thought they have had average quality of life rather than difficult or very difficult. In fact, none of the respondents identified their life as being very difficult. Rather, close to 25% of the respondents actually identified their life in the past five years being enjoyable.

Interesting, more students from both types of Islamiyya schools noted the last five years

being enjoyable than did those from state schools. This could potentially indicate that faith plays a major role in building contentment. But, given that the baseline survey did not show any significant differences in the levels of religiosity between the students from Islamiyya and modern state schools, the real explanation for this difference thus might rest elsewhere.

Table 2.1. Assessment of the last five years

Type of school	Frequency				
	Very difficult	Difficult	Average	Enjoyable	Total
Integrated Islamiyya	0	6	107 (67%)	46 (29%)	159
Modern School	0	14	85 (75%)	14 (12%)	113
Pure Islamiyya	0	4	46 (65%)	21 (30%)	71
Total	0	24	238	81	343
Missing Values	1				

27. b). Assessment of the present

As we can see in Table 2.2, the girls' assessment of their present situation also remains quite positive. Further, the difference observed between responses of Islamiyya and modern school girls in how many identified their lives as being enjoyable remains as visible in the present as it did in the past.

Table 2.2. Assessment of the present

Type of school	Frequency				
	Very difficult	Difficult	Average	Enjoyable	Total
Integrated Islamiyya	1	13	97 (61%)	48 (30%)	159
Modern School	0	18	79 (70%)	16 (14%)	113
Pure Islamiyya	0	8	42 (59%)	21 (30%)	71
Total	1	39	218	85	343
Missing Values	1				

28. c). Expectations about the Future

The most interesting finding however is visible in Table 2.3. Girls from all three categories overwhelmingly expect their lives to be enjoyable in the future as compared to the past. This shows a high degree of optimism about the future. This also shows that despite the challenges circumstances in which these girls grow up, they remain very resilient and positively engaged with their lives.

Table 2.3. Expectations of the future

Type of school	Frequency				
	Very difficult	Difficult	Average	Enjoyable	Total
Integrated Islamiyya	2	3	39 (24%)	116 (72%)	160
Modern School	0	3	28 (25%)	82 (72%)	113
Pure Islamiyya	0	0	22 (31%)	49 (69%)	71
Total	2	6	89	247	344
Missing Values	0				

29. d). What will make you most happy in future

In terms of the expected sources of future happiness, ironically, it is not marriage or children but the opportunity to pursue university education that most excites girls from two of the three categories. For girls from Pure Islamiyya schools, getting married is the expected to bring most potential happiness followed by pursuing university education. This shows that lack of aspirations is not the real challenge; it is the lack of actual opportunities that restrict these girls from pursuing higher education and economic empowerment.

Table 2.4. Potential Sources of Future Happiness

Type of school	Frequency				
	Pursuing University Education	Finding a Paid Job	Getting Married	Having a Child	Total
Integrated Islamiyya	55 (36%)	38 (25%)	34 (22%)	29 (19%)	153
Modern School	52 (46%)	14 (12%)	37 (32%)	10 (9%)	113
Pure Islamiyya	20 (28%)	10 (14%)	28 (39%)	13 (18%)	71
Total	127	62	99	52	340
Missing Values	4				

Section 3: Monthly Income

30. The survey also asked the girls information about any existing sources of income, and the money they have available to spend on themselves per month. While on the whole, the majority of the girls responded to say that they are not earning regular monthly income, the response was not as high as might be expected. In fact, on average, across the three school categories 34% of the respondents (see Table 3.1) recorded earning a regular

income. Unfortunately, it is difficult to determine what kind of activities are enabling these girls to generate a monthly income but most of these are likely to be in the informal sector given their limited ability to pursue higher education.

Table 3.1. Have monthly income

Type of school	Frequency		
	No	Yes	Total
Integrated Islamiyya	91 (58%)	66 (42%)	157
Modern School	77 (70%)	33 (30%)	110
Pure Islamiyya	48 (67%)	23 (32%)	71
Total	216	122	338
Missing values			

31. Further, we can see that this reported monthly income can range from an average of 1,126 Naira per month to 5,179 Naira (Table 3.2). There is a clear difference in the income generation ability of the students from Islamiyya schools; the low levels of monthly earnings reported suggest some of these girls might be involved in hawking activities.

Table 3.2. Amount of Regular Monthly Income

Type of school	Obs	Mean	Median	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Integrated Islamiyya	64	4393.75	2000.00	9582.40	100.00	60000.00
Modern School	34	5179.41	2000.00	13832.76	0.00	82000.00
Pure Islamiyya	25	1126.00	500.00	2152.96	100.00	10000.00
Total	123	3946.75	1500.00	10111.60	0.00	82000.00
Missing values	221					

32. Table 3.3 and Table 3.4 in turn show that majority of these girls do have some monthly source of income and that the fathers and husbands remain main providers of this income.

Table 3.3. Cash you have available to spend on yourself per month

Type of school	Obs	Mean	Median	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Integrated Islamiyya	131	7280.53	3000.00	10947.35	50	50000
Modern School	100	4478.00	3000.00	5646.18	200	50000
Pure Islamiyya	66	2739.39	2000.00	2998.40	100	20000
Total	298	5330.03	3000.00	8274.46	50	50000
Missing values	146					

Table 3.4. Who provides you the cash?

Type of school	Frequency				
	FATHER	MOTHER	SIBLINGS	HUSBAND	AUNTS/UNCLE
Integrated Islamiyya	52	30	12	57	3
Modern School	52	19	3	27	1
Pure Islamiyya	35	19	1	14	1
Total	139	68	16	98	5
Missing values	N/A				

33. If we look across the population, then fathers remain the main providers followed by husbands and then mothers (Table 3.5).

Table 3.5. Who Provides the Cash? (across school types)

Who provides cash to spend?	Cash to Spend (Amount)			
	Obs	Mean	Median	Std. Dev.
Father	109	4506.88	4500.00	5976.37
Mother	56	4139.29	2500.00	7642.36
Siblings	12	2150.00	1500.00	2028.66
Husband	85	7620.59	3000.00	11273.16
Aunts/Uncles	2	1000.00	1000.00	707.11
Both parents	2	5500.00	5500.00	707.11
Parents +Siblings	1	5000.00	5000.00	N/A
Parents+Sib+Aunt	1	10000.00	10000.00	N/A
Total	268	5315.67	3000.00	8339.94
Missing values				

Section 4. Educational Decisions

34. The questions about educational decisions made by the girls show a high degree of influence by the father but it is also important to note that on the average 26% of the students noted such decisions being made after mutual consultation involving the girl and both the parents. Girls from pure Islamiyya show highest degree of influence by the fathers. While surprisingly 25% of girls from integrated Islamiyya record making the decision themselves as compared to only 8% in case of modern schools (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.1. Who decided that you continue your education?

Type of school	Frequency				Total
	Mine	My father	Mutual decision of my mother and father	Mutual decision of me and my parents	
Integrated Islamiyya	28(25%)	48(42%)	9(8%)	28(25%)	113
Modern School	7(8%)	42(49%)	5(6%)	32(37%)	86
Pure Islamiyya	3(5%)	45(79%)	1(2%)	8(14%)	57
Total	38	135	15	68	256
Missing values					

35. Fathers again appear to have a major influence on the specific degree that a girl might end up pursuing (See Table 4.2).

Table 4.2. Who made you decide which degree to pursue?

Type of school	Frequency				
	Myself	Father	Siblings	Aunts/Uncles/Cousins	School teachers/Students
Integrated Islamiyya	23 (19%)	79 (65%)	13	3	2
Modern School	16 (23%)	42 (62%)	8	1	1
Pure Islamiyya	8 (11%)	47 (66%)	13	2	1
Total	47	168	34	6	4
Missing Values					

36. An overwhelming majority of girls expressed confidence in knowing what they want to do in future (See Table 4.3).

Table 4.3. Do you know what you want to do in future?

Type of school	Frequency		
	No	Yes	Total
Integrated Islamiyya	21	95 (82%)	116
Modern School	15	71 (82%)	86
Pure Islamiyya	12	46 (79%)	58
Total	48	212	260
Missing values			

37. An overwhelming majority of girls are keen to have a job (see Table 4.4.). This reconfirms that lack of aspirations among these girls for economic independence should not be a concern. If opportunities are made available, most girls are keen to have a job.

Table 4.4. Do you want to secure a job after completing this degree?

Type of school	Frequency		
	No	Yes	Total
Integrated Islamiyya	22	94 (81%)	116
Modern School	22	64(74%)	86
Pure Islamiyya	22	36(62%)	58
Total	66	194	260
Missing values			

38. Table 4.5 further shows that the girls are also relatively realistic about the kind of jobs they can secure. Thus, girls from pure Islamiyya who are least able to complete secondary education overwhelming see themselves working in the informal sector. Compared to them girls from integrated and modern schools have higher ambitions to work in the formal sector either on clerical, managerial or professional roles.

Table 4.5. Which kind of job do you want?

Type of school	Frequency						
	Homeless/unemployed	Self-employed	Guard, police, army	Clerical	Managerial	Professional	Total
Integrated Islamiyya	5	29 (22%)	1	55 (41%)	1	42 (32%)	133
Modern School	4	26 (35%)	0	27 (36%)	6	12 (16%)	75
Pure Islamiyya	1	49 (70%)	0	16 (23%)	1	4 (6%)	71
Total	10	104	1	98	8	58	279
Missing values							

39. It is also worth noting that despite recording a high degree of influence of fathers on their educational decisions, an overwhelming majority of girls' report having family support to do

a job. This indicates that the harsh economic realities are making even conservative societies endorse more active income generation role for women (Table 4.6).

Table 4.6. Does the family support the idea that you should work?

Type of school	Frequency		
	No	Yes	Total
Integrated Islamiyya	15	104 (87%)	119
Modern School	4	87 (95%)	91
Pure Islamiyya	5	55 (91%)	60
Total	24	246	270

40. Finally, girls from across the three school types demonstrate a higher degree of autonomy in negotiation issues with their families than expected. Close to 73% of the girls noted that they talk (though respectfully) with their parents to convince them of their point of view instead of staying quiet in case of a difference of opinion relating to their life choices (Table 4.7).

Table 4.7. If your parents stop you from doing something you want to do how do you react?

Type of school	Frequency			Total
	Get angry	Stay quiet and change myself	Talk respectfully	
Integrated Islamiyya	3	32	100 (74%)	135
Modern School	0	21	76 (78%)	97
Pure Islamiyya	9	11	44 (69%)	64
Total	12	64	220	296
Missing Values				

Section 5. Marriage, Autonomy and Child Birth

41. Table 5.1 indicates the number of girls that got married two to three years after they were first interviewed. Since at the time of the baseline survey in 2011, these girls were in the final years of senior secondary school, the results in Table 5.1 reconfirm that many girls start to get married in second half of their teens.

Table 5.1. Year of marriage

Type of school	Frequency					
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Integrated Islamiyya	1	6	19	15	21	14
Modern School	0	5	5	5	14	8
Pure Islamiyya	0	0	1	6	4	5
Total	1	11	25	26	39	27
Missing Values	3					

Whose Decision was it that you should get married?

42. The girls were given four options in response to this question. As we can see in Table 5.2, majority of the respondents identified it as being a mutual decision involving the parents and the student. In case of integrated Islamiyya, in fact 25% recorded it as being their own decision. Thus, girls do exercise greater degree of autonomy in making such decisions in northern Nigeria than usually assumed by the development agencies.

- Option 1: Mine
- Option 2: My father's
- Option 3: Mutual decision of my mother and father
- Option 4: Mutual decision of me and my parents

Table 5.2. Whose decision was it that you should get married?

Type of school	Frequency				Total
	Option 1	Option 2	Option 3	Option 4	
Integrated Islamiyya	19 (25%)	19 (25%)	11 (14%)	27 (35%)	76
Modern School	3 (9 %)	7 (20%)	2 (6%)	22 (65%)	34
Pure Islamiyya	5 (29%)	1 (6%)	0	11 (65%)	17
Total	27	27	13	60	127
Missing Values	7				

43. As can be seen in Table 5.3, close to 50% of the students had to stop their education due to marriage. But, again, this result is slightly lower than expected as this shows that fifty percent of those who get married feel they can pursue further education after marriage.

Table 5.3 Did you have to stop education when you got married?

Type of school	Frequency		Total
	No	Yes	
Integrated Islamiyya	40	38 (49%)	78
Modern School	17	21 (55%)	38
Pure Islamiyya	8	9 (53%)	17
Total	65	68	133
Missing Values	5		

44. In line with the previous finding, an overwhelming majority of women feel that their husbands will allow them to continue with their education if they wanted. This will suggest that the overall low participation rate in higher education is a result not of cultural barriers but lack of opportunities.

Table 5.4. If you want to continue education, will husband allow it?

Type of school	Frequency		
	No	Yes	Total
Integrated Islamiyya	17	54 (76%)	71
Modern School	15	21 (58%)	36
Pure Islamiyya	9	9 (50%)	18
Total	41	84	125
Missing Values	13		

45. Over 90% of the girls reported being happy to get married at the time of their marriage (Table 5.5).

Table 5.5. Were you happy to get married at the time of marriage?

Type of school	Frequency		
	No	Yes	Total
Integrated Islamiyya	4	75 (95%)	79
Modern School	4	33 (89%)	37
Pure Islamiyya	1	18 (95%)	19
Total	9	126	135
Missing Values	2		

46. Table 5.6 further shows that the age difference between girls and their husbands is not too high. The average age for husbands was reported as 30 years old.

Table 5.6. Husband's average age

Type of school	Obs	Mean	Median	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Integrated Islamiyya	75	31.11	30.00	4.07	20	40
Modern School	38	30.21	30.00	3.21	25	37
Pure Islamiyya	17	29.88	30.00	3.98	25	40
Total	130	30.68	30.00	3.83	20	40
Missing values	3					

47. Table 5.7 shows that for majority of the men it was their first marriage.

Table 5.7. Was your husband married before?

Type of school	Frequency		
	No	Yes	Total
Integrated Islamiyya	60	16	76
Modern School	32	4	36
Pure Islamiyya	17	2	19
Total	109	22	131
Missing values	5		

48. The husbands who were married before normally only had one other wife. However, three respondents did record their husbands having two other wives (See Table 5.8).

Table 5.8. How many wives did your husband have previously?

Type of school	Frequency		
	One wife	Two wives	Total
Integrated Islamiyya	13 (81%)	3 (19%)	16
Modern School	4 (100%)	0	4
Pure Islamiyya	2 (100%)	0	2
Total	19	3	22
Missing values	N/A		

49. Close to 20% of the husbands who had another wife had children from previous marriages (Table 5.9).

Table 5.9. Does your husband have children from previous marriage?

Type of school	No	Yes	Total
Integrated Islamiyya	52 (75%)	17	69
Modern School	16 (80%)	4	20
Pure Islamiyya	11 (85%)	2	13
Total	79	23	102
Missing Value			

50. As can be seen in the table below, close to 40% of the girls are willing to accept the practice of polygamy and allow their husbands to have another wife in future.

Table 5.10. If your husband has no other wife will you allow him to have one in future?

Type of school	Frequency		
	No	Yes	Total
Integrated Islamiyya	41 (57%)	31	72
Modern School	26 (76%)	8	34
Pure Islamiyya	10 (59%)	7	17
Total	77	46	123
Missing Values	13		

Rank your household financial situation

51. Out of the given options, the majority reported has having just the insufficient funds to meet their basic needs.

- Option 1: Insufficient funds to meet basic needs**
- Option 2: Have funds to meet more than the basic needs**
- Option 3: You are able to save after covering for expenses**

Table 5.11. Household financial situation

Type of school	Frequency			Total
	Option 1	Option 2	Option 3	
Integrated Islamiyya	18 (53%)	11 (32%)	5 (14%)	34
Modern School	7 (70%)	2 (20%)	1 (10%)	10
Pure Islamiyya	4 (80%)	1 (20%)	0	5
Total	29	14	6	49
Missing values	85			

52. Close to 60% also reported having a child with their husband (Table 5.12).

Table 5.12. Did you have children with your husband?

Type of school	Frequency		Total
	No	Yes	
Integrated Islamiyya	23	49 (68%)	72
Modern School	17	21 (55%)	38
Pure Islamiyya	8	11(58%)	19
Total	55	81	129
Missing values	1		

53. Majority of girls had their first child within the first year of marriage (Table 5.13).

Table 5.13. How long after marriage did you have your first child?

Type of school	Frequency			Total
	After 1st year	After 2nd year	After 3rd year	
Integrated Islamiyya	38 (81%)	8	1	47
Modern School	20 (95%)	1	0	21
Pure Islamiyya	11 (100%)	0	0	11
Total	69	9	1	79
Missing Values	3			

54. The average spacing between children is between one to 2 years.

Table 5.14. If you have more than one child, then what is the spacing between children?

Type of school	Frequency			Total
	Almost one year	A year and a half	More than 2 years	
Integrated Islamiyya	9 (37%)	7 (29%)	8 (33%)	24
Modern School	2 (18%)	9 (82%)	0	11
Pure Islamiyya	0	2 (33%)	4 (66%)	6
Total	11	18	12	41
Missing values	1			

55. The contraception use rate is very low among these households. Close to 80% of the married girls reported that their husbands don't use any contraception (Table 5.15).

Table 5.15. Does your husband use contraception?

Type of school	Frequency		
	No	Yes	Total
Integrated Islamiyya	52 (76%)	16	68
Modern School	30 (88%)	4	34
Pure Islamiyya	16 (84%)	3	19
Total	98	23	121
Missing values	15		

56. The majority of the girls had access to a hospital or a midwife when delivering their child. The access to basic health facilities appears to be a bit better than expected (Table 5.16).

Table 5.16. Where did you give birth to your children?

Type of school	Frequency			Total
	Hospital	With senior family member	Midwife	
Integrated Islamiyya	28 (57%)	17 (35%)	4 (8%)	49
Modern School	12 (63%)	2 (11%)	5 (26%)	19
Pure Islamiyya	8 (73%)	2 (18%)	1 (9%)	11
Total	48	21	10	79
Missing values	4			

57. Over 90% of the married girls reported wanting to have more children thus indicating that the lack of use of contraception by the husband might be a mutual decision (Table 5.17).

Table 5.17. Do you want to have more children?

Type of school	Frequency		
	No	Yes	Total
Integrated Islamiyya	4	69 (95%)	73
Modern School	4	28 (87%)	32
Pure Islamiyya	1	17 (94%)	18
Total	9	114	123
Missing values	13		

58. Husbands seem equally interested in having more children (Table 5.18).

Table 5.18. Does your husband want more children?

Type of school	Frequency		
	No	Yes	Total
Integrated Islamiyya	4	72 (95%)	76
Modern School	3	28 (90%)	31
Pure Islamiyya	5	15 (75%)	20
Total	12	115	127
Missing values	13		

59. It is, however, important to note that close to 90% of the girls feel confident that they can influence their husband in determining the desired size of the family (Table 5.19). This again shows a higher degree of autonomy felt by these women than normally recognized by the development agencies.

Table 5.19. If you and your husband have different views on the ideal family size, do you think you can influence him to respect your decision?

Type of school	Frequency		
	No	Yes	Total
Integrated Islamiyya	7	70 (91%)	77
Modern School	5	32 (86%)	37
Pure Islamiyya	3	15 (83%)	18
Total	15	117	132
Missing values	7		

60. As for having control over financial resources, the results are not surprising. Out of the three options given, majority selected option 2, which indicates that financial decisions are made almost entirely by the husbands (see Table 5.20).

- Option 1: My husband gives the money for monthly expenses in my hands and I decide how to spend that money**
- Option 2. My husband buys the goods that he thinks we need at home and I just cook according to what he asks me**
- Option 3. My husband buys the goods for the house after consulting with me as to what items we need**

Table 5. 20. Control over financial resources

Type of school	Frequency			Total
	Option 1	Option 2	Option 3	
Integrated Islamiyya	9 (12%)	45 (58%)	24 (31%)	78
Modern School	4 (11%)	22 (59%)	11 (30%)	37
Pure Islamiyya	3 (17%)	10 (55%)	5 (28%)	18
Total	16	77	40	133
Missing Values	3			

61. In terms of being able to pressure their husband, however, the majority of the girls showed higher degree of autonomy. When asked, how they respond to their husband if they think he is being unfair or is doing something wrong, majority chose option 3 (see Table 5.21). This shows that majority argue back and try to influence the husband’s decision instead of obeying him unquestioningly.

- Option 1: Fight with him and have angry arguments with him**
- Option 2. Stay quiet and try to change myself and do what he wants**
- Option 3: Talk to him respectfully and try to convince him to listen to your views**

Table 5.21. Influencing husband’s decisions

Type of school	Frequency			Total
	Option 1	Option 2	Option 3	
Integrated Islamiyya	1	4 (5%)	72 (94%)	77
Modern School	1	8(22%)	28(76%)	37
Pure Islamiyya	0	1(6%)	17(94%)	18
Total	2	13	117	132
Missing Values	4			

62. Close to 90% of the respondents reported being happily married (Table 5.22). This suggests that in contexts like northern Nigeria where educational and employment opportunities remain very restricted, marriage continues to be a much cherished institution among young women.

Table 5.22. How will you define your marriage?

Type of school	Frequency			Total
	Happily married	Husband is unhappy	I'm unhappy	
Integrated Islamiyya	68 (89%)	4 (5%)	4(5%)	76
Modern School	31 (86%)	1 (3%)	4 (11%)	36
Pure Islamiyya	18 (100%)	0	0	18
Total	117	5	8	130
Missing Values	5			

63. Asked about possible reasons that might make them consider taking a divorce, the married women highlighted beating, womanising or drinking, if habitually practiced by their husbands, could make them take a divorce (see Table 5.23).

Table 5.23. If you were to think of taking divorce what would be the reasons?

Type of school	Frequency			
	Option 1	Option 2	Option 3	Option 4
Integrated Islamiyya	7	39	5	3
Modern School	4	9	5	3
Pure Islamiyya	3	6	0	0
Total	14	54	10	6
Missing values				

- Option 1. Husband does not earn enough income
- Option 2. Husband has bad habits (beating, womanising, drinking)
- Option 3. Husband is not understanding
- Option 4. Husband's family is not cooperative

64. Further, Table 5.24 shows that if these women were to take divorce it won't be easy for them to find a place to go to.

Table 5.24. If you take a divorce will you have a place to go to?

Type of school	Frequency		Total
	No	Yes	
Integrated Islamiyya	53 (96%)	2	55
Modern School	26 (100%)	0	26
Pure Islamiyya	9 (82%)	2	11
Total	88	4	92
Missing values	3		

65. Responses to additional questions showed that if really forced to take a divorce then for 88% of the married women, the only option will be to go back to their parents' house and 4% will have no choice but to go to their brother's house or find another husband. Only 2.3% thought they could try to find their own place. Thus, as expected the economic vulnerability of women in northern Nigeria remains a serious challenge.
66. Finally, Table 5.25 shows that the majority of the married girls feel that it was the right decision that they got married.

Option 1: It was a good decision that I got married
Option 2: I should have stayed single and pursued my education

Table 5.25. Happy with the marriage decision?

Type of school	Frequency		
	Option 1	Option 2	Total
Integrated Islamiyya	64 (94%)	4	68
Modern School	30 (81%)	7	37
Pure Islamiyya	16 (94%)	1	17
Total	110	12	122
Missing values	26		

Conclusions

67. This follow up survey with students from Islamiyya and secondary schools aimed to enrich our understanding of any possible links between type of education and future life options exercised by the students. The results from this survey, as shared in this report, show that there is no significant difference in the choices exercised by girls from integrated Islamiyya and secondary state schools. However, girls from general Islamiyya do record different choices than the other two school types. These girls are most vulnerable as they record the lowest ability to complete secondary school education or to pursue higher education. These results confirm that ESSPIN's prioritisation of Islamiyya general schools under its IQTE portfolio was well justified. Donor agencies wanting to target the most vulnerable girls in terms of access to basic education should consider working with Islamiyya general schools as these schools are often unable to impart any modern education to the students.
68. The report also hopes to enrich our understanding of the overall attitudes, experiences and conception of wellbeing of teenage girls in northern Nigeria. The results show that there is a higher degree of agency exercised by these girls than generally assumed. While male members of the family, most importantly fathers and husbands, do exercise great degree of influence in critical life decisions such as whether or not to pursue higher education, or which specific educational route to follow, many girls also reported being consulted in

these decisions. Further, most girls reported being satisfied with the choices exercised by themselves or the male members of their family.

69. Further, we do see that in northern Nigeria, girls do remain vulnerable to early marriages irrespective of the school type they are attending and most of those who get married have a child within the first year of marriage. However, it is important to note that majority of the girls' report being satisfied with the decision to get married. This result confirms that in contexts where economic opportunities for women remain highly restricted and girls remain heavily economically defendant, early marriage remains a preferred choice for girls themselves. Female empowerment programmes in northern Nigeria thus require multi-pronged strategies, which can increase girls' access to education and then help link this education to the job market.

Annex 1: Survey questionnaire

Date:.....

Education as preparation for life: Questionnaire

Instructions

1. Please answer ALL the questions.
2. Read each question and any accompanying notes carefully before answering.
3. If you do not understand a question, please raise your hand and ask for help.
4. If you do not know an answer, try to make an estimate.
5. If you find it impossible to even estimate, write 'UNKNOWN' next to the questions rather than leaving it blank.
6. Make sure you use clear handwriting (use BLOCK letters when writing in English).
7. Where options are given, TICK the right answer. For example, when asked:

Are you a boarder, i.e., do you live in accommodation provided by the college/madrassa?

No	<input type="checkbox"/>
----	--------------------------

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
-----	--------------------------

...and the correct answer is "no", you need to put a TICK in the box next to the "no" like this

8. If the answer to a question is a number, use numerals e.g. '10', not 'TEN'. If the answer is 'NONE' write '0'.
9. If one or both of your parents are deceased, please respond to the questions about them as best you can in ANY case. For example, record their LAST profession.

Student Name (as shown in the Round 1 Survey List):

.....

Student Number (as shown in the Round 1 Survey List):

Name of the Interviewer:

Note: The above section has to be filled before the start of the interview.

SECTION A: PERSONAL DETAILS

1. Your name:

.....

2. LGA in which you live:

3. Marital status (tick one):

Single	Married	Divorced	Widow

4. How many years old are you:

.....

5. What is your date of birth?

DAY	MONTH	YEAR

6. The last time we met you were studying in the JSS, SS or Islamiyya school. Did you complete the degree you were pursuing at that time?

No		Yes	
----	--	-----	--

7. Which of the following levels / types of education have you completed so far? (tick all that apply)

None	
Primary or less	

Junior Secondary	
Senior Secondary	
B.A./ B.Sc./B.Com/B.Ed	

8. Are you studying for additional qualifications right now? If so then at what level? (tick only one)

None	
Federal College of Education	
Polytechnics	
College of Legal and Islamic Studies	
University (to pursue bachelors education)	
Others	

Specify.....

9. We will like to know what you have been doing since we last met in 2011, can you please tell us which one of the following options represent your situation in each successive year? (**Tick relevant answers for each year**)

	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Repeated the same school grade					
Moved to the next school grade					
Took final exam and graduated from school					
Joined Senior Secondary School					
Joined a higher education institution					
Dropped out of school					
Got Married					
Had a child					
Started paid work					

10. How would you rate the last five years? (tick one)

Very Difficult	Difficult	Average	Very Enjoyable

11. How would you rate your present?

Very Difficult	Difficult	Average	Very Enjoyable

12. How do you expect your future to be?

Very Difficult	Difficult	Average	Very Enjoyable

13. What will make you most happy in future?

Pursing University Education	Finding a paid job	Getting married	Having a child

SECTION B: YOU AND YOUR FAMILY

1. Which of the following levels / types of education did your parents complete?

(tick all that apply to your father in the column headed "Father" and all that apply to your mother in the column headed "Mother")

	Father	Mother
None		
Primary or less		
Junior Secondary		
Senior Secondary		

B.A./ B.Sc./B.Com/B.Ed		
M.A./M.Sc./M.Com/Med.or more		
Professional (e.g. engineer, doctor)		
A degree in Sharia		
Other, please specify below		

Specify:.....

2. What are/were your parents' occupations?

(tick one option for your father in the column headed "Father" and one option for your mother in the column headed "Mother")

	Father	Mother
Homemaker/unemployed		
Self-employed (farm or non-farm business such as a shop)		
Guard, police, army		
Clerical cadre job (include teacher, nurse, sales job etc.)		
Managerial Cadre job		
Professional (doctor, lawyer, dentist etc.)		
Menial jobs (driver, construction worker, etc.)		
Bureaucrat/politician		
Other, please specify below		

Specify:.....

3. Does your father own any land?

No	<input type="checkbox"/>
----	--------------------------

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
-----	--------------------------

4. What is/was your father's income (the money he brings into the home) in Naira/month?

naira/ month

5. What is/was your mother's income (the money she brings into the home) in Naira/month?

naira/ month

6. Does your father listen to news on radio or TV? (tick yes or no)

No		Yes	
----	--	-----	--

7. How many siblings do you have (list total number of brothers and sisters in the box below)?

--

8. What is your ethnic background (tick one)?

Hausa	Fulani	Others

9. Does your family follow scholars from any one of these Islamic scholarly traditions (tick one)?

Tajjania	Qadriyyia	Ahl-i-Sunnah

|

SECTION C: PERSONAL ECONOMIC STATUS

1. Do you earn a regular monthly income (tick one)?

No		Yes	
----	--	-----	--

2. If yes, then how much (list amount in Naira)?

.....

3. Do you own a personal mobile (tick one)?

No	<input type="checkbox"/>
----	--------------------------

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
-----	--------------------------

4. If not, then do you have access to mobile through someone else (tick as many as relevant)?

Father	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mother	<input type="checkbox"/>
Brothers and sisters	<input type="checkbox"/>
Husband	<input type="checkbox"/>
Aunts or Uncles	<input type="checkbox"/>

5. Do you have access to a computer at home (tick one)?

No	<input type="checkbox"/>
----	--------------------------

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
-----	--------------------------

6. Do you have access to TV at home (tick one)?

No	<input type="checkbox"/>
----	--------------------------

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
-----	--------------------------

7. Do you have access to cable TV network at home (tick one)?

No	<input type="checkbox"/>
----	--------------------------

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
-----	--------------------------

8. Do you have access to internet (tick one)?

No	<input type="checkbox"/>
----	--------------------------

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
-----	--------------------------

9. How do you get access to the internet?

Through home computer	
Through mobile	

10. How much cash do you have to spend on yourself per month (provide amount in Naira)?

.....
..

11. If you do not earn yourself, then who provides you with this money (tick all relevant)?

Father	
Mother	
Brothers and sisters	
Husband / Suitor	
Aunts or Uncles	

12. How many people live with you in your home? (Please include all aunts and uncles, grandparents, cousins and real brothers and sisters who live in this home and share the same kitchen for more than 6 months each year. Please count those less than 16 years old as children putting them under 'boys' or 'girls').

Men	
Women	
Boys	
Girls	

13. Is this home... (tick one answer)?

Rented by your parents?	
Owned by your parents?	
Owned by your husband?	
Rented by your husband?	
Family home?	
Others, please specify	

14. Does your father or husband own any of these items (tick for all relevant)?

Motorbike	Car

SECTION C: EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT DECISIONS

1.If you are continuing with your education, then whose choice was it (tick one)?

Mine	
My father's	
Mutual decision of my mother and father	
Mutual decision of me and my parents	

2. Who made you decide which degree to pursue after you completed your Senior Secondary School (tick one)?

No one helped, I chose myself	
My father helped me decide	
My brother or sister helped me decide	
My aunts, uncles or cousins helped me decide	
My school teachers and fellow students and friends helped me decide	

3. Do you know what you want to do after completing this degree?

No	
----	--

Yes	
-----	--

4. Are you planning to secure a job on completion of this degree?

No	
----	--

Yes	
-----	--

5. Which of the following choices will you like to follow on completion of your degree (tick one)?

Homemaker/unemployed	
Self-employed (cooking items at home and selling them on the streets)	
Clerical cadre job (include school teacher, nurse, sales job etc.)	
Managerial Cadre job	
Professional (doctor, lawyer, dentist etc.)	
Islamic studies scholar/ preacher on radio and TV	
Bureaucrat/politician	
Other, please specify below	

6. Is your family (parents and brothers) supportive of the idea that you should work after completing your education?

No		Yes	
----	--	-----	--

7. If your parents try to stop you from pursuing what you want in life, how do you react (tick one)?

Get angry with them and argue	
Stay quiet and try to change myself	
Talk to my parents respectfully and try to convince them to listen to your views	

SECTION D: MARRIAGE AND MOTHERHOOD DECISIONS

If you are gotten married since the last time we met, can you please tell us:

1. The year in which you got married.....

2. Was it a love marriage or arranged marriage?

No		Yes	
----	--	-----	--

3. Whose decision was it that you should get married (tick one)?

Mine	
------	--

My father's	
Mutual decision of my mother and father	
Mutual decision of me and my parents	

4. Did you have to stop your education once you got married?

No	<input type="checkbox"/>	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
----	--------------------------	-----	--------------------------

5. If you wanted to continue education after marriage would your husband have allowed that?

No	<input type="checkbox"/>	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
----	--------------------------	-----	--------------------------

6. Were you happy to get married at the time of your marriage?

No	<input type="checkbox"/>	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
----	--------------------------	-----	--------------------------

7. How old is your husband?.....

8. Was your husband married before?

No	<input type="checkbox"/>	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
----	--------------------------	-----	--------------------------

9. If yes, then how many wives does he have right now apart from you?.....

10. Did he have children from a previous marriage?

No	<input type="checkbox"/>	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
----	--------------------------	-----	--------------------------

11. If yes, then how many children does he have from previous marriage?

12. If your husband has no other wife, would you object if he decides to remarry?

No	<input type="checkbox"/>	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
----	--------------------------	-----	--------------------------

13. What level of education has your husband completed?

	Father	Mother
--	--------	--------

None		
Primary or less		
Junior Secondary		
Senior Secondary		
B.A./ B.Sc./B.Com/B.Ed		
M.A./M.Sc./M.Com/Med.or more		
Professional (e.g. engineer, doctor)		
A degree in Sharia		
Other, please specify below		

13. What is your husband's occupation?
(tick one)

	Father	Mother
Homemaker/unemployed		
Self-employed (farm or non-farm business such as a shop)		
Guard, police, army		
Clerical cadre job (include teacher, nurse, sales job etc.)		
Managerial Cadre job		
Professional (doctor, lawyer, dentist etc.)		
Menial jobs (driver, construction worker, etc.)		
Bureaucrat/politician		
Other, please specify below		

14. What is your husband's monthly income (in naira)?

16. Financially, how will you rank your household situation (tick one)?

Insufficient funds to meet basic needs	
Sufficient funds to meet basic needs	

Have funds to meet more than the basic needs	
You are able to save after covering for the basic needs	

17. Do you have any children with you husband?

No	<input type="checkbox"/>	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
----	--------------------------	-----	--------------------------

18. If yes, how many?

19. How long after marriage did you have your first child (tick one)?

After first year	<input type="checkbox"/>
After second year	<input type="checkbox"/>
After third year	<input type="checkbox"/>

20. If you have more than one children, what is the spacing between them (tick one)?

Almost one year	<input type="checkbox"/>
A year and a half	<input type="checkbox"/>
More than 2 years	<input type="checkbox"/>

21. Do you and your husband use contraceptives?

No	<input type="checkbox"/>	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
----	--------------------------	-----	--------------------------

22. Where did you give birth to your children?

In hospital	<input type="checkbox"/>
At home with a senior family member	<input type="checkbox"/>
At home with a mid wife	<input type="checkbox"/>

23. Do you want more children?

No	<input type="checkbox"/>	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
----	--------------------------	-----	--------------------------

24. Does your husband want more children?

No	<input type="checkbox"/>
----	--------------------------

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
-----	--------------------------

25. If you and your husband have different views on the ideal size of the family, do you think you will be able to influence you husband to respect your decision?

No	<input type="checkbox"/>
----	--------------------------

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
-----	--------------------------

26. Of the three situations which one applies to you (tick one)?

My husband gives the money for monthly expenses in my hands and I decide how to spend that money	<input type="checkbox"/>
My husband buys the goods that he thinks we need at home and I just cook according to what he asks me	<input type="checkbox"/>
My husband buys the goods for the house after consulting with me as to what items we need	<input type="checkbox"/>

27. If you feel your husband is doing something wrong, or is being unfair to you, how do you react (tick one)?

Fight with him and have angry arguments with him	<input type="checkbox"/>
Stay quiet and try to change myself and do what he wants	<input type="checkbox"/>
Talk to him respectfully and try to convince him to listen to your views	<input type="checkbox"/>

27. How will you define your marriage (tick one)?

Happily married	<input type="checkbox"/>
Husband is unhappy with me	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am unhappy with my husband	<input type="checkbox"/>
Possibly going to take a divorce	<input type="checkbox"/>

28. If you are thinking of a divorce, what are the reasons (ticket all relevant)?

Husband does not earn enough income	<input type="checkbox"/>
Husband has bad habits (beating, womanising, drinking)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Husband is not understanding	<input type="checkbox"/>
Husband's family is not cooperative	<input type="checkbox"/>

29. If you take a divorce will you have a place to go to?

No	<input type="checkbox"/>
----	--------------------------

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
-----	--------------------------

30. Where will this place be (tick one)?

My parents' house	<input type="checkbox"/>
My brother's house	<input type="checkbox"/>
Find another husband	<input type="checkbox"/>
Find my own place and start to work	<input type="checkbox"/>

30. How do you feel right now (tick one answer)?

It was a good decision that I got married	<input type="checkbox"/>
I should have stayed single and pursued higher education	<input type="checkbox"/>

SECTION E: YOU AND ISLAM

15. How many times do you pray in the day?
(tick one)

0	<input type="checkbox"/>
---	--------------------------

1	<input type="checkbox"/>
---	--------------------------

2	<input type="checkbox"/>
---	--------------------------

3	<input type="checkbox"/>
---	--------------------------

4	<input type="checkbox"/>
---	--------------------------

5	<input type="checkbox"/>
---	--------------------------

5 + Tahhajjud	<input type="checkbox"/>
---------------	--------------------------

16. How often do you recite the Quran?
(tick one)

Never	<input type="checkbox"/>
Only in Ramadan	<input type="checkbox"/>
Occasionally	<input type="checkbox"/>
Once a week	<input type="checkbox"/>
Daily	<input type="checkbox"/>

17. Do you fast during Ramadan?
(tick one)

Never	<input type="checkbox"/>
-------	--------------------------

Occasionally	<input type="checkbox"/>
--------------	--------------------------

Always	<input type="checkbox"/>
--------	--------------------------

18. Do you regularly donate money under any of the following headings?
 (tick "no" or "yes" for each and then indicate heading under which you donate the most by writing a "1" in the last column, the heading under which you donate the next most by writing a "2" in the last column, and the heading under which you donate the least by writing a "3" in the last column.)

	Regularly donate				Rank (most=1...least=2)	
Zakat	No	<input type="checkbox"/>	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>		
Sadaqa	No	<input type="checkbox"/>	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>		

19. Have you completed the Arabic recitation of the Quran (at least) one time?
 (tick yes or no)

No	<input type="checkbox"/>	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
----	--------------------------	-----	--------------------------

20. Have you read the Quran with translation?
 (tick one)

No	<input type="checkbox"/>	Some parts	<input type="checkbox"/>	The entire Quran	<input type="checkbox"/>
----	--------------------------	------------	--------------------------	------------------	--------------------------

21. Where did you study the Quran?
 (tick all that apply)

In an Islamiyya or Quranic school	<input type="checkbox"/>
Afternoon classes in the neighbourhood Mosque	<input type="checkbox"/>
From a family member	<input type="checkbox"/>
Female preacher in the neighbourhood	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other, please specify below	<input type="checkbox"/>

Specify:.....

22. In your understanding, does Islam allow men to have four wives?

No	<input type="checkbox"/>	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>
----	--------------------------	-----	--------------------------	------------	--------------------------

23. Will you be willing to allow your husband to marry another wife?

No	<input type="checkbox"/>
----	--------------------------

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
-----	--------------------------

24. Do you think that, by allowing men to marry four wives, Islam gives women lower status than men?

No	<input type="checkbox"/>
----	--------------------------

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
-----	--------------------------

25. If you answered No to question 20, please indicate the reason(s).
(tick all that apply)

Men and women are biologically different, they have different needs and are suited to different roles	<input type="checkbox"/>
Men bear the primary responsibility for providing for the family	<input type="checkbox"/>
This difference is critical for maintaining order within the family and in society	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other, please specify below	<input type="checkbox"/>

Specify:.....

26. In your understanding, does Islam give women half the inheritance rights of men?
(no answers)

No	<input type="checkbox"/>
----	--------------------------

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
-----	--------------------------

Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>
------------	--------------------------

27. Do you think that you should inherit equal to your brother?

No	<input type="checkbox"/>
----	--------------------------

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
-----	--------------------------

24 no answers

28. Do you think that, by giving women half the inheritance rights of men, Islam gives women lower status than men?

No	<input type="checkbox"/>
----	--------------------------

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
-----	--------------------------

29. If you answered No to question 24, please indicate the reason(s).
(tick all that apply)

Men and women are biologically different, they have different needs and are suited to different roles	<input type="checkbox"/>
Men bear the primary responsibility for providing for their family	<input type="checkbox"/>
This difference is critical for maintaining order within the family and in society	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other, please specify below	<input type="checkbox"/>

Specify:.....

30. In your understanding, does Islam require two female witnesses for every one male witness in a court of law?

No	<input type="checkbox"/>
----	--------------------------

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
-----	--------------------------

Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>
------------	--------------------------

31. Do you think, by giving female witnesses half the weight of male witnesses in a court of law, Islam gives women lower status than men?

No	<input type="checkbox"/>
----	--------------------------

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
-----	--------------------------

32. If you answered No to question 27, please indicate the reason(s).
(tick all that apply)

Men and women are biologically different, they have different needs and are suited to different roles	<input type="checkbox"/>
Men bear the primary responsibility for providing for their family	<input type="checkbox"/>
This difference is critical for maintaining order within the family and in society	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other, please specify below	<input type="checkbox"/>

Specify:.....

33. Some people think that the influence of Islam is growing in Nigerian society. Other people think that the influence of Islam is declining in Nigerian society. What do you think?
(tick one)

The influence of Islam is growing	<input type="checkbox"/>
The influence of Islam is declining	<input type="checkbox"/>
The influence of Islam is neither growing nor declining, it is stable	<input type="checkbox"/>
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>

34. In the debate about whether the influence of Islam is growing or declining in Nigerian society, different people refer to different causal factors. For example, some say that the policies of western governments towards Nigeria and other Muslim countries is causing the influence of Islam to grow, while others say that it is causing the influence of Islam to decline. There is similar

disagreement about whether the spread of the cable TV network is causing the influence of Islam to grow or decline.

We would like to know what you think. Consider each of the factors listed in the table below and indicate whether you think that they are causing the influence of Islam in Nigerian society to grow or decline.

	Factor is causing the influence of Islam in Nigeria to...					
Government	grow	<input type="checkbox"/>	decline	<input type="checkbox"/>	neither	<input type="checkbox"/>
Islamic political parties	grow	<input type="checkbox"/>	decline	<input type="checkbox"/>	neither	<input type="checkbox"/>
Policies of western governments towards Nigeria and Muslim countries	grow	<input type="checkbox"/>	decline	<input type="checkbox"/>	neither	<input type="checkbox"/>
Madrassa	grow	<input type="checkbox"/>	decline	<input type="checkbox"/>	neither	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nigerian Media	grow	<input type="checkbox"/>	decline	<input type="checkbox"/>	neither	<input type="checkbox"/>
Cable TV network	grow	<input type="checkbox"/>	decline	<input type="checkbox"/>	neither	<input type="checkbox"/>

35. Do you think that the Cable TV network is spreading good moral values in the society?
(tick no or yes and then give the reason for your response)

No	<input type="checkbox"/>
----	--------------------------

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
-----	--------------------------

36. Do you think that the moral values spread through the Cable TV network will make Nigerian culture...? (tick one)

more Islamic	<input type="checkbox"/>
more western	<input type="checkbox"/>
more Nigerian	<input type="checkbox"/>
a positive blend of the three cultures	<input type="checkbox"/>
a negative blend of the three cultures	<input type="checkbox"/>

37. On average, how many hours of Cable TV do you watch in a day?
(tick one)

None		Less than 1		1		2		3		More than 3	
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SECTION F: YOU, YOUR OPINIONS, AND YOUR FUTURE

1. Here are a number of statements which may or may not apply to you. Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the statement by ticking one box:

a. "I believe my chances of success depend on my own abilities"

Disagree strongly	<input type="checkbox"/>	Disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Agree strongly	<input type="checkbox"/>
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b. "I dislike taking responsibility for making decisions"

Disagree strongly	<input type="checkbox"/>	Disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Agree strongly	<input type="checkbox"/>
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c. "I make decisions and move on"

Disagree strongly	<input type="checkbox"/>	Disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Agree strongly	<input type="checkbox"/>
-------------------	--------------------------	----------	--------------------------	-------	--------------------------	----------------	--------------------------

d. "I like to take responsibility for making decisions"

Disagree strongly	<input type="checkbox"/>	Disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Agree strongly	<input type="checkbox"/>
-------------------	--------------------------	----------	--------------------------	-------	--------------------------	----------------	--------------------------

e. "I tend to analyse too much and therefore miss opportunities"

Disagree strongly	<input type="checkbox"/>	Disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Agree strongly	<input type="checkbox"/>
-------------------	--------------------------	----------	--------------------------	-------	--------------------------	----------------	--------------------------

f. "I feel that I have a number of good qualities"

Disagree strongly	<input type="checkbox"/>	Disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Agree strongly	<input type="checkbox"/>
-------------------	--------------------------	----------	--------------------------	-------	--------------------------	----------------	--------------------------

g. "All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure"

Disagree strongly	<input type="checkbox"/>	Disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Agree strongly	<input type="checkbox"/>
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h. "I am able to do things as well as most people"

Disagree strongly	<input type="checkbox"/>	Disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Agree strongly	<input type="checkbox"/>
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i. "I feel I do not have much to be proud of"

Disagree strongly	<input type="checkbox"/>	Disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Agree strongly	<input type="checkbox"/>
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j. "On the whole I am satisfied with myself"

Disagree strongly	<input type="checkbox"/>	Disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Agree strongly	<input type="checkbox"/>
-------------------	--------------------------	----------	--------------------------	-------	--------------------------	----------------	--------------------------

k. "I wish I could have more respect for myself than I have now"

Disagree strongly	<input type="checkbox"/>	Disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Agree strongly	<input type="checkbox"/>
-------------------	--------------------------	----------	--------------------------	-------	--------------------------	----------------	--------------------------

Please read all of the next four statements before indicating how much you agree or disagree with each one.

1. "I believe that unfortunate events occur because of bad luck and there is no point in blaming ourselves or others"

Disagree strongly	<input type="checkbox"/>	Disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Agree strongly	<input type="checkbox"/>
-------------------	--------------------------	----------	--------------------------	-------	--------------------------	----------------	--------------------------

1. "I believe that when unfortunate events occur it is ourselves and others who are to blame"

Disagree strongly	<input type="checkbox"/>	Disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Agree strongly	<input type="checkbox"/>
-------------------	--------------------------	----------	--------------------------	-------	--------------------------	----------------	--------------------------

m. "I believe that unfortunate events occur because of God's will and there is no point in blaming ourselves or others"

Disagree strongly	<input type="checkbox"/>	Disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Agree strongly	<input type="checkbox"/>
-------------------	--------------------------	----------	--------------------------	-------	--------------------------	----------------	--------------------------

n. "I believe that unfortunate events occur because of God's will but we too are to blame"

Disagree strongly	<input type="checkbox"/>	Disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Agree strongly	<input type="checkbox"/>
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2. We would like to know whether you agree or disagree with the following statement

a. "A woman's main role in life is to be a wife and a good mother, while a man's role is to economically provide for the wife and the children"

Disagree strongly	<input type="checkbox"/>	Disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Agree strongly	<input type="checkbox"/>
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3. Now think about what a woman such as yourself needs if she is to "live well", i.e., live a completely contented and fulfilled life.

a. Does a woman need to be married if she is to live well?

No	<input type="checkbox"/>	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
----	--------------------------	-----	--------------------------

b. And, if she needs to be married, does she need to be...

	Select one			
...happily married?	No	<input type="checkbox"/>	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
...married to a kind husband?	No	<input type="checkbox"/>	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
... married to a devout husband?	No	<input type="checkbox"/>	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>

c. How many sons and daughters does a woman need if she is to live well?

Number of sons	<input type="checkbox"/>	Number of daughters	<input type="checkbox"/>
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- d. What size of home, i.e., how many rooms for living and sleeping does a woman need if she is to live well? (exclude kitchens, bathrooms, halls or stairwells)

Number of rooms	
-----------------	--

- e. How much money (per month) does a woman need to spend on food, accommodation, fuel, clothing, travel, etc. if she is to live well?

Naira per month	
-----------------	--

- f.
g. How many cars/jeeps does a woman need to own (or have her husband own) to live well?

Number of cars	
----------------	--

- g. Does a woman need a job of her own if she is to live well?

No	
----	--

Yes	
-----	--

- h. And, if she needs a job, does that job need to...

	Select one			
...pay well?	No		Yes	
...be interesting and part of a career?	No		Yes	

- i. To live well, does a woman need the time, a place, and freedom to pray?

No	
----	--

Yes	
-----	--

- j. To live well, does a woman need the time, a place, and freedom to read the Quran?

No	
----	--

Yes	
-----	--

- k. To live well, does a woman need the time, freedom, and the means to do the Haaj? And, if she does, how many times in her lifetime?

No	
----	--

Yes	
-----	--

Number of times	
-----------------	--

- l. To live well, does a woman need to have religious virtue in the eyes of those around her?

No	<input type="checkbox"/>
----	--------------------------

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
-----	--------------------------

m. To live well, does a woman need to have religious virtue in her own eyes?

No	<input type="checkbox"/>
----	--------------------------

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
-----	--------------------------

n. To live well, does a woman need to have religious virtue in the eyes of Allah?

No	<input type="checkbox"/>
----	--------------------------

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
-----	--------------------------

6. Imagine a woman a few years older than you, with your level of education. She is married and has one son. She has a part time job and one day her employer comes to her desk and asks if she would like to be promoted to a new job that would further her career, pay more money, and would be full time. This presents her with a dilemma: should she do what is right for her career and her economic independence or should she protect the time she spends with her husband and child.

How would you advise her? (tick one)

No dilemma, she should accept the promotion	<input type="checkbox"/>
A bit of a dilemma, but she should probably accept the promotion	<input type="checkbox"/>
A bit of a dilemma, but she should probably <u>not</u> accept the promotion	<input type="checkbox"/>
No dilemma, she should <u>not</u> accept the promotion	<input type="checkbox"/>

7. Now, imagine a woman a few years older than you, with your level of education. She is married, has one son, and is not working. Her husband has recently lost his job and is having difficulty finding another. She wants to help but cannot decide whether she should go out and find a job herself and thereby contribute to the household income or stay at home and do everything she can to save money, possibly even suggesting that they move to cheaper accommodation.

How would you advise her? (tick one)

It is straightforward, she go out and find a job herself	<input type="checkbox"/>
It is tricky, but she should probably go out and find a job herself	<input type="checkbox"/>
It is tricky, but she should probably stay at home and do everything she can to save money	<input type="checkbox"/>
It is straightforward, she should stay at home and do everything she can to save money	<input type="checkbox"/>

8. Now, imagine a woman a few years older than you, with your level of education. She is married. Her husband's career is going very well and, as a consequence, he is increasingly being invited to clubs and parties where people drink alcohol and women do not cover up. The husband wants his

wife to go with him to these events, but she is not at all keen. Things are becoming difficult between the woman and her husband and she feels that she faces a choice: either she needs to overcome her discomfort, support her husband, and go along to the events or she needs to leave her husband and her marriage so that she can pursue a more virtuous path.

How would you advise her? (tick one)

It is straightforward, she should overcome her discomfort and go along to the events	<input type="checkbox"/>
It is tricky, but she should probably overcome her discomfort and go along to the events	<input type="checkbox"/>
It is tricky, but she should probably leave her husband and her marriage	<input type="checkbox"/>
She should leave her husband and her marriage	<input type="checkbox"/>

SECTION G: CONTACTING YOU IN THE FUTURE

We would like to be able to contact you from time to time over the next few years to see how things are going for you. Getting back in touch with people once they have left college/the madrasa can be very difficult. So, we would like you to think innovatively about whom, among your family and friends, is likely to (a) stay at the same address and telephone number and (b) stay in contact with you. Please write the name and contact details of three such people down below.

CONTACT 1:

Name:.....

Address:

.....
.....
.....

Tel:

.....

CONTACT 2:

Name:.....

Address:

.....
.....
.....

Tel:

.....

CONTACT 3:

Name:.....

Address:

.....
.....
.....

Tel:

.....

SECTION H: AND FINALLY... (To be filled by the respondent)

It is important to us that you feel that you participated in this survey having received adequate written and verbal information about the project and that you had the opportunity to ask any questions you had about the research.

If this is the case, please confirm by ticking this box.

We appreciate that your time is very valuable therefore as a token of our appreciation for taking part in this survey please accept from our side a small thank you gift. We will appreciate if you could sign your name in the box below to confirm receipt of this gift.