



PLANE-Supported Policy Influencing for Systemic Education Reforms: Final Report

DELVe Technical Assistance and Research Workstream

24th November 2025

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Acronyms

ABEP	Accelerated Basic Education Programme	NCAOOSCE	National Commission for Almajiri and Out of School Children Education
CBOs	Community-based Organisations	NCE	National Council of Education
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations	NESRI	Nigeria Education Sector Renewal Initiative
DELVe	Human Development Evaluation, Learning and Verification Service	NGF	Nigeria Governors' Forum
DPRS	Directors of Policy, Research and Statistics	NMEC	National Commission for Mass Literacy, Adult and Non-Formal Education
EDOREN	Education Data, Research and Evaluation in Nigeria initiative	PACE	Partnership for Agile Governance & Climate Engagement
EMIS	Education Management Information System	PERL	Partnership to Engage, Reform and Learn
EQUALS	Evaluation Quality Assurance and Learning Services	PLANE	Partnership for Learning for All in Nigerian Education Programme
ESSPIN	Education Sector Support Programme in Nigeria	NERDC	Nigerian Educational and Research Development Council
FCDO-N	Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office – Nigeria	ROOSC	Reaching Out Of School Children
FME	Federal Ministry of Education	SAME	State Agency for Mass Education
GoN	Government of Nigeria	SBMC	School Based Management Committee
IP	Implementing Partner	SHoA	State House of Assembly
JigawaUNITE	Jigawa Unified New Improvement of Teaching and Education	SUBEB	State Universal Basic Education Board
JONAPwD	Joint National Association of Persons with Disabilities	TaRL	Teaching at the Right Level
K-SAFE	Kano State Accountability Forum on Education	TDP	Teacher Development Programme
KADBEAM	Kaduna State Basic Education Accountability Mechanism	TMIS	Teacher Management Information System
KERC	Kano Education Recovery Conference	TRDR	Teacher Recruitment, Deployment and Replacement
KII	Key Informant Interview	TRDD	Teacher Recruitment, Deployment and Development
LG(E)A	Local Government (Education) Authority	TWG	Technical Working Group
MAF	Mutual Accountability Framework	UBE(C)	Universal Basic Education (Commission)
MDAs	Ministries, Departments and Agencies	UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
M&E	Monitoring & Evaluation	W1, W2	PLANE Window 1 and 2
MEL	Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning		

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Programme Summary

Programme name	Human Development Evaluation, Learning and Verification Service (DELVe)
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Consortium	Ecorys Ltd (lead supplier); Itad Ltd; Preston Associates for International Development Ltd
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Executive Summary

Ecorys UK Limited (Ecorys), in consortium with Itad Limited (Itad) and Preston Associates for International Development (Preston Associates), have been contracted by the Foreign Commonwealth and Development Office Nigeria (FCDO-N) to provide evaluation, learning and verification services through Human Development Evaluation Learning and Verification Service (DELVe) for FCDO-N's flagship education programme in Nigeria, Partnership for Learning for All in Nigeria (PLANE). PLANE is an FCDO Nigeria programme with total investment of up to £170 million from 2019 to 2028 aimed at supporting the Government of Nigeria (GoN) at the federal level, and with selected states and non-state partners, to improve teaching, school quality, education management and efficient delivery of education, benefitting up to 2 million children.

An important aspect of PLANE's approach is to help strengthen the education system in the states where it works – as a requisite for the delivery of foundational skills to learners. Central to this approach is PLANE's support through Window 1 (W1, Kano, Kaduna, Jigawa) and Window 2 (W2, Borno, Yobe), which focuses on developing, adopting, and implementing key systemic education reforms. These reforms span various areas, including policy formulation and implementation, financial management, staff recruitment and deployment, and performance monitoring.

The FCDO commissioned a study under the DELVe Technical Assistance & Research workstream to examine the extent to which key factors expected to influence the sustainability or impact of reforms have been considered or are evident (e.g., related to cost, complexity, relevance) in the PLANE-supported policy reforms under consideration. **This study focuses on systemic education reforms** supported in Jigawa, Kaduna, and Kano, as well as at the Federal level under Window 1, and in Borno and Yobe under Window 2, as follows:

- ▶ **Teacher Recruitment, Deployment and Replacement (TRDR) – Jigawa & Kano**
- ▶ **Jigawa State Quality Assurance Agency Bill and Associated Corporate Plan – Jigawa**
- ▶ **Kano Girls Education Policy – Kano**
- ▶ **Domestication of National Policy on Almajiri – Kaduna**
- ▶ **UBE/IF Law Reform**
- ▶ **School Safety, Security and Violence Free Policy – Jigawa**
- ▶ **Sustainable Implementation of Teaching at the Right Level (TaRL) – Borno & Yobe**

This report presents key insights from PLANE's support to systemic education reforms across seven reform processes implemented at federal and subnational levels in Nigeria. The analysis explores how PLANE has influenced legal, institutional, and operational changes through sustained engagement with government, civil society, and development partners. Drawing from rich qualitative evidence including documents review and key informant interviews across Jigawa, Kano, Borno, Yobe, Kaduna, Universal Basic Education Commission (UBEC), the Nigerian Educational Research and Development Council (NERDC), and Nigeria Governors' Forum, the report captures the enabling conditions, strategic challenges, and stakeholder dynamics that have shaped the reform journey. Below is a summary highlighting the current stage of each reform.

This study set out to answer the overarching research question: **“What has contributed to, or hindered, the successful provision of PLANE support to systemic education reforms in Nigeria, and are these reforms sustainable and contributing to improved educational outcomes for all?”** The analysis is structured around three interconnected study objectives. The first examines PLANE's support to systemic education reforms, assessing the strategies, scope, and depth of its policy influence. The second explores stakeholder perspectives

on PLANE’s support, capturing how various actors perceive the programme’s role, achievements, and limitations. The third considers the sustainability and scalability of supported reforms, analysing the conditions and factors that enable reforms to endure, expand, and translate into meaningful improvements in education.

PLANE’s support to systemic education reforms

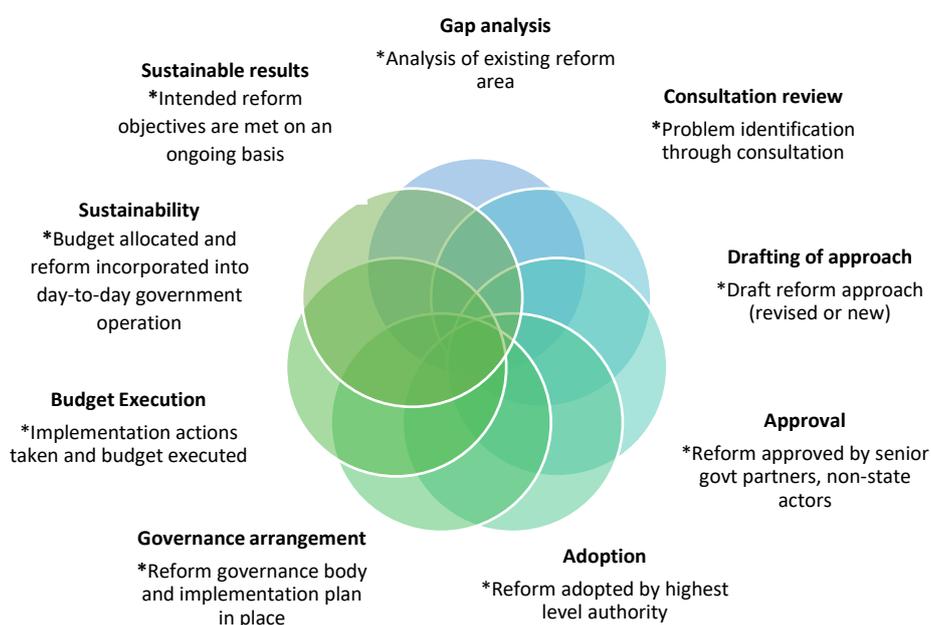
Across most initiatives, **PLANE’s support has been instrumental in shaping and advancing critical education policy reforms**. The programme has adopted a strategic and context-sensitive approach, focusing on building ownership from within government systems and aligning interventions with state and national priorities. A core element of its success lies in the deliberate positioning of insiders (respected government technocrats and political allies who act as champions and brokers of change within their institutions).

Rather than pursuing reform through direct pressure or external advocacy, **PLANE has empowered government and civil society actors to navigate the political landscape themselves**. Technical Working Groups, reform coalitions, and inter-agency committees were supported in nearly every reform, providing structured platforms for consultation, consensus-building, and implementation planning. Several reforms, such as the revision of the UBEC law and the establishment of education quality assurance agencies in Jigawa and Kaduna, benefitted from PLANE’s technical support in legal drafting, policy dialogue, and budget integration.

Development partners, particularly UNICEF, and World Bank, complemented PLANE’s efforts by providing financial, technical, and institutional support, particularly in areas such as teacher recruitment, school safety, and girl-child education. In many instances, PLANE functioned as a convener and harmoniser, ensuring that development partners’ support aligned with government-identified needs and reform trajectories.

PLANE’s involvement in these policies has led to dramatic progress in their stages of implementation. Girls’ Education Policy (stage 4 in March 2025; now, stage 6) in Kano, for example, did not exist as a document of practical use, but it has now been approved (along with Teacher Recruitment Policy), with some of its elements already in use in the education sector in the state. Domestication of Kaduna State Policy on Almajiri Education (stage 1 in March) is now a document of multilateral interest, following the establishment of Reaching Out of School Children (ROOSC) programme and the Training Institute for Almajiri and Out of School Children in Kaduna. See Figure 1 below highlighting the 9 stages of the reform process.

Figure A: The 9 Stages of the Reform Process



Despite these successes, the programme encountered challenges related to elite resistance, political transitions, and institutional inertia. Gender-focused reforms and reforms in non-formal education often triggered ideological pushback, delaying policy approval or implementation. Nonetheless, the resilience of reform actors – particularly within State Ministries of Education – ensured that progress was not completely derailed. **Another strategy used to address the challenge was leveraging trusted intermediaries and ‘insider’ champions** who could frame gender-focused reforms in ways that aligned with prevailing political and religious values. This often meant reframing policy language to emphasise inclusivity, equity, and benefits for all learners – rather than using terminology perceived as contentious – while still protecting the core gender objectives. As a PLANE staff member stated: *“We learned quickly that using words like ‘gender equality’ could stop the conversation. Instead, we talked about ‘inclusive access’ and ‘equal opportunity for all children’. That kept people in the room.”*

PLANE also facilitated low-profile, consensus-building dialogues that brought together reform opponents and proponents in safe, non-confrontational spaces, helping to gradually reduce resistance and create shared ownership of reform goals. As a civil society actor in Kano put it *“When we knew the pushback would be strong, we didn’t go through the usual big meetings. We spoke to people inside the system who were already respected by the leadership — they became our messengers.”*

Stakeholder perspectives on PLANE’s support to systemic education reforms

Stakeholders across states consistently described PLANE’s approach as inclusive, collaborative, and respectful of government structures. One of the most frequently cited strengths was the programme’s ability to convene stakeholders across sectors and levels, ensuring that reforms were informed by diverse perspectives and grounded in realities. Technical assistance was viewed not merely as external expertise, but as a process of co-creation that built internal capacities and enhanced local agency. The respect enjoyed by PLANE is evident in the calibre of stakeholders assembled for this report’s Key Informant Interviews (KII), including Honourable Commissioners, Permanent Secretaries, Ministerial Advisers, Federal and State Directors, as well as senior development specialists. They spoke highly of the contribution of PLANE not only to systemic education reforms, but also to their personal development as education officials.

Civil society organisations that had previously engaged in adversarial forms of advocacy noted a shift in their methods – moving toward evidence-based, constructive engagement with government. PLANE’s support for training in political economy analysis, policy brief writing, and stakeholder mapping helped sharpen their influence and reposition them as valued contributors to the policy process.

Another strong endorsement came from government actors who felt that PLANE’s interventions were not only aligned with existing government strategies but were often tailored to specific state contexts. Reform agendas were built from within, not imposed, and this inside-out model deepened buy-in and political feasibility.

At the same time, stakeholders identified gaps. Non-formal education stakeholders, particularly State Agency for Mass Education (SAME) stakeholders, felt under-represented from major reforms, despite the critical role the sector plays in states affected by conflict and displacement. Stakeholders also emphasised the need for stronger documentation of lessons learned and knowledge transfer mechanisms to prevent loss of institutional memory during political transitions.

Sustainability and scalability of supported reforms

Sustainability has been a central pillar of PLANE’s reform approach. Across states, efforts were made to embed reforms within legislation, institutional mandates, and budget lines. This was evident in the case of the education quality assurance reforms in Jigawa and Kaduna, where enabling laws were passed with detailed implementation plans and structures for inter-agency coordination. In Kano and Borno, teacher recruitment and

deployment policies were adopted with strong provisions for continuous data collection, monitoring, and integration into planning cycles.

One of PLANE's major contributions to sustainability was its emphasis on capacity building. By transferring skills in stakeholder analysis, reform management, and policy implementation to government actors and civil society, the programme enabled actors to continue reform efforts independently. In states where reforms have been implemented, there is growing evidence of institutionalisation – government agencies are beginning to function in line with their new mandates, inter-agency committees are active, and budget lines have been secured for reform-related activities. There seemed to be a clear line of agency between PLANE's emphasis on capacity building and stakeholders' sense of ownership as a major driver of sustainability beyond donor implementation cycles. As one Kano stakeholder pointed out: *'PLANE's projects, mainly, they induce the stakeholders. They show us ... this is your own ... ownership. If someone feels a particular intervention is your own, then definitely things will be moving.'*

Scalability is evident in the fact that several reforms piloted in one state have either inspired similar reforms in neighbouring states or informed national conversations. For instance, the Jigawa teacher recruitment, deployment, and retention policy reforms have influenced similar efforts in Kano and the national level, and Kaduna's gender policy work is shaping gender-focused policy dialogue in northern Nigeria more broadly.

Nevertheless, the durability of reforms remains threatened by political transitions and elite resistance, particularly where reforms challenge entrenched norms or interests. To mitigate this, PLANE has supported mechanisms for reform continuity – such as ensuring multi-party buy-in, institutional memory through documentation, and adaptable implementation frameworks.

In summary, replication of reforms in other locations requires contextualisation, stakeholder buy-in, and attention to existing government structures. As an official of Kaduna State Ministry of Education summarised the domestication of the National Policy on Almajiri: *"...what Kaduna has done can be a model for others. The key is not to copy word for word but to use the same process - engage the clerics, adapt to your context, and anchor it in law."*

Conclusion and Recommendations

PLANE's systemic approach to education reform has delivered substantial gains in policy development, stakeholder ownership, and institutional strengthening. By working with, rather than around, government systems and building durable coalitions for change, the programme has helped to lay the groundwork for lasting education transformation.

However, to fully capitalise on these gains and address emerging gaps, several actions are recommended:

- ▶ PLANE to broaden stakeholder inclusion by bringing non-formal education actors and marginalised groups into the reform process. Factoring implementation issues such as the curriculum and community interests into the policy process will further deepen inclusion. PLANE can further influence states and build the capacity of non-formal education actors to address perceived under-representation in systemic education reforms.
- ▶ PLANE in collaboration with relevant Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) to proactively engage elite actors to mitigate resistance, particularly for reforms involving gender and inclusion. Integrating deeply felt values, such as religious education, into the concerns with systemic education reform is a strategic investment that PLANE can explore further.
- ▶ PLANE and state governments to institutionalise reform knowledge through documentation, training, and government-owned learning platforms. The case of Kano State Girls' Education Unit supported by specific

budget heads at relevant MDAs is an excellent example of the power of institutionalisation, and the practice should be widely encouraged.

- ▶ PLANE and CSOs to support policy implementation tracking to ensure accountability and adaptability. UBEC stakeholders applauded PLANE input into their materials tracking programme in this respect.
- ▶ FCDO and PLANE to enable cross-state learning (especially across states with other FCDO projects) to scale reforms effectively and efficiently. Summits and Workshops such as the Kano Emergency Recovery Conference, Kaduna Education Summit and Accelerated Basic Education Programme (ABEP) scalability workshops represent a model of sharing good practices and influencing their implementation in non-PLANE states.
- ▶ PLANE to address sensitivities and anxieties emanating from the complex Federal/State role relationships, not only in the areas of cultural and religious contexts of PLANE states, but also in its wider engagement with policy-influencing structures, such as the Nigeria Governors' Forum (NGF). In this respect, PLANE should offer stronger support to reform champions, such as the current Federal Ministry of Education (FME) Ministerial team and their robust reform strategy around the Nigeria Education Sector Renewal Initiative (NESRI).
- ▶ As the 2027 election cycle approaches, PLANE will need to be strategic in prioritising which reforms to pursue, balancing the significant investments required for policy reform against the risks posed by political transitions and entrenched elite resistance.

In sum, PLANE's experience underscores that systemic reform is not just about technical fixes but about cultivating political and institutional ecosystems that are capable of driving, owning, and sustaining change. With continued investment, collaboration, and responsiveness to local contexts, PLANE and its partners are well-positioned to advance inclusive and high-quality education for all children in Nigeria. However, a renewed focus on sustainability is further necessitated by the drastic budget cuts from all development partners, as well as the need to align with the current NESRI agenda around increasing access, improving quality and enhancing systems. Kano and Jigawa are making progress in this direction, but they require additional impetus through the well-received accountability forums and coalitions of CSOs, state officials and Community-based Organisations (CBOs).

1.0 Introduction

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- e. UBE/IF Law Reform
- f. School Safety, Security and Violence Free Policy – Jigawa
- g. Sustainable Implementation of Teaching at the Right Level (TaRL) – Borno & Yobe

As set out in the programme's Theory of Change, PLANE is supporting systemic education reforms in Nigeria in several ways, including working with government partners to:

- ▶ Develop, revise and implement policies and plans that support improved education outcomes.
- ▶ Improve planning and budgeting procedures and capabilities and associated citizen-state accountability mechanisms.
- ▶ Improve the effectiveness, accountability and efficiency of procurement processes.
- ▶ Strengthen effective and appropriate recruitment, deployment, quality and performance management of teachers.

2.0 Study purpose, objectives and approach

2.1 Purpose and objectives

The purpose of the study was to generate evidence that can be used by PLANE and FCDO to reflect on and adapt approaches to influencing and sustaining education reforms, and for DELVe to evaluate the performance of PLANE. Specific objectives of the study were:

1. **To examine the way in which PLANE has provided support to systemic education reforms**, including to generate learning that informs adjustments to the strategies employed by PLANE, and other systemic interventions in the Nigerian education sector.
2. **To understand the perspectives of stakeholders involved in systemic education reforms**, including their perception of the relevance and effectiveness of PLANE support including what has worked well, and what adjustments could be considered.
3. **To understand the sustainability and scalability of supported reforms**, including the likelihood of reforms being sustained without continued external support, and whether and how they could be scaled in other states or contexts.
4. **To understand whether, how, and for whom supported reforms have contributed to improved educational, systemic or other outcomes**, including through which pathways this has happened (e.g. improved attendance, contact hours, more effective regulations).

The primary audiences for the study are PLANE implementing partners, FCDO (to inform adjustments to programme strategies) and DELVe (contributing to the PLANE midline performance evaluation). Secondary audiences include the Federal Government of Nigeria, state governments, other current and future donor supported education programmes supporting systemic reforms in Nigeria.

2.2 Overall approach

Based on the purpose and objectives of the study, we have established an overarching research question: **What has contributed to, or hindered, the successful provision of PLANE support to systemic education reforms in Nigeria, and are these reforms sustainable and contributing to improved educational outcomes for all?**

We used contribution analysis as the primary analytical approach to examine pathways of change within selected education reforms. Contribution analysis aims to build and refine contribution stories over time—first by gathering and assessing existing evidence to develop an initial contribution story, then by incorporating additional evidence to strengthen it. This approach involves assessing the linkages between different programme components (e.g., how relevant reforms, outputs, and workstreams interact) as well as the causal relationship between FCDO support and the progression of education reforms along the reform value chain. This later stage can be repeated periodically, making it a longitudinal study, to explore how the relationships between the programme and observed results evolve over time.

Contribution analysis also underpins the performance evaluation conducted by DELVe, enabling the study's approach and outputs to align with the performance evaluation's design and timeline. This ensures that study findings and conclusions inform and strengthen the performance evaluation at midline and endline, should

subsequent study phases proceed. Findings of this study are expected to inform the evidence base for several midline evaluation questions,¹ including:

Question 1.1. What changes have occurred since September 2022 in federal and state political economies and education contexts, and how has the PLANE programme influenced and/or adjusted to this change?

Question 1.2. To what extent is the PLANE programme currently relevant to the contemporary federal and state political economy and education contexts?

Question 1.3. To what extent are PLANE Windows' interventions – since September 2022 – at state government, local government and school/community levels relevant to improving foundational literacy and numeracy for children, especially for marginalised groups?

Question 2.3. How well is the PLANE programme and each Window currently compatible and complementary to:

- (i) The five state governments' current education policies, plans, priorities, and activities;
- (ii) Donor and development partner priorities and interventions.

Question 3.1c. To what extent and how has the PLANE programme overall, and each Window, contributed to more inclusive state education systems and delivery of foundational skills to:

- (i) out-of-school children;
- (ii) marginalised learners [as defined by Implementing Partners' (IPs) log frames and Key Performance Indicators].

2.3 Research sub-questions

Linked to the main study objectives and overarching research question presented in Section 2.2, are several research sub-questions, presented in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Study Research Question and Sub-questions

Objective	Research sub-questions
What has contributed to, or hindered, the successful provision of PLANE support to systemic education reforms in Nigeria, and are these reforms sustainable and contributing to improved educational outcomes for all?	
<p>1. To examine the way in which PLANE has provided support to systemic education reforms</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ How were supported reforms identified and selected? From which level of government did these reforms originate (i.e. Federal or State) and what role did PLANE play in facilitating Federal-State linkages in the policy reform pathways? ▪ Have any reforms been supported that did not progress along the reform value chain? Why? ▪ What factors have enabled or hindered PLANE's contribution to reform processes?

¹ DELve (March 2025) *DRAFT DELve Midline Evaluation of PLANE Design*.

Objective	Research sub-questions
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ What support to selected reforms did other development partners (e.g. World Bank) provide? What contribution did this support make to progressing reforms along the value chain? ▪ What specific successes, challenges and unexpected outcomes have been encountered during supported reform processes?
<p>2. To understand the perspectives of stakeholders involved in systemic education reforms</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Which stakeholders were involved at the different stages of the reform process and what influence were they able to have? ▪ To what extent, and how, did all relevant government (both Federal and State level) Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) participate in the reform process? ▪ How do stakeholders perceive the alignment of reform topics with their own understanding of government priorities? ▪ How do stakeholders perceive the relevance and effectiveness of support provided by PLANE in enabling reform progress?
<p>3. To understand the sustainability and scalability of supported reforms</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To what extent have important factors that are expected to contribute to sustainability and impact been considered during reform influencing? Are there signs that these factors are evident, or likely to be evident? ▪ What factors contribute to, or hinder, the sustainability of reforms supported by PLANE, as they pass through the various reform stages? ▪ For reforms that originated from the Federal government, did PLANE influence wider adoption of these reforms by non-PLANE states and if so, how? What lessons can be drawn from this? ▪ How can successful strategies be adopted by other states or applied in other contexts?

2.4 Subsequent study phases

In line with the contribution analysis methodology, this study has been designed as a longitudinal study, planned to consist of at least two phases, enabling the tracking of reforms over time. However, it should be noted that, since the development of the study concept note and research proposal, the recently announced reduction in Official Development Assistance (ODA) commitments may impact FCDO's budget availability in the coming financial years which could, in turn, affect funding for potential studies and the longitudinal nature of the research.

At this stage, research questions have not yet been proposed for **Outcomes of Reforms (Research Objective 4)**, as this objective is expected to be explored in greater detail in later phases of the study. This is due to the longer timeframe required to assess whether, how, and for whom supported reforms contribute to improved educational, systemic, or other outcomes. However, a research sub-question examining the factors that influence the sustainability and impact of reforms has been included under Objective 3. When designing subsequent phases of the study, we will need to carefully balance the scope and depth of research questions under Objective 4 against:

- ▶ The availability of relevant outcome data, particularly on educational outcomes.
- ▶ The need for primary data collection within the budget available for each phase.

3.0 Methodology

3.1 Methods

Within the framework of the contribution analysis approach, and the research questions and sub-questions, this study employed qualitative methods as follows:

- ▶ **Review of PLANE design, implementation, and monitoring documentation.** Briefing notes, which articulate the strategies, work plans, and guidance documents related to PLANE's support to systemic education reform were reviewed.
- ▶ **Review of literature to identify what works and what does not when supporting systemic education reform.** Relevant literature from evaluations, reviews, and research covering historic initiatives from Nigeria and other contexts were also reviewed.
- ▶ **Key informant interviews with implementers and stakeholders in states and at Federal level.** We interviewed the following (see Annex F for full stakeholder list):
 - ▷ Programme Staff: This included programme directors, managers, and technical advisors from PLANE Windows 1 and 2.
 - ▷ Government Officials: We interviewed government officials in the locations covered in both PLANE states and at Federal level. This included education secretaries, directors and officers within relevant education MDAs (e.g. Ministries of Education, State Universal Basic Education Boards (SUBEBs), UBEC).
 - ▷ Other stakeholders: We included representatives of bodies representing education sector stakeholders (e.g., Kaduna State Basic Education Accountability Mechanism, KADBEAM), and relevant non-state actors (e.g. representatives of Islamic scholars/Alarammas).

A combination of desk-based and in-person interviews were conducted to optimise Value for Money and ensure a cost-effective, efficient data collection process. In-person interviews were prioritised where they offer the most value, such as with government officials, while desk-based methods were used to broaden coverage and maximise efficiency.

The MAXQDA software was used to code and analyse the data sets generated through desk reviews and interviews, in line with an analytical framework (see Annex C). The study builds on the reform process (or rubric) outlined in Figure 1 and further detailed in Table 2 below, which functions as a 'value chain,' with reforms progressing through different stages over time.² This value chain is based on PLANE Window 1 Outcome Indicator 5, which includes a bespoke datasheet for tracking supported reforms (see Section 4.1 below for further details). Additionally, it incorporates an additional stage and a grouping of different stages as proposed by DELVe for the purposes of this study.

² Whilst the value chain presents discrete stages, in practice reform progress may not move through these stages in a strictly linear manner. For example, decisions related to appropriate governance arrangements may require further adjustments to approach, and subsequent approval and adoption of these adjustments. Therefore, reform progress should not simply be judged on what stage of the value chain a reform is currently at compared to baseline – but rather the journey of the reform through the value chain.

Figure 1: The 9 Stages of the Reform Process

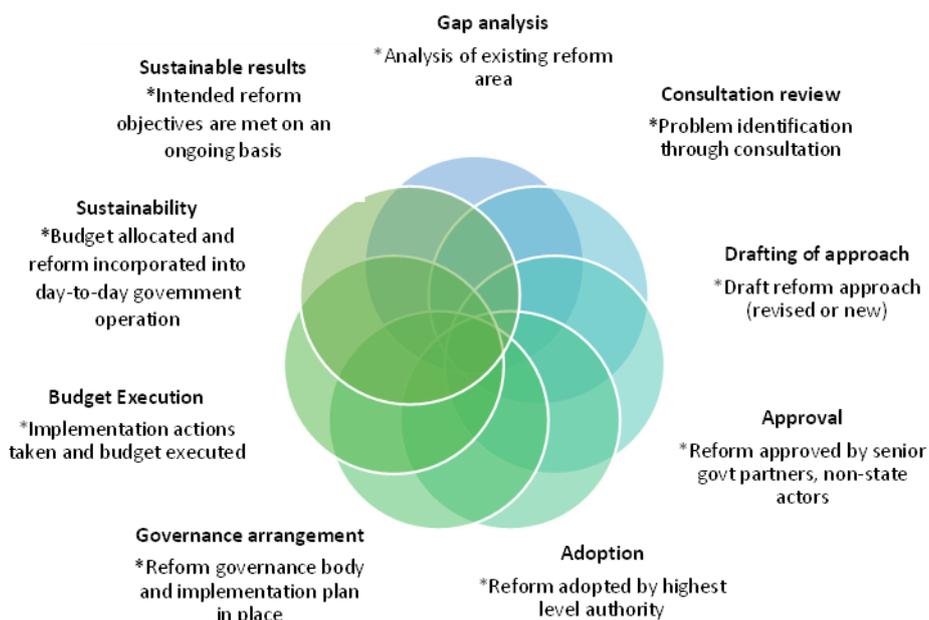


Table 2: Proposed systemic education reform value chain³

Stage	Description	Phase
1. Gap analysis: Analysis of existing reform area	This stage in the reform process is focused on establishing the evidence base related to the proposed reform area. This might include consultations with government, stakeholder interviews and desk-based research.	Development
2. Consultation review: Problem identification through consultation	This stage in the reform process is focused on defining the problem with stakeholders who are relevant to the reform.	
3. Drafting of approach: Draft reform approach (revised or new)	This stage in the reform process is focused on preparing a solution to the problems identified – this solution might be a new policy document, or guidelines. It may also be the terms of reference for a new committee or a briefing note on next steps for a key decision maker.	
4. Approval: Reform approved by senior govt partners, non-state actors	At this step in the reform process, senior government authorisation and support for the reform is secured, demonstrating political commitment and willingness to move the reform forward.	Adoption
5. Adoption: Reform adopted by highest level authority	At this stage there will be an approval of a policy document, evidence of actions taken based on a briefing note, or a signed	

³ Within the blue cells, information in the Stage column is taken from the Window 1 results dashboard and the detailed stage descriptions are taken from the Data Collection Tool used by Window 1 to track Outcome Indicator 5.

Stage	Description	Phase
	off implementation plan with monitoring mechanism for implementation.	
6. Governance arrangement: Reform governance body and implementation plan in place	This is the first phase off implementing a reform, there will be some form of government coordinating committee in place that will meet regularly to take forward the reform's recommendations. An implementation plan will also be agreed and in place.	Implementation
7. Budget Execution: Implementation actions taken and budget executed	At this step, reform actions will be undertaken either with PLANE's support or separately. A budget allocation and expense will be tracked to deliver the activities identified in the reform implementation plan.	
8. Sustainability: (Sustained) Budget allocated and reform incorporated into day-to-day government operation	A budget allocation and expenditure are made for the reform across multiple years, and PLANE is increasingly marginal to implementing the reform actions.	
9. Sustainable results:	Intended reform objectives are met on an ongoing basis and lead to measurable changes in educational, systemic or other relevant outcomes.	Results

Key:

Stages defined by Window 1	Proposed by DELVe
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3.2 Policy reforms included in the study

Table 3 provides the final sample of policy reforms purposively selected for inclusion in this study, based on the opportunity they present for comparison across states/locations, state-specific focus, or their uniqueness. Details on the establishment of the sampling criteria are included in Annex B.

Table 3: Purposively sampled study reforms

#	Criteria*	Reform Name	Location	PLANE Window	Priority Rating	Current Stage
1	Stage of the reform on the reform value chain (criterion 1)	Teacher Recruitment, Deployment and Replacement (TRDR)	Jigawa	W1	High for comparison	7
2	Location where the reform is being implemented (criterion 2)		Kano			7
3	Stage of the reform on the reform value chain (criterion 1)	Jigawa State Quality Assurance Agency Bill and Associated Corporate Plan	Jigawa	W1	High for state focus and core selection criteria	7
4		Kano Girls Education Policy	Kano	W1		4

#	Criteria*	Reform Name	Location	PLANE Window	Priority Rating	Current Stage
5	Location where the reform is being implemented (criterion 2)	(Kaduna) Domestication of National Policy on Almajiri	Kaduna	W1		1
	Thematic or sectoral focus of the reform (criterion 3)					
	Stage of the reform process when PLANE support began (criterion 6)					
	Inclusion of legislation					
6	Stage of the reform process when PLANE support began (criterion 6)	UBE/IF Law Reform	Federal	W1	High for uniqueness and partial influence	3
	Level of government from which the reform originated (criterion 4)					
	Thematic or sectoral focus of the reform (criterion 3)					
7	Stage of the reform process when PLANE support began (criterion 6)	School Safety, Security and Violence Free Policy	Jigawa	W1	High for partial influence	5
8	Level of PLANE influence on policy components or reform process	Sustainability Implementation of Teaching at the Right Level	Borno	W2		5
9		Yobe	6			

We spoke to various representative from state level education MDAs (Ministries of Education, SUBEBs, etc.) Table 4 below presents a breakdown of the number of participants interviewed (details can be found in Annex F).

Table 4: Number of participants interviewed

Location	PLANE staff	PLANE Stakeholders		Total
		M	F	
Jigawa	4	17	3	24
Kaduna	4	8	0	12
Kano	2	12	4	18
Borno	1	2	0	3
Yobe	1	3	0	4
National	5	14	2	21

Total	17	56	9	82
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Notably, of the 65 stakeholders interviewed, only 9 were women, highlighting the underrepresentation of females in senior-level civil service positions across the five states, including the national level – signifying systemic gender inequity, and a decision-making process that is male-dominated, which may have implications for inclusive policymaking.

3.3 Limitations

In the table 5 below, the limitations of the Policy Reforms Influencing Study and their implications are outlined.

Table 5: Study limitations and their implications

Limitations	Implications
Study Phase 1 Timeframe	<p>A fuller understanding of the factors enabling/hindering reform is limited by the shorter turn-around of this synthesis report phase. Moreover, the legacy of successful implementation of FCDO-funded educational reforms initiatives and the continuing absorption of legacy staff into PLANE ecosystem seemed to project an overwhelming picture of positivity. These enablers are evident at all levels during stakeholder KIIs, making it difficult to unearth other enablers beyond this backstory.</p> <p>Likewise, hindrances, though minimally articulated in KIIs and in reviewed documents, were nevertheless as fundamental in their impact on PLANE policy reforms. Both of these polarities have been addressed in the report.</p>
Stage of Reforms	<p>Differing stages of the policy reforms, as indicated within and across the Windows (1 & 2) mean that comparison may negatively impact on those policies at an early stage. However, dramatic shifts in stages have been observed during the period (March – August 2025) of this report.</p> <p>State policy reforms that were relatively far behind in stage development, suddenly jumped to state and national prominence, leading to policy approval and multilateral donor support. PLANE provided evidence of these positive changes, largely galvanised by the political will of the state executive, and this was captured in the report.</p>
Availability of Documentation	<p>Background data related to relevance and impact of support is not readily available. Nor is it self-evident in the policy reform documentation in some cases. Although there were helpful W1 Briefing Notes indicating processes and procedures leading to the identification, selection and provision of technical support to sampled policies, these documents, as well as introductions to the policies did not fully articulate the contributions of PLANE to the reforms processes.</p> <p>In the case of W2, neither briefing notes nor background reports were made available. In both situations, stakeholder KIIs and state government press releases complemented the notes and background information extracted from the policies.</p>

Limitations	Implications
<p>Availability of Key Informants</p>	<p>The study relied on interviews with key government stakeholders as a primary data source.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Quite a number of W2 stakeholders were unavailable, which affected the ability to effectively assess PLANE's contribution and the sustainability of reforms in Borno and Yobe states. • In addition, it is often not very clear to determine the component of UNICEF's intervention that is attributable to PLANE Window 2 in the two states. However, the report was still able to extract relevant data during the review of the policies. • Despite numerous engagements with the relevant National Assembly committee administrators, Chairs of both Senate and House Committees on Basic Education, key Assembly contact in the FCDO, the Federal lawmakers responsible for UBEC/IF (2004) Law review could not be reached. <p>However, report of the NGF was retrieved and discussed, in addition to interviewing the key stakeholder responsible for the report and its presentation during Public Hearing on the Law reform. Instructively, where key stakeholders were available, as in UBEC stakeholders, they indicated unfamiliarity with the processes of interface between their organisation and the National Assembly. Still, their shared opinions turned out to be useful in contextualising the diverse opinions shared by the states and the federal government with regard to the disbursement of UBEC Intervention Fund.</p> <p>Note also the very few female officials interviewed as PLANE stakeholder in Table 4, highlighting severe under-representation in senior civil service positions.</p>
<p>One-off vs longitudinal study</p>	<p>Budgetary constraints may affect subsequent study phases. As a result, the study may become a snapshot or a one-off progress report rather than a longitudinal study, potentially leading to skewed data. Recent funding cuts to UK Aid budget adds a layer of uncertainty to the wider support programme.</p> <p>The report recognised these funding dynamics, hence the focus on issues of deeper relevance to the success of PLANE policy reforms support and the changing nature of the challenges faced by the programme up to this point.</p>

4.0 Findings

This section presents a detailed analysis of the findings related to the policy influencing study. It is divided into four sub-sections: sub-section 4.1 discusses the origin of the reform process; sub-section 4.2 provides an overview of PLANE's support to systemic education reforms; sub-section 4.3 discusses stakeholders' perspectives on PLANE's support to education reforms; and sub-section 4.4 highlights potential for sustainability of supported reforms and their replicability.

4.1 Identification and selection of reforms

Supported reforms under PLANE were mostly identified through a combination of state-level priorities and federal policy imperatives, reflecting both local needs and broader national education goals. Some reforms originated directly from federal-level initiatives – such as the proposed amendment to the UBEC Act, which was driven by the Federal Government but required alignment and adoption at the state level. As a UBEC official stated *“The UBEC amendment came from Abuja... it was already on the table from the Federal Government side. What PLANE did was to help us at state level understand the implications and start looking at how we would align”*. Other reforms emerged primarily from state-level policy gaps and priorities, such as the domestication of the National Policy on Language of Instruction in Kano State or the development of an Inclusive Education Policy in Jigawa. As an official of Jigawa State Ministry of Education put it *“The inclusive education policy was not from Abuja; it was from here in Jigawa. We had challenges with children with disabilities in our schools. PLANE supported us with the drafting and consultations.”* In several cases, reforms were sparked by challenges raised by state stakeholders themselves, such as the need for better teacher deployment guidelines or more coherent approaches to non-formal education delivery. As an official from Kano SUBEB stated: *“We raised the problem of teacher posting. Teachers were concentrated in the towns, leaving rural schools empty. That was when the idea of a deployment guideline started”*.

4.1.1 Progress of supported reforms along reform value chain

A review of relevant documents, complemented by KIIs with PLANE staff and relevant stakeholders, indicates that **none of the reforms supported by PLANE failed to make progress along the reform value chain**. This forward momentum can be attributed to PLANE's deliberate strategy of aligning its support with reforms that reflect the priorities of each partner state. As outlined in Section 5.1 above, this approach ensures political traction, thereby increasing the likelihood of sustained progress.

PLANE's involvement in policy reforms have led to dramatic progress in the policies' stages of implementation. Girls' Education Policy (stage 4 in March; now, stage 6) in Kano, for example, did not exist as a document of practical use, but it has now been approved (along with Teacher Recruitment Policy), with some of its elements already in use in the education sector in the state. Domestication of Kaduna State Policy on Almajiri Education (stage 1 in March) is now a document of multilateral interest, following the establishment of Reaching Out of School Children (ROOSC) programme and the Training Institute for Almajiri and Out of School Children in Kaduna. The stage of each policy reform can be found in Table 3.

4.1.2 PLANE's role in facilitating federal-state linkages

PLANE played a central role in facilitating linkages between federal and state actors to ensure these reforms were not developed in isolation. For example, in the Kano teacher deployment reform process, PLANE convened discussions between SUBEB and the FME to harmonise the guidelines with national teacher standards. Similarly, during the UBEC Act reform discussions, PLANE created platforms for state agencies – often underrepresented

in federal-level dialogues, like State Agencies for Mass Education – to feed their realities into federal policy processes, ensuring both vertical alignment and mutual ownership of the reform pathways. As an official of Jigawa State Ministry of Education noted, *“Before, we would just hear about federal policies after they were passed. This time, we sat at the table, we contributed, and we saw our realities reflected in the final drafts.”*

4.2 PLANE’s support to systemic education reforms

This sub-section provides an overview of PLANE’s support to systemic education reforms across intervention states and at federal level - including a description of the factors that helped, or hindered PLANE in supporting the reforms.

4.2.1 Enablers

PLANE’s success in supporting education reform processes is underpinned by several enabling factors, most notably its strategic embedding within existing government structures. Rather than operating as an external parallel entity, PLANE has deliberately chosen to work through government mechanisms, enhancing its legitimacy and fostering ownership. This is perhaps best captured in the Hausa saying from a Kano stakeholder: *“Da ‘dan gari a kan ci gari”* roughly translated as *“you conquer a locality with a local”*.⁴ PLANE is working through either structures that are already in place or creating a space for strategic engagement. This underscores how PLANE recruits or collaborates with insiders who are already embedded in the system and possessing an intimate understanding of local governance and politics. This ‘revolving door’ strategy, where individuals move between PLANE and key government positions and vice-versa – enhances continuity, institutional memory, and influence. In both Jigawa and Kano, as well as at the Federal level, key project staff, consultants and top government education officials continue to rotate positions up to ministerial level. As examples of this ‘insider strategy’, the current Minister of State for Education was a key consultant for PLANE-supported sampled policies in Jigawa and Kano. Similarly, a former Higher Education Commissioner in Kano has had similar experience as a consultant on both the Girls’ Education Policy and Teacher Recruitment, Deployment and Replacement Policy within the PLANE-Kano State education nexus. There is lesson from PLANE strategy for programmes wishing to exert influence through the well-known Policy Influencing (CLASP) Principles of Credibility, Legitimacy, Accountability, Service-orientedness and Power-based (Roebeling and de Vries, 2011).

PLANE’s reliance on local civil servants strengthens reform efforts, yet it simultaneously raises structural challenges linked to capacity drain, conflict of interest, and political dynamics. For all policies under consideration, civil servants directly involved in their reforms, in some cases since 2016, became consultants, regular workshop participants and PLANE staff during implementation phases of the policies. In Jigawa, for example, director-level civil servants continue to work for PLANE in fieldwork activities. In Kano, retired state Directors of Policy, Research and Statistics (DPRS), as well as current university researchers featured prominently in all reform activities leading to the executive approval of the Girls’ Education Policy and Teacher Recruitment Policy. Not only are highly skilled technocrats taken away from their ‘normal’ official engagements when they participate in PLANE workshops and fieldwork, there is the possibility for confirmation bias in this conflict-prone arrangement, where the eco-system becomes an echo chamber of tacit acceptance of common ways of working. Yet again, the all-powerful nature of the executive governor in a Nigerian state necessitates a nuanced contextualisation of the power and influence of civil servants in policy approval processes. The executive governor holds substantial authority over state-level policy and budgetary decisions. Even when civil servants – technocrats, directors, and policy analysts – are highly skilled, knowledgeable, and proactive in drafting, reviewing, or

⁴ In Hausa (and in this context), this refers to a strategy where an outsider engages insiders (indigenes of a place) to achieve his/her goal.

implementing reforms, their influence is inherently constrained by the governor's priorities, political calculations, and sensitivities.

Through a multi-tiered engagement structure, PLANE ensures that state-level reforms are both shaped by and responsive to local community needs. Another critical enabler is PLANE's cascading model of engagement, which facilitates influence across multiple tiers of governance. From half-yearly strategic dialogue with the governor to high-level state steering committees, to technical working groups and school-level interventions, as a SUBEB official from Kano captured it "*PLANE's approach has had a cascading effect down to the lower levels of systemic reform*". This multi-tiered involvement helps ensure that policies developed at the top are both informed by, and responsive to needs articulated from the grassroots. Specifically, lower-level levers of influence, such as the Kano State Accountability Forum on Education (K-SAFE) can initiate interventions through visitation reports from underserved communities in the rural areas. It is instructive in this respect that a PLANE stakeholder singled out rural and hard-to-reach communities as areas of special focus for PLANE in the ongoing implementation of TRDR Policy in Kano. Two TRDRP-inspired initiatives, recruitment of 4,000 teachers and disbursement of N100m loan to teachers are programmes cited as mechanisms for teacher deployment and retention in such under-served communities.

The Mutual Accountability Framework (MAF) provides the foundation for PLANE's reforms, aligning state demands with FCDO's focus on out-of-school children, teacher recruitment, and girls' education. In all PLANE states and at the Federal level, needs assessments, collaborative stakeholder engagements through workshops and official visits formed the background processes at which key education priorities are sifted and embedded in an agreed MAF. The MAF is a key FCDO-state engagement document that covers all UK-state engagement on development convened through the interaction of State Governor(s) and FCDO's Development Director. It spells out the basis for continued support and cooperation between the parties. The Jigawa MAF (FCDO, 2022), for example, "*... sets out the reform initiatives the Jigawa government seeks to introduce, and implement, and the support FCDO will provide to drive overall growth and development of Jigawa State*". This document, then, becomes the basis for monitoring reform progress and holding both FCDO and Jigawa Government "*... mutually accountable for ... attainment of their commitments*".

In this context, Jigawa State has identified areas for which reform is requested in the form of "*asks*". FCDO thus plays a key role in paving the way for PLANE's policy influencing to deepen and become more effective. Through this adaptive and flexible bilateral framework of engagement, state priorities are captured, scrutinised and aligned to the over-arching FCDO country strategy. Given the continuing global education focus on access, quality and equity and their deficits in small and medium sized economies such as Nigeria, policies related to Girls Education, Teacher Recruitment, Almajiri and Out of School Children, Quality Assurance and Sustainability took centre stage in PLANE's policy reform efforts in the states. This convergence phenomenon, in which global concerns, the interest of development partners and the strategic goal of a nation coalesce is a point to stress in the context of federal and sub-national worries with the increasing number of out-of-school-children and FCDO's specific interest in the connection between education and security.

FCDO's role and the responsiveness of its strategy are key enablers, in this respect, enabling PLANE to spread its influence even beyond implementation states. Through the National Council on Education (NCE)'s approved agenda for strengthening education, PLANE has convened National Basic Education Boot Camps and ABEP Workshops at the Federal Level. Following from these ministerial and state executives' engagements, where FCDO-commissioned ABEP Scalability Study was presented as the key interrogative report, ABEP has become widely known, embraced and popularised by states as the main educational tool for addressing Almajiri and OOSCE.⁵ It has also supported high level education stakeholders to international education forums in the UK, as

⁵ See the recent National Lessons and Experience Sharing Workshop on ABEP Implementation in Nigeria, Tuesday 20th – Thursday 22nd May 2025 at Sheraton Lagos Hotel, Nigeria.

well as convened major education conference in Kano and Kaduna recently. It is instructive that it is at these conferences that the full impact of FCDO's strategy of *'Thinking and Working Politically'* is brought into sharp focus. During the July 2024 Kano Education Recovery Conference, for example, reform policies awaiting approval since 2016 were publicly handed over to the newly elected state governor in a marked departure from standard 'private audience' practice. In no time, the four policies were duly approved by the Kano State Executive Council.

High-level engagements, like the Kaduna Summit, showcase PLANE's role in turning evidence into action and fostering political will for reform. More recently, PLANE has convened the Kaduna International Education Summit (KADA 2025) at which both Ministers of Education and their education agencies' Chief Executives, the State Governor and development partners were in attendance. An important outcome of this summit is the imminent reversal of the Kaduna 4-day week, which has been a source of debate and concern and a subject of study in the recently completed School Opening and Attendance (SO2) Study (DELVe). And, in all these events, FCDO ensured that commissioned policy-focused studies were presented and discussed in the presence of political office holders and top government officials. A shift towards *'speaking truth to power'* through public accountability forums such as summits, workshops and conferences is helping PLANE to influence the acceleration of policy reforms both at national and sub-national levels; *"The Governor has the highest influence ... peak of political will"*, as one stakeholder noted.

Legacies of UK government support through the implementation of previous projects has also benefited PLANE in its policy influencing activities. Teacher Development Programme (TDP), Education Sector Support Programme in Nigeria (ESSPIN) and Partnership to Engage, Reform and Learn (PERL) featured prominently in key informant interviews, an indication of the power of relationships in fostering trust and institutional memory.

4.2.2 Hindrances and Challenges

Several obstacles have limited the pace and reach of some of the reforms. One notable hindrance on the Girls' Education Policy is the delay caused by elite religious and political sensitivities in Kano. While PLANE was successful in engaging various levels of government and civil society, it underestimated the concerns of elite religious and political figures, particularly in relation to the girls' education policy. As we observed, at the centre of this review was the concern and anxiety about the girls' education policy. *'Thinking and Working Politically'* will require policy influencers to delve deeper in understanding how perception of voters' interest can serve as pressure points of resistance by the 'invisible hands' of political and religious elites quietly watching in the background. In practice, the absence of school infrastructure in rural communities mean that even boys' education is under severe strain. For girls, early marriage and the quest for wedding accessories through hawking predominates parental interest, as one non-formal education stakeholder pointed out. Thus, it is the elite anxiety and concerns around girls' empowerment that triggered government fears of political backlash, necessitating a pause in all the other policy reforms discussion. An official of Kano State Ministry of Education summarised this anxiety as: *"Anything that you are developing, and you term it female, or girls, or women benefactors, there is always the suspicion that you are bringing something foreign."* The word/term/concept *'inclusive'* was a source of debate and contestation in the run up to the final approval of the four policies, including the Girls' Education Policy.

In response to this concern, state governors – especially in Kano, established a 14-member elite-level review committee composed of religious scholars and technocrats to vet proposed policies. As part of that review, advocacy groups, such as K-SAFE were mobilised to refocus *'empowerment'* as a means of knowledge acquisition for girls and the promotion of safe learning spaces for girls. While this process contributed to broader acceptance, it also introduced significant delays and revealed a blind spot in PLANE's stakeholder mapping. Instructively, a similar committee chaired by a prominent academic and Provost, Aminu Kano College of Islamic and Legal Studies conducted a review exercise of the finalised Teacher Recruitment Policy in 2018, indicating a historic anxiety regarding the political implications of education policy reforms in Kano. Resistance to change in this context has

been attributed not only to cultural and religious sensitivities, but also to the continuing '*politicisation of education*', as one TDP-turned PLANE staff described the significance of the policy reform undertaken by PLANE. This could be potentially a gap that PLANE needs to be aware of, even though it was engaging everybody at every level. However, PLANE staff were quick to point out during KIIs that it was one of these political and religious elites, who had worked with the programme, that rang alarm bells to alert them of the possibility of the girls' education policy derailing the approval of the rest of the policies.

Non-formal education, a key platform for rural access, receives limited attention in reforms and funding frameworks. Another limitation stems from a systemic bias toward formal education, leading to the marginalisation of the non-formal education sector. One stakeholder was sure of the greater size of the non-formal sector, as well as being the '*most accommodating and convenient platform*' for rural communities, yet it remains underrepresented in key reforms. Agencies such as the SAME voiced frustration about their exclusion from major initiatives (like the World Bank-funded Basic Education Service Delivery for All programme), including PLANE, and the lack of access to funding through UBEC and SUBEB. According to a non-formal sector respondent, although Kano SAME was the first education agency to be established, there has been no state policy on mass education, making the agency to rely on the provision of National Policy as a framework of operation. This disconnect risked undermining the inclusivity and comprehensiveness of reforms, as non-formal education providers serve significant populations, including out-of-school children.

In discussions with PLANE, FCDO has suggested that spending on education in states is being impeded by executive pet projects, appearing to divert basic education spending away from policy reforms on Teacher Development and Quality Assurance. JigawaUNITE, an initiative of the state government seeking to "*revitalise primary education and deliver dramatic learning gains for all children in public schools across the state,*" is cited as a case study. Rather than focusing on the implementation of existing policy reforms, the state, through its collaboration with New Globe, is scaling up foundation literacy in 12 Local Government Authorities (LGAs) outside PLANE-FCDO and UNICEF support. According to a Jigawa stakeholder, this initiative is a positive extension and contribution to the support given by development partners. Moreover, the multilateral arrangement of JigawaUNITE limits the state's budget support to the consortium, which includes JigawaUNITE and the Islamic Development Bank. The programme is also subject to a first-year review before the full five-year agreement is finalised. In other words, the state does not consider JigawaUNITE as a drain or diversion of basic education funding.

Political turnover has been cited as a threat not only to policy reforms, but also to their sustainability. In hushed voices, stakeholders expressed frustration at policy blockers at the top. In this respect, political office holders at Federal and State levels have been mentioned as sources of delays in policy approval and implementation. In Kano, for example, changing fortunes of the party in power led to loss of interest in its policy initiatives by the incoming government. Also as stated by one of Kaduna stakeholders regarding the domestication of the national policy on Almajiri, "*The current government... has completely ignored that law... nothing is happening in terms of those provisions,*" indicating that policies closely associated with previous administrations are at risk of being sidelined. However, Kaduna appears to have caught up through the multilaterally supported ROOSC initiative. PLANE's main response to the political turnover challenge was to institutionalise reforms within official systems and multi-stakeholder platforms rather than anchoring them on individual political champions. A dominant theme was the fragility of political will and the volatility of leadership priorities.

The poor perception and weak regulatory environment of teaching as a profession was highlighted in stark terms: "*teaching is a little trade just above theft – teaching is not a profession,*" as one Kano stakeholder observed. This statement was made in the context of the politicisation of teacher recruitment and deployment, in which political affiliation and patronage override considerations of merit and suitability. Stakeholders noted political interest as one of the major challenges that the Teacher Recruitment, Deployment, and Retention Policy seek to address. Absence of a transparent recruitment system, it was pointed out, undermines recruitment, motivation,

and long-term sector performance, even as other components of reform are making headway. Several stakeholders described challenges with teaching profession lacking regulatory safeguards, and suffering from poor incentives, which undermined teacher recruitment and retention.

The limited technical skills and political savvy of some government officials made it difficult to navigate complex reform processes, while bureaucratic inertia slowed decision-making and resource allocation. In a different context regarding political office holders and education, a UBEC stakeholder remarked that *“many states are not really interested in education [and] even if they prioritise education, they prioritise construction, rehabilitation ... they do not invest in training and retraining of teachers”*. See also the remarks of the Executive Secretary, NCAOOSCE: *“one of the reasons why we are continuously failing against the issue of out of school children is our politicisation of education ... most of our teachers are employed based on their political patronage.”*

Complex stakeholder dynamics and fragmented communication created inconsistencies in integrating non-formal learning centres into broader education reforms. While PLANE’s cascading engagement model was praised, the sheer complexity of managing stakeholder expectations and aligning fragmented systems remained taxing. Communication gaps sometimes emerged between federal and state actors, and between formal and non-formal sectors, complicating coherent policy implementation. For example, state-level officials in Kano noted that they were developing an integration plan for non-formal learning centres into the broader state education system, but federal counterparts from the National Commission for Mass Literacy, Adult and Non-Formal Education (NMEC) were not fully aware of the state’s specific timelines and operational model. At the same time, non-formal sector actors (such as learning centre coordinators and CSOs) reported receiving mixed messages – some were told to align with federal quality assurance guidelines, while others were instructed to follow state-specific frameworks. This misalignment meant that materials, training, and reporting formats were not standardised across all learning centres. The result was delays in rolling out the reform and duplication in certain capacity building activities, as state and federal teams sometimes worked with the same stakeholders separately rather than in a coordinated manner.

Finally, resource constraints were a persistent concern. While PLANE leveraged donor funding effectively, many state agencies struggled with inadequate budgetary allocations and reliance on external support. The limited financial sustainability of reforms beyond PLANE’s programme lifecycle posed risks to long-term impact. One participant highlighted the importance of embedding reforms within government systems to *avoid ‘parallel structures’* that might fade once donor support ends.

4.2.3 Support from other development partners

PLANE’s reform initiatives often complemented or leveraged the support of other development partners, creating a synergy that amplified outcomes. In several reforms, partners like Save the Children, UNICEF, and Society for Family Health (SFH) were instrumental in co-implementing activities, sharing data, or enhancing grassroots outreach. The Girls’ Education Policy reform in Kano, for example, benefitted from FCDO-funded initiatives and community outreach programmes already in place, particularly PERL which consisted of both governance and community components.

Through accessible presentation of research and inclusive engagement platforms, PLANE helps policymakers connect evidence with practical decision-making. In Borno and Yobe, the role of other donor-funded education programmes – such as the World Bank-supported Basic Education Service Delivery for All and the Global Partnership for Education – was acknowledged by the stakeholders, especially in data systems strengthening. PLANE’s comparative advantage lay in facilitating policy dialogue and bridging the gap between technical analysis and policy formulation. For example, one of the technical consultants from the FME noted *“PLANE was able to take the complex research data and break it down into digestible pieces for policymakers. They didn’t just present numbers; they told the story in a way that the government officials could understand and*

relate to their day-to-day challenges.” Also, a member of civil society in Kaduna stated that “*Before PLANE, there were no real forums for government and civil society to engage consistently. PLANE created platforms where everyone could share their views without fear or hostility*”.

Several respondents described PLANE as a convening force that brought together multiple donors, government entities, and civil society actors into coordinated policy dialogue and implementation efforts. This coordination helped reduce duplication and foster a unified approach to education reform. As an official from Kaduna State Ministry of Education noted “*PLANE’s strength lies in how it aligns donors’ activities with government priorities. They don’t come as a separate donor project but act as a facilitator among us all*”.

This collaborative ecosystem was not without challenges. We found in some cases, parallel programming led to misaligned interventions (in Kano for example, multiple donors were supporting education reform but not always in a coordinated manner initially), until PLANE initiated an approach of convening joint stakeholder platforms to harmonise efforts and reduce duplication. The complementarity of support ultimately enhanced the technical robustness and inclusivity of the reform processes.

4.2.4 Successes

Through sustained engagement, PLANE has helped move key education policies from development to formal approval and implementation.

One of the most prominent successes of PLANE’s policy support is the recent approval and implementation of multiple education reforms across states, including Kano and Jigawa. In Kano, the Teacher Recruitment and Deployment Policy, alongside three other reforms, received formal approval, a milestone symbolised during the Education Recovery Conference where FCDO handed over this policy for reform to the governor, which it has been working on since the ESSPIN programme, nearly a decade. Sampled policies from Kano, including Girls’ Education Policy (stage 4 to stage 6) have seen improvement in their reform stage since the beginning of this study in March 2025.



PLANE’s Award of Excellence from the Kano State Government

In recognition of this effort, the governor presented PLANE with a plaque and a certificate of excellence: “*The governor awarded PLANE a plaque as well as a certificate of excellence for their support of the policies,*” marking a symbolic victory and public endorsement of PLANE’s role.

The participatory approach introduced by PLANE in reform consultations increased the number and diversity of voices in policy dialogues. Stakeholders reported that parent–teacher associations, school-based management committees, and civil society groups were not only invited but actively contributed to shaping policy provisions – an engagement shift from earlier, more top-down approaches.

Capacity building was another notable success. Several ministries reported that the technical workshops on policy drafting, data use, and advocacy strengthened their internal competencies, enabling them to continue reform work independently. For example, ministry staff in Kano state were able to produce a revised implementation plan for an ongoing education reform without external consultants – something they had never done before.

Furthermore, **PLANE's facilitation of cross-state learning exchanges proved valuable.** Reform teams from different states visited one another to observe best practices in school governance and teacher deployment, returning with context-adapted strategies that enriched their own reforms. These peer-learning visits fostered trust among state counterparts and created informal networks that now operate beyond the project's formal structures.

Government officials credit PLANE with enabling effective, non-confrontational influence in policy development processes. In Jigawa, government officials credited PLANE's technical support for improving the quality of policy drafts and building consensus. An official from the State Ministry of Education reflected, "*PLANE would give us the tools... to maximally influence government without necessarily coming across as hostile.*" This indicates the nuanced approach that balanced advocacy with partnership, leading to smoother stakeholder buy-in and less confrontational engagement.

Policy influence has also translated into tangible changes. For instance, before the official approval of the Girls' Education Policy in Kano, PLANE helped in the establishment of a Girls' Education Unit and secured a dedicated budget code for girls' education in all relevant MDAs in the state. In 2025, Kano state has released over N400 million for girls education interventions, including N63.8million to the Ministry of Women Affairs, Children and Disable for '*Out Of School Adolescent Girls Skills Acquisition Programme*' and N187.9 million to the Agency for Mass Education for the '*establishment of 20 Girl-Child Class across the three Senatorial Zone in the state to reduce the number of Out of Schools Girls hawking in the street of the state*' (see Annex H: Kano State 2025 Budget Released for Girls Education). In this respect, the recent declaration of Kaduna (26%), Kano (31%) and Jigawa (32%) as states with the highest education budgetary allocation by System Strategy and Policy Lab is a culmination of FCDO-PLANE support to the education sector in the states. All the three states have been supported in publicly declaring a state of emergency in education. However, the full credit for this initiative fell on the advocacy Citizens Group that was promoted as part of PERL's community support programme. According to one Kano stakeholder, who was part of both PERL's Citizen Group and PLANE's K-SAFE, the name was significant "*... because we were not just CSO. There were traditional rulers, there were community leaders, there were religious leaders, and there were different CBO). So, all the mixture makes up the Citizen Group.*" From its original setting as a product of PERL to its various transitions leading to K-SAFE under FCDO-PLANE, this group formed the nucleus for the emergence of a Girls' Education Policy from which the existing Girls' Education Unit emerged. Moreover, the hiring of 1,500 female teachers and provision of transportation for girls further illustrates how policy provisions are being translated into practice. As a member of civil society in Kano state noted "*They managed to persuade the government to employ 1500 female teachers... provision of buses... incentivising parents.*"

Through neutral consultancy and follow-up with policymakers, PLANE helped coalitions of stakeholders translate ideas into actionable education reforms. Beyond policy approvals and creating the conditions for their implementation, stakeholders in Kano, for example, singled out the technical support they received: "*the process of bringing somebody who put things together, like for every outing, major outing, they bring us a consultant ... that is neutral ... most helpful*". A stakeholder narrated how they initiated the development of the Girls' Education Policy in Kano by assembling various interest groups, including academics who were involved in the finalisation of the National Policy on Gender in Basic Education in Nigeria. As they worked on contextualising the policy in various locations, including outside the state, as an official of the State Ministry of Education noted "*... we are telling him [consultant] what we want, and he will pull everything together for us and present it as a neutral person*".

In addition to providing coalitions of stakeholders with the technical support to progress policy reforms, PLANE was also reaching out directly to policy makers, such as the Commissioner of Education to nudge the state into actionable policy steps: as another official of the State Ministry of Education noted "*once we go to do our presentation, they [PLANE] follow up to make sure they emphasise on those issues*". Across all the stakeholders interviewed, capacity building was considered the most successful PLANE intervention in its policy reform agenda. One explanation offered by a federal stakeholder for applauding PLANE's training programmes is that elective

officials are focused on providing (“*tangible*”) infrastructure, because of their perception that the electorate is more likely to be persuaded by visible structures than the (“*intangible*”) training that teachers need to provide quality education in those schools.

4.2.5 Unexpected outcomes

Unexpected outcomes also shaped the reform landscape. For example, **PLANE’s accountability frameworks helped transform civil society from adversarial actors into partners.** A member of civil society in Kano noted: *“PLANE have really tried in terms of changing our thinking. Before, once you’re a civil society organisation, you feel you are an attacker. Now we feel the power of advocacy.”*

This strategic shift created a new model of engagement – with FCDO at the top, CSOs at the base, and PLANE and civil servants in the middle. At the top, FCDO has unimpeded access. Below, they also have created a very strong accountability framework, comprising CSOs and state actors. In the middle is PLANE and government officials at directorate level.

The evolution of CSO engagement was not merely strategic - it fostered a sense of solidarity among stakeholders. As another member of civil society in Kano puts it, *“PLANE would give us the tools... to maximally influence government without necessarily coming across as hostile.”* The term ‘family’ was used to describe the level of cohesion: *“We are one umbrella family, with mutual respect and mutual policy influencing.”*

4.3 Stakeholder perspectives on PLANE’s support to systemic education reforms

This sub-section presents stakeholders’ perspectives on PLANE’s support to education reforms, including their assessment of the reforms’ alignment with government priorities, and the relevance and effectiveness of PLANE’s support in the reform process.

4.3.1 Stakeholder participation and influence

PLANE’s support to education reforms has been a participatory approach to policy development and law review processes. From the reform of the Jigawa Education Quality Assurance Agency Law to the national-level review of the UBEC Act, PLANE prioritised the active involvement of diverse stakeholder groups across all levels of the education system. One of the newest programmes of systemic support to education has been its engagement with Nigeria Governors’ Forum, where PLANE helped NGF’s Education Unit to build the capacity of sub-national Commissioners of Education as part of a transitional briefing after the 2023 elections in Nigeria. In this respect, PLANE has also engaged with NGF in their push for the removal of states’ counterpart funding from UBEC/IF Law 2004 and the inclusion of NGF representative into the board of UBEC in the current review of the law at the National Assembly. However, given UBEC stakeholders’ opinions on the need for the reform to seek a demand-driven matching-grant formula, similar to FCDO/States Asks-and-Offers agreements, there is still room for further debates and considerations before the law review is finalised by the National Assembly.

Multi-actor platforms facilitated by PLANE drew on institutional knowledge and community perspectives to support practical and context-specific policy reviews. PLANE facilitated the creation of inclusive Technical Working Groups and Task Teams that brought together civil servants, teachers, civil society actors, education experts, religious and traditional leaders, and lawmakers. These multi-actor platforms helped ensure that the reforms were government-owned and community-grounded. In Jigawa, the inclusion of retired directors and education inspectors was particularly appreciated, as they brought in-depth institutional memory and context-specific wisdom to the law review process. An official of the State Ministry of Education stated, *“Many of those*

involved in the technical review had first-hand experience of the law they were reviewing, which made the process very grounded in reality.”

The participatory process demonstrated that education policy could be negotiated across societal divides rather than imposed top-down. In Kano, PLANE supported a highly consultative process for the development of the Girls’ Education Policy, which included religious leaders, women’s groups, traditional institutions, and community-based organisations. The engagement of these actors enriched the policy content and also increased local legitimacy and reduced resistance. As an official of the State Ministry of Education described it: *“For the first time, we saw that policy could be something negotiated across divides – not just something handed down.”*

Through these collaborative processes, stakeholders were not passive participants. They were empowered to question, co-design, and influence the trajectory of the reforms. In Kaduna, PLANE supported legislators and executive actors to conduct a comparative analysis of their existing law against national standards and global benchmarks, enabling them to make context-sensitive but ambitious recommendations. As an official of the State Ministry of Education noted, *“We didn’t just copy other states. We were made to ask: What is really going to work for Kaduna?”*

This dynamic approach also enabled civil society actors to reposition themselves from being confrontational critics to strategic collaborators. As a member of civil society in Kano reflected, *“PLANE helped civil society rebrand. They are no longer attack dogs but rather strategic partners with the tools to influence constructively.”*

4.3.2 Alignment of reforms with government priorities

PLANE demonstrated a strong commitment to aligning policy support with existing government priorities and sectoral needs. Instead of proposing externally driven models, PLANE’s approach was rooted in strengthening ongoing government efforts and enabling the government to fulfil its statutory roles more effectively.

By facilitating the review and update of existing policies, PLANE helped streamline government structures and bring them into alignment with federal and state education priorities. An example is PLANE’s support to Kano State in reviewing its Teacher Recruitment and Deployment Guidelines, which had been outdated and inconsistently applied. The revised version aligned the guidelines with the Federal Teachers’ Policy and the state’s own Education Sector Plan, ensuring that new teacher placements addressed shortages in underserved LGAs. Similarly, in Jigawa State, PLANE facilitated the update of the School Improvement Policy to integrate school-level accountability structures with state-level monitoring systems, harmonising them with the national Quality Assurance Framework. An official of Kaduna State Ministry of Education explained, *“The changes were overdue. We needed an enabling law that reflects the current education realities and standards.”*

In Kano also, the focus on a Girls’ Education Policy resonated with the state’s commitment to reducing gender disparities in access to education. The reform did not introduce a new agenda but enhanced and institutionalised an existing one. An official of Kano State Ministry of Education noted, *“The policy now gives us a formal framework to coordinate and fund what we’ve always wanted to do but lacked the structure for.”*

The national-level UBEC law review was similarly aligned with the Federal Government’s long-standing goals of improving basic education delivery, especially the need to expand the scope of the Commission’s mandate to accommodate senior secondary education and strengthen oversight of state-level implementation. PLANE’s technical support offered an opportunity for this alignment to be codified into law, although UBEC stakeholders expressed a lack of awareness of the review process, and noted that *“management should have been taken into consideration”* by PLANE during the consultative period.

4.3.3 Relevance of PLANE's support

PLANE's support was widely perceived by stakeholders as timely, context-sensitive, and responsive to real policy bottlenecks. Rather than pushing predetermined templates, PLANE invested in relationship-building, capacity strengthening, and facilitation of processes that were already recognised as priorities by local actors. For example, in Kaduna State, the Ministry of Education reported that PLANE's technical assistance in finalising the draft Education Policy Implementation Strategy came at a time when the document risked stalling due to lack of in-house technical capacity and competing political priorities. The Permanent Secretary noted that PLANE *"stepped in when it mattered most, without forcing their own agenda."*

Similarly, in Kano State, PLANE provided facilitation support during a tense policy review of teacher deployment rules, when disagreements between the Teachers' Service Board and SUBEB were delaying progress. According to a senior SUBEB official, PLANE's *"neutral but knowledgeable mediation helped unlock consensus without alienating either side"*.

The programme's emphasis on capacity building – whether through learning events, technical review sessions, or peer-to-peer exchanges – was particularly appreciated. Officials reported that they gained confidence in leading policy processes themselves. A director in Kaduna affirmed: *"Now we know how to lead the process ourselves. We no longer have to wait for external consultants to write policies for us."*

Reflecting on the broader design, we found that PLANE's interventions were culturally intelligent and politically smart. For example, in Jigawa State, where traditional and religious leaders wield significant influence over education reforms, PLANE secured early buy-in by conducting pre-dialogue consultations with the Emirate Council before convening technical policy workshops. This sequencing respected local decision-making protocols and reduced the risk of resistance during formal policy discussions.

PLANE also displayed political smartness by navigating sensitive inter-agency rivalries without triggering open confrontation. In Kano State, disagreements between the SUBEB and the Ministry of Education over teacher recruitment criteria had stalled reform progress. PLANE used a dual-briefing approach – meeting each agency separately first to understand their concerns, then structuring joint meetings around areas of common interest – allowing reform talks to progress without publicly exposing fault lines.

Key government actors, supported by PLANE, helped align policies with cultural and religious contexts and accelerate approvals. The strategy of engaging stakeholders at multiple levels, using respected insiders as facilitators, and anchoring changes in government structures was seen as particularly relevant to Nigeria's complex education landscape. One key Kano PLANE staff member mentioned SUBEB Chair, the Commissioner of Education, a former Permanent Secretary, a Special Adviser for Education as the main drivers of policy reforms on the Kano government side. A serving Chair of K-SAFE was also on the 14-member committee which reviewed the four policies (*"... aligning [them] with Kano's cultural and religious values"*) prior to their presentation at the Kano State Executive Council. These key government actors included former PLANE staff, e.g. current SUBEB Chair, who were also central to the Kano Education Recovery Conference held in July 2025, which helped to speed up the process leading to the approval of four policies, including Teacher Recruitment Policy and Girls' Education Policy.

Even where reforms were still awaiting formal approval, such as the UBEC law or the Kano Girls' Education Policy, stakeholders commended the relevance of the support received and the progress made.

4.4 Sustainability and scalability of supported reforms

This sub-section presents (from stakeholders' perspective) the positive and negative factors that may affect the sustainability of the supported reforms, including the institutionalisation and replicability of the reforms.

4.4.1 Sustainability factors

Sustainability of supported reforms rests on their embedment in existing systems. The potential for sustainability of PLANE-supported reforms rests largely on how deeply they are embedded in government systems, how widely they are owned, and the degree to which resources are committed to their continued implementation. PLANE took steps to ensure that reforms were not one-off documents but were accompanied by operational frameworks, capacity development, and budgetary considerations.

In Kano, for example, even before the Girls' Education Policy was passed, PLANE facilitated the establishment of a dedicated Girls' Education Unit and worked with the Ministry of Budget and Planning to create a specific budget line. An official of Kano State Ministry of Education emphasised: *"They managed to get a specific budget code approved. This is huge. It means we are not waiting for donors to fund implementation."*

In Jigawa, stakeholders noted that operational changes linked to the Education Quality Assurance Agency Law were already being implemented, showing that the reform was not merely symbolic. As reported by stakeholders, Local Government Education Authorities (LGEAs) began adopting new quality assurance procedures based on the proposed legal framework, even before the law's passage.

By ensuring reforms were co-created and domesticated, PLANE enhanced their likelihood of survival beyond programme closure. Furthermore, the tools, templates, and experiences generated during the processes, such as standard operating procedures, revised mandates, and coordination mechanisms, serve as institutional memory and learning resources for the government.

4.4.2 Institutionalisation of reforms

PLANE invested in ensuring that reforms had dedicated implementation structures. Institutionalisation refers not just to formal adoption, but also to the embedding of reforms into the day-to-day systems and routines of governance. PLANE made strategic investments to support this by ensuring that reforms had dedicated implementation structures, were linked to performance metrics, and were aligned with sector-wide strategies.

PLANE attempted to link policies and programme delivery so that implementation can be tracked through existing performance monitoring systems. Similarly, PLANE supported its intervention states to align their agency mandates with federal frameworks, allowing for greater consistency in reporting and accountability. In Jigawa for instance, PLANE supported efforts to revise the state Education Quality Assurance Agency (EQAA) laws that reflect the National Education Quality Assurance Policy Framework (NEQAPF) of the FME. This alignment includes integrating standards for school inspection, monitoring, and teacher performance in line with national benchmarks. An official of Jigawa State Ministry of Education stated: *"We ensured the law is consistent with the National Policy on Quality Assurance, which promotes a whole-school approach to supervision."*

A critical strategy was anchoring reforms within functional institutions, rather than temporary task teams. This reduced the risk of reforms being lost during political transitions or leadership turnover. As a director at the Jigawa State Ministry of Education noted: *"It is easier to sustain change when it is part of a department's job description than when it is championed by a few individuals."*

4.4.3 Replicability of reforms

There is already evidence of the diffusion of PLANE-supported reforms to other states and actors. Draft laws, policies, and implementation frameworks from Kaduna, Kano, and Jigawa have been requested by officials from other non-PLANE states as reference materials. For example, Katsina, Kebbi, and Zamfara states are learning from or replicating Kaduna's domesticated National Almajiri Policy, particularly around the approach of

integrating Almajiri education with formal basic education systems. On the Kano State Girls' Education Policy, an official of the State Ministry of Education stated: “...Kaduna picked interest... and came to Kano to study what we were doing. They now replicated something similar.”

This interest reflects both the quality of the products developed and the credibility of the process used to develop them. As we observed, the way PLANE went about the reform – working with people, not around them – built trust. Other states want to learn not just from what was done, but how it was done. PLANE's strategy of enabling peer-to-peer learning, documenting reform journeys, and supporting cross-state learning exchanges makes the replication of reforms even more likely. The participatory model, the use of technical and elite-level engagement, and the alignment with federal goals make PLANE's approach a strong model for systemic policy reform.

However, stakeholders also acknowledged that successful replication would require adaptation to context. What worked in Kano, for instance, may not work in another geopolitical zone without adjustments. The success of replication will depend on capacity, political will, and local legitimacy.

5.0 Literature Review

Efforts to reform education systems in Nigeria and similar low- and middle-income countries have yielded varying results over the decades. While many reforms have produced localised or short-term improvements, few have achieved sustained, system-wide transformation. Drawing on evaluations, policy reviews, and research literature from Nigeria and comparable settings such as Ghana, Kenya, and India, this review synthesises key lessons on what works, what does not, and the enabling and hindering factors affecting systemic education reform.

5.1 What works in supporting systemic education reform

One of the most consistent findings in the literature is the importance of government ownership and political will. In Nigeria, the implementation of the Universal Basic Education (UBE) program in 1999 marked a significant milestone, largely due to national-level ownership and a legislative framework that enshrined basic education as a right. Studies by the World Bank (2018) and UNICEF (2021) emphasise that such political commitment – especially when backed by financing and institutional support – is essential for successful reform. In contexts like Ethiopia and Rwanda, strong central government leadership has similarly propelled nationwide educational improvements (World Bank, 2018; UNICEF, 2021).

Capacity development across all levels of the education system has also been shown to enhance reform outcomes. In Nigeria, the FCDO-funded ESSPIN, implemented between 2008 and 2016, focused on strengthening institutional capacity at state, local, and school levels. ESSPIN provided training for education officers, school leaders, and teachers, resulting in better planning, budgeting, and instructional practices in states like Kano, Kaduna, and Kwara (DFID, 2016). Similar results were documented in Tanzania's Big Results Now in Education programme, where building managerial and technical capacity at the district level significantly improved accountability and outcomes (World Bank, 2018).

Decentralisation of education management - when paired with effective accountability mechanisms - has also contributed to reform success. Kenya's TUSOME Early Grade Reading Programme demonstrated the benefits of devolving responsibilities to county-level officers, while maintaining national oversight through a robust monitoring framework (Piper et al., 2018). In Nigeria, attempts to decentralise education services often floundered due to weak accountability systems, but where School-Based Management Committees (SBMCs) were functional and empowered, as in some ESSPIN-supported areas, communities played a meaningful role in improving service delivery (DFID, 2016).

Another critical enabler of reform is the **use of data and evidence in planning and decision-making.** Countries like Ghana and India have made strides in developing Education Management Information Systems (EMIS), allowing policymakers to make data-informed choices about resource allocation and policy priorities (GPE, 2019; UNESCO IIEP, 2017). In Nigeria, ESSPIN helped improve the quality and use of Annual School Census data in several states, supporting evidence-based planning and budget advocacy (DFID, 2016). However, weak feedback loops and underuse of data remain major challenges in many states (ibid).

Reform efforts are further strengthened when they involve communities and engage the demand side of education. In Nigeria, community engagement mechanisms such as SBMCs helped improve school governance, especially when accompanied by social mobilisation campaigns (Save the Children, 2015; DFID, 2016). Internationally, Save the Children (2015) documented similar findings in Nepal and Malawi, where parent-teacher associations and local councils played a role in monitoring schools and holding them accountable. These efforts contribute to a more transparent and participatory reform process (ibid).

Finally, **successful reforms tend to be focused, targeted, and phased rather than overly ambitious or diffuse.** For instance, the Literacy Enhancement Assistance Programme in Ghana and the Bridge International

Academies model implemented in parts of Lagos, Nigeria, prioritised measurable improvements in early grade reading and numeracy (Patrinos et al., 2020; Piper et al., 2018). These focused interventions were able to demonstrate quick results, which in turn helped secure ongoing support from government and donors.

5.2 What does not work in systemic education reform

Conversely, the literature also identifies several common pitfalls. **Fragmented and short-term interventions – especially those driven by external donors – frequently fail to achieve lasting impact.** In Nigeria, many pilot projects have achieved impressive results in selected localities but collapsed when donor support ended, often due to a lack of integration into national or state systems (Crouch & DeStefano, 2017). This pattern has been noted in similar contexts such as Uganda and Pakistan.

Overambitious reforms that fail to account for existing system capacity also tend to fall short. Research by Bold et al. (2017) on teacher effectiveness across sub-Saharan Africa reveals that reforms often introduce new curricula or pedagogies without sufficient investment in teacher training or infrastructure. In Nigeria, several state-level reforms introduced new instructional models without addressing the foundational gaps in teacher knowledge, resulting in limited uptake and impact (ibid).

Ignoring the political economy of education systems is another critical failure point. Reforms that overlook power dynamics, vested interests, and incentive structures often face significant resistance. In Nigeria, efforts to redeploy teachers or reform teacher recruitment processes have been met with pushback from politically connected staff and unions (Kingdon et al., 2014). Similar findings are reported in India, where attempts to reduce teacher absenteeism were blocked by political interference (ibid).

Inadequate Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning (MEL) systems also hinder reform effectiveness. Despite widespread agreement on the value of MEL, many Nigerian states lack functional units to track and assess reform implementation. Without timely data and feedback loops, it becomes difficult to identify gaps, adapt strategies, or measure progress. This problem is not unique to Nigeria; in several African countries, World Bank's SABER (2014) analysis shows that weak monitoring systems contribute to poor reform outcomes.

6.0 Conclusions

1. PLANE's support to systemic education reforms

PLANE's multi-level, inclusive, and technically rigorous approach has successfully fostered relevant, sustainable, and scalable education reforms aligned with government priorities. The analysis of PLANE's support to systemic education reforms across multiple Nigerian states and at the federal level reveals a nuanced, deeply embedded, and strategically astute approach to policy influencing. PLANE has supported the technical drafting of laws and policies and has actively fostered ownership, participation, and alignment with government priorities. This layered and inclusive strategy has enabled reforms that are relevant and responsive, sustainable and scalable within Nigeria's complex political and institutional landscape.

PLANE's strategic insider engagement and strong convening ability have been critical to embedding reforms within government and leveraging high-level donor alignment for greater influence. A key takeaway is the deliberate emphasis on working through existing structures and leveraging insiders – *“conquering a locality with a local”* – which has allowed PLANE to navigate political sensitivities and embed reforms deeply within government systems. This insider approach, combined with a strong convening power that unites government, civil society, and development partners, has facilitated consistent engagement and influence across multiple levels. The strategic alignment with FCDO's top priorities further enhances PLANE's leverage and effectiveness.

2. Stakeholder perspectives on PLANE's support to systemic education reforms

Stakeholders value PLANE's role in shifting civil society towards constructive partnerships and embedding reforms in institutional frameworks for sustainability. Stakeholders widely appreciate PLANE's support in transforming civil society groups from confrontational advocacy to strategic partnership with state actors for policy reforms. The empowerment of these actors with skills, tools, and political navigation techniques has created a new dynamic that balances pressure with partnership. Furthermore, the programme's commitment to embedding reforms in legal frameworks, implementation plans, and budget lines strengthens the likelihood of sustained impact beyond the immediate intervention period.

Political-religious sensitivities and the exclusion of the non-formal education sector remain critical challenges that threaten reform inclusivity and completeness. The findings also highlight significant challenges and blind spots. Elite-level political and religious sensitivities, especially around gender-focused policies, pose risks to reform approval and implementation. Similarly, the marginalisation of the non-formal education sector – a substantial yet often overlooked component of Nigeria's education landscape – represents a critical gap in policy influence and inclusivity. For PLANE, this represents an area requiring innovative engagement strategies – for example, creating safe, low-stakes policy dialogues that bring non-formal education providers, religious authorities, and government agencies into the same conversation. Without addressing these sensitivities head-on, systemic reform risks remaining incomplete and inequitable.

3. Sustainability and scalability of supported reforms

The advancement and sustainability of reforms require the simultaneous presence of political will, institutional capacity, and sufficient resources. Successful policy reform depends on all three factors – political will, institutional capacity, and adequate resource allocation – being present at sufficient levels. In the reforms PLANE supported, gaps in any one of these often slowed or stalled progress. For example, even when strong political will existed at the state level, weak institutional capacity to implement reforms or limited funding to operationalise plans undermined outcomes. Likewise, adequate capacity and resources could not compensate for the absence of sustained political commitment. In other words, reforms advanced most effectively when all three elements aligned.

PLANE’s comprehensive and resilient approach offers a promising model for systemic and sustainable education reform, contingent on addressing key challenges around inclusivity and political sensitivities.

PLANE’s systemic education reform efforts have demonstrated that effective policy influence in Nigeria requires a combination of technical expertise, strategic insider engagement, inclusive stakeholder participation, and persistent advocacy supported by strong partnerships. Addressing identified challenges, particularly in engaging non-formal education and elite sensitivities, will be critical to consolidating gains and achieving lasting, scalable impact. The journey of reform is long and complex, but with resilience, strategic alignment, and inclusive approaches, PLANE’s model offers a promising pathway to systemic and sustainable education transformation.

7.0 Recommendations

The following recommendations are proposed to enhance the effectiveness, sustainability, and inclusivity of systemic education reforms supported by PLANE and similar programmes.

1. Deepen engagement with non-formal education actors

PLANE and partners should intentionally expand their outreach and collaboration with agencies and stakeholders involved in non-formal education. Recognising the size and importance of this sector, future reforms must integrate its perspectives, structures, and needs to ensure inclusive education policy influence and implementation. Their community-based understanding of under-served communities in the rural areas points to a need for a deeper engagement with this sector. Perhaps, communication strategies involving the translation of policies into Hausa (and Kanuri), or at least producing factsheets/summaries, radio discussions of key policy findings, jingles and community sensitisation of these policies should be considered as ways of collaborative engagement with SAMEs at states and NMEC at federal levels. It follows, therefore, that stress on Hausa (and Kanuri) language competence should continue to be considered in the recruitment processes of PLANE at all levels, including capacity building opportunities for government officials.

2. Address elite-level sensitivities proactively

Political and religious concerns, especially regarding gender-sensitive policies, require early and transparent dialogue with elite actors. Establishing dedicated forums for these discussions and involving respected religious and traditional leaders as partners can help mitigate resistance and build broader consensus. Wider stakeholder platforms, such as the recent Kaduna Education Summit (KADA 2025) and the Kano Education Recovery Conference could provide excellent avenues for involving traditional and religious authorities, including the Federated Organisation of Muslim Women's Associations in Nigeria (FOMWAN) as key participants. The Northern Traditional Rulers' Council, for example, has long been a source of counselling and advocacy for Federal and state governments, and PLANE can mobilise their collective support in advancing education reforms in North-western Nigeria. With traditional rulers also doubling as religious leaders within the wider Muslim Jama'atul Nasril Islam (JNI), their power and influence can be harnessed to promote better understanding of PLANE's policy reform agenda. Their influence is also likely to be boosted with the impending passage of a National Assembly Bill establishing the National Council of Traditional Rulers.

It is instructive that sensitive religious and cultural issues, such as the promotion of girls' education and campaigns for immunisation under UNICEF implementation, continue to receive strong positive response and acceptance, partly because of the organisation's active engagement with traditional and religious authorities as critical stakeholders. UNICEF also utilised weekly radio phone-ins to generate interest and support for such sensitive initiatives. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the NCAOOSCE Executive Secretary has recently advocated for the house-to-house '*polio approach*' to addressing the crisis of out of school children (Idris, 2025). Crucially, in KIIs with Kano PLANE staff, robust engagement with the media is seen as a major means of ensuring that approved policies are communicated widely during the next step of implementation.

3. Institutionalise capacity building and knowledge transfer

Building on successful training and mentoring efforts, PLANE should formalise capacity development programs within government institutions to institutionalise reform knowledge and skills. This approach will reduce dependence on external actors and ensure continuity despite leadership changes. It might also be beneficial to widen the pool of trainee-state officials, as the current system appear to work with a narrow set of basic education officials whose hands-on involvement in their official duties decreases in proportion to their PLANE-related activities.

A formalised programme could include structured induction for new officials, periodic refresher courses, peer-to-peer mentoring, and documented standard operating procedures to capture lessons learned from previous reform cycles. Embedding these programs into ministry workflows, such as integrating reform-related competencies into job descriptions or performance appraisal systems – would ensure that capacity gains are not person-dependent but part of the institutional DNA. Additionally, the approach should extend to non-formal education agencies, local education authorities, and other overlooked actors to create a wider, more resilient pool of reform-capable personnel.

By formalising capacity building, PLANE can enhance continuity, strengthen local ownership, and reduce reliance on external consultants or technical partners. It would also provide a mechanism for scaling up reforms across states, replicating lessons learned, and sustaining the effectiveness of interventions in the face of leadership changes, political sensitivities, or emerging policy priorities. Ultimately, institutionalised capacity development ensures that the knowledge and skills underpinning systemic education reforms become enduring assets for Nigeria's education system.

4. Enhance Monitoring, Evaluation, and Learning (MEL) frameworks

Strengthening MEL systems linked to policy implementation will provide real-time feedback on reform progress and challenges. Integrating these systems into government performance management mechanisms will improve accountability and adaptive management. To strengthen the sustainability and effectiveness of systemic education reforms, it is crucial that PLANE and government partners deepen the integration of robust MEL frameworks within the reform process. Findings from the study reveal that while PLANE-supported policies include implementation and MEL provisions, there are gaps in ensuring that data generated at state and local levels is systematically used to guide adaptive decision-making.

Enhanced MEL frameworks would provide real-time insights into the performance of reforms, identify bottlenecks, and allow rapid corrective action. Integrating MEL into government performance management systems would make the process more institutionalised, linking reform outcomes to ministry reporting, resource allocation, and accountability mechanisms. This is particularly important in contexts where changes in administration or political priorities can stall implementation; evidence-based feedback ensures continuity by highlighting critical actions regardless of leadership transitions.

Furthermore, MEL systems should be designed to capture both quantitative indicators (such as enrolment, retention, and teacher deployment), and qualitative insights from stakeholders at all levels, including civil society, communities, and non-formal education providers. In addition, PLANE could support the creation of knowledge management hubs or platforms that facilitate continuous sharing of lessons learned across states, agencies, and sectors. This would reinforce adaptive management, prevent duplication of effort, and provide a foundation for scaling successful interventions. Strengthened MEL systems will therefore track progress and empower policymakers and implementers to respond proactively to emerging challenges, enhancing the effectiveness, sustainability, and replicability of education reforms across Nigeria.

5. Leverage the 'sandwich' model of influence

PLANE should continue to harness its unique position between high-level donors (like FCDO), government officials, and grassroots civil society. PLANE should deepen the facilitation of bidirectional communication and feedback loops, to ensure reforms are grounded and politically feasible. This could involve structured mechanisms for civil society and community representatives to regularly share observations, challenges, and lessons from implementation with both state actors and donors. Likewise, information from federal or donor-level strategic priorities should be systematically communicated to state and local education offices in a manner that is actionable

and relevant. Evidence from Kaduna, Kano, and Jigawa indicates that when PLANE enabled such flows of information, reforms were better adapted to local contexts.

Further, PLANE should formalise its convening and coordination roles to reduce the risk of parallel programming or duplication of efforts by other donors. The project should also continue to leverage insiders – civil servants or consultants with institutional memory and credibility to amplify influence across different levels of government. This is particularly important in states where elite political or religious sensitivities can delay reform approval. Using trusted intermediaries ensures that policy proposals are communicated effectively without triggering unnecessary resistance. By institutionalising the ‘sandwich’ model, PLANE can continue to strengthen its unique position as a mediator and multiplier, ensuring that reforms are not only adopted but also implemented in ways that are sustainable, contextually relevant, and responsive to both citizen and government priorities.

6. Scale up peer learning and cross-state exchanges

Encouraging structured knowledge sharing between states will support adaptation and replication of successful reforms. Peer learning platforms should be resourced and institutionalised as part of the reform ecosystem. The analysis of PLANE-supported reforms across multiple Nigerian states demonstrates that many innovations, whether process-oriented or reform-specific, have been successfully adapted when stakeholders had opportunities to learn from peers in other contexts. For instance, Kaduna’s domestication of the National Policy on Almajiri and Jigawa’s Inclusive Education Policy were cited by respondents as potential models for other states, with emphasis on adapting the process rather than copying content verbatim. Similarly, draft laws, policies, and implementation frameworks from Kaduna, Kano, and Jigawa have been requested by officials from non-PLANE states as reference materials, suggesting a natural appetite for cross-state knowledge exchange.

To capitalise on these opportunities, PLANE should institutionalise structured peer-learning platforms that bring together state officials, civil society representatives, and technical experts. Such platforms could include workshops, study tours, virtual exchange forums, and thematic communities of practice. These interactions allow states to share lessons on policy design, stakeholder engagement strategies, implementation bottlenecks, and monitoring approaches. They also facilitate the diffusion of technical innovations – such as gender-responsive education strategies, teacher deployment guidelines, and non-formal education delivery frameworks – while respecting local contexts.

Resourcing these platforms adequately is critical. Peer-learning activities should not be ad hoc but embedded within the broader reform ecosystem, with clear objectives, documented outcomes, and follow-up mechanisms. For example, exchanges between Kano and Kaduna highlighted the importance of engaging religious and community leaders early in the policy process, a lesson that other states could adapt to reduce elite resistance and enhance legitimacy. Furthermore, peer learning strengthens institutional memory and reduces reliance on individual champions. By documenting and sharing experiences systematically, states can ensure continuity even when political administrations or key personnel change.

7. Maintain strategic alignment with government priorities and donor agendas

Continuing to align reform initiatives with government and donor strategies is essential for sustained influence and resource mobilisation. However, this should be balanced with responsiveness to local demands to preserve authenticity and ownership. PLANE’s influence has been most effective when its initiatives are aligned with both high-level donor strategies – such as the FCDO National Strategic Education Plan – and state government priorities. As highlighted by respondents, this alignment allows PLANE to operate with legitimacy and leverage, ensuring that reforms are taken seriously by policymakers.

At the same time, maintaining this alignment should not come at the expense of responsiveness to local realities. The concept of ‘demand-driven’ engagement – allowing states and communities to articulate priorities while PLANE provides technical and strategic support – was consistently cited by respondents as a strength of the programme. To institutionalise this approach, PLANE could establish regular mechanisms for alignment checks, such as joint planning sessions with federal and state stakeholders, periodic donor coordination meetings, and adaptive feedback loops that allow reforms to be recalibrated in response to emerging challenges or changing contexts. This process ensures that while reforms benefit from strategic guidance and resources, they remain locally owned and responsive.

Strategic alignment also mitigates risks associated with changes in political administrations or donor priorities. By embedding reforms within existing legal and institutional frameworks and maintaining alignment with both top-level donor objectives and state-level operational realities, PLANE helps ensure that policies and implementation strategies survive beyond individual champions or short-term projects. This dual alignment – top-down and bottom-up – strengthens sustainability, facilitates replication across states, and maintains the credibility of PLANE as a trusted convenor, broker, and technical partner.

8. Plan for political transitions and institutional memory loss

Given the risks posed by government changes, strategies should be developed to safeguard reforms from political disruptions. These might include embedding reforms into legislation, establishing multi-partisan committees, and documenting reform journeys comprehensively. One of the recurrent challenges identified across PLANE-supported reforms is the vulnerability of policies to political transitions. Several respondents highlighted instances where reforms approved under one administration were stalled, deprioritised, or even reversed under new leadership. As the 2027 election cycle approaches, it is important for PLANE to anticipate bottlenecks inherent in such transitions.

To mitigate such risks, PLANE should embed reforms more deeply into formal legislative and institutional structures. This includes ensuring that policies, implementation frameworks, and associated monitoring mechanisms are codified within state laws, agency mandates, or formal regulatory guidelines. Embedding reforms legally provides a safeguard against abrupt changes in government priorities, making it harder for incoming administrations to ignore or reverse reforms without due process.

Another strategy is to establish multi-partisan or cross-administration committees to oversee reform implementation. By involving representatives from all major political blocs, these committees can maintain continuity in decision-making and ensure that reforms are not viewed as partisan initiatives. This approach can also foster ownership across political lines and reduce the likelihood of reforms being derailed due to political bias.

Documenting reform processes comprehensively is equally critical. Maintaining detailed records of technical inputs, stakeholder consultations, policy drafts, and implementation strategies ensures institutional memory is preserved, even as personnel change. Such documentation supports smoother onboarding of new officials, enables evidence-based advocacy, and provides reference points for replication or scaling in other states.

Additionally, embedding capacity development and mentoring within state institutions – as already practiced by PLANE – helps maintain reform knowledge among a broader cohort of civil servants. This reduces overreliance on specific individuals and ensures continuity in technical competence, even when key personnel transition out of government.

9. Address sensitivities in Federal/State roles and strengthen high-level reform alliances

The complex relationship between federal and state authorities remains a key barrier to coherent education reform in Nigeria. Communication gaps often emerge between Abuja and the states, and even within states between the formal and non-formal sectors. These disconnects complicate implementation and create anxieties among reform actors who must navigate overlapping mandates and sometimes conflicting interests. Cultural and religious sensitivities – such as those encountered in Kaduna during the domestication of the National Policy on Almajiri – further add to the complexity, requiring tactful engagement and locally adapted solutions.

To address these challenges, PLANE should position itself more deliberately as a trusted broker across different layers of the governance system. Beyond its current state-level engagements, PLANE should deepen its strategic interface with national policy-influencing platforms such as the NGF, which plays a powerful agenda-setting role in harmonising state approaches. At the federal level, stronger alignment with reform champions – particularly the FME Ministerial team – would allow PLANE to lend technical weight to their NESRI, a strategy already widely recognised for its robustness and inclusivity.

Providing tailored support to these champions, including technical analysis, political intelligence, and coalition-building tools, would help insulate reforms from political resistance and build bridges across federal-state divides. In practice, this could mean convening joint federal-state policy dialogues under NGF auspices, supporting the FME to co-create guidance notes that states can adapt, and backing reform champions to frame their initiatives in ways that acknowledge state sensitivities while keeping reforms on track. Doing so will not only reduce anxieties but also create a more enabling environment for systemic reforms to take root and endure.

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Annexes

Annex A: Research Tool

Key Informant Interview Guide Stakeholders

Date of interview: _____

Reform Title: _____

Level of origin (Federal or State): _____

State: _____

Respondent: _____

Designation: _____

Organisation: _____

Introduction

“Thank you for taking the time to speak with me. This interview is part of a study looking at policy reform processes supported by the Partnership for Learning for All in Nigeria (PLANE). We are keen to hear from people like you, who can help us better understand how reforms are selected, supported and sustained. The interview will take about 1 hour, and if you agree to take part, we will talk about your experience of the policy reform process. You are under no obligation to participate, and you are free to withdraw your consent at any time. Whatever you tell me will remain confidential, and your name will not be linked to anything you say in the interview. To ensure that I do not miss any important point during our interview, I would like to record it, as well as take notes. Parts of the audio recording and notes may be quoted in a report. Do you agree for me to record and take notes from the interview?”

You can ask me any questions about this study now or during our interview ... OK. Shall we start?

Section A: Background Information

1. Can you briefly describe your role and involvement in the reform process of the *{insert the name of the policy}*?
2. How familiar are you with PLANE's work on supporting the policy reform process?

Section B: Reform Identification and Support (Objective 1)

3. How was the reform identified and selected? Who initiated it?
4. What role did PLANE play in linking Federal and State actors during these reform processes?
5. Did the *{insert the name of the policy}* face any challenges in progressing through the reform stages (reform value-chain)? If yes, why do you think that happened?
6. What factors may have helped PLANE in supporting the reform efforts? {Prompt/give examples}
7. What other factors may have hindered PLANE's involvement in these reform efforts?
8. Were other development partners involved in supporting the reform? What was their contribution? {Who were the partners}
9. Can you share any successes, challenges, or unexpected outcomes experienced during the reform process?

Section C: Stakeholder Engagement and Perceptions (Objective 2)

10. Which key stakeholders were involved at various stages of the reform process? How would you describe their influence? {Probe beyond government stakeholders and examine whether civil society or the private sector were involved.}
11. Which MDAs (both Federal and State) participated in the process? How well did they participate in the process? Was there any MDA(s) that should have participated but didn't?
12. From your perspective, how well did the reform topics align with national or state government priorities? What are those priorities?
13. How relevant was the support provided by PLANE in helping the reforms to move forward? How effective were the reforms? Were there any areas which you do not consider relevant? What are they?

Section D: Sustainability and Wider Influence (Objective 3)

14. Were sustainability and long-term impact considered during the reform planning and implementation? In what ways?
15. What factors do you believe are most likely to contribute to the sustainability of the reform? {Prompt/give examples}
16. What factors do you think will hinder the sustainability of the reform?
17. Are you aware of any reforms that originated from the Federal level that PLANE helped encourage their adoption by other non-PLANE states? If so, how?
18. What lessons or strategies from the successful reform efforts do you think could be adapted by other states or programmes?

Section E: Closing

19. Do you have any other insights or reflections on policy reform processes supported by PLANE that you'd like to share?

Thank the respondent for their time.

Annex B: Sampling Strategy

The following sampling strategy was used for the study, consisting of the following steps:

- 1) **Review, selection and agreement on the sampling criteria to be used** – in collaboration with FCDO and Window 1 and 2 stakeholders. The initial set of sampling criteria proposed by DELVe are included in Table 6 below. An important consideration has been to avoid duplication and spread across thematic areas in the selection of reforms. FCDO have indicated the importance of Federal Universal Basic Education reforms given that this is a major area of focus for 2025.
- 2) **Application of the agreed sampling criteria** to the list reforms supported by Windows 1 and 2 and development of a short-list of potential reforms to examine.
- 3) **Purposeful selection from the short-list of potential reforms** and development of a final list of reforms – in collaboration with FCDO, Window 1 and 2 stakeholders. This included a focus on reforms where progress along the value chain has been particularly effective, and reforms where challenges have been faced – to help identify both enabling and hindering factors. This step also considered the resources available for the budget, and the depth of review required for selected reforms (i.e. some will be more complex than others) – and influenced the final number of reforms selected.

Table 6: Reform sampling criteria proposed by DELVe

Criteria	Focus
1) Stage of the reform on the reform value chain	Potential to explore factors associated with different reform stages (e.g. development or adoption).
2) Location where the reform is being implemented	a) Ensuring all PLANE states are included, and b) giving the potential for cross-case comparison – where the same reform is being implemented in multiple locations.
3) Thematic or sectoral focus of the reform	Potential to explore factors associated with themes or sectors of particular interest (e.g. teaching, girls' education, governance).
4) Level of government from which the reform originated	Potential to explore both how national level reforms are adopted at state level, and state specific reforms are developed, including linkages in federal/state policy/programme/financing interactions also of interest (which is of particular interest to FCDO).
5) Thematic alignment of the reform with the DELVe evaluation framework	Potential to strengthen the evidence base for the mid-line performance evaluation.
6) The stage of the reform process when PLANE support began	Potential to explore both how PLANE has supported reform processes from the start, and where it has begun supported reforms that had already progressed along the reform value chain.

Criteria	Focus
7) Whether the reform has been covered under another study	Potential to exclude reforms from the sample – where they may have been examined under other studies, or where they will be covered under the DELVe midline evaluation.

To collect the evidence needed to assess the indicator “*Number of systemic education reforms on which progress is made in preparation, validation, approval, adoption and implementation using an 8-staged rubric*”, Window 1 has developed a datasheet for tracking supported reforms, which captures key information related to each reform and enables the status of each to be tracked over time. In addition, the evidence source for this indicator specifies that DELVe will undertake an annual study to explore Window 1’s contribution to the adoption and implementation of supported reforms. The study builds on the reform process (or rubric) set out within Window 1’s datasheet for tracking supported reforms, presented in Table x, Section 3.1.

Table 7 below lists the education reforms supported by Window 1, as recorded in its logframe, along with the current stage of each reform in the reform value chain.

Table 7: Longlist of Window 1 Supported Reforms

#	Reform Type	Reform Name	Location	Current Reform Stage
1			Jigawa	7
2	Policy	Teacher Recruitment, Deployment and Replacement (TRDR) Policy	Kano	7
3			Kaduna	6
4	Legislation	Jigawa State Quality Assurance Agency Bill and associated Corporate Plan	Jigawa	7
5	Legislation	Jigawa State Education Resource Agency Law	Jigawa	7
6	Legislation	Jigawa State Senior Secondary Education Board Law	Jigawa	7
7	Policy	Kano Girls Education Policy	Kano	4
8	Policy	Kano Gender Policy	Kano	4
9	Policy	Kano Teacher Development Policy	Kano	4
10	Policy	Teaching and Learning Materials Policy	Federal	5
11			Jigawa	5
12	Policy	Safety, Security and Violence Free Policy	Kano	3
13			Kaduna	4
14			Jigawa	5
15	Policy	School-Based Management Committee (SBMC) Policy	Kano	4
16			Kaduna	4
17			Jigawa	3
18	Policy	Non-State School Policy	Kano	3
19			Kaduna	3
20			Federal	5
21	Policy	Domestication of National Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) Policy	Jigawa	1
22	Policy	Domestication of National Policy on Almajiri	Kaduna	1
23	Legislation	UBE/IF Law Reform	Federal	3

All policies in Table 7 contain explicit acknowledgement of the level of PLANE support received at state and federal levels. In opening pages, including acknowledgements, forewords and backgrounds to the educational policies, there are enough descriptions of PLANE’s contribution to begin to form a view that these policies have benefitted from extensive and intensive technical support, ranging from gap analysis to policy validation and dissemination. This is in contrast to W2-supported reforms, which lacked this indicative policy influencing in their submission, as indicated in Section 5.2. below.

PLANE W2 also supports the adoption and implementation of policies by strengthening the capacity of governments in Borno and Yobe states to plan, finance, and implement education in emergency contexts, following evidence-based practices. Sustainability of reforms and strategic medium- to long-term support for education plans and goals remain a key focus for Window 2, as reflected in the W2 logframe entry for Output 4: *“Strengthening the capacity of governments and communities to plan, finance, and implement education in emergency contexts in line with evidence and best practices”*.

The list of reforms supported by Window 2 is provided in Table 8. While these policies are not explicitly listed in the W2 logframe, they were identified as relevant during the consultation process. Notably, some of these reforms pertain to strategic or operational plans rather than higher level policy changes, placing them more in the operational domain.

Although W2 does not report against the systemic education reform value chain rubric developed by W1 and presented in Table 2 (Section 3.1) above, the DELVe team has conducted an initial categorisation of the reforms according to the stages they align with, based on discussions with W2 and information inferred from the documents received.

Table 8: Longlist of Window 2 Supported Reforms

#	Reform Type	Reform Name	Location (State)	Current Reform Stage
1	Policy	Sustainability Implementation of Teaching at the Right Level (TaRL) Policy	Borno	5
2			Yobe	6
3	Plan	State Education Sector Operation Plan (2024-2026)	Borno	3
4			Yobe	4
5	Plan	State Education Strategic Plan (2021-2030)	Borno	3
6			Yobe	4

Annex C: Analytical Framework

The following matrix outlines how evidence was analysed against the research sub-questions using the coding frame. The analysis was recorded in a spreadsheet with separate columns for each document and KII. Relevant information was extracted from various sources, including briefing notes and policy documents provided by PLANE, as well as transcribed notes from KIIs with PLANE project staff, government officials at both state and national levels, and representatives of other development partners.

Policy Influencing analytical framework

Objective	Research sub-question	Themes (codes)	Description/What to look for
1. To examine the way in which PLANE has provided support to systemic education reforms	1.1 How were supported reforms identified and selected? From which level of government did these reforms originate (i.e. Federal or State) and what role did PLANE play in facilitating Federal-State linkages in the policy reform pathways?	Policy Reform Assistance	PLANE project's role in drafting, revising, or implementing policies E.g., support provided to government ministries, departments, and agencies on developing (or reforming) education policies
	1.2 Have any reforms been supported that did not progress along the reform value chain? Why?	Unsuccessful policy reforms	Policy reforms that were not successful due to reasons within or beyond PLANE's control
	1.3 What factors have enabled or hindered PLANE's contribution to reform processes?	Enablers Hindrances	Existence of complementary policies; enabling environment (e.g., political will) E.g., Bureaucratic bottlenecks; lack of budget
	1.4 What support to selected reforms did other development partners (e.g. World Bank) provide? What contribution did this support make to progressing reforms along the value chain?	Support from other development partners	Funding contributions (direct/indirect); joint high-level advocacy

Objective	Research sub-question	Themes (codes)	Description/What to look for
	1.5 What specific successes, challenges and unexpected outcomes have been encountered during supported reform processes?	<p>Successes</p> <p>Challenges</p> <p>Unexpected outcomes</p>	<p>Use of data and evidence (data-driven decisions)</p> <p>Political factors blocking or delaying reforms</p> <p>TBD in the course of documents review and interviews with stakeholders</p>
2. To understand the perspectives of stakeholders involved in systemic education reforms	2.1 Which stakeholders were involved at the different stages of the reform process and what influence were they able to have?	<p>Stakeholders involved</p> <p>Stakeholders' influence</p>	<p>Stakeholders involved at state and national levels</p> <p>Stakeholders' influence in moving the reform process along the value-chain</p>
	2.2 To what extent, and how, did all relevant government (both Federal and State level) Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) participate in the reform process?	Stakeholders' level of participation	Stakeholders' participation in training, co-creation workshops, etc.
	2.3 How do stakeholders perceive the alignment of reform topics with their own understanding of government priorities?	Alignment with government priorities	Alignment with specific education needs of each state
	2.4 How do stakeholders perceive the relevance and effectiveness of support provided by PLANE in enabling reform progress?	Relevance of PLANE's support	How well PLANE's interventions addressed real challenges

Objective	Research sub-question	Themes (codes)	Description/What to look for
3. To understand the sustainability and scalability of supported reforms	3.1 To what extent have important factors that are expected to contribute to sustainability and impact been considered during reform influencing? Are there signs that these factors are evident, or likely to be evident?	Sustainability factors	E.g., long-term government commitment; how political transitions affect reforms
	3.2 What factors contribute to, or hinder, the sustainability of reforms supported by PLANE, as they pass through the various reform stages?	Institutionalisation of reforms	E.g., resource gaps affecting long-term success
	3.3 For reforms that originated from the Federal government, did PLANE influence wider adoption of these reforms by non-PLANE states and if so, how? What lessons can be drawn from this?	Domestication of reforms non-PLANE states (spill-over effect)	Domestication of national level policies at non-PLANE states (if any), including a highlight of the enablers and constraints
	3.4 How can successful strategies be adopted by other states or applied in other contexts?	Replicability of reforms	Scalability potential (replicability in other states)

Annex D: Overview of PLANE Window 1 and 2 supported reforms

Window 1 supported reforms

Kano State Girls Education Policy

- ▶ PLANE's facilitative and empowering approach strengthened reform ownership. By stepping back and allowing CSOs and government actors to lead, PLANE ensured the reform was not donor-branded but state-owned.
- ▶ Continuity and coherence were enabled by early and broad stakeholder engagement. The involvement of actors like the SUBEB chair from inception ensured institutional memory and reform continuity, despite changes in government.
- ▶ Political transitions pose significant risks to policy implementation. Despite broad-based support, shifts in leadership disrupted momentum, necessitating re-engagement. This highlights the need for institutionalised handover mechanisms and adaptive strategies during political transitions.
- ▶ PLANE contributed to tangible outcomes, including the establishment of the Girls' Education Unit, but implementation is uneven. Budget increases and infrastructure projects demonstrate policy traction. However, delays, exclusion of key sectors (like non-formal education), and bureaucratic bottlenecks limit full-scale execution.
- ▶ Socio-cultural resistance remains a barrier. Some reform components clashed with conservative norms. This underlines the importance of investing in ongoing community engagement and culturally sensitive messaging.
- ▶ Development partner coordination enhanced reform alignment. The Kano State Joint Education Sector Steering Committee appears to be a key mechanism for harmonising donor efforts, reducing fragmentation, and reinforcing policy objectives.
- ▶ Unintended benefits emerged in the form of stronger CSO capabilities. CSOs reported improved ability to analyse and influence public budgets, suggesting long-term gains in governance and accountability.

Domestication of National Policy on Almajiri in Kaduna State

- ▶ Strategic Stakeholder Engagement & Ownership: Effective reform was made possible through consistent engagement of key actors - including Alarammas and education ministry staff - creating a sense of joint ownership. The active involvement of religious leaders is a particularly important shift.
- ▶ Policy-Government Alignment: The domesticated policy aligns strongly with Kaduna State's education agenda (e.g., Child Rights Act, State Development Plan). This strategic alignment increased legitimacy and positioned the policy as a solution to longstanding challenges.
- ▶ Enablers of Reform Progress: Clear communication, predictable planning by PLANE, stakeholder trust, and technical support for domestication processes all played enabling roles.
- ▶ Implementation Constraints: Challenges such as bureaucratic delays, funding gaps, and weak public sensitisation were noted as key barriers. Government transitions also posed risks to continuity.

- ▶ **Signals of Sustainability:** Transfer of leadership to government (with PLANE in a support role), expansion of models to new LGAs, and use of state funds for school construction indicate progress toward sustainability.
- ▶ **Sustainability Risks:** Without stronger community awareness, dedicated funding, and attention to critical components (e.g., skills acquisition), long-term reform outcomes may be compromised.
- ▶ **Scalability Considerations:** Replication in other contexts requires strong local relevance, robust stakeholder advocacy, and attention to existing government structures and incentives.

Jigawa State Education Quality Assurance Agency Law

- ▶ **External collaboration:** UNICEF's involvement as a development partner signals strategic alignment with other actors (like PLANE), supporting education reform momentum in Jigawa State.
- ▶ **Policy approval delays:** Finalised policy has not yet been approved, revealing a bottleneck between technical progress and political/bureaucratic endorsement.
- ▶ **Broader governance impact:** Reform is unintentionally improving transparency and regulation of private schools, strengthening oversight beyond its original scope.
- ▶ **Inclusive reform process:** A multi-sectoral, multi-MDA technical working group ensures diverse stakeholder participation, enhancing credibility and sustainability.
- ▶ **Alignment with state priorities:** Workplans and frameworks are tailored to state needs, increasing government ownership and reducing donor-driven fragmentation.
- ▶ **Sustainability mechanisms:**
 - ▷ Legal requirement for the Agency to operate only with a board (institutionalised oversight).
 - ▷ Governor-approved Interagency Committee (political will and formal endorsement).
 - ▷ Succession planning to replace staff quickly, preventing operational disruption.

Jigawa State Safety, Security, and Violence-free Schools Policy

- ▶ **Strategic and catalytic role of PLANE:**
 - ▷ Conducted policy gap analysis and coordinated key steps (validation workshop, technical working groups).
 - ▷ Enabled inclusive dialogue with state and non-state actors, ensuring reform alignment with state priorities.
- ▶ **Government commitment:**
 - ▷ Demand-driven engagement by Jigawa State Government legitimised the process.
 - ▷ Some MDAs created budget lines in advance of adoption, showing political will and systemic buy-in.
- ▶ **Policy relevance:**
 - ▷ Holistic focus on school safety (psychological well-being, hygiene, health education) resonated strongly with communities.
- ▶ **Challenges:**
 - ▷ Low grassroots awareness of policy content.

- ▷ Limited implementation capacity and weak incident reporting in schools.
- ▷ Overlap with existing policies and funding concerns.
- ▶ Unexpected positive outcome:
 - ▷ Formation of a broad policy coalition including traditional education actors, grassroots stakeholders, persons with disabilities, local hunters, and CSOs.
 - ▷ Contributions from UNICEF, Save the Children, and Society for Family Health (SFH) strengthened inclusivity and technical quality.
- ▶ Inclusive participation:
 - ▷ Stakeholders helped refine MEL framework, identify gaps, and propose training and awareness campaigns.
 - ▷ Non-traditional actors (parent associations, community security actors) played a role in shaping policy direction.
- ▶ Sustainability indicators:
 - ▷ Policy originated from state request, increasing long-term ownership.
 - ▷ Key provisions integrated into state budget, embedding reform in planning and financing.
 - ▷ School safety committees already active before official passage, indicating decentralised operationalisation.
- ▶ Risks to sustainability:
 - ▷ Absence of a formal legal framework makes the policy vulnerable to reversal in future political cycles.
 - ▷ Need for ongoing community engagement to improve awareness and support during rollout.

Teacher Recruitment, Deployment and Replacement Policy (Jigawa and Kano States)

- ▶ Role of PLANE
 - ▷ Jigawa: Filled a critical gap after PERL's exit, providing both technical and facilitative support (logistics, coordination, progress tracking).
 - ▷ Kano: Built on PERL's foundation, using existing Education TWG for facilitation and technical guidance.
- ▶ Institutional starting point
 - ▷ Jigawa: Needed foundational support to create structures and processes.
 - ▷ Kano: Already had advanced institutional infrastructure; focus was on leveraging existing systems.
- ▶ Key enablers
 - ▷ Jigawa: Willing stakeholders, supportive government, legacy of past interventions, structured schedules, and digital communication.
 - ▷ Kano: Early stakeholder buy-in, existing TWG, interest in updating outdated policies.
- ▶ Challenges

- ▷ Jigawa: Lack of clear implementation roadmap, outdated cost projections, changing priorities; strategic and financial barriers.
- ▷ Kano: Competing priorities, 2023 election disruptions; operational and political timing constraints.
- ▶ Development partner ecosystem
 - ▷ Jigawa: Broader and more diversified (TDP, PERL, UNICEF), supporting training, document review, and recruitment.
 - ▷ Kano: Focused more narrowly on co-facilitation (PERL and PLANE).
- ▶ Implementation progress
 - ▷ Jigawa: Tangible results — over 2,400 teachers recruited before policy approval, formalised replacement policy, absorbed volunteer teachers (J-Teach).
 - ▷ Kano: Tangible results — over 23,000 [former BEDA volunteer teachers](#) absorbed between 2023 and 2025.
 - ▷ Foundations laid — task teams formed, gender-balanced participation, shared understanding of reform objectives.
- ▶ Stakeholder engagement
 - ▷ Jigawa: Deep, technical, and structural — involved in real-time framework development and institutionalised TWG role.
 - ▷ Kano: Broad but more event-driven — stakeholder influence mainly through revising timelines and integrating new issues (insecurity, COVID-19).
- ▶ Policy alignment
 - ▷ Jigawa: Directly guiding recruitment, redeployment, and volunteer absorption.
 - ▷ Kano: Alignment with priorities present but still evolving during review stage.
- ▶ Sustainability
 - ▷ Jigawa: Strong — policy already in regular use, institutionalised via J-Teach, and supported by TWG.
 - ▷ Kano: Less certain — dependent on completing review process and maintaining engagement.
- ▶ Institutionalisation
 - ▷ Jigawa: Actively integrating reforms into staffing structures.
 - ▷ Kano: Outputs mostly in draft; process incomplete.
- ▶ Replication potential
 - ▷ Jigawa: High — proven, context-specific model adaptable to other states.
 - ▷ Kano: Moderate — forward-looking design (e.g., disability inclusion, epidemic response) but yet to pilot mechanisms.
- ▶ Overall:

- ▷ Jigawa is further ahead — more action-oriented, with tangible recruitment, institutionalised reforms, and stronger sustainability indicators.
- ▷ Kano is still in groundwork stage — focusing on system mobilisation, stakeholder engagement, and policy refinement, with implementation yet to begin in full.

UBEC Law Reform

▶ Role of Development Partners

- ▷ Development partners play a limited but important role, mainly in technical assistance and policy dialogue.
- ▷ Collaboration is inconsistent; UNICEF was specifically criticised for poor responsiveness, undermining coordinated reform efforts.

▶ Key Challenges

- ▷ **Constitutional Ambiguities:** Basic education is constitutionally a state/local responsibility, creating tensions with federally funded UBEC.
- ▷ **Access to Funds:** Counterpart funding requirements disadvantage poorer or less committed states, reducing participation.
- ▷ **Politicisation & Mismanagement:** Political interference, corruption, poor oversight, and inefficient procurement hinder effectiveness.

▶ Complex Stakeholder Landscape

- ▷ Multiple federal, state, and local actors involved, including SUBEBs, LGEAs, NUT, private schools, and state ministries.
- ▷ Federal government often moves ahead without sufficient state consultation, weakening coordination.

▶ Reform Priorities & Proposals

- ▷ Align with the federal roadmap for education (2024–2027), including reviewing the UBEC Act.
- ▷ **Proposals:** Increase federal allocation from 2% to 4–5%, reduce counterpart funding requirements, shift to needs/performance-based allocation, and expand basic education to secondary level.

▶ Sustainability Factors

- ▷ **Enablers:** High-level political support, legislative momentum, advocacy, and technical assistance opportunities.
- ▷ **Risks:** State resistance to reforms, exclusion of states from decision-making, and potential loss of ownership at the sub-national level.

Window 2 supported reforms

A feature of policies and plans supported by W2 in Borno and Yobe is the lack of reference to the contribution of PLANE and FCDO in the development activities leading up to their validation and dissemination. During discussions with W2, this gap was acknowledged, with reference to similar observations made by FCDO during their Annual Review Visit to Borno. W2 is exploring ways to ensure that states are fully aware of the support provided by UNICEF as the implementing partner, and they indicated that all printed documentation related to their Education in Emergencies activities in Borno and Yobe reportedly bears the emblems of PLANE and UK Aid.

In addition, UNICEF pointed to the way in which they go beyond the contribution of PLANE W2 in their implementation activities, particularly with respect to the deployment of technical support to the states' education sector reforms. This can contribute to the difficulty of extricating what is purely PLANE from the plethora of projects being handled by UNICEF in the PLANE W2 focal states.

Nevertheless, according to W2, both Borno and Yobe states have been provided with PLANE support in articulating their long-term educational goals. W2 also provided technical support to the Sustainable Implementation of the Teaching at the Right Level (TaRL) policy. This was provided in the form of trainings (e.g. Education Management Information System (EMIS) officers) and strategic workshops with key stakeholders including Commissioners of Education, SUBEB Chairmen, Chairmen of SoHA Committee on Education, State Agencies for Mass Education (SAME), Ministries of Budget, Local Governments and Environment, SBMC and persons with disabilities representatives. Notably, UNICEF was successful in supporting education budgeting through to approval at the SoHA.

Below is a summary of the status of the sustainable implementation of the TaRL policy.

Teaching at the Right Level (TaRL) policy

▶ Key Enablers

- ▷ Yobe: Strong leadership and structured coordination from the Ministry of Education and UNICEF Programme Officers; consistent PLANE follow-up sustained momentum.
- ▷ Borno: Deep community engagement by UNICEF (incentives, empowerment for less privileged) built trust and legitimacy, especially in a post-insurgency context.

▶ Development Partner Support

- ▷ Yobe: Broad coalition — USAID's OTL, TaRL Africa, Plan International, PLANE, UNICEF.
- ▷ Borno: More focused — UNICEF and OTL as primary partners.

▶ Early Successes

- ▷ Yobe: TaRL programme scaled up to new locations; demand and buy-in increasing.
- ▷ Borno: Reform triggered increased government resource commitment; parents began shifting preference to public schools due to visible learning gains.

▶ Key Challenges

- ▷ Yobe: Commissioner transitions disrupted process; persistent funding shortages and delays.
- ▷ Borno: Government review delays, lukewarm ministry commitment, initial resistance from end-users, gaps in materials, teacher shortages, and weak monitoring.

- ▶ Stakeholder Engagement
 - ▷ Yobe: Included SAME, MoE, and CSOs — but limited Federal Ministry involvement.
 - ▷ Borno: Broad participation but minimal SAME role; strong inclusion of community leaders, parents, and local education actors for grassroots anchoring.
- ▶ Policy Alignment
 - ▷ Yobe: Reinforced by governor’s state of emergency on education and UBEC commitments.
 - ▷ Borno: Targeted post-insurgency literacy and access gaps, aligning with urgent recovery priorities.
- ▶ Sustainability Prospects
 - ▷ Yobe: Education Trust Fund, trained personnel, volunteer facilitators at primary level.
 - ▷ Borno: All teachers trained (removal of unqualified teachers), LGA-based master trainers for institutional memory; optimism reforms could endure post-donor.
- ▶ Risks to Sustainability
 - ▷ Yobe: Teacher shortages, limited materials, bureaucracy, inconsistent funding.
 - ▷ Borno: Weak monitoring, potential donor withdrawal, declining government commitment.
- ▶ Replication Potential
 - ▷ Borno: Pilot since 2018 influenced uptake in other states (Benue, Sokoto, Zamfara, Jigawa) via Borno master trainers.
 - ▷ Yobe: Growing recognition of advocacy and community sensitisation; reform structure adaptable beyond PLANE states.
- ▶ Overall
 - ▷ Borno excels in community trust-building, rapid teacher capacity upgrades, and national replication influence, but faces monitoring and government commitment risks.
 - ▷ Yobe stands out for structured coordination, diverse partner support, and policy alignment, but is more constrained by persistent funding and resource gaps.

Annex E: Key Documents List

Window 1 key documents

Reform	Key documents			
	Jigawa	Kaduna	Kano	Federal
Safety, Security and Violence Free policy	Jigawa State Safety, Security and Violence Free School Policy PLANE Briefing Note on Domestication of National Policy on Safety, Security and Violence-Free Schools			
Jigawa State Quality Assurance Agency Bill	Jigawa State Educational Quality Assurance Agency Bill			
Teacher policy	Jigawa Teacher Policy Roadmap Briefing Note on the Revision of Jigawa Teacher Recruitment, Deployment and Replacement Roadmap	Kaduna Teacher Recruitment, Deployment and Management Framework	Kano State Teacher Development Policy Briefing Note on Revision of Kano Teacher Policy and Girls Education Policy	
Non-State School Policy	Jigawa Non-State School Policy	Kaduna State Non-State Schools Policy	Non-State School Policy Kano State	
Almajiri Education Policy		Kaduna Almajiri Education Policy		
Girls Education Policy			Kano Girls Education Policy Briefing Note on Revision of Kano Teacher Policy and Girls Education Policy	
UBE/IF Law Reform				UBEC PEA Rapid Assessment of the Impacts of Local Government Autonomy

Window 2 key documents

Reform	Key documents	
	Borno	Yobe
Teaching at the Right Level	Policy Document on Sustainable Implementation of Teaching at the Right Level (TaRL) in Borno State	Policy Document on Sustainable Implementation of Teaching at the Right Level (TaRL) in Yobe State
Education Sector Plans	Borno State Education Sector Operational Plan	Yobe State Education Sector Operational Plan
	Borno State Education Strategic Plan	Yobe State Education Strategic Plan
	Stages of Local Government Education Sector Operational Plan (LESOP) and State Education Sector Operational Plan (SESOP) Development	Stages of Local Government Education Sector Operational Plan (LESOP) and State Education Sector Operational Plan (SESOP) Development
Teacher policy	Borno State Policy on Teachers Recruitment, Deployment and Development	

Annex F: Stakeholder List

List of Kaduna KII Participants

S/N	Name	Organization	Designation/ Position
1	Salisu Baba Lawal	State Ministry of Education	Director Planning, MoE
2	Munkaila Usman Manu	State ministry of Education	DD M&E
3	Adamu D. Magaji	Kaduna State Schools Quality Assurance Authority (KSSQAA)	Director M&E
4	Malam Tahir Baba Ibrahim	Bureau of Interfaith	Director Religious Affairs
5	Simeon Olatunde	KADBEAM	Member
6	Musa Ibrahim Aboki	SUBEB	Assistant Director Access & Equity
7	Yusuf Abduljalil	SUBEB	Desk Officer Almajiri Education
8	Magaji Mohammad	SUBEB	Principal Education Officer
9	Lawal Jamanu	Mass Literacy Department	Senior Education Officer
10	Imam Buhari	Alaramas Associations	State Chairman

List of Kano KII Participants - Kano Teacher Recruitment, Deployment and Replacement Policy

S/N	Name	Organization	Rank
1	Umar Lawan	PLANE/PEA Team/W1	Project staff
2	Yusuf Kabir	SUBEB	Executive Chairman
3	Aisha Abubakar	PERL/PACE	Reform Facilitator
4	Muhammad Idris	PTA	State Chairman
5	Munzali Mustapha	MoE	Former DPRS
6	Abdullahi Idris	TRCN	State Co-ordinator
7	Baffa Garko	NUT	State Chairman
8	Prof Aisha Isma'il	K-SAFE	Member
9	Tijjani Haladu Bararya	SBMC	State Chairman
10	Ladidi Sani Fagge	HILWA	State Secretary

List of Kano KII Participants - Kano Girls Education Policy

S/N	Name	Organization	Rank
1	Umma Muhammad Rakana	PLANE/W1	Project staff
2	Aisha Abubakar	PERL/PACE	Reform Facilitator
3	Munzali Mustapha	MoE	Former DPRS
4	Muhammad Ibn Alhassan	QISMB	Former DPRS
5	Yusha'u Hamza	DPRS	MoE
6	Abbas Iliyasu Karaye	MoPB	Director M&E
7	Auwal Hamza	STL	PERL/PACE
8	Dr Auwal Halilu	CSO Co-Chair	K-SAFE
9	Mairo Bello	GEP	State Co-chairman
10	Tijjani Haladu Bararya	SBMC	State Chairman
11	Surajo Mahe Alkali	K-SAFE	Member

List of Jigawa KII Participants - Teacher Recruitment, Deployment and Replacement Policy

S/N	Name	Organization	Rank
1	Mustapha B. Ahmad	PLANE/PEA Team/W1	Project staff
2	Sani Harisu	SUBEB	DD/PRS
3	Muiz Adeniran	PERL/PACE	Other projects
4	Ibrahim Idi Hashim	SUBEB	TPD Lead
5	Mshellia Ali David	TRCN	State Coord.
6	Abdulkadir Yunusa	NUT	Chairman
7	Tasiu Abubakar	MOBE	DD/PRS
8	Babawuro Fate	MoHEST	DNGO

List of Jigawa KII Participants - Jigawa State Quality Assurance Agency Bill and Associated Corporate Plan

S/N	Name	Organization	Rank
1	Salisu Koki	PLANE/W1	Project staff
2	Dr. Ya'u Ahmad Sara	JISEQAA	Director General
3	Akilu Yusuf	SUBEB	DPRS
4	Ado Yakubu Zandam	SHoA	Chair House Comm BE
5	Abbas Zakari	MOHEST	DPRS
6	Tasiu Abubakar	MOBE	DD/PRS
7	Haruna Imam	SUBEB	DQA

List of Jigawa KII Participants - School Safety, Security and Violence Free Policy

S/N	Name	Organization	Rank
1	Jummai Joseph	PLANE/W1	Project staff
2	Abdullahi Inuwa	PLANE/W1	Project staff
3	Mustafa Yakubu	CSACEFA	Govt. official
4	Akilu Yusuf	SUBEB	DPRS
5	Ummi Jibrin Abba	Tsangaya Board	Director SM
6	Muiz Adeniran	PERL/PACE	Other projects
7	Kaila Abdulkadir	JEAF	CSO
8	Hannatu Bello	NCDC	Govt. official
9	Babawuro Fate	MoHEST	DDSC
10	Adamu Shaaibu	JONAPWD	NGO
11	Dr. Hauwa Babura	Basic Education	Edu Tech Advisor

List of Borno KII Participants

S/N	Participants	Name
1	State Coordinator	Suleiman Mohammed
2	State M&M Coordinator	Abdulrazaq Alamin
3	Representative of MoE	Idris Harun
4	Education Secretary MMC	Dr. Umar Goni

List of Yobe KII Participants

S/N	Organisation	Name	Position
1	SAME	Yahaya Day	UNICEF Focal person
2	UNICEF/TaRL	Abdulrazaq Alamin	State M&M Coordinator
3	MoBSE	Ibrahim Sani Audu	DPRS
4	Education Secretary Nguru	Hamisu Ado	ES Nguru

List of Federal Level KII Participants

S/N	Name	Organisation	Position	Location
1	Emmanuel Sani	PLANE	PPP & FIM	Abuja
2	Dr. Aminu Saidu	NERDC	CRO	Abuja
3	Anuna Olufemi Fredrick	FME	AD Basic Educ.	Abuja
4	Dahiru Ishaka Agwai	NCAOOSCE	Director	Abuja

5	Rasheed Adebesein	PLANE	OP2 Lead	Abuja
6	Fadorun James	PLANE	Tech Lead	Abuja
7	Dr. Balarabe S. Kakale	HME	S.A. Almajiri	Abuja
8	Obinna Nwaogbo	UBEC	PSMO	Abuja
9	Suleiman Isa	NCAOOSCE	Guidance & Coun.	Abuja
10	Ibrahim Hamisu	NCAOOSCE	Executive Officer	Abuja
11	Famade Oladiran	NERDC	CRC	Abuja
12	Lami I. Dutse	NCCE	Dep. Director	Abuja
13	Dongo Kennedy Omolayo	FME	AD	Abuja
14	Afowowe Olugbolahen	FME	AD Basic Educ.	Abuja
15	Mayowa Aleshin	UBEC	Director	Abuja
16	Dr Ossom Ossom	UBEC	Director	Abuja
17	Mr Adamu Gurama	UBEC	Director	Abuja
18	Dr Ebenzer Leo	NGF	Head, Education	Abuja
19	Dr Mikailu Ibrahim	FCDO	Education Adviser	Abuja

Annex G: PLANE Policy Reform Dashboard

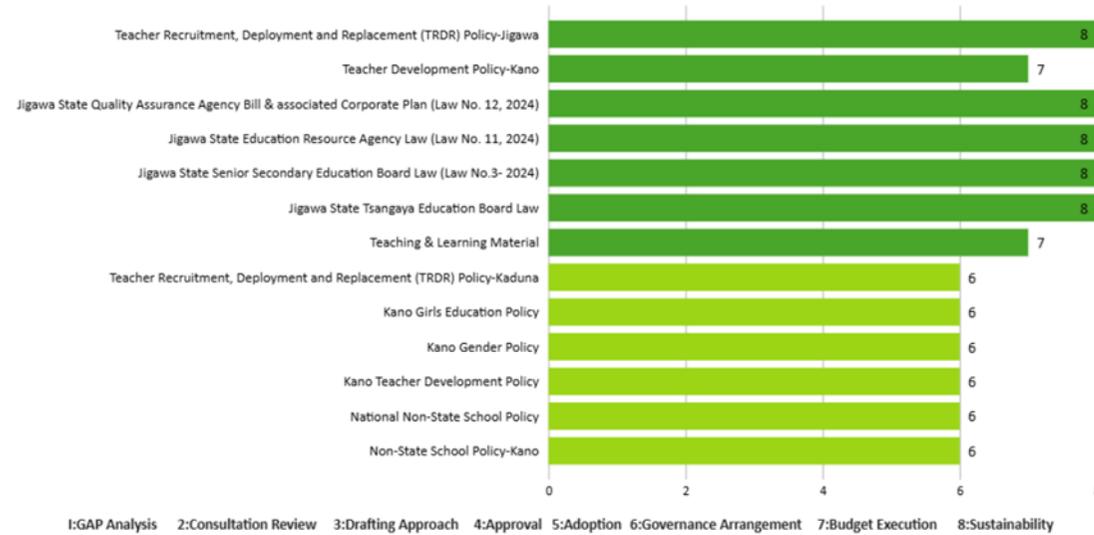
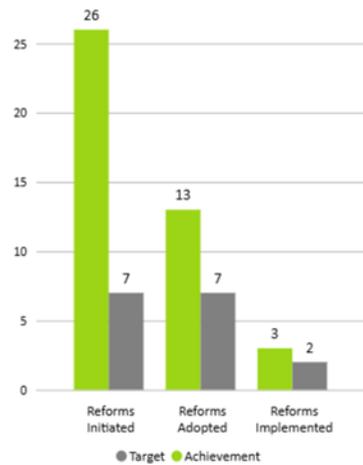
8- Staged Policy & Legislative Rubric



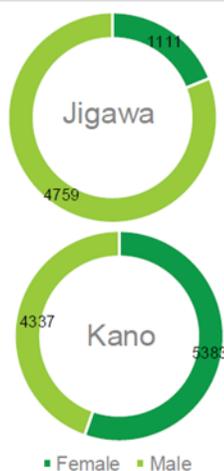
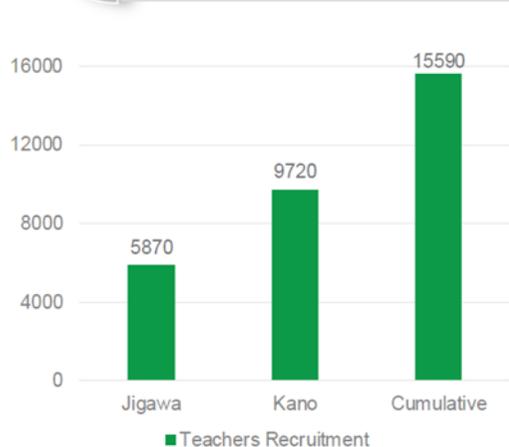
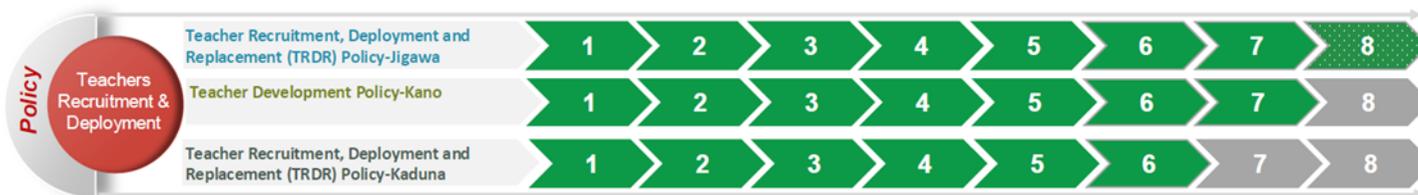
Outcome Assessment-KPI 5

Outcome Indicator 5: *Number of systemic education reforms on which progress is made in preparation, validation, approval, adoption and implementation.*

Status of Policy and Legislative Reforms

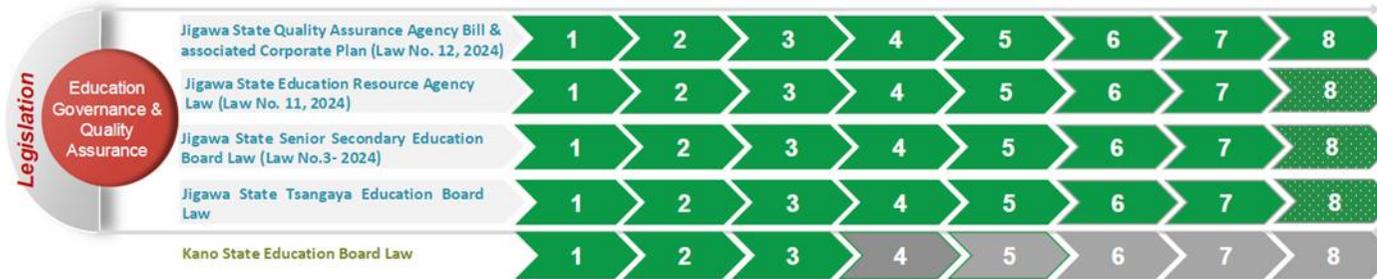


Implementation of Policy & Legislative Reforms



Sustained Budgetary Allocations

- **N69.819 billion** allocated to basic education – 61% increase compared to 2024 budget.
- **N28.50 billion** to personnel expenditure. (Source: [https://www.jigawastate.gov.ng/uploads/jigawa%20State%20Government%202025%20Citizens%20Budget%20\(C.B\)%20Incorporating%20with%20Basic%20Education%20&%20Health.pdf](https://www.jigawastate.gov.ng/uploads/jigawa%20State%20Government%202025%20Citizens%20Budget%20(C.B)%20Incorporating%20with%20Basic%20Education%20&%20Health.pdf))
- The major focus is to continually address the infrastructural and human resources deficits bedevilling the education sector.
- Made special provisions for the significant recruitment of teachers and JTEACH staff in Jigawa. (Source: *Approved Budget 2025, Jigawa State Government*)



JISEQAA

- To ensure effective and sustained operations of JISEQAA, the Jigawa State Government has earmarked **N496,40 million (\$ 324,044)** for initial setup costs, staffing and operational activities. *(Source: Approved Budget 2025, Jigawa State Government)*
- The Governor approved the composition of the JISEQAA's Inter-Agency Coordination Committee.
- JISEQAA collated and published a compendium of QA Reports with smart TA provided by PLANE.

Jigawa State Education Resource Agency (JSERD)

- Enacted by the Jigawa State House of Assembly, the Jigawa State Education Resource Agency has been established to undertake planning research, curriculum adaptation, teachers' development, guidance and counselling, and monitoring and evaluation.
- N1.451 billion (£730,525)** earmarked for initial setup costs, staffing and operational activities of the agency. *(Source: Approved Budget 2025, Jigawa State Government)*

Jigawa State Senior Secondary Education Board (JSSSEB)

- JSSSEB established in June 2024 is responsible for the management of senior secondary schools and national minimum standards are adhered in Jigawa State.
- N3.61 billion (£1,817,752)** allocated for initial setup costs, staffing and operational activities of the board. *(Source: Approved Budget 2025, Jigawa State Government)*

Tsangaya Education Agency

- While instituting measures to drastically reduce the number of OOSC in Jigawa State, the Tsangaya Education Agency has been established.
- N1.881 billion (£947,075)** allocated to ensure all model Tsangaya schools established by the State Government and those taken over from the Federal Government are effectively used with full enrollment. *(Source: Approved Budget 2025, Jigawa State Government)*





Annex H: Kano State 2025 Budget Released for Girls Education

OFFICE OF THE ACCOUNTANT GENERAL KANO STATE MINISTRY OF FINANCE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT 2025 AMOUNT RELEASED IN RESPECT OF THE GIRLS' EDUCATION		
MDA	Project Description	Amount
Ministry of Religious Affairs	Creation Awareness for Women and Girl Child on Religious and Mis Used of Social Media	NGN 8,280,000.00
RUWASA	Construction/Rehabilitation of Sanitation Facilities Across Girls Schools (Girls child education support)	NGN 6,985,330.00
Ministry of Women Affairs, Children & Disable	Out Of School Adolescent Girls Skills Acquisition Programme	NGN 63,867,000.00
Ministry of Women Affairs, Children & Disable	State-wide Mass Awareness Campaign for Behavioral Change Communication on Girl Child Education	
Ministry of Education	S.P.1.3.6 Provision of 10 Shuttle Buses for Girl Education Within Eight Metropolitan Local Government and Repair of 20 Grounded Vehicles (Girls Education Project)	NGN 58,725,966.50
Ministry of Education	S.P.1.3.7 Provision for the Adolescent Girls Initiative for Learning and Empowerment (Agile Project)	
Ministry of Education	S.P.1.3.8 Enhancing Inclusive Education for the Girl of PWD'S across the State (Girls Education Project)	
Ministry of Education	S.P.1.3.9 Repairs of 20no Shuttle Busses for Girls Education Programme	
Ministry of Education	NUT.3 Training for girls for menstrual hygiene & social hygiene	NGN 7,650,000.00
Ministry of Education	S.P.1.3.17 Monitoring of Girls Child Education Programmes	NGN 9,150,000.00
SUBEB	NUT.3 WASH Organize town hall meetings on personal hygiene, hand washing promotion and menstrual hygiene management for adolescents Girls/Boys	NGN 40,000,000.00
Agency for Mass Education	S.P.1.3 Establishment Of 20 Girl-Child Class across the three (3) Senatorial Zone in the state to reduce the number of Out of Schools Girls hawking in the street of the state	NGN 187,961,981.53
Science & Technical Schools Board	Purchase of sports equipment and facilities for girls' colleges	
Science & Technical Schools Board	Provision of Sanitary Items to Girls College	
Science & Technical Schools Board	Advocacy for Girls Enrolment into Science and Technical Education	NGN 10,000,000.00
Ministry of Health	Provision of Sanitary items to boarding girls' students across the state	NGN 10,000,000.00
TOTAL ALLOCATION		NGN 402,620,278.03