

WHY DO ADOLESCENT GIRLS DROP OUT OF SCHOOL IN NIGER? A COMBINED QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

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WHY DO ADOLESCENT GIRLS DROP OUT OF SCHOOL IN NIGER ? A COMBINED QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

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INTRODUCTION

Despite progress at the primary level, girls' educational attainment level remains low in many sub-Saharan African countries. Multiple factors lead girls to drop out of school and often get married once they reach adolescence, with substantial consequences later in life in terms of voice, earnings, and agency mot only for the girls themselves (Klugman et *al.*, 2014), but also for their children (Wodon, 2016). These factors include traditional gender roles, fears of sexual activity outside of marriage, the out-of-pocket and opportunity costs of schooling, and negative perceptions about schools, in terms of both the quality of the education being provided and potential risks faced by adolescent girls in school or on their way to school.

This article explores some of the factors that lead girls to drop out of

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school in Niger using both quantitative and qualitative data. Niger's population is overwhelmingly Muslim, a religion that has traditionally valued education highly for both men and women (Sada et *al.*, 2014). The rationale for child marriage is weak under Islamic Law (Wodon, 2015). Yet in practice, the number of boys in secondary school in Niger is twice that of girls in many communities, and three in four girls marry by age 18, which leads them to drop out of school. This article suggests that the factors at play are multiple and complex, including both religious and cultural considerations, as well as a lack of viable alternatives to early marriage for girls and poor quality in the education provided.

Livelihood strategies also play a role in girls dropping out of school. In Hausa communities, a mother's economic dependency on her daughters through the practice of "hawking" (whereby girls sell goods on local markets and in the community) is a major barrier to girls' secondary school enrollment and completion. This is in part because the time available for girls to go to school and to study is reduced, but also, and perhaps even more importantly, because the risks of being harassed faced by girls when they reach adolescence are real, leading parents to marry them.

Indeed, once a girl has started menstruation, fears of pregnancy outside of marriage become a major concern for her parents. Parents of an older adolescent girl who remains unmarried can experience intense community pressure to get her married before she "brings shame" upon the family and community by being sexually active outside of marriage or simply by not being married. Estimates for other countries suggest that the impact of child marriage on educational attainment for girls is far from being negligible in (e.g., Field and Ambrus, 2008; Wodon et al., 2016; Nguyen and Wodon, 2017a).

Also important is the cultural emphasis on a woman's role as wife and mother. Marriage and childbearing are the most accessible pathways for an adolescent girl to secure recognition and status within rural Nigerien society. A lack of role models in terms of well-educated and successful women is also a constraint. Few women in Niger's rural areas have obtained formal employment as a result of their education. One of the consequences is that adolescent girls have few examples of (female) role models who pursued their education beyond the primary level in order to get better jobs, which in turns reduces the perceived benefits of secondary education.

Finally, as already mentioned, the education provided in rural school is often of poor quality, and girls face risks of harassment in school. Furthermore, in communities lacking their own secondary school, parents are then reluctant to have their daughters travel several kilometers each day to school or lodge with distant relatives or families they may not know well.

In order to explore those issues in more depth, the article relies on

both quantitative and qualitative data. In section 1, quantitative data are used first to provide a broad statistical overview of trends in school enrollment and child marriage in Niger. The focus of the article, in part, on child marriage stems from the fact that in a society such as Niger, once girls drop out of school, they typically have to marry. And conversely, once girls marry, it is extremely difficult for them to remain in school. Trends in enrollment are based on administrative data provided by the country to the UNESCO Institute of Statistics and available in the World Bank's World Development Indicators and Edstats database. Trends in child marriage are based on estimation in the nationally representative 2015 ENISED survey (Etude Nationale d'Evaluation des Indicateurs Socioéconomiques et Démographiques) implemented by the Institut National de la Statistique. The survey is also used to documents factors leading girls to drop out of school.

Section 2 is then devoted to insights from ethnographic fieldwork carried in the Maradi region (see Perlman et al., 2017, for more details). A range of research methods where employed - participant observation, structured observation, in-depth interviews, informal group discussions, and a review of program reports and documents. Eight research assistants lived with local families and participated in the daily life of the community for a period of one month, and wrote field notes of their observations every evening. Participant-observation facilitated informal discussions that can often provide deeper insight than formal focus groups. The research assistants also conducted in-depth, open-ended interviews and consultations. Many of the interviews took the form of marriage narratives and were structured to elicit the story of the girl's life before the marriage planning began and proceeded chronologically through the stages of arranging the marriage, the wedding, and married life. The interviewers led the respondents through their stories, step-bystep, with as little interruption as possible. Separate interviews were held with the married adolescent, her father, mother, and other key people involved. This provided diverse perspectives on a total of 37 early marriages. We employed a similar strategy for case studies of local women who are considered in their communities as having a successful business. In total, 184 interviews were conducted.

In this paper, the quantitative and qualitative analyses are provided respectively in sections 1 and 2. A brief conclusion follows with some broad recommendations and suggestions.

1. QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

1.1. Trends in School Enrollment and Child Marriage

This section provides a rapid analysis of trends in school enrollment and child marriage for adolescent girls in order to set the stage for the more detailed analysis that follows. As shown in table 1, while progress has been achieved in Niger towards higher levels of educational attainment for children, completion rates remain low and girls remain at a disadvantage. According to the EdStats database at the World Bank, the adjusted net enrolment rate, defined as the total number of students of the official school age group who are enrolled at primary or secondary education expressed as a percentage of the corresponding population, was only 56.9 percent at the primary level for girts in 2014 (latest year available), versus 66.4 percent for boys. This generates a gender parity index at that level of 0.86. This is an improvement versus previous years, but nevertheless falls short of parity. At the lower and especially at the upper secondary level, the situation is worse. Very few girls (and boys) make it to those levels. At the lower secondary level, for every three girls at that level, four boys are enrolled (gender parity ratio of 0.72). At the upper secondary level, almost twice as many boys than girls are in school, but enrollment rates throughout are very low. The data suggest that educational attainment is low for both girls and boys, but girls tend to be at even more of a disadvantage.

As mentioned in the introduction, the choice for adolescent girls in Niger is often to either go to school, or get married. Most girls older than 15 who are not in school are married, and once a girl is married, it is very difficult for her to remain in school. Given low rates of secondary school enrollment for girls, it should then not be surprising that rates of child marriage, defined as a marriage or union before the age of 18, are very high. Niger is indeed widely seen as having the highest prevalence of child marriage in the world. In table 2, data from the 2012 Demographic and Health Survey for Niger suggest that among women ages 18-22, three in four marry before the age of 18. In rural areas, the proportion is even higher (Male and Wodon, 2016a, 2016b).

According to data from Demographic and Health Surveys for about 60 countries, in the past 30 years the incidence of child marriage decreased by only 11 percentage points in those countries (Nguyen and Wodon, 2015; see also UNFPA, 2012, and UNICEF, 2014).

In Niger, as shown in table 2, the share of women ages 18-22 who married before the age of 18 was 74.7 percent in 2015 according to data from the 2015 ENISED survey, and this share was higher than that observed among older women. The estimates in table 1 are similar to those obtained with the latest DHS (Demographic and Health Survey) for Niger implemented in 2012 (Male and Wodon, 2016a). In that

survey, the share of women ages 18-22 who married before the age of 18 was 76.8 percent in 2012, and this share was marginally lower than the share observed among women ages 41-49.

In addition, table 2 suggests that almost half of all women ages 18-22 in Niger have their first child before the age of 18, with apparently an increase in this share over time according to data from the 2015 ENISED. When using the 2012 DHS, as noted in Male and Wodon (2016b), again just under half of women ages 18-22 in Niger have their first child before the age of 18, with no major change over time, while there is an increase with the 2015 ENISED. Finally, table 2 also provides the share of girls marrying or having their first child before age 15, with overall fairly similar trends over time as those observed for the age threshold of 18 years, albeit with lower estimates for both child marriage and early childbirths since the age threshold is lower.

In other words, considering results from both surveys - the 2015 ENISED as reported here and the 2012 DHS as reported in Male and Wodon (2016a, 2016b), the prevalence of child marriage, at three in four women, has not decreased over time, and the prevalence of early childbirths, at one in two women, has also not decreased and may actually have increased.

1.2. Reasons for Girls Not To Pursue their Education

A simple approach to assessing the role that various factors, including child marriage, play in leading girls to drop out of school consists of looking at responses to questions asked in household surveys as to why girls dropped out of school or did not pursue their education beyond a certain point, such as the completion of primary school. The share of drop-outs that appear to be due to child marriage as well as other factors can then be computed.

This approach is not perfect, since it is based on the subjective perceptions of parents as opposed to the view of the adolescent girls themselves (since the household head typically answers this type of questions in a household survey), and it also does not rely on detailed econometric analysis that could potentially reveal causal effects more precisely. Parental answers also depend on how questions are asked, with a risk of bias. For example, parents may declare that their daughter was not interested in pursuing her education, which could in fact reveal a desire on the part of the daughter, or pressure from parents, for her to get married.

Still, as a first cut for analysis, relying on parental perceptions of the reasons for dropping out, is instructive. For example, using data from the late 1990s for Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea, and Togo, Lloyd and Mensch (2008) found that for girls aged 15 to 24, child marriage and early pregnancies directly account for between 5 percent

and 33 percent of drop-outs, depending on the country. Using similar data for Nigeria for 2006, Nguyen and Wodon (2017b) find that child marriage (and to a lower extent pregnancies) account for 15 percent to 20 percent of drop-outs at the secondary level, which is broadly of the same order of magnitude. In addition, they show that if child marriage and early pregnancies could be eliminated, this could potentially reduce the gender gap in education by about half.

In Niger, data from the 2015 ENISED survey on parental perceptions about the reasons for dropping out suggest that child marriage and early childbirths play an important role. Table 3 documents the reasons mentioned by household heads as to why their daughter dropped out of school. Eighteen potential reasons for dropping out are included in the questionnaire. Failing an exam is the main reason for dropping out, but marriage comes next. This holds true whether one considers girls/women who completed their primary education or not. Marriage is especially mentioned in rural areas, and as expected, it is mentioned more often by women who completed their primary education (since girls dropping out earlier may have been too young to marry).

A number of other reasons mentioned in table 3 could mask the role of marriage in leading girls to drop out. A child being too old or too young may represent a desire by parents to see their daughter get married. And so could the perceptions among parents that their daughter had completed enough schooling, or the fact that the family did not want more schooling. As an aside, it must be noted for perspective that the share of women who completed their primary education in Niger among women ages 15-24 is smaller than that of women who did not complete that level.

2. QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

2.1. Data Collection

Qualitative data provide ways to better understand the dynamics at work in the factors that lead girls to drop out of school. The qualitative component of the study was implemented in the Maradi Department located in south-central Niger. Maradi has some of the world's highest rates of maternal mortality, early marriage, and infant mortality. It is predominately Hausa, an ethnic group of more than 30 million people deeply rooted in Islam, and found in many West African countries. The Department is geographically diverse (from savannah to Sahel to desert) and its economy is somewhat diversified (from trade to farming). Southern Maradi is classified as Sahel and is one of the Niger's most important producers of millet, sorghum, peanuts, and livestock.

The fieldwork took place in four communities. Yanwa is a community in Makerawa local government on the Maradi road about a twenty-five minute drive from the city. The settlement is composed of extended family compounds surrounded by high walls made of mud block. The main livelihoods for the men are subsistence farming, raising livestock, and two to three month periods of migration for work in Nigeria and Mali. Most married women have a small business selling prepared food, trading, or rearing of chickens, ducks, goats, sheep, and in some cases cattle, though most that do have the cattle only have a few head. Some women augment their earnings with small farming. The community has a dispensary with a midwife and a nurse, but the government no longer stocks the dispensary. The community has no electricity and just two wells serve their main source of water. Early marriage - especially at ages of less than fifteen - is less common in Yanwa than in the other study communities. Most of the children in Yanwa go to the coeducational primary school and girls lead in most of the classes. However, students must go to a neighboring community for secondary school and enrollment drops off dramatically with as few as ten percent of the girls making the transition to junior secondary.

Dagura, the second community, is in the Makerawa local government located 42 km away from Maradi. It is on the Niamey road and has primary and secondary schools, electricity, a formal Islamic school, and five boreholes and two wells. The community has a small hospital, staffed by a physician who offers family planning and other reproductive health services. Dagura has a population of about 3000 people. Most men are farmers, and if able, raise livestock or engage in small trade. Women make fura and tuwo for sale and raise chickens, ducks, guinea fowl, goats, sheep and even a few cows. Our research team in the community was told that until about a decade ago early marriage was quite common and that when a girl didn't do well in school "they would marry her off whether she wanted it or not and whether she was ready or not." Presently marriage under the age of fifteen is less common and "sometimes they even let her stay longer if they see that she is serious about school." Girls' primary school enrollment is equivalent to that of boys. However, despite having a secondary school located in the community the number of girls in secondary school is half that of boys.

Yakassa, the third community, is on the highway about 75 km from Maradi and about 25 km from Malaganta, the local government secretariat. It has an estimated population of about 3,000. The community has both a primary and a junior secondary school. However, early marriage is common and boys outnumber the girls in primary school by three to one and in junior secondary school by five to one. The senior secondary school is located in Yakassa. The majority of men are farmers and grow millet, groundnuts and beans for consumption. The community had irrigated fields until last year when the dam that

served as the water source dried up. The men say that groundnuts and beans are not yielding as much as in the past due to the declining fertility of the soil. As in the other communities, the men migrate for work two to three months each year. The community has no electricity and limited potable water. The market in Yakassa closed some years back. Trade moved to the motor park which is now is packed with girls hawking (*i.e.*, selling) fura, tuwo and ingredients for soups every day from 9:00am -8:30pm. Yakassa has a small dispensary serving about ten communities. The community appears to have produced few political or government officials or successful businessmen or women.

Kore, the fourth community, is off the tarred road about 40 km from Maradi. Its estimated population is 1,900. There is no health post, electricity, or portable water supply in the community. The major source of livelihood in the community is farming, food processing and preparation, and animal rearing. As in the other three communities, most people live in compounds with extended family members. "One thing that intrigued me was the size of the households," wrote one of the researchers in his fieldnotes. "The compound I'm staying in is so big that when I first arrived I thought it was the entire settlement. We are living with the village head (mai gari) and his brothers, their co-wives, and their children and grandchildren." Most women give birth at home. Maternal mortality, early marriage, and infant mortality are high. Food insecurity is a significant challenge for the poorest families in Kore, especially during the planting season when their stored grains (millet) have been exhausted.

2.2. Principal Findings

In terms of the relationship between girls' education and child marriage, the vast majority of people interviewed for this study said that access to quality primary and secondary education is without doubt the most effective way to delay marriage. "If a girl is getting a quality education her mind will be occupied with school and she won't have time to spend with boys," said one mother. Parents know that school can lead to highly valued employment as teachers and government employees. They say that children who have attended school are more composed and that one can tell that they are educated. Why then do so few girls, complete secondary school? Parents wishing to educate their daughters face an array of economic, social and institutional barriers. A number of these constraints emerge from the qualitative fieldwork.

Poor learning outcomes. Rural government schools are so poor in quality that many children graduate from primary school without learning to read. Nigerien schools do not charge tuition, but parents complain that the investment in uniforms, guard fees, transport, lunches and the opportunity costs of losing their daughters' labor are hardly

worth the poor learning outcomes they see. On a number of occasions our research team observed girls in the later years of primary school or junior secondary whose penmanship was stellar but who could not read a single word of what they were so elegantly writing. "A school girl lives in the house where I stay," writes one researcher in her field diary. "Her aunt told me that she would be removed from school soon. 'She's in secondary school and can't read a word,' she said. I asked why this is so. She said they don't teach them in school and the women in the house have little education and are unable to help. They themselves would like to attend adult education classes and learn to read and write."

Age restrictions for primary school enrollment. Children enter primary school at six or seven years of age. Girls start hawking at about a year earlier, as soon as they understand money. A number of respondents complained that teachers refuse to enroll children that are over 8 years of age. One girl explained, "I dropped out of school after a few months because one of my teachers beat me. After staying at home and doing nothing but hawking I wanted to go back to school. My teacher told me it was too late. He said that at ten I was too old to enroll. It hurts when I see my classmates going to school every day and I am home going nowhere."

Primary school completion exams. Another institutional barrier to girls' education is the rule that students can only take the primary school completion exam twice. If they fail the exam twice they are ineligible to continue in public education. As was clear from table 3, failing an exam is one of the main reasons why girls do not continue their education. Many parents said that after their daughters failed their exams both times they felt they had little choice but to begin looking for a suitable suitor. One father admitted that if his male children fail the examinations twice he would consider struggling to find the money to send them to a private school. He won't do that for his daughters because "once they have admirers, regardless of the amount spent on them, they will become disinterested in school and will want to get married." One remarkable farmer went as far sending his daughters to a private school in Maradi to prepare for their second sitting. They failed their second try at the exam and he said he lost heart and brought them back home.

Lack of nearby secondary schools. Few rural communities have their own secondary school and there are no government boarding schools serving the study communities. Parents must send their children to nearby towns and cover the costs of transportation and room and board. Students stay with relatives or contacts and parents are reluctant to leave their daughters without what they consider proper oversight. "The children are anxious to return home," said one father. "Some don't even wait until weekend before coming back because they are hungry and otherwise not well taken care of. If you have a daughter you also have to worry about what kind of men are in the house there. It's better to marry

her off so that she won't bring shame on us." These sentiments came up often in the interviews. Parents say that if their daughters are to complete secondary school the government must either build schools closer to the communities or create boarding schools for girls. The experience of the one study community would support their perspective. While the construction of the secondary school in the community was no panacea, enrollment did rise considerably after the school was built.

Forced withdrawal of married adolescents. Once a girl is married, she is likely to be expelled from many government secondary schools. The few husbands we spoke to who showed interest in supporting their adolescent wives' education were told that they would have to enroll her in a private school. This is an expense that none said they could afford. Conversely, the fear of not being allowed to withdraw their daughters from school at the time of marriage is also a complaint of some of the parents interviewed. "After the government built the new secondary school in the community a school inspector came and announced that whoever enrolls their girl in school must not for any reason remove her for marriage," said one father. "I was worried about not being able to withdraw my daughters when I feel the time is right, so I haven't enrolled them."

Other respondents reported cases of teachers refusing to allow girls to withdraw from school for marriage. "My elder brother's daughter was already of age but the teacher refused to let him withdraw her. He insisted and the teacher threatened to take the family to court. At the same time he was being criticized in the community for having a daughter who is old enough to marry but being allowed to gallivant about and become wayward." The headmaster of the junior secondary in the community reported that some fathers who tried to bribe him to fail their daughters so that they could arrange for their marriages. These reactions suggest that given the current poor quality of educational outcomes, support for girls' education wanes as the girls grow older and parents' fears of premarital sex and pregnancy rise.

Never enrolling in school. We interviewed people from a number of families that have never enrolled any of their girls in school. Often the parents that don't send their daughters to school have not had educational opportunities themselves. "I asked the girl if her family gives any preference to educating boys," wrote one researcher in her field diary. "She said no, her parents don't show any preference—they don't send any of their children to school because they never went themselves." One mother told us that her husband's father, the family patriarch, doesn't believe in girls' education. Even though her husband would like to send their daughter to school his father has the final say, and he is insistent that Western education corrupts a child. She said that the man is old and that when he dies they will be at liberty to send their daughters to school, but so long as he is living, no girl from the

household will be permitted to enroll.

Influence of relatives. Extended family members can also influence parents on the value of girls' education. Several parents said that they began their children's education after relatives from the city convinced them of its importance. "I didn't educate my older daughters," said one father, "but my sister returned from living in Maradi and made me see that I needed to send my younger ones to school." Interestingly, in some families the parents send some of their children to the government school and others to Islamic school. "A man told me that if all his children are in school then the house chores will be left undone." one researcher wrote in her field notes. "He said that Islamic school doesn't stop a girl from helping her mother. His oldest two girls are in Islamic school and the younger ones are in the government primary school. If my daughters in Islamic school don't become prominent and help us when we get old, I'm hoping that the ones in Western school will do so." Many Islamic schools in Niger offer classes on both religious and secular topics. Class schedules are adapted to the daily and seasonal cycles of village life. Government schools around the world have generally demonstrated an inability to adjust their hours, curricula, location and teaching methodology to the lives and needs of rural

Demands on first daughters. Schooling decisions may not be taken for each child independently, but may depend on household composition and the activities of the other children. Being the first daughter may lessen a girl's chances of going to school. A number of young girls (ages seven to nine) attend adult education classes. When asked why they were not enrolled in primary school they explained that as the oldest daughter they were needed at home during the day to help their mothers with house chores, care for their younger siblings, and go out hawking. They said their younger siblings went to school. The demands on the first daughter are generally higher. She not only helps with the household chores, cares for her siblings and hawks, but also is often held to a higher standard of discipline than her younger brothers and sisters. With the exception of foster daughters, girls hawk for their biological mothers. If a man has two or more wives there might be multiple first daughters in the family.

CONCLUSION

The constraints faced by adolescent girls in Niger to continue their education at the secondary level are multiple, and related in part to the interplay between the decisions to go to school or to marry. The fact that girls have so few opportunities to continue schooling has a number of consequences, including for their children. One such consequence is

related to lifetime earnings, as lower educational attainment is associated, at least on average, with lower wages and productivity in adulthood. But beyond the importance of schooling to acquire knowledge and improve lifetime earnings, it is also essential to develop social skills and networks, with girls marrying early potentially missing on those opportunities (UNICEF 2014). A better education for mothers is also essential for their children, with clear impacts on early childhood development (Denboba et *al.*, 2014; Wodon, 2016). Child marriage also affects underfive malnutrition and mortality for the children of young brides who may not yet be ready to give birth (Dixon-Mueller, 2008). There are finally also intergenerational effects on educational attainment at work, with girls of mothers who married early less likely to complete secondary education themselves.

Importantly, estimates for Niger and the broader literature also suggest that increasing girls' education is probably one of the best ways to avoid child marriage. A recent review of the literature by Kalamar et al. (2016) suggests that interventions to promote education, including cash transfers, school vouchers, free school uniforms, reductions in school fees, teacher training, and life skills curricula, are among the most likely to help. In some cases the evidence is mixed, but in many cases such interventions are found to reduce child marriage, or at least increase the age at first marriage (see also Unterhalter et al., 2014, for a synthesis on the evidence on interventions to improve girls' educational attainment). Child marriage reduces education prospects for girls, but conversely better education and employment opportunities for girls may reduce the likelihood of marrying early. This is why Brown (2012) suggests looking at 'tipping-point' policies in education for ending child marriage, including programs to reduce the cost for girls to transition to secondary school.

In the Maradi region of Niger where we conducted our qualitative work, there seems to be a consensus in communities that if rural education were of sufficient quality to be an effective path to secure a girls future, parents would invest in the education of daughters. Like marriage, education is often viewed as a religious obligation. However, education in rural Niger is often of such poor quality that it offers few opportunities for the future. As a mother put it in the qualitative work for this study: "If after six years of schooling my daughter can't even read a single sentence why make the sacrifice? Were girls to gain core academic competencies in school and were they then able to find paid employment, it could well be that girls' education might attract the same focus and zeal as preparation for marriage.

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APPENDIX

Table 1: Adjusted Net Enrolment Rate (%)

	2001	2005	2010	2014
Primary				
Female (%)	25.1	34.8	49.5	56.9
Male (%)	36.6	48.5	61.7	66.4
Gender parity index	0.69	0.72	0.80	0.86
Lower Secondary				
Female (%)	4.7	8.3	11.6	15.4
Male (%)	7.5	11.9	15.9	21.6
Gender parity index	0.64	0.70	0.73	0.72
Upper Secondary				
Female (%)	0.8	1.4	1.3	3.2
Male (%)	1.5	2.9	2.7	5.8
Gender parity index	0.53	0.49	0.48	0.54

Source : Authors.

Data source: Edstats/World Development Indicators Database, World Bank.

Table 2: Trends in Child Marriage and Early Childbirths in Niger (%)

	Child m	arriage*	Early childbirth**		
	Before	Before	Before	Before	
	18 years	15 years	18 years	15 years	
All women ages 18-49	72.7	22.7	42.6	14.8	
Age group in 2012					
18-22 years	74.7	24.7	49.8	16.9	
23-30 years	74.2	25.5	47.3	16.8	
31-40 years	70.0	18.8	34.1	11.4	
41-49 years	70.3	18.2	32.4	12.4	

^{*}first marriage or union before age 18
** first delivery before age 18

Source: Authors.

Data source: 2015, ENISED.

Table 3 : Reasons for Girls Dropping Out of School, Ages 15-24 in Niger (%)

	Primary completed			Primary not		
				completed		
	All	Rural	Urban	All	Rural	Urban
Too old or too young	11.57	11.92	10.97	8.73	9.68	6.10
[Enough] schooling completed	8.03	7.02	9.76	7.82	6.60	11.20
No school or too far away	0.99	1.57	0	2.34	3.19	0
Family did not want more schooling	6.88	7.92	5.10	10.16	13.12	1.97
Cost too high	1.31	2.08	0	0.36	0	1.35
Preference to work	3.07	1.08	6.48	2.20	0.58	6.66
Agricultural work	0.41	0.65	0	1.06	1.07	1.03
Domestic work	1.29	0.59	2.49	6.89	3.30	16.83
Pregnancy	0.92	1	0.78	0	0	0
Marriage	22.55	29.18	11.22	14.35	17.32	6.13
Schooling not adapted	3.05	1.84	5.11	3.58	4.01	2.40
Not useful/no interest	2.46	2.42	2.51	4.91	4.55	5.91
Illness or handicap	0.50	0.14	1.12	1.55	0.99	3.09
Failure at exam	35.90	31.18	43.98	30.44	28.57	35.61
No employment						
prospect from	0.18	0	0.48	1.44	1.96	0
schooling						
Other	0.88	1.4	0	4.17	5.06	1.71
All	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source : Authors.

Data source: 2015, ENISED.