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MOTIVATION FOR HIGHER EDUCATION OF WOMEN FROM NORTHERN NIGERIA

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By

Indo Isa Benna

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN FULFILMENT FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

19 JUL 2000

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University of Durham

1999

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ABSTRACT

The worldwide gender disparity in higher education has been a neglected area of study in the developing countries. This study seeks to identify the factors that have motivated women in northern Nigeria to pursue higher education so that they can be used to enhance greater participation of women in higher education.

Questionnaires, interviews and official documents were used. 1321 questionnaires from a random sample of women undergraduate students in higher education institutions in northern Nigeria were analysed. Additional data were collected from 34 women graduates in the same region using a semi-structured interview schedule. Official documents including enrolment figures and policy statements were also used.

The factors affecting and motivating northern Nigerian women to pursue higher education were categorised as socio-cultural, economic, institutional and personal. The important socio-cultural factors included the women's urge to become role models, encouragement from various members of their community, and the influences of parents' level of education and place of residence. The desire for economic security, the need to earn a higher income, and preparation for entry into the job market were the main economic motivating factors, while the fame of the institutions and courses offered were the key motives for the selection of higher educational institution. The major personal factors were the urge to acquire knowledge, new skills, career development, the need for more representation in the professions, the desire for self-actualisation and prestige enhancement.

Chi-square tests showed significant relationships between parents' and husbands' levels of education; parents' urban residence and encouragement to their daughters /wives to take up higher education. Other significant relationships were found between women's residence in an urban environment and their decision to study science-based subjects; and between marital status and the preference to study at an institution near home.

Recommendations were made on how the results of the study could be used by government, society and individuals to encourage greater participation of northern Nigerian women in higher education. Further recommendations include how to improve research in this area by use of larger samples including returnees to higher education and increasing in-depth study of all categories of the motivating factors identified above.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my beloved husband Professor Umar Garba Benna whose lifestyle of exemplary commitment to academic excellence and perseverance has not been without a consequence.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT i

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ii

DEDICATION iv

REFERENCES xiii

APPENDICES xiii

LIST OF TABLES. xiii

LIST OF FIGURES xv

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 STUDY OBJECTIVES 1
1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS 2
1.3 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY 3
1.4 STUDY SCOPE AND LIMITATION 3
1.5 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY 5
1.6 OVERVIEW OF THE THESIS 5

1.7 BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON NIGERIA 9
1.7.1 Geography 9
1.7.2 Culture 10
1.7.3 Economic Development 11
1.7.4 Administration 12

CHAPTER 2: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE ON WOMEN'S EDUCATION IN THE NIGERIAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS

2.1 INTRODUCTION 14

2.2 DEVELOPMENT OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS 14
2.2.1 Traditional Educational System 14

2.2.2 Islamic Educational System 16
2.2.3 Colonial Educational System 20
2.2.4 Post-Independence Educational System 22

2.3 DEVELOPMENT OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN NIGERIA SINCE INDEPENDENCE 24
2.3.1 Introduction 24
2.3.2 Growth of Higher Education 24
2.3.2.1 University Education 24
2.3.2.2 Polytechnics and Colleges of Technology. 26
2.3.2.3 Colleges of Education 26
2.3.3 Admission Requirements and Enrolment in Higher Education 27
2.3.3.1 Admission 27
2.3.3.2 Enrolment 29
2.3.4 Financing Higher Education 30

2.4 PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN NIGERIA 31
2.4.1 Gender Disparity 31
2.4.2 Regional Disparity 32
2.4.3 Disparity in the Fields of Study 33
2.4.4 Poor Management of Scarce Resources 34
2.4.4.1 Inadequate Finance 34
2.4.4.2 Excessive Welfare Expenditure 35
2.4.4.3 Confrontational Staff and Students Unionism 36
2.4.4.4 Manpower Crisis 37

2.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY 38

CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW: STUDIES OF WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION AND MOTIVATIONAL THEORIES

3.1 INTRODUCTION 39

3.2 STUDIES OF WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES 40
3.2.1 Historical Development of Women's Issues 40
3.2.1.1 Interim Summary 42
3.2.2 Studies of Women in Higher Education in Developed Countries 43
3.2.2.1.Approaches to the Studies of Women 43
3.2.3 Women's Access to Higher Education 44
3.2.3.1 Government Policies 44

3.2.3.2 Socio-cultural Factors Influencing Women's Access to Higher Education 45
3.2.3.3 Economic Factors Influencing Women's Access to Higher Education 46
3.2.3.4 Institutional Factors Influencing Women's Access to Higher Education 46
3.2.3.5 Personal Factors Influencing Women's Access to Higher Education 47
3.2.3.6 Interim Summary 47
3.2.4 Area of Specialisation 48
3.2.4.1 Introduction 48
3.2.4.2 Government Policies 49
3.2.4.3 Socio-cultural Factors Influencing Women's Choices of Subject to Study 50
3.2.4.4 Economic Factors influencing Women's Choice of Subjects to Study 52
3.2.4.5 Institutional Factors Influencing Women's Choices of Subjects to Study 52
3.2.4.6 Technological Challenges 53
3.2.4.7 Interim Summary 53
3.2.5 Discontinuing and Returning to Higher Education 54
3.2.5.1 Reasons for Discontinuing with Higher Education 54
3.2.5.2 Returning to Higher Education 54
3.2.5.3 Interim Summary 55

3.3 STUDIES OF WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE THIRD WORLD 56
3.3.1 Introduction 56
3.3.2 Access to Higher Education 56
3.3.2.1 Government Policies 56
3.3.2.2 Socio-cultural Factors Influencing Women's Access to Higher Education 57
3.3.2.3 Economic Factors Influencing Women's Access to Higher Education 58
3.3.2.4 Institutional Factors Influencing Women's Access to Higher Education 58
3.3.2.5 Interim Summary 59
3.3.3 Area of Specialisation 60
3.3.3.1 Socio-cultural Factors Influencing Women's Choice of Subjects to Study 60
3.3.3 2 Interim Summary 61
3.3.4 Barriers in Women's Access to Higher Education 62
3.3.4.1 Socio-cultural Barriers 62
3.3.4.2 Economic Barriers 63
3.3.4.3 Interim Summary 63

3.4 STUDIES OF WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION IN NIGERIA 63
3.4.1 Introduction 63
3.4.2 Access to Higher Education 64
3.4.2.1 Government Policy 64
3.4.2.2 Socio-cultural Factors Influencing Women's Access to Higher Education 65
3.4.2.3 Economic and Factors Influencing Women's Access to Higher Education 66
3.4.2.4 Institutional Factors Influencing Women's Access to Higher Education 67
3.4.2.5 Interim Summary 67
3.4.3 Area of Specialisation 68
3.4.3.1 Government Policy 68
3.4.3.2 Socio-cultural Factors Influencing Women's Choices of Subjects to Study 69
3.4.3.3 Institutional Factors Influencing Women's Choices of Subjects to Study 70
3.4.3.4 Interim Summary 70
3.4.4 Barriers in Women's Access to Higher Education in Nigeria 71
3.4.4.1 Socio-cultural Barriers 71
3.4.4.2 Economic Barriers 72
3.4.4.3 Institutional Barriers 72
3.4.4.4 Technological Challenges 72
3.4.4.5 Interim Summary 73
3.4.5 Other Issues 73
3.4.5.1 Regional and Urban-Rural Disparities 73
3.4.5.2 Interim Summary 76
3.4.6 Returning to Higher Education 76
3.4.6.1 Interim Summary 77

3.5 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK 77
3.5.1 Definitions of Motivation 77
3.5.2 Motivation Theories 78
3.5.2.1 The Content Theories 80
3.5.2.3 The Rational-Economic Model 80
3.5.2.2 The Social Model 82
3.5.2.4 Self-actualising Model 83
3.5.3 Process Theories 84
3.5.3.1 Intrinsic Motivation to Experience Stimulation 84
3.5.3.2 Goal- setting Theories 85
3.5.3.3 Goal achievement Theories 86
3.5.4. Interim Summary 87
3.5.5 Evaluation of Content and Process Theories of Motivation 88
3.5.6 Issues Emerging From the Literature Review 89

3.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY 90

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND FIELDWORK

4.1 INTRODUCTION 94

4.2 INTERVIEW 95
4.2.1 Nature of Interviews. 96
4.2.1.1 Structured Interviews 97
4.2.1.2 Unstructured Interviews 97
4.2.1.3 Semi-structured Interviews 97
4.2.2 Selection of Interview Respondents. 99
4.2.3 Validity of the Interview. 100
4.2.4 Piloting the Interview. 101
4.2.5 Contents of the Interview Schedule 101
4.2.6 Conducting the Interview 102
4.2.7 Recording the Interview. 103
4.2.8 Interview Data Analysis 105

4.3 QUESTIONNAIRE 106
4.3.1 Questionnaire Design Guideline 107
4.3.2 Questionnaire Format. 107
4.3.3 Validity and Reliability Issues. 109
4.3.4 Sampling Procedure 111
4.3.4.1 Selection of the Study States. 111
4.3.4.2 Selection of Questionnaire Respondents 112
4.3.5 Piloting and Administration of the Questionnaire 116
4.3.5.1 Piloting the Questionnaire 116
4.3.5.2 Contents of the Questionnaire. 116
4.3.5.3 Administration of the Questionnaire 117
4.3.5.4 Questionnaire Data Analysis 118
4.3.6 Fieldwork Problems and Measures Taken to Alleviate Them. 120
4.3.6.1 Problems Encountered during the Fieldwork 120
4.3.6.2 Measures Taken to Overcome the Problems 121

4.4 REVIEW OF DOCUMENTS 122

4.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY 123

CHAPTER 5: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS: SOCIO-CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC FACTORS

5.1 INTRODUCTION 124

5.2 SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS 125
5.2.1 The Urge to Become Role Models 126
5.2.2 Interim Summary 129

5.2.3 Parents' Support for Women's Higher Education 130
5.2.3.1 Parents' Level of Education 130
5.2.3 2 Influence of Parents' Place of Residence 134
5.2.4 Demonstrative Effects 134
5.2.5 Social Insurance 135
5.2.6 Interim Summary 136
5.2.7 Encouragement in the Community 136
5.2.7.1 Encouragement by Members of the Community 137
5.2.7.1.1 Encouragement by Parents 137
5.2.7.1.2 Encouragement by Teachers 139
5.2.7.1.3.Encouragement by Friends 140
5.2.7.1.4 Encouragement by Relatives 141
5.2.7.1.5 Encouragement by Husbands 143
5.2.7.2 Religious Encouragement 145
5.2.8 Interim Summary 146
5.2.9 Marriage Related Factors 147
5.2.9.1 Seeking a Suitable Husband 147
5.2.9.2 Men's Attitude Toward Marrying a Woman with Higher Education 147
5.2.9.3 Fear of not Getting a Husband After Completion of Studies 151
5.2.9.4 Other Marital Issues 152
5.2.10 Interim Summary 155
5.2.11 Other Social Issues 155
5.2.11.1 Availability of Time to Study as Children are Grown Up 155
5.2.11.2 Lack of Support and Encouragement 156
5.2.11.3 Discontinuing Studies due to the Lack of Support and Encouragement 157
5.2.12 Interim Summary 157

5.3 ECONOMIC FACTORS 158
5.3.1 Introduction 158
5.3.2 The Need for Future Economic Security 159
5.3.3 The Desire to Earn a Higher Income 163
5.3.4. Interim Summary 163
5.3.5 Dictates of Job Market Requirements 164
5.3.5.1 Entry into the job Markets 164
5.3.5.2 Life can be Hard without Higher Education 165
5.3.5.3 Change in Job Entry Requirements 165
5.3.6.Interim Summary 166
5.3.7 Other Economic Reasons 166
5.3.7.1 Financial Self Support 166
5.3.7.2 Insurance Against a Turbulent Future 167
5.3.7.3 Parents' Financial Support for Higher Education 168
5.3.7.4 Change of Status to Head of Household 170
5.3.7.5 Problem of Inadequate Financial Support 171
5.3.8 Interim Summary 173

5.4 EXTENDED ANALYSIS OF SOCIO-CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC FACTORS 173
5.4.1 Parents' Level of Education 174
5.4.2 Parents' Place of Residence 176
5.4.3 Husbands' Level of Education 179
5.4.4 Husbands' Place of Residence 179
5.4.6 Other Variables 181

5.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY 184

CHAPTER 6: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS: INSTITUTIONAL AND PERSONAL FACTORS

6.1 INTRODUCTION 186

6.2 INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS 186
6.2.1 Institutional Choice 187
6.2.1.1 Attraction by Institutional Fame 188
6.2.1.2 Institutional Attractive Physical Environment 190
6.2.1.3 Convenient Location of Higher Educational Institutions 192
6.2.1.4 Interim Summary 194
6.2.2 Choice of Subjects of Study 195
6.2.2.1 Natural Inclination to Study a Subject 195
6.2.2.2 Primary and Secondary Socialisation 197
6.2.2.2.1 Influence of Upbringing 198
6.2.2.2.2 Influences of the Family, Religion and Acquaintances 203
6.2.2.3 Change of Course of Study Due to Direct Influence by Others 204
6.2.2.4 Influence of Social Trends 205
6.2.2 5 Interim Summary 207
6.2.3 Public Policy Encouragement 207
6.2.4 Interim Summary 210
6.2.5 Institutional Reasons for Continuing or Discontinuing with Higher Education 210
6.2.5.1 Continuing with Higher Education 210
6.2.5.1.1 Conducive Social Atmosphere in the Institutions 211
6.2.5 2 Discontinuing with Higher Education 215
6.2.5.2.1 Problems of Accommodation and Transportation 215
6.2.6 Interim Summary 217

6.3 PERSONAL FACTORS 218
6.3.1 Personal Development Factors 219
6.3.1.1 The Urge to Acquire Knowledge and new Skills 220
6.3.1.2 Career Development 221
6.3.1.3 The Need for More Women in Different Professions 222
6.3.2.Interim Summary 223
6.3.3 Self- Actualisation 224

6.3.3.1 Self Determination 224
6.3.3.2 Self- Confidence 228
6.3.3.3 Self- Satisfaction 229
6.3.3.4 Need for Competition 230
6.3.4 Response to Challenges 231
6.3.5 Interim Summary 232
6.3.6 Personal Prestige Enhancement 233
6.3.6.1 Getting Prestigious Jobs 233
6.3.6.2 Getting Prestige in the Community 234
6.3.6.3 Getting Social Recognition 236
6.3.6.4 Becoming Well Known in the Community 238
6.3.7 Interim Summary 239
6.3.8 Personal Reasons to Continue or to Discontinue with Higher Education 239
6.3.8.1 Continuing with Higher Education 239
6.3.8.1.1 Satisfaction with Academic Progress 240
6.3.8.1.2 Conducive Social Atmosphere at the Institutions 240
6.3.8.2 Discontinuing with Higher Education 241
6.3.8.2.1 Lack of Support from the Family 241
6.3.8.2.2 Health Reasons 243
6.3.8.2.3 Poor Academic Performance 244
6.3.8.2.4 Lack of Childcare Facilities 244
6.3.9 Interim Summary 245
6.3.10 Returning to Higher Education 246
6.3.10.1 Retraining 247
6.3.10.2 Family-Based Reasons 248
6.3.11 Interim Summary 250

6.4 CHAPTER SUMMARY 250

CHAPTER 7: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 SUMMARY 253
7.2 RELATED ISSUES RAISED IN THE LITERATURE 259
7.3 CONCLUSION 262
7.3.1 Socio-cultural Factors 263
7.3.2 Economic Factors 264
7.3.3 Institutional Factors 264
7.3.4 Personal Factors 265

7.4 RECOMMENDATIONS 266
7.4.1 Reflections on Socio-cultural Factors 266
7.4.2 Reflections on Economic Factors 267
7.4.3 Reflections on Institutional Factors 268
7.4.3 Reflections on Personal Factors 270

7.5 OTHER RECOMMENDATIONS 271

REFECENCES 274

APPENDICES 291
APPENDIX I:
A. Questionnaire 292
B. Profile of Questionnaire Respondents 299
C. Chi-Square Tests 304

APPENDIX II 312
A. Interview Schedule 313
B. Interviewee Personal Data Form 317
C. Profile of the Interviewees 318
D. Sample of Interview Transcript 323

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1 Enrolment Figures for the Colleges of Education, Polytechnics and Universities 1980-1992 30
Table 3.1 Number of Candidates Who Took the University Matriculation Examination in 1996 74
Table 3.2 Number of Candidates who sat for the University Matriculation Examination in 1998 74
Table 4.1 Students' Enrolment in the Selected Study Institution 1991/92 113
Table 4.2: Study States Showing Number of Female Students, Number of Questionnaires Sent and Returned 114
Table 5.1 The Urge to Become Role Models 127
Table 5.2 Parents' Support for Women's Higher Education 130
Table 5.3 Encouragement by Members of the Community 137
Table 5.4 Seeking a Suitable Husband 147
Table 5.5 Discontinuing Studies Due to the Fear of not Getting a Suitable Husband 152
Table 5.6 Other Marital Issues 153

Table 5.7 Availability of Time to Study as Children Have all Grown Up 155
Table 5.8 Discontinuing Studies Due to the Lack of Support and Encouragement 157
Table 5.9 Economic Factors for Enrolling in Higher Education 159
Table 5.10 Higher Education as an Insurance against a Turbulent Future 167
Table 5.11 Parents' Financial Support for Higher Education 169
Table 5.12 Change of Status to Head of Household 171
Table 5.13 Problem of Inadequate Financial Support 172
Table 5.14 Fathers' Level of Education and Encouragement to their Daughters 175
Table 5.15 Mothers' Level of Education and Encouragement to their Daughters to Pursue Higher Education 176
Table 5.16 Parents Place of Residence and Encouragement to their Daughters to Pursue Higher Education 178
Table 5.17 Parents' Place of Residence and the Study of Science-Based Subjects 178
Table 5.18 Husbands' Level of Education and Encouragement to their Wives to Pursue Higher Education 180
Table 5.19 Marital Status and Choice of Higher Educational Institutions near Home 181
Table 5.20 Marital Status and Subjects Studied 182
Table 5.21 Marital Status and Attendance of Higher Educational Institutions as Children have all Grown Up 183
Table 6.1 Institutional Choice Factors 188
Table 6.2 Choice of Subject of Study 196
Table 6.3 Total Undergraduate Enrolments at ABU by Faculty, Sex and Level of Courses In 1992/93 Academic Year 201
Table 6.4 Public Policy Encouragement 208
Table 6.5 Conducive Social Atmosphere in the Institutions 211
Table 6.6 Discontinuing with Higher Education 215
Table 6.7 Personal Development Factors 220
Table 6.8 Self-Actualisation Factors 225
Table 6.9 Personal Prestige Enhancement Factors 234
Table 6.10 Personal Reasons for Continuing with Higher Education 241
Table 6.11 Personal Reasons for Discontinuing with Higher Education 242
Table 6.12 Reasons for Returning to Higher Education 247
Table IC.1 Fathers' Level of Education and their Daughters' Urge to Acquire Knowledge 304
Table IC.2 Fathers' Level of Education and their Daughters' Urge to Acquire New Skills 304
Table IC.3 Fathers' Level of Education and their Daughters' Confidence in Achieving Success 305
Table IC.4 Fathers' Level of Education and their Daughters' Determination to Attain More than a Secondary School Certificate 305

Table IC.5 Mothers' Level of Education and their Daughters' Urge to Acquire Knowledge 306
Table IC.6 Mothers' Level of Education and their Daughters' Urge to Acquire New Skills 306
Table IC.7 Mothers' Level of Education and their Daughters' Confidence to Achieve Success 307
Table IC.8 Mothers' Level of Education and their Daughters' Determination to Obtain Better than a Secondary School Certificate 307
Table IC.9 Parents' Place of Residence and their Daughters' Urge to Acquire Knowledge 308
Table IC.10 Parents' Place of Residence and their Daughters Urge to Acquire New Skills 308
Table IC.11 Parents' Place of Residence and their Daughters' Confidence to Achieve Success 309
Table IC.12 Parents' Place of Residence and their Daughters' Determination to Obtain More than a secondary School Certificate 309
Table IC.13 Husbands' Level of Education and their Wives Urge to Acquire Knowledge 310
Table IC.14 Husbands' Level of Education and their Wives' Urge to Acquire New Skills 310
Table IC.15 Husbands' Level of Education and Wives Confidence in Achieving Success 311
Table IC.16 Husbands' Level of Education and their Wives Determination to Obtain Better than a Secondary School Certificate 311

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1 Map of Study States 4a
Figure 2 Administrative Map of Nigeria 12a
Figure 3 Location of Nigerian Universities 25a

Figure IB.1 Questionnaire Respondents' State of Origin 299
Figure IB.2 Questionnaire Respondents' Target Qualification 299
Figure IB.3 Questionnaire Respondents' Area of Specialisation 300
Figure IB.4 Questionnaire Respondents' Marital Status 300
Figure IB.5 Questionnaire Respondents' Husbands' Qualifications 301
Figure IB.6 Questionnaire Respondents' Husbands' Place of Residence 301
Figure IB.7 Questionnaire Respondents' Fathers' Level of Education 302
Figure IB.8 Questionnaire Respondents' Mothers' Level of Education 302
Figure IB.9 Questionnaire Respondents' Parents' Place of Residence 303
Figure IB.10 Questionnaire Respondents' Religion 303
Figure IIC.1 Interviewees' Qualification 318
Figure IIC.2 Interviewees' Area of Specialisation 318
Figure IIC.3 Interviewees' Marital Status 319
Figure IIC.4 Interviewees' Employment 319

Figure IIC.7 Interviewees' Fathers' Level of Education 321
Figure IIC.8 Interviewees' Mothers' Level of Education 321
Figure IIC.9 Interviewees' Parents' Place of Residence 322
Figure IIC.10 Interviewees' Religion 322

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The study of women in higher education has been neglected especially in developing countries and more so in less studied places like northern Nigeria. Development in any country will be more rapid if the women are better educated especially at the higher educational level. Hence, by identifying factors that may motivate women to pursue higher education, it may be possible to find the ways and means of encouraging them so that they can make fuller and effective contributions to national and global development.

1.1 STUDY OBJECTIVES

The federal and state governments in Nigeria have in the past decade invested enormous financial resources and have shown greater interest in women's development. Despite these efforts, gender disparity in education generally and higher education in particular remains. This study, therefore, seeks to achieve the following objectives:

1. Explore motivation theories that might contribute to the explanation of women's participation in higher education in northern Nigeria by reviewing earlier studies of women in higher education and to investigate empirically the extent to which those factors are applicable to northern Nigeria.

2. Explore the historical antecedents of contemporary education and its effect upon women's education.

3. Identify the factors, which encourage women to pursue higher education.

4. Make recommendations on appropriate policies that would encourage more women from northern Nigeria to participate in higher education.

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study aims to explore the factors that tend to motivate women to pursue higher education with particular reference to northern Nigeria. The questions, which guided this study, were mainly derived from a literature review and they attempt to answer the following:

1. Do socio-cultural factors such as the urge to be role models, influence of peers and relatives, marital variables and parental place of residence influence northern Nigerian women's choice to pursue higher education?

2. What higher educational institutional factors such as its fame, location, social atmosphere, academic programs and physical environment encourage women from northern Nigeria to enrol in higher educational institutions?

3. What personal related factors such as the need for personal development, self-actualisation and personal prestige enhancement encourage women from northern Nigeria to acquire higher education?

4. Do economic factors such as employment related variables; changes in life events and financial support encourage women from northern Nigeria to seek higher education?

1.3 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

Education is a high priority item for the Federal and the State Governments of Nigeria. Every year large proportions of the budgets of these governments are spent on teachers, new educational facilities and the maintenance of the existing ones. The resources are expanded not only to ensure sustained economic development, but also to foster social and political development. Yet, despite these investments, there is unequal participation of women in all levels of education and higher education in particular. Furthermore, this inequality affects the women from northern Nigeria more because they lag behind their male northern counterparts as well as their southern women counterparts.

It is hoped that the results of this study will make some useful input not only at the policy formulation level but also at the policy implementation level. The findings could, for example, be used to enhance those factors, which encourage women to go for higher education and suggest measures that could encourage them to study other areas, which have, so far, proved unattractive to them.

1.4 STUDY SCOPE AND LIMITATION

The scope of the study area is northern Nigeria. This region has been subjected to a series of administrative subdivisions from 1966 to date. In 1967 it was divided into six so-called "Northern States". Although these states were further subdivided to the present 19 states, we chose only six whose governments are located in the same towns as the six former northern states and we refer to them as the "Study-States". These study-states were chosen because they contain older and more developed institutions of higher learning and their headquarters were expected to provide better chances of finding more complete official documents. The issue of administrative changes in the structure of the states is discussed further in section 1.7.4

Figure 1 page 4a shows the six Study States from which the data for this study were collected.

The study focuses on women for a number of reasons. First of all, women's issues have attracted global interest as a result of centuries of neglect exposed by the United Nations. The United Nations brought out data on the conditions of inequality and sex discrimination against women and introduced global plans for action (Peterson and Runyan, 1993; Ardayfio-Schandorf, 1993) that tended to energise many national governments and organisations. Furthermore the worldwide increased interest in women's studies has helped to bring about changes "in consciousness; in material and psychological circumstances; in power and control," (Klien, 1984:4). In addition to these global issues, women in northern Nigeria have experienced triple neglect resulting from biases of the region's African traditional, Islamic and colonial educational systems, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2. Lastly, the researcher has a personal research interest in the conditions of women and how to improve them.

The study is also limited to northern Nigeria because it is a neglected region in research particularly on women despite the establishment of a research and documentation centre on women's studies at the University of Ibadan, in southern part of the country. This centre has done very little in the North probably due to financial constraint. The historic pattern of education between the north and the south has also led to a large disparity in participation in general education and higher education in particular.

The survey is restricted to the exploration of the factors that motivate women from northern Nigeria to attain higher education. Because of the gender disparity that existed in education, the importance of an exploration of the means to enhance women's fuller participation in higher education cannot be overemphasised. It is also hoped that this study will provide a better understanding of the neglected area of women's studies in Nigeria in general and northern Nigeria in particular.

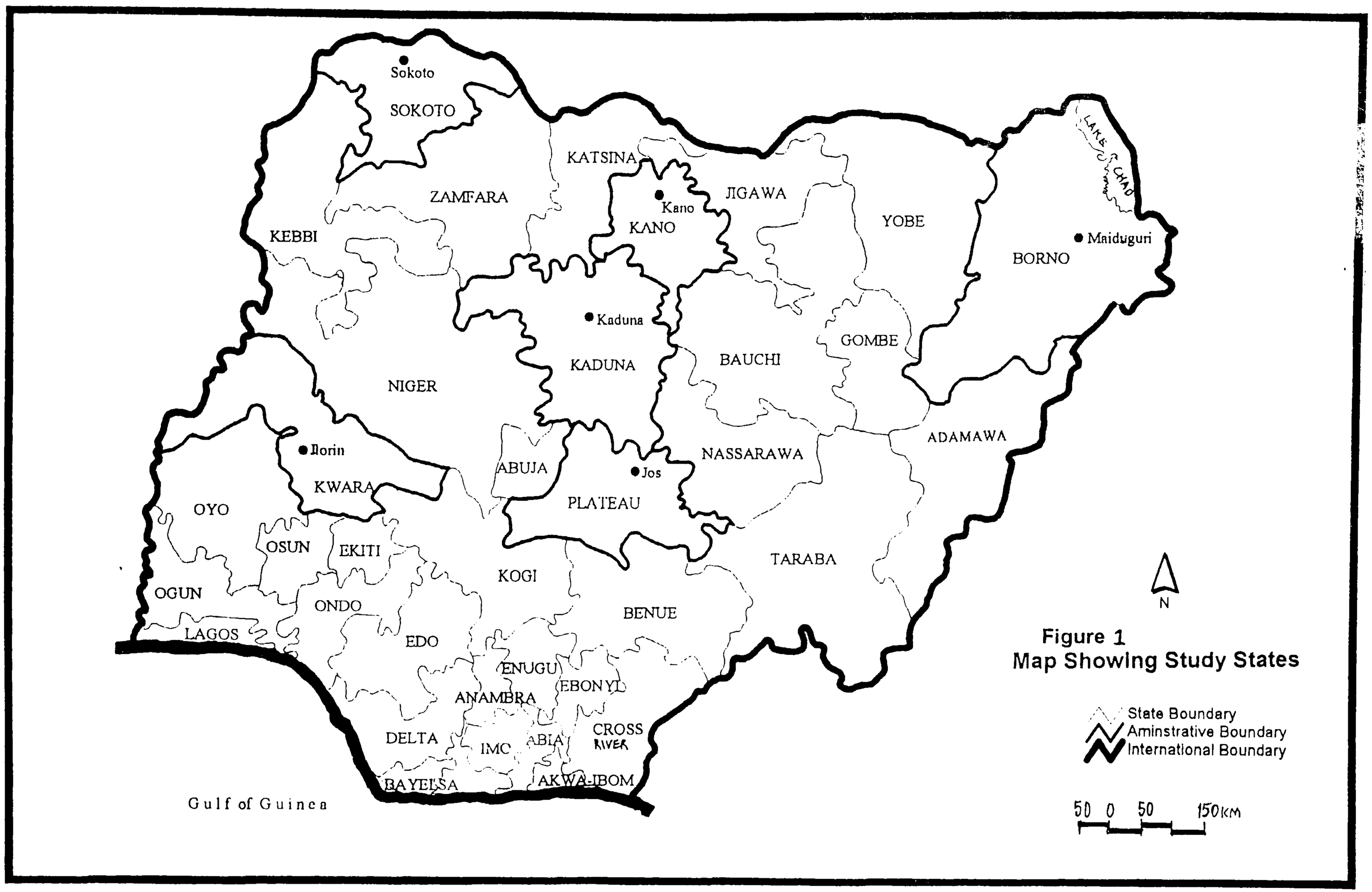


Figure 1
Map Showing Study States

While the target population is all northern Nigerian women in higher educational institutions and those who have graduated, data was collected only from women students indigenous to northern Nigeria currently in higher educational institutions located in northern Nigeria and those who have graduated. The opinions of women students and graduates indigenous to northern Nigeria studying or living in other parts of the country or other parts of the world were not taken, as it would have resulted in too large a sample to handle in view of time and other resources.

1.5 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research methodology procedures, which are further discussed in Chapter 4, include two data collection techniques namely self-administered questionnaires and a semi-structured interview. Various documents related to education in Nigeria and women's issues were also reviewed and discussed in Chapter 3. Similarly, studies on women's education in both developed and developing countries were reviewed in order to identify similarities or differences and the common problems facing women worldwide.

As stated above, questionnaires and interviews were used to collect data from six study states. Respondents for the questionnaire were women indigenous to northern Nigeria who were students at the higher institutions in northern Nigeria at the time of the data collection. The interview respondents were also women indigenous to, and residing in, northern Nigeria who have gone through some form of higher education. Based on the findings of the study, conclusions were drawn and recommendations made.

1.6 OVERVIEW OF THE THESIS

This thesis comprises of seven chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the study by outlining its objectives and stating the research questions, which the study attempts to answer.

The chapter also explains the justification, scope and limitations of the study and gives a brief description of the research methodology to be employed. Apart from the general background of the study, the chapter also presents the geographical, cultural, economic and political information on Nigeria.

Following the introductory chapter, Chapter 2 focuses on the historical perspective of women's education in Nigeria. The chapter begins by explaining the development of a triple heritage of traditional, Islamic and colonial systems of education in Nigeria and gives a picture of women's educational development in each system. The development and growth of higher education after independence with particular reference to universities, polytechnics and colleges of education follows this general discussion.

Chapter 2 also presents a discussion on the problems and prospects of higher education in Nigeria. In this section the problems of inadequate finance, excessive welfare expenditure, staff, students and manpower crises are discussed. The chapter concludes with a discussion on the prospects of solving the problems facing higher education in Nigeria.

Literature review on studies of women in higher education and motivational theories is the focus of Chapter 3. The review on the studies of women starts with a brief historical perspective of when and how women's issues were focused upon internationally, nationally and locally. The review on studies of women in higher education discusses studies on women in the developed countries, the Third World and Nigeria. In each of these three areas, government policies, socio-cultural, economic, institutional and personal factors influencing women's access to higher education are discussed. Besides access to higher education, the factors influencing women's choice of subject of study, continuing or discontinuing with higher education are also presented. After identifying the factors that may facilitate women's participation in higher education, the literature review also brings out those factors that may hinder their participation.

The last part of the literature review chapter discusses some theories of motivation, which concentrate on content and process theories. The content theory deals with economic, social and self-actualisation as motives of behaviour while the process theory deals with intrinsic motivation, goal setting and goal achievement oriented behaviour.

The issues brought out in both the literature on women in higher education and motivation theories have guided us in formulating the research questions for this study.

The main research tools are described in Chapter 4. Interview, questionnaire and documents are the chief source of data for this study. Therefore, how each one of them is used is described in this chapter. The nature of interviews, procedure for the selection of interview participants, piloting and how the interview has been conducted and recorded are all explained in this chapter. The ways by which the interview data are transcribed and analysed are also clearly described.

The next section of Chapter 4 presents the questionnaire as one of the research tools for this study. The definition and design guidelines of a questionnaire are carefully laid out after which an explanation of the steps taken to ensure the validity and reliability of the questionnaire is provided. The section also highlights how the questionnaire respondents were selected, how the questionnaire was piloted and administered as well as the analysis procedure.

Fieldwork is often not hitch free, so this chapter included an explanation of the nature of problems faced during the fieldwork and how we overcame them and lastly the chapter ends with a description of documents reviewed and how they are intended to be used in the study. The summary of the chapter justifies the selection of the tools used and how other researches from the developing countries have guided us in the selection.

To make the data analysis and interpretation less bulky, we divided it into two chapters. In both chapters, the questionnaire data were analysed quantitatively while the qualitative data was used as a complement or a contrast. Chapter 5 presents the data on socio-cultural and economic factors, which tend to encourage or discourage women from northern Nigeria to pursue higher education. The socio-cultural factors deal with the women's urge to become role models, the influences of parental support and encouragement, encouragement from other members of the family and the community. Other socio-cultural factors discussed in this section also include marriage-related factors such as support or lack of it from husbands, women's fear of not getting a husband after graduation, men's attitudes towards marrying a woman with higher education. Other issues also include reasons that encourage women to continue or to discontinue with higher educational studies.

The second section of Chapter 5 analyses the data on economic factors that tend to motivate or discourage women from northern Nigeria to pursue higher education. These factors include the women's need for future economic security, the desire to earn a higher income, dictates of job market requirements, availability of adequate financial support and problems of the lack of adequate financial support.

Another chapter on the presentation and analysis of the data collected is Chapter 6. The first section of this chapter discusses the findings on institutional factors. These include the influences on the choices of higher educational institutions, fields of study, public policy regarding higher education and the factors influencing women's decisions to continue or discontinue with higher education. The second part of the chapter presents those personal factors that tend to encourage or discourage women to pursue higher education. The personal factors include the needs for personal development, self-actualisation, prestige enhancement, reasons for continuing or discontinuing higher education and returning to higher education.

Chapter 7 gives the summary, conclusions of the findings in the study as well as makes some recommendations. A summary is provided of the research questions and the assumptions accepted as important or less important in each of the four categories.

The issues raised in the literature in the Third World and Nigeria were also compared and contrasted to the findings of the study.

The conclusion brings out the socio-cultural, economic, institutional and personal factors, which have been accepted by the respondents as important or less important in motivating them. It also highlights how the findings are related to the issues raised in the motivation literature. The conclusion also discusses how the findings of the present study enrich and improve knowledge about what motivates or discourages women from northern Nigeria to pursue higher education.

The section on recommendations gives various recommendations reflecting the findings on the socio-cultural, economic, institutional and personal factors. These recommendations focus on how to enhance the factors that are encouraging women to pursue higher education and eliminate those that are discouraging them. The federal, state, local governments, individuals and organisations are among those recommended to carry out the changes. The replication of the present study and other further studies on women from northern Nigeria were among other recommendations made.

1.7 BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON NIGERIA

1.7.1 Geography

The Federal Republic of Nigeria is a geographical and political unit on the West Coast of Africa. It is situated between 4 degrees and 14 degrees North of the equator and between 2 degrees and 14 degrees east and west of the Greenwich Meridian. It covers an area of about 930,000 square kilometres. On its western border lies the Benin Republic, to the north lies the Republic of Niger and to the east is the Republic of Cameroon. To the south of Nigeria is the Atlantic Ocean.

The topography of Nigeria starts with lowlands in the south gradually rising to the Jos Plateau in the north, which is about 1800m above sea level. The topography is largely

influenced by the three distinct river systems namely: the numerous coastal streams, the northern drainage system dominated by Lake Chad and the Sokoto-Rima basins and by far the predominant river system of the Niger-Benue basins which roughly divide the country into three main ethnic groups. These groups are composed of predominantly Hausa/Fulani Muslims in the north, Yoruba predominant Anglican in the west and Ibo mainly catholic in the east.

The northern part is lagging in all sectors of Western education and a study that helps to sharpen policy on improving education in this area may greatly promote national unity and development. Another reason is that the author is from northern Nigeria and is involved in teaching and research at higher educational level and it is hoped that the result of this study will initiate interest in further research in this area and provide basic teaching material in the field.

Although the country lies in the tropics, there are climatic variations from typical tropical humidity of the coast to sub-tropical further inland. The climate is hot and dry in the north with occasional rains from April-October and the dry season from November-March. Further north the climate is drier with temperatures of up to 40 degrees Celsius in the hottest months of the year. In the south, rain falls from March – July with temperatures rising to above 32 degrees Celsius with high humidity. According to the Federal Office of Statistics (1995) Nigeria's population increased from 106.3m to 109.04m between 1994 and 1995.

1.7.2 Culture

There are, according to the Nigeria Country Report (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1995), over 250 ethnic groups in Nigeria. The predominant ones among these groups are the Hausa/Fulani found mostly in northern Nigeria, the Ibo in the east and the Yoruba in the west as already mentioned above.

The predominant religions in Nigeria are Islam, Christianity and Traditional. Islam and Christianity were introduced in Nigeria from two opposite directions, which to a

large extent influenced the pattern of education in the country. Islam was introduced in the north in the 9th Century and Christianity in the south around 1841 (Yusuf, 1993). Although education is now largely a public responsibility, earlier Muslim scholars and Christian missionaries were leaders in the development of education in the north and the south respectively, but without specific programs for the development of women education. Hence, despite these private and public initiatives women in northern Nigeria still appear to be lagging behind their southern women counterparts and northern male colleagues in education generally and in higher education in particular. It is important to understand the nature and extent of these disparities so as to formulate appropriate policies to reduce and eventually overcome them.

1.7.3 Economic Development

Like the geographical and cultural factors, the economy of Nigeria also has had a great influence in the development of education. In the last two decades the amount of funds allocated to education has been largely influenced by crude oil price patterns. This is because the Nigerian economy is primarily dependent on crude oil instead of agriculture as it was in 1960s and 1970s. In recent years crude oil exports account for about 95% of the country's total earnings.

From the early 1980s Nigeria has faced serious financial problems mostly due to the reduction in foreign exchange earnings as a result of the collapse of oil prices. This problem has resulted in high rates of inflation and a decline in the living conditions of most of the people. The inflation rate for example between 1966 and 1992 grew nine-fold; while the GDP had declined from 58% to 2% per annum in the period between 1960 and 1980 (Buhari 1998). To arrest this decline the federal government in 1986 introduced a Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) to restructure the economy, the educational system generally and to reorient all Nigerians to be productive and self-reliant (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1995). At the higher educational level this meant the introduction of federal polytechnics and universities of technology. Unfortunately, there was no specific policy of reducing women's imbalance in higher

education in general and in technology in particular. These issues were however later taken up in the 1990s in the recommendations of the Longe Report on the Review of Higher Education in Nigeria (as we shall see in Chapter 5 and 6), but these recommendations appeared to have little impact on both issues.

1.7.4 Administration

Nigeria gained independence from Britain in 1960. After a five-year spell of civilian administration, the 1966 coup ushered in a long period of military administration. Thus out of more than three decades of independence, more than two decades have been under the military rule.

Nigeria has a three-tier system of government consisting of the Federal, State and Local Governments. At independence there were only three states (or regions) and a few dozen local governments, but in 1999 there are 36 states and 774 Local Governments Areas. Over this period the creation of new states has become an instrument of reducing the constant fear of political domination between the states, especially between the southern and northern states. Thus, northern Nigeria that was one administrative region at independence in 1960 was subdivided into six states in 1967. Further decentralisation occurred in 1975, 1991 and 1996 when the number of states was increased to 10, 16 and 19 respectively (see Figure 2 page 12a showing the current administrative map of Nigeria). On the other hand the north also had genuine fear of the southern domination in socio-economic development especially in education and more particularly higher education. These mutual fears do not seem to have been eliminated by the creation of more states.

The role of women in administration could be enhanced by administrative and constitutional measures. Decentralisation of administration is normally expected to increase greater citizen participation and the post independence constitution in Nigeria has guaranteed equal rights and privileges to all citizens irrespective of gender. Despite these measures, the participation of women in the post-independent governments in Nigeria has, however, been very insignificant. For example during

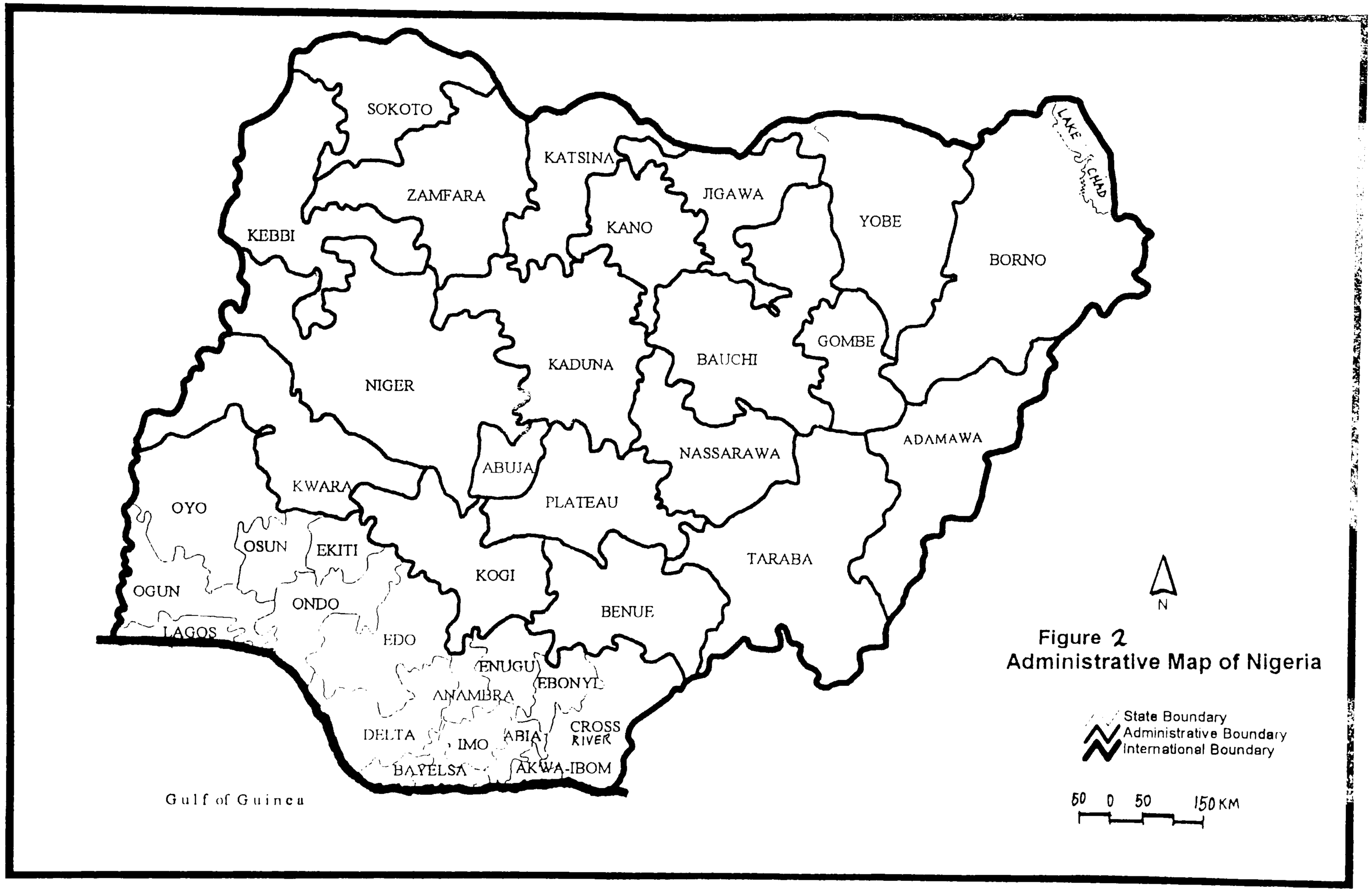


Figure 2
Administrative Map of Nigeria

the First Republic (1960-65), there were only three female legislators in the country and no women in the ministerial position. During the Second Republic (1979-83), there was only 1 woman senator out of the 57-member senate, 11 female members of the 445-member Federal House of Representatives, and 6 women ministers. In the Constitution Drafting Committee of 1976 out of the 49 members none was a woman (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1995).

These figures show the disproportionate participation of women in the decision-making processes and position of political power in Nigeria. It was not until the post UN Decade for Women (1976-1985) that the Nigerian government practically addressed the issues and concerns of women and their role in nation building (FRN, 1995). This has not only resulted in the government's increased level of awareness of women's inadequate representation in decision-making, but also in awakening Nigerian women to mobilise and organise themselves to effectively participate in the development of the country. This level of awareness might have prompted the comment below at the celebration of the 1995 Women's Day:

> At no time in the history of Nigeria have our women realised their potential and need for them to improve and be part of the development process than now. (Ivase, 1995:52)

The greater awareness of the need for women to improve themselves seems to be an impetus for them to seek higher education. Hence all avenues need to be explored to encourage women to attain the full potential in the development of their country. It is hoped that this study will contribute to that end.

We have introduced the main focus of the study, its justification, scope, limitation and research methodology. In the next chapter we shall discuss the historical perspective on women's education in the different educational systems in Nigeria.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE ON WOMEN'S EDUCATION IN THE NIGERIAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The history of education in Nigeria can be seen in its wider African context and layers of influences built up by the successive African traditional, Islamic, colonial and post colonial systems of education. In all these systems the public policies tended to pay little attention to the potentially important role women could play in national development and therefore have failed to initiate specific policies to encourage women to effectively participate in education. In the following pages an attempt will be made to review the goals and instruments of public educational policies over these periods and to identify the place of women's education in each system.

2.2 DEVELOPMENT OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS

2.2.1 Traditional Educational System

There are many definitions of traditional education, but the most suitable for our purpose is the one, which states: "traditional education means the system of training and acculturation in primordial societies before the advent of both Islam and Western education" (Aminu, 1993: 87).

All societies have a process of goals formulation, some of which are formal and others informal. Usually the traditional educational system uses the informal process. Normally there are no written goals set out to be followed by everybody. However, some people suggest that the major goal of traditional education is to produce an individual, who is honest, respectable, skilled, cooperative and who conforms to the social order of the society (Fafunwa, 1974). This main goal can be broken down into specific objectives, some of which are:

1. develop character
2. inculcate respect for elders and those in position of authority
3. acquire specific vocational training.
4. develop a sense of belonging and to participate actively in family and community affairs.
5. understand, appreciate and promote the cultural heritage of the community at large.

The learning process in a traditional educational system is informal. There are no formal institutions set up for the transmission of knowledge. Instead, the home and the community become the learning centres and the parents and community members become the teachers. The children learn through role models and oral tradition.

The traditional African educational system like all other systems of education seeks to encourage the overall development of the child. In this respect, it emphasises skill development and apprenticeship is the main instrument. Under the supervision of their mothers the girls are closely guided in the development of their skills in caring for children, dress making, cooking, housekeeping and body care. Like the girls, the boys also receive training through apprenticeship system where they are attached to a master in a trade (Fafunwa, 1974).

In the Nigerian traditional society, although there was no specific policy on women's education and their roles were confined to the home, there were instances where their

roles went beyond the home to the community at large, sometimes equal or greater than their male counterparts. A noticeable example of early women leaders in northern Nigeria is that of Amina the Queen of Zazzau who did not only rule over a vast area but also commanded a large army from about 1549-1566 AD. Daurama the Queen of Daura was another renowned powerful political figure before the 10th Century AD after which her seven sons founded the seven Hausa states and took over the political power (Abubakar, 1992).

In other parts of the country, among the Yorubas, women were also prominent figures in the affairs of the state. Women like Moremi of Ife and Madam Tinubu of Lagos and Abeaokuta emerged as powerful political personalities as pointed out by Yusuf (1993). A striking feature of women leaders in Nigeria in the past is the fact that they were not confined to one geographical region, or a particular ethnic group. An observation brought out by Awe (1992) about the history of women's political leadership in Nigeria is that in almost every existing ethnic group there were women who demonstrated qualities of leadership.

2.2.2 Islamic Educational System

Islamic influences reached Nigeria in the 9th Century. Islamic education was introduced simultaneously with the introduction of the religion of Islam. Islamic influence spread in northern Nigeria to major urban centres through trade, pilgrim traffic and religious scholars (Yusuf, 1993).

Unlike the traditional educational system, which is more skill oriented and focuses on the proper functioning of the individual within the community, the Islamic educational system puts emphasis on skill and intellectual development. These have to be within the divine law (*sharia)* system, which sets out duties and obligations of the individual's attainment for this world and the Hereafter.

Islam also encourages both males and females to read and learn not only for this world (secular) but also for the sake of the next world (religion). Evidence could be found in

the first verse of the *Qur'an* revealed (*Surah al Alaq*). Ideally in the *Qur'an* both sexes are inspired to acquire knowledge.

The broad objective of Islamic education outlined in the 1977 Islamic Conference in Makkah is:

> To form persons who will be good and worship God as He deserves to be worshipped, who will use knowledge to enjoin people (*ya'mur*) on earth and utilise it in accordance with God's law in the service of belief and accordance to its scheme (Galadanchi 1993:98).

This is a general objective applicable to all Muslim countries and seems to be the same as those outlined by early Muslim scholars. To achieve this objective, in pre-colonial northern Nigeria, many Qur'anic schools were established in houses, mosques and public places and were not the responsibility of the government, but rather a communal responsibility. The Islamic educational system gears its efforts in teaching the child first of all to study the Arabic alphabet followed by the reading of the Holy Qur'an and apply the knowledge acquired from it in his daily life and in his relationships with others. Besides the teaching of the skills of reading and writing, the teachers in the Islamic educational system are also expected to impart the basic principles of ethical values and some occupational skills like farming and sewing (Galadanchi, 1993).

The secondary and tertiary stages were not only aimed at producing self-disciplined citizens capable of performing their religious obligations and other responsibilities in the best interest of the communities, but also at providing leadership training. At this level of the Islamic educational system, the subjects studied by the student include the commentary of the Qur'an (*tafsir),* theology (*tawhid*), Arabic literature (*adab*), jurisprudence (*fiqh*), grammar and syntax (*Nahwu and Sarf*) biography of Prophet Muhammad (Peace and Blessings of Allah be Upon Him) (*Sira*) (Aminu, 1993).

After the completion of what might be regarded as the primary level of education in the Islamic educational system, the boys would proceed to the next stage by their own initiative or the encouragement of their parents. The girls on the other hand, would

normally get married, or attach themselves to a lady teacher with the encouragement of their parents. But as Galadanchi (1993) has pointed out there were not many such opportunities in those pre-colonial days.

The fact that there was no specific educational policy directed toward women and they were also not encouraged to acquire higher education in the early Islamic educational system in Nigeria may largely be as the result of the political conditions, social settings or particular historical experience of the society. This was however, changed by the 19th Century reform movement (*Jihad*) of Uthman dan Fodio in northern Nigeria through his writings and practical examples which were followed by his subordinate emirs. Apart from his effort to remove un-Islamic practices from the Muslim beliefs, his most outstanding reform was the education of women. In his book *Nur al- Al-Bab*, he went against the way of treating women like chattels and failing to educate them. He showed an excellent example of his concern for women's education by educating all his daughters to the highest standard. Uthman dan Fodio's two daughters became renowned scholars and educators of which Nana Asma'u became a famous scholar, writer, poet, teacher, leader and *da'wa* (Islamic propagation) worker among women (Koko and Boyd, 1992).

With the introduction of colonial administration in Nigeria came the colonial system of education. This system, despite earlier rejection, spread rapidly in northern Nigeria. (Galadinchi, 1993). This introduced a dichotomy of the formal (colonial-Western) and the informal (traditional and Islamic) educational systems. The former was financed and run by the colonial administration to support its needs, while the latter remained under the control of the individual proprietors, unsupervised, responding to the needs of the community.

Later, the colonial administration established some schools to train *Sharia* (Islamic legal system) court judges. Since independence, the dichotomy of the educational system has continued and indeed intensified. The formal system allowed students to reach up to the university level and the curriculum improved and made more relevant

to the society. The informal system (traditional and Islamic) however, remained undeveloped and disorganised.

There might have been some development in the achievements of women in pre-colonial northern Nigeria as indicated earlier by the works of Nana Asma'u. The development of women's education since the colonial period has however, been very negligible due to some socio-cultural, economic, institutional and personal factors. Some of the factors that would encourage women to pursue higher Islamic education were not available nor were the economic incentives to encourage them to pursue higher education. For example the system did not encourage future economic security, nor did it ensure higher income or regular jobs.

Concerning the personal motivation factors, it should be emphasised that Islamic education prepares the individual for the life of this world and for the Hereafter. In the above discussion, we have concentrated on the motivating factors with respect to the life in this world. However, concerning the Hereafter, the Islamic educational system inspires the individual to strive for knowledge and actions, which would ensure eternal peace.

In Islam, women like men are encouraged to acquire knowledge at different levels. There are no official data to show the number of women who have attained Islamic higher education. But the few Muslim women in Nigeria who are known to have acquired higher Islamic education realised the need to encourage more women to acquire higher Islamic education and spearheaded the efforts to provide adequate facilities for them. As a result of this felt need, the Federation of Muslim Women Association in Nigeria (FOMWAN) was formed. The main objectives of the FOMWAN as pointed out by Yusuf (1993) include the promotion of education and social development of Muslim women throughout Nigeria, assisting Muslim women to live according to the tenets of Islam as found in the Qur'an and *Sunna*. Some of the achievements of the FOMWAN in recent years are the embarking on Muslim women's education. The organisation has established classes throughout the country where women and children acquire Islamic knowledge, organising conferences and

symposiums to encourage awareness or religious and civic responsibilities among Muslims in general and women in particular.

2.2.3 Colonial Educational System

Prior to the introduction of the colonial educational system of education, the Christian missionaries had introduced and spread their influence in southern Nigeria in the early 19th Century. The primary objective of the Christians missionaries was to convert people to Christianity through the missionary schools they established. Building upon that the colonial administration established an educational system, which was designed to provide the necessary manpower for the colonial administration and the expanding British entrepreneurs (Galadinchi, 1993). The curriculum in the colonial Christian schools according to Dubey (1972) emphasised religion, although the three R's (reading, writing and arithmetic) were also included.

Under the colonial government Western education in northern Nigeria was initially aimed at educating the sons of the emirs so as to enable them to perform their traditional responsibilities. At the same time, Muslim teachers were hired to impart religious knowledge. With the efforts and co-operation of the missionary and the colonial government, Western education however, became widely spread in Nigeria. Despite this fact, there was low rate of enrolment of children particularly in the secondary schools in northern Nigeria. The rate was even lower for the girls due to social, economic and religious reasons such as preference for early marriage, parent's opposition to girl's education due to the importance of girl's labour in agriculture, and the association of Western education with Christianity by many Muslim parents.

Enrolment figures in the primary schools in 1925 in the south shows that there were 8,502 boys and 588 girls. Regarding higher education, the enrolment of Nigerian women was not encouraging. Within the period 1950-1962, the percentage of female students in Nigerian higher educational institutions ranged from zero to seven percent (Awe 1989).

Despite the elaborate scheme of education, generally, the relatively high level of illiteracy among women in Nigeria at the earlier part of the colonial period can be traced back to the neglect of female education resulting into the lack of policies to encourage them. Awe (1989) points out that between 1914 and 1959, only two secondary schools exclusively for girls existed in Nigeria and were located in Lagos in the south of the country. By contrast between 1859 and 1911 there were ten boys' secondary schools established. In northern Nigeria, it was not until 1929 that girls' primary educational centre was opened in Katsina in the north of the country and this served as a model in other emirates. The curriculum for girls' education at that time was essentially non-academic focused particularly on the domestic subjects probably to prepare them for marriage (Awe, 1989). Considering this situation in the north, women's access to education during the colonial period lagged behind that of the south whose educational advance was largely promoted by Christian missionaries. Missionary schools were not set up in the north early because of the colonial government's policy of non-interference with the Muslim religion according to Galadinchi (1993).

As part of the British policy to extend higher education to its colonies, the colonial government encouraged transplantation of the British University system. The first phase of this development was the establishment of Yaba Higher College in January 1934, which was the most notable concession to the persistent demand for higher education in Nigeria by the colonial government. Tied to the colonial government departments, the Yaba Higher College fell short of a university status as it was designed to offer courses in medicine, engineering and teacher training leading to the award of a local diploma (Aderibigbe, 1993).

The rapid political development and the increasing higher education needs of Nigeria made the continued affiliation of the University of Ibadan to the University of London untenable. Under the increased pressure from intellectuals and nationalists, the colonial government established the Ashby Commission in 1960 to investigate post-secondary schools over the following twenty years. Some of the key

recommendations of the committee included the establishment of new autonomous universities which offer a variety of courses and setting up of the Nigerian University Committee (N.U.C) to have effective control over the affairs of the universities (Aderibigbe, 1993).

It has been shown that education, particularly for girls, in the colonial period in Nigeria was very slow, more so in the north than in the south. Although towards independence the rate of growth increased and the content slightly changed to meet the anticipated changes in the country. It seemed that women were not sufficiently prepared by the colonial educational system to shoulder the heavy responsibilities of nationhood.

2.2.4 Post-Independence Educational System

While the colonial educational system was largely designed to support the colonial administration, the post independence educational system in Nigeria was aimed at national development. It sought to achieve effective citizenship, national unity, national economic efficiency and technological progress. Derived from these, specific national educational objectives were formulated at all levels by the government to include the following:

1. The inculcation of national consciousness and national unity;
2. The inculcation of the right type of values and attitudes for survival of the individual and Nigerian society;
3. The training of the mind for the understanding of the outside world;
4. The acquisition of appropriate skills, abilities and competence, both mental and physical as equipment for the individual to live in and to contribute to the development of his society (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1981).

To achieve these objectives, the Nigerian government embarked upon a program of educational expansion, notable among which was the launching of the Universal

Primary Education (UPE) in 1976. As a result of the UPE programme, all states witnessed a marked increase in primary school enrolment. For example, in the year of the UPE (1976 –1977) the states with the highest increase in enrolment were those in the north. For example, Kaduna, Kano, Niger and Plateau states increased by 378%, 489%, 527% and 364% respectively (Musaazi, 1989:72). This alarming increase could have been due to the introduction of the programme in the north for the first time, since it was already introduced in most of the southern parts much earlier. Though directed to all children, the UPE program immensely promoted female education in the country and more especially in the north, which had a higher proportional increase in enrolment. The implication of this has been an increased opportunity for girls not only to enrol in the primary school, but subsequently to the secondary and tertiary levels of education. The UPE might have helped in increasing girls' enrolment in education in the north over a period of time, but women are still underrepresented in education in general and higher education in particular.

The structure of the Nigerian educational system before 1976 included 6-7 years of primary school, 5 years secondary school, 1-2 year preliminary studies and 3 years of university education. Since the inception of the UPE in 1976, the structure has changed to include the 6-3-3-4-tier system. A uniform 6-year primary education was introduced throughout the country whereby the curriculum is based on general basic education. This is followed by 3-year junior secondary school, which teaches general subjects plus pre-vocational subjects. At the end of this stage, a Junior Secondary Leaving Certificate is issued based on passing a state examination.

The next three years is the Senior Secondary School, which provides general education, leading to some skills apart from training in science and humanities. At the end of the senior secondary school, all students take a national exam, which enables those who pass well to gain entrance into the universities, polytechnics and colleges of education. For those who wish to pursue the general 4-year university education, there is a matriculation exam conducted by the Joint Admission and Matriculation Board (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1981).

2.3 DEVELOPMENT OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN NIGERIA SINCE INDEPENDENCE

2.3.1 Introduction

The development of higher education in Nigeria since independence has shown considerable growth, but little development. The quantitative increases in the indices of higher education have not been accompanied by the qualitative development in terms of reduction in gender and regional disparity. In this section, development of higher education is reviewed by analysing its three components namely: universities, polytechnics and colleges of education. These components are analysed using the elements of historical growth, admission requirements and students' enrolment, and financing higher education.

2.3.2 Growth of Higher Education

2.3.2.1 University Education

Before independence Nigeria had only one university (University College, Ibadan) that was affiliated to the University of London. However, some students were also sent to the Fourah Bay College in Sierra Leone and universities in the United Kingdom. Based on the recommendations of the Ashby committee of 1960, four new universities were established in Nigeria soon after independence to achieve the goals of teaching, research and public service. University of Nigeria Nsukka in 1960, Ahmadu Bello University Zaria, Universities of Lagos and Ife in 1962 were among the early universities set up. Each of these universities tended to specialise in certain areas of national needs. For example, University of Nigeria, Nsukka was strong in journalism and law, Ahmadu Bello University in engineering and architecture, University of Lagos in urban-based courses, law and engineering while the University of Ife concentrated on pharmacy, geology and agriculture. During this period, there was a remarkable expansion of the scope of the Nigerian university system and

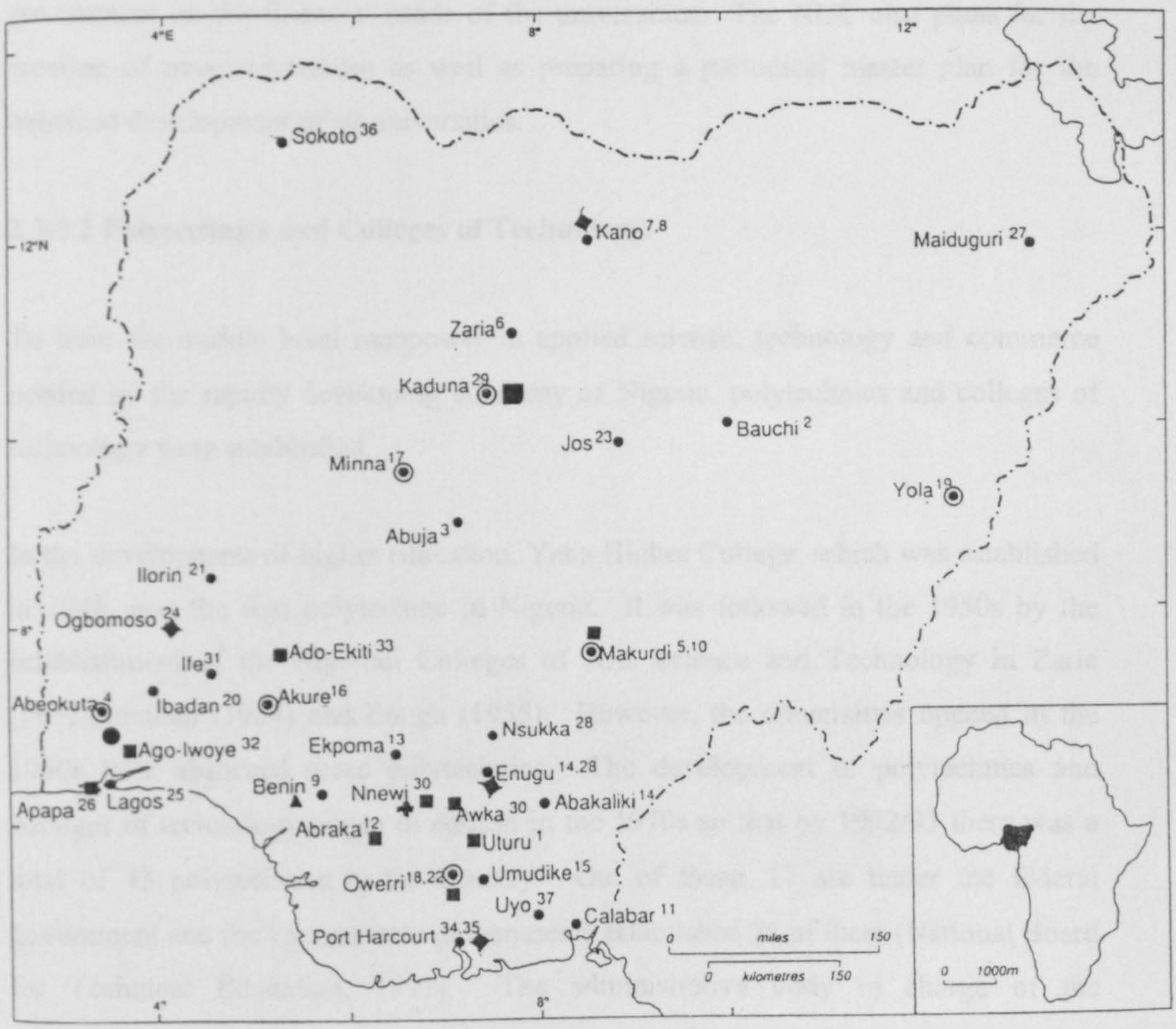
simultaneously a change to a national outlook in terms of courses offered, curriculum and faculty (Akpan, 1990).

The aftermath of the Nigerian civil war saw the great demand for manpower to reconstruct the country. On the other hand, as a result of the oil boom in the early 1970s there was a rapid expansion in higher education. At the beginning of this phase, the University of Benin was established in 1970 first as a college of technology, but soon transformed into a full university. In 1975 with the support of the Nigerian University Commission (N.U.C), seven more universities were created. Calabar, Jos, Maiduguri, Sokoto (now Usman Danfodio) were opened as full fledged universities while Ilorin and Port Harcourt were set up as university colleges, but later in 1977 also became full universities (Aderibigbe, 1993).

The opening of seven new federal universities of science and technology in Bauchi, Makurdi and Owerri in 1980, Yola and Akure in 1981 and Abeokuta and Minna in 1983 brought the next leap forward in higher education in Nigeria. At the state level, the same optimism led to the establishment of the first set of state sponsored universities. These were the River State University of Technology, Port Harcourt and Anambra State University of Technology in1980, Imo State University and Bendel State University, Ekpoma in 1981, Obafemi Awolowo University (now Ondo State University) in 1982. Other universities established were Ogun State University, Lagos State University, and the University of Cross River in 1983 (Aderibigbe, 1993). Thus, the development of university education in Nigeria culminated to a total of 37 universities located in various parts of the country as shown on the map of the location of Nigerian universities (see Figure 3 page 25a).

Although the federal government is constitutionally responsible for higher education, the increasing role of state governments in sponsoring universities has boosted the number. Unfortunately, however, the private sector has played limited role with only four private universities planned. Because of the rapid growth of universities in Nigeria, an administrative unit, the National Universities Commission (NUC) was set up in 1962 by the federal government. This body is in charge of the planning and co-

Figure 3: Location of Nigerian Universities



Federal Universities	State Universities	Private Universities
2. ATBU of Technology Bauchi	1. Abia State University	▲ Igbinedian University, Edo State
3. University of Abuja	7. Bagauda Univ. of Sc & Tech	● Babcock University, Ogun State
4. Univ. of Agric, Abeokuta	10. Benue State Univ.	✦ Madonna Univ, Onitsha
5. Univ. of Agric, Makurdi	12. Delta State Univ.	■ Heritage Univ. Kaduna
6. A.B.U Zaria	13. Edo State Univ.	
8. Bayero Univ. Kano	14. Enugu State Univ of Sc.& Tech.	
9. Univ. of Benin	22. Imo State University	
11. University of Calabar	24. Akintola Univ. of Tech.	
15. Fed. Uni of Agric, Umudike	26. Lagos State Univ	
16. Fed. Uni of Techn. Akure	30. Nmadi Azikwe Univ.	**LEGEND**
17. Fed. Univ. of Techn. Minna	32. Ogun State Univ.	● **Federal Universities (Conventional)**
18. Fed. Uni of Techn. Owerri	33. Ondo State Univ.	◉ **Federal Universities of Technology**
19. Fed. Univ. of Techn. Yola	35. Rivers State Univ.	■ **State Universities**
20. Univ. of Ibadan		✦ **Universities of Technology**
21. University of Ilorin		
23. University of Jos		
25. University of Lagos		
27. University of Maiduguri		
28. University of Nigeria		
29. Nigeria Defence Academy		
31. Obafemi Awolowo University		
34. University of Port Harcourt		
36 Usman Danfodio University		
37. University of Uyo		

ordination of developments of all Nigerian universities as well as advising the government on the financial needs of the universities. The NUC also plans for the creation of new universities as well as preparing a periodical master plan for the balanced development of all universities.

2.3.2.2 Polytechnics and Colleges of Technology.

To train the middle level manpower in applied science, technology and commerce needed by the rapidly developing economy of Nigeria, polytechnics and colleges of technology were established.

In the development of higher education, Yaba Higher College, which was established in 1948, was the first polytechnic in Nigeria. It was followed in the 1950s by the establishment of the Nigerian Colleges of Arts Science and Technology in Zaria (1952), Ibadan (1954) and Enugu (1955). However, the universities opened in the 1960s later absorbed these polytechnics. The development of polytechnics and colleges of technology began in earnest in the 1970s so that by 1992/93 there was a total of 43 polytechnics in the country. Out of these, 17 are under the federal government and the various state governments established 26 of them (National Board for Technical Education, 1993). The administrative body in charge of the polytechnics and colleges of technology is the National Board for Technical Education (NBTE). It co-ordinates the technical courses offered in the polytechnics and colleges of technology. It also performs a similar function to that of the NUC.

2.3.2.3 Colleges of Education.

Colleges of Education are also called Advanced Teachers' Colleges and were designed to prepare students for the teaching in the Primary and Junior Secondary Schools. The first three Advanced Teachers' Colleges to be established by the Federal Government of Nigeria were in Zaria, Lagos and Ibadan in 1962. Others set up later in 1968 were Kano, Owerri and Abeokuta. Some of these colleges offer degree programs supervised by the universities. By 1991/92 there was a total of 61 colleges of education in

Nigeria. Out of these, the federal government established 20, various state governments established 37, 3 are privately owned and 1 is exclusively for the army (National Commission for Colleges of Education, 1994).

It is important to note that the federal college of education at Gusau was established in the 80s exclusively for female technical education. This might be one of the ways the Nigerian government tries to meet the demand for women teachers in technical fields. This also supports the federal government's policy, which states:

> More effort will be made to encourage women to enter wider areas of technical education: technical institutions, which do not now have facilities for women students, will be encouraged to do so (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1981:30).

Despite such efforts by the government, women are still under-represented in higher education and more so in the science and technical fields. The adequate implementation of this policy by the government still needs to be enhanced in order to provide more opportunities in the technical fields for women.

To administer the affairs of the colleges of education, the Nigerian Commission for colleges of Education (N.C.C.E) was established in 1989. It co-ordinates all aspects of teacher education outside the universities and polytechnics. The function of the N.C.C.E is similar to the NUC and the NBTE in their respective sections of higher education.

2.3.3 Admission Requirements and Enrolment in Higher Education

2.3.3.1 Admission

In this section we shall discuss the admission requirements in the universities, polytechnic and the colleges of education.

For admission into the universities, the requirements vary from one university faculty to another. However, the general criteria for admission into the Nigerian universities are of two broad categories. One criterion is the National Policy Guidelines, which

recommends 60% of the total enrolment to the science-based courses. The other set of criteria was outlined by the Federal Ministry of Education, which set out admission ratio for the federal institutions so as to achieve the desired goals of national unity. These criteria are based on merit for outstanding performance in the University Matriculation Examination (ME) for new entrants to the 100 level courses or GCE Advanced Level or its equivalent for direct entry into the 200 level courses. The Matriculation Examination is organised by the Joint Admission and Matriculation Board (JAMB) which also sends students to the various universities depending on the availability of places in the courses the students are interested in and not necessarily in the order of preference (NUC, 1992).

The next criterion is locality based which gives a proportion of students to the states in which the universities are located. Other related criteria include the equality of states whereby an equal proportion of students from all states in the federation is admitted. Certain places are also set aside to be shared among the so-called "educationally disadvantaged" states (these include most states in northern Nigeria). The last criterion is of the discretion of the universities to allot places for foreign students and Nigerian candidates with good performance who might have been dropped in the process of applying the guidelines (Akpan, 1990).

Unlike the university system, which has an entrance exam, to gain admission into the colleges of technology and polytechnics, the minimum entry requirement is the Senior Secondary Certificate or its equivalent. For admission into all polytechnics and colleges of technology, the criteria used in the universities also apply except the merit criteria based on the Matriculation Examination.

Admission requirements into the colleges of education are similar to those of the polytechnics and colleges of technology. The basic requirement for admission into the colleges of education is the Senior Secondary Certificate or its equivalent. The same criteria for admission into the university and polytechnics are used in the colleges of education except the Matriculation Examination. There has been an intense debate about each of these criteria, whether they should be enhanced, kept as

they are, or scrapped altogether. However, it seems that the Nigerian government prefers to keep them with some slight changes and periodical reviews (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1992:44).

The government might be using these as a way of providing equal access to all Nigerian students. It might also be an attempt to bridge the gap between the northern and southern parts of the country in access to higher education. It is noteworthy, however, that there is no attempt to provide more opportunities for women based on these criteria. The criteria also restrict students' admission chances to enter an institution of his/her first choice.

2.3.3.2 Enrolment

There has been a steady increase in the general enrolment of students in the Nigerian institutions of higher education. Women's enrolment has also witnessed a general increase especially at the colleges of education and the universities. Table 2.1 gives us a clear picture of the trend in enrolment in the higher educational institutions in Nigeria over a twelve-year period.

There has been a remarkable increase in the general enrolment of students in all Nigerian universities in recent years. For example, as shown in Table 2.1, during the 1980/81 session there was an overall total of 77,791 students in all universities in the country. Over a period of eleven years, in 1990/91 the total enrolment of students in Nigerian universities rose to 182,375 an increase of about 134%. Female participation rate at the universities has risen over the years. For example, the participation rate has increased from 22% in 1980/81 to about 27% in 1989/90.

Enrolment in the colleges of technology during the same period witnessed an increase of about 129% (i.e. from 42,500 to 97,503 students). In the colleges of technology, data is generally not available except for three years between 1984/85 and 1986/87. During these periods the female participation rate has increased from 18.5% to 25.6%.

In the colleges of education, the increase in students' participation between 1980/81 and 1990/91 was about 146% (from 34710 to 85,564 students). The colleges of education saw even a higher participation rate of females, which has grown from 24.9% in 1981/82 to 46.7% in 1988/89. This general high participation rate in the colleges of education seems to confirm a general view of women being more inclined to pursuing the teaching profession (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1995:12). A noteworthy point is that despite the relative increase in women's enrolment in higher education, there still exists a disproportion between men and women generally and in northern Nigeria in particular.

Table 2.1 Enrolment Figures for the Colleges of Education, Polytechnics and Universities 1980-1992

Year	Colleges of Education			Polytechnics			Universities		
	M	F	%F	M	F	%F	M	F	%F
1980/81	23159	11551	33.3	42500*	NA	NA	60692	17099	22.0
1981/82	33534	11094	24.9	533735*	NA	NA	70365	20386	22.5
1982/83	32041	12951	28.8	58983*	NA	NA	79557	25217	24.1
1983/84	34026	16994	33.3	57534*	NA	NA	90235	16587	22.8
1984/85	41528	15915	27.7	48726	11283	18.8	97546	28739	22.8
1985/86	40397	17084	29.7	58085	13207	18.5	103243	32540	24.0
1986/87	41457	23361	36.0	45045	15508	25.6	113645	36968	24.5
1987/88	33456	28434	46.0	61646*	NA	NA	119236	41531	25.8
1988/89	36123	31634	46.7	67541*	NA	NA	125880	46524	27.0
1989/90	42173	30352	41.9	73161*	NA	NA	132016	48855	27.0
1990/91	47223	38341	44.8	97503*	NA	NA	182375*	NA	NA
1991/92	NA	NA	NA	99431*	NA	NA	185675*	NA	NA

* Total Enrolment figures (Male and Female)
Source: Nigeria Country Report 1995

2.3.4 Financing Higher Education

Financing of education is a shared responsibility of the federal, state and local governments. Reflecting their constitutional allocation of functions, the federal government generally has responsibility over tertiary institutions while the state and local governments have responsibility over primary and secondary levels of education

respectively. In order to provide financial support, a large proportion of these governments' expenditure is allocated to the education sector each year. However, with the increasing number of higher educational institutions, demands for government grants, increasing students' population and high inflation rate, adequate financing of tertiary institutions has become a major problem in Nigeria.

The total recurrent grants to federal universities for example in 1983 and 1984 were N381,253,449 and N439,920,659 respectively. These declined in 1985 and 1986 to N422,510,000 and N391,966,884 and slid further to N304,179,414 in 1987. Capital grants for the same period dropped from N133,150,662 in 1983 to N81,500,000 in 1987 By 1994 the total recurrent grants to the 21 federal universities was N2,778,725,899 while the capital grants amounted to N89,777,655 (Commonwealth Universities Yearbook, 1997-1998). This shows that fund allocation declined irrespective of the increase in student population and the decline of the real Naira value since the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) in 1986.

2.4 PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN NIGERIA

The problems and prospects of higher education in Nigeria can be grouped into four broad categories, which are gender disparity, regional disparity, imbalance in the fields of study and the poor management of scarce resources. In this section we shall discuss these specific problems as well as the prospects for solving them although they are discussed further in Chapter 7.

2.4.1 Gender Disparity

Our historical review of traditional, Islamic and colonial educational systems in Nigeria has shown persistent gender disparity in participation. Beside the historical reasons there also appears to be socio-cultural and economic reasons that contribute to the present state of gender disparity. This gender disparity has social, political and economic implications. The social implication may include the continued higher rates

of fertility and infant mortality. The economic implication on the other hand, may include the loss of the opportunity for poverty reduction and lower productivity. Politically this may mean the loss of women's contribution to policy formulation and implementation and the loss of the opportunity for reduction of political tension in a multi-cultural society like Nigeria.

Despite the recent high increase in students' enrolment in higher education, male-female disparity still exists and even widens. For example, latest figures available show that in 1991/92 there were a total of 206,331 students in the Nigerian universities. Out of this 60,996 are females, which represent about 23% female participation (Commonwealth Universities Handbook, 1993).

The problem of gender disparity in higher education could be tackled if government recognises its existence and importance and then initiates the necessary policies and programs. Additional suggestions on ways to solve this problem will be discussed in detail in Chapter 7.

2.4.2 Regional Disparity

Although there has been a remarkable increase in the overall enrolment and female participation rate in all institutions of higher learning in northern Nigeria, yet various data show a continued disparity not only between males and females, but also between northern and southern students' enrolment. This is an important regional disparity, which needs to be highlighted. If we take for example Ahmadu Bello University Zaria, which is the oldest university in northern Nigeria, figures for 1993/94 show the sex of students and states of origin for new entrants (100 level) and direct entry (200 level) students. The total enrolment for these two levels for that year for northern students was 3592 of which 1008 were females, thus giving about 28% female participation rate. The southern students for the same levels in that year constituted 1,368 about 38% of all students in which 592 were females giving a female participation rate of 43%. The participation rate of female southern students is

proportionately much higher than female northern students (Ahamdu Bello University Academic Office, 1996).

Spatial disparity appears to have been influenced by historical development in which Western education was accepted earlier in the south than in the north. As discussed earlier in this chapter, Western education had to compete with Islamic education in the north while in the south it was readily accepted due to the absence of an established educational system. There was also religious bias due to the Muslims associating Western education with Christianity. In addition not only was the south more ready to accept Western education, later it had more resources to expand all levels of educational institutions.

The prospect of solving regional disparity in higher education is high since the government has initiated some policies targeting this problem. What is needed is the effective and efficient implementation of policies regarding admissions and scholarships awarded to students from the educationally disadvantaged areas.

2.4.3 Disparity in the Fields of Study

In Nigeria like other countries (as we shall see later in Chapter 3), the under representation of women in Science and Technology fields of study in institutions of higher education may be largely due to the culture and socialisation process that girls go through which has deep historical roots. Values instilled in the mind of growing a girl include those of her role as prospective wife and homemaker rather than a professional. The implication of the disparity in the fields of study may include the loss of potential contribution women can make to science and technology and the resultant potential benefit to the society at large.

The concentration of women in fields like education, social sciences, nursing and pharmacy is illustrated in the following data on Nigerian higher education system. In all the federal universities for example, in education, pharmacy and medicine, women represented 31.5%, 35.4%, and 26.5% of all graduates respectively during 1983/84

academic year. In the same year, women represented 24.4% of all arts graduates, 23.1% of law, 7.0% of veterinary medicine and 4.3% of engineering/technology. This shows that more women are still mainly limited to the fields of arts, social science and education (Okeke, 1989:52).

The government has recognised the problem of women's under representation in the science and technical fields and has started programs such as the establishment of all-women technical colleges and encouraging NGOs to initiate similar programs. Future prospects could take the form of establishing special units to plan and co-ordinate the programs of both the public and private sectors in this area.

2.4.4 Poor Management of Scarce Resources

The main management problems in Nigerian higher educational institutions include, but are not limited to, inadequate finance, excessive welfare expenditure, confrontational staff and students' unionism and manpower crisis. All of these have implications to the pursuit of higher education by women and will each be discussed in turns.

2.4.4.1 Inadequate Finance

The increase in student intake, demand for new courses, dwindling public grant for higher education, reluctance of the government to privatise higher education and to mobilise local resources for education have all combined to create a crisis in financing higher education in Nigeria. The increase in enrolment can be illustrated by the data from 1960 to 1991. In 1960 for example, there was a total enrolment of 1,395 students in all Nigerian universities and 3,000 in the polytechnics which rose to 180,871, and 75,468 students respectively in 1991 (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1992:49).

To meet this high increase in enrolment new facilities were provided but not sufficient to meet the new demands due to many factors, such as the dwindling grants from the

governments, increase galloping inflation and the decline value of the Nigerian currency, the Naira (FRN, 1992:19).

The problem was further compounded because it meant that foreign experienced academic staff was too expensive to hire while most imported textbooks and equipment became unaffordable and the existing ones fell to a deplorable state. However, against this background of expanding resource demands, reduced grants, the government held tenaciously to the free tuition and subsidised boarding and supply of materials. The recommendation by the Committee on the Review of Higher Education in Nigeria (FRN, 1992) to introduce privatisation of higher educational institution in Nigeria has so far not been implemented.

Concerning the problem of funding at the higher educational institutions, it is essential for the government to have the will to take difficult political decisions, recover as much of the educational expenses as possible and to establish effective management in the higher institutions to solve the problems. Alumni associations should be encouraged to contribute to institutions through endowment, research sponsorship, grants and bursaries to students and should be in the vanguard of raising fund from national and international communities. The private sector should also be encouraged to establish foundations, or specific higher education tax may be levied on their profits. Furthermore, higher institutions should be encouraged to engage in profit making ventures such as farming, bookshops, printing press, real estate either done alone or in collaboration with private sectors and governments (FRN, 1992: 24-25, Mohammed 1993).

2.4.4.2 Excessive Welfare Expenditure

Besides the inadequate financing of higher educational institutions in Nigeria, another problem is the excessive welfare expenditure. Higher educational institutions invest heavily in provision of municipal services such as roads, water, electricity, health services and staff and students' housing. All these are provided either free or at greatly subsidised rates. For example, the estimated unit costs per student in 1990 at

the different sectors of higher education estimated for students in the universities, polytechnics and colleges of education were N7,000, N5,000 and N4,000 per annum respectively (FRN, 1992:20). Given the background of the Nigerian government finance, these subsidies were not sustainable without a loss of quality in higher education.

With the problem of reduced grants, high rate of inflation, lack of initiative to generate their own income, the higher educational institutions became ill-equipped to continue to play the role of welfare service providers and at the same time perform their legitimate function in providing quality research and teaching. The municipal and welfare functions, which the higher educational institutions have assumed for themselves, have inevitably brought unexpected political problems. These problems include the ever-increasing demand by students and staff for more and better quality subsidised services, more benefits and wider rights. The failure to do so by the higher educational institution has often resulted in strikes, lockouts and even riots causing wilful damages to property and sometimes loss of lives.

Clear separation of the educational and municipal functions by the higher educational institutions could be the best way to solve this problem. The municipal functions can be left to appropriate public or private institutions that are more prepared to tackle them. The higher educational institutions could then be left to concentrate on their legitimate educational functions. They would then be better equipped to initiate both qualitative and quantitative development.

2.4.4.3 Confrontational Staff and Students Unionism

Staff and student unrests in higher education in Nigeria are becoming increasingly a common feature. While students normally go on destructive demonstrations over internal university issues and national concerns, the academic and other staff unions usually go on strike to back up their demands for improved conditions of service. Such agitation and activities often cause severe disruption of normal academic life for long periods. As a result, the management of student and staff crisis is increasingly

becoming a priority especially at this time of declining resources in the institutions of higher learning (Mohammed, 1993). In all these women seem to be the major victims because in the first place their low participation in higher education has also resulted in their even lower participation in staff and student union activities. They suffer equally or even more in terms of sexual harassment in times of disorderly atmosphere.

Some of the problems of staff and student unrest can be reduced by actions within the institutions through the established mechanisms for resolving such conflicts. If these mechanisms are ineffective they can be improved or replaced. On the other hand, there may be conflicts whose resolutions would require external interventions, in which case the NUC and outside agencies with international experience in higher education could be called upon to help.

2.4.4.4 Manpower Crisis

The persistence of the above problems can be attributed to the inadequate executive capacity and the flight of experienced academic and non-academic staff from the higher educational institution to overseas institutions or the private sector.

The inadequate executive capacity at most management levels of Nigerian higher educational institutions can be attributed to the absence of innovative people to efficiently deal with problems as they arise. Another problem is the shift away from the committee system towards increase centralisation and beaucratisation of the administration of higher educational institution in the country. Another manpower crisis facing higher educational institutions is the current exodus of experienced academic and non-academic staff (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1992:35). The poor conditions of service, poor working environment, insecurity of life and property and the lack of opportunities for self-development might have caused this flight.

In a global economy there is the need to realise the high mobility of academic staff hence, it is important to provide incentives that can attract and retain them.

2.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

The development of women's education in Nigeria has gone through many stages including the traditional, Islamic, colonial and postcolonial. In these periods, the contribution made by women to the development of the society has been neglected and their access to educational opportunities seemed to have been curtailed mainly due to the lack of specific educational policies to encourage their greater participation and through societal gender stereotyping.

Nigeria has witnessed a rapid growth in higher education since independence, yet despite some governmental initiatives, the participation of women has been unequal to that of men. This gender imbalance is not only in enrolment, but also in the academic disciplines. More women are concentrated in the arts and humanities while a greater proportion of men are in the physical sciences, engineering and technical subjects. Disparity in participation in higher education also exists between students from the south and the north of the country. More students from the southern part of Nigeria are enrolled in higher education compared to their northern counterparts. The problems facing higher education in Nigeria are not limited to disparity, but also include others like management of inadequate educational resources, inadequate financing, excessive welfare expenditure, confrontational staff and student unionism and manpower crisis. The prospects of solving these problems are also highlighted. In the next chapter we shall present the literature reviewed on studies of women in both the developed and Third World countries and some motivational theories which have formed the bases of our research questions.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW: STUDIES OF WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION AND MOTIVATIONAL THEORIES

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In Chapter 2 we have examined the policy-related, historical, social, religious and economic factors that have influenced the development of women's education in Nigeria and northern Nigeria in particular. We have identified the key issues as a general public neglect of women's education and uneven application of educational policies resulting in gender inequality in participation in education generally and in higher education in particular.

In this chapter, we shall consider these issues from the point of view of the individual and examine motivation theories that have been advanced to overcome the barriers and problems of women's higher education in northern Nigeria. Before doing this, we shall first review previous studies on women in both the developed and the developing countries so as to get a better perspective on why women in northern Nigeria are lagging behind in higher education. These studies would also help to identify the factors that could be used to motivate women to pursue higher education.

3.2 STUDIES OF WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

In this section we shall focus on the historical development of women's issues to highlight the different ways by which women's problems became recognised internationally and nationally in various countries and their implication for our study. We shall also discuss the different studies on women in higher education.

3.2.1 Historical Development of Women's Issues

Women's development issues have recently been the focus of many national and international organisations. The history of the focus on women's issues may be traced back to the formation of the UN, which has since its inception highlighted the advancement on women's rights within its framework (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1995).

The interest in women's political issues spearheaded by the United Nations (UN) and its agencies have contributed to greater interest on women's studies world-wide. The result of women's activism in both political and research arena have led to the increased realisation of the importance of the participation of women particularly in higher education as a means for making a more meaningful contribution to national and international development processes. As stated earlier, this study seeks to contribute to this process by exploring the factors that motivate women with specific reference to northern Nigeria to pursue higher education.

Since 1975 the UN perspective has changed especially with the increased number of Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) networks by which women's movement has had significant influence over global policy agenda. An example of such influence was the emergence of international women's movements as powerful political forces. The force of these movements has been evident at decisive UN conferences (Visvanathan, 1997). One such example is the idea which was taken up in 1972 by the UN Commission on the Status of Women to the General Assembly and

recommended that 1975 be declared the International Women's Year (Chen, 1995). Thus, the initiative of this NGO cannot be overemphasised in the role of the beginning of a new era for women and the emergence of global women's movement.

A significant event of the International Women's Year was the First World Conference on Women in Mexico City in 1975. The outcome of this conference was the adoption of a World Plan for Action. The first document to concentrate specifically on problems and concerns of women, relating to many aspects of their lives from education, food, health, family planning to political participation was produced (Chen, 1995; Peterson and Runyan, 1993). The next major event, which resulted from the recommendations of the Mexico conference, was the UN Decade for Women (1976-1985).

In 1980 a second World Conference on Women was held in Copenhagen to mark the halfway point of the decade and to assess if the targets set at Mexico had been achieved. A platform of action, which emphasised education, health and employment for women, was adopted at the end of this conference. The third World Conference was held in Nairobi in 1985 to mark the end of the decade and the final document of the Nairobi conference, which was the 'Forward Looking Strategies', was adopted (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1995).

The results of these world conferences are the increase in the number and types of women's NGOs in most countries. These organisations help with the mobilisation of women for change, delivering welfare or development services and researching into women's lives and work at the local, national and international levels. With the effort of the emerging network of women's NGOs, local meetings, seminars, workshops and projects on women sprang up around the world.

In Nigeria for example, many government and non-governmental organisations have contributed to the increased awareness of women's issues. For example, the 1987 Women's Education Unit workshop on Science, Technology and Mathematics, the national and zonal workshops organised by the Federal Ministry of Women's Affairs

and Social Development in 1997 aimed to create awareness among women about equal access to education and functional literacy. Other NGOs such as Women in Nigeria (WIN), National Association of University Women (NAUW) and women's professional groups have organised conferences and seminars to address women's development issues at different perspectives. Thus, with increasing mobilisation of women at different levels, women's development issues could no longer be ignored by respective governments.

With the vast experience women have gathered in the Women's Decade, the international women's movement was determined to make women visible in all world conferences, not just in special conferences designated for women. In the decade that followed, the UN Conference on Environment and Development held in Rio in 1992 was an example of where women's issues and concerns were officially put on a global agenda. The 1993 UN Conference on Human Rights held in Vienna and the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo were clear signs of the impact of women's movement's long struggle to change the public agenda and to make women's issues more obvious (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1995).

Throughout the history of women's movements, the period between 1975-1995 has particularly been dynamic in women's development activities. A fourth major UN conference was held in Beijing in 1995. At the end of this conference, a Platform for Action was adopted for implementation by all the member countries. As a follow up from the Beijing Conference, African First Ladies Summit on Peace and Humanitarian Issues was organised by the Nigerian government in 1997.

3.2.1.1 Interim Summary

In summary, the above discussions have shown that largely due to the efforts of the UN and its agencies women's issues have been made more obvious to the international, national and local communities. The important results of these political activities for this study is first, women's problem though highlighted still remain unsolved, and secondly it has implied that higher education plays a crucial role in

ensuring greater participation of women in policy making and implementation processes at both national and international levels. The next section will now review some women's studies with specific reference to higher education in the Developed countries.

3.2.2 Studies of Women in Higher Education in Developed Countries

In the previous section, we have discussed how local, national and international organisations started to focus on women's issues. Now we shall review some studies of women in higher education in the developed countries beginning with a brief description of the different approaches to the studies of women that we came across in our literature review.

3.2.2.1.Approaches to the Studies of Women

Although there may be different categorisation of the approaches to the studies of women, we have categorised the ones we reviewed into four. These studies generally tend to focus on feminist, gender, women's studies, and women and development outlooks. Those studies concerned with **feminists' issues** concentrate on the relative relationship between man and woman. The feminist theorists also question the marginalisation of women by men in all activities (Mcdowell and Pringel, 1992).

Unlike the feminist approach, **gender** studies seem to focus more on socially learned behaviour and expectations that distinguish between masculinity and femininity (Peterson and Runyan, 1993). Studies on gender issues generally concentrate on such areas as the social reproduction of gender inequality, gender labelling, gender stereotyping, and gender division of labour.

Taking a different approach from both feminist and gender studies, **women's studies** have generally focused on changing the status of women and aimed at changing the prevailing power structures. In the field of education women's studies seeks to achieve changes in course content so as to make knowledge more accessible to

women. This seems to have led to the increase of more women in higher educational institutions, while at the same time extending it to schools and the community. Thus women's studies quickly emerged as a discipline of study in many universities, especially in the USA (McDowell and Pringle, 1992).

The studies of **women and development** process overlaps with women's studies. However, women and development studies focus more on the actual and potential contributions by women in the development process at the various levels. This field was "propelled by public policies, popular movements as much as it is moulded by scholarly works" (Visvanathan, 1997:1).

These definitions have given us various perspectives regarding women's studies in general and based on these definitions, our study seems to lie in the interface between women's studies and women in development. In the next section we shall discuss studies on women's access to higher education in the developed countries and evaluate their relevance to our study.

3.2.3 Women's Access to Higher Education

Our review of literature on women's access to higher education in the developed countries can be classified into four main areas. These areas include the roles of government policies, socio-cultural, economic, institutional and personal factors. Each of these is discussed in turn below.

3.2.3.1 Government Policies

Altered government policies are the most common sources of widening women's access to higher education in many countries. For example in the Swedish educational system there is deliberate effort to reduce gender stereotypes (Scott cited in Sutherland, 1991). As a result of such polices, Wilson (1991) reported that women form over 50% of the Swedish students. Similarly in France the creation of a Women's Affairs Ministry to monitor employment practices and government social

and educational policies affecting the role of women in all segments of society has helped to increase women's access to higher education (Newell, 1977).

Another example of the role of government policy in improving women's access to higher education is in Britain where women have moved from being only one-quarter of undergraduates in the mid-1960s to around half in 1990. This was due not only to the higher rates of qualification among female school leavers, but also due to the broadening of higher education itself with the growth of polytechnics and colleges. Thus, between 1980-1990, of the total increase in university home full time students nine out of ten were women. At postgraduate level, women's share of those who qualified rose from a third to 40% (West and Lyon 1995:52).

3.2.3.2 Socio-cultural Factors Influencing Women's Access to Higher Education

Many studies have reported that socio-cultural factors can either aid or impede women's access to higher education. For example Bakken (1981) stated that support from family members; good relationships with faculty as well as other students were critical factors which aid women in their pursuit of higher education. Similarly, Kohn (1984) found in a study that the higher the parents' social class positions, defined by education and occupational position, the more likely they are to value self-direction (including the pursuit of higher education) in their children. Other encouraging factors were brought out by Abourserie (1995) and Lee (1986) who in their respective studies came to similar conclusions that not only fathers' educational level but also students' personalities, self-esteem, and achievement motivation have substantial influences on their approaches to study.

Turning to those studies that highlight negative socio-cultural factors affecting women's access to higher education, Erwin and Maurutto, (1998) suggested that the lack of female role models is a crucial one (women represent only 8% of full time science faculty at the university they carried out their study). Many of the participants in their study commented about not being taught by a female professor and complained about their absence in the programme generally. Besides the lack of

women role models, studies by Bakken (1981), Cullen (1993) and Sperling (1991) found factors such as transportation difficulties and the lack of adequate and affordable childcare, as impediments to women's study.

Mature women students too face many problems in their attempts to gain access into higher education. For example besides what Sperling (1991) calls the patriarchal structures and hierarchies within higher education, mature women are also often perceived as "intellectually incapable to study rather than being seen as the casualties of patriarchal socialisation" (Sperling, 1991: 202). Thus, the intellectual barriers to mature women's participation in higher education may overlook their experiences, skills and abilities.

3.2.3.3 Economic Factors Influencing Women's Access to Higher Education

The economic factors that tend to influence women's access to higher education include availability of adequate financial support, the financial implications of the geographical location of educational institutions, and the personal and social values about women's role and opportunities for employment. Furthermore, wherever private financing is the key to higher education, economic position and social class are critical in determining women's access to higher education (Newell, 1977). Another economic consideration which may urge women to enrol in higher education according to Mohney (1987), is the anticipation of attaining job satisfaction especially with better salary and fringe benefits.

3.2.3.4 Institutional Factors Influencing Women's Access to Higher Education

Universities in the United Kingdom have attempted to broaden access by encouraging the participation of under represented groups including women. Non-traditional access to higher education has been established by designing 'Access Courses' to increase entry into higher education for mature students without the usual entry qualifications (Leonard, 1994). However, West and Lyon (1995) and Sperling (1991) suggest that there are some institutional factors, which serve as major obstacles to

women in achieving equal opportunities in the universities. These obstacles include the unwillingness of some institutions to make the necessary resources available to women despite their professed policy of equal opportunities, the lack of suitable and sympathetic timetables, student-friendly teaching and assessment methods and educational guidance. Other institutional barriers include admission processes that either filter out women applicants or women not applying for places in higher education even after taking Access Courses.

Reasons for choosing a particular higher educational institution were highlighted by Martin (1996). In a study using a questionnaire administered in Australia these reason were found to include career preparation, specific academic programs, distance from home, academic reputation, quality of research programme and good library resources as having strong influences on students' choices of universities to attend.

3.2.3.5 Personal Factors Influencing Women's Access to Higher Education

Mohney's (1987) study brought out crucial factors, which influence women's personal decision to enrol in higher education 1. Predisposing Factors- competency based motives, career development, sense of 'time is now'; security based motives, family of origin, and intrinsic reward. 2. Enabling Factors- role demands lessened, support from others, financial ability, self-image needs and job needs. 3. Barriers to Prior Enrolment – role demands, child-related variables, self-image, family of origin, finances and unavailable classes.

3.2.3.6 Interim Summary

To summarise, our literature review on studies of women's access to higher education in the developed countries has shown that women's access to higher education has widened largely because of changes in governmental policies. Some governments have made deliberate efforts to increase the proportion of women admitted into higher institutions, or have introduced innovative programmes such as Access Courses to provide alternative avenues for admission to higher educational institutions to those who fail to get admission through the traditional process.

When women choose to pursue higher education, there are certain socio-cultural factors that can encourage or impede this decision. Some of the factors suggested in the reviewed literature which seem to encourage women in the developed countries to pursue higher education, include the support from family members, relationship with faculty and other students, parents' social class, women's self esteem and achievement motivation. Among the factors, which may impede women's access to higher education are the lack of female role models and the lack of adequate childcare facilities for those with children.

Many studies also show that adequate financial support, the opportunity for employment with good salary and fringe benefits are important economic factors, which tend to encourage women to pursue higher education. Beside these economic factors, some studies have shown that personal factors such as the need for career development, security need and less demand from grown up children tend to inspire women to enrol in higher educational institutions.

Some studies have indicated that certain institutional factors like Access Courses, distance from home, academic programmes, quality of research and library resources are among the factors which can have a positive influence on women's decision to attend particular higher educational institutions. On the other hand, factors such as unfriendly timetable and admission procedures may discourage women from enrolling in higher education.

We have discussed the factors that may facilitate or hinder women's access to higher education; next we shall discuss those factors that tend to influence women's career choices.

3.2.4 Area of Specialisation

3.2.4.1 Introduction

The literature review in the above section has identified some factors, which have led to increase in women's access to higher education in the developed countries. However, despite this increase in number and proportion in women's participation in higher education, they tend to concentrate in the social science and humanities areas and shy away from the science, engineering and technical courses. Certain governmental policies, socio-cultural, economic, institutional reasons as well as the technological challenges may influence women's decisions to follow certain fields of study as discussed below.

3.2.4.2 Government Policies

Public policy has always, directly and indirectly, been influencing students' choices of areas of study with varying degree of success. For example Scott (cited in Sutherland, 1991) pointed out that in the Swedish educational system despite the deliberate efforts to reduce gender stereotypes, the traditional bias in choice of subjects recurs in the upper secondary classes, just before they go into higher institutions. However successes were recorded in some countries like the USA where Wilmot (1980) found that women colleges as a group were more productive of female students pursuing post-graduate studies in non-traditional areas than were the coeducational institutions.

Furthermore, in the United Kingdom in the 1990s some reports recommended that efforts should be made by the government to recruit more women into the areas of Science, Engineering and Technology (SET). This is hoped to redress the skill shortage and to improve career opportunities for women in these areas (Watts et al. 1998). According to Henwood (1996), this effort influenced the Scottish government in 1995 to allocate a large sum of money for an initiative to reduce the under-representation in science, engineering and technology.

Besides government initiatives in the UK, there were many private pressure groups working directly and through the government to encourage the diversification of areas of studies for women. Pressure groups such as Women Into Science and Engineering (WISE) are encouraging the government to attract women into Science, Engineering

and Technology. In addition to their pressure group role, WISE had programs such as the production of booklets, awards and researches aimed at encouraging women to consider careers in Science and Engineering (Henwood, 1996).

3.2.4.3 Socio-cultural Factors Influencing Women's Choices of Subjects to Study

Although there have been some changes in the relative participation of women according to fields of study, a similar pattern of gender inequalities exists in the areas of specialisation and career aspirations across countries. An example of such inequalities from our literature review show that in Canada, UK and the USA the number of women continues to lag behind that of men especially in science and technology related fields. The vast majority of women are concentrated in the arts, social sciences and teacher education (Statistics Canada 1995; Watts et al. 1998; Adams 1993). Consequently, these areas of women concentration often lead them to lower status, lower paying and less secure jobs (Byrne, 1993).

The low level of participation of women in science and technology might have been a result of social cognitive factors, rather than differences in objective measures of academic aptitude or ability. This might have contributed to the decision of women to leave science and engineering (Astin and Sax 1994; Hurtodo1994). Contrasting this suggestion, Erwin and Maurotto, (1998) found out that some women left the sciences as a result of personal failure accruing from the lost of interest or the decision that science was not for them. Furthermore, Watts et al. (1998) pointed out that the discrepancies in women's participation in science, technology and engineering in higher education might have been due to what is referred to as 'sticky floors.' This concept refers to the result of stereotyped career guidance, which discourages girls and women from enrolling in science, engineering and technology even before they begin higher educational study.

Along the same line, focusing on gender disparities in career aspirations, Henwood (1996) assumes that it is the inappropriate qualifications that prevent women from entering science and technology. It is also argued that women lack detailed

information about specific jobs and opportunities in science and technological careers and hence select inappropriate areas of study. Even with full information on career choices, there are still biases as indicated in Lightbody's (1997) study. This study based on data collected through questionnaire from students at a university in Scotland show that women tend to favour law and medicine rather than technological courses because they see the former courses as leading to useful social roles that allow a higher level of social contact.

Even where women have made the efforts to redress the imbalance by going into the 'men's' domains' there is a tendency in some countries to redefine the boundaries of gender career stereotypes. West and Lyon (1995) emphasised that women's achievements in formerly male dominated areas become degraded feminisation, while high status shifts to new male-dominated fields. For example, in Poland, women's achievement in medicine has feminised science and in Belgium girls' achievements in mathematics have shifted the gender and status division. Therefore, women's outstanding achievements have not made much impact on their labour market opportunities.

Regarding gender inequality in career aspirations, results from a study by Peterson. et al. (1982) explained how traditional sex-role attitudes reflected parents' decision regarding the career goals of adolescents. Fathers were for example, found to have preferred domestic roles for their daughters more than the adolescent girls themselves. Such traditional sex role attitudes have also been found to relate to socio-economic status with the influence of class on adolescent career orientations. Parents' guidance concerning the choice of study area has, however, not always been followed. This is highlighted in independent studies by Brown (1986) which concluded that the women they studied had been encouraged by their parents to pursue their academic goals in line with sex role stereotyped aspirations and goals. These were however, redirected by the women due to a variety of experiences at college.

At the societal level, Acker (1984) discussed the socio-economic theories of the reproduction of socio-economic inequality over the generations of an unequal and

hierarchical social and sexual division of labour. According to these theories, women in higher education tend to enrol in limited subjects because it is what the capitalist and patriarchal society expects or even 'needs.' Social reproduction, according to Bilton, et al. (1996) is a process by which the reproduction of inequality occurs. This process is brought about by the knowledgeable use of rules and resources by actors engaging in routine practice of life (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977).

3.2.4.4 Economic Factors influencing Women's Choice of Subjects to Study

The choice of a field of study by women is often influenced by the job opportunities available to them. Santiago and Eirnarson (1998:185) suggested that women are as optimistic as males in their expectations of finding a job, annual salary and career advancement opportunities. However, some employers are reluctant to employ women and many continue to stress what they call 'the negative reasons for recruiting women,' namely 'shortages of male labour supply.' Devine (1992) explains this as the economic factors (skill shortages) that reluctantly push the employers to recruit women in technical jobs rather than the social factors (equal opportunities).

Such attitudes might force women to study other courses where employment is easily available rather than face the chances of not finding a suitable job after graduation.

3.2.4.5 Institutional Factors Influencing Women's Choices of Subjects to Study

Institutions may influence the decisions of students to study certain subjects. Some of the institutional factors that tend to encourage the retention of women in the sciences in a Canadian university for example, included curricula changes, short-term intervention strategies, increase of female faculty role models, introduction of promotional activities and the formation of peer support groups. On the other hand, factors such as unsympathetic curricula which are heavily inclined towards theory or 'heavy' industry rather than applied projects for society, inadequate course flexibility,

time-table consideration and laboratory schedules tend to discourage some women from enrolling in the sciences (Watts et al. 1998).

3.2.4.6 Technological Challenges

While traditional attitudes are still to be found in many societies, yet there are many changes in the choice of career by women. According to Belis (1986) some of these changes are due to a number of factors which include movement towards sex equality. The second factor is the rapid development in computer and electronics, which ensure that women are taking up significant roles in technical employment. The third factor is the encouragement of both sexes to be involved in technical activities as exemplified in Romania. The fourth factor is the presence of women engineering lecturers as role models, which has helped to increase the percentage of women in engineering.

3.2.4.7 Interim Summary

To sum up, many of the studies reviewed have shown that women are increasingly enrolling in science, engineering and technology courses, but they continue to lag behind men in these courses. Despite the many programmes by some governments and pressure groups to increase women's awareness of the opportunities in these areas, many studies have shown the persistence of gender inequality in science, engineering and technical subjects especially at the higher educational level.

The low proportion of women in science and technical subjects has been blamed by some researchers on the stereotyped career guidance women receive at secondary schools. Other factors identified are the lack of adequate information about job opportunities in these subjects for women, traditional sex-role attitudes, which the women have themselves internalised and the general tendency for societies to reproduce social and economic inequality thereby directing women to follow similar careers over generations.

Other factors often mentioned in the literature reviewed included curricula which emphasise more theory than practice, inadequate course timetable flexibility and laboratory schedules which may conflict with women's other roles thus making it more difficult for them to effectively cope with the courses. The reluctance of some employers to employ women in these fields also seems to be another reason for their continued concentration in those traditional areas where they have better job prospects. However, there are technological challenges that appear to encourage some women to make inroads into the areas generally considered as 'men's domains.'

3.2.5 Discontinuing and Returning to Higher Education

3.2.5.1 Reasons for Discontinuing with Higher Education

This review of literature has shown that a number of factors could be responsible for forcing women to discontinue their studies in higher educational institutions after they have begun. Scott et al. (1996), for example based on a study in Australia have identified a number of factors as major reasons that force women to drop out of higher educational institutions. Some of these factors include low social class of either the women or their husbands, lack of support from family, lack of money, weight of domestic responsibility, course dissatisfaction and the lack of knowledge or skills expected at university.

Deldin (1980) in a study listed all the factors identified by Scott et al. (1996), but added the following as reasons why students including women withdraw from higher education. These were the conflict between job and studies, personal problems, dissatisfaction with scheduling of classes, amount of contact with instructors, poor academic advising service and the lack of opportunity to interact with peers.

3.2.5.2 Returning to Higher Education

Many circumstances may encourage women to return to higher education after a break for some time. These can be grouped into the 'pull' and 'push' factors. The pull factors include the need to learn new skills like computing, total change in career

(Thompson 1993; Leonard 1994) and the presence of continuing educational programs that offer evening classes (Jurgela, 1991).

Some of the push factors mentioned by various researchers include the need to enhance self-confidence (Leonard, 1994; Keogh 1980), desire to break out of domesticity and low paid work (Pascall and Cox 1993), avoid boredom due to less demand from grown up children (Leonard, 1994; Pascall and Cox 1993). Other factors highlighted are to prove the capability to enjoy intellectual stimulation, the unreasonable attitude of a husband and the effect of educated mothers who encourage their daughters to return to higher education (Matsui, 1996), dissatisfaction with a job and encouragement from friends and family (Jurgela, 1991).

Besides the pull and push factors discussed above, the literature review also showed some factors which tend to hinder the return of women to higher education. Some studies reveal that multiple role strain, educational costs, relevance of the curriculum and issues related to timetable flexibility are some of such factors (Jurgela 1991, Mohney 1987).

3.2.5.3 Interim Summary

The literature review has shown that reasons such as inadequate financial support, weight of domestic responsibilities, course dissatisfaction and poor academic performance may force women to discontinue with their studies. The reasons that seem to encourage women to return to higher education on the other hand, include the need to learn new skills, decreasing demand from children; the desire to break away from domesticity and poorly paid work, opportunity for evening classes and the influence of educated mothers. Many of the studies reviewed also suggest that reasons such as low social class, inadequate financing, lack of support from family, incompatibility of class schedules with other responsibilities and other personal problems may discourage women from returning to higher education.

3.3 STUDIES OF WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE THIRD WORLD

3.3.1 Introduction

We have presented discussions based on studies of women in higher education in the developed countries above. Our next discussion shall concentrate on studies of women in higher education in the Third World and their implications for our study.

The literature review from the Third World countries is grouped into three; access to higher education, area of study, and discontinuing, or returning to higher education. The literature review relating to Third World countries uses the classification as in the developed countries. However in this section the issue of regional disparity appears to be significant enough to be discussed under a separate sub-heading.

3.3.2 Access to Higher Education

Women's access to higher education in the Third World, like in the developed countries, can be influenced by factors relating to government policies, socio-cultural attitudes, economic conditions and educational institutional policy factors. Literature from many developing countries seem to place varying degrees of emphasis on these factors, as we shall discuss below.

3.3.2.1 Government Policies

Government policies tend to either positively or negatively influence the level of women's access to higher education. The national development plans of many countries, for example those of India and the Philippines (Jayaweera 1997:250) have placed adequate emphasis on the empowerment of women through appropriate policies. Some countries, however, do not seem to recognise this imbalance let alone attempt to solve it (Deble, cited in Kelly 1984). Even among those countries that appreciate the problem, very few attempt to do so either through the revision of school curricula or the promotion of women's studies (Huq et al., 1992; Chanana 1993).

3.3.2.2 Socio-cultural Factors Influencing Women's Access to Higher Education

Concerning socio-cultural issues affecting women's access to higher education in the Third World. A number of authors have identified some factors that tend to influence women's access to education. These include, parents' and community attitude on girls' Western education, the opportunities for advancement in employment, religion and the perceived value of education by women, parents and the society at large

In an encompassing review of literature on women's education in the sub-Sahara, Hyde (1989) suggests some factors affecting the levels of enrolment, attainment and wastage of girls' higher education in African countries. These include, but are not limited to, negative parental and community attitudes towards the Western education of girls; the opportunity cost of girls; general levels of wealth, unfavourable labour market opportunities, the curriculum offered to girls and regional disparities between urban and rural areas. In discussing the problems of women's relative lower access to higher education, some studies have identified relevant socio-cultural factors. Also social factors including family, societal, institutional and economic factors still combine to inhibit women access to higher education in places like Uganda (Mayanja, 1998).

Even in countries with relatively equal access to educational opportunity, it seems that women have been unable to gain equal employment opportunities. Jayaweera (1997) points out that even in countries with relatively equal access to educational opportunities, such as in the Philippines, Sri Lanka and Malaysia, women have only reached the second high-level management, but with minimal representation at the highest level. Some of the intervening factors identified to be responsible for this situation are societal, institutional and personal.

Religion is another factor, which tends to influence women's access to higher education. In a study of Buddhist and Muslim communities in India, Chanana (1993) concludes that gender becomes the all-encompassing negative parameter conferring disadvantages on women in their race for equality and social justice.

Perhaps more central to the issue of women's access to higher education is the perceived value of education by women, parents and the society at large. Studies from some developing countries show the use of different criteria from the largely economic one used in the West. For example in the perception of elite families in India and Pakistan, higher education is valued for status achievement and improved matrimonial prospects rather than for employment or economic independence (Jayaweera, 1997).

3.3.2.3 Economic Factors Influencing Women's Access to Higher Education

Although in some societies the social outcome of higher education is considered more important, economic factors also tend to play a significant role in women's access to higher education. On the positive side they tend to extend the roles of women within the family and the society at large. Bhalalusesa (1998:32) points out that educated women have realised that they can also play a role of 'provider' for the family while maintaining their traditional role as wives and mothers. The degree to which this extended role can adequately be performed can be related to the level of education and the related employment it brings as suggested by Kelly (1989).

Poverty on the other hand can be a limiting factor to women's access to higher education and to their societal roles. Jayaweera (1995), for example, suggests that poverty has prevented girls in the secondary schools in countries such as the Philippines, Sri Lanka and Indonesia from utilising higher educational opportunities. A three-generational study in Sri Lanka found out that despite free primary, secondary and tertiary (including university) education since 1945, women in low-income families continued to be school dropouts. Women from middle and upper-middle-class urban and rural families had rapid access to university education, postgraduate and even studies abroad.

3.3.2.4 Institutional Factors Influencing Women's Access to Higher Education

Our literature review has shown that some higher educational institutions have taken positive actions toward reducing gender and regional disparity in access to higher education. The University of Mekerere for example, in 1991/92 was said to have granted a bonus of 1.5% of admissions to women so as to raise the level of their participation. This policy helped to improve women's participation, which reached 34% in 1993/94 as compared to 23% in 1990/91 according to Mayanja (1998).

Our literature review also highlighted factors such as lack of safety in some institutions, for example in Papua New Guinea (Geissenger 1997), demands for high grades as entry requirements, as in Uganda (Mayanja, 1998), to increase the inequality in access to higher education. The lack of adequate study places as shown in a study in Sri-Lanka and the Philippines; although private institutions have reduced the problem by providing alternatives in the latter case (Jayaweera, 1997) are other factors limiting women's access to higher education.

To reduce women's inequality in access to higher education, a Saudi Arabian study (Khuthaila, 1981) has drawn attention to some needed institutional changes. Changes such as the diversification of content focus, redefinition of admission system, and the elimination of the separation of men and women at least at the administrative and faculty levels.

3.3.2.5 Interim Summary

Our literature review has shown that women's access to higher educational institutions in the Third World has increased over the years largely due to the deliberate efforts by some governments to empower women and involve them in the development processes of their countries. The review has also highlighted some socio-cultural and economic factors which may increase women's access to higher education to include parental social class, employment opportunities, the need for economic independence and security and the need to contribute to the family's income. The efforts by higher educational institutions in some Third World countries to bridge the gap between the enrolment of men and women in higher education by allotting a certain percentage of

the admissions to women has also been suggested to increase women's access to higher education.

On the other hand, some studies have shown those socio-economic factors such as negative parental attitude, rural-urban disparities, unfavourable labour market opportunities, poverty and the opportunity cost of girls' education could discourage women's access to higher education. Furthermore, factors such as the lack of safety in the higher institutions and the inadequate number of higher institutions may act as inhibitors to women's access to higher education.

3.3.3 Area of Specialisation

As would be expected many studies show that the choice of the area of study by women seems to be guided by some socialisation factors, thus they tend to choose those areas that are more receptive to them and shy away from science and technology related. This view is supported by Jayaweera (1997:255) who stated that in recent decades, "neither higher education nor rapid economic development has changed the gender-segregated occupational structure in a context in which technology is perceived to be a male domain by employers and women themselves." Women tend to be 'technology-shy' and those in high-level technology-related jobs experience gender-based discrimination in recruitment and promotions. This contention is further supported by a study in Sri Lanka, where women university students were said to have feelings of inferiority in what they perceived to be male-dominated ethos (Liyanage, 1996).

3.3.3.1 Socio-cultural Factors Influencing Women's Choice of Subjects to Study

Findings of an in-depth semi-structured interview of women from some Third World countries (Africa, Brazil, South-east Asia) studying at a university in the UK, Bhalalusesa (1998) suggests that sources of influence for women's career aspirations are mainly socio-cultural and psychological deeply rooted in the traditional values and practices. Major sources of influence in women's motivational orientation to career

development were found to be the intrinsic motivation to succeed and parental influence with the father taking a leading role. Parents' influence seems to be a function of their level of education and socio-economic status. Being educated, the parents did not discriminate in their responsibility of educating their children regardless of their biological sex. Such parents appreciate the education of their daughters and often encourage them to attain educational qualifications either equivalent to or beyond their own achievements.

Bhalalusesa's (1998) study also emphasises the importance of role models as a source of influence in women's careers and professional development. Regardless of the minimum influence the subjects of her study got from their mothers, they considered it crucial in influencing their career development. They also perceived themselves as different kinds of role models to their daughters than their mothers were to them.

The role of socio-cultural values in determining the choice of subjects in many African countries has resulted in a systematic attempt in the educational systems in Africa to provide better opportunities for boys than girls in the fields of science and technology. The under-representation of women in science and technology in Africa is largely due to cultural norms and values concerning the appropriate male and female roles as well as gender definition of areas of knowledge (United Nations, 1984; Alele-Williams, 1987; Mayanja, 1998). This under-representation is also found to be a common feature in places like Saudi Arabia as reported by El-Sanabary (1994) after a study through interview with Saudi women faculty and students and documentary research. The study concludes that despite the expansion of women's education in the country, the educational system continues to place emphasis on women's reproduction and nurturing functions.

3.3.3 2 Interim Summary

Studies on women's choice of career in the Third World countries have shown that, like the developing countries, women are under represented in the science and technology careers, which are often perceived, as 'males' domains.' Some of the

reasons often cited in the studies reviewed indicated that parents tend to have influence on their children's career choice and the more educated the parents the more likely they are not to discriminate between males and female children's career choice. Other factors affecting the career choice of women in the developing countries include gender segregation in curriculum, cultural norms concerning the right profession for males and females, and the availability of role models.

3.3.4 Barriers in Women's Access to Higher Education

In many countries in the Third World, there are socio-cultural, economic, and institutional barriers which impede the participation of women in higher education. We shall discuss each in turn.

3.3.4.1 Socio-cultural Barriers

Socio-cultural barriers to women's higher education in the Third World countries include the lack of women role models, gender socialisation and living patterns. In Papua New Guinea for example, girls are not offered much encouragement to enrol in school or remain there if they do get there and as a result, there is the dearth of women role models (Geissinger, 1997). Besides the preference for girls' early marriage in the villages, the perception that the benefit of a girls' education is more to the family of marriage, therefore, if families must choose between sending their sons or daughters to school, the sons will be chosen first (Geissinger, 1997; Okeke, 1989). Girls are also thought to lose their knowledge of the culture, roles as gardeners, child-bearers and homemakers if they attain Western education (Yeoman 1987). Women's chances of entry into secondary and tertiary educational institutions are also limited if they live in remote areas and or come from disadvantaged families.

Bhalalusesa's (1998) study suggests that a woman's access to higher education and career development is contingent with her type of marriage. A supportive and understanding husband may create a conducive and peaceful atmosphere for a woman to pursue her career. On the other hand, if the husband is not supportive, the woman

may be forced to make the difficult choice of either keeping her career, divorcing or abandoning her career aspirations. Divorce may cause a dilemma and may make her lose the respect and social rewards accredited to a married woman.

Focusing on the ways to overcome the barriers in women's access to higher education, by Hassan (1995) suggests that family support; positive attitudes of employers and male colleagues, effective policies, and strong personalities are necessary.

3.3.4.2 Economic Barriers

Gordon (1996) states that in countries like Zimbabwe poverty serves as a barrier to women's access to formal education. Also the poor economic conditions of countries like Papua New Guinea has resulted in lay-offs in the workforce and more women than men have been laid-off and are less likely to be hired in the first place (Geissinger, 1997). These might constitute barriers to economic opportunities and hence may discourage people from sending their daughters for higher education.

3.3.4.3 Interim Summary

The literature review has identified some factors which constrain women's participation in higher education in the Third World. These include, but are not limited to, the traditional attitudes about women's education, living patterns, lack of parents or husbands' support, lack of personal security in some higher educational institutions, the lack of women role models and increased poverty. These factors have been reported to make many societies prefer to educate their sons over their daughters.

3.4 STUDIES OF WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION IN NIGERIA

3.4.1 Introduction

While the above section focused generally on Third World countries, this section of the literature review focuses specifically on studies of women's higher education in Nigeria. Studies on the factors relating to access, areas of study and regional and urban-rural disparities are discussed below. The access and study area factors are each grouped into government policy, sociocultural, economic and institutional. Other factors discussed in this section include the barriers to access and returning to higher education.

3.4.2 Access to Higher Education

3.4.2.1 Government Policy

Most of the Nigerian government's documents reviewed have credited the increased public activities to improve women's conditions to the many international conferences such as the 1975 Mexico Conference and the 1985 Nairobi UN Conference. Many of these conferences highlighted the issue of women's education and suggested policies and strategies to promote women's education (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1995). One of the consequences of these was the establishment of a Women's Education Unit in the Nigerian Federal and states ministries of education. The main functions of these units were to formulate policies and programs on women's education. Thus in 1987, the Blue Print on Women's Education was approved and deliberate efforts have been made to achieve the programme objectives, which include the following:

1. Providing more educational opportunities for girls from primary to tertiary levels;
2. Creating awareness of all citizens of the fact that equal opportunities exist irrespective of gender, age, locality, creed or special status;
3. Re-orienting the attitude of all females, irrespective of age towards education and promoting the education of girls and women in the Science, Technology and Mathematics (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1995:30).

Other public programs in Nigeria to promote women's access to education also resulted from the 1995 Beijing Conference on Women, which include the following.

1. Training, courses, workshops, national and international conferences undertaken by women to enhance their capabilities for contributing to nation building.
2. Establishment of girl-children school in catchment areas to bridge gender gaps in education.
3. Building of female hostels in some states to provide conducive atmosphere for girl-child education.
4. Promotion of a gender sensitive curricula for primary and secondary schools.
5. Award of scholarships to outstanding children especially girls to pursue science and technology education.
6. National workshop on equal access to education and functional literacy (FRN, 1997: 8-10)

Besides the nation-wide efforts, Okeke (1989) has pointed out that the federal government has also launched programmes targeting regions lagging in women's education. Some of these programmes have focused on encouraging female education in the Muslim-dominated states of northern Nigeria where female enrolment lags substantially behind that of males and also that of females in other regions of the country.

Apart from the above government's policies and programmes, there have been many programmes executed by Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) to promote women's education. Some of these programmes include public enlightenment lectures, campaigns, seminars and workshops. The NGOs also lobbied for the state governments' legislation prohibiting withdrawals of girls from school at an early stage and making it compulsory for all girls of school age to attend school. As a result of their activities some state governments have adopted free education policies for all females indigenous of their states (FRN, 1995).

Despite these well laid out objectives and programmes on women's education by government and non-governmental initiatives, women in Nigeria in general and northern Nigeria in particular are still lagging behind especially in higher education.

3.4.2.2 Socio-cultural Factors Influencing Women's Access to Higher Education

Some studies in Nigeria have accredited the socio-cultural-factors facilitating women's access to higher education to some general changes in the society. Some of these include changes in social values and attitudes toward women. Many of these changes were due to the efforts of women's organisations such as the Women in Nigeria (WIN) and some women's professional organisations that have been working hard to promote equalities in education, economy, and health (Okeke 1989; Awe cited in Parpart, 1990). Evidence of some of these changes could be seen in a study of the Hausa people of Kano (northern Nigeria) by Musa (1981). The study found that majority of the subjects in the study was in favour of Hausa women attaining higher education. Sources of encouragement for women to attain higher education identified in this study include the development of a closer bond between the home and school, availability of single-sex schools for girls, and the establishment of day care centres. Another source of encouragement to women's access to higher education in Nigeria according to Awe (1989) is the parents' level of education whereby there is a tendency for the children of educated parents to receive more support to all levels of education.

Regarding the factors which impede women's access to education in Nigeria, Hassan (1992) and Okeke (1989) consider historical, cultural and economic reasons to be important. Furthermore, many parents tend to feel that educating females is a waste of time and resources since they will end up as housewives and the economic return of their education may benefit the husbands more than the parents

3.4.2.3 Economic and Factors Influencing Women's Access to Higher Education

An economic factor that seem to influence women's access to higher education in many developed and developing countries also seems to feature in Nigeria. Biraimah's (1987) study pointed out that Nigerian women who gain access to university are most often from higher socio-economic status families. These families have likely to acquire more egalitarian norms and values toward women and may be

economically able to sacrifice the immediate economic return from their daughters' early entry into the job market.

Besides the influence of parental socio-economic status in women's access to higher education, women's anticipation of securing attractive jobs after graduation (Musa, 1981) and economic necessity have led to changes in women's educational patterns in Nigeria. Commenting on economic necessity, Okeke, (1989) for example, was of the opinion that in the past bride price was thought to inhibit women's education, but now it seems to encourage it as it is related to a woman's level of education. This change in perception might have occurred because of the higher potential earning power and greater financial contribution to the family's budget of the highly educated woman over the less educated one.

Another economic motive to pursuing higher education as reported by Muckenhirn (cited in Biraimah, 1987) after study of girls' education in western Nigeria is that education was viewed by the girls in the study not as an end in itself, but rather as a ticket to financial security. Such a perception may not be different among girls in northern Nigeria as well.

3.4.2.4 Institutional Factors Influencing Women's Access to Higher Education

Although certain institutional factors may encourage women to pursue higher education, others may not. Studies such as the one conducted by the Sokoto State Ministry of Education (cited in Wasagu and Abubakar, 1995) show that irrelevant curriculum is one of the major reasons suggested by parents for the poor participation of female population in Western education. Many parents in the study believed that the present school curriculum does not conform to the Islamic tradition and cultural values of the society.

3.4.2.5 Interim Summary

To sum up, the Nigerian government and other NGOs have implemented many programmes in order to facilitate women's access to education. The literature review has shown that as a result of these efforts there has been increase in enrolment of women to higher education. Besides these encouragements, the general societal awareness and change of attitude towards women's education and the availability of single-sex schools have also helped in inspiring women to pursue higher education. Some economic factors mentioned in the literature review to influence women's access to higher education include the parents' socio-economic status and the job opportunities for attractive jobs after graduation. Those factors that are reported as obstacles to women's access to higher education in Nigeria relate to the historical, cultural, economic and institutional reasons.

3.4.3 Area of Specialisation

3.4.3.1 Government Policy

In Nigeria like other Third World countries, there has been continuing dominance of males in some educational sectors and the clustering of women in the arts and social sciences rather than engineering and technical courses (Ware cited in Parpart 1990). Specific policies to redress this situation have been implemented by the Nigerian government.

In order to promote Science, Technology and Mathematics among girls and women in Nigeria, the Federal Women Education Unit (FWEU) in 1987 organised a workshop to discuss and promote Science, Technology and Math among women. This resulted in the formation of the Nigerian Association of Women in Science, Technology and Mathematics (NAWSTEM) in 1989. In order to encourage the study of these subjects by women, scholarships were awarded to those who excel in senior secondary school in those areas by the FWEU (FRN, 1995). These concerted efforts notwithstanding, women in Nigeria in general and in northern Nigeria in particular are still far behind their male counterparts in the science and technical fields.

3.4.3.2 Socio-cultural Factors Influencing Women's Choices of Subjects to Study

Not only are fewer women receiving education in Nigeria, but according to Awe (1990) and WIN Document (1985) even those who do, tend to receive a different type of education from their male counterparts. The general belief in Nigeria like other developing countries that certain fields like engineering, physics, mathematics were either not suitable for women, or were perceived as difficult for them to study might have contributed to this tendency. Where women opt for the sciences, they tend to study subjects that seem to be of 'acceptable feminine' interests.

To support the above contention, Wasagu and Abubakar (1995), UNESCO (1980), WIN Document, (1985) reported that most of the school science and social science textbooks in Nigeria are written by men who tend to portray male superiority. Most of the illustrations in the physical sciences books and other school curriculum textbooks contain more illustrations of men than of women. Quite often women are portrayed in gender stereotyped activities, with emphasis as being caring, sympathetic and a weaker gender, which may imply the females as being incompetent, indecisive and incapable of leadership. Teachers are also said to reinforce prejudice and stereotypes in their pupils by their assumptions of what is the proper role for each gender (Wasagu and Abubakar 1995).

In an attempt to provide a profile of women scientists and technologists in Nigeria, Erinosho (1994) used a questionnaire survey of women undergraduates pursuing careers in science and humanities and career women in the field of science and technology. Her findings suggest that a woman scientist and technologist in Nigeria is of a background which consisted of a mother with high education, father in science-based occupation and attendance of single-sex schools. The study concluded that the motives for studying different fields of study included the extrinsic rewards of a career in the field, altruistic value of a career (intrinsic), positive attitude towards science, interest and self-rating of ability to cope with the programme.

Concerning the Nigerian women's inroads into science and technology subjects. Delano (1995) in a study among the Yoruba in southern Nigeria revealed that females are breaking the traditional paradigm in their aspirations to certain gender stratified professions. The study reveals that urban females tend to aspire towards non-traditional fields than the rural females and women with a high socio-economic background were more likely to aspire towards traditional male profession.

Our literature review has not established that there are genetically based constraints on women's ability for science. Erinosho's study (1994) therefore, concludes that the under representation of women in the science and technology in Nigeria may rely upon social and environmental factors such as the society, home and school. The interaction between these socialisation agencies may result into the differences in the achievement behaviour of boys and girls as well as the motive for the choice of subjects.

3.4.3.3 Institutional Factors Influencing Women's Choices of Subjects to Study

Lockheed and Lee (1990) in a study of some schools in the southern states of Nigeria using questionnaires summarised that single-sex schools affect Nigerian girls positively in increasing mathematics achievement and in engendering less stereotypic views of mathematics. Other advantages for girls-only schools relate to the matching of the genders of teachers and students. In the study, all the teachers in the sampled math classes were female. This condition, the researchers argued, may foster supportive relationship between female staff and students while the teachers' presence as role models may inspire the academic excellence of the students.

3.4.3.4 Interim Summary

A summary of the factors influencing Nigerian women's choice of subjects to study at the higher educational institutions shows that despite government's deliberate policies to encourage women into the science and technical fields, they still tend to dominate the arts and humanities areas. The lack of women's adequate participation in the science and technology fields seem to be the result of the societal expectations of

them as well as the impact of the school socialisation which seem to emphasis sex role stereotyping. The importance of the intrinsic and extrinsic rewards of a profession, parent's level of education, living patterns and single-sex schools with more women role models in encouraging women to study the sciences was also indicated in some of the studies.

3.4.4 Barriers in Women's Access to Higher Education in Nigeria

Despite the concerted efforts of the federal and states governments and the general change of attitudes towards women's education in Nigeria, there still exist many barriers, which impede their participation in higher education. The literature review reveals that many socio-cultural, economic and institutional factors as well as technological challenges are responsible for the barriers and shall be discussed below.

3.4.4.1 Socio-cultural Barriers

One of the many socio-cultural barriers that may impede the access of women to higher education as suggested by Okeke (1989) and Musa (1981) is the fear of not finding a suitable husband after graduation or the difficulty they may encounter in getting one. The Nigerian society in general and the Hausa society in particular give a married woman respectable roles, which she may forfeit if she decides to pursue higher education instead of getting married. Time constraints, which compel women to spend more time on domestic activities and less time on their studies is also another important factor considered to impede the higher education of women (Eular-Ajayi, 1989).

The system of early marriage and the institution of "purdah" in northern Nigeria are other major constraints to women's access to higher education according to Awe (1990). Contrasting the issue of purdah, Mohammed (1991) pointed out that the institution of purdah in northern Nigeria is gradually being replaced by the system of veiling. While purdah restricts women to their houses, veiling allows them to go out

when modestly dressed and is therefore less constraining to women's access to higher education.

3.4.4. 2 Economic Barriers

Economic factors in terms of high cost of education and slim employment opportunities have tended to act as barriers to women's access to higher education. For example, Okeke (1989) has suggested that high cost of education, opportunity cost to parents in terms of foregone earnings reduces girls' access to education especially higher education in Nigeria. The discriminatory practices in the labour market whereby employers prefer to hire men, or confine women to low-paying jobs (Eular-Ajayi, 1989), thereby discouraging parents from investing in their daughter's education is another economic impediment to women's higher education in Nigeria (Okeke, 1989). Many girls, therefore, tend to stop their education at lower levels where there is less competition with men in the labour market

3.4.4.3 Institutional Barriers

Besides the socio-cultural constraints to women's access to higher education in Nigeria, some institutional factors also tend to contribute in the impediment. Lockheed and Lee (1990) stated factors such as the lack of physical safety and proximity of school as some of the institutional barriers discouraging school attendance for females in developing countries. The threat of physical safety may be minimised in schools where both faculty and students are primarily female. Girls' schools may be seen as safe and conducive environments where learning without social disruption may occur.

3.4.4.4 Technological Challenges

Due to the worldwide rapid development in scientific and technological education, the Nigerian females have another barrier to surmount. Most of the female education has been geared towards the arts and humanities and unfortunately even those who are in

the fields of science and technology are not effectively exposed to the more recent tools such as computers and multi-media. To be among the highly paid workers in Nigeria, now, scientific and technical knowledge is a requisite according to Hassan (1992). It is further asserted that the lack of adequate representation of women in these fields which have been labelled as 'men's', reflect the social values and customs which are used to widen the gap between males and females in technological advances and inventions.

3.4.4.5 Interim Summary

The literature review in the above section shows that some of the major socio-cultural constraints to women's higher education in Nigeria are related to societal attitudes towards the higher education of women. The economic constraints pointed out in some of the studies include the opportunity cost for girls' education, discriminatory job opportunities and high cost of education. The lack of personal security due to physical threats and the proximity of the institutions of higher education have been mentioned by some of the researchers to be among the personal reasons that may discourage women to enrol in higher educational institutions. Nigerian women are also faced with the technological challenges since they are still underrepresented in the technical fields.

3.4.5 Other Issues

3.4.5.1 Regional and Urban-Rural Disparities

Some studies from the Third World countries reviewed (Jayaweera 1997; Mayanja 1998; Chanana 1993; Gessinger 1997) have shown that disparities exist in the access to education between regions of the same country. Such disparities arose largely due to the differences in levels of education and income between the people in different parts of the same country, religious and cultural inclinations, the location of more tertiary institutions in the urban centres and the lack of female role models in the rural areas.

In Nigeria, like many other Third World countries, there is regional disparity besides that of gender, which places students from certain geographical locations at more advantage than others. One example of disparity is between the northern and southern regions due to some historical antecedents and within one region, there exists rural-urban disparity as discussed earlier in Chapter 2.

Table 3.1 Number of Candidates Who Took The University Matriculation Examination in 1996

TOP SIX STATES		BOTTOM SIX STATES	
No. Of candidates		**No. of candidates**	
Delta	39,674	Borno	1,080
Imo	38, 526	Katsina	841
Edo	32,234	Sokoto	751
Anambra	30, 274	Taraba	647
Ogun	28,666	Kebbi	747
Ondo	28,422	Yobe	465

Source: JAMB Registry, 1997

Tables 3.1 and 3.2 illustrate the disparity between the north and the south in entry into the three components of higher education in Nigeria in the recent entrance examination.

Table 3.2 Number of Candidates Who Sat For Polytechnics and Colleges of Education Matriculation Examinations in 1998

TOP SIX STATES		BOTTOM SIX STATES	
No. of Candidates		**No. of Candidates**	
Ogun	23,079	Borno	121
Oyo	15,695	Katsina	90
Osun	15,514	Taraba	70
Imo	13,170	Yobe	45
Ondo	11,162	Sokoto	37
Delta	9,724	Zamfara	12

Source: JAMB Registry, 1998

In both tables the states with the highest number of candidates are all southern states while the bottom six are all northern states even after factoring national population ranking. For example, in the 1991 census, Sokoto state ranked the third highest with a population of 4,392,391 (National Population Committee, 1992). Despite the relatively high population, very few candidates applied for the matriculation examination to any of the three components of higher education. If the number of students applying for higher education is less from the northern states, then we can even expect much less participation from the women in these states as there already exist a gap between the men and the women within the northern states. A study of this kind would therefore, expose some of the ways to encourage women to participate more in higher education not only to gain equity with their northern male counterparts, but also with their southern female counterparts.

Some studies show that there have been attempts to bridge the general disparities in the access to education among the 'educationally advanced' south and the 'educationally disadvantaged' north. The Nigerian government took various measures such as the introduction of the quota system of admission into higher institutions Olomolaiye, (1988). Even with the implementation of such schemes almost two decades ago, students (as shown by the figures from JAMB presented above) and especially women students from northern Nigeria are still grossly misrepresented in higher education.

Turning to the urban-rural disparity in Nigeria, it is clearly stated in many of the studies reviewed that the girls in the rural areas have been relatively neglected in the provision of access to education. A study by Akande (1987) for example, revealed that girls in the rural areas are handicapped in seeking education. The urban girls on the other hand, may live closer to higher educational institutions and may therefore be more aware of the possibilities and advantages of attending such institutions. To support this handicap, it is estimated that of the 44 million women in Nigeria, about 70% (approximately 31 million women) of them live and work in the rural areas (Chinsman, 1995:14). This implies that more women face constraints in access to education and other basic services than men.

Another impediment that widens the gap between the urban and rural women is that urban teachers, who are often better trained, are generally unwilling to go to rural areas where there are inadequate infrastructure facilities (Akande, 1987). Akande's study concluded that student's family location (rural or urban) has a significant relationship with personal and family variables, which tend to affect the student's educational aspirations.

Supporting Akande's study, Niles (1989) investigated parental attitudes toward educating females in northern Nigeria. The results indicated that despite the universalisation of primary education, rural parents have unfavourable attitudes especially concerning the Western type of education for girls. The urban parents however, strongly supported educating their daughters and had high aspirations for their education and employment.

3.4.5.2 Interim Summary

The literature review has shown that regional and urban-rural disparities in education exist in Nigeria. Despite the introduction of a quota admission policy by the government to redress regional disparity, there still exist regional disparity between the north and south. This was made clear by the figures of students who sat for the entrance examinations to the different components of higher education. The literature review has also shown that urban-rural disparity exists in Nigeria largely due to the location of more higher educational institutions and trained teachers in urban areas and the tendency of urban parents to give more support for their daughters to pursue higher education.

3.4.6 Returning to Higher Education

Not much literature was available on women returning to higher education in Nigeria. This may be due to the fact that not many women in Nigeria leave their studies and return later to complete. Another reason may be due to the small number of

researches on this particular issue. However, Okeke (1989) has found that some married women in Nigeria return to higher education due to the encouragement of their husbands so that they can have a better chance of obtaining higher status at work and higher income. Through their income women may contribute more to the financing of their children's education.

3.4.7 Interim Summary

Not many studies were found on women returnees to higher education, but the few reviewed suggested social and economic reasons as the major motives. Encouragement from husbands and the desire to obtain a better status with higher income are among the reasons mentioned.

We have looked at the studies of women in higher education in the developed countries, the Third World as well as Nigeria and have identified some of the factors which may facilitate or hinder women's participation in higher education. In the next section, we shall focus on the motivation theories used in this study and the factors, which emerged from them that helped us to formulate the stipulated research questions.

3.5 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.5.1 Definitions of Motivation

Despite many years of efforts, theorists have not yet come up with a clear, accurate and reliable definition of the concept of motivation. Different scholars especially in psychology and social psychology have defined the concept of motivation in a number of ways (Hoyenga and Hoyenga, 1984), but most of them emphasised its process nature more than its content characteristics. Below are some definitions from different perspectives.

Collins, et al. (1973), focusing on how motivation functions, defined motivation as the process of arousing interest in some activity and the regulation and sustaining of a desire to pursue this activity. Other researchers were more concerned with the explanatory characteristics of motivation. For example Hoyenga and Hoyenga stated that:

> …motivation refers to the intervening variables that can be used to explain the "why" of behaviour (Hoyenga and Hoyenga, 1984:6)

The approach of some psychologists seems more comprehensive as the following definitions indicate:

> Motivation refers to process or conditions which may be physiological or psychological, innate or acquired, internal or external to the organism which determine or describe how, or in respect of what, behaviour is initiated, maintained, guided, selected, or terminated…(Arkes 1982:4).
>
> Motivation refers to the choices people make as to what experiences or goals they will approach or avoid, and the degree of effort they will exert in that respect (Meahr and Archer cited in Crookes & Schmidt, 1991:481)

These definitions imply the process of arousing interest, sustaining it, reasons and conditions of maintaining or terminating behaviour. All these seem to be applicable to the motivation to pursue higher education, which is central to our study. After analysing the definitions, we now turn our attention to the various motivation theories that are judged to be relevant to this study.

3.5.2 Motivation Theories

Before we discuss the motivation theories, a note of caution on the transfer of motivation theories from one society to another (especially socially oriented theories) should be mentioned. While we are on the lookout for such transfer problems, we have to use the theories developed in the Western society because we find them to be appropriate since the Nigerian society has to a certain extent adopted some Western values.

Generally, all motivational theories are based on a set of assumptions about the nature of human beings and about the factors that influence their behaviour. These underlying assumptions and research foci seem to vary from one discipline to another. In our review of the literature on the theories of motivation, we have observed that psychologists have earlier focused their assumptions and researches on human needs, instincts, drives, incentives and reinforcements.

The instinct and drive theories are useful motivational theories, but will not be extensively used in this study, as they are more concerned with physiological needs. However, reinforcement and incentives theories seem to be useful in explaining both the internal and external factors that motivate women to pursue higher education. At the individual level the internal factors may include the satisfaction experienced while studying various subjects, self-development, determination and self-actualisation. The external factors may include the women's expectation of higher income after graduation, financial security and the consideration of social benefits such as social prestige and recognition.

The negative reinforcement factors may be those factors related to the question of social cost such as negative parental attitudes and the possibility of not getting a suitable husband after a long period of study. Both at the individual and societal level, adequate reinforcements and incentives could be given to the women by the individual family members such as encouragement by parents and relatives. Societal incentives could be given through policies formulated by the government such as scholarship awards.

More recently, psychologists appear to have shifted their focus to more rational goal seeking assumptions and researches giving rise to theories such as the Expectancy-value and Attribution. (Weiner, 1990). The implication of the expectancy-value theory for our study is that women go through deliberate process of decision- making to pursue higher education. Some of the elements of the process of decision-making include the awareness of the value of higher education, financial affordability assessment of higher education by both women and their parents/husbands.

Assumptions and researches by social psychologists on the other hand, focus on the role of culture and the environment in motivating human actions. It is apparent that motivational study is now an interdisciplinary area and this fact is taken into consideration in the present study. In this regard, after reviewing a number of alternative approaches, we have chosen to discuss the concept of motivation based on the context of content and process classification as approached by Rowley (1996). We shall discuss each class of theories with relevant examples where necessary.

3.5.2.1 The Content Theories

Some researchers see motivation as the key in the establishment and further development of quality in higher education. For example, Rowley's (1996) content and process theories based on an interdisciplinary approach identified three well-established models of motivation, which were the rational-economic, the social, and the self-actualising models. These were described as the content theories, which attempt to explain the factors within individuals that tend to motivate their behaviour. The content theories are similar to what is referred to as a *drive* by psychologists such as Covington (1992).

Each of the three identified models under the content theories will be discussed by stating the underlying assumptions, relevant researches and their relevance to the study of motivation of women in higher education in northern Nigeria.

3.5.2.2 The Rational-Economic Model

This theory assumes that "people are passive, inclined to assert less rather than more effort, unwilling to take responsibility and are primarily motivated by economic self-interest, and will act to maximise their financial and material rewards" Taylor (cited in Rowley, 1996: 12-13). Thus, through offering or withdrawing financial rewards the motivation of behaviour can be controlled. For example people may be enticed to pursue higher education by offering some form of economic benefits such as

scholarships or bursaries. On the other hand, based on rational expectation of higher income, people may forsake taking up jobs, or even leave current jobs for higher educational pursuits.

Similarly, Deci (1985) identified this category as involving behaviours, which are separated from the behaviours accompanying feelings. Rewards such as money or praise are expected for performing a task and the behaviour tends to be controlled by reward contingencies rather than by choice. It is also proposed that extrinsic motivation operates from lower to higher levels of self-determination. According to these researchers, four different types of extrinsic motivation exist and are ordered along a self-determination continuum. From lower to higher levels of self-determination, they are (a) external, (b) introjected, (c) identified, and (d) integrated regulation. Each of these types of extrinsic motivation will be further elaborated.

a. Extrinsic Motivation (external regulation). This is when behaviour is externally regulated through reward or constraints. Individuals are monitored by desire for a reward, or in order to avoid negative consequences. This concept has guided the insertion of some items in the questionnaire such as "Because it is a means to earn a higher income", and "I foresee that life will be hard without higher education." It also helped in the formulation of some of the questions asked in the interview.

b. Extrinsic Motivation (introjected regulation). Behaviour is exhibited when individuals begin to internalise the reasons for their actions. While the source of control is internal to the individual, it is not truly self-determined since it is limited to the internalisation of external contingencies. Items in the questionnaire such as "So as to be role model for other women", and " I became the head of a household and I needed a secure future" were derived from this model.

c. Extrinsic Motivation (identified regulation). This occurs when oneself is choosing behaviour. Behaviour is internally regulated, but in a self-

determined way. The activity is not performed for itself, but as a means to an end. Individuals choose to behave because they feel that it would be beneficial for them. With respect to the pursuit of higher education, the model was used as a guide to the formulation of such questionnaire items as "So as to have an economically secured future," and "Eventually it will allow me to enter the job market in the field that I like."

d. Extrinsic Motivation (integrated regulation). At this level individuals behave willingly and the behaviour is consistent with the individual self-concept. The focus is on how the chosen external motivated behaviour fits in with the rest of the person's life activities and valued goals. "It is the best way to protect my marriage" and "My religion encourages studying it" are just two of the items in the questionnaire that can be attributed to this concept.

3.5.2.3 The Social Model

Social motives play an important role in aspects of everyday human lives and seem to be overriding the biological ones due to the social nature of human beings. Social motivation has progressively become a noticeable subcategory within social psychology (Geen, 1984). Based on this premise Jung (1978) proposed the social model of motivation. This model assumes that people are passive unless motivated primarily by their social needs such as prestige, recognition, the need for friendship and acceptance and their social identity is formed through relationship with other people. In our study this implies that these needs could be translated into getting social recognition, enhancing prestige in the community and becoming known in the community among others.

Horner (cited in Hoyenga & Hoyenga, 1984) suggested that women as well as men are motivated to be successful although in many women the tendency to approach competitive tasks is suppressed by the motive to avoid failure. Many women regard success in a competitive task as negative outcome and fear that success would result in social rejection, for example the unlikelihood of getting married. Some of the

women also fear that success would cause a loss of their femininity which Klein (1982) suggests is due to the conflict that exists between women's need to achieve and society's expectations of them and traditional and sex-role stereotypes. The loss of femininity in our case may stem from educated women being more outspoken and assertive in their rights.

In a challenge to Horner's theory, Marrocca (1990) suggests it ignores the high rate of success in women graduating from all female colleges and that fear of success is a product of a subject's internal standards. The intrinsic system can be augmented or inhibited by the environment. Marrocca's stand tends to lend support to the idea that it is the internal needs or satisfaction of an individual that can lead one to avoid success. The importance of women's colleges also seemed to be a factor in motivating women to go for higher education. Marrocca's contribution of single-sex colleges is highly noted and seems to be a useful recommendation that can be made for gender education policy in general and in northern Nigeria in particular.

3.5.2.4 Self-actualising Model

The self-actualisation model assumes that behaviour is triggered by the need a person has to fulfil his or her capabilities and potential, or desire for growth. Such needs are categorised into a hierarchy from most basic physiological needs to needs for self-actualisation. As the basic needs are met, energy is released for the satisfaction of higher needs (Maslow, 1970). Thus, in our study the need for the acquisition of knowledge and new skills, self-determination, self-confidence and competition may fall into this category of motivation to higher education.

Murray (1977) listed taxonomies of human needs which were divided into primary (innate) and secondary (lower) which is believed to make human beings goal oriented. From these needs Maslow (1970) postulated a hierarchy of motivation ranging from physiological needs like hunger and thirst at the bottom to the needs for love, safety, belongingness, self-esteem, and at the top is the need for self-actualisation. These propositions guided the formulation of questionnaire items such as 'I came to this

institution because I feel I can do it successfully' (item 1e in the questionnaire), 'I came to this institution so as to have an economically secured future' (item 2j in the questionnaire).

3.5.3 Process Theories

The process theory of motivation tries to explain the process by which goals are achieved. This might include the excitement of doing challenging work, or the ability to set and achieve goals (Schein, 1980). Thus, process theories can be grouped into three. The stimulation based intrinsic motivation, goal setting process and goal achievement process. We shall discuss each of these groups of theories below.

3.5.3.1 Intrinsic Motivation to Experience Stimulation

Intrinsically motivated behaviours are those engaged in for the pleasure and satisfaction they provide to the individual. They are activities people perform for their own sake and not for any anticipated external rewards or constraints and a successful completion of a task is accompanied by a feeling of satisfaction (Deci and Ryan 1985). The basic assumption of the intrinsic motivation to experience stimulation is that individuals take part in an activity in order to experience stimulation and sensations, for example excitement (Vallerand, et al. 1992).

In the above theories, attention is focused on the purpose of behaviour. However, in his contribution to this theory, Deci (1980) has turned our attention to the forces underpinning behaviour. These forces include the innate tendency for competence, self-determination, decision-making and a high degree of self-esteem, which develop in a systematic way. The rewards in this category are the feelings that accompany the self-determined competent behaviour which guided the insertion of our questionnaire item number 28h.

The above theories have concentrated on purpose, force and outcome of behaviour, but also important is the awareness of the activity as a pre-condition for identifying its

purpose, analysis of the forces underlying it and its potential outcomes. The second group from the process theories focuses on goal setting and shall be discussed next.

3.5.3.2 Goal- setting Theories

The concept of goal has been defined by Locke et al. (cited in Eysenck 1998) as what an individual is trying to accomplish, or the aim or object of an action. Goal setting process can then be defined as the process through which an individual identifies a possible range of goals and chooses the most suitable for her/his needs amongst them. The basic assumption in the goal-setting process is that goals can be developed from within a person or through external tasks (Austin and Vancouver, 1996). However, Tomkins (cited in Deci, 1980:5) asserted that the capacity to make choices by individuals is bounded. It is stated, "Man is neither as free as he feels nor as bound as he fears."

While the above emphasise the individual's capability to identify a wide range of alternatives and rationally choose the best for his/her purpose, goals can be set either for long or short terms. Goals pursued by humans (for example, obtaining a degree or establishing a career) differ from those of other species (for example, finding food to eat). This is because in the former it is usually long term and in the latter, it is usually short term (Eysenck, 1998). In the case of our study, goal setting for obtaining higher qualification or choosing a career is a complex and long-term process. Even for women returnees, the choice to return to higher education may require long-term deliberation.

Setting of goals as discussed above, logically lead to goal achievement which cognitive theorists such as Locke (cited in Eysenck, 1998) assumes that all human behaviour is purposeful, because individuals exert their energies to attain various goals. This theory also predicts that difficult goals lead to higher levels of performance under certain conditions particularly when individuals commit

themselves to goal achievement. The commitment to goal achievement in our case may be the effort exerted to attain higher education by the women in the study.

We should however, not overlook the fact that despite its success, the goal setting theory has its limitations as pointed out by some scholars. These limitations include first, the definition of goals in terms of quantity rather than quality. Secondly, the setting of hard goals sometimes improves performance quantity at the expense of performance quality. Thirdly, goal setting may impede task learning when presented prior to an understanding of what the task is about as suggested by authors such as (Kanfer and Ackerman cited in Dunnette and Leaetta, 1990) and (Baveals and Lee cited in Eysenck, 1998).

3.5.3.3 Goal achievement Theories

Goal achievement processes may be defined, as the process through which individuals strive to attain preferred goals that they have set for themselves. The basic assumption of this theory is that the underlying motive for behaviour is the need to achieve the desired goals successfully.

Atkinson (1978), one of the early theorists on goal achievement, suggested that the tendency to achieve success is determined by the degree of interest and the level of performance of an individual in a given task. The motive to achieve and the tendency to avoid failure influence interest and performance. All people are said to have some interest in achievement and anxiety about failure which produce in them the tendency to undertake or not to undertake certain activities.

Unlike Atkinson's emphasis on degree of interest and the level of performance as central to goal achievement process, Lipman-Blumen, et al. (1980) identify major approaches to the achievement of goals or tasks. These approaches are the direct, instrumental and relational achieving styles. The direct achieving style is where the individual confronts or challenges a task individually and retains overall

responsibilities. The instrumental domain is where the individual uses achievement-related aspects of self and others as means to goal attainment. The third of the categories is the relational achieving style in which individuals contribute actively or passively to relationships as part of their own accomplishments.

Scholars like (Murray 1977; Hoyenga and Hoyenga 1984; Gardner 1992) stress the role of competitive motives in the process of goal achievement. Achievement motivation is defined as the desire to accomplish something difficult. This need causes a person to work independently of others and to overcome great obstacles not only to maintain high standards of excellence, but also to surpass the success of others. The individual becomes competitive, ambitious and determined to be successful. The theory of Achievement motivation guided the inclusion of items such as, 'I came to this institution to show my friends that I too can do it' (item 1c in the questionnaire) and 'I remain in this institution because I am determined to continue as long as I am able to' (item 8i in the questionnaire).

3.5.4. Interim Summary

To sum up, from the above discussions, it is clear that the Content Theories of motivation emphasise the rational-economic, social and self-actualisation drives as motives to behaviour. The women may be primarily motivated by economic interest, such as monetary reward, social needs such as prestige and the need to fulfil their capabilities and potentials. Process Theories on the other hand, consist of three broad stages namely; Intrinsic Motivation to Experience Stimulation, Goal- setting theories, and Goal achievement theories. Women may regard stimulation as the initial energising stage of the pursuit of higher education. Goal setting may relate to the various options either in the long or short term in the pursuit of higher education. This may lead to continuing, discontinuing, returning or change of courses by women at different stages of their pursuit of higher education. Goal achievement, on the other hand, may be directed by the internal and external pre-conditions. Competitive motives may also play an important role in achieving set goals of higher education.

3.5.5 Evaluation of Content and Process Theories of Motivation

The review of literature on theories of motivation was an evaluative process where theories that are not relevant to the subject of study were excluded from consideration. The theories found to be relevant to this study are grouped into Content and Process Theories, both of which have been used to identify items included in the questionnaire and interview.

The Content Theory was used in the identification of economic items such as the need for higher income, economic secured future and enhancing job security. The social-related component of this theory has helped to identify items such as the need for prestige, recognition and to become a role model in the society. The self-actualising components were used to identify personal items such as the urge to acquire knowledge and skills, inclination to study specific subjects and the desire for continued educational development.

The Process Theory has been used to identify variables such as stimulation arousing relating to the feeling of self-satisfaction in studying, the challenge of studying specific courses, fulfilling the innate need for competition and self-determination. The goal-setting component of the theory has helped to identify items such as the awareness of various educational opportunities, economic, social and religious criteria for choosing among these opportunities and the influence of family and friends in making the choices. On the same lines, the goal-achievement component of the process theory has helped in identifying items such as the moral or financial support received from parents, husbands and teachers, conducive social atmosphere in the higher educational institutions and adequate financial support received from government and/or non governmental organisations.

All these theories, their components and items were found relevant to our study on women's motivation to acquire higher education. They were instrumental in all aspects of data collection, analysis and recommendations as will be shown later in the study.

3.5.6 Issues Emerging From the Literature Review

The review of literature on women's higher education in both the developed and the Third World countries including Nigeria has helped us to identify the main factors which facilitate or hinder women's participation in higher education. These factors were used to guide the development of the research questions for the present study with respect to factors motivating women from northern Nigeria to pursue higher education. The main factors can be grouped into socio-cultural, economic, institutional and personal.

The socio-cultural issues, which emerged as most important, included the influences of parents' level of education, place of residence, the urge to be role models and marital variables such as protection of marriage and competition with co-wives. It is noticeable that not many researchers have mentioned the influence of peer and relatives in influencing women's decision to pursue higher education. However, from personal experience these variables appear to be important in the northern Nigerian socio-cultural environment.

Turning to the institutional factors, the issues that emerged included the location of the higher educational institutions, types of academic programmes, fame and social atmosphere in the higher institutions. The importance of physical environment of the higher educational institutions in motivating women to pursue higher education has not been mentioned in the studies reviewed. The transitional nature of the Nigerian society, however, could make it an important consideration. There are students who grew up in temporary structures lacking in utilities who would be attracted to a higher quality built environment with all the utilities and amenities and adequately landscaped.

The personal motivation factors, which emerged from most of the studies, reviewed included women's need for personal development, self-actualisation and prestige enhancement. The economic factors, on the other hand, that seem to motivate women

to attain higher education, as cited in the literature, are the need for better income, financial security, the availability of financial support and changes in life events.

From the theories of motivation reviewed, we identified factors that tend to encourage or discourage women to pursue higher education. The motivation literature helps us to establish a relationship between the social factors and the interest and drive of the individual woman to participate in higher education. Thus, we used concepts such as intrinsic and extrinsic motivation, social and economic models, and the needs for goal setting, goal achievement and self-actualisation as bases for some of our research questions.

3.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has examined some studies on women's education in both the developed and Third World nations as well as some psychological theories on motivation. The results of these studies have shown that just as there are diversities in the approaches to the study of human behaviour, there is also diversity of approaches in the studies of women. For example, feminists' studies, gender study, women's studies and women in development studies tend to concentrate on issues of primary concern to their areas of specialisation when writing about women. These approaches have however provided us with different perspectives of looking at women's problems in general and women in higher education in particular.

The review of literature in this study has shown that differences and similarities in methodologies exist between the developed and the Third World countries. Although both qualitative and quantitative methodologies are used, many researchers in the developed countries seem to be content with using more structured approaches to data collection by the use of self-administered questionnaire. This may be due to the level of the sophistication of the society in which they operate as reflected by respondents' acceptance of this method, researchers' confidence on its reliability, and an efficient and reliable postal system. Researchers in the Third World, on the other hand, tend to

hand, tend to depend more on a mixture of questionnaire, interview and observation techniques in order to enhance reliability.

Besides the differences in research methodologies, there are also differences in the findings whereby the developed countries tend to show more general positive societal attitudes towards women's higher education, greater level of awareness of the need for women's higher education and the higher awareness of women's own self-concept. On the other hand, there exists a regional and urban-rural disparity in women's access to higher education in the Third World, which does not seem to be a major problem in the developed nations.

The review has also shown that gender inequality in access to higher education exist in both the developed and the Third World countries, with greater evidence exhibited in the Third World countries. Some socio-cultural factors such as societal expectations on women, gender socialisation have great impact on the level of education women attain in both developed and the Third World countries. It is also pointed out that in both places, women are generally concentrated in subjects considered feminine and tend to participate less in the fields of science, engineering and technology and thus, appear to be concentrated in jobs which do not necessarily require higher education.

The specific factors shown by the literature review to be important in encouraging women to pursue higher education can be grouped into government policies, socio-cultural, economic, institutional and personal. The socio-cultural factors found to be important are the urge to become role models, parental moral and financial support. Other important socio-cultural motives included the influences of parents' level of education and socio-economic status, parents' places of residence, the need for social prestige and recognition and encouragement by different members of the community. The economic factors which were shown to be important motives for women to pursue higher education included the need for economic security, desire to earn a higher income, job market entry requirements, insurance against a turbulent economic future and the availability of adequate financial support.

In the developed and Third World countries, the review has shown that factors such as the fame of the institution, its academic reputation and distance from home tend to influence women's choices of institutions to attend. Socialisation pattern, the socio-economic reproduction of inequality, stereotype career guidance and curriculum were some of the factors which influence women's choices of area of specialisation. The personal factors identified to be important through the review were the need for personal development, self-actualisation and personal prestige enhancement.

Some studies identified the factors that tend to make women discontinue with their education or to return to higher education if they had suspended their studies. Some of the discontinue-variables include the lack of adequate financial support, family based problems and problematic class schedules, while the return-variables are the need for personal improvement, the possibility of better paid jobs, the decreasing demand from children or simply the desire get away from the domesticity.

The literature review has also shown some specific factors that may hinder the participation of women in higher education. These factors include urban-rural disparity, the lack of role models, encouragement and support from family, and child-care facilities. The economic factors that may discourage women from pursuing higher education highlighted in the literature review included the opportunity cost for girls' education, lack of adequate financial support and discriminatory practice in employment. Impeding institutional factors suggested by the literature review include the lack of suitable timetable, educational guidance, personal security and the admission process of some institutions.

The psychological theories reviewed concentrated on the economic, social and self-actualisation aspects of motivation. These theories suggest that key variables such as instincts, drives, incentives, self- determination, self-actualisation, intrinsic and extrinsic rewards may motivate women to attain higher education. Other theories reviewed have pointed out the importance of goal setting in directing human behaviour while some of these theories focused on goal achievement in the process of

which the individual becomes ambitious, competitive and determined to achieve success. Through these studies variables such as the need for competition and self-determination may be important in motivating individuals to pursue higher education. These issues as well as the factors that emerged from the rest of the literature review have guided us in writing the research questions presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND FIELDWORK

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In Chapter 1 we have outlined our study objectives from which we developed the research questions, which are:

1. Do socio-cultural factors such as the urge to be role models, influence of peer and relatives, marital variables and parental place of residence influence northern Nigerian women's choice to pursue higher education?

2. What higher educational institutional factors such as its fame, location, social atmosphere, academic programs and physical environment encourage women from northern Nigeria to enrol in higher educational institutions?

3. What personal related factors such as the need for personal development, self-actualisation, and personal prestige enhancement encourage women from northern Nigeria to acquire higher education?

4. Do economic factors such as financial support, employment related variables and changes in life events encourage women from northern Nigeria to seek higher education?

In Chapter 2 we briefly examined the policy-related historical development of higher education in Nigeria with specific emphasis on the participation of women. In Chapter 3 we reviewed studies and theories from various parts of the world with the view to identify those factors that helped to throw more light on the above research questions. In this chapter we shall discuss our research methodology designed to answer these questions and how the fieldwork was conducted.

In order to explore the factors which motivate women in northern Nigeria to pursue higher education, three research techniques were selected on the basis of the nature of the data required. To provide rich and reliable data, multi-methods of interview, questionnaire and review of official documents were used in combination. This leads to both qualitative and quantitative approach that is called triangulation and defined as "the use of two or more methods of data collection in the study of some aspects of human behaviour" (Cohen and Manion, 1989:269).

The technique of triangulation, used widely in the social sciences as our literature review has shown was chosen for this investigation. It does not only increase reliability, overcome the problem of method boundedness, it also gives the investigator the opportunity to compare and contrast findings from the various methods which increased confidence in the findings. Each of the data collection instruments used in this survey is discussed below.

4.2 INTERVIEW

The interview is widely used in survey research and is considered a major part of qualitative research. It is defined by Ackroyd and Hughes (cited in May, 1993:91) as:

> Encounters between a researcher and a respondent in which the latter is asked a series of questions relevant to the subject of the research. The respondent's answers constitute the raw data analysed at a later part in time by the researcher.

The interview as an interpersonal verbal interaction between the researcher and the interviewee has some advantages as well as drawbacks. One such advantage is that it yields rich sources of data on people's experiences, opinions, aspirations and feelings. Thus information can be collected directly from people who have experienced a phenomenon and can also be adapted to suit the situation of each respondent (Hedrich et al. 1993). In our case, interviews were conducted with selected indigenous northern Nigerian women who have succeeded in acquiring higher education.

Other advantages of the interview are that it provides a greater understanding of the subject's point of view, freedom to follow up whatever the interviewer thinks as important and it also gives qualitative depth by allowing the respondent to talk in his own frame of reference (Coolican, 1994).

In spite of the numerous advantages the interview has over other research instruments, it also has some drawbacks. Since it is based on a face-to-face interaction, it may be influenced by interpersonal variables that can lead to bias, which Babbie (1989) calls the Hawthorne effect. He explains that people are so much concerned with the attention given to them by the researcher that the result of the investigation are more related to their pleasure than the actual research. Other limitations of the interview are what Wilkinson and Bhandarkar (1990) term as the 'generosity error' or the 'Halo effect' whereby people have the tendency to overestimate the desirable qualities of the persons they like. Due to this they might respond more positively to a person they like. In order to minimise such effects in our study, we paid particular attention to the selection of the subjects for the interview and all self-selection procedures were avoided.

4.2.1 Nature of Interviews.

Face to face interviews vary in both style and structure. The three basic types used in social research are the structured, semi-structured and the unstructured interviews. The nature and differences between each of these are now examined and evaluated for use in this study.

4.2.1.1 Structured Interviews

These types of interviews are used whenever the same information from a large sample is required and quantification is needed. This approach is also appropriate where respondents may not be able to read, are unmotivated or actually reluctant. The nature of these interviews include fixed wording and sequence of questions for all respondents.

The uniform structure of this method allows the questions to be asked in the same way which makes the differences between the responses to be a result of the interview, but not the interview situation itself (May, 1993).

4.2.1.2 Unstructured Interviews

In this type of interview 'prescribed' set of questions are not normally used, nor are the questions asked in specific order. With little or no direction from the interviewer, respondents are encouraged to relate their experiences and to describe whatever events seem significant to them. Coolican (1994) noted that in this type of non-directive set up, interviewees are not constrained to answer pre-set questions, which they may find confusing. Rather, interviewees have the liberty to talk in their own terms, and feel relaxed.

4.2.1.3 Semi-structured Interviews

This method utilises the techniques from both ends of the continuum. Questions are normally specified in an interview schedule, but the interviewer is freer to probe beyond the answers. The interviewer who can also seek both clarification and elaboration on the answers given can record qualitative information about the topic. Thus, people can answer questions more in their own terms than the structured type of interview permits. In this type of interview the interviewer needs to be aware of the content and the nature of the interview and the way in which questions are asked

(May, 1993). Furthermore, Coolican (1994) emphasised that this method of interviewing is favoured by social scientists and has become popular in applied science because of the opportunity it gives for probing and clarification. Another data collection technique which is a variation of the structured interview, is the 'telephone interview' (Payne, 1996). The key advantage of this is that it may save calendar time and money for the actual collection of data.

As it provides in-depth data and affords the interviewer opportunity to seek clarification, the semi-structured method of interviewing was judged more suitable for the present investigation. Care was taken in constructing the interview schedule so as not to ask prejudiced or leading questions which will affect the result of the interview. A leading question refers to a question phrased in such a way that it appears to the respondent that the interviewer expects a certain answer (May, 1993). Overall, the procedure we followed enabled the interviewer to cover all the variables in the research. Moreover, the interviewer also had the option to probe the answers in an attempt to get more information or elaboration of the respondent's view.

Structured and unstructured interviews were not used in this investigation. As noted by Coolican (1994), the former has questions that are fixed and ordered, and the respondent may only answer by choosing responses from given alternatives. This is easy to quantify and analyse, but may not give a true picture of the purpose of the interview. Regarding the latter, although there is a freedom of response that can give rise to in-depth responses, it is unsystematic, and can result in the researcher missing important topics obtainable from this type of interview. Therefore, the data may be difficult to analyse.

The telephone interview was not opted for in this investigation because few households have telephones in Nigeria. Also even in those towns where telephones are commonly available, there are many reasons against their use. In the first place most public lines are poorly maintained, and are often out of order for a long period. Secondly, there is the problem of ease of accessibility. Thirdly, long distance calls are

often not very clear, and lastly long distance calls are expensive and may prove beyond our budget.

4.2.2 Selection of Interview Respondents.

The interviews were conducted with women from northern Nigeria who have attained some form of higher education. The choice of these women was guided by the fact that they had studied in various higher educational institutions relevant to this study. They were envisaged to have useful information to share with the researcher regarding what motivated them to pursue higher education, to continue, or to return if they had dropped out. Thirdly, they were selected because of their potential abilities to offer suggestions regarding how more women from northern Nigeria might be encouraged to attain higher education.

The selection of these respondents was based on purposive sampling rather than random which can overlook some logic and coherence in a social process. Since qualitative samples are not pre-specified (Miles, 1994), we chose some key informants such as officials in the ministries of education, academic staff of some higher institution and individuals to compile a comprehensive list of possible respondents and their addresses.

These key informants were identified by the researcher's visit to the ministries, higher educational institutions and contact with familiar individuals who would know about prospective interviewees. The researcher tried to get a list of women that reflected the different geographical areas, components of higher education and subjects studied.

Babbie (1989) described purposive sampling as a procedure of selecting samples based on the researcher's knowledge of the population, its elements, and the nature of the research. The intention was to purposely select two respondents (graduates) from each of the three components of higher education in each of the six study states making a total of 36. However, using the criteria of convenience and ease of access as advised by (Kane, 1985), coupled with the failure of some respondents to keep the

appointment at the last moment we interviewed only those who happen to be around and were available. Therefore, a total of 34 women were finally interviewed. Considering what Patton (1990) states about sample size in a qualitative inquiry as having no rules, but depending on the purpose of the inquiry and what can be done with available time and resources, the participation of the respondents was satisfactory.

All of the women interviewed were gainfully employed at the time of the interview except one (a detailed profile of the interviewees is given in appendix IIC). The type of employment ranged widely as some were secondary school teachers, primary school teachers, lecturers in higher educational institutions, veterinary doctors, architects, medical doctors, lawyers, accountants, directors general of ministries, pharmacists, businesswomen and administrators. A successful attempt was made purposely to interview a fair representation of women in the different professions and from the sampled northern states.

4.2.3 Validity of the Interview

The relationship between the interviewer and the interviewed affects the quality of information obtained in an interview. As suggested by Cohen and Manion (1989), the best way to achieve greater validity is to try to check the bias as closely as possible. They suggest that bias may be as a result of (1) the characteristics of the interviewer (2) those of the respondents and (3) the content of the questions. Therefore, the questions were written in such a way as to avoid bias by avoiding lead questions. In all cases, the interviewer was experienced in this method of research and this standardisation has helped to improve the validity of the interview.

To further check the validity of the interview, copies of the interview schedule and the questionnaire were given to some experts in research methodology at the Faculty of Education Ahmadu Bello University Zaria and they included Dr. Mrs Okatahi, Dr. Idris Jahun, Dr. Musa Balarabe and Dr. A.H Bako. These people judged and

compared the content validity of both the interview schedule and the questionnaire. The careful piloting of the interview also helped in attaining validity.

To guard against certain bias in the interview, before the tape recorder was used, the following considerations were observed as recommended by the Survey Research Centre of the University of Michigan (1976).

1. Permission of the respondents was sought before using the tape recorder and the need for its use was fully explained.
2. Respondents were informed about the protection of the privacy of the interview and were assured of its use for research purpose only.
3. The interviewees were informed of their liberty to ask for the tape recorder to be switched off any time.
4. Caution was taken by the interviewer to be as neutral as possible to avoid encouraging or disagreeing with particular responses.

4.2.4 Piloting the Interview

Piloting of the interview was carried out using a small sample of five women from the population to be used in the study. The feedback from the piloting was used to revise questions in the schedule that were not clear or produce negative reactions from subjects. Also insights into better ways of handling certain questions were acquired. The experience gained from the piloting enabled the researcher to regulate the duration of the interview session. The results of the piloting emphasised the need to use a reliable tape recorder and strong batteries to avoid any disappointment in the midst of the interview.

4.2.5 Contents of the Interview Schedule

After piloting the interview and making the necessary amendments, a final interview schedule was produced to assist in conducting the interviews. The idea of an interview schedule was not only to cover the same topics as in the questionnaire, but

also to gain more insight from women who have been through higher education and have succeeded. The interview guide had an introductory statement indicating the objective of the research, informing participants of the voluntary nature of their participation, their freedom not to answer any question they do not want to, privacy of the information they give and its use for research purpose only. The rest of the schedule dealt with questions that are related to the same categories as in the questionnaire (socio-cultural, institutional, economic and personal).

There were a total of 20 questions in the interview schedule of which 18 related to their experiences and were probed according to the given responses, 1 question asked for their suggestions as how to encourage women from northern Nigeria to participate more in higher education. The last question asked the respondents to bring up any factors which they felt can facilitate or hinder northern Nigeria's women's higher education that have not been discussed during the interview.

The last question in the interview schedule was to find out from the respondents if there were issues they feel have not explored during the discussion. Questions relating to the personal data of the interviewees were produced on a separate sheet of paper, which they filled in at the end of the interview in order not slow down the process of the interview.

4.2.6 Conducting the Interview

The initial plan was for the researcher to employ some research assistants from Ahmadu Bello University (A.B.U) Zaria who might be familiar with this type of research. However, a number of factors made this approach impracticable. Firstly, at the time of the fieldwork, A.B.U. Zaria, and some other higher educational institutions in the north were closed due to strikes by students in some and by academic staff in others. Although A.B.U and some other universities were opened in the course of the fieldwork, the students on their return started their examinations and thereby were not free to work as research assistants for this study.

Secondly, during the fieldwork there was a problem of acute shortage of petrol in most parts of the country. This meant that transportation to distant places was very difficult and expensive. Therefore, the researcher decided to conduct all the interviews alone in Kaduna, Kano and Jos, carefully selecting respondents from the study states who were residing in these major metropolitan areas and representing different levels of higher education. While the representation of the states was kept, the need to travel to distant places like Maiduguri, Sokoto and Ilorin was eliminated.

In conducting the interviews, we adapted a technique suggested by Momen (1999) that emphasised the establishment of rapport and trust with the participants in order to put them at ease. This mechanism produces an insightful research as well as self-disclosure on the part of the researcher to promote reciprocity, trust and mutual interaction. The author therefore, spent considerable time (sometimes up to 20 minutes) to create a conducive environment and to familiarise the respondents with the research problem.

In the course of the interview, as suggested by Momen (1999) the author interrupted as little as possible in order to allow the respondents' experiences and perceptions to emerge. At the same time, the author tried to share her own experiences in order to reduce the exploitative relationship between the researcher and the respondents. This point is strongly brought out by Powney and Watt (1987) that a non-hierarchical relationship and personal involvement of the researcher is important in order to gain access to the interviewee's life experiences.

It should be noted that throughout the interview, English language was used as a medium of communication. This is because the medium of instruction in all Nigerian institutions of education from the primary to the university is English. People can therefore express themselves well in this language.

4.2.7 Recording the Interview

As a means of recording interviews, May (1993) ascertains that there are two ways. One is by taking notes and the other by using audio tape recorder. Besides these two methods, Coolican (1994) pointed out that the video camera is also a prominent feature in recording interviews.

In this investigation, field notes technique was not used because it was considered too tedious, cumbersome and time consuming. Videotape recording was also ruled out because not only would it inhibit the interviewees' freedom to converse naturally, but would have also involved some ethical issues. In a predominantly Muslim society like northern Nigeria the video camera is inappropriate because taking pictures of women by non-relatives is normally unacceptable. The method would also have proved expensive, as it would take many videocassettes and possibly an additional person to take care of the camera.

An audio tape recorder was used to record the interview responses. This technique has many advantages, for example it allowed the interviewer to concentrate on the conversation during the interview, verbatim recording was allowed and the interview moved quickly because responses were recorded as given. Another advantage of the tape recorder was its ease in operation and movement, which was especially important since our research involved going to different places. Besides, the tape recorder was easily operated and powered by rechargeable batteries, which increased its reliability. This is particularly important because of the constant power failure in many parts of northern Nigeria.

This research instrument however has its disadvantages. For example the tape recorder could have been inhibiting by making the respondent nervous (May, 1990). By the use of a compact and efficient tape recorder and permission taken before its use, we have reduced some of the nervousness. Secondly, transcription could have proved to be time consuming, but due to the use of a transcription machine the transcription time was considerably reduced.

On the whole we were able to obtain a high level of co-operation from the majority of the interviewees who were relaxed and forthcoming. Sharing the same cultural background with the researcher also afforded the interviewees the opportunity to freely discuss their experiences, beliefs, values and the social meanings they attach to given issues in a relaxed and informal atmosphere. In this way, they did not simply answer questions, but also raised issues and concerns relevant to the investigation, which the researcher may not have foreseen earlier.

4.2.8 Interview Data Analysis

To analyse and interpret the data, Foster and Robson's (1989) interpretative and holistic approach which Tesch (1990) calls direct quotations and expressions of the subjects are used to provide an understanding and insight from the point of view of those researched. The presentation also tries to bring out convergence and divergence in the responses.

To analyse the interview data, all the tapes recorded were transcribed using a transcription machine. First, the researcher as suggested by Howe and Lewis (1993), listened to the tapes several times and wrote the responses verbatim using the exact words the interviewees had spoken during the interview. Secondly a brief summary of the responses for each question was written. Thirdly, this summary was then organised under the headings of the interview guide and then related to the original research questions. Tesch's (1990) descriptive and interpretative approach was adapted to enable us to handle the data on a deeper level. Direct quotations and expressions of the subjects were used to provide an understanding and deeper insight from their point of view. The presentation also tries to bring out convergence and divergence in the responses. The new and unexpected issues that arose during the interview were noted under the different headings and incorporated in the analysis.

4.3 QUESTIONNAIRE

While the interview was used to collect qualitative data, a questionnaire technique was employed to collect quantitative data to answer the research questions identified above.

The questionnaire, as an integral part of quantitative research was used due to a number of reasons including, but are not limited to the following:

1. There were simply too many northern Nigerian female students in the higher educational institutions and our resources were too limited to use interview to adequately obtain the level of representation required.
2. The questionnaire technique afforded us the opportunity to collect data from a large, diverse and scattered group;
3. It placed less pressure on the respondents for immediate response, as a result it was assumed many people would prefer to deal with questionnaire than interview;
4. Since there were fewer interpersonal variables, objective quantitative data could be obtained.

Out of the types of questionnaires reviewed (including mailed and group administered), the self-administered questionnaire was adopted for many reasons. Firstly, because the number of respondents was large, the self-administered method seems most appropriate in terms of time and cost. Secondly, the postal questionnaire was not used because ordinary mail in Nigeria usually take a very long time to reach its destination and the express mail would have been far too expensive for use in sending and receiving the respective questionnaire. Therefore, the questionnaires were administered and collected by the researcher's research assistants.

Although research assistants were not used for our interviews, due to the different areas to cover in the study, there was need for the use of research assistants in the

distribution and collection of the questionnaires. Since the initial plan to use ABU students did not work out due to the closure of the university at the beginning of our study, the researcher had to revert to other people. Some graduated students serving the National Youth Service Corp (NYSC), some staff of ABU Centre for Economic and Social Research and the Centre for Adult Education were employed as research assistants. The researcher made sure to involve those who were familiar with and had experience in carrying out research.

4.3.1 Questionnaire Design Guideline

In designing the questionnaire the guidelines for the development of questions and statements given by May, (1993) were taken into consideration. For example simple and clear language was used so that they are perceived the same way by all respondents, leading and double barrelled questions were avoided at the same time, long and insufficient items, biased and prejudiced questions; and questions that intrude into privacy were also avoided.

On the other hand, the motivational context of content and process theories discussed in Chapter 3 guided the contents of the questions themselves. It should however, be emphasised that it is not the intention of this study to test the validity of these theories of motivation, but rather for use as general guides to formulate the questions, thereby serving as our conceptual framework.

4.3.2 Questionnaire Format.

In the attempt to answer the research questions, a questionnaire was designed based on an attitude scale. We reviewed a number of attitude scales among which was the Thurstone Scale where a group of judges is asked to estimate from a number of items how strong an indicator of a given variable is by assigning scores. Thus, the items with the greatest agreement by the judges are included in the questionnaire. A major drawback of the Thurstone Scale however, is that it can be time consuming, cumbersome and laborious. The Guttman Scale (also called the Cumulated Scale)

which attempts to determine whether an attitude is unidimensional. If it is unidimensional, it produces a cumulative scale. In this scale, if an individual agrees with a statement he or she also agrees with all related preceding statements. The Semantic Differential Scale that involves the rating of concepts using bipolar objects was also reviewed. In this scale, bipolar adjectives such as good-bad, friendly-unfriendly, positive-negative are used. This method has been extremely used with younger children because it can be matched with reading comprehension. The limitations of this scale include its lack of sensitivity for strong behaviour predictions. The respondents indicate the point on a continuum between extremes that present his or her attitude.

The Likert summated scale which places respondents answers on an 'attitude continuum', and statements devised to measure particular aspects (Likert cited in Coolican (1994) was also reviewed. The Likert ordinal attitude scale has been chosen, among others that have been carefully examined, because it eliminates the use of judges and is less laborious. Oppenheim (1992) also suggests that this scale provides the investigator with the possibility of testing a series of attitudes and does not rely on only one question as an indicator. Its flexibility also allows the use of both questions and statements in the design of items, thus making questionnaire more interesting. Clear instructions were given for the respondents to indicate the extent of their agreement to each item based on a scale ranging from Strongly Agree (rated 1), Agree (rated 2) Disagree (rated 3), to Strongly Disagree (rated 4).

There was no Undecided category given in the questionnaire because the researcher wanted to 'force' the decision on the respondents. Also, we wanted to avoid many "uncertain" responses that may result from the neutral point of an attitude scale as pointed out by Oppenheim (1992). The choices of 'other' were given wherever appropriate to allow the respondents to express their personal views other than those proposed in the questionnaire by the researcher. All the items in the questionnaire were coded in numbers for use in the computer analysis.

Since the respondent may lose interest in the questionnaire, or it may demand too much time (Cohen and Manion, 1989) if it contains too many open-ended questions, we did not include many open-ended questions. However, to allow free expression, solicit additional information and 'give the respondents a greater freedom to answer in a way that suits their interpretation' (May, 1993:78), one open-ended question was given at the end of the questionnaire. Clarity was an important consideration in the questionnaire format. Therefore, to avoid respondents missing a question or getting confused, the questionnaire was clearly laid out. No abbreviations were used and the boxes to be checked were adequately spaced apart.

4.3.3 Validity and Reliability Issues

Validity and reliability issues are important in any field research. They both help to increase the confidence in the findings and conclusions drawn from them. To enhance the validity and reliability of our questionnaire, a number of standardised tests of academic motivation were reviewed. Examples of these were, Vallerand's Achievement Motivation Scale and Connel and Ryan's Self-Regulation Questionnaire. Each of these was assessed to be useful, but by themselves inadequate largely because they were either targeted to specific activities, elementary school children, or are found unsuitable to the socio-cultural milieu of northern Nigeria. Therefore, we devised more relevant instruments.

Validity is defined by Honey (1993) as the extent to which an instrument accurately measures what it sets out to measure. Four types of validity have been identified and used in different studies, which include: 1. Content validity, which seeks to establish that the items are well-balanced sample of the content domain to be measured 2. Construct validity, which shows how well the test links up with a set of theoretical assumptions about an abstract construct 3. Concurrent validity, which shows how well the test correlates with other well-validated measures of the same topic, administered at about the same time. 4. Predictive validity that shows how well the test can forecast some future criterion (Oppenheim, 1992:162). Since the present

study does not seek to assess any theory, correlate the study to others, nor does it seek to forecast future events, only content validity was applied.

Discussed below is how we ensured validity and reliability of the questionnaire used in this investigation, while these issues relating to interviews have been dealt with earlier. In order to assess the extent to which our questionnaire measures the intended content, only the content validity was used for the following reasons:

1. Content validity tries to establish that the items in the questionnaire are a well-balanced sample of the domain to be measure (Oppenheim, 1992). In our case, the domain is the motivation to higher education, which includes the reasons for the behaviour, intrinsic, extrinsic or even amotivational.

2. The issue of how well the instrument would measure motivation of women from northern Nigeria to higher education was assessed by experts, who returned positive comments after considering both the face and content validity of the questionnaire.

Thus, to satisfy the concern of content validity of this questionnaire, it was given to some experts in psychology and research methodology at Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria to judge. These judges, after a careful review of the questionnaire, came to the conclusion that both face and the content validity were satisfactory. Therefore, with careful piloting, the validity of the questionnaire would be enhanced further.

Now focusing on how we dealt with reliability concerns, the following measures were taken. First, methods using numeric reliability such as Test-Retest, Split -Half, Rationale-Equivalent and Scorer/Ratio reliabilities were not used, rather, the ethnographer's approach was found more appropriate for our purpose. This view of reliability refers to 'repeatability of a given study… the extent to which independent researchers discover the same phenomena in comparable situations' (Webb and Sherman, 1988:86). Secondly, a complete description of the research process has been written in this chapter so that independent researchers may replicate the same

procedure in comparable settings. This description includes an account of physical. cultural and social context of the study; statement of the researcher's role as an interviewer and trainer of research assistants and a complete account of the methods of data collection and analysis were given in the appropriate sections of this study. Thirdly, the same experts who judged the questionnaire were asked to comment on its reliability. All of them agreed to its high degree of internal consistency, which enhanced its reliability.

To check the reliability of responses, one question was phrased so that with careful reading, the responses were expected to be low. The general response to this question: "I may discontinue with my studies mainly because the teachers are indifferent toward me" (item 9g in the questionnaire), was about 14% agreement which suggested a reasonable level of care in reading the questions and the appreciation of their import.

4.3.4 Sampling Procedure

4.3.4.1 Selection of the Study States

The selection of questionnaire respondents was a three-stage process involving the selection of the study states, institutions and the selection of the respondents, the details of which are discussed below.

Our study population is to be found all over northern Nigeria, which was in 1967 divided into six states namely: North Central, Kano, North West, North East, Benue-Plateau and Kwara. Since then northern Nigeria has been further divided into many states at different periods culminating in the current 19 states. For this study, however, we used the six selected states that were the administrative centres of the former northern states as named above. The study states are Kaduna (carved out of the former North Central State), Kano (Kano State), Sokoto (former North Western State), Bornu (former North Eastern State), Plateau (former Benue-Plateau State), and Kwara (out of the former Kwara State).

The nature of the study, the researcher's judgement and knowledge of the population and its elements guided the selection of these areas. The choice of these six states was justified not only because the investigator was familiar with the places, but also because these states are older and include the headquarters of the former administrative structure. The choice is most logical because these states contain more developed institutions of higher education, and would be easier to collect information from them.

4.3.4.2 Selection of Questionnaire Respondents

The target population in this investigation was those women from northern Nigeria that were in higher educational institutions at the time of the study while our study population was made up of those from northern Nigeria in higher educational institutions in the six selected study area. To get a representative sample from the study population, cluster sampling was used to select the institutions from which respondents were drawn.

Thus we selected from each study state one institution from each of the three components of higher education (i.e. one university, one polytechnic and one college of education). These institutions were selected as sub samples within the clusters due to time and resources as well as the acute petrol shortage during the period of the fieldwork. In each of the study states there was only one university, so it was selected, and for those states which had more than one polytechnic or colleges of education, we selected those that were easily accessible because of difficulties in getting transportation at the time of the data collection. Therefore, our study covered a total of eighteen higher educational institutions in northern Nigeria. Table 3.1 shows the number of students in the study institutions from which the sample for the study was drawn.

Data were not available to show the states of origin of students in the sampled institutions. To determine the number of questionnaires to be distributed to each study state, we assumed that at least 8% of the total female population of each study state would be from northern Nigeria. Therefore, the initial plan was to send 8% of the total female students per Study State, but it was raised to 10% as Gay (1987) suggests being the minimum for a descriptive research. Increasing the percentage may also cater for non-responses. From these, proportional sampling was used to select the number of respondents from each of the selected institutions whereby an institution's share of all women students in the state is equal to its share of women in the selected institutions.

Table 4.1 Students' Enrolment in the Selected Study Institutions 1991/92

State	**Universities**			**Polytechnics**			**Colleges of Education**			**Totals** Females
	Names	Total	Fe-males	Names	Total	Fe-males	Names	Total	Fe-males	
Borno	Maiduguri	8,908	2,152	Ramat	1,368	270	Kashim	1,601	598	**3020**
Kaduna	ABU Zaria	14,320	3,866 *	Kaduna	6,543	1,421	COE Zaria	1,018	477	**5764**
Kano	Bayero	8,389	1,753	Kano State	1,401	280	COE Kano	1,995	627	**2660**
Kwara	Uni Ilorin	9,748	2,295	Ilorin	2,739	835	Ilorin	1,621	696	**3826**
Plateau	Uni Jos	14,561	4,164	B/Ladi	1,580	452	Gindiri	575	80	**4696**
Sokoto	Danfodio	4,920	785	Kauran Namoda	692	231	Sokoto	1,463	257	**1273**

Sources: Commonwealth Universities Handbook 1993 Vol 2
National Board for Technical Education 1994
National Commission for Colleges of Education 1994
* Calculated based on 92/93 figures from A.B.U Registry

Table 4.2: Study States Showing Number of Female Students, Number of Questionnaires Sent and Returned

State	*Selected Institutions*		*Questionnaires*		
	Name	*No. of Females*	*No Sent*	*No Returned*	*% Returned*
Borno	Maiduguri University	3020	214	194	91
	Ramat Polytechnic		27	22	81
	Kashim Coll. of Edu		61	55	92
Kaduna	A.B.U Zaria	5764	386	275	71
	Kaduna Polytechnic		144	91	63
	Coll. of Educ, Zaria		46	38	82
Kano	Bayero University	2660	175	114	42
	State Polytechnic		27	18	67
	Coll. of Educ, Kano		64	45	70
Kwara	University of Ilorin	3826	229	169	74
	Ilorin Polytechnic		84	50	60
	Coll. of Educ, Ilorin		69	51	74
Plateau	University of Jos	4696	413	321	78
	B/Ladi Polytechnic		47	33	70
	Coll. of Educ, Gindiri		9	6	67
Sokoto	Danfodio University	1273	79	57	72
	K/Namoda Polytechnic		23	15	65
	Coll. of Educ, Sokoto		25	17	68
Total		**21,239**	**2,122**	**1571**	**74**

Table 4.2 shows the number of questionnaires sent to each of the selected study institution and the number returned. For clearer understanding of how the number of questionnaires sent to each institution was determined we shall give an example. If we take Borno State for example, the total number of women students in the three selected institutions was 3020. Since we were sending questionnaires to 10% of the total women students of each study state, which in this case is 302, we sent 302 questionnaires to Borno State. We then took the total number of women in each of the three institutions sampled in the state and found its proportion to the state's total and sent this proportion to the respective institutions.

In this case, University of Maiduguri had a female population of 2152 (which is 71% of the state's total); Ramat Polytechnic had a female population of 270 (which is 9% of the state's total) Kashim Ibrahim College of Education had a female population of 598 (which is 20% of the state's total). Thus, in Borno State, 227, 29 and 64 questionnaires were sent to the university, polytechnic and college of education respectively. Altogether, a total of 2122 questionnaires were distributed to the eighteen sampled institutions in the six study states.

To identify specific respondents within each institution, quota sampling was used. This type of sampling according to Babbie (1989) allows selection of sample members to include different profiles that exist in the population. Thus, the respondents were selected from the indigenous northern Nigeria female students in various academic divisions. For convenience, and in order to get a more representative sample, this was based on the six existing academic divisions in the universities in Nigeria: Arts and Social Sciences, Humanity, Engineering, Environmental Studies, Business/Law, and Medicine/Pharmacy (NUC, 1992). For the polytechnics we based our academic division on students undertaking the National Diploma (ND) and the Higher National Diploma (HND). At the colleges of education, we used the Sciences and Arts based division.

Based on these guidelines, within each academic division, using judgemental (purposive) sampling, selected lecturers (recommended by their deans or heads of departments) were asked to distribute the questionnaires on specified criteria after the main objectives of the research were fully explained to them. They were also told to try to distribute the questionnaires to reflect different ages, ethnic groups and religion so as to avoid volunteers and to minimise sampling bias.

The level of returned questionnaires was generally good with the overall average of 1571 (74%) returned. Out of the questionnaires returned, we rejected 250 because they were either not completed at all or only a part of the personal data was filled. The data analysis was therefore, based on 1321 questionnaires, which gives 84% of the returned. Some institutions had a relatively low return of the questionnaires

mainly because they have just reopened or were busy with exams at the time of the data collection for example Bayero University Kano.

4.3.5 Piloting and Administration of the Questionnaire

4.3.5.1 Piloting the Questionnaire

The purpose of a pilot survey is to iron out any problems in the questionnaire design and analysis technique. As a result of piloting, some questions were added; some were modified to increase their clarity. Coding of the questions was also modified for easy entry into the computer. Twenty questionnaires were piloted on a population from the target population.

4.3.5.2 Contents of the Questionnaire

After carefully piloting and correcting the questionnaire, we made the final copy to be used for the study. It consisted of seven pages and was divided into sections A, B and C. At the top of the first page before section A, the title, introductory statement about the objectives of the study, assurance of confidentiality and use of the answers for research purpose only were written. The name and address of Durham University where the researcher studies was also printed at the top of this page.

Section A deals with the biographical and personal data such as state of origin, parents'/ husbands' educational background, institution attended, educational qualifications, residential area of self and parents, marital status, and religion. Section B deals with those factors (intrinsic and extrinsic) that attract women to go for higher education. Section C of the questionnaire comprises of questions pertaining to those factors that tend to make women to continue or discontinue with higher education and why they would return if they would ever drop out. Since the issue of dropouts is a sensitive one (from personal knowledge and experience women generally would not like to be identified as dropouts), respondents were asked to answer the questions

assuming they would dropout. Altogether, the questionnaire consisted of 123 closed-ended questions and 1 open-ended question, thereby making a total of 124 items.

At the end of each category of questions, a choice of 'other' was given so as to allow respondents to specify answers that may not have been given in the choices, or to clarify certain issues. Since the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) software for was to be used for statistical purpose, it was deemed necessary to pre-code the questions. All the questions in the questionnaire were, therefore, pre-coded so that each answer was given a specific number for the purpose of analysis.

It should be mentioned that the personal data presented in the questionnaire were used to define the profile of the respondents. These profiles were based on their state of origin, present institution, marital status, employment, religion, parents' level of education and place of residence.

4.3.5.3 Administration of the Questionnaire

Since our study covers a large geographical area and involved travelling to distant places, research assistants were judged to be essential for the distribution and collection of the questionnaires. Six research assistants with previous experience in research were employed and each was sent to one study-state. Training sessions were held with them to familiarise them with the sampling procedure to use.

One research assistant was sent to cover the three selected institutions in one of the study- states. Before they embarked on the questionnaire distribution, the investigator was confident that they knew how to get the number of female students per academic division from the registry of each institution in order to determine the proportion to be distributed. At each academic division and with the help of some selected lecturers, the questionnaires were randomly distributed to northern Nigerian female students at the different academic levels.

The self-administration of the questionnaires was opted for due to the slow rate of the ordinary mails in Nigeria, and it would be too costly to send them by the express mail. This will save time and ensure higher rate of returned responses. The research assistants each distributed and collected the questionnaires in the respective states and institutions they went to.

4.3.5.4 Questionnaire Data Analysis

The analysis and interpretation of the data is presented in two chapters. Chapter 5 deals with the socio-cultural and economic factors while chapter 6 presents the institutional and personal factors. At the beginning of each categorisation of factors some assumptions, which are operational formulations of the research questions, are written and tested against the findings to outline those that are confirmed or not.

Discussing the types of variables commonly used in the social sciences, May (1993) clarifies three different levels. The nominal variables which are identified by names, the ordinal variables which rank the differences in replies on gradation, and the interval variables which are measured on a ratio scale. A quick glance at our questionnaire reveals that the bulk of the data collected is ordinal. This type of scale involves the free judgement of opinion of the subjects and descriptive statistics, which organise and summarise a set of numerical data (Gall et al., 1996) would be used to analyse it. For easier perception, the nominal data in the questionnaire will be presented in graphs and be included in the appendices.

Consequently, the numeric codes on the questionnaire, were entered into the computer using the SPSS software to produce tables showing the frequency and percentage counts, which are supported and elaborated upon by the exact expression of the respondents interviewed. These techniques have been used in many women's studies such as those by Scott et al. (1996), Lee (1996), Henwood (1996) and have proved to be valuable guides to the present research effort.

For ease of comparison or contrast, the percentages of the two positive responses (Strongly Agree-rated 1 and Agree-rated 2) and the two negative responses (Strongly Disagree-rated 3 and Disagree-rated 4) were combined. The results of the findings were described and interpreted to show the level of agreement or disagreement with each statement. The items on the tables are arranged in a rank order whereby those with the highest positive responses come first, thus, placing the items that are rated most important by the respondents at the top of the table while those considered less important come last. Items in the questionnaire in the 'other' category and the open-ended question were analysed and incorporated in the summary.

Although a descriptive account seemed to help in achieving the study objectives, nevertheless, to help us in drawing conclusions from the study, we decided to test the statistical significance of some of our findings. The questionnaire was used for this purpose since the interview and documents reviews were qualitatively approached.

To take our analysis further and find out if there is a correlation between certain socio-economic reasons and the responses of our questionnaire participants, some major types of statistical tests reviewed included parametric and non-parametric statistics. The Parametric statistics make certain assumptions about the study population and are more likely to reveal the true differences or relationships if one exists while the non-parametric make few if any assumptions about the characteristics of the population (Mertens, 1998). Since we have made some assumptions and our data were ordinal and require statistics that use the order of scores' values (Chaiken and Eagly, 1993), we employed a non-parametric test.

Among the various non-parametric tests used in social sciences are Wilcoxen Signed, Mann Whitney U test which are used to determine whether the distribution of two independent samples differ significantly from each other (Gall, et al. 1996). T-test and chi-square tests are also other non-parametric tests. The t-test is used to determine if the mean scores of two groups are significantly different and the chi-square allows us to compare the findings with chance expectations or expectations based on specific hypotheses (Oppenheim, 1992).

Only the chi-square test was used to determine if there were certain socio-economic reasons influencing the participants' responses by finding the relationship between the variables in our specific hypotheses. We set the probability value at .05, which would show a statistical significant relationship between the variables tested. This means that if the probability level is 0.05 or less there is a statistically significant correlation and if it is more than 0.05 then the relationship is statistically non-significant. We used the SPSS for Windows to get the chi-square results and analysed them accordingly.

4.3.6 Fieldwork Problems and Measures Taken to Alleviate Them

4.3.6.1 Problems Encountered during the Fieldwork

The problems encountered during the fieldwork can be divided into two groups; those related to actual data collection and those related to field situation. The data collection related problems included the unavailability of up-to-date data on financial expenditure and student's enrolment by state of origin. In some cases, data were not available at all, for example most study states' Scholarship Boards would not produce list of female students awarded scholarships in recent years. This could be due to excessive bureaucracy; either data were available but the officials were unwilling to give out, or they simply did not want to admit its unavailability. The third problem could be partly due the lack of accountability in the conduct of public affairs in Nigeria where according to Oluwo (1983: 291) "corruption is found to be more rife than in the private sector," which has contributed to the moral crisis facing the country (Buhari, 1998).

Problems relating to field situation included transportation issue due to the fuel scarcity experienced in Nigeria for a long time, which became more acute just before and during the fieldwork. The second issue related to fuel scarcity was the high inflation, thereby pushing the cost of the overall research far beyond our initial

budget. Thirdly, we faced the problem of students' unrest in some institutions while other institutions were busy writing delayed examinations. Therefore, the selection of some institutions had to be adjusted. Fourthly, one of the research assistants trained and sent to the field proved undependable and dishonest. As a result, he had to be sacked and the whole process repeated.

4.3.6.2 Measures Taken to Overcome the Problems

In order for the above problems not to affect the results of our findings, we took certain measures to overcome them. In the case of data collection problems, we realised that the issue was how to deal with bureaucrats and bureaucracy. Thus, the strategy was to approach the officials through a third party who knows them. While personal contacts were important, it was essential to be friendly and we made sure to visit the offices quite early in the mornings.

Careful review of all returned questionnaires in the presence of the research assistants and carefully asking them about some of the pattern of responses proved to be useful devices for ensuring the reliability of the research assistants. To further check the reliability of the research assistants, the researcher contacted some deans and heads of departments of the selected institutions to investigate if the questionnaires were actually delivered. Concerning uncertain field situations, the formation of a field research advisory group was useful in exploring options of dealing with new and unexpected field issues, for example in the selection of replacement research assistant to repeat the distribution of questionnaires in one of the study-states.

Perseverance proved an essential asset in overcoming the problems faced during the fieldwork, especially in challenging and fast changing situations in Nigeria during the fieldwork.

4.4 REVIEW OF DOCUMENTS

Hitchcock and Hughes (1995) define documents as mainly written texts that relate to some aspects of the social world and they range from official to private. As part of the triangulation of data collection used in this study, official documents were reviewed from different sources in Nigeria to identify the degree of encouragement by the Nigerian government for women to pursue higher education. The sources used for document review were federal and state ministries of education, Federal Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Development, parastatals related to higher education for example the NUC, NBTE and NCCE, journals magazines and newspapers.

The types of documents reviewed from the above sources included governments' official reports, policy statements, records of programs, excerpts from conferences and internal memorandum. Examples of such documents were the Nigerian Country Report to the Beijing conference on women, National Policy on Education, Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, annual development plans and budget and excerpts from speeches given during the annual Women's Day Celebration in Nigeria. Hitchcock and Hughes (1995) consider this classification of documents important in enabling us to range the sources available and the purpose to which they will be put.

The data collected were of two types: (1) quantitative, which included figures on students' enrolment, financial expenditure, number and location of components of higher education (universities, polytechnics and colleges of education), (2) descriptive data that included policy statements on various forms of encouragement and programs for women's higher education. Both types of data were used to support interview and questionnaire data, which were used to identify some of the factors that motivate women in northern Nigeria to pursue higher education. These factors were grouped into socio-cultural, institutional, economic and personal.

4.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

In this chapter, we have discussed how the triangulation of data collection and interpretation was used in the study. The data collection instruments used included semi-structured interviews, self-administered questionnaires and documents review. Both the interview and questionnaire items were guided by the content and process theories of motivation. Before undertaking the fieldwork, both the interview and questionnaires were carefully piloted to enhance their validity, and measures taken for their reliability.

A description of how the questionnaires were distributed, interviews conducted and the area of study and samples selected, have all been detailed to ensure a full appreciation the appropriateness of the methodology in the context. Descriptive and interpretative approaches were used to analyse the data whereby quantitative and qualitative data were incorporated in exploring the answers to the research questions. Statistical (chi-square) tests were also employed to find the relationships between certain socio-cultural and economic variables. Problems faced during the fieldwork and the measures taken to alleviate them without adversely affecting the findings have also been discussed.

We have discussed the methodology and fieldwork procedure employed for collection of data to answer our research questions. In the next two chapters we shall present the analysis and interpretation of both the quantitative and qualitative data in this study.

CHAPTER 5

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS SOCIO-CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC FACTORS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Guided by the four research questions and using data collected during the fieldwork as described in Chapter 4, this chapter and the next present and interpret the factors that appear to motivate women from northern Nigeria to pursue higher education. Although some of these factors in the research questions seem to overlap, effort is made to analyse them separately. The socio-cultural and economic factors are presented and analysed in this chapter while the institutional and personal factors are dealt with in Chapter 6.

For the sake of clarity this chapter is divided into two main sections. The first section deals with socio-cultural factors while the second section examines the economic factors. This section of the chapter attempts to answer the following research question:

Do socio-cultural factors such as the urge to be role models, influence of peer and relatives, marital variables and parental support influence the intrinsic and extrinsic motivation of northern Nigerian women to pursue higher education?

5.2 SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS

The sources of the factors in the above research question were mainly the issues which emerged from literature review on socio-cultural, economic, institutional and personal factors as well as from the motivational theories as discussed in Chapter 3.

To determine if the socio-cultural factors identified in the above research question are significant in motivating women from northern Nigeria to pursue higher education, the following assumptions were made as operational formulations of the research questions:

1. The pursuit of higher education is influenced by women's urge to become role models.
2. The higher the level of parents' education, the more they support their daughters to pursue higher education.
3. Urban parents tend to give more support to their daughters to pursue higher education.
4. The pursuit of higher education is influenced by encouragement from parents, husbands, relatives, friends and children.
5. The realisation of the need for more women in various professions encourages northern Nigerian women to pursue higher education.
6. Women enrol in higher educational institutions largely because of the opportunity it affords them to meet potential husbands.
7. The pursuit of higher education is a means by which women protect their marriage.
8. The pursuit of higher education can be adversely affected by the lack of support and encouragement from parents and /or husbands.

As pointed out earlier in Chapter 3, researchers such as (Bhalalusesa, 1998; Hassan, 1998; Perkin, 1993) have shown that role models are crucial sources of motivation to women students. Based on this premise, we inserted a question about the urge to become role models in our questionnaire and the results are presented in Table 5.1.

5.2.1 The Urge to Become Role Models

The assumption on women's urge to become role models is confirmed by both questionnaire and interview participants as an important factor motivating women from northern Nigeria to pursue higher education. The data shown in Table 5.1 indicates that about 85% of the respondents agreed with the question, which states, "I came to this institution so as to be a role model for my children. Supporting the questionnaire data, the interviewees affirmed that role models had a positive influence on their pursuit of higher education and career development and they would like to have the same on their children. An illustrative response was as follows:

> I will do my best to give (even more) support to my daughters. Most of us are now educated and would want our daughters to be educated, if not even better than us. (transc. 12 a school counsellor)

Another interviewee had assumed that she was going to have children even before she got married. Her comments illustrate her desire for her education to have positive effect on her children:

> ...and I wanted my children later to be proud of me and what I have achieved (transc. 19 a medical doctor)

From the questionnaire responses, it appears that role model for other women come next to role model for children. As indicated in Table 5.1 about seven tenths of the respondents showed that they want to have a positive impact on other women in the society generally. Women with higher education appear to be directly or indirectly influencing other women's decisions to enrol in higher education. This was evident in the comments of the majority of the women interviewed when some of them stated that role models were among the important sources of inspiration for their higher education.

Table 5.1 The Urge to Become Role Models

	1		2		3		4			MR
I came to this institution	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
So as to be a role model for my children	673	50.9	446	33.8	115	8.7	46	3.5	41	3.1
So as to be a role model for other women	406	30.7	458	34.7	336	25.4	99	7.7	22	1.7

Notes: N= 1321 1= Strongly Agree 2 = Agree 3 =Disagree 4= Strongly Disagree MR= Missing Responses

The interview results reveal three types of responses to the issue of role models. There were those who were convinced that they have achieved the status of role models themselves. Some confessed that role models inspired them. Others say that they were admirers of role models. We shall discuss each group in turn.

Example of the first group were those who according to their judgements have achieved role model status indicated:

> I have been a headliner. I have been able to inspire many other women (transc. no 2 a psychologist).
>
> ...Also I really wanted to set a model example for other women (transc.19 a medical doctor)

The Hausa/Fulani, a major ethnic group in northern Nigeria, are among those considered to be educationally 'disadvantaged' or 'backward'. (Awe, 1989). Both the government and individuals are stressing the need for education among these groups. Such needs are especially directed to the education of women as well. We have seen in our literature review (Chapter 3) how government and NGOs' efforts are directed towards the achievement of this end and a typical example of the individual's concerted effort was made distinctively clear when a Fulani judge expressed her deliberate effort to inspire other women. She claimed also to have had an impact on some parents' decision about the higher education of their daughters: She related her experience with the following words:

> ...My major motivation was to serve as a role model for others since there aren't many Hausa/Fulani lawyers. I impress some parents and they tell me that they will not stop their daughters from pursuing higher education (transc.9 a lawyer).

An example of the second group of interviewees, who indicated that they were inspired by role models, said:

> ... I had seen other women who had gone for higher education and wanted to be like them (transc. no. 11 an accountant).

Some of the women in this study felt that higher education has offered their role models many opportunities. They expressed the view that higher education becomes a vital tool for taking part in a dynamic society such as Nigeria. A senior lecturer in one of the polytechnics admitted:

> Many women have heard or read about "women of success." These women serve as role models to others. Many opportunities are opened to them because of their higher education. There is a common belief that, "Ilimi gishirin zamani." (Hausa: meaning that education is essential in the modern time) (transc. 1 a polytechnic lecturer).

The third group included those interviewees who did not only admire the academic experience of their role models, but also their physical appearance and how they presented themselves in the public. A senior administrative officer happily related her experience:

> ...It was just that I had some role models. I really used to admire the way the university girls used to present themselves. While growing up there was a particular incident that I could say inspired me to go for higher education. The students' association once staged a play and we went to watch it. The girl who acted the princess spoke English very well and was very confident and I admired her so much and made a vow that I must also go to the university...(transc. 29 an administrator)

Interestingly, this interviewee brought out other perspectives relating to her role models. Her role models' intelligence and status were admired:

> ...I also had another role model that now works for the Kogi State Women Commission. When she was at the university she used to talk intelligently and I felt it was because she was at the university and I too should one day be like her (transc. 29 an administrator)

One of the respondents also expressed how she appreciated her role models' confidence, personality and the position held:

> When I saw some women on the TV speaking with confidence, and the personality of the educated women, I was attracted. There was also a woman chairperson in my local government area and I felt the desire to also be someone important (transc. no. 6 a primary school teacher).

While these women tend to emphasise the influence of role models as motivating factors to their higher education, some official documents, on the other hand, suggest there is a lack of role models to encourage women's pursuit of education as one such document stated:

> A very high illiteracy rate among mothers in the rural areas precluded some parents from acting as motivators or role models in education...(FRN, 1992).

The above statement suggests the need to explore all avenues (which is the main objective of this study) to encourage more women to pursue higher education and serve as role models for their daughters and other women.

The positive responses regarding the urge to be role models in both the questionnaire and interview could be due to the general societal increase in the awareness of the need for female education. Maybe in response to Longe's (FRN, 1992) Commission recommendations on the need for women role models, the government established Women's Units in the federal as well as the state ministries of education. However, despite all these efforts the gender gap in education still exists and widens at the higher educational level in Nigeria generally and more particularly in northern Nigeria.

5.2.2 Interim Summary

In summary, the diversity in the experiences of the respondents either as role models or in observing role models seems to explain that different women look at different aspects of life of other women as motivating factors to higher education. Thus, our stated assumption regarding the urge to become role models has been confirmed as a

motivating factor for women in northern Nigeria to pursue higher education as evident from the questionnaire and interview data presented. With the slow but steady increase in number of women in higher education, it is hoped that many of them would become role models for other women in both rural and urban areas.

5.2.3 Parents' Support for Women's Higher Education

The basic assumption relevant to this section is that parental support in terms of material assistance is one of the major motivating factors in women's pursuit of higher education. The level of support given by the parents to their daughters may depend on many factors, which include but are not limited to parents' level of education, their experience of urban lifestyle and the possibility of the daughters supporting them later in their old age. The acceptance or rejection of each of these will now be discussed.

Table 5.2 Parents' Support for Women's Higher Education

	1		2		3		4		MR	
My parents supported my higher education mainly because	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
They themselves are educated	387	29.3	548	41.5	194	14.7	152	11.5	40	3.0
Of their experience of urban lifestyle	211	16.0	577	43.7	314	23.8	164	12.4	55	4.2
They have seen other girls pursue higher education.	211	16.0	552	41.8	340	25.7	179	13.6	39	3.0
They want me to take care of them when they are old	210	15.9	448	33.9	350	26.5	230	17.4	83	6.3
I am the only child in the Family	43	3.3	70	5.3	443	33.5	716	54.2	49	3.7
I have no brothers	37	2.8	75	5.7	416	31.5	749	56.7	44	3.3

Notes: N=1321 1= Strongly Agree 2 = Agree 3 = Disagree 4= Strongly Disagree MR= Missing Responses

5.2.3.1 Parents' Level of Education

Parental support may imply that the more educated the parents, the more likely they are to give material support to their daughters to pursue higher education. Both our questionnaire and interview respondents confirm this assumption. The questionnaire responses shown in Table 5.2 indicate that 7 out of 10 of the respondents agreed that

their parents supported their higher education because they themselves were educated. This finding seems to support Bourdieu's (1990) 'reproduction thesis of education.' A number of other studies such as those by Mayanja (1998) and Bhalalusesa (1998) also had similar findings on the influence of parents' education in encouraging women to enrol in higher education. Also Awe's (1989) observation that in Nigeria, the children of educated parents tend to receive more support from their parents to all levels of education has been supported by our findings. This observation is further supported by some of our interviewees and the comments below exemplify some of the responses:

> My father values women's education. He was educated himself and knows its values. All his older children are females. My father is used to the Islamic notion to educate everyone…(transc.no.12 a school counsellor).

This result may be referring to the Hadith, which states:

> *Whosoever has a daughter and he does not bury her alive, does not insult her, and does not favour his son over her; God will enter him into Paradise. (Ibn Hanbal, No.1957)*

The above comment also gives a picture of how some parents educated both in the Islamic and Western type education may support their daughters to pursue higher education.

When further asked if the support she got was because all the older children in the family were females, she said:

> My family values education very much, so they often talk about higher education and the wish for all their children to acquire it (transc.no.12 a school counsellor).

Another comment concerning the parents' level of education was from a psychologist and director of a primary education unit who stated:

> …my father was educated and knew its benefit, therefore he wanted me to acquire higher education…My father's philosophy was to educate all his children because he said that not educating a child is like burying him/her alive (transc.no.2 a psychologist).

Some not well-educated parents tend to support their children to enter higher education in order to benefit from what they themselves have missed but valued. The comments below typify some of the responses:

> My parents were not highly educated and they wanted all their children to have what they didn't have…(transc.no.7 a businesswoman).

By contrast, some uneducated parents are unlikely to support the higher education of their daughters as the experience of a lawyer has shown:

> My parents were not educated and they did not give any support for my education at all (transc.no.9 a lawyer).

The lack of support from the uneducated parents may largely be due to socio-economic reasons. Some of them tend to use their daughters to increase the household income through hawking of commercial food items. Socially, they tend to encourage their daughters to get married at an early age.

On further probing, the above interviewee suggested that her aunt who had the opportunity of a reasonable level of Western education encouraged her.

This can illustrate a common practice among the people in northern Nigeria whereby close relatives take responsibility from the parents of bringing up children. This is meant to strengthen social ties and affords the guardian the opportunity to experience surrogate parental responsibility.

Besides parents' education, other experiences for example through travelling can also be a source of enlightenment, which has enabled some parents to see the value of education, thereby giving material support to their daughters to pursue higher education. Below is one such case:

> My parents are not very educated, but my father had travelled widely both within and outside Nigeria, and must have realised the importance of education. Therefore, equal support was given to both the boys and the girls for higher education in my family (transc.no.3 a pharmacist).

Some of the women in this study emphasised the importance of parents' financial support as one of the major reasons for the successful completion of their higher education. Some of the comments were:

> My parents who provided me with all that I needed encouraged me. Due to the lack of adequate facilities and materials at the university, we had to buy most of the equipment we needed. If not for my parents' support in this respect, I wouldn't have been able to continue (transc. no. 27 a veterinary doctor).
>
> My parents who gave me both material and moral support encouraged me. While I was studying, I had the continuous praise from my parents and they gave me money and other materials that I needed for my studies (transc. no. 11 an accountant).
>
> I had my father's full support...My father gave me both moral and material support that enabled me to study without many difficulties (transc. no. 12 a school counsellor).

Equal support for the higher education of boys and girls was one of the main issues that arose during the probing of some of our interview respondents. This is important considering the cultural bias against women's education prevailing not only in northern Nigeria, but also in other African societies (WIN, 1985). To illustrate this cultural bias, the Hausa people of northern Nigeria have a common saying that *"bishiya a gidanka, inuwa a gidan wani"* (implying that a girl's education is not beneficial to the parents, but her husband after her marriage). With such attitudes and some socio-cultural and economic reasons, boys are more often given the preference to attend school than girls are.

Despite this cultural bias, some parents have realised the importance of equal support for both their male and female children as pointed out by some of our interviewees:

> My parents have never been partial. All their children were sent to school. They don't regard boys' education as more important than girls'...(transc.no.33 a school administrator).
>
> I was privileged to have come from a family that valued education and my father felt that both his male and female children should be given equal educational opportunity (transc.no.32 a primary school supervisor).

The above comments appear to support Okeke (1989) and Awe (cited in Parpart, 1990) who observed that changes in social values and attitudes by parents are facilitating women's access to higher education in Nigeria.

5.2.3 2 Influence of Parents' Place of Residence

Our findings support researchers such as those by Akande (cited in Awe 1990) and Niles (1989) who have suggested that urban parents tend to give more support towards their children's higher education than the rural parents. Both our questionnaire and interview data confirmed this assumption. As shown in Table 5.2 about 60% of the respondents agreed that their parents supported their higher education because of their urban experiences. Those questionnaire respondents, who did not support this item, may be indicating that the assumption does not apply to them, which should not be seen as a rejection of the assumption by them.

Similarly, many of our interviewees supported the assumption as the following examples show:

> I lived in Lagos where there were many women graduates who had good jobs and were living comfortably. These women served as my role models. My father had lived in Lagos for a long time and had become aware of the importance of women's higher education (transc. no.5 a school principal).

> ...Many relatives and friends in the city also encouraged me by always saying words of praise for what I was doing (transc. no.25 a veterinary doctor).

5.2.4 Demonstrative Effects

Demonstrative effects in this case may be the influence of factors external to the family. As shown in Table 5.2 more than half of the respondents agreed with the statement: "My parents supported my higher education mainly because they have seen other girls pursue higher education." This level of agreement with this item may imply that the parents might have interacted with families where there are girls who have acquired higher education and hence became convinced of its importance. The

existence of other girls who are going into higher education might have also served as a stimulus to both the women and their parents.

5.2.5 Social Insurance

The relevant assumption for this section is that parents perceive girls' education as a social security for themselves particularly in their old age, hence support their daughters' higher education. This perception perhaps stems from the absence of formal social security institutions similar to those found in the West.

The above assumption is confirmed by about half of the respondents who as shown in Table 5.2 agreed with the statement, "My parents supported my higher education mainly because they want me to take care of them when they are old." Other social security factors of parental support for female higher education are the cases where the daughter is the only child in the family and where all the children are daughters. The questionnaire respondents did not confirm this assumption as Table 5.2 shows that 9 out of 10 of the respondents disagreed with the suggestion, "My parents supported my higher education mainly because I am the only child in the family." Similarly, about the same number of respondents also disagreed with the statement, "My parents supported my higher education mainly because I have no brothers."

These levels of disagreement could be interpreted to mean that there was no gender bias by the respondents' parents in their support for their children's higher education. Discussing this issue, many of our interviewees expressed the view that generally those children who perform better at school are supported more as they may seem to have more potentials as social security investments to their parents.

However, there are cases where some interviewees claimed to have performed better in school than their brothers, and therefore had not just equal, but more parental support than their brothers for higher education as a science teacher related:

> ...Even I did better in school than my brother. So that encouraged my father and he felt that my educational status will help me in the future and so he decided to support me more than the boys (transc.no.20 a science teacher).

Regarding parents' support for their daughters' higher education, one observation worth pointing out is that generally the interviewees acknowledged their fathers' and not the mothers' support. This may be an indication that besides the likelihood of many of the mothers being less educated than the fathers, the fathers might be the main decision-makers in the family. The literacy level of women in Nigeria has been commented about by Awe (1989) saying that the highest degree of illiteracy is among women. If this is true of the whole country, then one might expect a more discouraging situation in northern Nigeria where education in general and female education in particular is lagging behind the southern parts due to socio-cultural and historical reasons.

5.2.6 Interim Summary

The assumptions accepted in this section are those that generally tend to show support in women's pursuit of higher education. These assumptions are related to the influence of parents' level of education and experience of urban lifestyle. Our respondents as important motives for their parents' support also considered factors such as the influence of seeing other girls with higher education and parents 'perception of their daughters' higher education as a social security. On the other hand, being an only child in the family, or having no brothers were considered as not important influences on parents' support for the higher education of their daughters.

5.2.7 Encouragement in the Community

In the previous section we have discussed some factors that might have influenced parents' material support to their daughters as a form of motivation to pursue higher education. In this section, we shall focus our attention on actions by various people in

the community which tended to act as a stimulus, gave confidence and hope to the women in their pursuit of higher education.

5.2.7.1 Encouragement by Members of the Community

5.2.7.1.1 Encouragement by Parents

Although encouragement by members of the community is important to the women in their pursuit of higher education, that of parents may be considered more influential because of their position and role as parents. Due to this importance, the Federal Government of Nigeria has taken steps in enhancing the education of parents and the general public so as to bring about a change in attitude towards women's education (FRN, 1995). It is therefore, in this context that the Women Education Unit of the Federal Ministry of Education organises awareness campaigns, workshops, seminars, rallies in all the states and the federal capital, Abuja.

Table 5.3 Encouragement by Members of the Community

	1		**2**		**3**		**4**		**MR**	
I was encouraged to come to this Institution by	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
My parents	685	51.9	400	30.3	153	11.6	61	4.6	22	1.7
Some of my earlier Teachers	321	24.3	564	42.7	263	19.9	123	9.3	50	3.8
My friends	222	16.8	567	42.2	345	26.1	147	11.1	40	3.0
The increased awareness of the religious requirements for knowledge	304	23.0	448	33.9	292	22.1	149	11.3	128	9.7
My relatives	199	15.1	531	40.2	414	31.3	148	11.2	29	2.2
My husband	247	18.7	244	18.5	308	23.3	281	21.3	241	18.2
My children	115	8.7	212	16.0	420	31.8	358	27.1	216	16.4

Notes: N= 1321 1= Strongly Agree 2= Agree 3=Disagree 4= Strongly Disagree MR= Missing Responses

The assumption about the influence of parents' encouragement in women's pursuit of higher education has been confirmed by our data. Based on the figures in Table 5.3 we see that eight out ten of the respondents agreed that they were encouraged by their

parents to pursue higher education. Similar degree of response was also shown by the qualitative data collected through interviews as indicated in the comments below:

> I remember after my diploma I decided not to go further in my education, my father encouraged me to do so as I was among the best students (tranc. 23 a university lecturer).

> Infact, I did NCE and after that there was a man who wanted to marry me but warned me that I will not further my education. My father rejected the proposal because he said that the best you can give to a child is education. He told my fiancée that if he will not allow me to continue with my education, he couldn't marry me…(transc. 20 a science teacher).

Some of our interviewees raised the issue that some members of the community see the pursuit of higher education by women as non-conformists' behaviour. The responses of some of our interviewees to this were that parental encouragement tends to overshadow any discouraging comments or behaviour from the community. This supports our earlier observation that encouragement by parents is considered more important as the following comments illustrate:

> I managed to acquire higher education, as my father did not allow himself to be affected by the societal comments. Some members of my extended family looked at my going for higher education as a failure and they kept comparing me to those who got married and had children while I was wasting my time (transc. no. 5 a school principal).

> My parents were encouraging. Before I finished my secondary school my father already got me the JAMB (Joint Admission and Matriculation Board) form and I applied to many institutions. When I got admission I just went on. One has to ignore what other people in the village or society are saying and be determined to attain the goal one has set for herself (transc. 22 an official of Federal Ministry for Women Affairs).

Another issue brought out in the course of the interviews was that despite the encouragement by some parents to their daughters to pursue higher education, the importance of early marriage was not completely ignored. Some of our interviewees stated that while in the higher institutions their friends or parents kept reminding them of the need to get married. There is a general fear in the parents that the girls will not get a suitable husband if allowed to graduate before getting married. The other fear

might be that the girls would get bad influence from others on the campuses, which may lead to the loss of chastity. Examples of some of the responses are presented below:

> In our society parents believe in early marriage or latest after secondary school, as a result many of my friends got married while still in higher education (transc. 3 a pharmacist).

> ...The general societal expectations hampers the education of girls because of the expectation on the girls to get married early...Many of us got married before attaining higher education and those few that did so before getting married did not conform to such norms and went ahead for higher education. As a result of this they were looked at as nonconformists and their parents were blamed several times for letting them do so (transc. no. 1 a polytechnic lecturer).

An interesting contrast in the attitude of some of the women in this study was shown by one of the interviewees when she expressed her lack of interest in higher education despite her parental encouragement. She related her experience:

> My father encouraged me, but I didn't have the desire, so I got married. I wanted to leave home as I was the only female child in the family and there was too much burden on me (farming, cooking, fetching water, taking food to the farm, caring for younger siblings and the like). I wanted to get away from all these (transc. 6 a primary school teacher).

This type of counter attitude may seem to mean that it is not always that the women respond to parents' encouragement. This respondent however, eventually went for higher education after marriage because as she explained she no longer had the burden of caring for people in her parents' extended family home, but only her husband.

5.2.7.1.2 Encouragement by Teachers

Besides parents' encouragement, teachers also play an important role in motivating women to pursue higher education. Teachers' encouragement was confirmed by 67% of questionnaire respondents as shown in Table 5.3. Our interview data also confirms the assumption. However, female teachers were especially identified as a more

important source of motivation by some of the women interviewed. Below are some of their comments:

> ...I got encouragement from my teachers. They were telling us to go and read because they knew that the Hausa girls get married at an early age. They were telling us that even if we don't use our certificates now, we can use it in the future (transc. no. 26 a French teacher).

> ...My principal came from the same background and therefore advised us and gave us encouragement. She herself was a role model and she used to tell us that we have to acquire higher education as not all of us will be lucky to have good husbands (transc. no. 30 a secondary school teacher).

Some of our respondents who were encouraged by the Christian missionaries also reported that such encouragement made them to enrol in higher education. The missionaries provided some of them with schools and other sources of encouragement as mentioned below:

> The missionary sub-culture I grew up in has encouraged me as I went to the best schools where I had good teachers from abroad and the best facilities. The teachers were always encouraging us to go for higher education (transc. no. 25 a veterinary doctor).

5.2.7.1.3.Encouragement by Friends

Table 5.3 shows that about 6 out of 10 of the questionnaire respondents confirmed the assumption regarding the encouragement to pursue higher education the women in this study received from their friends. These responses show that there seem to be positive peer influence in encouraging women to pursue higher education. Such peer influence may arise from what Browne (1998) regard as the emergence of the importance of peer group in adolescent whereby there is very much reliance on peer group for support, identity, security and guidance. Because of the influence peers can exert on one another, some parents are sceptical when it comes to their daughters studying in the higher educational institutions where the social environment is more open and the students have a certain degree of freedom. This scepticism may, however, be related to the morality and the type of life the students live in the higher institutions.

The interview data complements the questionnaire data. Some of the interviewees confirmed that their friends and peer groups encouraged them to pursue higher education as their comments illustrate:

> Many of my secondary and primary school friends encouraged me to go for higher education… (transc. 6 a primary school teacher).

> I studied at the Federal Government Girls College Kazaure. We had many students from all over the country and most of them know what higher education was all about. I became aware of higher education there through interaction with these girls (transc. no. 26 a French teacher).

Peer influence is generally important in encouraging women's pursuit of higher education, but it seems that greater positive attitude is achieved with the convergence of family and peer influences. In most African societies the bond within members of the extended family is usually very strong. Great value is attached to keeping family relationships healthy and harmonious. The members of the extended family therefore, usually take decisions collectively. The importance of encouragement from relatives therefore becomes vital to a woman's pursuit of higher education.

5.2.7.1.4 Encouragement by Relatives

The assumption on the importance of encouragement by relatives is confirmed by about 6 out of 10 of the questionnaire respondents as shown in Table 5.3. It should be noted here that relatives include brothers, sisters, aunts, uncles, cousins, grandparents, nieces and nephews. The respondents who gave negative responses to this factor might have considered it as unimportant or it was not applicable to them.

The interview responses generally confirmed the assumption about the encouragement from relatives. Their comments include:

> ...My brother who had already acquired higher education also kept encouraging me (transc. no. 24 an architect).

> ...My father died when I was finishing secondary school, so my mother and other relations gave me all the encouragement and support (transc. no.16 an accountant).

> ...My parents and especially an uncle I had really encouraged me. Because they were not well off, most of the encouragement was moral (transc. no. 19 a medical doctor).

Some of our interviewees suggested that besides parents and relatives, many community members offered them help and encouragement. Concerning such encouragement one of our interview respondents had this to say:

> At the time I went for higher education we got a lot of encouragement and support from many members of the community. People used to contribute money to give to us, some will bring some provisions for us to take back with us. This really made us to feel very motivated... Financial support from voluntary organisations was another source of encouragement (transc. no. 3 a pharmacist).

By contrast, there were cases where some of the relatives did not encourage the women to pursue higher education:

> One of my uncles would not talk to me because I had gone beyond the secondary school before marriage. Many of us did not enjoy going home on vacation because there was always the pressure for us to bring someone forward for marriage (transc. no. 30 a secondary school teacher).

> .... There was a time when my uncle said that education for a girl is not necessary, so my father should withdraw us from school and get us married, but my father did not listen to that advice (transc. no. 23 a university lecturer).

> At that time it was a tug of war. After secondary school my relatives suggested marriage, but because of my determination coupled with the support from my parents I was able to go for higher education (transc. no. 29 an adminstrator).

> My father gave the support against the will of his friends and relatives who tried to convince him to get me married right after the secondary school (transc. no.3 a pharmacist).

To other women the lack of encouragement was from those relatives who live in the rural areas as the comments below show:

> Those relatives who live in the village were totally against my going beyond the secondary school. Whenever I would visit them, they would always complain to my father that I should get married and settle down. Also wasn't he afraid that I will become unchaste and the people in the community will treat him as an 'outcaste'? (transc. no 25 a veterinary doctor).

The above comments may indicate that many fathers ignored the negative attitudes of their relatives and supported their daughters' higher education.

5.2.7.1.5 Encouragement by Husbands

Husbands' encouragement to their wives to pursue higher educational institutions is crucial to their success as suggested by Smith (1993). Leonard (1994) identifies three main forms of encouragement that husbands can give to their wives when they return to education. 1. Husbands sharing domestic duties and child care responsibilities with their wives to allow them to study. 2. Husbands are assisting their wives in economic terms and 3. When husbands are generally supportive or encouraging.

The assumption about encouragement by husbands has not been confirmed by the questionnaire data. Table 5.3 shows that about 4 out of 10 of the respondents, but 77% of the married women who answered this question agreed with the item which states, "I was encouraged to come to this institution by my husband." The relatively large number of disagreement with this item may be either because most of the respondents were not married, or it did not apply to them.

By contrast, the interview responses generally confirmed the assumption and seem to support those factors outlined by Leonard (1994) above. Some of their comments were:

> ...and my husband gave me moral, financial and physical support as he took care of our child (transc. no. 14 a secondary school teacher).

> ...My husband also gave me both moral and material support. He also helped in taking care of the children while I was away to school (transc. no.1 a polytechnic lecturer).

> ...I had some children while studying and both my husband and parents helped in taking care of them (transc. 23 a university lecturer).

Many of our interviewees stressed the need for the husbands' encouragement to their wives in their pursuit of higher education otherwise many problems may arise. Such problems according to Perkin (1993) include envy or resentment of a wife's opportunity to study, especially if the husband has not been to university or college. Lack of financial and moral support by husbands may be other evidence of negative feelings about their wives' interest in higher education. Such attitudes according to Smith (1993) may lead to problems such as separation and to a greater extent even divorce. Among the women interviewed, some of them expressed that some husbands have attitudes similar to those described above when they said:

> Some husbands tend to be jealous when they see their wives aspiring, especially when they have the same qualification or she is even higher. You find such men not giving the wife the support she needs (transc. no. 23 a university lecturer).

We had two of the women interviewed who attributed their divorces to their enrolment in higher education. Their husbands did not give them the support to do so and as a result, there was disharmony in their marriages. One of them reported her experience in the following manner:

> ...To continue with higher education, I had some changes in my life events. My first husband who felt I wasn't submissive enough due to my education battered me. My second husband called me a 'white woman,' and would say *"sai kin kwantad da kai guguwa ta hau."* (you must be humble and submissive) before he can live with me. He wanted me to be an entire housewife and just stay at home. I found it uncompromising and we had a divorce (transc. no. 2 a psychologist).

A point different from Smith's (1993) observation expressed by some the interviewees was that some men show their lack of encouragement to their wives' pursuit of higher education by marrying a second wife:

> ...Some husbands use their wives' absence as an excuse for getting a second wife. This often resulted into having conflicts with the first wife and many of my colleagues blamed themselves for giving such a chance (transc. no.1 a polytechnic lecturer).

The assumption that children encourage women's pursuit of higher education is confirmed by only 24.7% of the respondents, but 50% of the married women who answered the question as shown in Table 5.3. For those who did not confirm the

assumption it may be an indication that they are either not married, had no children or the assumption did not apply to them.

5.2.7.2 Religious Encouragement

The assumption that the pursuit of higher education is encouraged by the increase awareness of religious requirement for knowledge is confirmed by the data. Table 5.3, shows that 7 out of 10 of the questionnaire respondents agreed with the item which states, "I was encouraged to come to this institution by the increased awareness of the religious requirements for knowledge." The interview data supports the questionnaire data. Many of the women interviewed indicated having been motivated by the religious awareness for knowledge and some of their responses were:

> …My religion Islam also preaches about the acquisition of knowledge. There is also a saying that, "educate a woman you educate a nation." I wanted to be part of that nation building (transc. no. 15 a university student affairs officer).

> My father values women's education…My father is used to the Islamic notion to educate everyone (transc. no. 12 a school counsellor).

These respondents have shown the importance of the acquisition of knowledge in Islam. As Islam is the dominant religion in the study area and the majority of the respondents are Muslims, we shall therefore draw our inferences from it. Knowledge occupies an important position in Islam and God instructs mankind to learn and seek for knowledge. There are numerous references in the Holy Quran where seeking knowledge is portrayed as a positive act.

> *...Are those equal, those who know and those who do not? (39:9)*

The Holy Qur'an also advises mankind to pray to Allah for increase in knowledge because human knowledge is limited:

> *...O my lord! Advance me in knowledge (20:114)*

Prophet Muhammad (may the peace and blessings of Allah be upon him) has also stressed the supreme value of knowledge on innumerable occasions as for instance:

> *The quest for knowledge is obligatory on every Muslim*
> *Seek for knowledge from the cradle to the grave. (Bukhari and Muslim)*

With regard to women's education, which is the main focus of this research, there are evidences in the Qur'an as well as ahadith that women have similar rights to those of men. More stress is even put on women's education whereby the Prophet (peace be upon him) has clearly pointed out in a Hadith (Prophetic Saying) that:

> *Whoever educates a man educates a single person but he who educates a woman educates a nation.*
> *Seeking knowledge is compulsory for every Muslim Male or Female (Sahih Bukhari).*

The above evidences prove that women have a vital role to play in nation building which education is a prerequisite. Education is therefore, fundamental not only in her self-actualisation, but also in performing her role as a mother who nurtures the children that will be the leaders of tomorrow.

5.2.8 Interim Summary

To sum up, the data has shown high acceptance of the importance of encouragement by parents, teachers, friends, the increased religious requirement for knowledge and relatives to have motivated them to enrol in higher education. However, among these factors, encouragement by parents and teachers seem to have the strongest influence on the respondents. On the other hand, factors such as encouragement by children or husbands were considered as less important motives for the respondents to acquire higher education. The lack of importance of these factors could be due to the high number of unmarried women who answered the questionnaire or their lack of applicability to the respondents.

5.2.9 Marriage Related Factors

5.2.9.1 Seeking a suitable husband

Our assumption that institutions of higher education generally afford women the opportunity to meet potential husbands has not been confirmed. Only about 4 out of 10 of the questionnaire respondents as revealed in Table 5.4 agreed to the statement, "I came to this institution mainly because it is the means to getting a suitable husband." The remaining respondents who did not confirm the assumption may be indicating that it a secondary motive to them or it did not apply to them.

Table 5.4 Seeking a Suitable Husband

	1		2		3		4		MR	
I came to this institution mainly because	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
It is the means to getting a suitable husband	188	14.2	333	25.2	419	31.7	305	23.1	76	5.8

Notes: N= 1321 1= Strongly Agree 2= Agree 3 = Disagree 4= Strongly Disagree MR = Missing Responses

5.2.9.2 Men's Attitude Toward Marrying a Woman with Higher Education

The issue of entering higher education to get a suitable husband was not discussed during the interview because it seemed too sensitive. A similar topic was however raised. All the women interviewed were asked to comment on the general attitudes of men in northern Nigeria about getting married to girls with higher education. Our interview data indicate three categories of responses. The first was the men's fear of women being too confrontational, or argumentative. The second was the suspicion of the women's generally unacceptable moral behaviour. Then third was the men's inferiority complex in cases where they have a lower level of education. We shall present the interviewees' comments in the respective order.

The first category of interviewees suggested that some women with higher education try to show their superiority to the men. Hence, some men resent marrying women who have attained higher education:

... There are some ladies who use their opportunity of being educated to rule over the men. By this I mean they tend to show that they are superior and will not take anything to make them inferior to the man (transc. 20 a science teacher).

...There is the cultural bias that a woman should be totally subjugated rather than a partner which many highly educated women do not accept (transc. no. 2 a psychologist).

> Most men prefer those without higher education. There is a general belief that the eyes of the educated ones are "too open" to the realities of life, and there is lack of the submissive qualities the men may require. Another factor is that many men generally consider those girls with higher education as too old (transc. no. 9 a lawyer).

It is evident from the above statements that 'submissive qualities' and subjugation are culturally determined traditional values as is the significance of marrying young. Also as indicated by one of the interviewees that "the eyes of the educated ones are 'too open' to the realities of life," suggests that the highly educated women are fully aware of their rights and privileges. They would also go to some length to defend them using traditional and sometimes even legal means. This may tend to discourage some men from marrying them.

The second category of respondents are those who hinted that besides the fear of an educated wife not being submissive, another assumption is that some men feel she might be too proud to engage in some of the 'normal' house chores that an ordinary woman would do. Some of their comments include:

> They look at the highly educated woman as very arrogant. They will not be able to take good care of the house, for example grinding hot pepper is seen as an important duty of a wife, but the "acada" (literary meaning the highly educated woman) may not want to do this (transc. no. 14 secondary school teacher).

The above comments may imply that some men do not feel free to marry girls with higher education because they might associate higher education with arrogance and lack of respect. Other interview respondents pointed out the assumption about the moral behaviour of girls who have attained higher education before marriage:

> ...Up here in the north many men believe that once a girl has attained a certain age she must marry and when she passes that age people are sceptical about her chastity (transc. no. 23 a university lecturer).

The age by which the educated girls marry may be more than what is ordinarily accepted by the society. This may result in some men avoiding marrying them as they may consider them too old, or feel that they have engaged in some immoral activities, which might have resulted in the loss of their virginity which is a cherished societal value. Such suspicion may contribute to the reasons why some men do not like to marry girls who have completed higher education before marriage. This point was highlighted by one of interviewees who said:

> Sometimes there is a lot of suspicion on the loss of virginity of a girl who has stayed very long studying without getting married...(transc. no. 2 a psychologist).

The third category of respondents are those who said that some men tend to fear marrying women with higher education because they have passed the traditionally acceptable marriage age which might be a proof of their infertility.

> Some men feel that the girl has stayed too long without getting married so will not be productive (bearing children) therefore, they don't like to marry those who have gone for higher education (transc. no.6 a primary school teacher).

Besides the above social issues, some of the women in this study expressed views similar to what Perkin (1993) discusses as envy or resentment to a wife's study if the man is not highly educated. These women see such resentment as inferiority complex in some men to marry a woman who is more educated than they are, as a veterinary doctor pointed out:

> Hum! I must say that some are scared especially those who may have a lower educational level than the woman...(transc. no. 25 a veterinary doctor).

Men's inferiority complex might also result from embarrassment and ridicule by other people as pointed out by one of our interviewees:

> ...Others feel subordinated especially if they are less educated than the woman. Their friends may laugh at them and may tell them that they may be the wives while the woman commands the house (transc. no. 6 a primary school teacher).

The concept "men may be the wives" as hinted in the comments above needs further elaboration. As indicated earlier, the society is male dominated with women traditionally expected to play a subordinate role. The idea of husbands becoming subordinate to their wives is an extremely provocative statement, which portray the husbands being incapable of performing their traditionally assigned roles.

Expressing different views, some of the interviewees indicated that higher education is an advantage to a woman's marriage. With the current poor economic situation in Nigeria they felt that a highly educated woman is an asset to the man, as she will help him both financially and socially. Some of the respondents expressed their feelings in the following comments:

> Many men are happy when they marry a girl with higher education. They feel that she can receive guests better, contribute financially to the running of the house and does not become a burden on the man as she can take care of her own wants (transc. no. 10 a science teacher).

> ...These days because of the deteriorating economic condition in the country, men generally appreciate women that can work to help in running of the home (transc. no. 1 a polytechnic lecturer).

Besides the economic and social advantages of marrying a woman with higher education mentioned above, some of the respondents commented that the educated women provide better upbringing of the children as the comments below show:

> Most men nowadays prefer marrying a girl with higher education because not only will she help financially, but also morally in educating the children and bringing them up (transc. 19 a medical doctor).

> ...but over the years society has changed and men's attitude have changed. This is because a highly educated girl can help to bring in money and give better upbringing to the children and take better care of the home...(transc. 29 an administrator).

Comments from one of our interviewees support Bhalalusesa (1998) and Kelly's (1989) studies which have found that women have realised their role of 'providers' for the family. She admitted that women with higher education do help the husbands especially in the cases where the husbands have lost their jobs. She stated that:

> ...There are some men who have lost their jobs and it is the wife that is working to support the family (transc. no. 28 a pharmacist).

The above comment is supported in a statement on the impact of the Structural Adjustment Programme (described in section 1.7.3) on women in Nigeria which showed that women had taken up more responsibilities after their husbands were retrenched.

> As a result of the low value of the Naira, many employers retrenched their workers, mostly men, leaving the even heavier burden of the family on women (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1992:11).

The apparent conflicting views of the interviewees regarding men's attitude towards marrying girls with higher education might be to some extent reflecting different male attitudes in different social groups, but it is more likely to indicate a society in transition politically, economically and socially. Politically, for example, over the last decade Nigeria has had four governments and is still going through a turbulent political period. Economically, this transition is evident in the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), drastic currency devaluation, galloping inflation and unstable oil prices reflected in the instability of the national income.

These changes have practically wiped out the Nigerian middle class and "pauperised the majority of the people" of Nigeria opined (Buhari, 1998 part 3:1). The increasing emancipation of women with their increased participation in education, business, civil service and all aspects of public life have bewildered the Nigerian society and to the conservative society of northern Nigeria, it is little short of social revolution. Thus, the views of the interviewees, which to some extent reflect the questionnaire responses, indicate the waves of change blowing in northern Nigeria.

5.2.9.3 Fear of not Getting a Husband After Completion of Studies

To find our questionnaire respondents' attitude regarding the fear of not getting a husband after graduation as a risk to the continuation of their studies, we proposed, "My course of study has been at risk of not continuing because of the possibility of

not getting a husband after graduation." This type of fear may be similar to the motivation theory referred to as the fear of success as outlined by Horner (cited in Hoyenga and Hoyenga, 1984). It proposes that people learn that unpleasant things often happen to them when they succeed and success in our case may be the attainment of higher education. Thus, one of the negative incentives of success may be the difficulty in getting a suitable husband to marry after graduation.

Table 5.5 Discontinuing Studies Due to the Fear of not Getting a Suitable Husband

	1		2		3		4		MR	
My course of study has been at risk of not continuing mainly because of	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
The possibility of not getting a suitable husband after completion of my studies	50	3.8	144	10.9	434	32.9	592	44.8	101	7.6

Notes: N= 1321 1 = Strongly Agree 2 = Agree 3 =Disagree 4= Strongly Disagree 5 = Missing

Responses shown in Table 5.5 indicate only about one-tenth of the respondents confirmed the assumption that the fear of not getting a suitable husband adversely affects women's pursuit of higher education. This rate of response may contrast with Musa's (1981) findings that Hausa women of northern Nigeria encounter a difficulty in getting a husband after graduating from higher educational institutions considering the high number of unmarried women (appendix IB) who answered the questionnaire, our finding may also imply that unlike the subjects in Horner's (cited in Hoyenga and Hoyenga, 1984) study, the thought of success-avoidance did not generally occur to the women in this study. It may also show some evidence of a society in transition with changing social values.

5.2.9.4 Other Marital Issues

Other marital issue here could be those marital circumstances surrounding the women, some of which may be pleasant or unpleasant. The reasons for entering higher education for some women may be perpetuated by either the pleasant or unpleasant

experiences in life. From our data, the socio-cultural factors relating to marriage include the protection of marriage, competition with co-wives and divorce.

Higher education would normally be one of the best ways for protecting marriage especially in a polygamous society like northern Nigeria. A highly educated housewife would be able to keep her status within the household without being threatened by a new wife even if the new wife has the same or higher educational qualification. This is the basic assumption upon which the questions about protecting marriage and competition with new wives were asked.

The protection of the institution of marriage is highly valued in northern Nigeria. But when asked to respond to the question, "I came to this institution mainly because it is the best way to protect my marriage," only 26% of the respondents, but (about 37% of the married respondents who answered this question) confirmed the assumption as Table 5.6 clearly shows. For those respondents who did not confirm the assumption, it could mean that many of them were not married, or those who were married did not consider higher education as an important factor for the protection of their marriages.

Table 5.6 Other Marital Issues

	1		2		3		4		MR	
I came to this institution mainly because	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
It's the best way to protect my marriage	66	5.0	280	21.2	386	29.2	429	32.5	160	12.1
Recently my husband Married a college educated wife	56	4.2	136	10.3	378	28.6	595	45.0	156	11.8
I got divorced	24	1.8	88	6.7	306	23.2	675	51.1	228	17.3

Notes: N= 1321 1 = Strongly Agree 2 = Agree 3 =Disagree 4= Strongly Disagree MR = Missing Response

Another married-related reason stated in the questionnaire was, "I came to this institution mainly because recently my husband married a college educated wife." Table 5.6 shows only 14.5%, but about 20% of the married respondents who answered this question agreeing. This may suggest that this type of change has not affected the majority of the respondents, many of them are not yet married, or it was not

considered as a reason for entering higher education. Similarly, the statement was also rejected by most of the interviewees. Only few of them hinted that when a man marries a second wife with higher education, the first one might have the competitive urge to also pursue higher education in order not to feel neglected or subordinated. Some of their comments on this issue include:

> If the husband marries another woman who is a degree holder, this might make the first wife to want to get a degree too (transc. no.18 a college instructor).

Yet some interviewees felt that a first wife might seek psychological solace in her pursuit of higher education after the husband has married a second wife as the comment below illustrates:

> You find that here in the north some men marry more than one wife and the one already at home may not get enough attention from the husband. The man may even marry a university graduate, so as a relief, the first wife may also decide to pursue higher education (transc. no. 11 an accountant).

This comment clearly shows that some social tension might arise in a household after a man marries a second wife. As a way of getting away from such frustration, the first wife might seek for relief by enrolling in higher education and keeping herself busy with her studies.

Getting divorced, as an inspiration for higher education is another item listed in Table 5.6 and those who agreed with this suggestion constituted only 8.5%. This could be because of the low rate of divorcees, who answered the questionnaire as reflected in the questionnaire respondents' profile, only very few of them indicated being divorcees (see appendix IB). From the interview responses, the women also seem to disagree with the question. Some observations were, however, made by few of the interviewees. Part of the observations they made was that higher education is one way a divorced woman can reconstitute her life.

> ...later she was divorced and then returned to the university. I feel that higher education was a way she made her life better because she forgot about her marital problems and concentrated on her studies (transc. no. 9 a lawyer).

5.2.10 Interim Summary

We can see that the questionnaire respondents have not accepted our assumption on women's pursuit of higher education relating to seeking a suitable husband and protection of marriage. This may be an indication that these factors were not important motives for the women in the study to pursue higher education, or they were not affected by such factors. Other social factors such husband's marriage to a college-educated wife or being divorced were also considered by the questionnaire respondents as not important inspirations in their pursuit of higher education. The questionnaire respondents did not also consider the fear of not getting a suitable husband after the completion of studies as a risk to the continuation of their studies. The interviewees discussed different male attitudes in different social groups about getting married to a woman with higher education and their views generally indicated a society in transition with changing social values.

5.2.11 Other Social Issues

Table 5.7 Availability of Time to Study as Children have all Grown Up

	1		2		3		4		MR	
I came to this institution mainly because	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
All my children are grown up and I can afford the time	78	5.9	216	16.4	420	31.8	445	33.7	162	12.3

Notes: N= 1321 1= Strongly Agree 2 = Agree 3 =Disagree 4= Strongly Disagree MR= Missing Responses

5.2.11.1 Availability of Time to Study as Children are Grown Up

The issue of women enrolling in higher educational institutions because their children have grown up, and therefore may have more time was proposed to the questionnaire respondents. Only about 2 out of 10 of the respondents agreed as shown in Table 5.7. The high rejection of this item may be due to the number of unmarried questionnaire respondents, or the item was not considered as a prime motive for the women to pursue higher education.

Our interview data seem to complement the questionnaire data because most of the women actually said they in fact had babies while studying in the higher educational institutions. However, there was one woman who said that after all her children had grown up she had more time at her disposal, and therefore enrolled in higher education. At the same time she wanted to be a good role model to them in order to encourage them to follow the same pursuit:

> There was a life event that affected me. My children grew up and started their undergraduate programs, so I decided to enter higher education to show them that age wasn't important for education (transc. no. 16 an accountant).

This woman's behaviour may be similar to that reported by Astin in Poole et al. (1990) who reported that women with higher career motivation prior to the birth of children were observed to have a drop in measured motivation during the period when their children were young. Their motivation regained its former high level when these women viewed their children no longer needing their full time presence in the home.

5.2.11.2 Lack of Support and Encouragement

Role conflict tends to emerge with increase in the number of activities a woman participates in especially outside the home. Thus, in traditional societies, the expectations of her role are largely home bound and any activity outside the home may introduce a new element of conflict. For example, Mc Givney (1993) suggests that some male partners as well as other family members tend to resent a woman's participation in any activity, which is not related to her domestic role, or involves changes to the domestic routine.

While such factors as the urge to become role models and parents' level of education may be seen as positive factors in motivating women from northern Nigeria to pursue higher education, role conflict on the other hand may appear to have negative effect. Where such conflict exists, the women may decide to abandon their interests outside the home for the maintenance of peace in the family (Mc Givney, 1993).

The assumption relevant to this section is that the pursuit of higher education can be adversely affected by the lack of support from parents and/or husbands. To determine whether frequent disagreements with parents and/or husbands threaten the continuation of women's studies, two specific questions were asked.

Table 5.8 Discontinuing Studies Due to the Lack of Support and Encouragement

	1		2		3		4		MR	
My course of studies has been at risk of not continuing mainly because of	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Frequent disagreements with my husband	75	5.7	196	14.8	455	34.4	141	33.4	154	11.7
Frequent disagreements with my parents	65	4.9	198	15.0	538	40.7	443	33.5	77	5.8

Notes: N= 1321 1 = Strongly Agree 2 = Agree 3 =Disagree 4= Strongly Disagree MR= Missing Response

5.2.11.3 Discontinuing Studies Due to the Lack of Support and Encouragement

The responses shown on Table 5.8 indicate a rejection of the proposition by a wide margin. The risk of discontinuing studies due to frequent disagreement with parents received 74% disapproval while disagreement with husbands received about 63% disapproval. The lack of confirmation of our assumption may indicate a complete absence of conflict, or it did not constitute a risk to the respondents' studies.

5.2.12 Interim Summary

The data in this section show that the items relating to the availability of time to study as children are grown up was not considered as an important motive for the women in this study to pursue higher education. Likewise, the participants in this study did not consider frequent disagreement with parents or husbands as important risks for the continuation of studies.

Analysis of the socio-cultural factors has helped to strengthen our argument that there are social cultural factors which tend to encourage or discourage women from northern Nigeria to pursue higher education. The factors that tend to encourage may be incorporated in policies designed to produce gender balance in education in northern Nigeria and ways to reduce those that discourage could be sought. In the next section we shall present and analyse the data on economic factors

5.3 ECONOMIC FACTORS

5.3.1 Introduction

Besides the socio-cultural factors discussed above, our literature review indicates that many economic factors may inspire or discourage women to seek higher education. This section explores those economic factors, which tend to urge women in northern Nigeria to pursue higher education. In particular it tries to answer one of our key research questions that states:

> Do economic factors such as employment related variables; changes in life events and financial support encourage women from northern Nigeria to seek higher education?

To answer this research question, questionnaire and interview responses as well as review of literature and official documents were used to explore the relevant economic factors. These factors include the need for future economic security, the desire to earn higher income, dictates of job market requirements, insurance against

turbulent future and other economic reasons. To aid us in answering the above research question, the following operational assumptions were made:

1. Women are encouraged to pursue higher education by the need for economic security and the desire to earn a higher income.
2. Preparation for entry into the job market at a high level inspires women from northern Nigeria to pursue higher education.
3. The need for insurance against a turbulent future encourages women to pursue higher education.
4. Lack of adequate financial support adversely affects women's continuation of higher education.

Table 5.9 Economic Factors for Enrolling in Higher Education

	1		**2**		**3**		**4**		**MR**	
I came to this institution	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
So as to have an economically secured future	490	37.1	594	45.0	142	10.7	54	4.1	41	3.1
Because eventually it will allow me to enter the job market in a field that I like	365	27.6	622	47.1	224	17.0	73	5.5	37	2.8
Because it is a means to earn a higher income	346	26.2	501	37.9	335	25.4	96	7.3	43	3.3
Because I foresee that life can be hard without higher qualification	372	28.2	465	35.2	192	14.5	212	16.0	80	6.1
The change in job entry requirements	161	12.2	378	28.6	398	30.1	270	20.4	114	8.6
It is now that I can afford it financially	159	12.0	348	26.3	337	25.5	310	23.5	167	12.6

Notes: N= 1321 1 = Strongly Agree 2 = Agree 3 =Disagree 4 = Strongly Disagree MR = Missing Responses

5.3.2 The Need for Future Economic Security

Some external economic forces that could encourage women in northern Nigeria to enrol in higher educational institutions may include the desire for financial security. The perceptions of future economic security or future reward seem related to what some researchers called *introjected regulation* (Deci et al., 1991). This is when the

reasons for behaviour are internalised, in our case reasons for enrolling in higher education.

The data show an overwhelming confirmation by both questionnaire and interview respondents on the need for future economic security as a motivation for women's higher education. Responses in Table 5.9 indicate that about 8 out of 10 of the questionnaire respondents confirmed the proposition, "I came to this institution so as to have an economically secured future." The high level of agreement with this item may reflect the need for financial security as concluded by Mukhnhin (cited in Biraimah 1989) for self and the household. Thus, it may extend to what Perkin (1993) and Bhalalusesa (1998) said about more and more women relieving their husbands of the responsibility of being the sole breadwinners. Western women notably hold this attitude, but the northern Nigerian women are also increasingly contributing to the income of their households.

The interview data generally supported the questionnaire data. Some of the interviewees expressed the view that some women saw higher education as a means of getting good jobs, which may consequently lead to economic self-reliance.

> Yes, some women I know went for higher education to get good jobs after completion, and to become economically independent (transc. no.4 a veterinary doctor).

An example of the optimism to be financially secured was also expressed by a senior lecturer.

> Well, first and foremost, I wanted to have some personal security in the sense of being able to take care of myself financially, and in the case of the loss of my husband I can support my children. I don't have to give my children to any of the relatives to bring up... Even not considering the case of death, I can still assist my husband in supporting the family (transc. 12 a school counsellor).

"I don't have to give my children to any relative to bring up," needs further elaboration. In northern Nigeria it is common for women who unfortunately lost their husbands and are financially unable to maintain the household to give their children

for relatives to bring up. Economic reasons are however, not the only reasons for women to hand over their children to relatives there are also social reasons. For example, if a woman is to remarry after the death of her husband, it is not uncommon for the relatives to ask for the children to be given to them for upbringing.

Another respondent also expressed similar feelings:

> The material reward that inspired me was the knowledge that I can support myself financially if for example, my husband dies (transc. no. 18 a college instructor).

The concern of a school principal was, however, with her ability to be financially capable of sustaining a comfortable life.

> ...to secure a good job so as to provide myself with the social and economic support to be comfortable in the society (transc. no. 5 a school principal).

Some of the respondents expressed the need to be financially independent not only to help themselves and their families, but also their relatives. The desire to help relative is understandable in view of the importance of the extended family system in northern Nigeria. To this science teacher, for example, financial security extends beyond the self to the children and relatives:

> ...help my children by assisting them financially and academically and to assist in running the house and be self-reliant and help my relations. (transc. no. 20 a science teacher).

Besides the financial security for self, the family and relatives, some of the interviewees raised different points concerning financial security. For example, they expressed the need to help themselves if the husband later turns out not to be a very responsible person. Examples of their comments are given below:

> Madam, some men become very irresponsible and don't take good care of the family at all. If a woman does not get a job to earn money to support the children what will happen to them? Will she just walk out and leave them to suffer? (transc. no. 20 a science teacher).

> ...Another is marital disappointment. If the husband doesn't turn out to be what was expected, at least the woman has a job or the education to get a job (transc. no. 18 a college instructor).

In a society where young men and women hardly mix freely, or marriages are arranged and obedience to parents is highly valued, there may be the risk of picking up a partner who may turn out to be far below expectations. Thus a husband may turn out to be not as resourceful as at first expected, or he may be less responsible or caring as first thought. In such cases women may have to fall back to find ways and means of making the best of the situation which would be much easier if the woman has a higher educational qualification.

Despite the general agreement with the need for economic security, there were a few of the interviewees who expressed the view that material rewards are no longer regarded as the most important motivational factors that make women to pursue higher education. They explain that due to the prevailing economic hardship in the country most graduates of higher institutions of education could hardly earn enough money to cater for their needs. In addition, they argued that some fringe benefits that usually accompanied jobs after the completing higher education, like car loan and housing allowance are no longer available or drastically reduced. One of them for example focused on the inadequacy of existing salaries:

> In those days yes, but no more. This is because if you try to compare the standard of living ten years back when we all graduated, your salary was enough to take care of you. But now nobody sits on salary anymore. Some ten years ago you could have said material motivation but not any more because if you get a good education now you get a job no matter how much they pay you it can hardly take you through one week (transc. no. 29 an administrator).

Indeed as the interviewee above suggested galloping inflation and reduced fringe benefits are only two of the many economic indicators of a society in transition. As she indicated, within a decade the situation has changed drastically.

5.3.3 The Desire to Earn a Higher Income

One of the best ways to have an economically secured future may be to earn a higher income. When asked to respond to the proposition, "I came to this institution because it is a means to earn higher income," 6 out of 10 of the respondents agreed as revealed in Table 5.9. Thus, the assumption that the desire to earn a higher income encourages women to pursue higher education has been confirmed. This finding supports Taylor's (cited in Rowley, 1996) that people are primarily motivated by economic self-interest and would act to maximise their financial reward. It also supports Santiago and Eirnarson's (1998) findings where higher education was perceived by the subjects in their study as a means to earning a higher income. Our respondents, who did not accept this item, may be indicating that reasons other than economic were more important to them, or the proposition did not apply to them.

The interview responses seem to support the need for higher income as one of the important factors which influenced their decision to attain higher education:

> Yes, more than half of us were in higher education so as to get good jobs after completion. I enrolled in community pharmacy because it provided better salary (transc. no.3 a pharmacist).

Some of the interviewees like this medical doctor expressed the general view of higher education as a means of not only obtaining higher income, but also other benefits as she commented:

> Naturally, as I have said earlier everyone wants a good job with good pay and better standing in the society. It gives one the chance to get prestigious jobs and probably better housing (transc. no.19 a medical doctor).

5.3.4 Interim Summary

The assumptions about the need for future economic security and the desire to earn a higher income as motives for higher education have been confirmed by our data. It

appears that the respondents' behaviours tend to be controlled by reward contingencies. This type of behaviour manipulation affects motivation and makes human beings to strive to achieve among other things financial support for themselves (Jung, 1978). This may imply that women in northern Nigeria are expressing their desire for some extrinsic rewards through higher education.

5.3.5 Dictates of Job Market Requirements

5.3.5.1 Entry into the job Markets

It is assumed that an economic motive for women northern Nigerian to pursue higher education is the expectation of entering the job market at a high level. This assumption has been confirmed by 7 out of 10 of the questionnaire respondents as shown in Table 5.9. A noteworthy observation however, is that despite this aspiration, there are discriminatory practices in the job market in Nigeria that may deny many women to enter a job at the level they desire (Eular-Ajayi, 1989). Rejection of this item by some respondents may be as a result of its non- applicability to them.

The desire to enter into the job market at an appropriate level is not only from the questionnaire responses but also the interviewees as shown by the comments below:

> Yes, to some extent because I know that I could get promotion with higher qualification and I want to become a director, so I know without higher education, I may not reach that position. (transc. no. 32 a primary school supervisor)

While the above comment is talking about the entry level of the job market, some interviewees highlighted the problem of inadequate progress while in the job market without higher education:

> ...Younger people with less experience getting higher positions. Like I know of a fairly advanced lady who had vast experience, but felt deprived as people with high qualifications were given higher position. This made her to strive not only for NCE, but also for a degree! (transc. no. 14 a secondary school teacher).

Thus, not only is entry into the appropriate level of job market difficult for women, but also getting well-deserved promotion. These discriminatory practices may tend to discourage the parents to invest in their daughters who may want to enrol in higher education.

5.3.5.2 Life can be Hard without Higher Education

Besides the necessities of entry into the job market, the women have also shown through the questionnaire responses on Table 5.9 that life would be difficult without higher education. About 6 out of 10 of the respondents agreed with the suggestion, "I came to this institution mainly because I foresee that life can be hard without higher education." This high level of agreement might have arisen due to the current poor economic situation in the country. Under such circumstance higher education may be the best means to getting higher paying jobs. This may also show that besides the financial benefits that higher education might bring, the women might be realising the difficulty in fitting into a society with rapid technological changes and changing life styles.

5.3.5.3 Change in Job Entry Requirements

With recent changes in technology and the resultant world-wide restructuring of the economy, the entry requirements for most types of jobs are rapidly changing. Perhaps this worldwide trend is less felt in Nigeria than in the more advanced societies of the West, but these changes becoming requisites for many jobs will eventually filter through and will have profound effects on the higher educational system and the choices offered to students.

On the question which states, "I was encouraged to come to this institution mainly by the change in job entry requirements," there were 4 out of 10 positive responses as shown in Table 5.9. This relatively low level of positive response may be attributed to the fact that some of the women were not affected by the change in job entry

requirements. Moreover, they were relatively young and might not have experienced such a change.

Generally, the change in job entry requirements as a motive for pursuing higher education did not also affect most of interview respondents because they attained higher education long time ago when jobs entry requirements were more stable and more jobs were available for northern Nigerian women. However, one of them volunteered a comment regarding changing trends in some job requisites.

> Now as well as in future, factors like the minimum requirement for a job will make women to go for higher education. The government is saying that the minimum qualification for elementary school teachers should be the NCE. This means that the Grade II Teacher Certificate will eventually be phased out and those people have to acquire higher education before they could teach in the primary schools (transc. no.32 a primary school supervisor).

5.3.6.Interim Summary

The above data confirms the assumption that preparation for entry into the job market at a high level encourages women to pursue higher education. The respondents considered the proposition about life being hard without higher education as an important motive for their higher education while the change in job entry requirements was considered as less important.

5.3.7 Other Economic Reasons

5.3.7.1 Financial Self Support

As shown in Table 5.9 about 5 out of 10 respondents rejected the item, which states. "I came to this institution mainly because it is now that I can afford it financially." This may mean that other reasons were more important for many of the respondents to pursue higher education. The 4 out of 10 who agreed with the statement may be those

who might have worked before enrolling in higher educational institutions and may therefore use their savings in financing their higher education.

The interview data seem to support the questionnaire responses. None of the women interviewed said that she met the full cost of her higher education herself. This might be due to a number of reasons. In the first place, generous scholarship grants were available to most northern Nigerian students who got admitted into the institutions of higher learning at the time these women were in the institutions of higher learning. Secondly, some of the students on full time employment might have got bursary and other financial incentives. Thirdly, contributions from parents and or husbands and possibly relatives might have helped some of these women to finance their higher education.

5.3.7.2 Insurance Against a Turbulent Future

A turbulent future in this case is related to any type of loss that may make the future uncertain and drastically affect the daily economic lives of the women. This can be either one or a combination of these factors: loss of husband, parent, guardian, child or loss of a job by a husband. The economic implications of most of these are obvious except that of a child, who in this society makes significant economic contribution to the household.

Table 5.10 Higher Education as an Insurance against a Turbulent Future

	1		2		3		4			MR
I came to this institution mainly because	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
My husband lost his job	42	3.2	77	5.8	369	27.9	691	52.3	142	10.7
Of the loss of my husband	40	3.0	64	4.8	372	28.2	713	54.0	132	10.0
Of the loss of a parent	38	2.9	64	4.8	405	30.7	708	53.6	106	8.0
Of the loss of a guardian	13	1.0	68	5.1	396	30.0	727	55.0	117	8.9
Of the loss of a child	14	1.1	24	1.8	425	32.2	724	54.8	134	10.1

N= 1321 1 = Strongly Agree 2 = Agree 3 =Disagree 4= Strongly Disagree MR= Missing Responses

The items on a husband loosing a job, the loss of a husband, parent, guardian, or a child as shown in Table 5.10 received 80.2%, 82.2%, 84.3%, 85%, and 87% respective negative responses. Thus, the assumption that the need for insurance against a turbulent future encourages women to pursue higher education has not been confirmed.

Some of the reasons for such high rejection of the items may be due to the number of unmarried women who answered the questionnaire and therefore three of the five questions concerning husband and child did not apply to them. For those to whom the questions are applicable, the reasons for rejecting the items might include; firstly most of them never suffered a loss. Secondly, such a loss might have come after they were in higher educational institution. Thirdly, any of these losses might not have necessarily constituted a reason for them to pursue higher education.

The interview responses generally supported the questionnaire responses. Most of the participants said that such losses were not relevant to their reason for pursuing higher education. However, an interesting comment came from a university lecturer regarding the loss of her father. She hinted that after her father's death, she became more determined not only to acquire higher education, but also to obtain the highest degree. This was because her father was very encouraging and she felt the need to achieve the goal set out by him concerning her education even after his death. She had this to say:

> Death of my father encouraged me to go for a Ph.D. in order to fulfil his wishes and expectations of me (transc. no. 13 a university lecturer).

5.3.7.3 Parents' Financial Support for Higher Education

About 8 out of 10 respondents in Table 5.11 have rejected the item, which states, "My parents supported my higher education mainly because they don't have to finance it." This level of disagreement can be seen to complement the responses about the encouragement women receive from parents discussed earlier in this chapter (section

5.2.7.1.1). From the respondents' perspective, it may also mean that even where the financing of higher education is involved, most parents are likely to provide it. For those respondents who did not accept this item, the federal, state government or other institutions might have financed their higher education.

Table 5.11 Parents' Financial Support for Higher Education

	1		2		3		4		MR	
My parents supported my higher education mainly because	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
They don't have to finance it	55	4.2	159	12.0	569	43.1	479	36.3	59	4.5

Notes: N= 1321 1 = Strongly Agree 2 = Agree 3 =Disagree 4= Strongly Disagree MR = Missing Responses

The interview data seem to support the questionnaire data whereby most of the interviewees expressed the view that they or their friends enjoyed financial support from their parents. An interviewee indicated the readiness of her father to sell what he possessed in order to see both his male and female children through higher education:

> ...my father felt that all his male and female children should be given equal educational opportunity. He even told us that he was ready to sell his last bit of property to educate us (transc. no. 32 a primary school supervisor).

One interviewee felt that she had more financial support than her brother did:

> I went to a private school and my brother to a public school, so I could even say that I had more support than my brother did since more money had to be paid for me (transc. no.13 a university lecturer)

Other issues brought up by some of our interviewees were that financial constraints and early marriage were problems which discouraged some of their friends from pursuing higher education.

> ...Some parents however did not allow their daughters to go beyond the primary or secondary school largely due to financial constraints, and some due to the preference for the early marriage of girls. (transc. no.8 a housewife)

The above comments suggest that the current poor economic condition in Nigeria might have made it difficult for some parents to adequately finance the education of their children. The problem of finance is however, not limited to the parents, but also the federal government which is increasingly finding it difficult to finance the higher education of its citizens as we have earlier discussed in Chapter 2 (section 2.3.4).

Depending on the economic status of parents and the number of children there are in a family, the choice to finance the education of the children may have to be carefully considered. For those parents who do not have a good financial standing, they may have to make a choice of who among the children will be educated. When parents have to make such a choice in Nigeria, the girls are usually withdrawn. This fate falls on the girls because of the general belief by the parents that investment in a girl's education is a wasteful venture since she will marry and leave the home (Sokoto 1995). The point was also made by one of the women we interviewed:

> ...Parents supported their daughters as long as they are financially able. If parents didn't have enough funds to support both son and daughter, they preferred to educate the sons. People believe that the male can carry on the lineage of the family. Also the male will remain within the family while the female will eventually marry and the economic return of her education may be to her husband (transc.no.18 a college instructor).

The above reasons for the maintainance of lineage and remaining within the family are just among the important ones. Derryck (cited in Verghese et al. 1981:177) has observed that in many societies, the monetary return on parents' investment in their daughters' education is perceived to be enjoyed by her spouse and not the family that sacrificed and faced derision of friends and neighbours to educate her.

5.3.7.4 Change of Status to Head of Household

The need to increase one's income due to the change of status to head a household may inspire many women to enrol in higher educational institutions. The item which states: " I came to this institution mainly because I became the head of my household and needed a secure future," received only 2 out of 10 agreement as indicated in Table 5.12. The low agreement with this item may be attributed to the fact that many of the women who answered the questionnaires were not affected by a change of status. It could also be due to the number of unmarried women (about 65 %) who answered the questionnaire.

Table 5.12 Change of Status to Head of Household

	1		2		3		4		MR	
I came to this institution mainly because	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
I became the head of my household and needed a secure future	96	7.3	172	13.0	375	28.4	549	41.6	129	9.8

Notes: N= 1321 1 = Strongly Agree 2 = Agree 3 =Disagree 4= Strongly Disagree MR = Missing Responses

From the interview responses, we received similar negative indications as the ones from the questionnaires. However, there were some of the women interviewed who related how the lives of some of their friends changed after they had suffered a loss in the family and had to assume a new role. An example of such comments was:

> One of my close friends lost her father and she was the eldest in the family, so she had to struggle to take care of her younger siblings. She had to go for higher education in order to meet the requirements of her new role (trans no.32, an administrator)

5.3.7.5 Problem of Inadequate Financial Support

The assumption relevant to this section is that lack of adequate financial support adversely affects women's continuation of higher education. Table 5.13 shows that the item which states, "My course of study has been at risk mainly because of inadequate financial support," received a balanced response. This may show that

almost half of the respondents are faced with some form of financial constraints, which Newell (1977) concluded to be an important reason to discontinue with studies.

Table 5.13 Problem of Inadequate Financial Support

	1		2		3		4		MR	
My course of studies has been at risk of not continuing mainly because of	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Inadequate financial support	214	16.2	413	31.3	352	26.6	276	20.9	66	5.0

Notes: N= 1321 1 = Strongly Agree 2 = Agree 3 =Disagree 4= Strongly Disagree MR = Missing Responses

These responses seem to support an earlier one which showed that scholarship grants were inadequate in meeting the financial needs of the students. Students need to have adequate financing in order to provide themselves with food, books, accommodation, transportation, equipment and other necessary items for the successful continuation of their studies. For the other half who disagreed with the statement, they might not have had any financial problems or they did not see the problem as causing any risk to their studies.

As pointed earlier, our interview respondents did not seem to have faced a major financial problem when they were in higher educational institutions. Financial constraint was, therefore, not a factor that threatened their studies. Some of them, however, expressed concern over the issue of financial constraints facing women in the higher educational institutions now. When an accountant compared the time she studied with the current situation, she felt that even if other problems like health and partners' support are taken care of, the financial problem might continue to constrain the higher education of women. Lack of scholarship awards or where awarded, the insufficiencies of the grants are some of the reasons she gave.

The women try to take care of some of the problems so as not to affect their academic pursuit. What I feel might remain, as a big problem to the women is the financial. Many people are not enjoying the scholarship as we did, and even where there is, it is not sufficient. Unless the women have a solid financial backing, I think their higher education will be affected (transc.no.11 an accountant).

Although higher education in Nigeria is tuition free (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1986:12, 49), there are other personal financial responsibilities on the students in higher education that may constitute problems to them. The idea of 'women having a solid financial backing,' may therefore, imply that there is greater need for financial support from either or both the government, private organisations, parents and or husband to sustain women in the higher educational institutions.

5.3.8 Interim Summary

Questionnaire data in the above section show that parents' financial support is very important and that most parents were willing to provide it. Along the same line, the interviewees suggested that when there is a choice in financing the higher education of children, quite often parents choose to provide such a support to their male children rather than the females. Other economic factors such as self-financing, insurance against a turbulent future due to the loss of a parent, husband, guardian or child, change of status to the head of a household were all considered as less important motives for the women in this study to pursue higher education. To discontinue with higher education, the respondents confirmed the inadequacy of financial support as an important factor.

5.4 EXTENDED ANALYSIS OF SOCIO-CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC FACTORS

We have analysed how the respondents perceived the influences on their decision to pursue higher education. We would now like to find out if there are some underlying factors that may be significantly related to the views given by our respondents. To do this, we took the socio-economic indicators from the profile of the questionnaire respondents and looked for correlation with some of their responses.

We chose to use the socio-cultural and economic factors, as they appear to be more influential in determining what level of education a woman attains. We should,

however, stress that correlation may not imply direct causal relationship as cautioned by Verma and Mallick (1999) that the relationship between variables does not necessarily imply causal relationship between them and that other intervening variables may be involved. With this in mind, we shall present and discuss in detail those correlations that have significant results while those with the non-significant results will be put in the appendix for references.

As earlier mentioned in Chapter 4 (section 4.3.5.4), we have reviewed a number of statistical tests and have found the Chi-square test to be relevant in testing the relationships we are looking for. The level of statistical significance between the variables has been set at 0.05 and any result higher than this would be considered non-significant. The independent variable for each section (such as parents' level of education, parents' place of residence and husbands' level of education) was cross-tabulated against dependent variables (such as parents and husbands' encouragement). Chi-square test was also carried out on the same independent and dependent variables.

5.4.1 Parents' Level of Education

Our literature review has shown that parents' level of education greatly influences the level of education their daughters attain in both the developed and the Third World countries (Biraimah, 1987; Kohn, 1984; Abourserie, 1995; Mayanja, 1998; Bhalalusesa, 1998). These findings helped us to formulate the following hypotheses:

1. The higher the level of parents' education, the more their daughters will have the urge to acquire knowledge and new skills (questionnaire items number 21 and 22 respectively).
2. The higher the level of parents' education the more confident in achieving success their daughters are (questionnaire item number 25).
3. The higher the level of parents' education the more their daughters will have the determination to obtain better than a secondary school certificate (questionnaire item number 28).

4. The higher the level of parents' education the more they support and encourage their daughters to pursue higher education (questionnaire item number 41).

From the above hypotheses, only one (number 4) showed statistically significant result of ($P< 0.05$ for both fathers and mothers). Thus, in view of the empirical part of this study which showed a high agreement level with the influence of parents' education and the support they give to their daughters to pursue higher education (questionnaire item number 83), parents' level of education is an important influence in women's pursuit of higher education.

Similarly, the respondents were in agreement with questionnaire item (number 41) which states, "I was encouraged to come to this institution mainly by my parents." Overall, the result of the chi-square test and the responses related to the two questionnaire items clearly support studies by the above mentioned authors. The above not withstanding, there are even parents with non-formal education who were indicated to have supported the higher education of their daughters.

Table 5.14 Fathers' Level of Education and Encouragement to their Daughters to Pursue Higher Education

Fathers' Levels of Education * Encouragement by parents Crosstabulation

			Encouragement by parents				
			Strongly Agree	Agree	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Total
Fathers' Levels of Education	Primary	Count	60	52	28	12	152
		% within Fathers' Levels of Education	39.5%	34.2%	18.4%	7.9%	100.0%
	Secondary	Count	61	45	24	7	137
		% within Fathers' Levels of Education	44.5%	32.8%	17.5%	5.1%	100.0%
	Post-secondary	Count	382	190	47	23	642
		% within Fathers' Levels of Education	59.5%	29.6%	7.3%	3.6%	100.0%
	Non-formal Education or illiterate	Count	89	59	31	9	188
		% within Fathers' Levels of Education	47.3%	31.4%	16.5%	4.8%	100.0%
Total		Count	592	346	130	51	1119
		% within Fathers' Levels of Education	52.9%	30.9%	11.6%	4.6%	100.0%

Note: In each cell the number of respondents is shown together with the percentages

$$\chi^2 = 43.8 \quad df = 9 \quad P< 0.05$$

Table 5.15 Mothers' Level of Education and Encouragement to their Daughters to Pursue Higher Education

Mothers' Levels of Education * Encouragement by parents Crosstabulation

			Encouragement by parents				
			Strongly Agree	Agree	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Total
Mothers' Levels of Education	Primary	Count	194	110	37	22	363
		% within Mothers' Levels of Education	53.4%	30.3%	10.2%	6.1%	100.0%
	Secondary	Count	115	79	22	5	221
		% within Mothers' Levels of Education	52.0%	35.7%	10.0%	2.3%	100.0%
	Post-secondary	Count	174	80	22	10	286
		% within Mothers' Levels of Education	60.8%	28.0%	7.7%	3.5%	100.0%
	Non-formal Education or Illiterate	Count	92	60	37	13	202
		% within Mothers' Levels of Education	45.5%	29.7%	18.3%	6.4%	100.0%
Total		Count	575	329	118	50	1072
		% within Mothers' Levels of Education	53.6%	30.7%	11.0%	4.7%	100.0%

Note: In each cell the number of respondents is shown together with the percentages

$$\chi^2 = 27.4 \quad df = 9 \quad P < 0.05$$

A noteworthy observation from the above cross-tabulations is the indication from the respondents that there were more fathers with higher education than the mothers. This supports our argument that women in northern Nigeria are misrepresented in higher education. A study of this kind would therefore, help by exploring the ways to inspire them to participate more.

5.4.2 Parents' Place of Residence

The independent variable considered in this section is about of parents' place of residence. Studies from the Third World countries such as those by (Gessienger, 1997; Akande, 1987; Mayanja, 1998) pointed out that parents' place of residence has a

great influence on the type and level of education a woman attains. These findings have helped us to formulate the following hypotheses to test with our data:

1. Parents living in urban areas more than those in the rural areas give more encouragement to their daughters to pursue higher education (questionnaire item number 41).
2. Women whose parents reside in the urban areas have more urge to acquire knowledge more than those whose parents reside in the rural areas (questionnaire item number 21)
3. Women whose parents reside in the urban areas have more urge to acquire new skills more than those whose parents reside in the rural areas (questionnaire item number 22).
4 Women whose parents reside in the urban areas have more confidence to attain success in their studies (questionnaire item number 25).
5. Women whose parents reside in the urban areas have more determination to obtain better than a secondary school certificate (questionnaire item number 28)

Crosstabulation and chi-square test found significant relationship between parents' place of residence and the encouragement to their daughters to pursue higher education. Similarly, our factual question in the questionnaire about parents support and the influence of urban lifestyle (questionnaire item number 83) received a generally high level of agreement. This may mean that parents residing in urban areas might have been more exposed to higher educational institutions and might therefore be more aware of its importance.

Table 5.16 Parents Place of Residence and Encouragement to their Daughters to Pursue Higher Education

Parents' Place of Residence * Encouragement by Parents Crosstabulation

			Encouragement by Parents				
			Strongly Agree	Agree	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Total
Parents' Place of Residence	Urban	Count	439	214	83	26	762
		% within Parents' Place of Residence	57.6%	28.1%	10.9%	3.4%	100.0%
	Rural	Count	146	115	56	22	339
		% within Parents' Place of Residence	43.1%	33.9%	16.5%	6.5%	100.0%
Total		Count	585	329	139	48	1101
		% within Parents' Place of Residence	53.1%	29.9%	12.6%	4.4%	100.0%

Note: In each cell the number of respondents is shown together with the percentages

$$\chi^2 = 22.9 \quad df = 3 \quad P < 0.05$$

From the literature on studies of women in higher education among the Yorubas in southern Nigeria, Delano (1995) found that those women residing in the urban areas study the science subjects more than those in the rural areas do. Based on this, we decided to find if this proposition also applied to the women in northern Nigeria, thus we formulated the hypothesis below:

1. Women whose parents are in the urban areas study the science-based subjects more than those from the rural areas (questionnaire item number 10).

Table 5.17 Parents' Place of Residence and the Study of Science-Based Subjects

Parents' Place of Residence * SUBJECT Crosstabulation

			SUBJECT											
			Admin & Management	Law	Social Science	Education	Science	Agriculture	Vetrinary Medicine	Pharmacy	Medicine & Allied Sciences	Environmental Sciences	Engineering & Technology	Other	Total
Parents' Place of Residence	Urban	Count	144	55	108	122	97	15	8	38	48	33	36	53	757
		% within Parents' Place of Residence	19.0%	7.3%	14.3%	16.1%	12.8%	2.0%	1.1%	5.0%	6.3%	4.4%	4.8%	7.0%	100.0%
	Rural	Count	72	17	45	92	34	9	3	14	7	9	5	24	331
		% within Parents' Place of Residence	21.8%	5.1%	13.6%	27.8%	10.3%	2.7%	.9%	4.2%	2.1%	2.7%	1.5%	7.3%	100.0%
Total		Count	216	72	153	214	131	24	11	52	55	42	41	77	1088
		% within Parents' Place of Residence	19.9%	6.6%	14.1%	19.7%	12.0%	2.2%	1.0%	4.8%	5.1%	3.9%	3.8%	7.1%	100.0%

Note: In each cell the number of respondents is shown together with the percentages

$$\chi^2 = 36.8 \quad df = 11 \quad P < 0.05$$

Results of the crosstabulation and chi-square test support Delano's (1995) study even among women in northern Nigeria. In addition, this finding may also indicate that the urban rural disparity we have discussed in Chapter 3 may not only be restricted to access in higher education, but also to the types of courses women study. Some of the

reasons as earlier discussed may include but not be limited to the more exposure to the sciences in the schools in the urban areas which are generally better equipped in terms of facilities and teachers than those in the rural areas.

5.4.3 Husbands' Level of Education

Support and encouragement from husbands are found to be crucial in women's pursuit of higher education especially in Africa where societal role expectation on women may be quite different from that of the West. Even in Western societies, some studies such as the ones by Perkin (1993) and Smith (1993) have shown the importance of husbands' support in women's pursuit of higher education. These findings inspired us to find the relationship between husbands' level of education with the encouragement they give to their wives to attain higher education. Thus, we formulated the following hypotheses to test with our data:

1. The higher the level of husbands' education, the more their wives will have the urge to acquire knowledge and new skills (questionnaire items number 21 and 22 respectively).
2. The higher the level of husbands' education the more confident in achieving success their wives are (questionnaire item number 25).
3. The higher the level of husbands' education the more their wives will have the determination to obtain better than a secondary school certificate (questionnaire item number 28).
4. The higher the level of husbands' education the more they encourages their wives to pursue higher education (questionnaire item number 45)

5.4.4 Husbands' Place of Residence

As indicated above, we have found significant relationship between parents' place of residence and the encouragement for their daughters to enrol in higher education, we

also wanted to find if the same relationship with the husbands. Thus, we formed the following hypothesis below.

1. Husbands living in urban areas encourage their wives to pursue higher education more than those living in the rural areas (questionnaire item number 45).

All the hypotheses formulated around husbands' level of education and place of residence have shown statistically non-significant results except one (number 4). The results of the cross-tabulation and chi-square test show significant relationship between husbands' level of education and encouragement to their wives to pursue higher education.

Table 5.18 Husbands' Level of Education and Encouragement to their Wives to Pursue Higher Education

Husbands' Level of Education * Husbands' Encouragement Crosstabulation

			Husbands' Encouragement				
			Strongly Agree	Agree	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Total
Husbands' Level of Education	Primary	Count	8	3	5	5	21
		% within Husbands' Level of Education	38.1%	14.3%	23.8%	23.8%	100.0%
	Secondary	Count	11	7	8		26
		% within Husbands' Level of Education	42.3%	26.9%	30.8%		100.0%
	Post-secondary	Count	120	106	46	22	294
		% within Husbands' Level of Education	40.8%	36.1%	15.6%	7.5%	100.0%
	Non-formal education or illiterate	Count	35	27	10	7	79
		% within Husbands' Level of Education	44.3%	34.2%	12.7%	8.9%	100.0%
Total		Count	174	143	69	34	420
		% within Husbands' Level of Education	41.4%	34.0%	16.4%	8.1%	100.0%

Note: In each cell the number of respondents is shown together with the percentages

$\chi^2 = 16.8$ **df = 9** **P= 0.05**

On the other hand, the question about husbands' encouragement in the questionnaire (item number 45) received low level of acceptance. The differences between the cross-tabulation result and the opinion of the questionnaire respondents may be due to

high number of single women who answered the questionnaire. Nonetheless, even husbands without any formal education or high level of education a found to give encouragement. The importance of husbands' encouragement to their wives pursuit of higher education cannot be overemphasised as we have mentioned earlier. On the other hand, Perkin (1993) and Smith's (1993) studies also found that the lack of support and encouragement from husbands to constitute problems such as resentment, separation or even divorce. Separation and divorce may be the result of husbands' lack of support in the Western societies, but in northern Nigeria it may result into the husbands marrying second wives more than it would end up in separation or divorce.

5.4.6 Other Variables

The next set of hypotheses formed around marital status as independent variables are:

1. Married women choose institutions nearer to their home more than the unmarried ones (questionnaire item number 56).
2. Married women study the arts based subjects more than the science based (questionnaire item number 10).
3. Married women attend higher educational institutions when their children have all grown up (questionnaire item number 69).

Table 5.19 Marital Status and Choice of Higher Educational Institutions near Home

Marital Status * Choice of an Institution near Home Crosstabulation

			Choice of an Institution near Home				
			Strongly Agree	Agree	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Total
Marital Status	Single	Count	59	188	367	222	836
		% within Marital Status	7.1%	22.5%	43.9%	26.6%	100.0%
	Married	Count	62	104	165	81	412
		% within Marital Status	15.0%	25.2%	40.0%	19.7%	100.0%
	Divorced or Widowed	Count		3	4	3	10
		% within Marital Status		30.0%	40.0%	30.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	121	295	536	306	1258
		% within Marital Status	9.6%	23.4%	42.6%	24.3%	100.0%

Note: In each cell the number of respondents is shown together with the percentages

$$\chi^2 = 26.8 \quad df = 6 \quad P < 0.05$$

The cross-tabulation and chi-square test found significant relationships between the independent variable and the dependent variables and all the hypotheses formulated in this section. The result of hypothesis number 1 regarding marital status and the choice of a higher educational institution near may imply that married women prefer to be nearer to their husbands and children so as to be fulfilling their obligations of being wives and mothers. Also, as we have seen in some of the literature review that support from husbands is crucial and the lack of which may result into problems. The women in this study may want to minimise conflicts with the husbands by staying nearer to them. Another hypothesis in this category, which showed significant result, is number 2 and is presented below.

Table 5.20 Marital Status and Subjects Studied

Marital Status * Subjects of Study Crosstabulation

			Subjects of Study												
			Administration & Management	Law	Social Sciences	Education	Science	Agriculture	Veterinary Medicine	Pharmacy	Medicine & Allied Sciences	Environmental Design	Engineering & Technology	Other	Total
Marital Status	Single	Count	160	54	112	138	113	26	9	49	56	32	37	50	836
		% within Marital Status	19.1%	6.5%	13.4%	16.5%	13.5%	3.1%	1.1%	5.9%	6.7%	3.8%	4.4%	6.0%	100.0%
	Married	Count	87	26	59	120	38	5	3	13	8	13	5	33	410
		% within Marital Status	21.2%	6.3%	14.4%	29.3%	9.3%	1.2%	7%	3.2%	2.0%	3.2%	1.2%	8.0%	100.0%
	Divorced or Widowed	Count	4	3		2					1				10
		% within Marital Status	40.0%	30.0%		20.0%					10.0%				100.0%
Total		Count	251	83	171	260	151	31	12	62	65	45	42	83	1256
		% within Marital Status	20.0%	6.6%	13.6%	20.7%	12.0%	2.5%	1.0%	4.9%	5.2%	3.6%	3.3%	6.6%	100.0%

Note: In each cell the number of respondents is shown together with the percentages

$$\chi^2 = 73.0 \quad df = 22 \quad P < 0.05$$

In the literature review some studies show that women generally study the arts based more than the sciences (Watt et al., 1998; Adams, 1993; Alele-Williams, 1987; Mayanja, 1998). In view of this, we wanted to find if relationship exists with our respondents. The chi-square test result shows that there is significant relationship between the types of courses studied and the marital status of the subjects of this study. Married women's preference to study the arts based courses may be due to some reasons mentioned earlier by our interviewees. These reasons include the relative longer duration of science courses, the daily time consumed in practical and laboratory work, which might be too demanding for a woman who has a family to

take care of. We should however, not forget that despite such demands there are still some women who opt for the science-based subjects.

The result of a study by Astin (cited in Poole, et al. 1990), found that the motivation to study among the women in their study had dropped when their children were young and was regained when the children no longer needed them full time at home. To find out if such a relationship exists with our participants, we formulated hypothesis number 3 above and the result is presented in Table 5.21.

Although the chi-square result has shown a statistically significant relationship between attending higher educational institution and having grown-up children, it can be noticed in the cross-tabulation that only about 30% of the married women in our sample agreed to the proposition in the questionnaire (item number 69). This discrepancy between practical and statistical significance may be the type of problem which Mertens (1998) warns researchers about. Practically, it may imply that even when the children have not all grown up some women may still choose to attend higher educational institutions. This result may also indicate that unlike the women in the West, as reported in a study Astin (cited in Poole, et al. 1990), who find adequate childcare expensive the women in northern Nigeria could have other members of the extended family to help with childcare.

Table 5.21 Marital Status and Attendance of Higher Educational Institutions as Children have Grown Up

Marital Status * Children have Grown UP Crosstabulation

			Children have Grown UP				
			Strongly Agree	Agree	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Total
Marital Status	Single	Count	43	117	243	321	724
		% within Marital Status	5.9%	16.2%	33.6%	44.3%	100.0%
	Married	Count	33	91	169	115	408
		% within Marital Status	8.1%	22.3%	41.4%	28.2%	100.0%
	Divorced or Widowed	Count		2	5	2	9
		% within Marital Status		22.2%	55.6%	22.2%	100.0%
Total		Count	76	210	417	438	1141
		% within Marital Status	6.7%	18.4%	36.5%	38.4%	100.0%

Note: In each cell the number of respondents is shown together with the percentages

$$\chi^2 = 31.4 \quad df = 6 \quad P < 0.05$$

5.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has presented the socio-cultural and economic factors that tend to encourage or discourage women to pursue higher education. The socio-cultural factors that were accepted as highly important motives for the respondents to pursue higher education related to the urge to become role models, the influences of parents' educational level and urban residence. Encouragement by parents, teachers, relatives, the increased religious awareness for knowledge and the need for more women in the professions were other factors confirmed as highly important in encouraging women to pursue higher education. Thus, the influence of the culture and environment in motivating human actions (Rowley, 1996) may seem to have played an important role in motivating our respondents to pursue higher education. On the other hand, the socio-cultural factors that were accepted as less important in motivating the respondents to pursue higher included seeking a suitable husband, protection of marriage and encouragement by children. To discontinue with their studies, the respondents did not consider frequent disagreement with parents and/or husbands and the fear of not getting a husband after graduation as important factors.

From the data collected on economic factors it is clear that the women confirmed the assumptions on factors like the need for future economic security (82% acceptance) meeting job entry requirements (about 74% acceptance) and earning a higher income (64% acceptance). In addition to these factors, the interview respondents also considered the realisation by women that they can be providers for the family as an important economic encouragement for them to pursue higher education. This type of extrinsic motivation (Deci 1985) may show what Rowley (1996) calls the rational–economic model of motivation, whereby the respondents might have been primarily motivated by economic self-interest and might have enrolled in higher education as a way to maximise their financial and material rewards.

Those economic factors that were considered as important include factors such as the change in job entry requirements and financial affordability. The respondents

considered insurance against a turbulent future and becoming the head of a household as less important economic factors which motivated them to enrol in higher education. As a risk to the continuation of studies, the respondents confirmed the lack of adequate financial support an important factor.

As we carried our analysis further, we used cross-tabulation and chi-square tests. The results of these tests showed significant relationships between parents' level of education and place of residence to the support and encouragement they give to their daughters to pursue higher education. Other significant relationships were found between parents' place of residence and the women's study of science-based subjects; husbands' level of education and encouragement to their wives; marital status and the preference to study near home; marital status and the study of science-based subjects and attendance of higher educational institution when children have all grown up.

In this chapter we have presented and analysed the socio-cultural and economic factors that might have influenced the decision of our respondents to enrol in higher educational institutions and to continue or discontinue with their studies. In the next chapter, we shall present the institutional and personal factors that have inspired our respondents to enrol and to continue or discontinue with higher educational studies.

CHAPTER 6

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS: INSTITUTIONAL AND PERSONAL FACTORS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter reports on the institutional and personal factors that tend to motivate women from northern Nigeria to enroll in higher educational institutions, to continue or discontinue with higher education once they have begun, or to return to higher education after dropping out. The chapter presents data collected from questionnaire survey, interviews and review of documents and is divided into three parts, the first part discusses the institutional factors, then personal factors are second and the third part presents a summary of the whole discussion.

6.2 INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS

Institutional factors here refer to two broad categories, those relating to higher educational institutions (universities, polytechnics and colleges of education) and those relating to government's policies regarding higher education and scholarship awards. These factors can have positive or negative effects on women's decisions to pursue higher education. This section of the chapter seeks to answer the following research question:

What higher educational institutional factors such as its fame, location, social atmosphere, academic programs and physical environment encourage women from northern Nigeria to enrol in higher educational institutions?

The following operational assumptions guided the study in answering the research question on institutional factors affecting the motivation of women from northern Nigeria to pursue higher education:

1. Women's choice of higher educational institution is influenced by its fame.
2. Attractive physical environment of a higher educational institution influence women's choice.
3. Women's choice of higher educational institution is affected by the presence of friends, the opportunity to meet new ones and courses offered.
4. Women are attracted to study in higher educational institutions nearer to their homes.
5. Women's choice of subject of study at the higher educational institution is influenced by their natural inclination, socialisation and acquaintance with other women who study it.
6. Women's pursuit of higher education is encouraged by the opportunity offered to them and the availability of scholarships.
7. The social environment of an institution affects the continuation of women's studies at a higher educational institution.
8. The lack of adequate accommodation, transportation and teachers' indifference constitutes a risk to women's continuation of studies.

6.2.1 Institutional Choice

It is our assumption that women choose to study at a particular higher educational institution because of its fame. The components of fame in this study include the courses offered, attractive physical environment and convenient location. We shall discuss each in turn.

6.2.1.1 Attraction by Institutional Fame

The types of courses that are offered by higher educational institutions might be an important indicator of fame. Students often choose to attend institutions that offer their favourite courses. Evident from Table 6.1, 76% of the questionnaire respondents chose their institutions based on the courses they offer thereby confirming the assumption that women's choices of higher educational institutions to attend are affected by the types of courses they offer. For those who did not confirm the assumption, admission bodies might have made the choices of institutions for them, or the question did not apply to them.

Table 6.1 Institutional Choice Factors

	1		**2**		**3**		**4**		**MR**	
I came to this institution mainly because	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Of the type of courses it offers	381	28.8	623	47.2	167	12.6	96	7.3	54	4.1
It offers me the opportunity to meet new friends	91	6.9	496	37.5	433	32.8	266	20.1	35	2.6
It is famous	111	8.4	466	35.3	426	32.2	287	21.7	31	2.3
It is the only one I really like	143	10.8	418	31.6	493	37.3	221	16.7	46	3.5
Most of my relatives studied here too	94	7.1	255	19.3	561	42.5	372	28.2	39	3.0
My friends are here	46	3.5	197	14.9	632	47.8	398	30.1	48	3.6
Of its attractive buildings	52	3.9	95	7.2	449	34.0	692	52.4	33	2.5
It is near my home	121	9.2	301	22.8	546	41.3	310	23.5	43	3.3

Notes: N= 1321 1 = Strongly Agree 2 = Agree 3 =Disagree 4= Strongly Disagree MR= Missing Response

The interview data generally supported the questionnaire data. Many of them said that they were attracted to the institutions they attended by the courses they offered. There were however, some of the interviewees who pointed out that the choices of higher education was made for them by an admission body as the following comments illustrate:

> ... I wanted to study political science, but with JAMB I was given English. and despite my protest it was difficult to change ...(transc.no.5 a school principal).

Although, in theory, the opportunities to appeal against the choice existed, most preferred not to appeal. Part of the reason as stated by one of them was that due to many candidates, students are more interested in gaining admission to any institution to pursue their studies.

As shown in Table 6.1 women's opportunity to meet new friends and personal preference have received 44%, 42% agreement respectively. This may confirm that in influencing their decisions to attend a particular higher educational institution, the respondents considered these factors as important. On the other hand, reasons such as relatives studied in the same institution and the presence of friends have received 26% and 19% positive responses respectively. These low levels of acceptance may indicate that the respondents considered these items as less important influences in their choices of higher educational institutions to attend. Thus our assumption about the presence of friends received low level of acceptance.

The questionnaire respondents also did not confirm the assumption that women's choice of a higher educational institution to attend is influenced by its fame. Responding to the statement, "I came to this institution mainly because it is famous," Table 6.1 shows that only 4 out of 10 of the respondents confirmed our assumption. Those who did not confirm the assumption might have had other reasons besides institutional fame, which guided their choices.

Regarding institutional fame, the interview data did not generally support the questionnaire data as many of them admitted that the fame of the higher educational institutions they attended influenced their decision to enroll in them. The comments below exemplify some of their views:

> The institution was famous with good standard and good lecturers (transc. no. 10 an architect).

> The name attracted us. Ahmadu Bello University was famous nationally and internationally. A degree from ABU is recognised without any doubts throughout the world (transc. no. 34 a medical doctor).

The fame of an institution was associated with the chance a certificate from the institution offers one in the job market as hinted by one of the interviewees:

> Even I was attracted. When I was in the secondary school, I used to hear about Kaduna Polytechnic due to its famous good name. Some employers prefer graduates from famous institutions, so I wanted to be from such an institution (transc. no.11an accountant).

The above comments reflect the interviewees' experiences when fame and glory of the higher educational institutions attracted them. However, currently the image and realities of these institutions sharply contrast with the high esteem to which they were held. The current situation is narrated in the comments of the following interviewees:

> ...There are many problems in the higher institutions in Nigeria now. Some of the problems like the constant strikes are discouraging many women from northern Nigeria from pursuing higher education. If this continues, the future of the higher education of women especially here in the north will be jeopardised (transc. no.5 a school principal).

A school administrator also said that some institutions of higher learning are now losing their fame:

> Due to constant strikes in the past ten years, A.B.U has for example, started losing its fame. And this may affect its attractiveness to many people (transc. no.33 a school administrator).

6.2.1.2 Institutional Attractive Physical Environment

Attractive physical environment can play an important role in a student's choice to attend an institution. Unlike fame, which is an abstract concept, the physical environment is more vivid and can more easily influence decisions.

When asked to respond to the statement, "I came to this institution mainly because of its attractive buildings," the responses as shown in Table 6.1 clearly show that about 7

out 10 disagreed. This level of response show that the assumption that attractive buildings influence women's choice of higher educational institutions to attend is not confirmed. This may imply that the attractiveness of the buildings in the higher educational institutions alone was a less important motive for the questionnaire respondents to enrol in higher educational institutions.

Unlike the questionnaire respondents, most of the women interviewed said that the buildings plus other physical facilities of the institutions they attended were part of the considerations in making their choices. Here are some examples of their comments:

> Yes, what attracted me was that the environment was conducive for living; there was light and water for 24 hours a day. Food was always cheap (transc. no. 29 an administrator).

> Well, we all went to ABU and we liked the environment at that time. The environment was peaceful and there were adequate facilities like boarding, water and electricity supply (transc. no. 17 a university deputy bursar).

There is a clear difference of opinion concerning the role of physical environment as a motivating factor for women to enrol in higher education institutions between the questionnaire respondents and the interviewees. A plausible explanation for these could be the differences in time of reference especially in a society in transition. It should be noted that the questionnaire respondents were at higher educational institutions at the time of the data collection, a time when the Nigerian economy was in a bad state and therefore difficult for higher educational institutions to maintain existing structures, let alone initiate new physical development programs. On the other hand, most of the interview participants graduated in the 80s or even earlier when almost all the higher institutions in northern Nigeria were built and therefore, their physical appearance might have been very attractive.

The drastic change in the physical environment of the higher institutions is reflected in the following comments made by one of the women interviewed:

> Honestly, those reasons are no longer there. A lot of things have changed because higher educational institutions don't provide many physical facilities now...The whole system is upsetting...(transc. no. 29 an administrator).

At the university level for example, the above comment is also supported by what the National Universities Commission (NUC) regard as the shortfall of funding which has resulted into uncompleted projects as well as inadequacies of physical facilities (NUC, 1992: 221). The situation may however, not be different in the other components of higher education in Nigeria because the problem of under funding has been identified by the Longe Committee (FRN, 1992) in all the higher educational institutions.

6.2.1.3 Convenient Location of Higher Educational institutions

Institutions nearer to home tend to attract students more than those further away. This could be due to a number of reasons including, but not limited to, the reduction in transportation cost, easier and more frequent access to family members and more familiar cultural setting.

The questionnaire respondents have not confirmed the assumption that women are attracted to higher educational institutions nearer to their homes. Only about 3 out of 10 of the respondents as shown in Table 6.1 agreed with the item which states, "I came to this institution mainly because it is the one near my home." This low level of acceptance may reflect a situation whereby the proposition did not affect some respondents, or they had no control over their placement in the higher educational institutions.

The interviewees generally contrasted the questionnaire responses by expressing that nearness of the institutions to their homes was an important determinant in making their enrolment choices. Examples of their views were:

> The mere fact that it was situated in the north most people felt more comfortable to send their wives and daughters there (transc. no 3 a pharmacist).

> Many of us felt more like home at ABU. It is the university for northerners as it is conveniently located. We felt more secured than we would have in any other university in the south (transc. no. 5 a school principal).

Some women volunteered the view that nearness to home is still an important consideration in the choice of an institution to attend:

> It is situated in the north, which was convenient for me. In fact it is still convenient for many girls from the north (transc. no. 4 a veterinary doctor).
>
> ...Many higher educational institutions are still attracting women because they are well established and close to home for many northern women especially (transc.no. 25 a veterinary doctor).

For some of the respondents at the time they went for higher education there was only one university in the north and they preferred not to go to other parts of the country for their higher education:

> At the time I went for my higher education, only Ahmadu Bello University was available in the north (transc. no. 3 a pharmacist).

A new factor that emerged from the interviews is the issue of feeling 'at home' and security that the women (particularly Muslims) feel in an institution within a Muslim community where separate residence facilities with strict rules are provided. On this point, an interviewee stated:

> I know that due to its location, ABU will continue to be attractive to girls from northern Nigeria. Its adherence to preserving the norms of the society by for example not allowing boys into the female hostels is also a very important factor. (transc. no. 11 an accountant).

The preference for women to attend institutions where separate boarding facilities are provided is not only common to the Muslim communities in northern Nigeria, but also to many Third World Countries where the education of girls is constrained by the lack of separate residence facilities as pointed out by (Verghese et al., 1981).

The cost of transportation was taken into consideration by some of the interviewees. They indicated a preference for an institution in close proximity to their homes so as to reduce transportation costs. Among those who had such feelings was an architect who said:

> It was also near home and I could easily go home at a low transportation cost (transc. no. 10 an architect).

Although the location of institutions nearer to home tend to attract many women to attend particular institutions, there was however, one of the interviewees who wanted to study further away from home. She wanted to experience life in other parts of the country and to have a change of environment as she expressed:

> I really didn't want to go to the University of Jos because I have grown up there and attended my secondary school there, and I wanted a change so I chose other universities, but I was given the University of Jos by JAMB. Later, I adjusted and found the place conducive. (transc. no.22 an official of the Ministry of Women Affairs).

The general differences in the responses between the two types of respondents on this issue could be another evidence of a society in transition with changing values and perception. The interview participants, for example, used expressions which give high premium to familiar socio-cultural setting that could be an important motivating factor for women from northern Nigeria to enrol in higher education with probable full support of parents and husbands. Furthermore, many of the interviewees attended the only few higher educational institutions in northern Nigeria at the time as indicated by some of them in the above responses while the questionnaire respondents were drawn from the many higher educational institution now in northern Nigeria.

6.2.1.4 Interim Summary

Both the questionnaire and interview respondents confirmed the assumption that the courses offered in the higher educational institutions attracted them to enrol in them. Questionnaire respondents considered the opportunity to meet new friends and personal likeness of an institution as important influences on their decisions to enrol in particular higher educational institutions. Reasons such as relatives graduating from an institution and presence of friends were however not considered as important by the respondents in their choices of institutions to attend.

The interview respondents have confirmed the assumptions that fame and the physical environment of higher educational institutions influence women's choices of institutions to attend. These factors were however, not accepted as such by the questionnaire respondents. The differences in view on these issues could be attributed to the degenerating condition that most Nigerian higher educational institutions are

facing. Many of the interview respondents might have attended these institutions when they were at the prime of their glory and not faced with many problems as they are currently facing. Another reason could be that the choices of higher educational institutions were made for the questionnaire respondents by admission bodies which might not have affected some of the interviewees when they attended higher educational institutions.

There also seems to be contrasting perceptions on the issue of institutions' nearness to home between the questionnaire and interview participants. This could be due to differences in the profile of the respondents. As discussed earlier while describing the samples in Chapter 4, the majority (about 65%) of the questionnaire respondents (see also Appendix IB.5) were unmarried students and may therefore be relatively less burdened by family responsibilities and could study far away from home. The interview respondents on the other hand, seemed more mature and many of them got married before or during the course of their higher educational studies and were, therefore, likely to be more place-bound.

6.2.2 Choice of Subjects of Study

Factors that influence women's choice of subjects of study can be grouped into three broad groups, namely: natural inclination, primary and secondary socialisation and the direct influence of other people. Choices of subject to study may also be influenced by the goals an individual sets for his/herself which Locke (cited in Eysenck, 1998) explains as a purposeful behaviour in which the individual exerts energy to attain the set goals. In the case of our study, it may mean the goals set by the women to pursue a certain career. The assumption relevant to this section is that natural inclination, socialisation and acquaintance with other women who study a subject influence women's choice of subject of study at the higher educational institution.

6.2.2.1 Natural Inclination to Study a Subject

Natural inclination which may be related to the natural and cultural settings where individuals are born and brought up and so influence their behaviour (Giddens, 1997)

seems to be an important motivating factor in the selection of a subject to study by the respondents.

Table 6.2 shows that approximately 8 out of 10 of the respondents agreed that their choices of subject of study were influenced by their natural inclination toward it. The high agreement with this question may reflect the respondents' intrinsic motivation to acquire knowledge and their levels of competence and thus, confirming the assumption about natural inclination. The interview data supports the questionnaire data on this item. About half of the women interviewed indicated they had a natural inclination toward the subjects they studied. Examples of some of their responses include:

Table 6.2 Choice of Subjects of Study

	1		**2**		**3**		**4**		**MR**	
I chose the subject I study mainly because	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
I feel naturally inclined toward it	504	38.2	606	45.9	151	11.4	38	2.9	22	1.7
Of the influence of my up-bringing	159	12.0	500	37.9	432	32.7	180	13.6	50	3.8
I will have enough time for my family when I work	176	13.3	433	32.8	393	29.8	192	14.5	127	9.6
My family often talked favourably about it	121	9.2	451	34.1	511	38.7	188	14.2	50	3.8
My religion encourages studying it	176	13.3	371	28.1	494	37.4	211	16.0	69	5.2
Women I know study it	69	5.2	254	19.2	637	48.2	309	23.4	52	3.9

Notes: N= 13211 1= Strongly Agree 2 = Agree 3 =Disagree 4= Strongly Disagree MR= Missing Response

> I grew up in a hilly (Jos Plateau) area and I had no problem with my geography. Many geographical features were not abstract to me. I was also interested in the subject (transc. no.24 a secondary school teacher).

> The interest in the subject and the need to experience teaching it made me to study it (transc. no.30 a secondary school teacher).

> I had interest in studying law…I had the determination to become a lawyer (transc. no.9 a lawyer).

> Since my primary school, I had always wanted to be a doctor. When I couldn't enter for medicine at the university, I did the science. In my second degree I tried to maintain the ambition of becoming a doctor (transc. no.34 a medical doctor).

6.2.2.2 Primary and Secondary Socialisation

The choice of subject to study may have some societal influences related to the overall socialisation through which individuals conform to society's prevailing norms and values. Such process according to Blinton, et al. (1996) offers the acquisition of gendered identity and prepares girls into traditional sex roles, which has a tremendous effect on their choices of subjects to study. In order to understand the influence of socialisation process, we shall briefly describe the primary and secondary socialisation which may influence women's choices of subjects to study.

Giddens (1997) stated that in the course of socialisation individuals develop their identity. Primary socialisation is carried out as part of child rearing where children learn many of the basic behaviour patterns of the society by responding to the approval and disapproval of their parents (Haralambos and Holborn 1995).

Secondary socialisation on the other hand, deals with later influences on the development of an individual's personality according to Giddens (1997). Within the society, children generally learn to classify themselves according to gender lines early in life, prefer activities and roles traditionally assigned to their own sexes. Through socialisation, children are encouraged to develop the values of both parents and the society in which they live. This is true of every society, particularly if the continuity of culture and the preservation of the societal norms and values are to be maintained. As part of the agencies of primary and secondary socialisation, it seems pertinent for us to discuss the diverse influences of upbringing and of the family, religious encouragement and acquaintances on women's choices of subjects to study.

6.2.2.2.1 Influence of Upbringing

The influence of upbringing may be related to socialisation, which Giddens (1997) says is the origin of our individuality, and could adversely affect women's choice of a career. Table 6.2 shows that about half of the respondents agreed with the suggestion that the choice of the subjects they studied was influenced by their upbringing. For those respondents who did not accept the question, they might not have considered it as an important influence in their career choices.

There is agreement between the questionnaire and interview respondents on the effect of early socialisation in the choice of subject of study. Some of the interviewees felt that their choices of area of study were influenced by societal expectations. Primary and secondary socialisation seem to coincide whereby parents did not have a different view in general from society as evident from the following comments:

> From the societal point of view there was no inspiration especially as I studied Veterinary Medicine. Many people feel that Veterinary Medicine is a man's field. My mother did not like me studying Veterinary Medicine at all (transc. no. 4 a veterinary doctor).

She went further to comment:

> …society takes the females as not having the same mental capabilities as the men (transc. no.4 a veterinary doctor).

Apparently, others feel that due to the lack of inspiration to study the sciences, some girls felt these subjects were difficult:

> No, generally the females don't like the sciences. Maybe they were not motivated from the secondary schools or by their parents. Some of them feel that the sciences are difficult so why not go for an easier course in the arts since both are degrees (transc. no. 34 medical doctor).

This lack of inspiration for women to study the science subjects also comes from the job markets. The Longe Report (FGN, 1992) observed that even where the women

have secured degrees in the sciences, they still meet basic prejudices, which make it difficult for them to secure jobs. Such frustration may account for the women veering away from the sciences to pursue "softer" academic subjects.

Besides the factors discussed above, one feature of the culture that may also have a great impact on a woman's choice of career, as emphasised by one of the interviewees is the mode of dressing especially in a predominantly Muslim society where modesty in dressing is a norm. She pointed out that some girls do not like certain professions because of the way they will be required to dress:

> When they see a woman in Engineering, they wonder if she will wear a trouser and go under a car to repair it (transc.no.8 a housewife).

When asked if there were many other women that studied the same subjects as they did, some interviewees who studied the sciences expressed the low participation of women. Some of their comments were:

> No, there were actually very few girls during my time. I even remember one time there were only 2 or 3 girls in a class of 120-150 students because they regarded veterinary medicine as a course for the opposite sex (transc.no.19 a medical doctor).

> There were not many women that studied pharmaceutical medicine because of the lack of awareness of the need for girl's higher education. Many girls felt that Pharmaceutical Medicine and Medicine were difficult courses (transc.no.28 a pharmacist).

On the other hand, many of the interviewees who studied the arts subjects acknowledged the presence of many other women who studied the same subjects as they did. Some of them, however, cautioned that even in the arts subjects certain courses were still not favourably considered as the first choice due to the perceived role a girl is expected to play in the society. A lawyer from our interviewees hinted:

> Not many women studied law at the time I did maybe because of the societal view that women should not judge cases in the courts. The profession is looked up as purely a man's profession (transc.no.9 a lawyer).

Besides the conception of a field of study as easy or as a 'man's domain', a new point hinted by an interviewee was that women prefer the arts and humanities because of the relatively shorter duration of the courses. Some women either due to family commitments or the pressure from parents to get married tend to choose courses that take few years to complete:

> I studied Social Studies because it was easy and I could cope with it. At that time, those of us who had the National Certificate of Education (NCE) were admitted into universities for a two-year degree program in education, so the duration of the course also attracted me (transc.no.13 a university lecturer).

A similar view was also expressed by one of the respondents:

> ...the duration of study for the science subjects also discourages some women from going into the sciences (transc.no.8 a housewife).

Yet to others, they wanted courses with shorter duration in order to secure a job:

> ...The duration of the course was too long. Some of us wanted a shorter course so as to finish and get a job (transc. no.7 a businesswoman).

Many of the interview respondents above emphasised the time element in their responses. It should be noted that three reasons underlined their reference to time. The first is the societal expectation on gender roles, for example, female students in veterinary medicine, pharmacy, law and architecture were few in northern Nigeria in the 70s and 80s, but the situation is however changing gradually as more females have enrolled in these fields. The second reason is due to admission policy whereby qualified graduates of colleges of education could enrol in universities for a shorter period. This admission policy has not changed (NUC, 1992). The third case is the duration of the courses with shorter periods, which tended to attract relatively more female students.

Interestingly, the inequality in women's participation in science and technology is a common phenomenon in many countries. Some studies in both the developed and the developing countries by researchers such as Watt et al., 1998; Adams, 1993; Erwin

and Maurutto, 1998; Jayaweera, 1997; Liyanage, 1996; and Erinosho, 1994 have reported similar findings that reveal disparity in the fields of study between men and women.

A good example of this trend in the science and technology courses in Nigeria can be seen in the enrolment pattern at Ahmadu Bello University Zaria shown in Table 6.3, which may reflect the general pattern of other institutions of higher education in Nigeria. The latest record available to us at the time of this study was the 1992/93 list of registered students that shows the following figures (as shown in Table 6.3) starting from the first year, which is the 100 level. The 100 to 400 levels correspond to the first to the fourth year for those in a four-year degree program. The 500 to 600 levels are for the fifth and sixth years in the faculties of Engineering and Environmental design, Medicine and Pharmaceutical Sciences and the Sciences where they have five or six year programs.

Table 6.3 Total Undergraduate Enrolment at ABU by Faculty, Sex, and Level of Courses In 1992/93 Academic Year

	100 LEVEL		200 LEVEL		300 LEVEL		400 LEVEL		500 LEVEL		600 LEVEL	
FACULTY	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
ADMIN	622	342	758	357	463	120	238	45	0	0	0	0
AGRIC	65	30	98	34	89	20	90	20	83	6	0	0
ARTS & SOC. SCI	613	411	433	210	408	133	322	64	0	0	0	0
EDUCATION	279	203	1011	546	634	353	365	250	0	0	0	0
ENGINEERING	594	55	444	29	383	15	188	8	144	6	0	0
ENV. DESIGN	201	67	242	67	176	37	113	20	0	0	0	0
LAW	190	106	186	129	147	56	104	24	0	0	0	0
MEDICINE	281	84	277	68	198	30	134	22	68	14	128	17
PHARM. SC.	182	121	209	94	121	45	90	32	75	21	0	0
SCIENCE	320	152	470	127	257	83	198	62	5	0	0	0
VET. MED.	57	25	68	13	64	12	48	7	31	3	68	8
SUB-TOTAL	3404	1596	4196	1674	2940	904	1890	554	406	50	196	25
GRAND TOTAL	5,000		5,870		3,844		2,444		456		221	

Source: ABU Academic Office, 1995

Overall, one can see that at all the different levels; there are proportionately more women students in the Arts and Social Sciences and the Humanities. The societal

perception that certain fields like engineering, technical courses and other related areas are not suitable for women might have discouraged them from taking such professions. The Women in Nigeria (1985) document also reiterates that girls are always encouraged to follow the 'acceptable' 'feminine' interests and pursuits. In this regard, there is disparity in the fields of study between men and women. The situation is not only at the university level, but even at the colleges of education and polytechnics, where Women in Nigeria (1985) also noted that men dominate vocational and technical courses.

Other documentary evidence to explain the above disproportion of women in the sciences are the figures presented on the areas of specialisation in 13 out of 24 Research Institutes in Nigeria. It is revealed that there is male: female ratio of 21:1 in engineering, 17:3 in Geology, 137:15 in Veterinary Medicine and 10:5 in Food/Fish Technology (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1995). This nation-wide trend gives a picture of the general career orientation of women in Nigeria and the situation is even worse in northern Nigeria because of the relative lower participation of both males and especially females in higher education.

Another item in Table 6.2 related to socialisation process is the role-expectation of women in the society as wives and mothers. The item, which states, "I chose the subject I study mainly because I will have time for my family when I work" received almost a balanced response (about 5 out of 10). One reason for such a balance could be the single status of many of the questionnaire respondents who may not have considered this item as relevant to them. Another reason could be that it was not considered an important motivating factor by about half of the respondents.

From the interview data, emerged a response to support the above suggestion:

> There were many women who studied the subject especially as it was an education course. Women like teaching as it gives them more time with their family and there is a longer vacation (transc.no.24 a secondary school teacher).

This interviewee raised new points that emphasised the importance of flexible work schedules and reasonably long vacation period in making the choice of subject of study. This implies that women normally consider job demand on the length of time they may be required to be away from home.

6.2.2.2.2 Influences of the Family, Religion and Acquaintances

Table 6.2 also shows data on parental influence on the choices women make of their career. It is revealed that less than half of the respondents agreed with the statement: "I chose the subject I study mainly because my family often talked favourably about it". This may imply that other factors might have helped the women in deciding the subjects to study and not necessarily because their families discussed it in a favourable way. The respondents who disagreed with this item could be showing a similar attitude to those women studied by Brown (1986) who did not follow their parental guidance on the choices of subjects to study.

Both within the family and the society religion plays a major role in moulding the behaviour patterns of the people. Islam for example makes the seeking of knowledge obligatory on every Muslim male or female. The Muslim woman is therefore, not prohibited from going out in the community to seek knowledge (Badawi 1980).

As shown on Table 6.2 the statement, " I chose the subject I study mainly because my religion encourages studying it," received about four tenths acceptance. Both Islam and Christianity encourage seeking knowledge and emphasise some areas of study vital to the needs of the society. The responses indicate that religious encouragement was considered relatively important by the respondents in their choices of subjects to study.

Familiarity with other women students alone did not seem to have influenced the respondents' choices of subjects to study. Table 6.2 shows that only about two-tenths of the respondents confirmed the statement: "I chose the subject I study mainly because women I know study it. The interview responses seem to generally complement the questionnaire responses, as most of them did not indicate to have

selected the subjects they studied because other women they knew were also studying the same.

6.2.2.3 Change of Course of Study Due to Direct Influence by Others.

A point that was not in the questionnaire, which was raised in the interviews, was about women changing courses after they have begun their study. Some of our interviewees indicated that they (or their friends) had changed their courses. Some of the reasons they mentioned ranged from influence of parents or husbands, length of period of study, academic performance and their changing roles. This businesswoman gave an example of parental influence in the following way:

> Some of my colleagues changed because the fathers wanted them to study another course…There was a case of one of my friends who had started Medicine, but her father made her to change to Arabic, and after graduation, she got married and enrolled into Medicine… (transc.no.7 a business woman).

In the case of another woman, father's influence was on the initial choice of subject. Due to her poor academic performance, she said that she had to change:

> I started medicine, as my father wanted me to. I had to change to Business Administration because medicine was very difficult for me (transc. no. 7 a businesswoman).

For some women, the influence was from the husbands:

> ...My husband studied English and he did not want me to study it since we were not going to be speaking it at home. He said that I should not study French because he would not let me go for the one-year abroad program. I then decided to take Home economics so as to be able to manage the home well (transc. no.14 a secondary school teacher).

To some of the women it was the daily time duration and not only the overall duration of the course that made them to change their courses of study. If a woman has many responsibilities to cater for, it maybe difficult for her to cope with the demands of some of the courses as pointed out by a medical doctor:

> You find that girls go for science, which is very time consuming because of the laboratory work and the rest. Later they find that they cannot cope may be because they have a family of their own to look after or parents to look after. They change to courses that are less time consuming (transc. no. 19 a medical doctor).

When the roles of a woman change, there may be diversified activities she may be engaged in. For those women who got married after the commencement of their studies, some found it necessary to change their courses:

> Some girls were made to marry and after that became pregnant or had problems of running the house, so they changed to courses that were physically less demanding (transc.no. 16 an accountant).

The above responses support studies by (Erwin and Maurotto, 1998; Astin and Sax, 1994; Hurtodo, 1994). These studies also showed that leaving the science subjects by many women was more of a function of social factors rather than a lost of interest in the subject.

6.2.2.4 Influence of Social Trends

A new point that emerged during the interviews was that despite some societal constraining factors mentioned above, female participation in higher education has grown immensely. As a result of this there is greater encroachment into the 'male domain.' Some of the interviewees tend to believe that this trend will continue as the following comments suggest:

> There are so many girls studying Pharmaceutical Medicine now and there will be more in the future as parents are now more educated and have more awareness (transc.no.28 a pharmacist).

> In the future there are going to be many women lawyers and judges as many are now successful in the profession, and this is making the earlier belief of women not fitting to the profession to fade away. (transc. no. 9 a lawyer)

External influences are some of the factors that one of our interviewees brought up. As Nigeria is developing, the need arise for different levels of manpower and the women are determined not to be left behind in this. She expressed the opinion that:

> The global technological change to which Nigeria is not left behind is another source of inspiration that is and will have more impact in making many women to develop interest in different fields. (transc. 3 a pharmacist)

The attitude of these women show some hope that with time, the participation rate of women in Science and Technology is likely to improve. This point is well taken by Euler-Ajayi (1989:11) who hopes that by the year 2000, Nigerian women would contribute fully to all aspects of development of the country including the technological areas.

Documentary evidence, which might reinforce the above optimism by Eular-Ajayi although not likely by the year 2000, is the relative rate of increase in number and ratio of women in science and technology in some years. For example, in Nigeria, the distribution of academic staff in Engineering Technology in 1980/81 was 692 men and 17 females (40:1) as compared to 1987/88 when there were 941 males to 32 females (29:1) in the same discipline. In Pharmacy, 1980/81 figures show 148 males to 21 females (7:1) and in 1987/88 the figure was 168 males to 40 females (4:1). In the Sciences, in 1980/81 the figure was 1242 males to 80 females (15:1) and in 1987/88 the figure was 2272 males to 282 females (8:1) (FRN, 1995).

Other evidence suggests that women are slowly encroaching the male domains. For example a publication by Women in Nigeria (WIN, 1985) stated that women employed in technical occupations constituted only 8.4% of the total employment figures in Nigeria in 1985. Within a decade, in 1992, women made up 25.5% of the total employees in Industries and Technology (FRN, 1995).

Although the above figures indicate some improvement in women's participation in science and technical fields, an important point that needs to be discussed in relation to women's career choices concern the job opportunities that are opened to them. Referring to the situation in the developed countries McGivney (1993) pointed out that the subjects and occupations women choose are based on the jobs available for them. What is called the 'realistic appraisal' of the labour market makes women

continue to have the tendency towards the traditional female subjects. If more opportunities and encouragement are given to the Nigerian women to participate in higher education, McGivney's (1993) 'realistic appraisal' of the labour market for them may over time include a wider scope of professions and not necessarily the traditional ones.

6.2.2 5 Interim Summary

To sum up, the assumption that women's natural inclination influences their choices of subject of study at the higher educational institutions has been confirmed. Natural inclination to study a subject has been confirmed as a very important influence while socialisation factors such as influence of upbringing, family talked favourably about the subject, the anticipation of having enough time with family while working and religious encouragement were regarded as important influences. Acquaintance with other women who study the subject as a motivation to study the same subject was regarded as a less important influence in the respondents' choices of subject to study.

The interviewees brought out the issues of social trends such as increased awareness of the need for higher education, women's encroachment into subjects that were traditionally 'males' domain' and the global technological changes as inspirations to women to pursue higher education. We have looked at the factors which influenced the women's choices of subjects to study at the higher educational institution, in the next section we shall discuss those factors that tend to influence their decision to continue or discontinue with higher educational pursuit.

6.2.3 Public Policy Encouragement

Public policy here refers to the plan of action by the state and federal governments in Nigeria to promote women's participation in higher education. Under this topic the two major issues discussed in this study are opportunity for higher education and the availability of scholarship grants.

Opportunity for higher education for women from northern Nigeria may include the awareness of the need for higher education, proximity of higher institutions to home, parents', relatives', husbands' and governmental support. In responding to the statement, "I came to this institution because of the opportunity offered to me for higher education," 7 out of 10 respondents agreed as shown in Table 6.4. Discussing this item, our interview respondents generally supported the questionnaire responses whereby many of them expressed the opinion that encouragement from their parents, husbands and the government were important motivational factors for them to pursue higher education.

Table 6.4 Public Policy Encouragement

	1		2		3		4		MR	
I came to this institution mainly because of	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
The opportunity offered to me for higher education	298	22.6	631	47.8	240	18.2	75	5.7	77	5.8
The scholarship offer I received	95	7.2	191	14.5	486	36.8	453	34.3	96	7.3

Notes: N= 1321 1 = Strongly Agree 2 = Agree 3 =Disagree 4= Strongly Disagree MR= Missing Response

The above responses may imply the extension of opportunities for higher education for women in northern Nigeria. In reality however, the opportunity for higher education is still not equally available between the sexes according to the Nigeria Country Report (FRN, 1995). This implies that the women especially those from northern Nigeria have two hurdles to cross. One, bridging the gap between male and female, and the other of the gap between the northern and southern women in higher education. Due to this realisation, the women from northern Nigeria are making headway to improve their condition through higher education in order to prepare them for participating in the task of nation building. In order to be well equipped for this they need support as well as encouragement from various sources particularly the government.

According to the data in Table 6.4 only 2 out of 10 respondents agreed that they have been encouraged to pursue education by the scholarship offer they received. Thus, the questionnaire respondents have not confirmed the assumption that women's pursuit of

higher education is encouraged by the availability of scholarship awards. This may suggest that even though scholarship award helps to some extent, it may not be sufficient to solely stand as a factor attracting women into higher education. It may also indicate that women in addition to the scholarship awards where available have to look for additional sources of financial support.

It is clearly stated in the Nigerian National Policy on Education with respect to the problem of access to higher education that, " Financial considerations alone will not be the conclusive bar to access to higher education for any one who can benefit from it. A combination of scholarships and loans will continue to be used to assist indigent but bright students to gain access to higher education. University education will continue to be tuition-free." (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1981:25). Despite this governmental policy, financing of education in Nigeria is however, still a major problem as we have discussed earlier in Chapter 2 (see section 2.3.4).

Our interview responses seem to be contrary to the questionnaire findings. Many of the interviewees discussed the help that scholarship award gave to them when they were in the higher educational institutions:

> ...Madam, you know how strong our economy was then. The scholarship money I was receiving from my state government was quite adequate and I didn't have to bother my husband for financial support. To tell you the truth I even had extra to buy some luxury items I needed (transc. no.15 a university student affairs officer).

> ...at the time we were in the higher educational institutions we all had scholarships. Even if the women did not get enough financial support from home, they had enough (transc. no. 21 a director of a state women's commission).

Besides the scholarships, some of the women also enjoyed their full bursary awards, which allowed them to continue with their salaries:

> Most of us got married before attaining higher education, and those few that did so before marriage largely did so due to the availability of scholarships and in-service awards...(transc. 10 an architect).

To some of the women, scholarship awards did not only offer financial support, but also an encouragement to study the sciences:

> At that time the state government was trying to get the indigenous of Kano state to study science and those students that were not from the state were charged some amount of money if they wanted to study science. We were not paying that amount, plus we were also given some monthly allowance (transc. 20 a science teacher).

The divergence between the questionnaire and interview responses on this item reflects the difference in age and time each group underwent higher education. Some of the interviewees attended higher institutions when the inflation rate in Nigeria appeared to be have been less than what it is today and therefore more value for money from scholarship awards.

6.2.4 Interim Summary

To sum up, the data confirms our assumption that northern Nigerian women are encouraged to go for higher education by the opportunity afforded to them. Opportunity in this case may be related to the increased awareness of the need for women's higher education, parents,' relatives' and husbands' support. The questionnaire respondents on the other hand did not confirm the assumption about the encouragement by scholarships awards while the interview respondents did. The differences on this issue may be related to time references and the prevailing poor economic condition of the country with a high inflation rate.

6.2.5 Institutional Reasons for Continuing or Discontinuing with Higher Education

6.2.5.1 Continuing with Higher Education

Women's motivation to continue with higher education after its commencement may result from various factors. Such factors may to a large extent be related to what Vallerand et al. (1992) called 'behaviour persistence' or what Deci and Ryan (1985) referred to as 'self-determination' whereby individuals chose to behave because they feel it will be beneficial to them. At this level, the responses to some of the items in Table 6.5 may reveal some of the reasons for the willingness to continue with higher

education by the respondents. The factors discussed under this topic include conducive social atmosphere in the institutions, accommodation and transportation issues.

Table 6.5 Conducive Social Atmosphere in the Institutions

	1		2		3		4		MR	
I remain in this institution mainly because	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
The lecturers are very supportive	191	14.5	641	48.5	300	22.7	133	10.1	56	4.2
Of the cordial relationship with fellow students which makes me feel good	149	11.3	676	51.2	350	26.5	112	8.5	34	2.6
I get encouragement from my teachers	199	15.1	592	44.8	355	26.9	141	10.7	34	2.6
Of the very good accommodation it offers	58	4.4	277	21.0	598	45.3	336	25.4	52	3.9

Notes: N= 1321 1= Strongly Agree 2 = Agree 3 =Disagree 4= Strongly Disagree MR= Missing Responses

6.2.5.1.1 Conducive Social Atmosphere in the Institutions

In order to test our assumption that the social environment of the institution affects the continuation of women's studies, four institutional social atmosphere related factors were inserted in the questionnaire. These items related to the support by teachers, cordial relationship with fellow students, encouragement by teachers and good accommodation. The responses in Table 6.5 show that about 6 out of 10 of the respondents have accepted the first three of these items. For those who did not accept the propositions, they might have considered other factors to be more important in encouraging them to continue with their studies in the higher educational institutions or these items did not simply apply to them.

The interview responses seem to support the questionnaire responses because many of the interviewees suggested that the institutional environment helped to keep them in the institution until the time they graduated. Some of their opinions are presented below:

> The university environment was conducive and the life was liberal. I also had many friends and there were many extra curricular activities (transc. no. 4 a veterinary doctor).

To some women, the attraction was by the relative good moral standard of the institutions as stated below:

> Many parents considered College of Education Kafanchan as one that was not corrupt and not polluted by bad influence. It had a peaceful atmosphere and a good academic standing (transc. no. 30 a secondary school teacher)

To some of the respondents, the social atmosphere attracted them even before their enrolment as expressed below:

> Even before I enrolled in the higher institution, by visiting my friends and sister I saw the recreational facilities on the campus and I liked the atmosphere (transc. no.7 a businesswoman).

From our interview participants we also received some complementary views regarding both the support and encouragement from lecturers as part of the inspiration for them to continue with their studies. Examples of some of their comments are:

> I had motivating teachers, adequate facilities and there was a high standard of discipline (transc. no 1 a polytechnic lecturer).

> There was peaceful atmosphere on the campus; lecturers were supportive and co-operative (transc. no.3 a pharmacist).

The fourth item included in Table 6.5 relating to the social atmosphere factors that may help women to continue with their studies was the issue of accommodation. It is revealed that only about 25% of the respondents agreed that they remain in the higher educational institution because of the good accommodation it offers. This response may present a realistic assessment by the respondents on the boarding facilities available to them.

Of interest are the findings from the interview data, which contrast with the questionnaire responses on the issue of accommodation. Some of them expressed the satisfaction they had with the boarding facilities at the time they attended higher educational institutions as the comment below illustrates:

> ... I remember in our days, there were a maximum number of two (2) people in a room. Now there are from six to eight (6-8) in that same room...(transc. no. 28 a pharmacist).

The differences between the questionnaire and interview responses may again be as a result of the differences in the time when the two groups of respondents attended higher educational institutions. The questionnaire respondents were in higher education when the relative participation of women in higher education had increased. Some of the interview respondents on the other hand, might have been in higher educational institutions when there weren't many women and therefore, enjoyed better facilities.

Commenting on the problem of accommodation faced by women in higher educational institutions nowadays, some of the interviewees hinted that:

> Another problem is the lack of hostel rooms in many universities. A room meant for three may have six people or more. I think the accommodation problem will continue because the NUC is not making any effort to build more hostels (transc. no. 18 a college instructor).

> ...The other problems I see jeopardising the higher education of women from northern Nigeria are the lack of hostel accommodation and the overall cost of maintaining oneself (transc. no. 12 a school counsellor).

As a result of the congestion in the hostels, many women students may be forced to live off campus. Living off campus in a society that is very protective of its females may be a potential constraint to many of them. Many parents and husbands may not support the idea of their daughters or wives living off campus as pointed out by one of the respondents:

> ...They also face the problem of accommodation where they have to share rooms in the hostels they are too congested. When they get accommodation outside the campus, it mat be too far or they may not have the approval of parents or husbands to live off campus (transc. no. 20 a science teacher).

The Commission on the Review of Higher Education in Nigeria also supports both the questionnaire and interview responses on the existence of real problem of accommodation. In one of its documents, it is stated that:

> Unsatisfactory living conditions on our campuses had made it particularly difficult for females to adjust. Economic considerations often prevented many students from seeking alternative accommodation outside of overcrowded and poorly maintained hostel rooms. Poor sanitation and inadequate basic facilities further compounded the problem (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1992: 30).

A new focus on the problems of accommodation highlighted by an interviewee was the fear in many women living off campus for the increase lack of personal security in the country:

> ...Another problem is the lack of personal security in the country that makes it difficult to move freely, and this makes those who live off campus to be in constant fear (transc. no.1 a polytechnic lecturer).

As a matter of policy, most Nigerian higher educational institutions try to provide accommodation for all their students. With the increase of students' enrolment, however, most of the higher educational institutions have not been able to achieve this target. Students' enrolment in the Nigerian universities has continued to increase since the establishment of the first universities.

For example, according to NUC (1992) the enrolment in the faculties of Arts in Nigerian universities, for example, has risen from 10,295 in the 1980/81 academic year to 20,943 in the 1986/87 academic year. To meet such a trend in the increase of enrolment, the universities therefore, need to increase manpower and facilities such as accommodation and transportation. The provision of good and adequate accommodation facilities on campus may not only reduce the burden of transportation, cost of off campus accommodation and the lack of security. It may also provide a better study schedule, which allows the women to use the library. laboratories, classrooms and other facilities more conveniently.

6.2.5 2 Discontinuing with Higher Education

The assumption relevant to this section is that the lack of adequate accommodation, transportation and teachers' indifference constitutes a risk to the continuation of studies by women.

Table 6.6 Discontinuing with Higher Education

	1		2		3		4		MR	
I may discontinue with my studies mainly because	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Inadequate boarding facilities in the institution	97	7.3	323	24.5	543	41.1	301	22.8	57	4.3
Transportation to and from the school	78	5.9	273	20.7	491	37.2	350	26.5	129	9.8
The teachers are indifferent towards me	31	2.3	161	12.2	613	46.4	457	34.6	59	4.5

Notes: N= 1321 1= Strongly Agree 2 = Agree 3 =Disagree 4= Strongly Disagree MR= Missing Responses

6.2.5.2.1 Problems of Accommodation and transportation

The questionnaire respondents have not accepted the assumptions about accommodation, transport and teachers' indifference as risks to the continuation of their studies. Table 6.6 shows that about 32%, 27% and 15% of the respondents disagreed with the items relating to inadequate boarding facilities, transportation and teachers' indifference respectively. Inadequate boarding facilities in the institution did not get as favourable a response as we had expected. This low rate of response may indicate that some women did not envisage it as constituting a problem that would affect the continuation of their studies. Probably faced with many different problems, congestion in the hostels was not regarded by the respondents as the lack of adequate boarding facilities. Another explanation could be that some of the respondents were not using the institutions' boarding facilities.

Transportation problem seems to be an extension of accommodation problem and need to be discussed in this section. If students have to live off-campus, then the

question of the means and cost of transportation arises. Depending on the distance from campus, the students may use their own cars, or use the public transportation. Whichever way, cost is involved both in terms of money and time. For those who use public transportation, the problem may be more acute. In Nigeria generally, public transportation is not very reliable and there are no fixed schedules of the time intervals the vehicles might be available. The lack of acceptance of the item on transportation may indicate that they have no problem with transportation, the problem is within their control or it is not considered as an important reason to make them to discontinue with their studies.

Our interview responses complement the above findings. They see the issues of accommodation and transportation as problems per se, but not necessarily as one that may result into the discontinuation of studies. Some of their views are presented below:

> Such problems include the lack of accommodation and if they have to stay off campus, they face the problem of transportation...(transc. no. 21 a Director General of a Women's Commission).

> As there are many women in the institution of higher learning, they are facing the problem of inadequate facilities like boarding. Some of them have to stay outside the campuses and commute daily which is a big problem especially for those who don't own a vehicle (transc. no. 9 a lawyer).

Along the same line, the interview respondents tended to support the questionnaire results since none of them said the teachers' indifference even where it existed caused any threat to the continuation of their studies. But at a different level a new issue and worthy of note was a gender issue raised and some even acknowledging the attitude of the lecturers. Many of the interview respondents expressed their concern on what they termed as 'sexual harassment' of the female students by some lecturers. They feel that it is a threat to the higher education of many women. One of the women acknowledged being a victim of sexual harassment:

> I faced the problem of sexual harassment and pressure of work (transc. no. 13 a university lecturer).

Some of the sexual harassment was said not to only be from the lecturers, but male colleagues as well:

> There is the problem of sexual harassment from male counterparts and lecturers as well (transc.no.15 a university Students' Affairs officer).

Because of the societal value attached to chastity, when some women are confronted with the problem of sexual harassment, they may decide to leave the studies as reported by one of our interviewees.

> ...They are in a situation whereby sexual harassment is discouraging...when the teacher is adamant, some women may tend to forget about the whole thing and leave the studies...(transc. no. 20 a science teacher).

The problem of sexual harassment in the higher educational institution in Nigeria seems to be of an increasing concern. In her keynote address on the occasion of the 1995 International Women's Day in the Federal Capital, Abuja, the First Lady Mrs. Maryam Abacha has acknowledged that:

> In the secondary and tertiary levels of education, the participation of our female students is still abysmally low. This is partly as a result of undesirable cultural practices and traditions as well as the new phenomenon of sexual harassment in educational institutions...(Abacha, 1995:30).

Sexual harassment has been defined as "the rise in acts of verbal harassment, pressure for sexual activity, repeated remarks with sexual connotations and implications, unwelcome touching, suggesting or demanding sexual involvement with explicit and implicit threats," (FRN 1992:30 observation x). It has been further observed that sexual harassment is a regular feature in higher institutions world over, but the incident is rising in many of Nigeria's tertiary institutions.

6.2.6 Interim Summary

The data confirms that the presence of supportive lecturers and conducive social atmosphere were regarded as important reasons for the women in this study to continue with their studies. Responses from the two sets of data on the issue of good accommodation as an incentive to continue with studies were however, not complementary. The questionnaire responses did not confirm the importance of good accommodation to have encouraged them to continue with their studies while the interview respondents regarded it as highly important. Again, these divergent opinions might have arisen due to the differences in time the respondents attended higher educational institutions as well as the impact of the general changes affecting the country.

Data regarding the discontinuation of studies from both the questionnaire and interview participants show that the lack of adequate boarding facilities, problem of transportation and teachers' indifference were not confirmed as important institutional problems that would make the respondents to withdraw from their studies. However, a new point brought up by the interview respondents that might jeopardise the continuation of women's studies in the higher educational institutions was that of sexual harassment. This problem has also been acknowledged in some federal government's documents. Ways and means to curtail this problem should be explored if equality between men and women in access to higher education is to be attained.

6.3 PERSONAL FACTORS

This section of the chapter specifically, seeks to answer the following research question:

> What personal related factors such as the need for personal development, self-actualisation, and personal prestige enhancement encourage women from northern Nigeria to acquire higher education?

In an attempt to answer the research question related to personal factors our literature review has helped us to formulate the following operational assumptions:

1. The urge to acquire knowledge and skills as well as the need to develop a career inspires northern Nigerian women to acquire higher education.
2. The need to be represented in the different professions encourage women from northern Nigeria to pursue higher education.
3. The desire for self-actualisation and competitive motives inspire women to pursue higher education.
4. Women from northern Nigeria acquire higher education to enhance their personal prestige.
5. Satisfaction with academic progress and conducive social atmosphere at the higher educational institutions encourage women to continue with higher educational studies.
6. Lack of support from family, poor academic performance and lack of childcare facilities adversely affect women's continuation of higher educational studies.
7. Family based reasons and the need for retraining and higher income jobs inspire women to return to higher education.

Most of the personal motivating factors discussed in this section appear to be the intrinsic type, for example the urge to acquire knowledge and new skills in which there are no obvious reward perceived, but the reward is expected in doing the activity (Deci, 1980). However, under this heading there are also some extrinsically motivated factors of pursuing higher education that may be moderated by rewards or constraints. These personal factors are discussed under five broad headings namely, personal development, self-actualisation, prestige enhancement, continuing or discontinuing with higher education and returning to higher education after an interruption of studies.

6.3.1 Personal Development Factors

An important objective of the Nigerian National Policy on Education is the acquisition of appropriate skills, abilities and competence both mental and physical which will equip the individual to live and contribute to the development of the society (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1981). Based on this policy statement, personal development factors in this study include the acquisition of knowledge and new skills, the need to develop a career and the need for more women in the professions.

Table 6.7 Personal Development Factors

	1		2		3		4		MR	
I came to this institution	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Driven by the urge to acquire knowledge	799	60.5	386	29.2	78	5.9	39	3.0	19	1.4
Mainly to acquire new skills	365	27.6	718	54.4	164	12.4	38	2.9	36	2.7
Because I now realise that I need to build my life around a career.	565	42.8	559	42.3	121	9.2	41	3.1	35	2.6
The realisation of the need for more women in the professions	350	26.6	531	40.2	269	20.4	112	8.5	59	4.5

Notes: N= 1321 1 = Strongly Agree 2 = Agree 3 =Disagree 4= Strongly Disagree MR = Missing Response

6.3.1.1 The Urge to Acquire Knowledge and new Skills

One of the sub-scales of intrinsic motivation identified by Vallerand, et al. (1989) is the intrinsic motivation to know, whereby an individual performs an activity for the pleasure and satisfaction of exploring and trying something new. The urge to acquire knowledge seems to fall under this motivational propensity that is persistent and energises in this case women from northern Nigeria to explore new areas of knowledge and skills.

The frequency and percentage counts in Table 6.7 reveal an overwhelming majority of about 90% of the questionnaire respondents agreed that they pursue higher education because they had the urge to acquire knowledge. The responses also show that a total of 82% agreed with the question about the acquisition of new skills as a motivating factor for their higher education. Overall, these questions received high positive

responses and seem to echo the intrinsic and extrinsic motivation to know identified in the content and process theories discussed in Chapter 3. These motives suggest that the urge to acquire new skills is embedded in the desire for knowledge which in our case may prepare the women to take up new tasks and responsibilities.

This overwhelming agreement by the questionnaire respondents with the assumption that northern Nigerian women are largely driven to pursue higher education by the urge to acquire knowledge and new skills is confirmed. The interview responses on the other hand, complemented the questionnaire responses on these items. Many of them expressed that their urge to acquire knowledge and new skills resulted mainly from the increased awareness of the importance of female education by both themselves and their parents. This awareness might have improved parental perception of the importance of the higher education of their daughters and consequently gave more support for them to enter higher education.

To some of the women, their interest in acquiring knowledge inspired them to enrol in higher education as pointed out by some of them:

> I was not inspired by any material reward, I was just interested in academics and wanted to develop and improve myself (transc. no.1 a polytechnic lecturer)
>
> I wanted to live a simple life and was more interested in acquiring knowledge (transc. no. 2 a psychologist).

6.3.1.2 Career Development

Career development is an important component of personal development motive, which is seen as encouraging women from northern Nigeria to pursue higher education. To assess this motive, the item, "I came to this institution because I now realise that I need to build my life around a career," was inserted in the questionnaire. As shown in Table 6.7 about 9 out of 10 of the women gave a positive response to this item.

This high level of response confirms the assumption that women pursue higher education in order to develop a career. This is not surprising considering their similarly positive responses to the questions on the intrinsic and extrinsic values of the acquisition of knowledge and new skills as discussed earlier. In fact, many of the women interviewed also shared similar views and the following comment may be a reflection of their need to have greater representation in certain careers from which they felt they had been deliberately excluded. One example of such exclusion by regional/ethnic group was mentioned:

> When you go to the hospitals, you find almost all the doctors and the nurses are from other parts of the country. They tend to favour people of the same ethnic group. This really upsets me and I am now encouraging my sisters and daughters to go into different professions so that we northerners can also be represented in many professions (tranc no.5 a school principal).

6.3.1.3 The Need for More Women in Different Professions

The assumption that northern Nigerian women are encouraged to pursue higher education by the need to be represented in the professions has been confirmed by both the questionnaire and interview data. Data contained in Table 6.7 reveal that the majority (66.8%) of the questionnaire respondents agreed to be in higher education because of the need for more women representation in the different professions. The realisation of the lack of adequate representation in various professions and in different arms of government could be said to have contributed to this. For the respondents who did not accept this item, they might have had other important motives for entering higher education and not necessarily this realisation.

The interview data generally support the questionnaire data. Many of the interviewees expressed the view that as a result of encouragement from various sources and the increased awareness of their lack of adequate participation in different professions, the women in northern Nigeria are now striving to compete with their male counterparts. The lines below represent a lawyer's views on this issue:

> ...Many have also realised the need for girls from northern Nigeria to be more represented in the different professions. There are some men for example who would

> not allow a male doctor to examine their wives. Therefore, more girls will be encouraged not only for higher education, but also in professions where they are less represented (transc. 9 a lawyer).

Other women in our study saw this realisation as a way to compete with men as well as women from the southern part in the various professions as reported by one of our interviewees:

> Yes, there are because many of us see the ladies in the southern part of the country holding various positions and many men in the north hold good positions, we feel that we can also do the same with higher education... (transc. 20 a science teacher).

The above attitudes may seem to accept that motivation is not only an innate process as postulated by push theorists like Hull (1952). It is also a purposive and persistent set behaviour guided by available information which writers such as (Thompson, 1993; Jurgela, 1991; Leonard, 1994) present as the pull aspect of motivation whereby appropriate cues in the environment evoke a given motive. This may imply that the realisation by the women from northern Nigeria to build their lives around a career might have been motivated by ethnic competition rather than the need for a career in itself.

On the need for more women in the different professions, the Nigeria Country Report (FGN, 1995) states that women professional organisations in the country are not serving only as role models to others, but also encourage women to take professions in the male dominated fields. Such encouragement is welcomed at a time when the role of women in the development of the country has started to be recognised.

6.3.2.Interim Summary

To summarise, the assumption on the acquisition of knowledge, new skills, career development and the need to be represented in different professions have been confirmed by both the questionnaire and interview respondents as very important personal factors motivating women from northern Nigeria to pursue higher education.

Thus, Deboer (1984) and Ehindero (1986) who have shown a relationship between career interest and self-concept support our finding. These are factors, which tend to equip women to make meaningful contributions to the development of their communities and the nation at large. To our respondents, these aspirations might have stemmed from the increased awareness for women to participate more effectively in the development process of Nigeria, or due to the increased activities of feminist movements, international, national women's and professional organisations.

6.3.3 Self-Actualisation

Self-actualisation is defined by Maslow (1970) as the need a person has to fulfill his or her capabilities and potentials or desire for growth. The achievement of this need is well taken up in one of the main recommendations of the Longe Report on the Review of Higher Education in Nigeria. It states that, "students at the post-secondary stage must see higher educational institutions as their opportunity for self-realisation and the development of the concept of the 'total person'" (FGN, 1992:29 xvi). This recommendation to achieve self-actualisation through higher education and the literature review provided the bases for using the indicators of self-determination, self-confidence, self-satisfaction and the need for competition to collect relevant data.

6.3.3.1 Self Determination

The concept of self-determination is generally recognised as one of the intrinsically motivated behaviours that leads people to face challenges that are optimal for their capacities according to (Deci, 1985). In this study, the women seem to be influenced by their intrinsic urge to be in higher educational institutions by the urge to face academic challenges to the best of their abilities.

The assumption that the desire for self-actualisation encourages women from northern Nigeria to acquire higher education has been confirmed by about 86.3% of the respondents as shown in Table 6.7. This high level of response may indicate that the

respondents have a willingness to continue with their studies in the higher institutions as long as they have the necessary requisites. These requisites might include factors such as personal health, financial and moral support from the family as part of what Maslow (1970) called the basic needs, which have to be satisfied before the top needs for self-actualisation. This may imply that the women have satisfied these needs and have set their goals to attain higher education which Locke (cited in Eysenck, 1998) suggested helps people to exert their energy to achieve.

Table 6.8 Self-Actualisation Factors

	1		**2**		**3**		**4**		**MR**	
I came to this institution	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Because I am determined to continue with my studies as long as I am able	483	36.6	657	49.7	111	8.4	40	3.0	30	2.3
To prove to myself that I can do better than just a secondary school certificate	431	32.6	540	40.9	194	14.7	88	6.7	68	5.1
Because I feel that I can do it successfully	395	29.9	651	49.3	158	12.0	49	3.7	68	5.1
For the feelings of self-satisfaction I experience while reading various interesting subjects	288	21.8	599	45.3	311	23.5	80	6.1	43	3.3
To show my friends that I too can do it.	167	12.6	285	21.6	468	35.4	348	26.3	53	4.0

Notes: N= 1321 1 = Strongly Agree 2 = Agree 3 =Disagree 4= Strongly Disagree MR = Missing Response

In agreement with the questionnaire responses, the interview responses also showed a similar inclination. Many of the interviewees emphasised that the determination to continue with their studies was a major motivating factor that enabled them to complete their studies. Some of their responses exemplify their feelings:

> Knowing what I was there for and no matter the circumstances, I was determined to complete my studies (transc. no. 20 a science teacher).

> ...One important factor is the goal I had set for myself and I wanted to achieve it, and that made me to stick around. There is a saying in Hausa that says 'kyawan dara

kasawa.' (Hausa meaning success is the ultimate result of goal setting) (transc.no.1 a polytechnic lecturer).

Just the fact that I started and I wanted to finish to achieve my aim...(transc. no 19 a medical doctor).

I had no financial problem and did not allow myself to be influenced by the anomie in the university life. I stuck to my goals and didn't divert into useless things. (transc. no.7 a businesswoman).

Besides the determination to achieve their goals of attaining higher education, one of the women interviewed expressed what Nicholls (cited in Spear, 1988) referred to as the need to avoid failing. This is where people according to Atkinson (1978) are driven, in part by their desire to feel pride in their achievements and in part by their desire to avoid shaming themselves. Her comments were:

> ...self-determination and to prove my capabilities. If I withdrew I would be ashamed... (transc. no.30 a secondary school teacher).

The next item under this section, assumed students to have been motivated to enrol and remain in higher educational institutions so as to obtain a certificate better than that of a secondary school. Table 6.8 reveals that about seven-tenths of the respondents confirmed the assumption by accepting the item, which states, "I came to this institution mainly to prove to myself that I can do better than a secondary school certificate." These responses indicate that majority of the women wanted to prove that they had the potentiality and self-determination to acquire knowledge beyond the secondary school level. These high positive responses may reflect what some cognitive motivational theorists such as Locke (cited in Eysenck, 1998) describe as the need to become as much as one can possibly become. On the other hand, the respondents who did not accept this item might have not been affected by this motive.

Along the same line, our interview responses also showed a similar determination as the questionnaire. Some examples illustrate their views:

> ...I was also not satisfied with just the secondary school certificate, and I wanted to have something I could say I know how to do and use that to contribute in the development of the society (transc. no.4 a veterinary doctor).

> My parents had limited resources so all they did was to get me through secondary school. I wanted to go beyond that so I had to struggle to support myself through. (transc. 18 a college instructor).

On further probing, this woman expressed that she had to find the financial means to support herself, and as a result she had to pursue her education on part-time basis while working throughout the year.

One of the interview respondents, however, showed a different attitude. Her lack of concern for self-development seems to be in the category of what Deci and Ryan (1985) classified as amotivational where the individual experiences the feelings of incompetence and lack of control. In this case, the respondent was not willing to exert greater effort to go beyond the secondary school because she did not have the will to go against her parents' instructions or wishes. Her lack of self-determination was expressed in the statement below:

> ...I didn't work hard in the secondary school and I didn't care what my grades were because I knew that my parents were not going to allow me to study beyond the secondary school. (transc. 30 a secondary school teacher)

In a sense, because of some parents' tendency to have reservations towards the higher education of their daughters some women may not have the urge or the interest to acquire higher education. Obviously, despite her earlier unwillingness to go beyond the secondary school, this lady later in life pursued higher education. Such a change in attitude may be an indication of the realisation of the importance of higher education by northern Nigerian women to themselves and to their communities.

Evidence from both questionnaire and interview data show a high degree of self-determination among many of the women in this study. Naturally, there were others who showed less self-determination in their pursuit of higher education. It is however pertinent to point out that self-determination is an essential attribute to scaling new educational heights and to the development of an integrated individual who can make meaningful contribution to the development of the community.

6.3.3.2 Self- Confidence

Self-confidence as used in this study is the women's ability and assertiveness to undergo higher educational studies. Since ability changes according to circumstances and situation according to (Covington, 1992), the self-confidence indicator may be reflected by how confident the women feel they are in successfully accomplishing their studies.

Self-confidence in any activity a person undertakes is a major determinant of achieving success. In this case the feeling of accomplishing higher education successfully could reflect achievement motive. In 6.8 the item, which states: "I came to this institution mainly because I feel that I can do it successfully," received 8 out of 10 a positive response. These responses indicate clearly that the women's level of self-esteem is high and hence, as Lipman-Blumen (1972) says they look up to themselves for their achievement aspirations. This type of behaviour is also what is referred to by some scholars as academic self-confidence or self-perpetuating whereby individuals persist in a given behaviour long enough to receive positive consequences (Bandura, 1977). This element of self-determination may reflect the increasing realisation in women that the right to higher education is not exclusively the preserve of men as the following interview response indicates:

> …even we the women are becoming aware of our rights and it is not only the men that can be in higher education, so it is necessary for us to acquire higher education (transc. 32 a primary school supervisor).

Responses from both questionnaire and interview seem to indicate an agreement with Perkin (1993:10) who argues for a woman's right to be ambitious and by extension, successful, thus stating, "there's nothing wrong in being a woman and also being ambitious…" The idea of women being ambitious and claiming their rights to higher education is a positive and welcomed development.

The overwhelming agreement with this item by both questionnaire and interview respondents is also supported by Nnamah-Okoye's (1996) findings that Nigerian women in higher education leadership have been able to meet the demands of their various roles because of their self-confidence, self-determination and hard work among other things. These same attributes seem to have encouraged the women in the present study to pursue higher education and possibly aspire to positions of leadership in higher education and other sectors of development.

6.3.3.3 Self- Satisfaction

Self-satisfaction is self-approval (Arkes, 1982) or the feeling of gratification individuals have when they strive for certain accomplishment and achieve success (Jung, 1978). The women in this study may be experiencing self-satisfaction as they are exposed to new and challenging ideas in their various fields of study.

Regarding self-satisfaction as a motive for being in higher educational institutions, the data on Table 6.8 shows that about seven tenths of the respondents agreed with the statement, "I came to this institution mainly for the feeling of self-satisfaction I experience while reading various interesting subjects." These responses suggest that the feeling of self-satisfaction is an important motivating factor for many women from northern Nigeria to go for higher education. This finding further supports Deci and Ryan (1985) and Jung's (1978) assumptions of the intrinsic motivation whereby individuals engage in activities for the satisfaction they derive for having taking part and not necessarily for any external rewards or constraints.

Our questionnaire and interview data support the need for determination, self-confidence and self-satisfaction as important personal factors, which may urge women in northern Nigeria to pursue higher education. Brah and Shaw (1992) found similar results in a study on South Asian Young Women. They found that women in higher education experience more self-confidence self-reliance and independence.

6.3.3.4 Need for Competition

Table 6.8 also shows response to the item, "I came to this institution to show my friends that I too can do it." A high proportion, about two thirds, of the respondents disagreed with the statement. The high disagreement with this item may suggest that the idea of showing their friends that they too can pursue higher education was not generally regarded as important. It may also reflect the negative interpretation of the statement by some of the respondents. It is possible that some respondents associated the statement with pride and exhibitionist tendencies rather than positive values of self-esteem and self-confidence. While the urge to acquire knowledge and new skills are clearly positive attitudes that pull women to attain higher education, the same cannot be said about the above statement. The respondents who accepted this item might have been urged by competitive spirit.

The interview responses regarding the above element on competition do not seem to support the general responses in the questionnaire. An explanation for these differences is the reflection of changes in a society in transition. Many of the interviewees attended higher educational institutions when there were very few northern Nigerian women both in absolute number and in proportion to other women from other parts of the country and therefore, the competitive elements were strong. The questionnaire respondents on the other hand, were in higher educational institutions about one or two decades later when the number of northern Nigerian women was much greater even though the proportion was low. The following interview responses not only portray self-confidence, but the competitive element:

> I was competing with my mates and I had the determination (transc. no. 9 a lawyer).

> ...But when she sees her friends becoming popular in the community, she is pushed to go for higher education even if part-time (transc. 31 a librarian).

To others, the competition was for high position in the society as well as with women counterparts from the southern part of the country as the comment below illustrates:

> I didn't go for higher education for any material rewards, but to compete for positions and to prove to my friends from the south that we too can do it (transc. 25 a veterinary doctor).

It appears that not only is peer-influence a major factor and as we saw above, there was also the urge to compete with women from other parts of Nigeria. These respondents might have achieved their goals of attaining higher education by exhibiting a competitive motive which Murray (1977) pointed out to make people ambitious and determined to be successful. They might have also been motivated to attain higher education by simply demonstrating their ability compared to that of others which Nicholls (cited in Spear, 1988) suggest is the goal of achievement motivation. Peer-influences were however expressed in a different perspective by one of our respondents. She pointed out that because her friends preferred marriage to higher education, she also wanted to get married. Her comments include:

> I really wanted to get married, so I didn't think of anything to have motivated me for higher education from the society. Many of my friends were getting married, so I also wanted to (transc. no. 24 a teacher).

In the course of further discussions, it was discovered that this lady got married after her secondary school in line with her friends. She, however, revealed that she pursued higher education later mainly due to the encouragement from her husband.

6.3.4 Response to Challenges

Besides the urge for academic achievements, interestingly, a majority of the women interviewed brought up a new issue that was not presented in the questionnaire. They frequently mentioned the need to compete with women from other parts of the country as one of the major factors that encouraged them to acquire higher education. In general, the opinion of the women was that they do not only have to respond to the challenges posed by men, but also those posed by women from other parts of the country. This would help us to understand the reason why they identified strongly the need to respond to different challenges as illustrated by the following comments:

> We northern women have realised that the women from the south are ahead of us in education and in the occupation of political offices. It has become like a challenge to us to go for higher education (transc. no. 20 a science teacher).

Besides the urge to take up the challenge posed by men as well as by the women in the south, others were more concerned with taking up the challenge posed by religious bias illustrated in the historical development of education in Nigeria in Chapter 2. The comment below exemplifies this concern:

> After my NCE, I started to teach and I happened to be the only northerner among the teachers in the school. They looked at me as someone who is inferior and with dressing in the Islamic way they felt I was not capable of doing the job. This made me more aware of the need to go for higher education (transc. no.30 a school teacher)

Another challenge is the issue of under-representation of women in science and technology which has been highlighted by Eshwani (1983) and particularly by Erinosho (1994) with specific reference to Nigeria. This challenge to redress the under-representation seemed to have motivated many northern Nigerian women, among whom was a veterinary doctor who felt the need to further her education in order to compete effectively with male colleagues.

> After my first degree, I didn't want to acquire any more qualification, but as I was the only woman working at a Veterinary Research Institute, there was a lot of competition and people were researching into different areas. I realised that if I did not further my education, I will not be contributing to the institute and may not even prosper, so I decided to go for a postgraduate degree (transc. no. 25 a veterinary doctor).

From our questionnaire open-ended question and the interviews, it seems obvious that there was the urge for strong competition with women from other parts of the country as well as men for access to higher education. This competition appears not only to have been limited to higher education, but also relevant to the job market and for the decision-making positions.

6.3.5 Interim Summary

To sum up, the assumption about women's desire for self-actualisation and competitive motives as inspiration for the pursuit of higher education has been confirmed by the data. Among the factors accepted as highly important in this category include self-determination, confidence, which may reflect the respondents' need to fulfil their potentials and the desire for growth (Maslow, 1970) and self-satisfaction which Deci (1980) and Jung, (1979) suggest is a result of realising one's potentials. The questionnaire respondents on the other hand considered competitive motive as less important while the interview respondents considered it important. In addition, the interview respondents emphasised the importance of responding to social and technological challenges facing women in Nigeria.

6.3.6 Personal Prestige Enhancement

The assumption relevant to this section is that northern Nigerian women acquire higher education in order to enhance their prestige. Both the questionnaire and interview respondents have confirmed this assumption.

Prestige enhancement as used in this study refers to the use of higher education by the women to promote their individual dignity within the community. The factors assumed in this study to contribute to prestige enhancement are getting prestigious jobs, prestige in the community, social recognition and becoming known in the community. We shall discuss each of these in turn.

6.3.6.1 Getting Prestigious Jobs

Table 6.8 shows the responses on the question of entering higher education as a means to getting a prestigious job later. The responses indicate that about 76% gave positive responses. The respondents gave a high positive response to this question probably because they viewed it as the expected outcome of higher education. Deci and Ryan (1985) called this type of extrinsic behaviour as introjected regulated. The individual's beliefs and control are internalised, the reasons for actions. rewards or constraints are imposed by the individual not by others. In this case, the women

expect their higher education to enable them to not only get into any jobs, but those that are prestigious.

Our interview data support the questionnaire data as many of the interviewees suggested that getting a prestigious job after completing higher education was an important consideration for them to enrol in higher education. One of the women expressed her opinion on the differences higher education makes in jobs and status between those who have acquired it and those who have not:

> ... as a result of higher education you are in a position to get better job and a high position while those who didn't go for higher education may not (transc. no. 31 a librarian)

Table 6.9 Personal Prestige Enhancement Factors

	1		2		3		4		MR	
I came to this institution mainly	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Because it is the means for getting a more prestigious job later	449	34.0	578	41.8	201	15.2	57	4.3	36	2.7
So as to enhance my prestige in the community	316	23.9	620	46.9	269	20.4	82	6.2	34	2.6
Because it is a means to get social recognition	203	15.4	546	41.3	406	30.7	135	10.5	31	2.3
So as to become known in my community	158	12.0	404	30.6	551	41.7	177	13.4	31	2.3

Notes: N= 1321 1 = Strongly Agree 2 = Agree 3 =Disagree 4= Strongly Disagree MR =Missing Response

6.3.6.2 Getting Prestige in the Community

While the above emphasises attaining prestigious jobs, in this section we now look at the respondents' views on personal prestige in terms of respect by the community for their educational achievements. The issue of getting prestige in the community may be grounded in Mohney's (1987) self-image need as a motivating factor which explains the reasons for the continuation of a behaviour. In this case our respondents might have perceived taking jobs of importance to the community, or doing good things that improve the community to bring some prestige to them. 7 out of 10 of the questionnaire respondents agreed with the proposition, which states, " I came to this

institution so as to enhance my prestige in the community," as shown in Table 6.9. This level of agreement may reflect the respondents' perception of higher education as a means to increase their standing in the community.

Similarly, our interview data complemented the questionnaire data on this question. Many of the interviewees agreed that they attained higher education in order to get more personal prestige as the comment below illustrates:

> I wanted to improve myself, have a better general regard and prestige in the society, better quality and approach to life. (transc. no. 11 an accountant)

> ...higher education is the only way to pull oneself up and occupy a better place, get promotions and even more prestige at work. (transc. no. 34 a medical doctor)

The opinions of the above interviewees may indicate two types of attitudes, the first of which may be termed 'self regarding' where intellectual and material improvement may be considered a precondition to the second attitude of 'other regarding.' Self-regarding might be conceived by them as a means to establishing proper relationship with other key members of the community and as an instrument of contributing to the quality of life in the community generally.

On the other hand, a secondary school teacher related her different experience concerning getting prestige in the community that showed social prestige enhancement from the daughter of an ordinary citizen to someone who was an admirable representative of her state:

> ...Like myself now, there was a time I was posted to work to represent my state. The people there were saying "Oh, look at her, she is the daughter of "wane" (not so important person) and she is doing very well". This tends to encourage more parents to allow their daughters to go for higher education. (transc. no. 20 a science teacher).

To some of the interviewees, prestige also extends to the community members who have pride in being represented as the comments below suggest:

> ...It is becoming prestigious not only for the immediate family. but the entire village or town to have someone representing them at the helm of affairs of the state or nation (transc. no. 5 a school principal)

To some women, the mere possession of a certificate and the respect it might bring to them or their friends were important considerations to attain higher education. The expressions below exemplify such attitude:

> ...My major motivation was in getting a certificate and the prestige attached to it. (transc. no. 10 an architect).

> Many women in northern Nigeria today go for higher education just for the social prestige. A friend of mine just wanted to be called a doctor, so she studied Veterinary Medicine and after completion she is not working (transc. no. 4 a veterinary doctor).

Some women saw higher education as a means to change in social status to a higher and more affluent life style as the following comments illustrate:

> Well, I can say that because I needed a good job, I couldn't imagine going to the farm and living like a typical village woman. I wanted to have a higher standard of living than the women do in my village (transc. no.21 Director General of a State Women Commission).

6.3.6.3 Getting Social Recognition

In contrast to getting prestige in the community, social recognition as discussed here relates more to the appreciation by the society of service that could be better rendered as a result of higher education.

Table 6.9 indicates that about 6 out of 10 agreed with the suggestion, "I came to this institution because it is a means to get social recognition." The relatively high positive response to this question could be due to the Nigerian women becoming increasingly aware of the need to be involved in the decision-making and execution of public policy (FRN, 1995). This finding seems to support Jung's (1978) assumption that people are primarily motivated by their social needs.

Similarly, in discussing social recognition many of our interviewees expressed its importance. A fairly typical response is as follows:

> Women are now getting interested in politics. Nigerian women are becoming aware that they should get involved in the planning of things in the country, and we northerners should not be left out of this. (transc. no. 22 an official of the Federal Ministry of Women Affairs)

It is clear that the women in northern Nigeria are realising the importance of higher education as a means of gaining social recognition in the community and in the country at large. It is noteworthy to say that greater social recognition may be achieved by involving women in the decision making processes of either the state or the federal government in which they are still under represented.

The overall under representation of women in decision-making positions is not a problem that is peculiar to Nigeria alone, but also to other countries and world organisations like the UNO. Albright, has been quoted to remark that "the United Nations itself has failed badly in its goal of a 50-50 parity between men and women at the top level of the organisation" (Aita, 1995:8).

Addressing the issue of under representation of women in decision-making, the Nigerian government between the periods 1985-1993 has involved some women in decision-making. For example, it has appointed two women members of the Political Bureau to monitor and recommend improvement in the political development of the country. Unlike the 1976 Constitution Drafting Committee (CDS) which was made wholly of men, the government appointed 6 females to the 1988 Constitution Review Committee (CRC). Similarly, 14 females were appointed to the Constituent Assembly of 1988-89. Also in the same period a woman was appointed to the National Electoral Commission, an agency charged with the organisation of elections (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1995:39).

Despite these measured achievements, there is however, a continued under representation of women in the decision-making processes of Nigeria which may be due to some socio-cultural constraints. This under representation is even more

pronounced in northern Nigeria where there is an increasing concern and intense debate on how best to improve the situation. A study of this nature is therefore hoped to provide some answers to such a debate.

Most of the women interviewed felt that higher education is a key instrument of increasing the participation of women in decision-making. This comment is an example of the feelings of one of our respondents:

> ...considering how we have been left behind in the development of this country, women from this part of the country will be more inspired in the future as there are more job opportunities for people with higher education (transc. no. 7 a business woman)

6.3.6.4 Becoming Well Known in the Community

We have discussed getting prestigious jobs, getting prestige in the community and social recognition, now we shall turn to the element of becoming well known. In this case, the value is in the exposure to the society but not necessarily attaining prestigious jobs or societal recognition. Surprisingly as shown in Table 6.9, only about 4 out of 10 of the respondents agreed with the statement "I came to this institution mainly so as to become known in my community." It seems that majority of the respondents did not consider this issue as important to their decision to pursue higher education. This is surprising considering that the majority of the respondents accepted the notion of getting prestigious jobs, getting prestige and social recognition in the community. This may be possible as a result of negative interpretations they might have given to the item.

Our interview data generally supports the questionnaire data and many of the women interviewed considered the various means by which one becomes known in the community. Undoubtedly, being known can have positive or negative implications depending on the individual's behaviour in the society. Positive implication can result from conformity and enhancement of societal norms and values while negative can result from deviant behaviour in the society.

However, most of the interviewees said that educational achievement should be a better vehicle for becoming known as typified by the comments below:

> Now we women want to be identified on our own rights not as daughters of such man, or the wife of such man, but as one who has achieved something in life. (transc. no. 28 a pharmacist)

Another interviewee claimed to have become not only well known and respected, but also a general problem solver through her education. She related her experience in the following words:

> I stayed in a small community where they look at educated person as one that can help in any problem that arises from small to big. From my experience, once something went wrong they looked at me as someone who judges well and whoever had problems including married men will come to me for help (transc. no. 34 a medical doctor).

6.3.7 Interim Summary

It is clear that the assumption on prestige enhancement has been confirmed by the data as an important motive for pursuing higher education. The need for prestigious jobs, prestige in the community, social recognition and becoming known (by positive means) have all been considered important factors for pursuing higher education by both questionnaire and interview respondents. Our finding is supported by a recent research by Erwin and Maurutto (1998) who also found that high prestige, challenging work and personal autonomy were what the overwhelming majority of women in their study were aiming at. Our finding also suggests that social motives as suggested by Geen (1984) have played an important role in motivating the women in our study to pursue higher education.

6.3.8 Personal Reasons to Continue or to Discontinue with Higher Education

6.3.8.1 Continuing with Higher Education

Continuing with higher education after its commencement may result from various factors. Such factors may to a large extent be related to what Vallerand and Bassionette (1992) called 'behaviour persistence' whereby individuals choose to behave because they feel it will be beneficial to them. In other words the women in this study may experience a sense of direction and obligation to continue with higher education. The assumption in this category is that satisfaction with academic progress and conducive social atmosphere at the higher educational institutions encourage women to continue with higher educational studies.

6.3.8.1.1 Satisfaction with Academic Progress

Satisfaction with an academic pursuit may be an important indicator for the continuation of studies in higher educational institutions. It is clear from Table 6.10 that 84% of the respondents agreed that they remained in the higher institutions because they were satisfied with their academic progress. The level of satisfaction the respondents indicated for their academic progress may suggest their potentiality for not only remaining in the higher institutions, but also to continue after the completion of their current courses which also received a high positive response of 76.2%. To a large extent, this may reflect what Ryan and Connell (1989) called 'intrinsic reasons for action' which they defined as the reasons that are based on satisfaction in an activity. The respondents in answering the question that "I remain in this institution mainly because my average cumulative grade is 'B' or better" might have translated this feeling. Also 57.8% of the respondents agreed to have had an average good grade. This may be interpreted to mean that most of the respondents judged their academic standard as an incentive to continue with higher education.

6.3.8.1.2 Conducive Social Atmosphere at the Institutions

Under this category, the most frequently chosen reason for continuing with higher education was the personal happiness the respondents felt they had at their respective higher educational institutions. Table 6.10 shows that 68.7% of the respondents agreed with the statement that, " I remain in this institution mainly because here I generally feel happy." The depth of this feeling might be related to the respondents' perception of the support they get from their lecturers, cordial relationship with fellow students, and encouragement from teachers which received 63%, 62.5% and 59.9% agreement respectively.

6.3.8.2 Discontinuing with Higher Education

After enrolling in higher educational institutions, some women face a number of constraints that may force them to discontinue with their education either by dropping out completely, or by delaying their studies till later. This section of the data deals with some of the reasons that may force women to discontinue with their studies after starting. Such factors as the lack of family support, health reasons, poor academic performance and the lack of childcare facilities are discussed in this section.

Table 6.10 Personal Reasons for Continuing with Higher Education

	1		2		3		4		MR	
I remain in this institution mainly because	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
I am satisfied with my academic progress	322	24.4	787	59.6	134	10.1	44	3.3	34	2.6
Intend to continue after the completion of the current course	376	28.5	630	47.7	204	15.4	59	4.5	52	3.9
Here I generally feel happy	155	11.7	753	57.0	290	22.0	78	5.9	45	3.4
The lecturers are very supportive	191	14.5	641	48.5	300	22.7	133	10.1	56	4.2
Of the cordial relationship with fellow students which makes me feel good	149	11.3	676	51.2	350	26.5	112	8.5	34	2.6
I get encouragement from my Teachers	199	15.1	592	44.8	355	26.9	141	10.7	34	2.6
My average cumulative grade is 'B' or better	173	13.1	591	44.7	391	29.6	98	7.4	68	5.1

Notes: N= 1321 1 = Strongly Agree 2 = Agree 3 =Disagree 4= Strongly Disagree MR = Missing Response

6.3.8.2.1 Lack of Support from the Family

Reasons such as husbands' uncooperative attitude and the need to get married may contribute to the discontinuation of higher education. The results on Table 6.11 show that 7 out of 10 respondents did not view their husband's attitudes as producing negative effects with potential threat to their studies. This result may indicate some general change in attitudes of husbands towards the higher education of their wives. Similarly, Table 6.10 also indicates that about 8 out of 10 of the respondents, but 86% of the single women who answered the question rejected the item "I may discontinue with my studies mainly because of the need to get married." This may show that the need to get married while in higher educational institution may not be considered an important reason for the discontinuation of studies. From our personal observation, it is common for women to get married in the process of their higher education without discontinuing. This trend along with the general increase in parental support and encouragement for their daughters' higher education as discussed earlier in Chapter 5 (see section 5.2.3 and 5.22.7.1.1) seem to reinforce Rosen's (1989) observation. After a study in Brazil and Europe, it was found that cultural attitudes that place women in the home are no longer upheld. A word of caution on the similarities between our findings and that of Rosen's is that in Europe these attitudes may no longer be upheld, but in northern Nigeria they are still upheld although gradually changing.

Table 6.11 Personal Reasons for Discontinuing with Higher Education

	1		2		3		4		MR	
I may discontinue with my studies mainly because	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Of personal illness	225	17.0	462	35.0	343	26.0	256	19.4	35	2.6
My grades are too low	57	4.3	253	19.2	576	43.6	373	28.2	62	4.7
Of illness of a member of my family	48	3.6	248	18.8	622	47.1	368	27.9	35	2.6
Of my husband's Uncooperative attitude	59	4.5	191	14.5	428	32.4	528	40.0	115	8.7
Of the need to get married	36	2.7	131	9.9	491	37.2	589	44.6	74	5.6
It makes no difference whether I complete my studies or not	40	3.0	100	7.6	453	34.3	635	48.1	93	7.0
Lack of day-care facilities for my children	78	5.9	277	21.0	443	33.5	380	28.8	143	10.8
Inadequate performance in my studies	58	4.4	266	20.1	476	36.0	416	31.5	105	7.9

Notes: N= 1321 1 = Strongly Agree 2 = Agree 3 =Disagree 4= Strongly Disagree MR = Missing Responses

Another item in Table 6.11 which states, "I may discontinue with my studies mainly because it makes no difference whether I complete or not" which was rejected by about 8 out of 10 respondents. This may show the importance the women attach to higher education and their willingness to continue probably due to the expected potential benefits.

Although the general interview responses supported the questionnaire responses, some of them (or their friends) met with considerable resistance from their husbands over their decision to pursue higher education. Such lack of support led some of them to

discontinue with their studies as one of our interviewees related the experience of some of her colleagues:

> ...some women withdraw because of discouragement from the husbands, or after the husband marries a second wife (transc. no.13 a university lecturer).

6.3.8.2.2 Health Reasons

Health is a crucial factor to the effective functioning of any individual particularly women in higher educational institution. Health in this category is not only concerned with the women, but also other members of the family. The reliance on women to care for both young and old members of the family, in health and in sickness, has a great impact on women's education as observed by McGivney (1993).

Table 6.11 also shows about half of the respondents agreed that they might take a break from their studies if they become ill. This may imply that those that did not agree with the proposition may continue with their studies even when sick, unless the nature of the illness is serious. Regarding the illness of a member of the family as reason to discontinue with higher education, the responses in Table 6.11 shows that about three-fourths of the respondents disagreed with the suggestion that, " I may discontinue with my studies mainly because of illness of a member of the family."

This may illustrate that personal illness more than the illness of a member of the family is a more important reason for the discontinuation of studies.

The connection of illness and discontinuing studies becomes clearer when our interview respondents related their friends' experiences:

> Some of my friends had to discontinue with their studies due to personal accidents, illness, or illness of a member of the family...(transc. no.1 a polytechnic lecturer).

6.3.8.2.3 Poor Academic Performance

Besides health and other social factors, poor academic performance may also lead to the discontinuation of higher education by women. Table 6.11 shows that 7 out of 10 of the respondents disagreed that they may discontinue with their studies because their grades are too low. Similarly, about the same number of respondents disagreed that poor performance in their studies was a risk to the continuation of their studies. This may mean that the women's average performance is good or even where it is below average they may choose to remain in the institution and continue to struggle or to try improve. This may also confirm the high level of self-determination the respondents have indicated earlier in this chapter.

6.3.8.2.4 Lack of Childcare Facilities

For those women who are in higher education and have young children, the problem of child-care may arise. From researches carried out in Britain by (McGivney 1993) the importance of day-care facilities in enhancing the success of women in education cannot be overemphasised. This may also apply to Nigeria.

Table 6.11 also shows that 6 out of 10 of the respondents disagreed with the item on the lack of day-care facilities as a problem. These respondents might be students who do not have any children, or those with children, but have alternative arrangements for

their care. The problem of the lack of adequate day-care facilities may not affect the Nigerian woman as much as it would affect the British women interviewed by McGivney (1993). Cultural differences arise when it comes to family responsibilities. The extended family system may come to the aid of the women in Nigeria whereby an older member of the family may take charge of the children while the mother goes to school. Also, it may be easier and cheaper to employ women house helpers to take care of the children in Nigeria than it would in Britain because of the relative level of economic development in the respective countries. The lack of day-care facilities may, therefore, not be considered a major problem that may make women in northern Nigeria to discontinue with their studies.

Our interview responses seem to complement the questionnaire responses. The lack of day-care facilities was not regarded as a serious problem that would result in the suspension of studies. However, other reasons that were considered more serious in making some women to withdraw from their studies, or suspend them for some time were expressed:

> Yes, some women had to discontinue due to the loss of a husband, or mother who takes care of their children. Some women had to leave the studies for some time and complete later ...(transc. no.6 a primary school teacher).
>
> Yes, I remember one of my colleagues who lost her husband and left, but came up after two years to complete her studies...(transc. no.23 a university lecturer).

Yet other problems were more personal:

> ...some of my colleagues did due to marital problems, childbirth or lack of reliable people to take care of their children. (transc. no.5 a school principal).

6.3.9 Interim Summary

The data has accepted the assumptions about all the factors proposed to encourage women to continue with higher educational studies. These factors include satisfaction with academic progress, a general feeling of happiness, presence of supportive and

encouraging lecturers and cordial relationship with fellow students. Concerning the reasons that might make the women to discontinue with their studies, we found that only personal illness was considered highly important. Reasons such as poor academic performance, illness of a member of the family, lack of child-care facilities, the need to get married and husband's uncooperative attitude were considered as less important to make them to discontinue with their studies. The interview respondents however, indicated that some of these factors could only cause temporary disruption of studies rather than complete withdrawal.

6.3.10 Returning to Higher Education

Because of the role education plays in the individual's as well as a country's development, many women may insist on returning to higher education after an interruption of studies, not only for personal development, but also for making contribution to national development. Focusing on personal development motives for higher education Pascal and Cox (1993) stated that education also offers women increased opportunity in paid work, independence from traditional family structure, insurance of their independence where family structure has broken down and gaining a new identity.

As pointed out earlier, dropping out of studies completely is very rare, particularly among women in northern Nigeria likely due to the stigma of failure or what authors like Horner (cited in Hoyenga and Hoyenga, 1984) and Atkinson (1978) call the motive to avoid failure. To have an idea about returning, we had to ask the respondents to assume that they have dropped out and then returned and what reasons would have made them return.

The responses shown in Table 6.12 fall into two broad categories; for retraining and family based reasons. Those who would return for self-development reasons might have the desire to build their lives around a career for future prospects, or just to develop their intellect. Others indicated they would return due to their changing roles in the family as the data shows.

6.3.10.1 Retraining

A number of reasons tend to influence women's decision to return to higher education. Some of these reasons might have resulted from what Pascall and Cox (1993) describe as the changing pattern of women's employment for which their earlier education had not prepared them. In Nigeria due to the technological changes, there is need for retraining to fit new occupations. Both men and women alike may require this retraining.

Table 6.12 indicates that just more than half of the respondents agreed with the statement, "I would return to complete my studies mainly due to foreseeing that life would be hard without higher qualification." More and more women in Nigeria are becoming increasingly aware of the rapid social and economic changes which affect the general pattern of life. This might indicate that many women want to get into paid work and without higher education, they may not get well paying and respectable jobs to help them to cope better with the poor economic condition in the country. Also the increasing use of technology in the work place (computers and the convergence of telephone and multimedia) may prove that learning can be a life long process.

Table 6.12 Reasons for Returning to Higher Education

	1		**2**		**3**		**4**		**MR**	
I would return mainly due to	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Foreseeing that life would be hard without a higher qualification	250	18.9	448	33.9	176	13.3	166	12.6	281	21.3
The need to look after my children	149	11.3	357	27.0	267	20.2	180	13.6	368	27.9
The need for a higher income job	140	10.6	343	26.0	278	21.0	259	19.6	301	22.8
The loss of my husband	82	6.2	190	14.4	286	21.7	442	33.5	321	24.3
The loss of my parents	73	5.5	198	15.0	330	25.0	418	31.6	302	22.9
The competition with co-wives	48	3.6	114	8.6	366	27.7	478	36.2	315	23.8

Notes: N= 1321 1 = Strongly Agree 2 = Agree 3 =Disagree 4= Strongly Disagree 5 = Missing Responses

The possibility of returning to higher education due to the need for a higher income job was also included in the questionnaire. Responses in Table 6.12 show that just less than 4 out of 10 agreed with the statement, " I would return mainly due to the need for a higher income job." Similarly, 4 out of 10 disagreed with the statement. This almost balanced response may indicate that some of the women considered other reasons for returning to higher education as more important than the need for a higher income job.

6.3.10.2 Family-Based Reasons

Personal reasons for returning to higher education such as the need to look after children, loss of a husband or parents, or due to competition with co-wives do not seem to be important factors that would make women to return to higher education if they dropped out. These items received considerably low agreement level from the respondents as shown in Table 6.12 (38.3%, 20.6%, 20.5 and 12.2% respectively). These levels of responses might be attributed to the way the respondents interpreted the items, or they had other reasons not listed in the questionnaire, or the reasons listed were not regarded as important to them.

Most of the interview responses were related to married women or getting married, but they all seem to agree with questionnaire responses although some reported cases about their friends who left their studies and returned later to complete. Some of their comments include the following:

> Some face the lack of support from the husband. I remember one of my friends whose husband told her to go back home and to suspend her studies. She left the school, but later after series of plea, he allowed her to return and complete (transc. no. 23 a university lecturer).

For other women the lack of support was not at the initial stage of their studies, but after having some children.

> ...After having some children my husband started to have a different attitude towards my studying and that disturbed me. In fact this made me to spend many years before getting my degree (transc. no. 15 a university Students' Affairs officer).

On further probing, this interviewee informed us that she was mentally disturbed and that affected her performance, yet she didn't withdraw, but instead had many re-sits and even had to repeat a year.

Other women reported about their friends who had to interrupt their studies due to the reasons mentioned below:

> Yes, some of them due to pregnancy or childbirth had to discontinue and then return later (transc. no.10 an architect).

Example of one case where a father forced his daughter to discontinue with her studies to get married was also reported by one of our interviews:

> There was a case of a colleague whose father pressured her to get married, otherwise he would no longer be responsible for her, and she did as a third wife. Later she was divorced and then returned to the university (transc. no.9 a lawyer).

This comment highlights some cultural issues that need further comments. Due to the fundamental importance of marriage in Nigeria, this woman's father put a lot of pressure on her to leave her studies and get married and she did probably due to the respect and obedience parents usually command. The second issue raised was the idea of 'no longer responsible for her,' which may show some threat of the withdrawal of both financial and moral support that even close relatives may deny her given the circumstances.

This case also highlights the importance of obedience to parents in this and similar Third World and predominantly Muslim societies. Polygamy is the third issue raised in the above comment and here it indicates that a Muslim man is allowed to marry up to four wives at a time under certain conditions. The fourth is divorce, which might be one of the personal reasons for women to return to higher education. The

economic and social pressures and the lack of alimony and probably the desire to keep to a certain life style, the woman in this case might have been forced to return to higher education.

The above interview responses also clearly show that women withdrew from higher educational studies mostly due to health and family reasons and not due to the desire to break out of domesticity as found by Pascall and Cox (1993) in their study. This could be because of the close extended family system that exists in most African society and Nigeria not being an exception.

6.3.11 Interim Summary

Concerning the hypothetical question (which may therefore be less reliable) of returning to higher education, the data has not confirmed our assumption. Four of the questionnaire items were rejected, indicating that they would not be sufficient inspiration for women to return to higher education. These factors were the loss of a husband, loss of parents and competition with co-wives. Of the other two items, the perception of life being hard without higher qualification was confirmed as an important consideration while the need to look after children and to earn a high income was considered as a less important reason that could make women to return to higher education.

6.4 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has presented the findings on the institutional and personal factors which may encourage or discourage women from northern Nigeria to pursue higher education.

The data confirm types of courses offered at a higher educational institution as a highly important influence on the choice of an institution to attend. Other factors that were considered as important were the opportunity to meet new friends, fame of the

institution and personal preference. The presence of friends, attractive physical environment, and the location of institutions near to their homes were among the factors regarded by the questionnaire respondents as less important motives for enrolment at particular higher educational institutions while they were regarded as important for the interviewees. The lack of good accommodation, problems of transportation to and from school were among the factors considered less important to make the women in this study to discontinue with their studies.

The data also shows that the choices of subjects of study seem to be influenced by the respondents' natural inclination (which may be part of their socialisation) to particular subjects (84% acceptance). Early socialisation factors such as influence of upbringing, and family talking favourably about the subject, the women's consideration for enough time with their families when they work and religious encouragement were considered important by the respondents in their choices of subjects to study at the higher educational institutions. The women in their choices of subjects of study considered familiarity with other women who studied the same subjects as a less important motive.

New issues that arose from the interviews concerning the choice of subjects to study included the influence of social trends in motivating women from northern Nigeria to participate more in higher education. The interviewees generally expressed the views that as more women are becoming aware of the need for higher education and their need to be represented in the different professions and country's decision-making processes, they will be inspired to pursue higher education. Another trend that is likely to encourage more women from northern Nigeria to pursue higher education that was highlighted is the influence of the global technological development, which they will not like to be left out of.

Regarding public policy, both the questionnaire and interview respondents confirmed the opportunity offered for higher education (which may include the awareness of the need for higher education, proximity of higher institutions from home, parents', relatives', husbands' and governmental support) have motivated them. On the other

hand, the questionnaire respondents did not confirm that availability of scholarship could have been an important motivator to their pursuit of higher education while it was considered highly important by the interview respondents.

The personal factors confirmed by the data as highly important in motivating women to pursue higher education included the need for personal development, the achievement of self-actualisation, and personal prestige enhancement. The factors considered important by the respondents for the continuation of their studies were satisfaction with academic progress, personal happiness at the institution and the presence of supportive lecturers.

On the other hand, factors such as showing friends that one can do it too, becoming well known were considered as less important motives for pursuing higher education. To discontinue with their studies, the respondents confirmed poor personal health as a highly important reason for them to discontinue with their studies. Factors such as illness of a member of the family, low grades, need to get married, lack of day-care facilities and husband's uncooperative attitudes were confirmed as less important reasons to make the respondents to discontinue with their studies.

The socio-cultural, economic, institutional and personal factors that tend to encourage or discourage women from northern Nigeria to pursue higher education have been presented in this and the previous chapter. In Chapter 7 we shall summarise the findings and link them with the literature review, draw conclusions and make recommendations with the hope of affecting policy formulation and implementation regarding the higher education of women from northern Nigeria.

CHAPTER 7

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 SUMMARY

In Chapter 1 we introduced the purposes of the study from which the following four research questions were derived: 1. *Do socio-cultural factors such as the urge to be role models, influence of peer group and relatives, marital variables, parental level of education and place of residence influence northern Nigerian women's choice to pursue higher education? 2. What higher educational institutional factors such as its fame, location, social atmosphere, academic programs and physical environment encourage women from northern Nigeria to enrol in higher educational institutions? 3. What personal factors such as the need for personal development, self-actualisation and personal prestige enhancement encourage women from northern Nigeria to acquire higher education? 4. Do economic factors such as financial support; employment related variables and changes in life events encourage women from northern Nigeria to seek higher education?*

To answer these questions, Chapter 1 defined the limits and scope of the study in time, space and population. It also introduced the methods used to collect data, answer the research questions and set out the context of the study by providing background information on Nigeria highlighting the geography, culture, economy, administration and their potential significance for the subject of this thesis.

Chapter 2 explained the historical development of traditional, Islamic, colonial and post-colonial systems of education in northern Nigeria generally. These educational systems produced a backdrop for the development of women's education in various

ways. The first is the disparity between men and women's participation in higher education. The second is the regional disparity between northern and southern women in higher education and the third is the disparity between men and women in the subject of study between traditional-bound and technical-related subjects. Besides these disparities, other problems facing higher education in Nigeria generally include inadequate educational resources (especially finance problems), excessive welfare expenditure, confrontational staff and students' unionism, and problems of manpower crises. Our findings suggested that these problems might contribute to the low level of women's participation in higher education.

The purpose of Chapter 3 was to review literature on studies of women in higher education in both the developed and developing countries as well as motivational theories. The review led to further elaboration of the research questions, research methodologies and factors (and categorisation of them) that tend to influence women's decisions to pursue higher education. Our literature review showed however, that there is very little literature on northern Nigerian women in higher education. Thus, this study is an important contribution when viewed against the background of the potential role of northern Nigerian women in higher education and their potential contribution to development.

The actual methodologies used and fieldwork activities were described in Chapter 4. Methodological and investigator triangulation seemed to be very useful techniques of collecting exploratory research data that enhance greater validity and reliability of findings especially in view of data scarcity in a situation like northern Nigeria. These were used to distribute and collect data from students currently in higher education with a total of 1517 returned questionnaires of which 1321 were eventually used in the analysis. To shed more light on the questionnaire findings, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 34 northern Nigerian women who have graduated from higher educational institutions over the years. We also reviewed official documents to further enrich the data.

Various measures were taken to enhance the validity and reliability of data. These included the use of questionnaire judges, piloting of interview and questionnaire, the design of the questionnaire based on a Likert-Scale and the careful selection of both questionnaire and interview samples. Carefully trained research assistants administered the questionnaires and the researcher conducted all the interviews. Questionnaire data were analysed with the help of a computer programme while interview data were transcribed with the help of a transcription machine and analysed qualitatively.

In order to make the analysis and interpretations less cumbersome, the data were divided into Chapters 5 and 6. Socio-cultural and economic factors, which emerged primarily from the literature review, were discussed in Chapter 5 while the institutional and personal factors were discussed in Chapter 6. At the beginning of each section of these chapters, some operational assumptions to be tested against the data were formulated. The evidence of their confirmation or non-confirmation based on questionnaire data were presented in frequency tables according to their rank in importance. These were complemented wherever possible with data from the interview and official documents.

Among the assumptions relating to socio-cultural factors, the data confirmed the following as highly important sources of encouragement: The women's urge to become role models, influence of parents' level of education and urban residence, and encouragement from parents and teachers. Although the questionnaire respondents did not consider encouragement by husbands (probably due to the high number of single women who completed the questionnaire) as an important motivation, it was considered as highly important by the interviewees. The respondents also accepted factors such as the increased awareness of religious requirement for knowledge and encouragement from relatives as important motivating factors. Those factors that were confirmed as less important by the respondents included encouragement by children, seeking a suitable husband and protection of marriage.

Encouragement by relatives can be seen against the background of the type of extended family system in northern Nigeria where not only parents or immediate relatives, but also neighbours take interest in the development of children. Thus, the decision to allow daughters to go on to higher education tends to be essentially a communal one.

After the summary of the socio-cultural factors, we can now turn to the economic factors. Concerning the economic factors, which encourage women to enrol in higher education, the assumptions about the need for economic security and the desire to earn a higher income and preparation for entry into the job market at a high level were confirmed as highly important by the respondents. On the other hand, the respondents regarded the assumption that the need for insurance against a turbulent future encourages women to pursue higher education as a less important motive. However, about the economic reasons for discontinuing with studies, the respondents confirmed the assumption about inadequate financial support is as important.

Chi-square test was carried out to find some underlying socio-economic factors which influenced our respondents' opinions. Significant relationships were found between parents' encouragement for their daughters higher education and parents' level of education as well as their places of residence. Parents' place of residence was also found to have significant relationship to the study of science-based subjects. Other significant relationships included those between husbands' level of education and encouragement to their wives for higher education; marital status and the preference to attend higher educational institutions near home; and marital status and the study of the science-based subjects.

Another chapter on analysis and presentation of findings is Chapter 6, which presented the findings on the institutional and personal factors that tended to encourage or discourage our respondents from pursuing higher education. The assumptions relating to the choice of institutions confirmed as highly important by the respondents were the influence of the fame of the institution and the courses offered. The assumptions about the opportunity to meet new friends, nearness to home and

because relatives studied there were confirmed as important motives in choosing higher educational institutions, while the less important ones were those relating to the attractive physical environment of the institution, presence of friends and scholarship awards.

Considering the current Nigerian economic and social conditions, it is surprising that nearness to home was not regarded as a highly important factor in the choice of a higher educational institution to attend. Due to the high cost of transportation and the natural tendency of parents to prefer close proximity to their daughters, we expected nearness to home to have a higher degree of acceptance. There are two possible explanations to this low degree of acceptance. The first is the moderation of admissions into higher educational institutions by the Joint Admission and Matriculation Board (JAMB) and similar institutions. The second is that maybe the daughters prefer to study away from home for other reasons that were not evident from the data.

Scholarship awards were also regarded as a less important motive in encouraging the questionnaire respondents to enrol in higher educational institutions. Generally, scholarship awards are expected to cover all or most financial needs of the students, but maybe due to the current high rate of inflation in Nigeria, the money received from scholarship awards are no longer sufficient and therefore not regarded as an attractive incentive. On the other hand, the interview respondents considered scholarship awards as very important incentives. This may be because most of them attended higher educational institutions at a time of economic growth and low inflation.

The assumptions about natural inclination, which may be part of socialisation and the socialisation itself as positively affecting the choices of subjects of study, were confirmed as highly important by the data. On the other hand, the assumption confirmed as less important was the choice of subject being influenced by acquaintances.

Regarding the factors that encouraged the respondents to continue with higher education, the assumptions confirmed as highly important were related to self-determination to continue, satisfaction with academic progress and generally conducive atmosphere (for example, presence of supportive lecturers, cordial relationship with fellow students) at the higher educational institutions. Regarded, as a less important influence to the continuation of study is the assumption about the availability of good accommodation.

The questionnaire respondents did not confirm as important the assumption about availability of good accommodation as an encouragement to continue with higher education while the interview respondents confirmed it. With the general increase in student population and lack of corresponding increase in facilities in most of Nigeria's higher educational institutions, the questionnaire respondents might be experiencing congestion in the hostels, or the total lack of hostel accommodation. On the other hand, some of the interview respondents attended higher educational institutions when accommodation facilities were quite adequate due to the relatively fewer number of women students.

Turning to the factors that might have encouraged the respondents to continue with higher education, the assumption about satisfaction with academic progress and conducive social atmosphere in the higher educational institutions was confirmed as highly important. On the other hand, to discontinue with higher education, the respondents confirmed poor personal health as an important reason. Low grades, illness of a member of the family, husband's uncooperative attitude, teachers' indifference and the need to get married were considered as less important reasons to make women to discontinue with higher studies.

In view of the extended family system in northern Nigeria, it is not surprising to find that the women did not consider illness of a family member as an important reason. This may be because in case of illness of any member of the family, there are other members of the extended family who would take care of the sick and not necessarily a member of the nuclear family.

On the hypothetical question about returning to higher education, the assumption about the need for retraining and the desire for higher income jobs was confirmed as an important reason that would make the respondents return to higher education if they would drop out and return later.

The personal factors were grouped into personal development, self-actualisation, prestige enhancement, continuing and return to higher education. The assumptions about personal factors that encourage women to pursue higher education confirmed as highly important were those relating to the urge to acquire knowledge, new skills, career development and the need to be represented in the different professions. In the case of the self-actualisation group, the assumptions confirmed as important concerned self-confidence, determination, confidence and self-satisfaction. The respondents accepted the assumptions about prestige enhancement as an important motivation for them to acquire higher education. These factors included getting prestigious jobs, enhancing personal prestige and greater social recognition in the community.

New issues that emerged from the questionnaire open-ended question and interviews emerged were regional disparity, competition with southern women counterparts and technological challenges. In addition to these factors, the interview respondents discussed the problem of sexual harassment as a possible impediment to the participation of women from northern Nigeria in higher education. The reasons why many women changed their courses of study from the sciences to the arts were also among the new issues raised.

7.2 RELATED ISSUES RAISED IN THE LITERATURE

We have presented the summaries of the contents and findings in the chapters of this study. Our focus shall now be on the summaries on the issues raised in the literature on women in higher education as well as on the motivation theories.

There is a general world-wide trend in people's increased interest on studies on women in the West, Africa or Islam, but not many studies have been focused on a triple heritage culture of African, Islamic and Western like ours on northern Nigeria. Through the exploration of the educational systems inherited by northern Nigeria, we were able to view the historical perspective of the problem of inequality between men and women in education generally and higher education in particular.

Many of the studies reviewed drew attention on women's inequality in access to higher education and in the science and technology related fields of study. Besides these general inequalities, our study has also found regional inequality in access to higher education between northern and southern Nigeria in terms of general male-female as well as female-female disparities.

Many of the studies reviewed discussed factors that encourage or discourage women generally from pursuing higher education. Among those factors that are encourage women include support and encouragement from the society, family, parents as well as parents' socio-economic status. In our study, not only were these factors found to be important, but we also found that the support and encouragement from relatives was also highly important. Support from relatives might have been considered important to the women in our study because of the nature of the extended family system in Nigeria where decisions are taken communally.

Those factors that may discourage women from participating in higher education raised in the literature included negative parental attitudes, opportunity cost for women's education, lacks of adequate financial support and security in the institutions of higher education. From our qualitative and quantitative data, we found reasons such as negative parental attitudes, lack of adequate financial support and the problems of sexual harassment to be some of the reasons that may discourage women from northern Nigeria to pursue higher education. Although lack of adequate financial support was found to be a discouraging factor, on the contrary, our finding shows the lack of attractiveness of scholarship awards. This is a very important finding as scholarship awards are generally thought to help students with their

finances especially in a country like Nigeria where parents may have many children to support. As already mentioned earlier, probably due to the high rate of inflation in the country now, money from scholarship awards may not be substantial enough to meet students' needs.

Many studies have mentioned the influence of women's need for future economic security, the desire to earn a higher income, and entry into the job market at an appropriate level. These are also some of the economic incentives mentioned in the content theory of motivation (rational-economic model), which inspire women to pursue higher education. Our study has also found these factors to be important as well as the realisation of the northern Nigerian women of the need to contribute to the family's income especially due to the high inflation rate in the country. The perception of the women in our study seem to contrast Jayaweera's (1997) in India and Pakistan where higher education was perceived by the elite class for status improvement and improved matrimonial prospects rather than economic independence or employment.

Some of the factors that influence women's decision to attend a particular higher educational institution discussed in the literature included admission procedure, academic programmes, distance from home and timetable. In our study we found that our subjects were more motivated by their social needs to meet new friends and the types of courses offered. We also found that nearness to home was considered as a less important motive in their choice of institution to attend while it was considered important by the subjects in Martin's (1996) study. Considering the high cost of transportation in Nigeria and the preference of many parents to be within close proximity to their daughters, this finding may show the changes occurring in a society in transition as well as changing social values.

Prestige enhancement, self-actualisation and self-satisfaction were among the factors which emerged from the literature as personal reasons for women's pursuit of higher education. These extrinsic and intrinsic motivators were also found to be important to the women in our study in addition to the need for self-development.

From the motivational literature reviewed, the content theories raised issues such as rational-economic, social and self-actualisation, which are all ways in which individuals are motivated to act. From our findings, it is clear that economic benefits. social needs for meeting new friends, the existence of good social atmosphere as an incentive to continue studies and the desire to develop their potential were important. Intrinsic rewards probably springing from the women's determination and competitive motives were also among the motives that inspired the women in our study to pursue higher education.

Another major motivating theory reviewed is the process theory, which encompasses some aspects of intrinsic motivation, goal setting and goal achievement. Our findings show some evidence of intrinsic motivation whereby determination and competence were among the factors found to be important influences in the women's decision to pursue higher education. We have also found that the women in our study were inspired by the goals they set for themselves for higher education and therefore had the motive to undertake the study and to continue with it. The general competitive motives among the women from northern Nigeria and with women from the southern part of the country could be another indication of the influence of goal setting and goal achievement motives.

7.3 CONCLUSION

In the previous section we presented a summary of the issues that emerged from the literature review and their relationship to our findings, now we shall discuss the main conclusions drawn primarily from the responses of questionnaire, interviews and document analysis. The findings can be grouped into those socio-cultural, institutional, personal and economic factors that appear to have motivated women in northern Nigeria to take certain actions and or decisions in the pursuit of higher education. These actions and decisions are deciding to enrol. choose appropriate

higher educational institution, and a suitable study area, decision to continue or to discontinue with higher educational studies.

7.3.1 Socio-cultural Factors

Based on our findings, the socio-cultural factors that were considered important by the questionnaire and interview respondents in motivating women from northern Nigeria to enrol in higher education are the urge to become role models, encouragement and support from parents, relatives, friends and teachers.

Other socio-cultural factors that were considered important by the respondents in this study to affect their decision to enrol in higher education were their parents' level of education, influence of urban lifestyle on parents and the opportunity offered to them for higher education. The influences of religious injunction to acquire knowledge and parental perception of higher education as equipping their daughters with the ways and means to take care of them when they are old were considered important motives for the women in the study to enrol in higher education. Technological challenges and the competitive urge to redress gender and regional disparity were also considered important.

Turning to the influence of socio-cultural factors in the respondents' choice of subject of study, it can be concluded that socialisation and the women's perception of the availability of time with the family when they work were considered important motives in their selection of courses. The general under-representation of women in the science and technology related fields, seemed to have been affected according to our respondents, by societal role expectations of women and sex-role stereotyping.

The above conclusions concentrated on enrolment. Now we shall turn to those socio-cultural factors affecting decisions to continue or discontinue with higher educational studies. The respondents regarded the existence of a general conducive social

atmosphere in the higher educational institutions as crucial to their continuing with their studies. Moral support from family was also considered important and the lack of it, on the other hand, may result in the discontinuation of studies by the women.

7.3.2 Economic Factors

Turning to conclusions drawn on the economic factors that motivate women in northern Nigeria to enrol in higher education, the women in this study seem to be motivated by the desire to have an economically secured future. Mucknhin (cited in Biraimah 1989) reached a similar conclusion. The perception of higher education as a means to earning a higher income (supported by Santiago and Eirnarson 1998) and the realisation that life can be hard without higher qualifications were other economic motives considered important by the respondents.

The realisation by the northern Nigerian women of their potential role as contributors to the overall family income is another economic factor considered as an important motive for pursuing higher education by the respondents. Bhalalusesa (1998) supported this in her study of women from some Third World countries.

Regarding the decision to continue or to discontinue with higher educational studies, the respondents regarded the availability of adequate financial support as an important reason to continuing and the lack of, which was also considered an important reason to discontinue. It is however, surprising that scholarship grants offered to the students were not regarded as an important motive for the women to enrol or to continue with higher educational studies. This may be due to fewer students enjoying this privilege, or the rate of inflation in the country that might make the money received from scholarship grants not adequate.

7.3.3 Institutional Factors

The institutional factors that were considered important motives for the women in this study to enrol in higher education were the fame of the institution, courses offered and

academic reputation. It is not surprising that physical characteristics of the higher educational institutions were not considered important factors for enrolment. considering the problem of accommodation with increased congestion in the hostels of most Nigerian higher educational institutions.

On the other hand, the institutional factors that seem to have encouraged the women to continue with higher educational studies are related to safety and the general good moral standard in the institutions. Furthermore our respondents indicated that they were willing to continue with their education despite inadequate boarding facilities.

7.3.4 Personal Factors

The personal factors which seem to have motivated the women in our study to enrol in higher education were the intrinsic reward associated with acquiring knowledge and new skills, development of a career, competence and determination to pursue higher education. Other personal motives for acquiring higher education regarded important by the respondents were extrinsic rewards such as getting prestigious jobs, enhancing personal prestige and getting social recognition. The intrinsic factors may operate at the individual level while the extrinsic may be at the societal level. The enhancement of such motives may encourage more participation in higher education by women from northern Nigeria.

In choosing an institution, it may be concluded that despite the institutional guidelines for admissions set out by relevant agencies, personal preference for a particular higher educational institution seems to be important to the respondents. Despite this personal preference it is surprising that the institutions' nearness to home was not considered as an important motive in view of the fact that most women tend to prefer to stay nearer to either their parents, husbands and or children.

Concerning the choice of subject of study at the higher educational institution, the respondents regarded their natural inclination and the influence of their upbringing to have guided their choices. It is noteworthy that other women studying in the same

fields did not influence the choice of study subjects by most of the respondents. This might be due to the lack of many women role models.

Continuing with higher education was motivated by the women's satisfaction with their academic progress as well as their intention to continue with higher studies after the completion of current program. Personal illness on the other hand, was considered an important reason to discontinue with higher education. It is not surprising that the respondents, given the close-knit nature of northern Nigeria's families, regarded the illness of a member of the family as a less important factor to discontinue with their studies.

7.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

Our exploratory study has brought out some useful insights into the factors which tend to motivate women from northern Nigeria to pursue higher education. Perhaps one of the most important contributions this study has made is the identification of the socio-cultural, institutional, personal and economic motives that tend to energise women to enrol and remain in higher educational institutions based on research questions defined earlier in Chapter 1 of this study. It is hoped that this study will provide policy makers with the necessary basis to initiate new strategies, policies and programmes and/or to refine the existing ones in order to redress gender and regional imbalances in higher education. The private sector and individuals may also find this study useful in making their contributions towards the achievement of these noble objectives. Towards this end, we would like to make the following specific recommendations that are grouped to reflect the socio-cultural, institutional, personal and economic factors. Additional recommendations, which are not encompassed in the research questions, are also advanced.

7.4.1 Reflections on Socio-cultural Factors

One of the major findings in this study is the women's urge to become role models and this can be encouraged by providing the women with more equal opportunities in strategic places in the society especially in higher education, business, civil service, sports and entertainment. The respondents identified support from parents, relatives, friends and teachers as important factors motivating them to pursue higher education.

To encourage more women to enrol in higher education, parents need to develop a change of attitudes so as to give equal support to their children towards higher education irrespective of gender. The government can help to achieve this objective by establishing intense parent-targeted public enlightenment programs. In preparation for girls' entry into higher educational institutions, teachers could be encouraged to be more gender sensitive to provide a non sex-stereotyped guidance to the girls at the secondary schools. It should be emphasised that together, parents, friends, relatives and teachers through the socialisation process can play an important role in encouraging women to pursue higher education. Any means by which the government, NGOs and private organisations can help to achieve these objectives should be encouraged.

Since religious injunction to acquire knowledge seems to be an important motive to the women in this study, religion could be used to increase the participation of women from northern Nigeria in higher education. Religious leaders for example, could carry out public enlightenment campaigns on the rights of women to acquire knowledge. The campaign can be more directed towards rural areas, which are lagging behind urban areas in the awareness of the role of religion in encouraging higher education. At organisational level, Women NGOs such as the Muslim Sisters Organisation and the Federation of Muslim Women's Association of Nigeria can incorporate the Islamic injunctions on the rights of women to interpret gender issues for the general public to understand. Similarly, Christian women's organisations can carry out the same types of activities targeted at Christian areas of northern Nigeria.

7.4.2 Reflections on Economic Factors

In order to ensure an economically secure future and to sustain an income, the public and private sectors should give women equal job opportunities with equal pay to men. On their own part, the women themselves should explore ways of establishing businesses so as to be self-employed and be providers of employment for others.

To encourage women's continuation of their studies, adequate financial support should be given to them. Financial support may not only come from scholarship awards or from parents, but the public and the private sectors could set up loan schemes for students who may need it. The institutions could also provide part-time jobs for the students to earn some money to help with their finances.

7.4.3 Reflections on Institutional Factors

Turning to the institutional factors, the fame of the institutions, courses offered and academic reputation were considered important for enrolling in higher education by the women in this study. In this regard, our recommendations are firstly, higher educational institutions should provide more facilities such as library resources, laboratory equipment and boarding facilities. Secondly, the government could also help to maintain the fame of the institutions by providing more incentives through research and publication grants and attractive fringe benefits in order to retain the best lecturers as a way of reducing the brain drain, which was noticed by the Longe Commission on the Review of Higher Education in Nigeria (FRN, 1992). Active and well-organised alumni associations can go a long way in establishing and enhancing the fame of their institutions and at the same time finance projects.

Since specific types of courses offered by the institutions tend to attract women to enrol, attempts should be made by the higher educational institutions to provide more and integrated areas of specialisation and encourage high quality teaching and research in those areas. The admission bodies should also ensure that more women with certain aptitude are given the opportunity to study certain areas of study. The private sector can be encouraged to support those programs relevant to their areas of their activities and provide scholarship grants to female students.

The choice of subject of study by our respondents seems to have been influenced by their socialisation and their perception of the availability of time with family when they work. Specifically, the dearth of northern Nigerian women in the science, engineering and technology fields as mentioned by most of our interviewees could be redressed by governmental, NGOs and individual efforts. The government could for example give some incentives besides scholarship awards like guarantee of jobs after graduation, on the job training and even sponsorship abroad to study more in these fields. NGOs like women's professional organisations could also provide scholarship grants, organise seminars, workshops, school career talks and exhibitions related to the science and technology fields in order to attract more women. Individual women professionals in science and engineering should play a more active role in organising visits to schools and field trips so that girls in the secondary schools could see women practically engaged in diverse activities.

Generally, changes in socialisation patterns could also help in encouraging more women to study science and technical subjects. From childhood both boys and girls can be encouraged by parents, teachers and the community to develop interest in exploring and investigating the natural and physical environments. Furthermore, school subjects should be designed by the appropriate authorities to avoid gender bias, so that no subjects should be earmarked for girls only.

The issue of adequate time for family when the women work could be explored through the many innovative computer mediated methods that allow workers to work at home or near home. Public and private employers in northern Nigeria should introduce the use of Internet and Intranet to enable workers to work and interact with their offices from home. Alternatively, Internet (teleports) could be established in strategic locations to allow women to work nearer to home. The success of this approach may allow women a greater freedom of choice of subjects.

The rapid growth of new information technology, especially the Internet, has taken most public institutions by surprise. It has therefore taken governments and universities, especially in developing countries a long time to make use of these technologies in providing services to people. The potential role of Internet and or media in the delivery of higher education to the diverse parts of northern Nigeria to reduce gender and regional imbalance appears very high, but needs to be investigated.

The women in our study considered safety and good moral standard at the higher educational institutions important for the continuation of higher education. To encourage more women to continue with their studies once they have begun, personal safety measures and moral safeguards in the higher educational institutions should be maintained and enhanced. The personal health and safety measures could include the decongestion of hostels by increasing the number and quality of hostels, provision of secured hostels with effective fire alarm and fire fighting systems for women within or near the campuses. The moral safeguards could include the continuation and enhancement of the segregation of hostels for males and females with restricted access by the opposite sex. Sometimes women become the victims of students' unrest in terms of sexual harassment or being forced to withdraw from their studies by parents or husbands. To minimise these, the higher educational institutions should explore new conflict resolution methods and ways to curtail staff and students' unrest.

7.4.4 Reflections on Personal Factors

Most of the intrinsic motives (the urge to acquire knowledge, new skills and to develop a career) regarded as important by our respondents are difficult to make generalised recommendations on because they vary from person to person. However, to enhance the women's competence and self-determination, we can recommend that efforts should be made from the early years to build upon the development of competence and self-esteem in both boys and girls. This can be done through exposure to appropriate role models or participation in community and school well-balanced and non-stereotyped organised plays that give them opportunities for role-playing.

The extrinsic motives that seem to motivate our respondents include the desire to get prestigious jobs, enhancing personal prestige and getting social recognition. These desires could be fulfilled by giving equal job opportunities to women in key positions by the public and private sectors.

Although personal preference was regarded as more important by the respondents than nearness to home in their choices of institutions to attend, we still recommend that the location of higher educational institutions should be decentralised. Some higher educational institutions should be located in or near the rural areas so as to balance the urban-rural disparity in participation.

Personal illness was considered important enough to make the majority of the respondents in this study discontinue with their studies. To maintain the women's good health, preventive and curative strategies should be followed. The preventive measures could include a clean environment particularly in the hostels, clean water supply, provision of nutritious food, functional sewage system, regular collection of wastes and effective system of sanitary inspection and other preventive health measures. The curative approach could include the provision of functional and effective medical services as well as good ambulance system.

An in-depth study of returnees might throw some light on the factors for leaving and returning all of which can make useful contribution to policy formulation and implementation on higher education.

7.5 OTHER RECOMMENDATIONS

To redress gender and regional disparities, affirmative action programmes should be formulated. In order to bridge the gender gap, the governments of the northern states should substantially increase the number of scholarship awards to women. In addition to governments' efforts, admission agencies should not only initiate quota system, but

system, but also allocate a substantial portion of admissions to women in all institutions of higher learning. The measures can use criteria similar to those employed by these agencies to redress regional disparity. On the other hand, to redress the regional disparity, more higher educational institutions should be established and located in strategic places as well as in the rural areas of northern Nigeria and as a positive discrimination to deliberately employ women. Government and its relevant agencies could organise and carry out extensive awareness campaigns targeted on women throughout northern Nigeria.

Since single-sex schools were found by Locheed and Lee (1990) and Erinosho (1994) to positively affect girls' achievement in Math and the sciences and tend to lower stereotype views, efforts could be made by the government or private entrepreneurs to establish single sex higher educational institutions with complementing female teachers initially on an experimental basis. This may not only bridge the gender gap in participation, but also in the study of non-traditional courses by women and provide more role models.

Other measures that could be taken to promote women's equal access to higher education in northern Nigeria could be the introduction of evening and part-time study schedules for entry into higher education so as to enable working women or those who may not be able to fit into a regular schedule to study. Along with this, more adequate childcare support centres should be set up in or near higher educational institutions so as to help mothers with young children to attend classes with ease.

The Federal Ministry for Women Affairs and Social Development should set up and fund new research institutes with the main objective of conducting researches to identify ways and means of increasing women's participation in social life generally (for example in decision making both public and private, in business, in the professions) and in higher education in particular.

The interviewees have repeatedly mentioned the problem of sexual harassment in this study; it is therefore recommended that higher educational institutions could set up

counselling centres that can deal with such problems and also work with the staff to ensure that it does not happen.

Women Studies as a discipline of study should be introduced in the curriculum of all higher educational institutions in Nigeria. This will not only give women a different perspective of looking at themselves, but the public in general. The introduction of Women's Studies could also provide more channels to study women's issues in depth and recommend ways and means to deal with the problems facing women in Nigeria.

The present study has led to some interesting results. However, to obtain further insight on women's motivation to higher education, we recommend that this exploratory study should be replicated in the same setting, but removing some of the restrictions stated in the limitations in this study. The new study should cover all states in northern Nigeria, include a larger sample of questionnaire respondents, a larger and more diversified sample of interviewees and spend more time in the review of documents.

A new study should also be carried out to focus more on women returnees to higher education so as to find out more about the reason why they suspended their studies and why they returned. Such a study would help at the policy formulation and implementation level to find ways and means of encouraging those women who leave their studies to return and pursue higher education so as to contribute their quota in the development of Nigeria.

On a wider perspective, this study should be replicated in its present form, with the necessary modifications in other regions of Africa and the Third World Countries with similar problems. It is hoped that the results would enable women to play greater and more meaningful roles in the development of their countries.

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APPENDIX I:

A. Questionnaire
B. Profile of Questionnaire Respondents
C. Non-significant Chi-Square Tests

APPENDIX IA: QUESTIONNAIRE

MOTIVATION TO HIGHER EDUCATION

University of Durham **School of Education** Leazes Road, Durham, DH1 1TA U. K.	**Motivation for Higher Education of Women from northern Nigeria**

1 2 3 [ ][ ][ ] Number	4 [ ] Location	**QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY**
		OFFICE USE ONLY

This survey is purely for academic purpose. It seeks to identify what motivates women in northern Nigeria to pursue Higher Education and what factors help to keep them there or return in case they suspended their going to school.

Since you fall into our sample in this institution, please kindly answer the following questions as candidly as you can. All answers you give will be strictly confidential and will be used for research purpose only.

A. Let's start with your Personal Data! Please write down or tick [ ] your answers in the space provided below. Please ignore the numbers beside questions, they are for computer use only.

For Office Use

My State of Origin.is..... 5

[1] Adamawa	[6] Kaduna	[11] Kwara	[16] Yobe
[2] Bauchi	[7] Kano	[12] Niger	[17] Abuja
[3] Benue	[8] Katsina	[13] Plateau	
[4] Borno	[9] Kebbi	[14] Sokoto	
[5] Jigawa	[10] Kogi	[15] Taraba	

My present institution is located at 6

I entered in the year 19 _ _ 7-8

My target qualification: N.C.E [1], Diploma [2], Bachelors Degree [3] Masters Degree [4], Ph.D. [5], Other (specify) [6]. 9

My area of study is: Admin & Management [1], Law [2], Social Sc. [3], Education [4], Science [5], Agriculture [6], Veterinary Medicine [7], Pharmacy [8], Medicine & Allied Science [9], Environ. Sciences [10],Engineering & Technology [11], Other (specify) [12] 10

My study program is: Full-time [1], Part-time [2] 11

My marital status is: Single [1], Married [2] Other (specify) [3]..... 12

If married, please indicate husband's level of education.

Primary [1], Secondary [2], Post Secondary [3],

Other (specify) [4]..... 13

Husband's place of residence is Urban Area [1] Rural Area [2] 14

My present Position

[1] Housewife [2] Employed [3] Self-employed [4] Unemployed 15

Type of employment if employed 16

Parents' level of education

Father: [1] Primary, [2] Secondary, [3] Post Secondary, [4] Other (specify) . 17

Mother: [1] Primary, [2] Secondary, [3] Post Secondary, [4] Other (specify). 18

Parents' place of residence is [1] Urban Area, [2] Rural Area 19

My religion is [1] Islam, [2] Christianity, [3] Other (specify).. 20

General Instruction: **Please indicate for each of the following statements whether you agree or disagree and how much. Do this by placing a tick [ ] in the appropriate space. 1=Strongly Agree, 2=Agree, 3=Strongly Disagree, 4=Disagree**

SECTION B. This section of the questionnaire deals with those factors that attract women to go for higher education.

1. Some women go for higher education to fulfil the innate need for competition and self-determination. To what extent do you agree or disagree to the following statements as each applies to you?

I came to this institution:	1	2	3	4	For OfficeUse
a) driven by the urge to acquire knowledge	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	21
b) mainly to acquire new skills.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	22
c) to show to my friends that I too can do it.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	23
d) because I now realise that I need to build my life around a career.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	24
e) because I feel that I can do it successfully.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	25
f) because of the opportunity offered to me for higher education.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	26

g) for the feelings of self-satisfaction I experience while reading various interesting subjects.	[ ][ ][ ][ ]	27
h) to prove to myself that I can do better than just a secondary school certificate.	[ ][ ][ ][ ]	28
i) other (specify)		29

2. *Some women pursue higher education mainly for the material rewards it offers. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements as each applies to you?*

I came to this institution	1 2 3 4	For Office Use
a) so as to be a role model for other women.	[ ][ ][ ][ ]	30
b) because it is a means to get social recognition.	[ ][ ][ ][ ]	31
c) so as to enhance my prestige in the community.	[ ][ ][ ][ ]	32
d) so as to become known in my community.	[ ][ ][ ][ ]	33
e) so as to be a role model for my children.	[ ][ ][ ][ ]	34
f) because it is the means for getting a more prestigious job later.	[ ][ ][ ][ ]	35
g) because it is a means to earn a higher income.	[ ][ ][ ][ ]	36
h) because it is the means to a suitable husband.	[ ][ ][ ][ ]	37
i) because eventually it will allow me to enter the job market in a field that I like.	[ ][ ][ ][ ]	38
j) so as to have an economically secured future.	[ ][ ][ ][ ]	39
k) other (specify)		40

3. *Many women go for higher education as a result of the encouragement they receive from various sources. How do you agree or disagree with the following statements as each applies to you?*

I was encouraged to come to this institution mainly by	1 2 3 4	For Office Use
a) my parents	[ ][ ][ ][ ]	41
b) my relatives	[ ][ ][ ][ ]	42
c) my friends.	[ ][ ][ ][ ]	43
d) some of my earlier teachers.	[ ][ ][ ][ ]	44
e) my husband.	[ ][ ][ ][ ]	45
f) my children.	[ ][ ][ ][ ]	46
g) the scholarship offer I received	[ ][ ][ ][ ]	47
h) the change in job entry requirements.	[ ][ ][ ][ ]	48
i) the realisation of the need for more women in the professions.	[ ][ ][ ][ ]	49
j) the increased awareness of the religious requirements for knowledge.	[ ][ ][ ][ ]	50
k) other (specify)		51

4. There are some women who pursue higher education due to the attractiveness of the institutions. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements as each applies to you?

I came to this institution mainly because	1	2	3	4	For Office Use
a) of its attractive buildings	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	52
b) it is famous.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	53
c) it offers me the opportunity to meet new friends.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	54
d) it is the only one I really like.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	55
e) it is the one near my home.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	56
f) my friends are here.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	57
g) most of my relatives studied here too.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	58
h) of the type of courses it offers.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	59
i) other (specify)					60

5. Sometimes life events can change their course, and this make some women go for higher education. To what extent do you agree with the following statements as each applies to you?

I came to this institution mainly because	1	2	3	4	For Office Use
a) of the loss of my husband	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	61
b) of the loss of a parent.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	62
c) of the loss of a child.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	63
d) of the loss of a guardian	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	64
e) my husband lost his job.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	65
f) I became the head of my household and needed a secure future.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	66
g) recently my husband got a college educated wife.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	67
h) it's the best way to protect my marriage.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	68
i) all my children are grown up and I can afford the time.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	69
j) it is now I can afford it financially.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	70
k) I foresee that life can be hard without higher qualification.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	71
l) I got divorced.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	72
m) Other (specify)					73

6. Some women are influenced in their choice of subjects of study by a number of socio-cultural factors. To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements as it applies to you?

I chose the subject I study mainly because

	1	2	3	4	For Office Use
a) I feel naturally inclined toward it.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	74
b) women I know study it	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	75
c) my family often talked favorably about it.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	76
d) of the influence of my up-bringing	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	77
e) my religion encourages studying it	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	78
f) I will have enough time for my family when I work	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	79
g) other (specify)					80

7. Parents usually tend to support the education of boys more than that of girls, and are therefore more willing to support boys in higher education. To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements as it applies to you?

My parents supported my higher education mainly because

	1	2	3	4	For Office Use
a) I have no brothers.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	81
b) I am the only child in the family.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	82
c) they themselves are educated.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	83
d) of their experience of urban lifestyle.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	84
e) they have seen other girls pursue higher education.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	85
f) they don't have to finance it.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	86
g) they want me to take care of them when they are old.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	87
h) other (specify)					88

SECTION C: This section deals with those factors that tend to make women continue or discontinue with higher education and why they would return if they were to drop out.

8. Some women continue with their studies once they have started due to the right atmosphere there. To what extent do you agree or disagree to the each of the following statements as it applies to you?

I remain in this institution mainly because

	1	2	3	4	For Office Use
a) I get encouragement from my teachers.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	89
b) of the cordial relationship with fellow students which makes me feel good.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	90
c) of the very good accommodation it offers.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	91
e) my average cumulative grade is 'B'or better.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	92
f) I am satisfied with my academic progress.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	93
g) here I generally feel happy.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	94

h) intend to continue after the completion of the current course.	[ ][ ][ ][ ]	95
i) I am determined to continue with my studies as long as I am able.	[ ][ ][ ][ ]	96
j) the lecturers are very supportive.	[ ][ ][ ][ ]	97
k) other (specify)		98

9. Some women tend to discontinue with their studies due to a variety of reasons. To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements as it applies to you?

I may discontinue with my studies mainly because	1 2 3 4	For Office use
a) of personal illness	[ ][ ][ ][ ]	99
b) of illness of a member of my family	[ ][ ][ ][ ]	100
c) my grades are too low	[ ][ ][ ][ ]	101
d) it makes no difference whether I complete my studies or not.	[ ][ ][ ][ ]	102
e) of my husband's uncooperative attitude	[ ][ ][ ][ ]	103
f) of the need to get married	[ ][ ][ ][ ]	104
g) the teachers are indifferent towards me	[ ][ ][ ][ ]	105
h) other (specify)		106

10. Some women leave their studies and then return after a certain period due to a variety of reasons. To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements assuming it would apply to you.

I would return mainly due to	1 2 3 4	For Office Use
a) the loss of my husband.	[ ][ ][ ][ ]	107
b) the loss of my parents	[ ][ ][ ][ ]	108
c) the competition with co-wives.	[ ][ ][ ][ ]	109
d) the need for higher income job.	[ ][ ][ ][ ]	110
e) foreseeing that life would be hard without a higher qualification.	[ ][ ][ ][ ]	111
f) the need to look after my children	[ ][ ][ ][ ]	112
g) other (specify)		113
h) not applicable [ ]		114

11. Some women often face a variety of problems in the course of their studies. To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements as each applies to you?

My course of studies has been at risk of not continuing mainly because of

	1 2 3 4	For Office Use
a) inadequate financial support	[ ][ ][ ][ ]	115
b) inadequate boarding facilities in the institution	[ ][ ][ ][ ]	116

c) frequent disagreements with my parents	[ ][ ][ ][ ]	117
d) frequent disagreements with my husband	[ ][ ][ ][ ]	118
e) lack of day-care facilities for my children	[ ][ ][ ][ ]	119
g) inadequate performance in my studies.	[ ][ ][ ][ ]	120
h) the possibility of not getting a husband after completion of my studies	[ ][ ][ ][ ]	121
i) transportation to and from the school	[ ][ ][ ][ ]	122
j) other (specify)		
		123

12. Please add any other reasons, which you think, motivate women from northern Nigeria to participate in higher education (Please use extra sheet of paper if needed).

124

APPENDIX IB: PROFILE OF QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONDENTS

FIGURE 1B.1

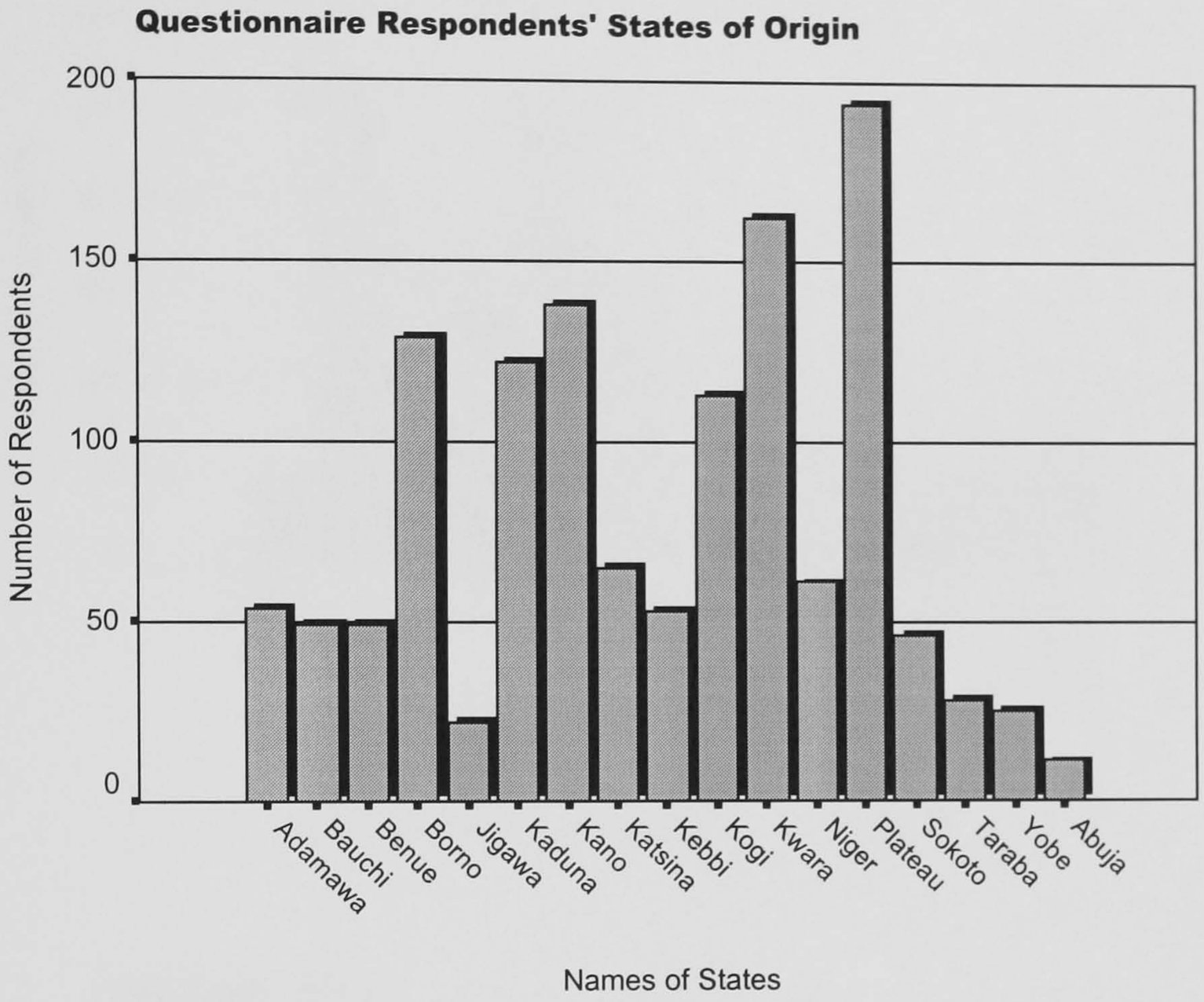


FIGURE 1B.2

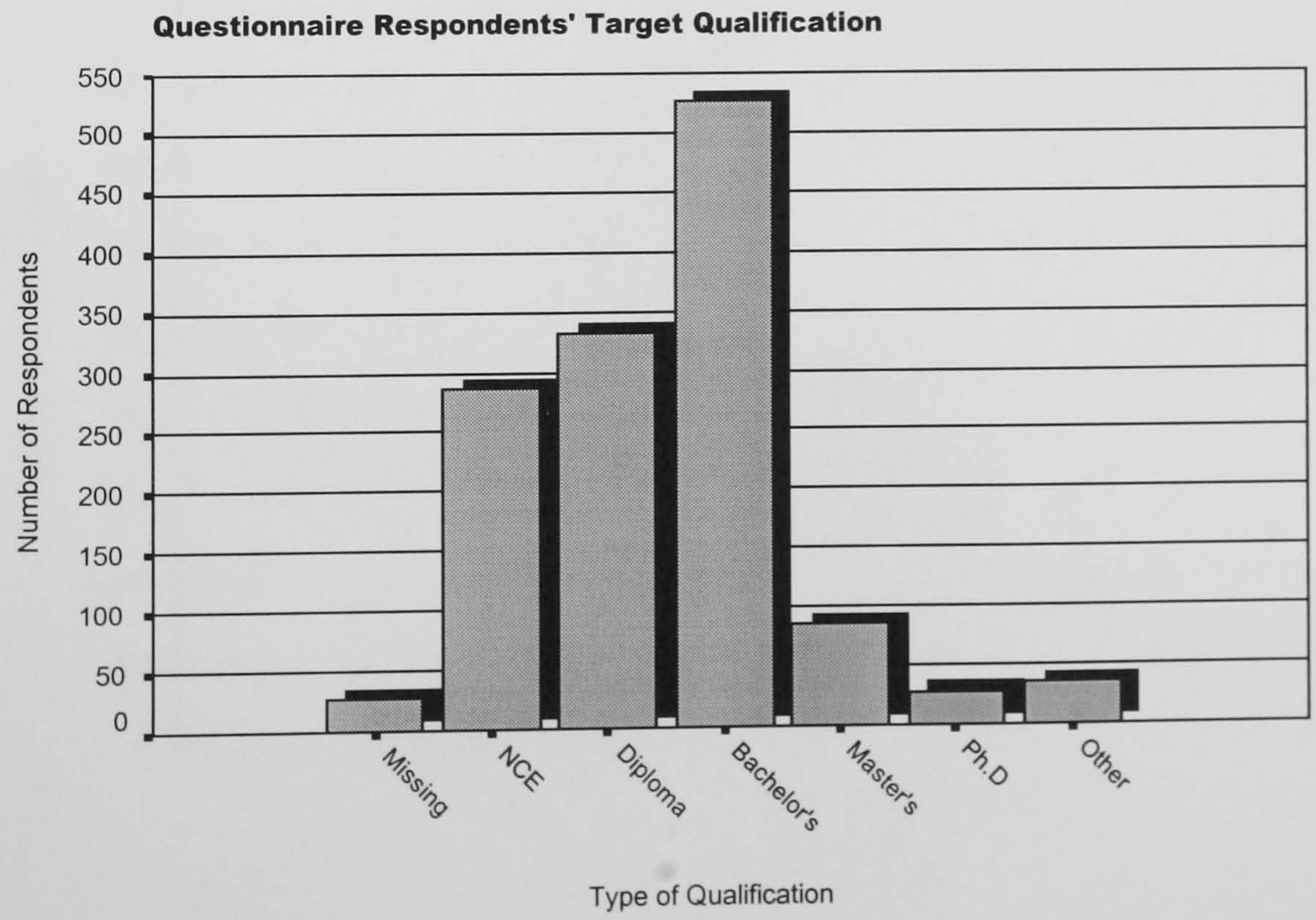


FIGURE 1B.3

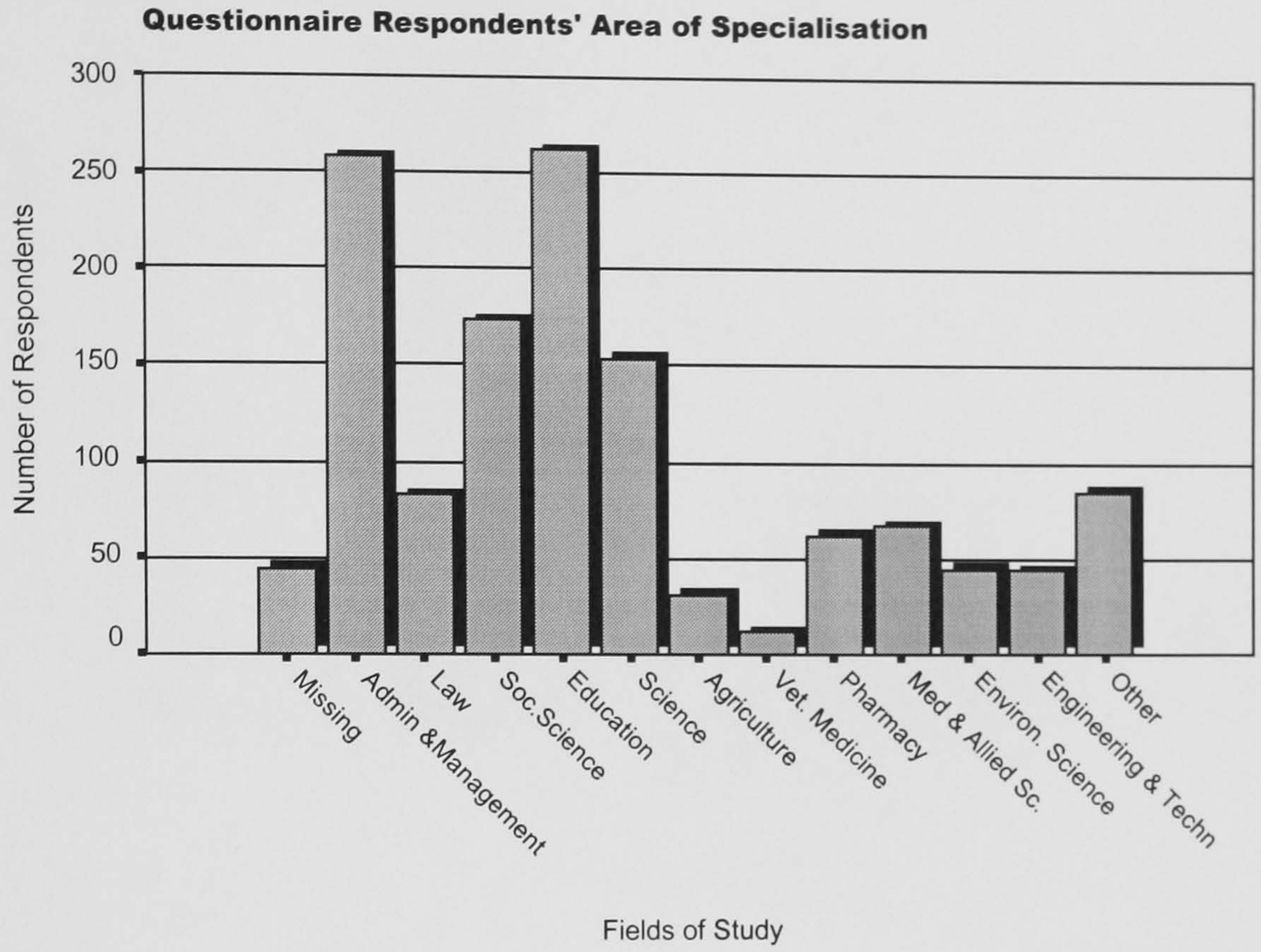


FIGURE 1B.4

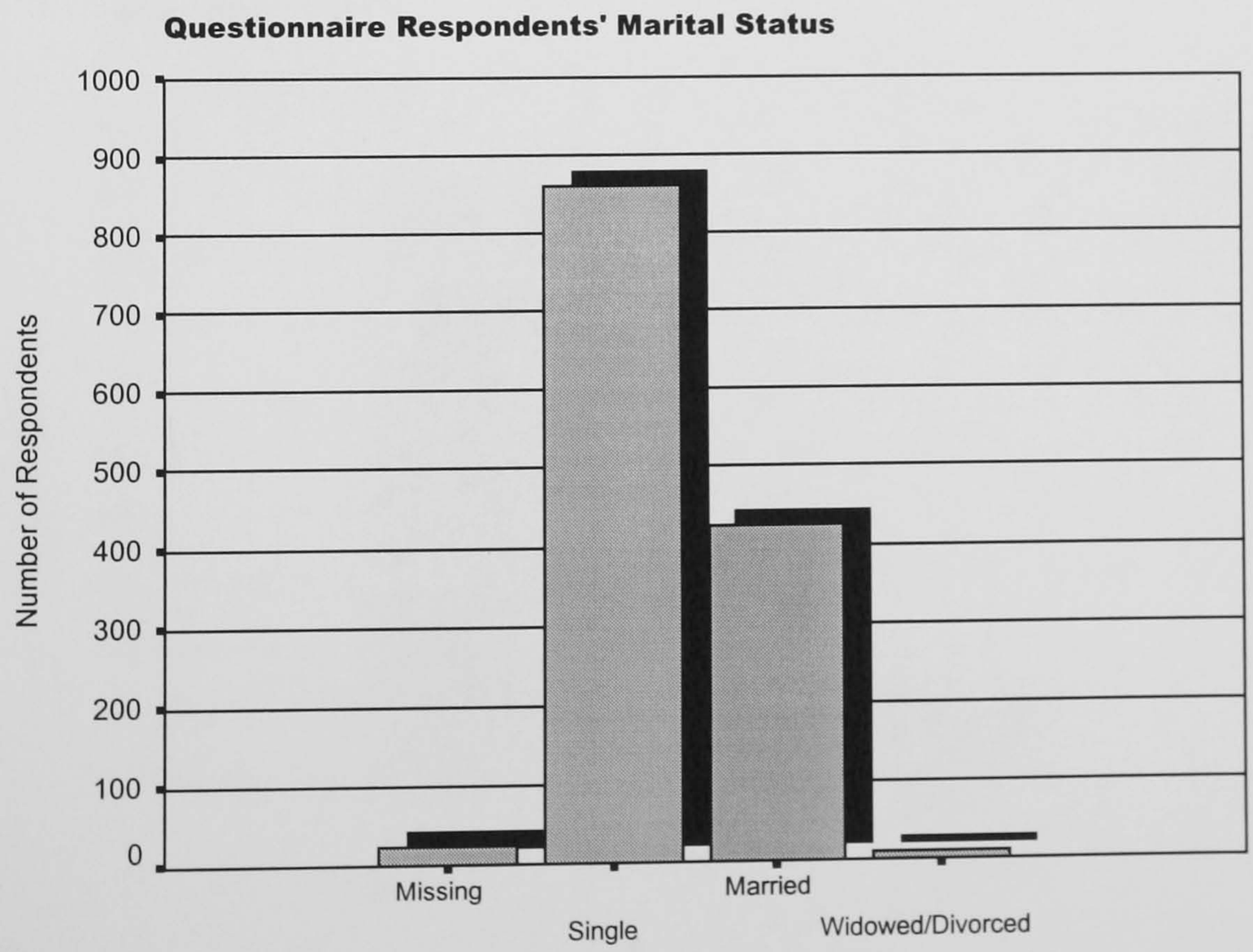


FIGURE 1B.5

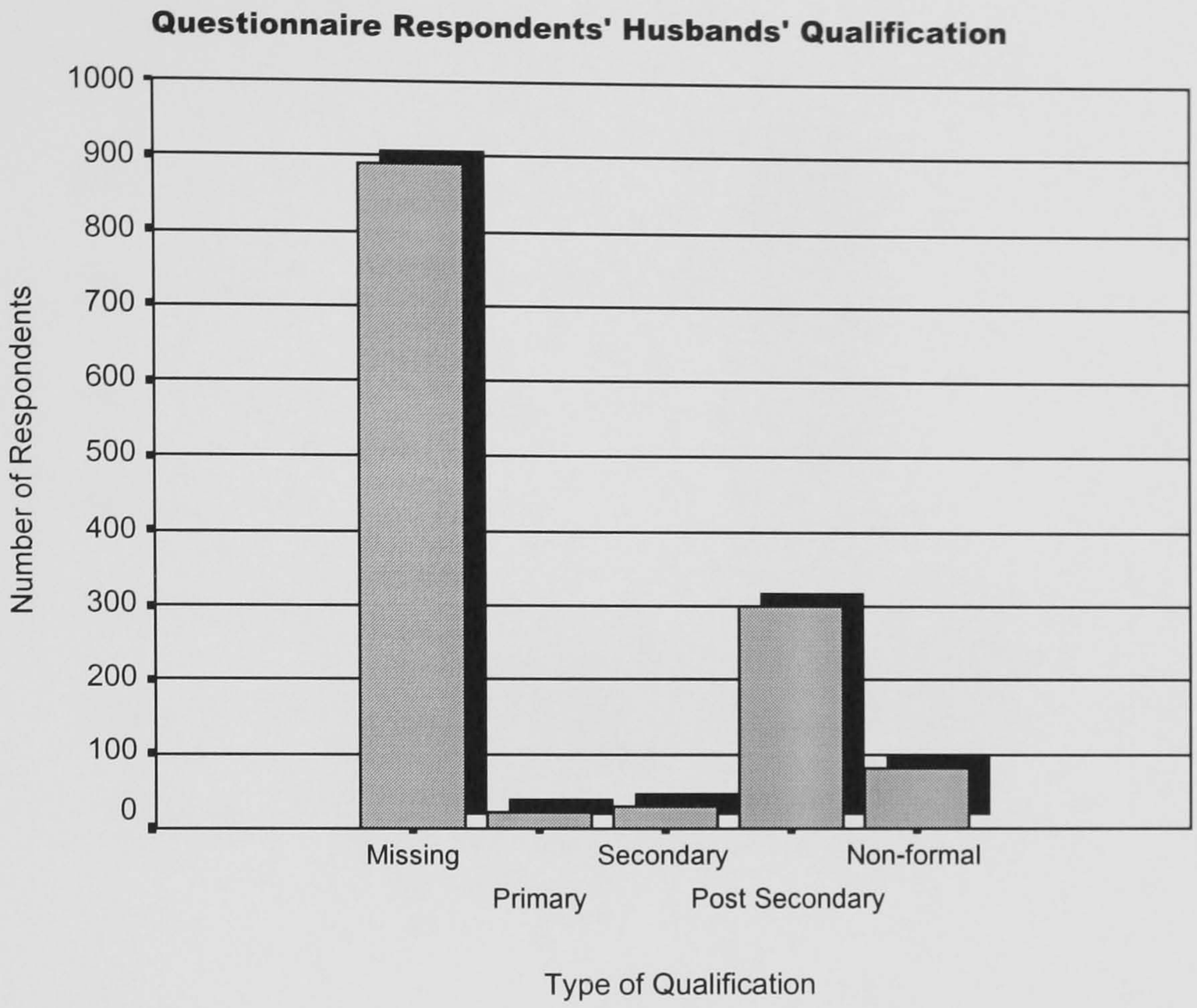


FIGURE 1B.6

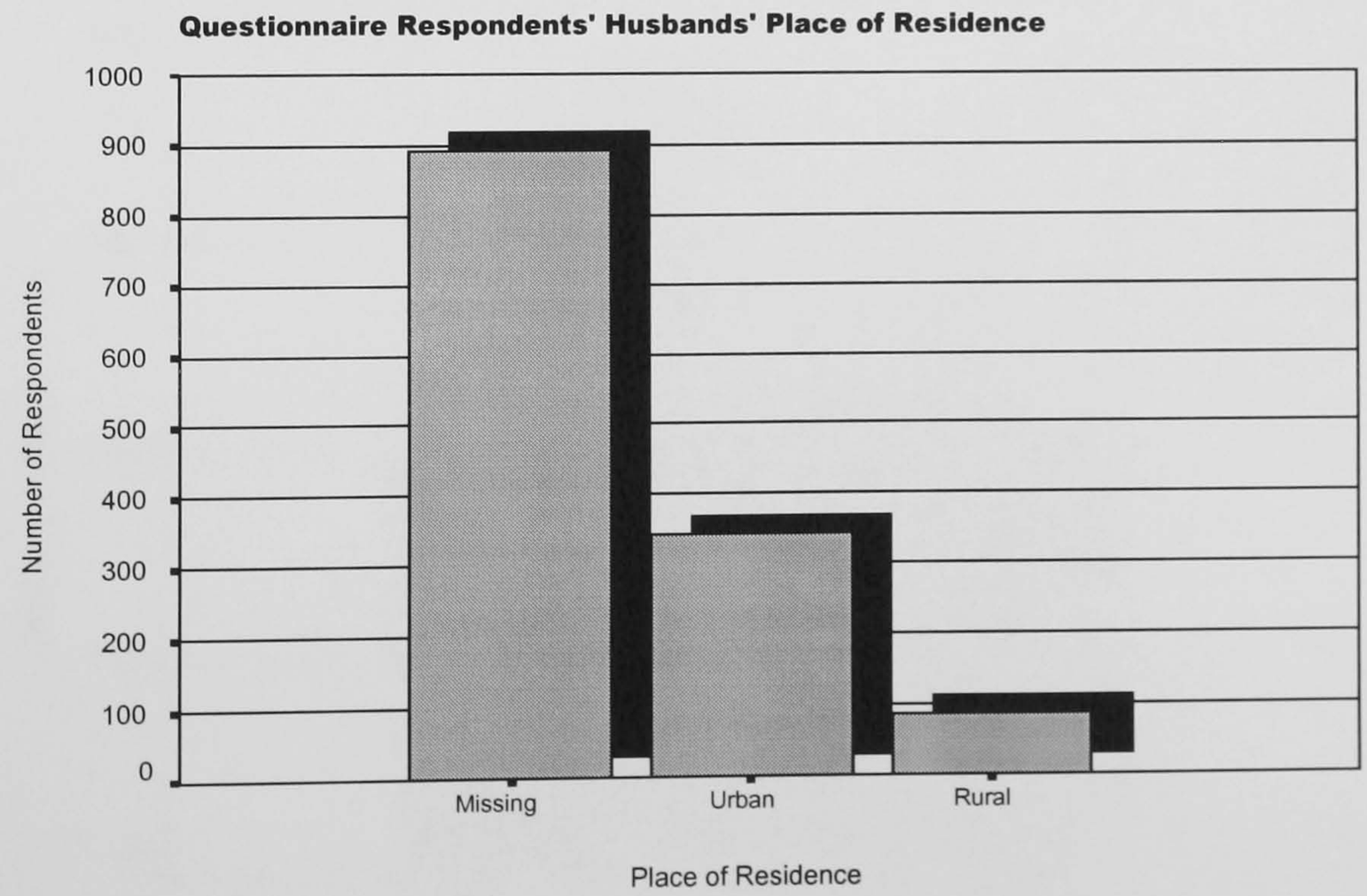


FIGURE 1B.7

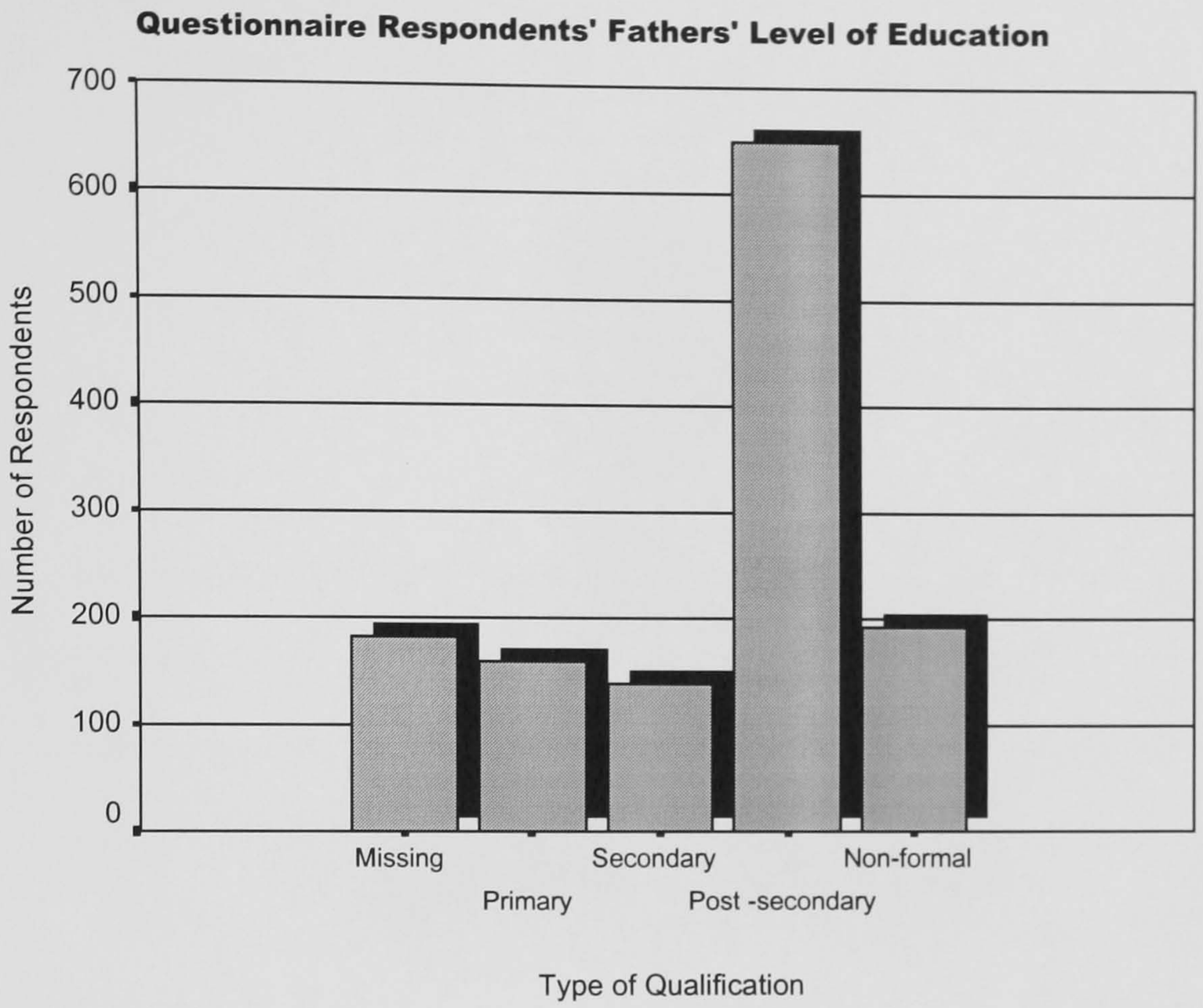


FIGURE 1B.8

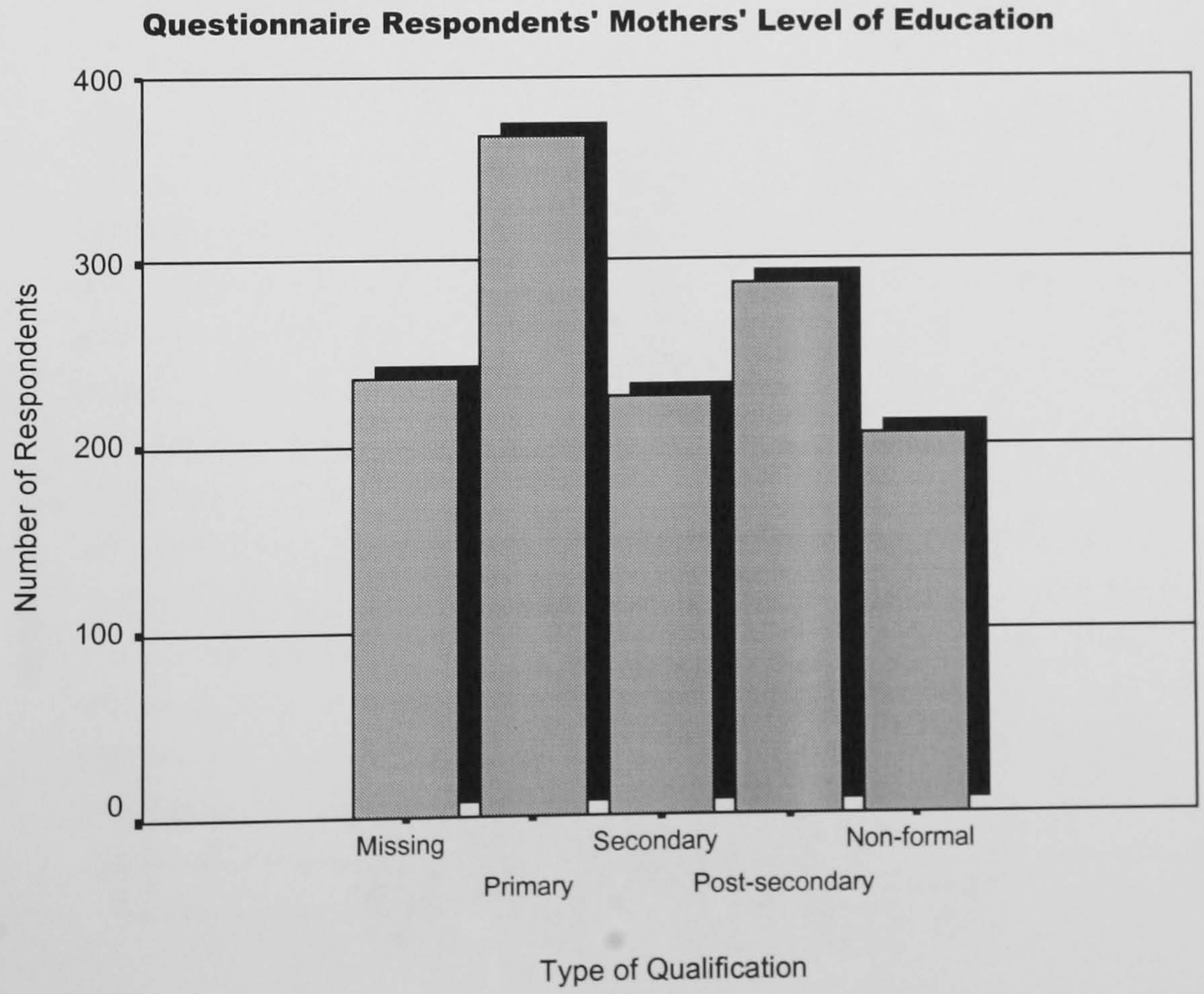


FIGURE 1B.9

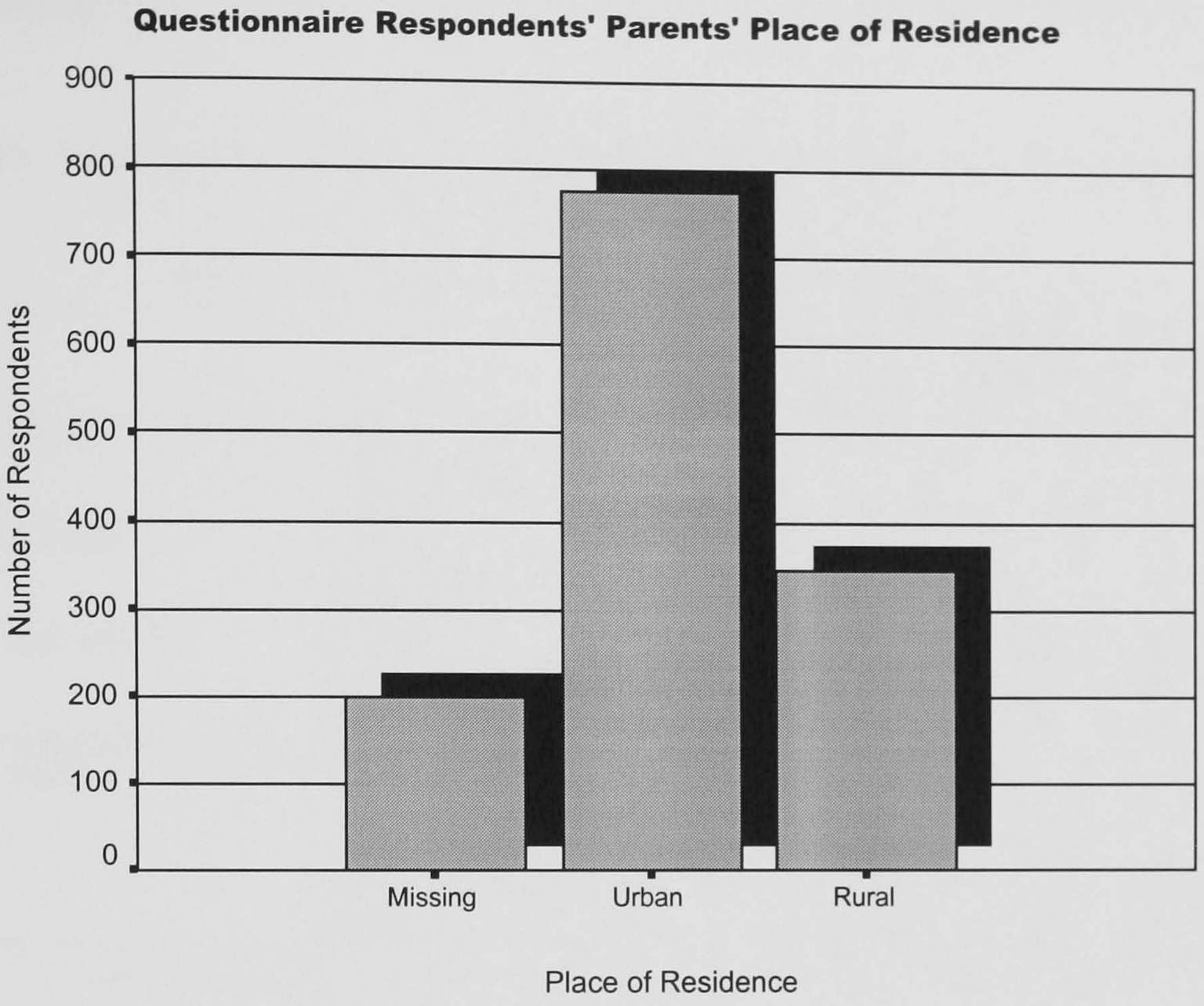
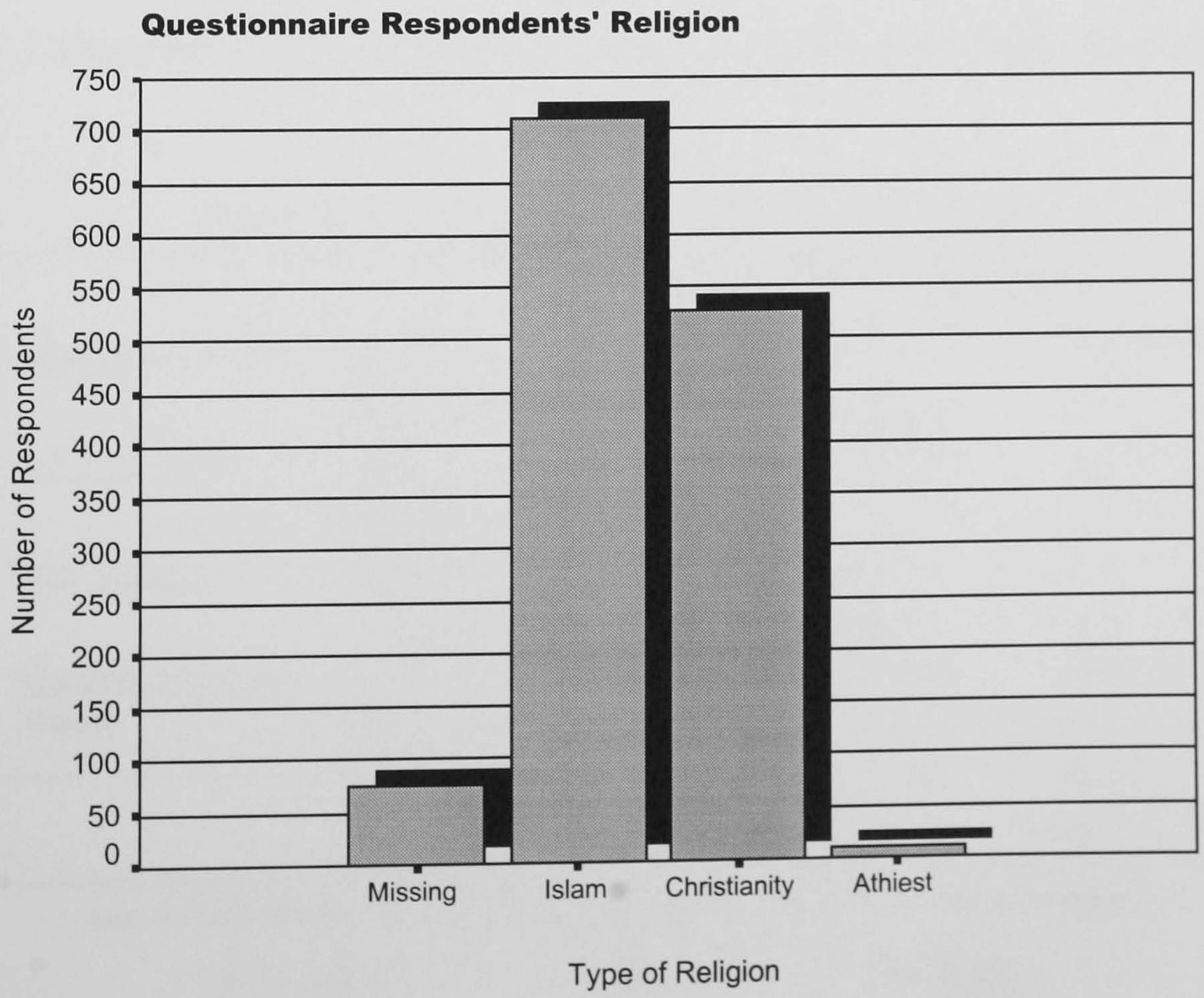


FIGURE 1B.10



APPENDIX IC: NON-SIGNIFICANT CHI-SQUARE TESTS

Table IC.1 Fathers' Level of Education and their Daughters' Urge to Acquire Knowledge

Fathers' Level of Education * Urge to Acquire Knowledge Crosstabulation

			Urge to Acquire Knowledge				Total
			Strongly Agree	Agree	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	
Fathers' Level of Education	Primary	Count	97	43	10	5	155
		% within Fathers' Level of Education	62.6%	27.7%	6.5%	3.2%	100.0%
	Secondary	Count	85	42	8	3	138
		% within Fathers' Level of Education	61.6%	30.4%	5.8%	2.2%	100.0%
	Post-secondary	Count	394	192	36	17	639
		% within Fathers' Level of Education	61.7%	30.0%	5.6%	2.7%	100.0%
	Non-formal Education or illiterate	Count	109	55	16	10	190
		% within Fathers' Level of Education	57.4%	28.9%	8.4%	5.3%	100.0%
Total		Count	685	332	70	35	1122
		% within Fathers' Level of Education	61.1%	29.6%	6.2%	3.1%	100.0%

Note: In each cell the number of respondents is shown together with the percentages

$\chi^2 = 6.3$ **df = 9** **P> 0.05**

Table IC.2 Fathers' Level of Education and their Daughters urge to Acquire New Skills

Fathers' Level of Education * Urge to Acquire New Skills Crosstabulation

			Urge to Acquire New Skills				Total
			Strongly Agree	Agree	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	
Fathers' Level of Education	Primary	Count	42	82	26	3	153
		% within Fathers' Level of Education	27.5%	53.6%	17.0%	2.0%	100.0%
	Secondary	Count	45	73	13	4	135
		% within Fathers' Level of Education	33.3%	54.1%	9.6%	3.0%	100.0%
	Post-secondary	Count	170	373	77	15	635
		% within Fathers' Level of Education	26.8%	58.7%	12.1%	2.4%	100.0%
	Non-formal Education or illiterate	Count	58	90	29	6	183
		% within Fathers' Level of Education	31.7%	49.2%	15.8%	3.3%	100.0%
Total		Count	315	618	145	28	1106
		% within Fathers' Level of Education	28.5%	55.9%	13.1%	2.5%	100.0%

Note: In each cell the number of respondents is shown together with the percentages

$\chi^2 = 10.4$ **df = 9** **P> 0.05**

Table IC.3 Fathers' Level of Education and their Daughters Confidence in Achieving Success

Fathers' Level of Education * Confidence in Achieving Success Crosstabulation

			Confidence in Achieving Success				
			Strongly Agree	Agree	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Total
Fathers' Level of Education	Primary	Count	40	76	21	8	145
		% within Fathers' Level of Education	27.6%	52.4%	14.5%	5.5%	100.0%
	Secondary	Count	33	77	18	6	134
		% within Fathers' Level of Education	24.6%	57.5%	13.4%	4.5%	100.0%
	Post-secondary	Count	209	326	70	15	620
		% within Fathers' Level of Education	33.7%	52.6%	11.3%	2.4%	100.0%
	Non-formal Education or illiterate	Count	56	84	28	10	178
		% within Fathers' Level of Education	31.5%	47.2%	15.7%	5.6%	100.0%
Total		Count	338	563	137	39	1077
		% within Fathers' Level of Education	31.4%	52.3%	12.7%	3.6%	100.0%

Note: In each cell the number of respondents is shown together with the percentages

$\chi^2 = 14.0$ **df = 9** **P> 0.05**

Table IC.4 Fathers' Level of Education and their Daughters' Determination to Attain More than a Secondary School Certificate

Fathers' Level of Education * Determination to Obtain Better than a Secondary School Certificate Crosstabulation

			Determination to Obtain Better than a Secondary School Certificate				
			Strongly Agree	Agree	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Total
Fathers' Level of Education	Primary	Count	48	61	22	20	151
		% within Fathers' Level of Education	31.8%	40.4%	14.6%	13.2%	100.0%
	Secondary	Count	40	62	21	9	132
		% within Fathers' Level of Education	30.3%	47.0%	15.9%	6.8%	100.0%
	Post-secondary	Count	227	269	89	33	618
		% within Fathers' Level of Education	36.7%	43.5%	14.4%	5.3%	100.0%
	Non-formal Education or illiterate	Count	53	80	31	16	180
		% within Fathers' Level of Education	29.4%	44.4%	17.2%	8.9%	100.0%
Total		Count	368	472	163	78	1081
		% within Fathers' Level of Education	34.0%	43.7%	15.1%	7.2%	100.0%

Note: In each cell the number of respondents is shown together with the percentages

$\chi^2 = 16.0$ **df = 9** **P> 0.05**

Table IC.5 Mothers' Level of Education and their Daughters' Urge to Acquire Knowledge

Mothers' Levels of Education * Urge to Acquire Knowledge Crosstabulation

			Urge to Acquire Knowledge				
			Strongly Agree	Agree	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Total
Mothers' Levels of Education	Primary	Count	223	109	23	11	366
		% within Mothers' Levels of Education	60.9%	29.8%	6.3%	3.0%	100.0%
	Secondary	Count	125	71	17	5	218
		% within Mothers' Levels of Education	57.3%	32.6%	7.8%	2.3%	100.0%
	Post-secondary	Count	189	76	16	6	287
		% within Mothers' Levels of Education	65.9%	26.5%	5.6%	2.1%	100.0%
	Non-formal Education or Illiterate	Count	125	56	10	10	201
		% within Mothers' Levels of Education	62.2%	27.9%	5.0%	5.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	662	312	66	32	1072
		% within Mothers' Levels of Education	61.8%	29.1%	6.2%	3.0%	100.0%

Note: In each cell the number of respondents is shown together with the percentages

$\chi 2 = 8.6$ **df = 9** **P> 0.05**

Table IC..6 Mothers' Level of Education and their Daughters' Urge to Acquire New Skills

Mothers' Levels of Education * Urge to Acquire New Skills Crosstabulation

			Urge to Acquire New Skills				
			Strongly Agree	Agree	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Total
Mothers' Levels of Education	Primary	Count	100	203	46	7	356
		% within Mothers' Levels of Education	28.1%	57.0%	12.9%	2.0%	100.0%
	Secondary	Count	54	127	31	6	218
		% within Mothers' Levels of Education	24.8%	58.3%	14.2%	2.8%	100.0%
	Post-secondary	Count	79	162	33	9	283
		% within Mothers' Levels of Education	27.9%	57.2%	11.7%	3.2%	100.0%
	Non-formal Education or Illiterate	Count	75	94	24	7	200
		% within Mothers' Levels of Education	37.5%	47.0%	12.0%	3.5%	100.0%
Total		Count	308	586	134	29	1057
		% within Mothers' Levels of Education	29.1%	55.4%	12.7%	2.7%	100.0%

Note: In each cell the number of respondents is shown together with the percentages

$\chi^2 = 11.8$ **df = 9** **P> 0.05**

Table IC.7 Mothers' Level of Education and their Daughters' Confidence to Achieve Success

Mothers' Levels of Education * Confidence in Achieving Success Crosstabulation

			Confidence in Achieving Success				Total
			Strongly Agree	Agree	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	
Mothers' Levels of Education	Primary	Count	101	182	52	12	347
		% within Mothers' Levels of Education	29.1%	52.4%	15.0%	3.5%	100.0%
	Secondary	Count	59	124	25	6	214
		% within Mothers' Levels of Education	27.6%	57.9%	11.7%	2.8%	100.0%
	Post-secondary	Count	101	139	31	8	279
		% within Mothers' Levels of Education	36.2%	49.8%	11.1%	2.9%	100.0%
	Non-formal Education or Illiterate	Count	66	92	22	10	190
		% within Mothers' Levels of Education	34.7%	48.4%	11.6%	5.3%	100.0%
Total		Count	327	537	130	36	1030
		% within Mothers' Levels of Education	31.7%	52.1%	12.6%	3.5%	100.0%

Note: In each cell the number of respondents is shown together with the percentages

$\chi^2 = 11.0$ **df = 9** **P> 0.05**

Table IC.8 Mothers' Level of Education and their Daughters' Determination To Obtain Better than a Secondary School Certificate

Mothers' Levels of Education * Determination to Obtain Better than a Secondary School Certificate Crosstabulation

			Determination to Obtain Better than a Secondary School Certificate				Total
			Strongly Agree	Agree	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	
Mothers' Levels of Education	Primary	Count	108	160	52	29	349
		% within Mothers' Levels of Education	30.9%	45.8%	14.9%	8.3%	100.0%
	Secondary	Count	80	99	25	11	215
		% within Mothers' Levels of Education	37.2%	46.0%	11.6%	5.1%	100.0%
	Post-secondary	Count	104	105	48	19	276
		% within Mothers' Levels of Education	37.7%	38.0%	17.4%	6.9%	100.0%
	Non-formal Education or Illiterate	Count	67	78	31	16	192
		% within Mothers' Levels of Education	34.9%	40.6%	16.1%	8.3%	100.0%
Total		Count	359	442	156	75	1032
		% within Mothers' Levels of Education	34.8%	42.8%	15.1%	7.3%	100.0%

Note: In each cell the number of respondents is shown together with the percentages

$\chi^2 = 10.5$ **df = 9** **P> 0.05**

Table IC.9 Parents' Place of Residence and their Daughters' Urge to Acquire Knowledge

Parents' Place of Residence * Urge to Acquire Knowledge Crosstabulation

			Urge to Acquire Knowledge				Total
			Strongly Agree	Agree	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	
Parents' Place of Residence	Urban Area	Count	472	227	43	21	763
		% within Parents' Place of Residence	61.9%	29.8%	5.6%	2.8%	100.0%
	Rural Area	Count	213	100	20	11	344
		% within Parents' Place of Residence	61.9%	29.1%	5.8%	3.2%	100.0%
Total		Count	685	327	63	32	1107
		% within Parents' Place of Residence	61.9%	29.5%	5.7%	2.9%	100.0%

Note: In each cell the number of respondents is shown together with the percentages

$\chi^2 = 213$ **df = 3** **P> 0.05**

Table IC.10 Parents' Place of Residence and their Daughters Urge to Acquire New Skills

Parents' Place of Residence * Urge to Acquire New Skills Crosstabulation

			Urge to Acquire New Skills				Total
			Strongly Agree	Agree	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	
Parents' Place of Residence	Urban Area	Count	232	413	92	19	756
		% within Parents' Place of Residence	30.7%	54.6%	12.2%	2.5%	100.0%
	Rural Area	Count	90	191	44	10	335
		% within Parents' Place of Residence	26.9%	57.0%	13.1%	3.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	322	604	136	29	1091
		% within Parents' Place of Residence	29.5%	55.4%	12.5%	2.7%	100.0%

Note: In each cell the number of respondents is shown together with the percentages

$\chi^2 = 1.7$ **df = 3** **P> 0.05**

Table IC.11 Parents Place of Residence and their Daughters' Confidence to Achieve Success

Parents' Place of Residence * Confidence in Achieving Success Crosstabulation

			Confidence in Achieving Success				
			Strongly Agree	Agree	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Total
Parents' Place of Residence	Urban Area	Count	246	389	79	24	**738**
		% within Parents' Place of Residence	33.3%	52.7%	10.7%	3.3%	100.0%
	Rural Area	Count	95	170	47	13	325
		% within Parents' Place of Residence	29.2%	52.3%	14.5%	4.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	341	559	126	37	1063
		% within Parents' Place of Residence	32.1%	52.6%	11.9%	3.5%	100.0%

Note: In each cell the number of respondents is shown together with the percentages

$\chi^2 = 4.2$ **df = 3** **P> 0.05**

Table IC.12 Parents' Place of Residence and their Daughters' Determination To Obtain More than a secondary School Certificate

Parents' Place of Residence * Determination to Obtain Better than a Secondary School Certificate Crosstabulation

			Determination to Obtain Better than a Secondary School Certificate				
			Strongly Agree	Agree	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Total
Parents' Place of Residence	Urban Area	Count	256	324	117	48	745
		% within Parents' Place of Residence	34.4%	43.5%	15.7%	6.4%	100.0%
	Rural Area	Count	119	134	45	29	327
		% within Parents' Place of Residence	36.4%	41.0%	13.8%	8.9%	100.0%
Total		Count	375	458	162	77	1072
		% within Parents' Place of Residence	35.0%	42.7%	15.1%	7.2%	100.0%

Note: In each cell the number of respondents is shown together with the percentages

$\chi^2 = 3.0$ **df = 3** **P> 0.05**

Table IC.13 Husbands' Level of Education and their Wives Urge to Acquire Knowledge

Husbands' Level of Education * Urge to Acquire Knowledge Crosstabulation

			Urge to Acquire Knowledge				Total
			Strongly Agree	Agree	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	
Husbands' Level of Education	Primary	Count	13	6	1	1	21
		% within Husbands' Level of Education	61.9%	28.6%	4.8%	4 8%	100.0%
	Secondary	Count	15	8	3	2	28
		% within Husbands' Level of Education	53.6%	28.6%	10.7%	7.1%	100.0%
	Post-secondary	Count	182	89	18	9	298
		% within Husbands' Level of Education	61.1%	29.9%	6.0%	3.0%	100.0%
	Non-formal education or illiterate	Count	42	22	7	8	79
		% within Husbands' Level of Education	53.2%	27.8%	8.9%	10.1%	100.0%
Total		Count	252	125	29	20	426
		% within Husbands' Level of Education	59.2%	29.3%	6.8%	4.7%	100.0%

Note: In each cell the number of respondents is shown together with the percentages

$\chi^2 = 9.5$ **df = 3** **P> 0.05**

Table IC.14 Husbands' Level of Education and their Wives' Urge to Acquire New Skills

Husbands' Level of Education * Urge to Acquire New Skills Crosstabulation

			Urge to Acquire New Skills				Total
			Strongly Agree	Agree	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	
Husbands' Level of Education	Primary	Count	8	11	2		21
		% within Husbands' Level of Education	38.1%	52.4%	9.5%		100.0%
	Secondary	Count	11	10	5	2	28
		% within Husbands' Level of Education	39.3%	35.7%	17.9%	7.1%	100.0%
	Post-secondary	Count	97	156	35	9	297
		% within Husbands' Level of Education	32.7%	52.5%	11.8%	3.0%	100.0%
	Non-formal education or illiterate	Count	25	34	14	4	77
		% within Husbands' Level of Education	32.5%	44.2%	18.2%	5.2%	100.0%
Total		Count	141	211	56	15	423
		% within Husbands' Level of Education	33.3%	49.9%	13.2%	3.5%	100.0%

Note: In each cell the number of respondents is shown together with the percentages

$\chi^2 = 7.7$ **df = 9** **P> 0.05**

Table IC.15 Husbands'' Level of Education and Wives Confidence in Achieving Success

Husbands' Level of Education * Confidence in Achieving Success Crosstabulation

			Confidence in Achieving Success				
			Strongly Agree	Agree	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Total
Husbands' Level of Education	Primary	Count	5	10	5	1	21
		% within Husbands' Level of Education	23.8%	47.6%	23.8%	4.8%	100.0%
	Secondary	Count	7	12	7		26
		% within Husbands' Level of Education	26.9%	46.2%	26.9%		100.0%
	Post-secondary	Count	83	154	28	16	281
		% within Husbands' Level of Education	29.5%	54.8%	10.0%	5.7%	100.0%
	Non-formal education or illiterate	Count	24	40	6	5	75
		% within Husbands' Level of Education	32.0%	53.3%	8.0%	6.7%	100.0%
Total		Count	119	216	46	22	403
		% within Husbands' Level of Education	29.5%	53.6%	11.4%	5.5%	100.0%

Note: In each cell the number of respondents is shown together with the percentages

$\chi^2 = 12.1$ **df = 9** **P> 0.05**

Table IC.16 Husbands' Level of Education and their Wives Determination to Obtain Better than a Secondary School Certificate

Husbands' Level of Education * Determination to Obtain Better than a Secondary School Certificate Crosstabulation

			Determination to Obtain Better than a Secondary School Certificate				
			Strongly Agree	Agree	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Total
Husbands' Level of Education	Primary	Count	7	4	7	3	21
		% within Husbands' Level of Education	33.3%	19.0%	33.3%	14.3%	100.0%
	Secondary	Count	11	8	5	3	27
		% within Husbands' Level of Education	40.7%	29.6%	18.5%	11.1%	100.0%
	Post-secondary	Count	100	125	47	17	289
		% within Husbands' Level of Education	34.6%	43.3%	16.3%	5.9%	100.0%
	Non-formal education or illiterate	Count	25	34	10	4	73
		% within Husbands' Level of Education	34.2%	46.6%	13.7%	5.5%	100.0%
Total		Count	143	171	69	27	410
		% within Husbands' Level of Education	34.9%	41.7%	16.8%	6.6%	100.0%

Note: In each cell the number of respondents is shown together with the percentages

$\chi^2 = 11.4$ **df = 9** **P> 0.05**

APPENDIX II

A. Interview Schedule
B. Interviewee Personal Data Form
C. Profile of the Interviewees
D Sample of Interview Transcript

APPENDIX IIA: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Statement Read out Before the Interview

General Introduction

This survey is purely for academic purpose. It seeks to identify what motivates women from northern Nigeria to pursue higher education, and what helps to retain them or make them return in case they suspended their going to school.

Your participation is entirely voluntary. Once you have agreed to take part you may still change your mind during the interview and withdraw information you have already given. Also if you prefer not to answer any questions, you may simply decline to do so. Your privacy will be protected. The information you give will be for research purposes only and will never be linked with your name or address

Interview Schedule

Introduction of Themes and Probing

1. How did you become aware of the higher educational opportunities available
   to you?
   Probe: *Where and when?*

2. In a society like this one, there is often the tendency of parents to support the higher education of boys more than girls. What would you say about your parents support in this respect?
   Probe: *About the support that other women she knew got from their parents.*
   The attitude of parents nowadays towards the higher education of their daughters.
   The support or lack of it by parents in the future. Why or Why not.

3. What factors inspired you to higher education?
   Probe: *what factors inspire females generally to go for higher education?*
   which of these are peculiar to girls in northern Nigeria?

4. Many people could be inspired by material rewards. As you might recall do you think that this influenced many of your friends who went for higher education?

Probe: *what about you? What sorts of material rewards would you say inspired you? .*
Do you think such factors are still inspirational to girls nowadays?
Would these factors remain inspirational to the girls even in the future?
or do you think others would become operational? if yes what are they likely to be?

5. Many social factors affect one's decision to go for higher education. What would you say were those societal factors that motivated you to acquire higher education?

Probe: *social factors that affected her contemporaries, and then now.*

6. Do you know of other women who societal expectations might have inhibited from pursuing higher education? What were those expectations?

Probe: *how general were these expectations among her mates, and then now.*

7. How did you manage to go for higher education despite those expectations from the society?

Probe: *about other students then and now.*

8. Was it entirely your decision to go for higher education, or were you encouraged to do so?

Probe: *From where did she get the encouragement*
Were these moral or material? What were they?

9. Would you say that other women that studied with you got similar encouragement? What types?

Probe: *If girls are still getting such encouragement*
If parents will continue to give the support, Why or Why not.

9. Some institutions can be attractive and can make people to want to go there. Were any of your friends attracted by anything at the institution you attended?

Probe: *List those things that attracted her to that institution*
Things that are still attracting women to it and Why?
The possibility of such factors to remain attractive to women or not.

10. Change in life events can make one's life plans change. Did any change in your life made you to go for higher education?

Probe: *the type and nature of those changes; how they affect the motivation of girls now.*

12. While you were studying for your higher education did you ever feel like discontinuing at a certain point for some reasons?

Probe*: What those reasons were.*
If her colleagues had similar feelings
What some of their reasons were.

13. What factors would you say kept you at the institution where you studied up to the time you graduated?

Probe*: If such factors are still keeping women in higher education now*
Other factors that are helping to maintain women in higher .education that are likely to remain even in the future.

14. I know that you have studied (*mention course of study)*. What circumstances led to your studying it?

Probe*: If she had a change of course and why*
*If change of course of study was common among girl*s
The trend of the changes-from the sciences to the arts or vice versa.
If there were many women that studied the same course as she did. Why or why not?
What she feels about the likelihood of more girls studying the same course as she did in the future? Why or why not?

15. Circumstances often make some women discontinue with their studies after they have begun. Were you in the course of your studies forced by certain reasons to discontinue, and return later to complete?

Probe: *If yes what were some of her reasons for discontinuing*
Why she decided to return
If other women she knew faced similar situations, and what their reasons were?
If women would now take the same decision if faced with similar circumstances. Why or Why not?

16. From your experience did you face any problems while you were studying?

Probe: *What some of the problems were.*
Types of problem women in higher education are facing now.
If same or other problems will continue to impinge on the higher education of women.

17. Many factors may help in determining the amount a girl receives as dowry for her marriage. Do you know of any women who got a high dowry because of their higher education?

Probe: *If she feels she received a high dowry because of her education*
If she thinks there should be a relationship between a girl's education and what is given as her bride price, Why or Why not?
The general attitude of men generally about getting married to a girl with higher education..
If she knows of any girls who have not been able to get a husband due to their higher education. What factors that contributes to that?

18. Some people may actually feel worse off for their higher education. Do you know of any women who do? Why?

Probe: *If she had ever had such experience even if temporary and what the circumstances were that made her to have such feelings?*

19. What suggestions would you give as to how women from northern Nigeria can be encouraged to participate more in higher education?

20. Now you know the kinds of things I think can help or hinder women to study in higher institutions. Are there other reasons you think I have not discussed?

APPENDIX IIB: INTERVIEWEES' PERSONAL DATA FORM

1. State of Origin

2. Qualification

3. Area of Specialisation

4. Marital Status

5. Are you employed or not

6. If employed, what type of employment

7. If married, husband's educational qualification

8. Husband's place of residence-urban or rural

9. Father's educational qualification

10. Mother's educational qualification

11. Parent's place of residence

12. Your Religion

APPENDIX IIC: PROFILE OF THE INTERVIEWEES

FIGURE IIC.1

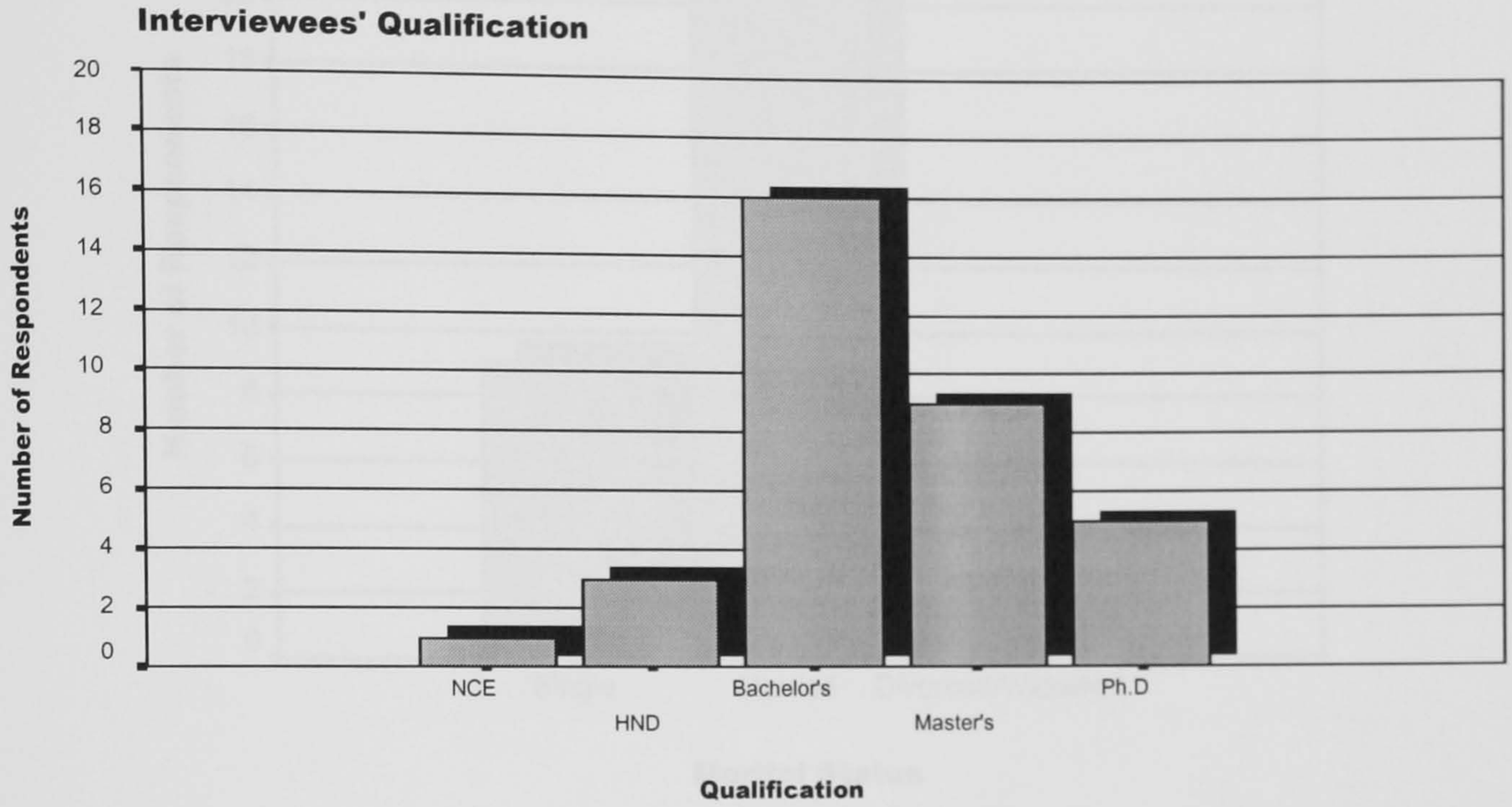


FIGURE IIC.2

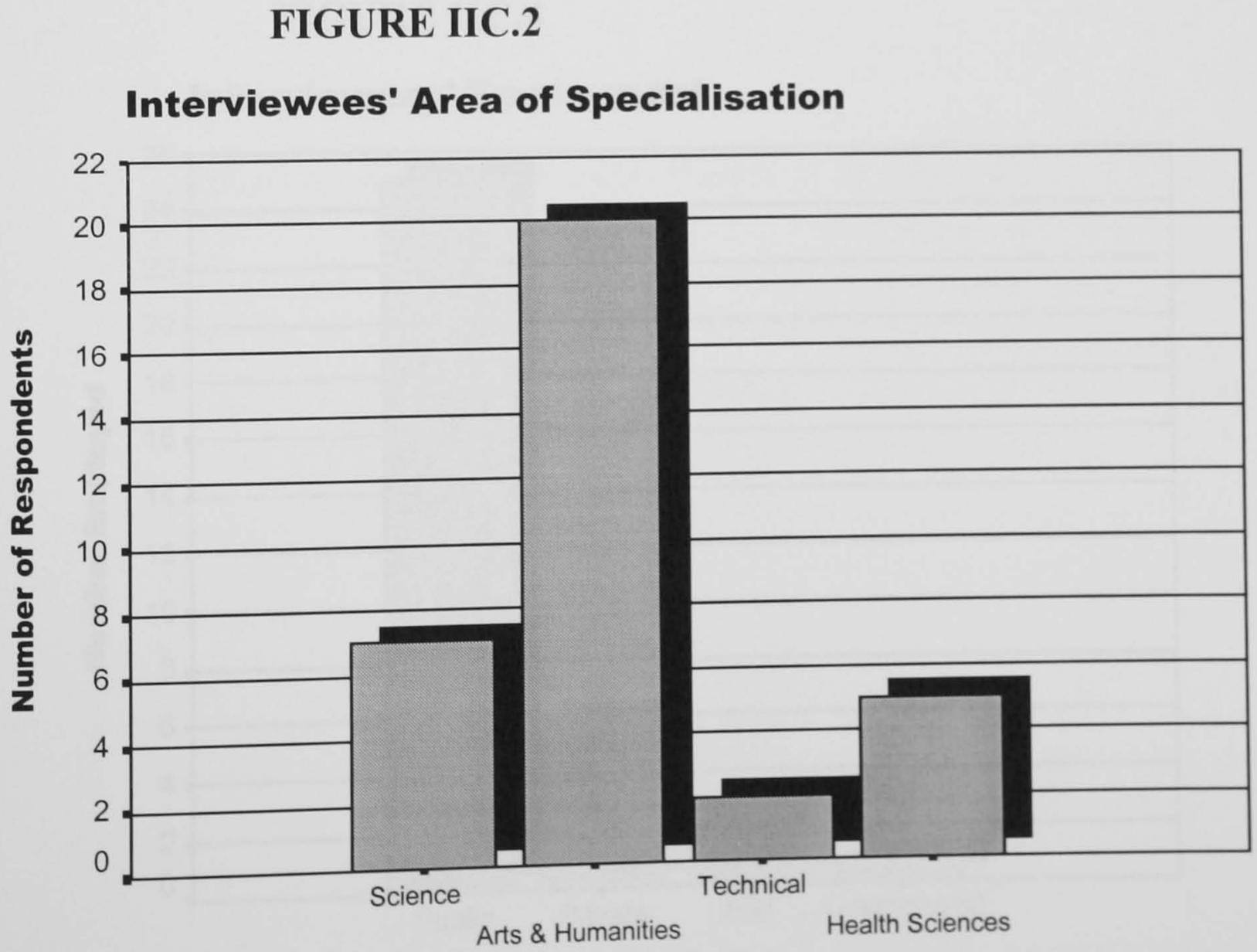


FIGURE IIC.3

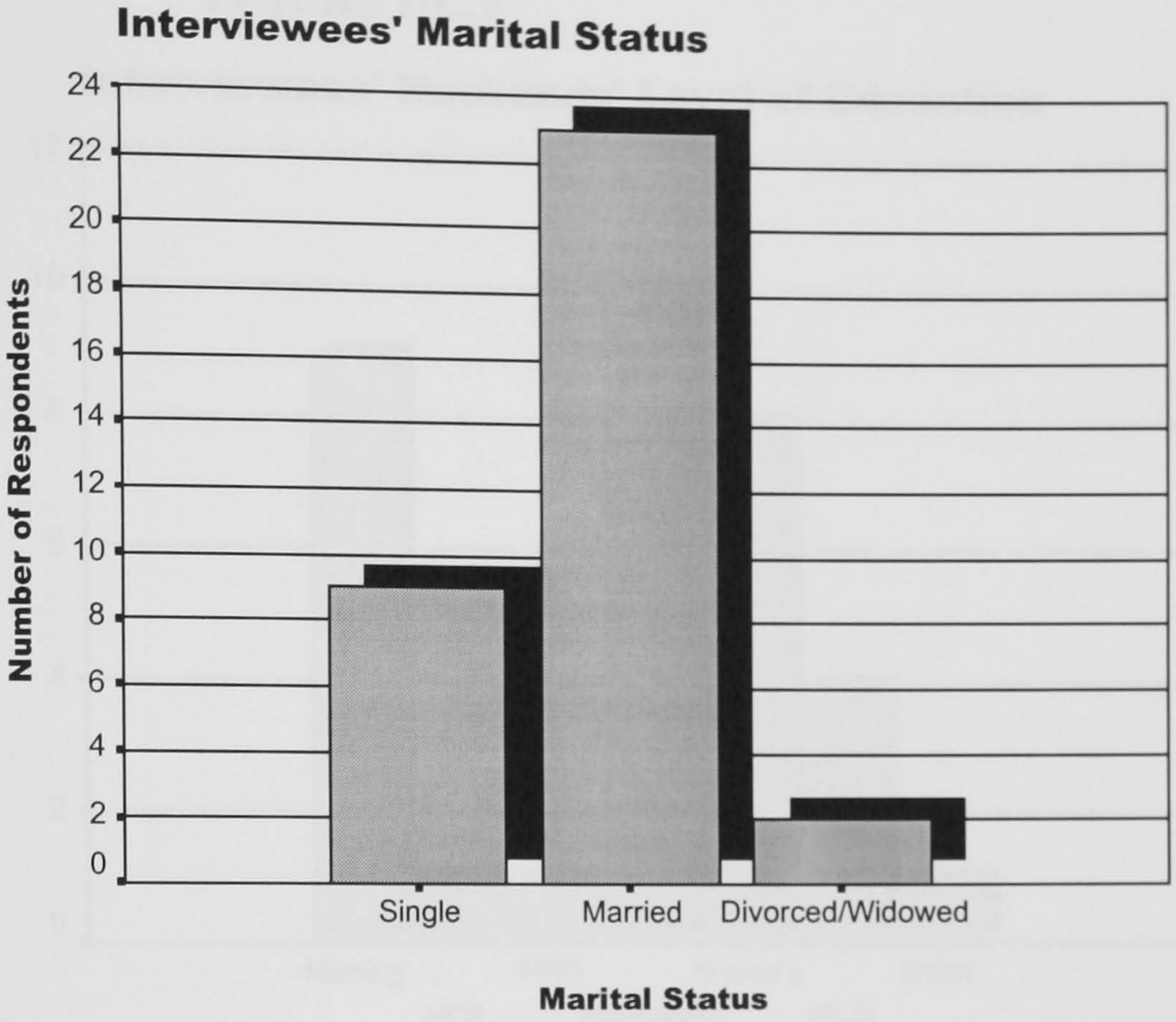


FIGURE IIC.4

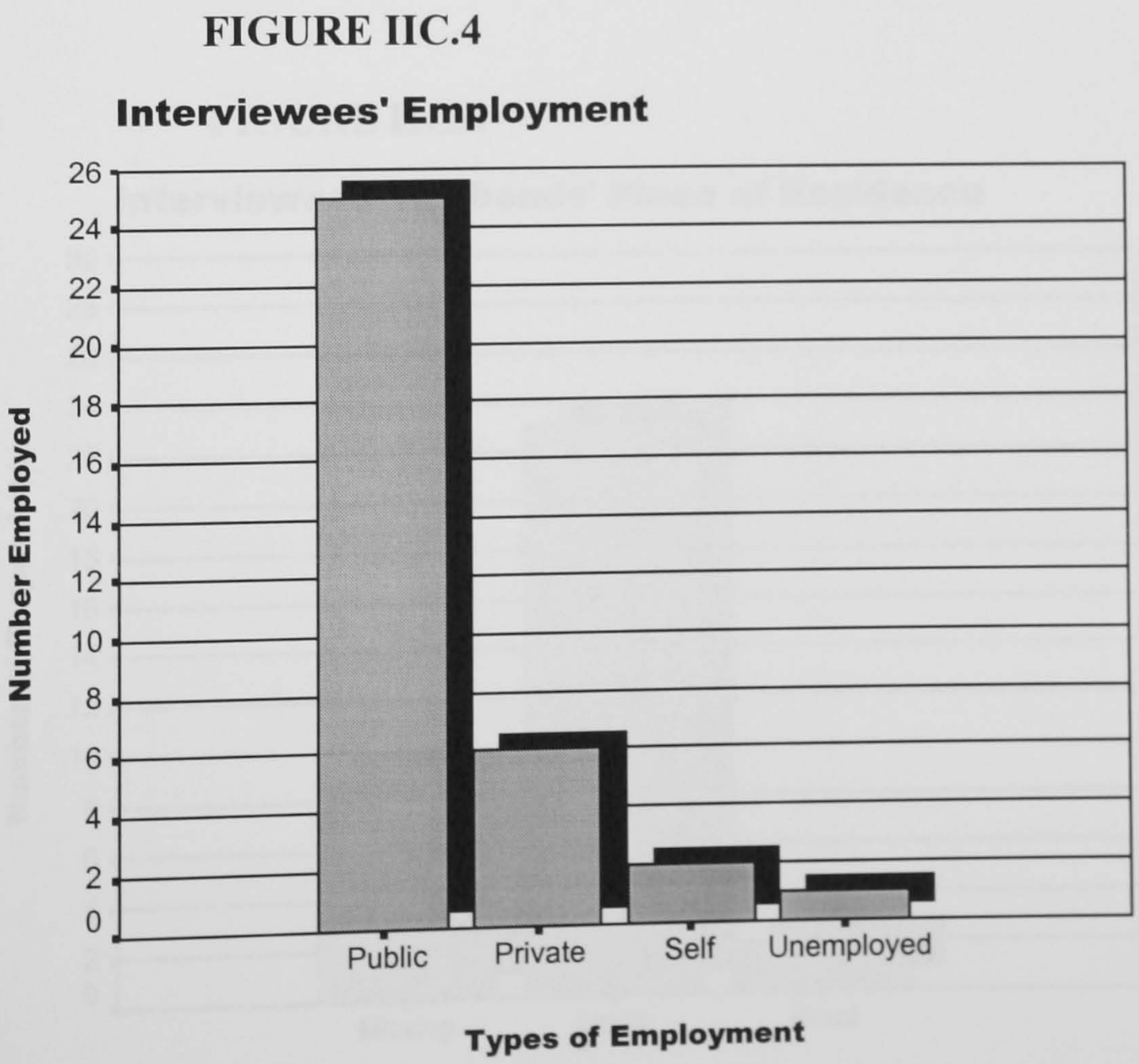
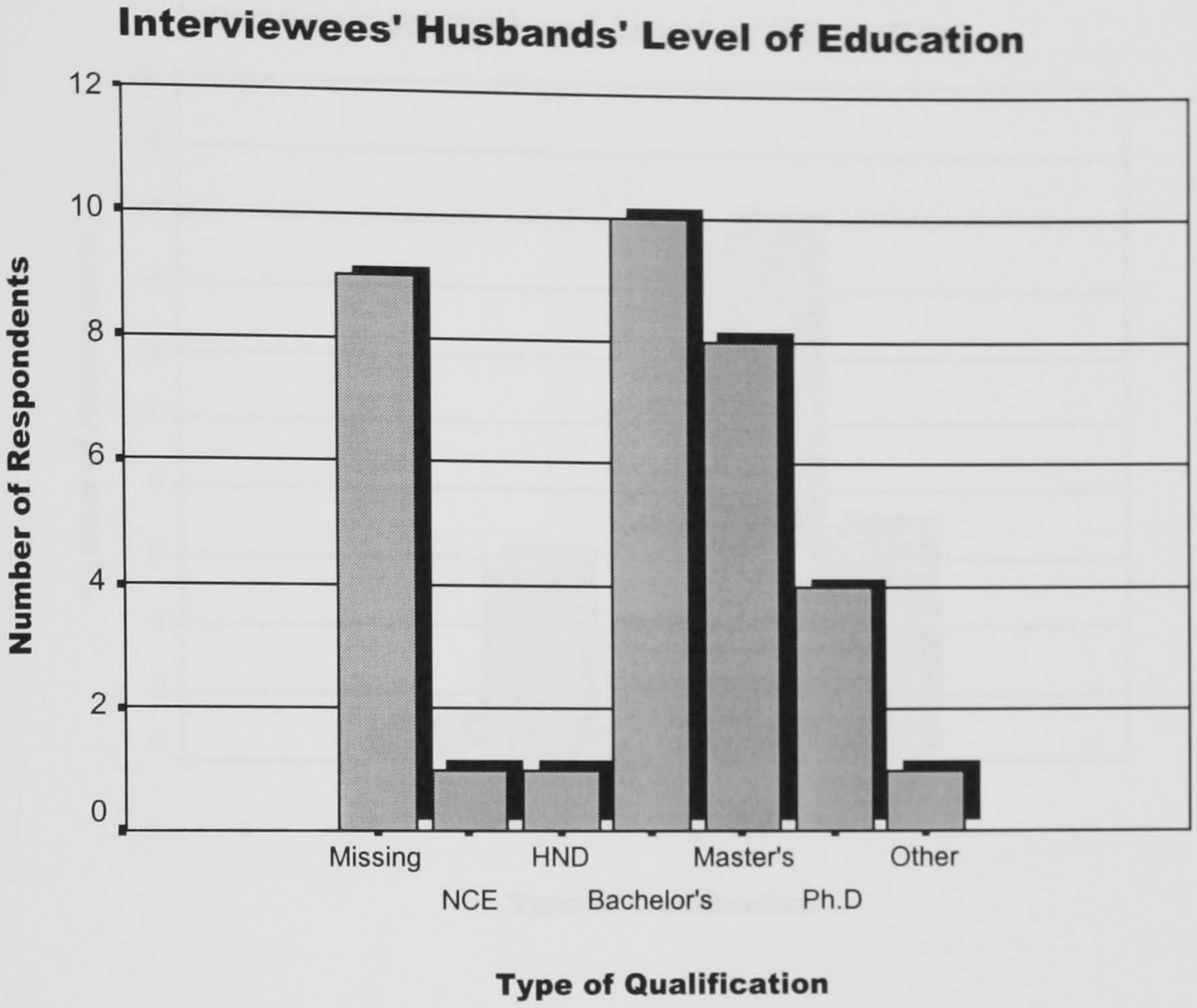


FIGURE IIC.5



Note: 'Other' = Secondary, Primary or Non-formal Education

FIGURE IIC.6

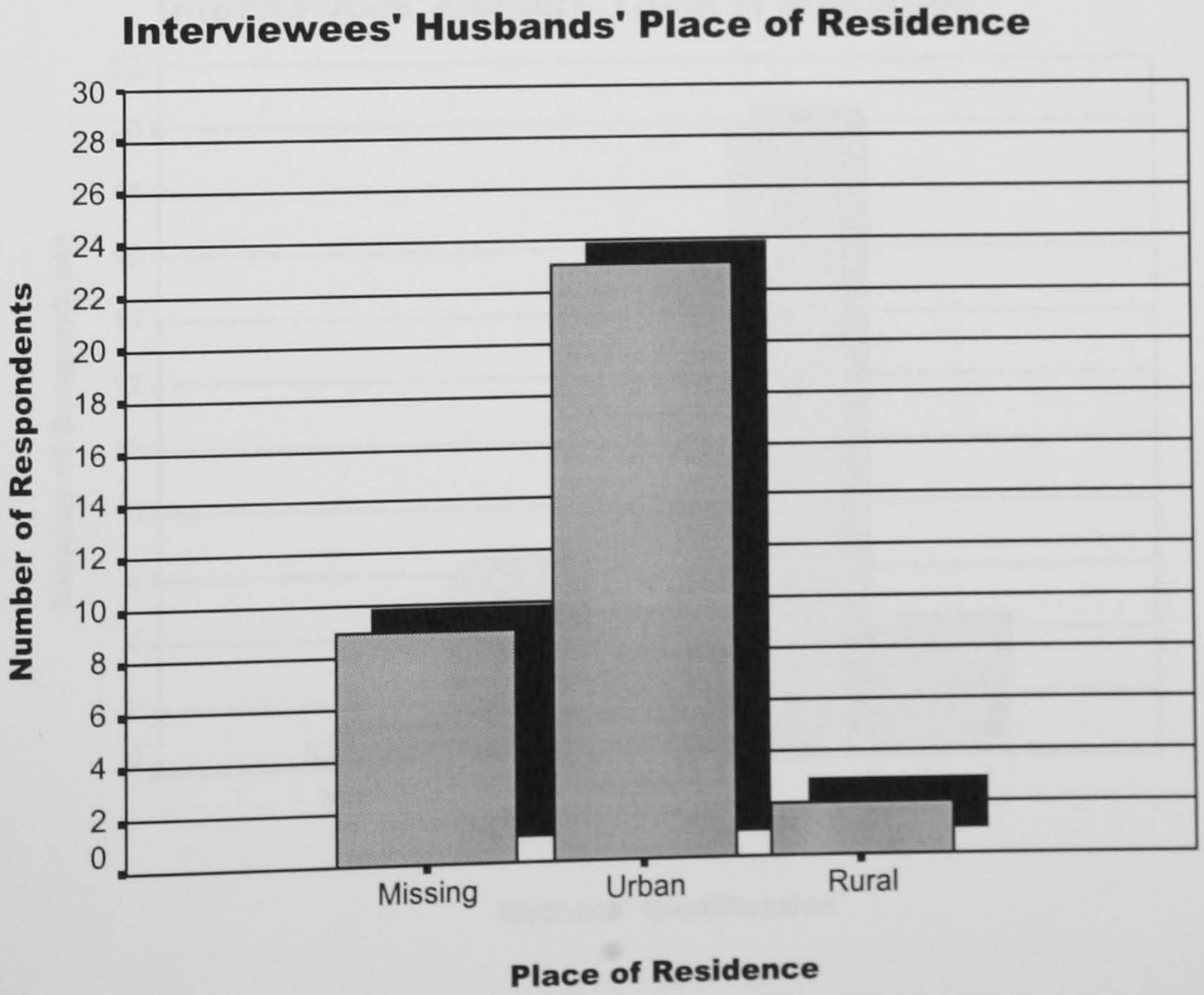


FIGURE IIC.7

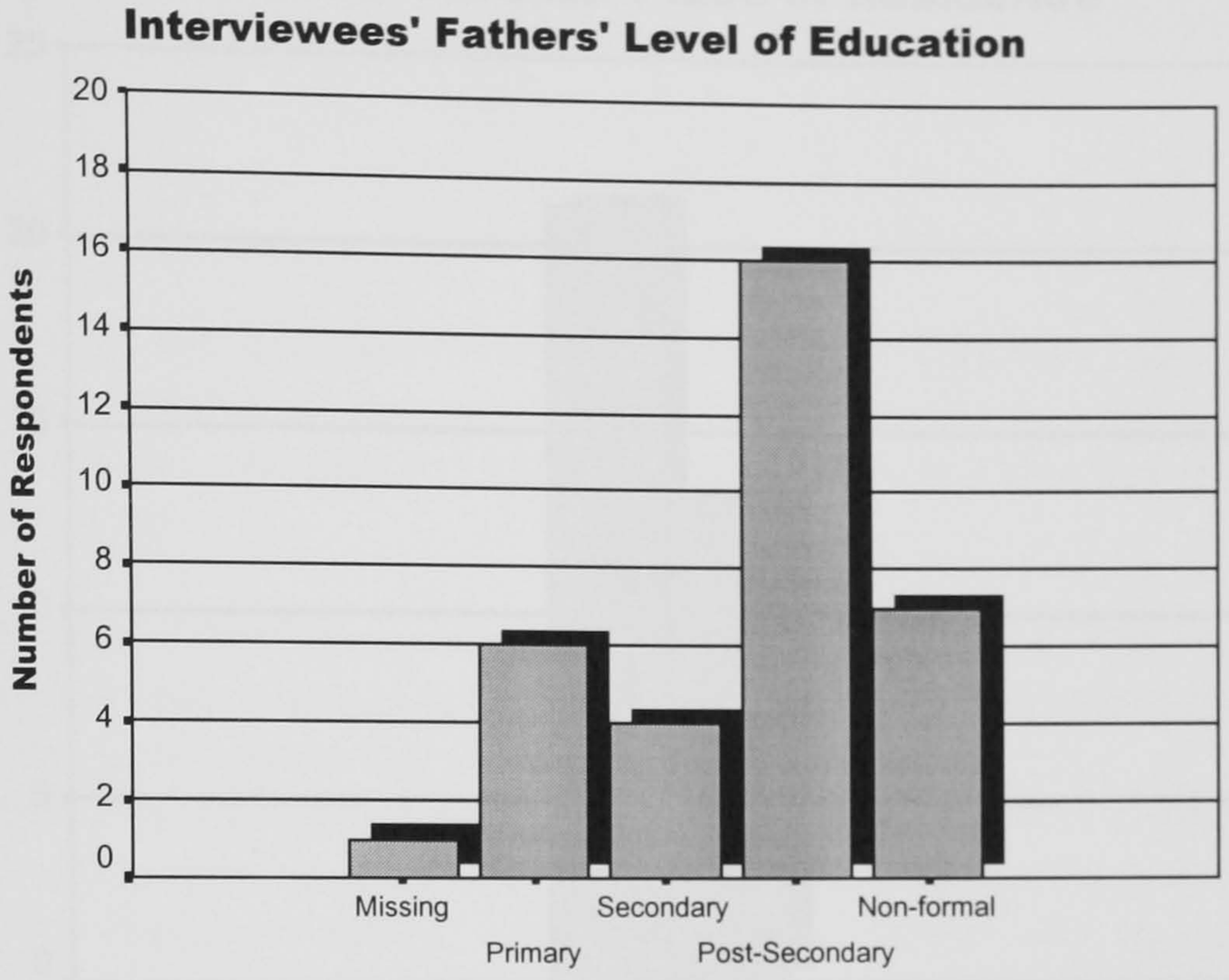


FIGURE IIC.8

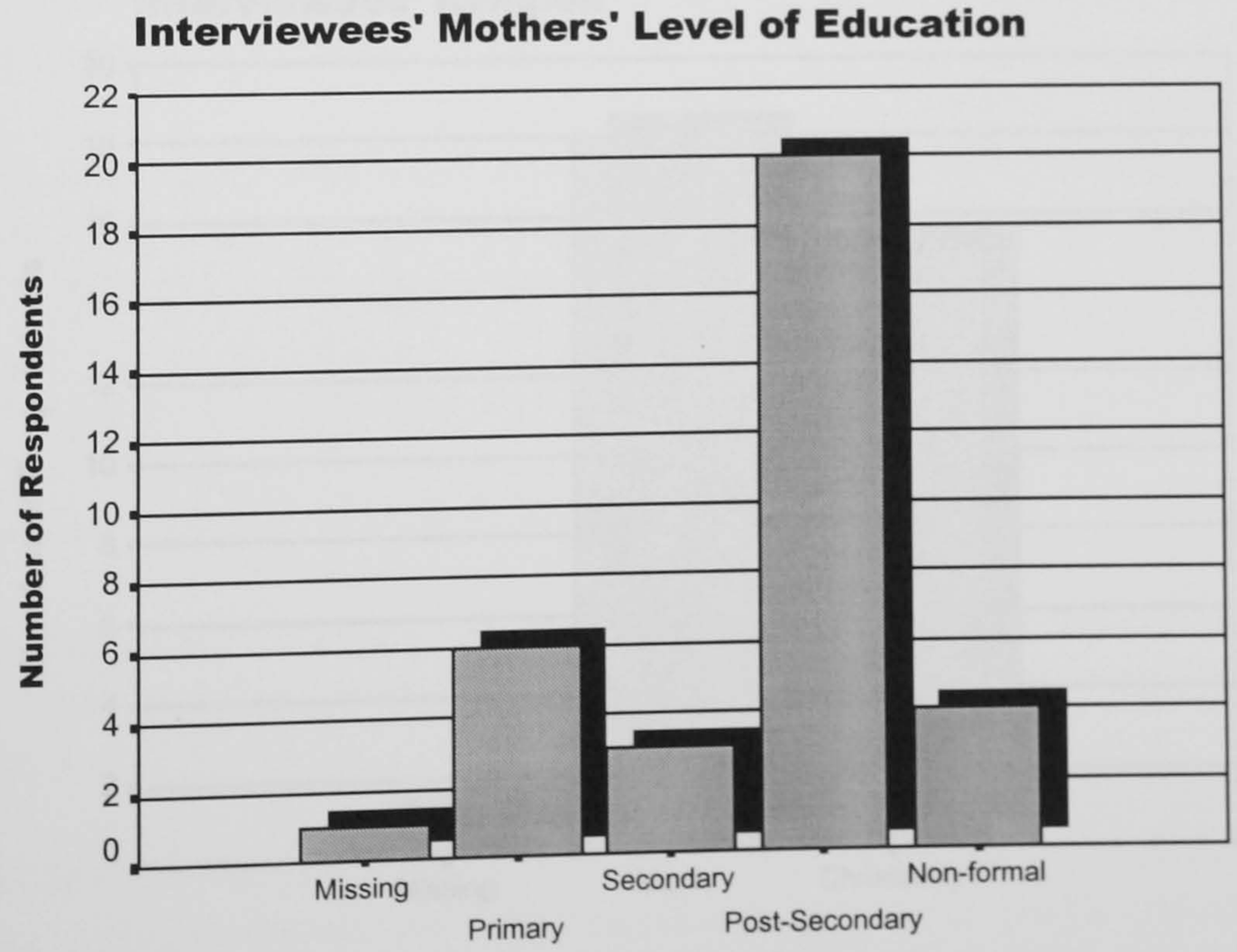


FIGURE IIC.9

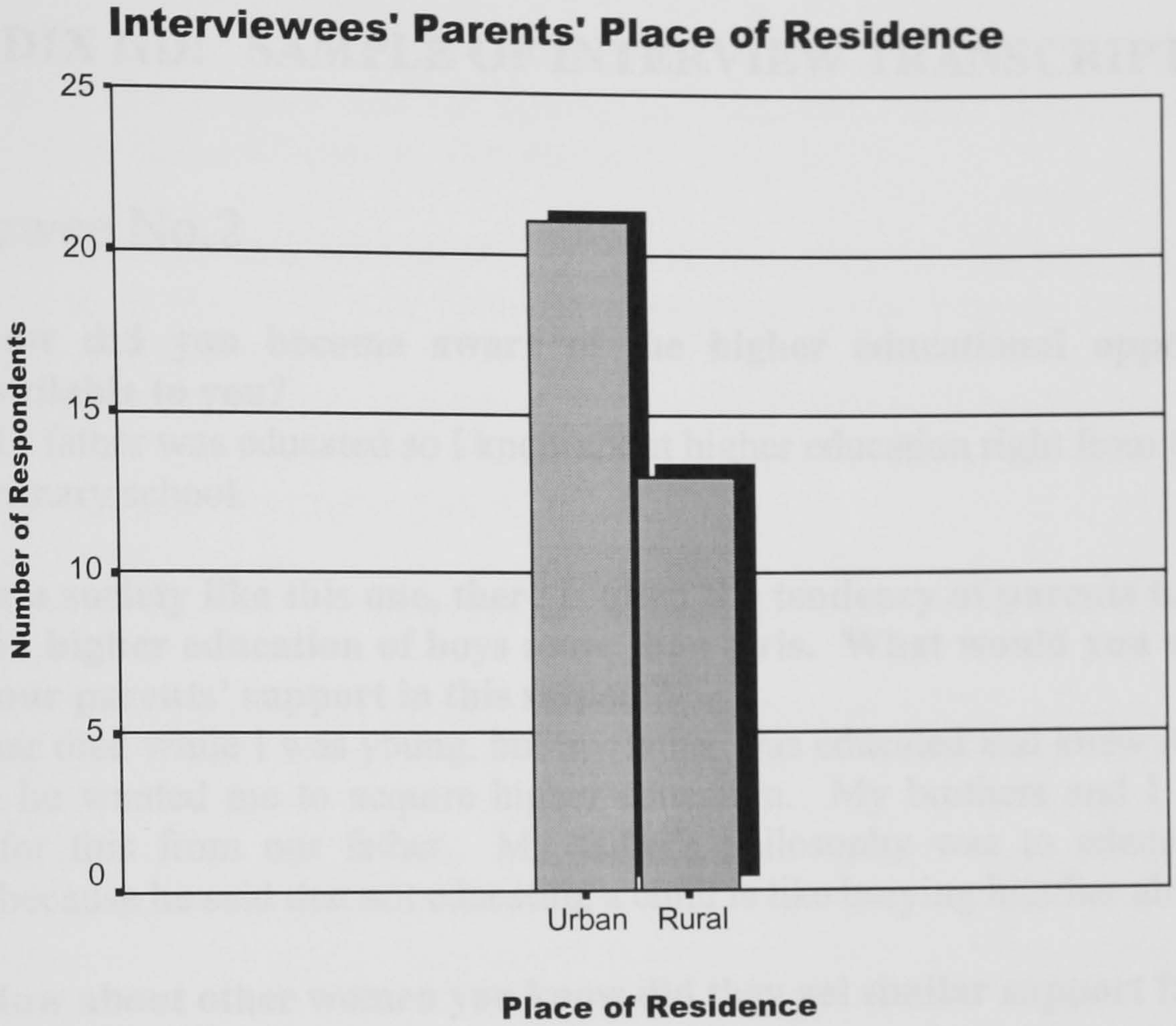
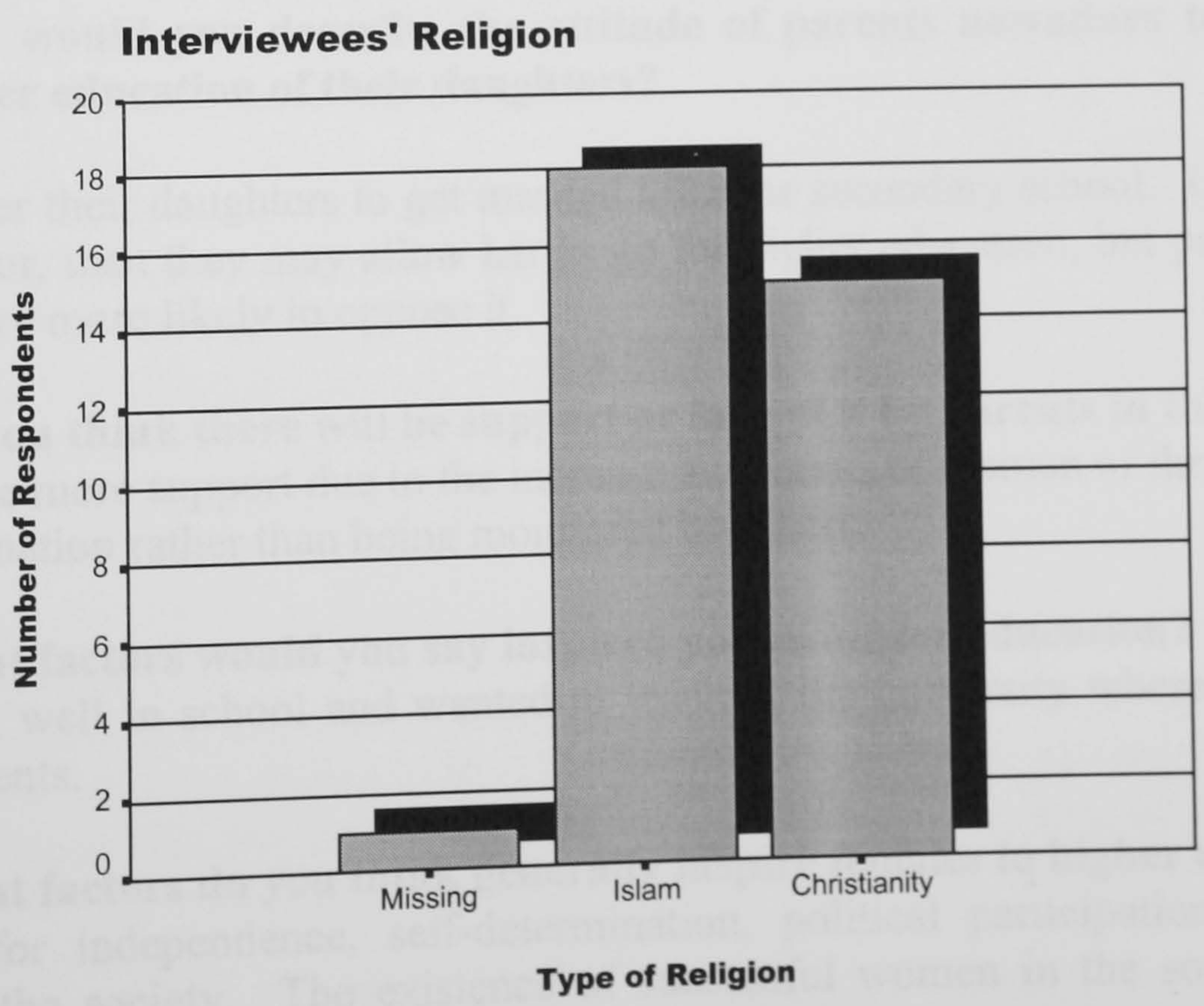


FIGURE IIC.10



APPENDIX IID: SAMPLE OF INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT

Interviewee No.2

How did you become aware of the higher educational opportunities available to you?

My father was educated so I knew about higher education right from the primary school.

In a society like this one, there is often the tendency of parents to support the higher education of boys more than girls. What would you say about your parents' support in this respect?

My mother died while I was young, but my father was educated and knew its benefit, therefore he wanted me to acquire higher education. My brothers and I got equal support for this from our father. My father's philosophy was to educate all his children because he said that not educating a child is like burying him/her alive.

How about other women you know did they get similar support from their parents?

Those who got the support were mainly those whose mothers had some level of formal education.

How would you describe the attitude of parents nowadays towards the higher education of their daughters?

Parents prefer their daughters to get married after the secondary school. If there is no suitable suitor, then they may allow her to go for higher education, but parents in the rural areas are more likely to oppose it.

Do you think there will be support or lack of it by parents in the future?

There will be more support due to the increase awareness of women of their rights and self determination rather than being monitored by others.

What factors would you say inspired you to higher education?

I was doing well in school and wanted to teach at the university where I can teach mature students.

What factors do you think generally inspire females to higher education?

The need for independence, self-determination, political participation and being relevant to the society. The existence of successful women in the society is also inspiring women to higher education.

Are there peculiar factors that inspire girls from northern Nigeria to go for higher education?

Northern Nigerian girls shy away from higher education due to lack of encouragement from families and spouses and the apathy of men who prefer women with some education rather than with higher education.

Many people could be inspired by material rewards. As you might recall do you think that this influenced many of your friends who went for higher education?

Self-actualisation rather than economic reasons made many of my friends to go for higher education, and many women who have parents or husbands that can meet their economic needs still went for higher education.

What about you? What sorts of material rewards would you say inspired you?

Me? I was mostly motivated by my teachers than any material rewards. I wanted to live a simple life and was more interested in acquiring knowledge. If it were for material rewards, I wouldn't have remained at the university, as university lecturers in Nigeria are among the poorly paid. Because I am interested in imparting knowledge to others I stayed. Now that I am working with the federal government, I may see that I was missing wealth, but acquiring wealth is still not a factor to what I am doing.

Would such factors as you have mentioned remain inspirational to girls even in the future?

If the society remains enabling by providing girls more opportunities to pursue higher education. If NGOs, UNICEF, UNESCO and the government can provide more programs in the mobilisation of the local communities, there will be more awareness and more girls will aspire for higher education.

Many social factors affect one's decision to go for higher education. What would you say were those societal factors that motivated you to acquire higher education?

I will say that societal factors were against me. The extended family was against Western education, and I still suffer due to that fact that I am educated. They see no relevance to women's education within my small rural setting. In the wider society I am accepted which provides me with some satisfaction.

What social factors would you say affected your friends?

Some came from communities that accepted western education and been rewarded with high offices in the government. Other women came from similar community as mine where a married woman is appreciated, and she is not to be seen or heard, and not an educated one who is regarded as "too forward".

Do you know of other women who societal expectations might have inhibited from pursuing higher education?

Many women I know were divorced because of going for higher education, some had to withdraw because they didn't want a divorce. Some men hide under the false precept of Islam and deny their daughters and wives education. This is a

misconception of Islam as it encourages both sexes to acquire knowledge. This is nothing but selfish and cultural reasons that make the society to discriminate against women.
We can only guard our culture against debasement when we are more enlightened, know our religious rights which encompass all aspects of life.

How did you mange to go for higher education despite those expectations from the society?

I had two divorces and both were related to my pursuing a carrier. That was the price I had to pay for my higher education.

Was it entirely your decision to go for higher education or were you encouraged to do so?

My teachers and especially the principal gave me a lot of moral support and advice that inspired me for higher education.

Are girls still getting similar encouragement as you had?

I was a headliner. I have been able to inspire many other women. Some women may also be inspired to acquire higher education due to their job requirement either as prerequisite or for advancement.

Do you think parents will continue to encourage their daughters to go for higher education?

I doubt very much now due to the turn of the economy in the country, the government is not able to provide the financial assistance it had given at our time and many parents are incapacitated. Even if the parents want their daughters to acquire higher education, they may not be able to give the financial assistance needed.

Some institutions can be attractive and can make people to want to go there. Were any of your friends attracted by anything at the institution you attended?

A.B.U was the dream institution for many people. It had high academic standard, national and international recognition.

What do you feel is the possibility of this institution to remain attractive to women?

It all depends on the level of manpower available at the institution. There has lately been a massive brain-drain due to the economic down turn in the country. There is also more assisting staff than professors and many students are unable to find supervisors for a higher degree.

Change in life events can make one's life plans to change. Did any change in your life made you to go for higher education?

Education was a continuous process for me since the opportunity was there and I had government scholarship. To continue with the higher education, I had some changes in my life events. My first husband who felt I wasn't submissive enough due to my education battered me. My second husband called me a "white woman," and would say " *sai kin kwantad da kai guguwa ta hau*." (must be very humble and submissive)

before he can live peacefully with me. He wanted me to be an entire housewife and just stay at home. I found it uncompromising, and had to leave.

What types of changes of life event do you think can affect the motivation of women to go for higher education?

The awareness of higher education, divorce, widowhood, supplementing husband's income can all make a woman to go for higher education.

While you were studying did you ever feel like discontinuing at a certain point for some reasons?

I felt tired of the process coupled with my marital problems, but did not abandon my studies. My grades were affected, but I pulled through.

What factors would you say kept you at the institution where you studied up to the time you graduated?

The presence of my peers and the need for job advancement.

Are such factors still keeping women in the higher institutions?

I think self-emancipation and the desire to participate in the development of the country are the major factors.

Are these factors likely to remain even in the future?

Yes, higher education open job opportunities. If the system is able to absorb more women, then many others will be inspired to go for higher education. If there are no job opportunities, then it will depress the aspiration of women.

I know you studied Psychology. What circumstances led to your studying it?

I registered late for the course I had wanted to study, and was told that there were enough people for that, I therefore had to opt for another course.

Did you have a change of course while studying?

No, I didn't change my course.

Was change of course common among girls?

Change of course was not common among the girls at that time

Were there many women that studied the same course as you did?

Yes, because Education is traditionally considered a woman's job. Psychology is an education course as a result there were many women who studied it.

What do you feel about the likelihood of more girls studying Psychology in the future?

It is very likely because many teachers are women. Also part of the future plan for education in Nigeria is to have more women teachers so as to encourage more parents to enrol their daughters in schools and to serve as a role model.

While you were studying for your higher education did you ever feel like discontinuing at a certain point for some reasons?

Yes, I had such a feeling due to the mental fatigue and marital problems as I have told you earlier. I was also depressed and had a child.

Circumstances often make some women discontinue with their studies after they have begun. Were you in the course of your studies forced by certain reasons to discontinue and return later to complete?

This all depends on how individuals react to crisis situation. Even though I had many problems I persevered, but you know I told you that I had two divorces during the process of my higher education.

From your experience did you face any problems while you were studying?

Yes, at the post-graduate level I couldn't find a supervisor and had to look for a scholarship to go abroad to study.

What types of problems do you think women in higher institutions are facing now?

There is the problem of role conflict with the women as a mothers, students, wives.

Do you think that the same or other problems will continue to impinge on the higher education of women?

The problem of role conflict will remain since the expectations on women as wives and mothers will not change. The economic problem is another one that will have a negative effect on the higher education of women. Unless the economic problem we are facing now gets better, I am afraid many women will not be able to afford going for higher education.

Many factors help in determining the amount a girl receives as dowry for her marriage. Do you know of any women who got a high dowry because of their higher education?

No. I feel that dowry is symbolic in some communities. One finds for example some less educated people demanding more money as a sign of the worth of their daughter. The worth of a woman is not determined by the amount of money given to her for her dowry.

Do you think there should be a relationship between a girl's higher education and what is given as her dowry?

No, because our value system should not be monetary, a man should respect his wife as a mutual partner not as someone he has paid for.

How would you describe the general attitude of men about getting married to a girl with higher education?

There are two categories of men. There are the traditionalists who take a woman with less education as the better one. There are the liberal ones who take a woman with more education as one that is more capable of taking up to her responsibilities.

Do you know of any girls who have not been able to get a husband due to their higher education?

Sometimes there is a lot of suspicion on the loss of virginity of a girl who has stayed very long studying without getting marriage. Also it is not always easy for such girls to get husbands of own choice. There is also the cultural bias that a woman should be totally subjugated rather than a partner which many highly educated women do not accept.

Some people may actually feel worse off for their higher education. Do you know of any women who do?

No, not really.

What about you? Have you ever had such experience even if temporarily?

No. In fact I feel that I have been liberated and have contributed to the society. I have also never felt that ignorance is better than being educated.

What suggestions would you give as to how women from northern Nigeria can be encouraged to participate more in higher education?

Need for the mobilisation of the local communities to the awareness of the need for women's higher education. The Western educational system disregard the culture of the society, and the system has to be reoriented to have relevance to the culture and environment of the children.

Now you know the kinds of things I think can help or hinder women from northern Nigeria to study in higher institutions. Are there any other reasons you think I have not discussed?

No, I think you have touched on the important aspects of women's education and I have nothing more to add.

Thank you very much and I appreciate your time and co-operation