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Building Partnerships in Governance:

Nigeria Democracy and Governance Project

Evaluation Report
Phase I

*Stella O. Babalola
Karungari Kiragu
Catherine M. Sagui
J.K.T. Ajiboye
Ibiba Chidi*

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Please note that this is a revised version of the document in the Technical Notes Series entitled *Building Partnerships in Governance: Nigeria Democracy and Governance Project. Phase I Evaluation Report*. The data in this Field Report remain the same. The Executive Summary has been rewritten, an appendix has been added, the map has been updated, and the last chapter includes specific objectives of Phase II.

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Preface and Acknowledgments

The first phase of the Nigeria Democracy and Governance (D&G) Project was implemented between March 1997 and February 1998 during a period characterized by an unstable political environment in Nigeria. Under the project, the Johns Hopkins University Population Communication Services (JHU/PCS) worked with 16 predominantly women's Nigerian non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to address issues related to women's political empowerment, fundamental human rights and civic responsibility, and democratic participation. The overall goal of the project was to increase the participation of women and other marginalized groups in political discourse in Nigeria. Empowering women to participate in community, local, regional and national governance will increase the likelihood that women's issues, such as clean water, access to health care and promulgation and enforcement of gender-balanced laws, are adequately addressed.

Project activities varied by NGO and included capacity-building seminars and workshops, advocacy visits to community leaders, political rallies, drama performances, cultural activities with D&G themes and the production and distribution of radio, television and print media materials. The project included a unique evaluation design that sought to quantify project impact at three different levels: NGO membership level, NGO institution level and community level.

Many people contributed to this report. Stella Babalola, JHU/CCP Senior Research and Evaluation Officer, participated in the different phases of the project evaluation including data collection and data analysis and played the lead role in preparing this paper. Karungari Kiragu, Senior Program Officer in the JHU/PCS Africa Division, led the design of the evaluation strategy and assisted in preparing this manuscript. Catherine Sagui, Program Officer in the JHU/PCS Africa Division, was key in implementing the D&G Project and writing the paper as well. J.K.T. Ajiboye and Ibiba Chidi, both of the Research and Evaluation Division, JHU/PCS (Lagos) participated in developing the evaluation tools and coordinating field work, and in the analysis and writing of this report.

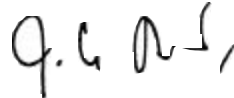
Special appreciation goes to the Nigerian NGOs that participated in the implementation of the D&G Project. Without their commitment and collective sense of responsibility, the objectives of the project could never have been achieved. The authors give special thanks to Felix Awantang, USAID Nigeria Mission Director, and his staff for their useful insights and moral support that helped to guide the project.

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Phyllis Tilson Piotrow, Ph.D
Director
Center for Communication Programs
Johns Hopkins University



José G. Rimon, II
Project Director
Population Communication Services
Johns Hopkins University

March 2000

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Abbreviations

| | |
|----------------|--|
| AWAC | Anambra State Women’s Awareness Committee |
| CEDPA | Centre for Development and Population Activities |
| CODES | Communication Design and Evaluation System |
| COWAD | Community Women and Development |
| D&G | Democracy and Governance |
| DP | Democratic Participation |
| FHR/CR | Fundamental Human Rights and Civic Responsibility |
| FIDA | Fédération Internationale des Avocates (International Federation of Women Lawyers) |
| FOMWAN | The Federation of Muslim Women Association of Nigeria |
| GADA | Gender and Development Action |
| GYM | Gumel Youth Movement |
| IEC | Information, Education and Communication |
| JCT | Jagora Cultural Troupe |
| JHU | Johns Hopkins University |
| JMA | Jamiyyar Matan Arewa |
| KRTV | Katsina Radio and Television |
| LGAs | Local Government Areas |
| MWA | Market Women Association |
| NAWOJ | Nigeria Association of Women Journalists |
| NGOs | Non-Governmental Organizations |
| PCS | Population Communication Services |
| SMART | Specific, Measurable, Achievable, Realistic and Timely |
| TOT | Training of Trainers |
| USAID | U.S. Agency for International Development |
| WECE | Women’s Economic and Cultural Empowerment |
| WLDCN | Women, Law and Development Center |
| WPE | Women’s Political Empowerment |

Summary

The Johns Hopkins University Population Communication Services (JHU/PCS), with financial support from the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) has concluded Phase I of a Democracy and Governance (D&G) project in Nigeria. The objective of the project was to increase the participation of women in political discourse to benefit Nigeria's civil society by addressing fundamental concerns such as health care, clean water, and children's education. Phase I of the project was executed between March 1997 and February 1998 at a time characterized by an unstable and difficult socio-political climate in Nigeria.

JHU/PCS selected 16 mainly women's nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), known for their existing networks, infrastructure, and strengths to address three main issues: women's political empowerment, fundamental human rights and civic responsibility, and democratic participation. The NGOs, which ranged in size from 30 to more than 50,000 members and in existence from 1 to 34 years, implemented a variety of activities including community education through the mass media, hands-on leadership capacity-building workshops, lobbying and advocacy initiatives, and the promotion of women in the media. Women's journalist organizations used mass media interventions, such as radio and television broadcasts, newspaper articles, posters and other promotional material, as the primary activity to synergize the NGO efforts.

The project was evaluated by measuring indicators at the beginning of Phase I and nine months later at its end. The impact was assessed at three different levels using various tools: at the NGO membership level, individual members in Oyo, Jigawa, and Abia states completed questionnaires; at the organizational level, structured interviews with leaders of each NGO were performed; and at the community level, a national omnibus survey was used.

Results suggest that Phase I of the D&G project had appreciable impact on the primary audience (NGO members), as well as the NGO institutions themselves. There have been significant changes in civic awareness, improvements in democratic practices, expansion of women's networks, nullification of several repressive laws, and the election of a record number of women into political office. The data also demonstrates that the greater the exposure to the campaign, the greater the likelihood of manifesting heightened knowledge of D&G issues, belonging to a political party, voting, and holding positive attitudes toward increasing the roles and status of women. NGOs have increased their membership and the quantity and quality of their networks. Democratic practices within the NGOs have improved with members more involved in decision making and requiring more accountability from their leaders. Though there was positive impact on the intended audience, much work remains to be done at the community level, specifically in terms of addressing the geo-cultural factor, which is the single most important predictor of electoral participation.

This project was also successful in quantifying progress toward increased participation in the civil and political process in Nigeria. The lessons learned from Phase I of this project can help the design of future D&G communication interventions:

- It is possible to successfully implement D&G activities in a difficult socio-political situation.
- Working with the strengths of existing grassroots NGOs can be a potent means of channeling D&G-related information and stimulating change.
- Tried and tested communication strategies for behavior change work in D&G.
- D&G interventions can be scientifically evaluated.

Chapter I. Introduction

Objectives of Phase I of the Democracy and Governance Project

Between March 1997 and February 1998, the Johns Hopkins University Population Communication Services (JHU/PCS) collaborated with the Centre for Development and Population Activities (CEDPA) to implement a new Democracy and Governance (D&G) Project in Nigeria, which was funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID). Aimed at strengthening the role of women in the civil and political process in the country, this effort represented the first time such an initiative was being undertaken in Nigeria. The project focused on three aspects of D&G: women's political empowerment, fundamental human rights and civic responsibility, and democratic participation. Empowering women to participate in community, local, regional and national governance would increase the likelihood that women's issues, such as clean water, access to health care and creation and enforcement of gender-balanced laws, were addressed. By participating in the democratic process, women would achieve more equitable representation in government and could advocate their causes. Project implementation was simplified by the fact that Nigerian women have a history of strong community involvement and coalition building and had created a wide array of well-coordinated non-governmental organizations (NGOs), community mobilization organizations and community-based organizations working to improve their constituents' well being and status in society. These organizations could provide a catalyst for democratic reform. Phase I lasted from March 1997 to February 1998, followed by Phase II from March 1998 to February 1999.

The strategic objectives of the D&G Project were to:

1. Increase knowledge of Nigerian women about democratic participation;
2. Increase women's political empowerment and participation at the local, state and national levels;
3. Increase knowledge of Nigerian women about the concepts, values and practices of fundamental human rights and civic responsibility; and
4. Increase women's advocacy activities for their fundamental human rights.

Communication Strategies

To accomplish the above objectives, JHU/PCS awarded grants to 16 predominately women's NGOs in nine of the 36 states in Nigeria: Abia, Anambra, Enugu, Jigawa, Kano, Katsina, Kebbi, Lagos and Oyo, and CEDPA awarded 15 grants to NGOs in 12 states. The communication strategies were:

- Networking and coalition building among the established and nascent D&G NGO community and women's community mobilization organizations;
- Strengthening advocacy, communication and lobbying skills of D&G NGOs and women's community mobilization organizations;
- Strengthening organizational leadership, internal governance and accountability of D&G NGOs, with special attention to democratic processes;
- Capacity building of the selected D&G NGOs, women's groups and community mobilization organizations;
- Increasing community involvement in decision making in the civil, political and governance process;
- Creating awareness and educating women about political issues;
- Empowering women through gender sensitization; and
- Documenting and disseminating information on democratic participation and fundamental human rights.

To support these strategies the following media and materials were produced and NGO information, education and communication (IEC) activities were created to inform and mobilize their membership:

- Standardized IEC resource kits were developed and distributed to the NGOs. The resource kits contained information booklets about democracy, a how-to booklet on communication and advocacy and a trainer's guide on empowering women. These materials are used to educate the NGO members in democratic principles and to train them in advocacy and consciousness-raising skills.
- Other resource and support materials such as posters, leaflets and pamphlets and promotional materials (including stickers, scarves, cups, T-shirts and other novelty items) were produced by Nigerian women's groups such as the Women, Law and Development Center, the Gender and Development Action and other similar women's coalitions.
- NGO-specific activities including radio and television broadcasts, live drama performances, advocacy activities to sensitize community leaders to gender issues and community mobilization activities such as rallies, meetings and carnivals were held.

The media strategy behind JHU/PCS's effort was based on a partnership with the Nigeria Association of Women Journalists (NAWOJ). JHU/PCS worked with NAWOJ in six states (Enugu, Kano, Katsina, Kebbi, Lagos and Oyo) to promote women's democratic activities and to advocate on behalf of women. Working with NAWOJ, JHU/PCS trained NGO leaders and female politicians to work with the media to ensure adequate coverage and visibility. NAWOJ served as a link and outlet among the D&G NGOs by writing articles about their activities. This gave the NGOs publicity and information about what their counterparts were doing.

Organization of the Report

This report presents the findings of the D&G Project. A brief description of the participating NGOs is provided in Chapter II. Chapter III presents the evaluation strategy and discusses the evaluation indicators, sampling methodology, data collection strategies and data analysis methods. Chapter IV shows the impact of the campaign at the individual level. Chapter V presents the impact of the campaign on the NGO as an organization. Chapter VI presents the impact of the campaign on the general community. Finally Chapter VII presents a discussion of the lessons learned and briefly describes Phase II of the project.

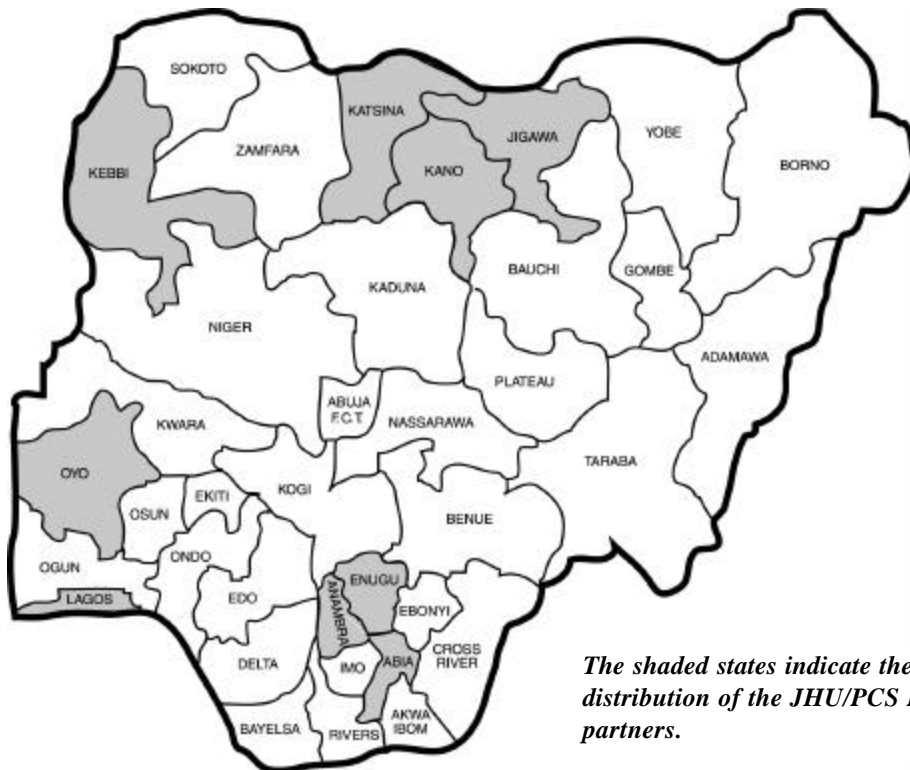


Posters and other print materials served to raise awareness about the need for increased participation of women in governance. This poster, developed and distributed by NAWOJ-Oyo, promotes the election of women into leadership positions.

Chapter II. NGO Partners

JHU/PCS awarded grants to 16 NGOs for Phase I of the project. The groups included a diverse array of predominantly women's organizations such as journalists, market women, religious groups, youth and community advocates. They varied from small groups with less than 30 members to groups over 50,000 strong, and were established between a minimum of one year to a maximum of 34 years. From the inception of the project, it was clear that the NGOs were mobilized and enthused but simply needed a few resources to push their D&G agenda forward.

Map of Nigeria



The shaded states indicate the geographic distribution of the JHU/PCS Phase I NGO partners.

The participating D&G groups were selected to represent each of the three USAID program clusters, while at the same time providing a broad cross-section of women's NGOs in Nigeria. An assessment of non-partisan women's NGOs already working in women's political empowerment, fundamental human rights and civic responsibility, and democratic participation was carried out in the geographic cluster areas. Initially 42 NGOs were selected and participated in the strategic framework for the D&G program. Using this, each of the NGOs then developed project proposals from which JHU/PCS selected 16 and CEDPA selected 15 for funding. The Northern cluster with eight NGOs and covering four states had the largest number of participating NGOs. The Southwestern cluster had five NGOs, representing two states. The Southeastern cluster had the fewest number of NGOs, three, representing three states. (A description of the D&G activities of the NGOs is provided in the Appendix.)

Northern Cluster

The Federation of Muslim Women Association of Nigeria (FOMWAN) Jigawa State chapter was founded in 1993. With a membership of 500, the NGO covers five local government areas. As a D&G partner, FOMWAN works with young women and youth to create awareness of fundamental human rights for women and reduce traditional prejudices against women. One of the key successes of FOMWAN was the formation of three women's support groups for women politicians. These groups, containing nearly 300 members, mobilize women to participate in politics and contest elections.

The Federation of Muslim Women Association of Nigeria (FOMWAN) Katsina State chapter was founded in 1988. With 60,000 members, it is one of the largest NGO partners and covers 32 local government areas. FOMWAN focuses on the D&G themes of women's political empowerment and fundamental human rights. As a result of the NGO's D&G activities, a linkage has been forged between FOMWAN and the Muslim clergy in Katsina so that issues of religious sensitivity are addressed and resolved amicably.

The Gumel Youth Movement (GYM) was founded in Jigawa State in 1983. Covering five local government areas, the NGO has a membership of 235. The NGO works with boys and girls to promote awareness of fundamental human rights and civic responsibility.

The Jagora Cultural Troupe, Gumel (JCT) was founded in Jigawa State in 1972. The NGO has a membership of 55 and covers five local government areas. As a D&G partner, the troupe works to reach the general public and in particular women in *purdah* (the Islamic practice of segregating women). Its key activities have included mobilizing women to participate in development activities, sensitizing communities about civic responsibility and conducting a women's political empowerment workshop for community leaders in Gumel Emirate. The leadership of an umbrella Fulani organization (an ethnic group in northern Nigeria) was so impressed by the group's workshop that they indicated their interest in participating in live dramas to represent nomadic Fulanis and reach these populations with the D&G messages.

Jamiyyar Matan Arewa (JMA) was established in 1963 in Kano State to work with women at the grassroots level. JMA is the oldest of the NGO partners and with over 300,000 members covering 44 local government areas it is also one of the largest. JMA works to increase rural women's awareness of women's political empowerment issues. As a direct result of JMA's D&G activities, thousands of women joined the organization.



Jamiyyar Matan Arewa (JMA) Kano members who participated in a workshop on women's political empowerment.

The Nigeria Association of Women Journalists (NAWOJ) Kano State chapter was founded in 1989. With a membership of about 50 print and electronic media journalists, the NGO covers 12 local government areas. NAWOJ-Kano works with men and women journalists to increase media coverage of D&G activities, women's political participation issues, and women politicians. A notable achievement of this NGO was its support of women who ventured into politics but were met with hostility because of their gender. NAWOJ members gave these women extensive positive coverage, thus giving them a chance to narrate their experience of the discriminatory hostility they encountered.

The Nigeria Association of Women Journalists (NAWOJ) Katsina State chapter was founded in 1989. With a membership of 140 print and electronic media journalists, the NGO covers 34 local government areas. As a D&G partner, NAWOJ-Katsina works to increase journalists' awareness of democratic participation and women's political empowerment and to encourage media coverage of the issues. As a result of its D&G initiatives, an Association of Women Politicians was formed to provide a forum for discussing common issues and strategies. In addition, Katsina Radio and Television (KRTV) now broadcasts a weekly 30-minute women's program hosted by NAWOJ members, and a Women's Affairs Desk has been established at Radio Katsina headed by NAWOJ's D&G project coordinator.

The Nigeria Association of Women Journalists (NAWOJ) Kebbi State chapter was founded in 1992. Similar to NAWOJ-Katsina in its aims of increased media coverage for women's issues and women politicians, this NGO covers three local government areas with its seven members. As a result of their efforts, five women declared their intention to run for elective office and more women now participate in radio and television programs.

Southwestern Cluster

Community Women and Development (COWAD) was founded in 1983 in Oyo State. With its membership of 25,000, it covers nine local government areas working with secondary school students to increase their knowledge of and participation in the democratic process. As an NGO partner, COWAD also seeks to foster youth leadership skills and improve attitudes toward women's political participation. The NGO's D&G activities have yielded significant results. For example, some of the students now choose their leaders through an electoral process and not through appointments as was the practice in the past. Nearly 100 schools have requested that women's political empowerment clubs be established for their students and five towns requested that the NGO organize sensitization seminars and workshops for their citizens. The group's efforts have also been recognized by two other donor agencies that want to collaborate with COWAD to run programs similar to the D&G initiative.

The Oyo State Market Women Association (MWA) was founded in 1997. The organization covers 11 local government areas and with its 50,000 members has one of the largest memberships of all the NGO partners. As a D&G partner, the MWA works with market women and men from 19 markets in Ibadan. The group's key objective is to sensitize market women to participate actively in politics and contest elections. Their D&G initiatives have led to the establishment of eight 100-Market Women Working Groups that are mobilizing market women both to register as party members and voters and to contest elections. One of these groups at Apata Market persuaded their local government chairman to acquire unused land and convert it to market areas for stalls for women traders.

The Nigeria Association of Women Journalists (NAWOJ) Lagos State chapter was founded in 1989. With 250 members, the NGO covers 20 local government areas promoting women's political empowerment. As an NGO partner, NAWOJ-Lagos works with journalists and women leaders and politicians to increase media coverage of women's issues and political participation. Two important achievements for the NGO were sponsoring the candidate who won the position of Treasurer of the Lagos Nigerian Union of Journalists and having their chairperson appointed an Ex-Officio member of that organization.



Executive members of the Oyo State Market Women's Association described on page 5.

The Nigeria Association of Women Journalists (NAWOJ) Oyo State chapter was founded in 1989. With a membership of 120, the NGO works with journalists to increase media coverage of women's issues, D&G activities and women politicians. Their activities have heightened the awareness about gender discrimination in the media and stimulated wider discussion of the issues of women's political participation. Encouraged by these results, NAWOJ members are initiating political discussions in the media and expressing interest in elective office. One prominent member is running for the Federal House of Representatives.

The Women, Law and Development Center (WLDCN) was founded in 1992. With a membership of 20, this Lagos-based NGO implements D&G activities in Abia, Anambra, Enugu, Ebonyi, Cross River, Edo and Delta states. WLDCN works with other NGOs to sensitize women leaders on issues of violence against women and how these affect their political participation. WLDCN also teaches assertiveness and negotiation skills.

Southeastern Cluster

The Anambra State Women Awareness Committee (AWAC) was founded in 1996 to promote women's interests through grassroots and community mobilization. The NGO covers eight local government areas with a membership of 350. AWAC's D&G activities focus on creating awareness of women's political empowerment issues among low-literate women and establishing linkages between rural women and women politicians.

The International Federaton of Women Lawyers (FIDA) was founded in 1991 in Abia State. The NGO has about 25 members and covers two local government areas. As an NGO partner, FIDA focuses on promoting fundamental human rights and civic responsibility as well as providing legal services for underprivileged women and children. Even prior to the D&G Project FIDA already ran a legal clinic for women. Inspired by FIDA's success with D&G activities, FIDA members living in Abia

have resolved to establish a similar clinic at their own expense. Many FIDA members have been invited by various NGOs to serve as resource persons. FIDA is also pursuing court cases involving custody and matrilineal tradition on behalf of indigent rural women clients.

The Nigeria Association of Women Journalists (NAWOJ) Enugu State chapter was founded in 1989. With a membership of 30 print and electronic media journalists, the NGO covers four local government areas and works primarily with women leaders and politicians. Its major themes as an NGO partner are democratic participation and women's political empowerment. The D&G activities have attracted Enugu State Government support. The Military Administrator of the State, for example, sent his representative to open one workshop, and several high-level officials attended a training of trainers workshop and afterward publicly expressed their support for the group's projects.

Chapter III. Evaluation Methodology

The overall objective of the D&G Project was to contribute to the development of Nigeria's civil society by increasing the participation of women in all aspects of political and civil life. Phase I of the project was evaluated through baseline and follow-up measurement of relevant indicators.

The broad evaluation strategy for the D&G Project was based on the Communication Design and Evaluation System (CODES) framework, which is normally used to guide evaluation of JHU/PCS communication interventions (see Piotrow, et al., 1997; JHU/PCS, 1995). CODES recognizes the importance of evaluation throughout the communication intervention process: in the design of a strategy, development and pretest of specific messages, implementation, process monitoring and assessment of impact on intended audiences.

To measure the impact of the D&G Project, the evaluation plan involved developing relevant indicators and collecting pre- and post-intervention data at three different levels: membership level (membership analysis), NGO level (institutional analysis) and community level (community analysis). Project planners took great care in designing the evaluation strategy, because of the lack of models available for evaluating D&G initiatives.

A. NGO Membership Analysis

The objectives of the membership analysis were to assess the impact of the D&G Project on individual members. These specific objectives included:

- Determining the level of knowledge about D&G issues (civic knowledge, democratic principles, women's empowerment issues);
- Examining members' attitudes about D&G issues (attitudes relative to women in leadership roles, political empowerment of women);
- Eliciting D&G-related behaviors (membership in other NGOs, recruiting new members, running for office, voting, campaigning for candidates);
- Defining the members' level of conflict-resolution skills and tolerance of different political views;
- Confirming the level of satisfaction of members with NGO activities, leadership and direction; and,
- Establishing the patterns of information-seeking behavior of members.

Due to financial and time constraints, the membership study was conducted in only three states: Oyo, Jigawa and Abia. The study states were selected based on: a) cluster representation, b) grant size, c) diversity of activities and d) the absence of any other D&G activities in the state. The latter was important to minimize contamination of the evaluation findings by non-project activities. Six NGOs in the three study states participated in both the baseline and follow-up surveys. The data were gathered using a questionnaire specially designed to reflect the objectives of the study. The questionnaire contained both structured and open-ended questions and was similar for both baseline and follow-up surveys. The follow-up questionnaire contained a few additional questions to measure exposure to and perceptions about project activities. When possible, the questionnaire was self-administered, but when the respondents were not literate, interviewers were recruited and trained to conduct one-on-one interviews. The baseline survey took place between May and June 1997 while the follow-up survey was conducted in February 1998.

In all, six NGOs participated in the baseline and follow-up surveys. They included MWA-Oyo, NAWOJ-Oyo, GYM, JCT, FOMWAN-Jigawa and FIDA-Abia. The number of members interviewed from each NGO was based on the size of the total membership. In the smaller NGOs (JCT, FIDA-Abia, NAWOJ-Oyo), all the members were interviewed. In the larger NGOs (MWA-Oyo, FOMWAN-Jigawa and GYM), a probability sample of members was selected in three local area governments (or markets in the case of MWA) where the NGO was active. The intention was to sample 120 members from each of GYM and FOMWAN and 120 members from each of the three markets in Oyo State. Moreover, the initial design was to have a panel sample, that is, interview the same individuals in both the baseline and the follow-up surveys. However, while this was easy in some NGOs, in others, due to the high mobility of members, it was impossible during the follow-up survey to locate a large proportion of the baseline respondents. In such a situation, other members of the NGO were randomly selected to replace the missing ones.

Since each of the six NGOs was unique, different sampling procedures were applied to each one of them as described below.

a. MWA, Oyo State:

MWA has chapters in about 20 markets in Ibadan, the capital of Oyo State. Three of the markets, representing three different local government areas, were selected for the baseline survey. The same markets were used for the follow-up survey. Within each market, 120 women were randomly selected by first sampling stalls using the systematic sampling approach and subsequently selecting the woman to be interviewed from each stall through balloting. Since many of the members were illiterate or had a low level of education, interviews were used to collect information. Efforts were made to interview the same people at both surveys but due to the high mobility of the population most of those interviewed during the baseline survey could not be located for the follow-up survey.

b. NAWOJ, Oyo State:

Eighty active members of NAWOJ-Oyo were sent self-administered questionnaires. Many of the members who participated in the baseline survey did not participate in the follow-up survey.

c. GYM, Jigawa State

A list of active members was compiled and for the baseline survey about 150 were randomly selected for an interview. More than nine-tenths of the baseline respondents were again interviewed during the follow-up survey.

d. JCT, Jigawa State:

With about 40 active members, all were targeted for participation in the two surveys using a combination of one-on-one interviews (for those who were illiterate or had a low level of education) and self-administered questionnaires (for those who were educated). More than 90 percent of the members who participated in the baseline survey were located for participation in the follow-up survey.

e. FOMWAN, Jigawa State:

FOMWAN has a membership of about 500 in five local government areas. To obtain the required sample, a list of members was obtained and about one-fifth was randomly selected. More than four-fifths of those interviewed at the baseline were again interviewed during the follow-up survey.

f. FIDA, Abia:

FIDA-Abia has a membership of about 25 female lawyers and is currently expanding. All members were targeted for the study and given a self-administered questionnaire during each survey.

B. Institutional Analysis

The aim of the institutional analysis was to examine progress related to the NGO's infrastructure and determine how participation in the D&G Project had enhanced the capabilities of the organization. The analysis set out to collect data that would allow an assessment of the following issues:

- Change in NGO membership (e.g., increase in the number of active members, increase in the number of trained members);
- Increase in the number of chapters of the organization (e.g., opening new branches in other local government areas);
- Improved networking within the NGO membership, across NGO chapters and networking with other NGOs (inter-NGO networking);
- Increased involvement in the electoral process and policy formulation;
- Increased democratic practices, transparency and accountability within the NGO, increase in the number of activities in which the broad membership can participate;
- Increase in the number of strategic IEC activities conducted by the NGO such as presentations, speeches, sensitization visits, lobbying and advocacy activities, meetings, workshops and seminars.

Information relevant to these issues was collected from the participating NGOs through structured interviews with three or more members of the NGO management team. A more detailed description and analysis is presented in Chapter V.

C. Community Analysis

The purpose of the community analysis was to see if there was any impact from the project on the community at large. The effect on the broader community was expected to be minimal. A comparative analysis of D&G NGO members versus the larger community in the same states (that is, Oyo, Jigawa and Abia) provided an interesting perspective. Data for the community analysis component were collected through the bimonthly omnibus (Nigerbus) survey implemented by a Nigerian research firm—Research and Marketing Services. Data were collected twice: in October 1997, midway through the project, and in February 1998, at the end of the project. A total of 4,017 respondents were interviewed for the first survey while 5,016 were interviewed for the follow-up survey. The information collected through the Nigerbus was similar to the data on NGO members and concerned perceptions about the role of women in the home and the society, views on the socio-political future of Nigeria and electoral participation. The data collected in the Nigerbus survey is analyzed in Chapter VI.

Chapter IV. Behavior Change of NGO Members—Membership Analysis

Media advocacy by NAWOJ partners worked to encourage media support for women's political participation, to increase the coverage of women's empowerment issues, to improve the portrayal of women's issues in the media and provide greater visibility for women taking up political roles. Results suggest that Phase I of the D&G Project had appreciable impact on NGO members. Analysis of the membership survey data suggests that knowledge about D&G issues has improved. Generally, exposure to the D&G Project was associated with greater improvement in D&G issues including knowledge and attitudes toward women's political empowerment, fundamental human rights and civic responsibility, and democratic participation. Nonetheless, the data suggest there is yet considerable work to be done since many are still uncomfortable with women in high positions of power.

A. Socio-demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

In the original longitudinal (panel) design, the same sets of respondents were to be interviewed in both the baseline and follow-up surveys. However, only 62 percent of the original respondents could be located during the follow-up survey. The loss of respondents between the baseline and the follow-up surveys varied by NGO but was substantial for MWA and NAWOJ-Oyo where only 7 percent and 28 percent of the baseline respondents respectively were located for the follow-up survey. In the other four NGOs, more than 80 percent of the baseline respondents were re-interviewed during the follow-up survey. The baseline respondents who could not be located during the follow-up survey were replaced through random selection. A total of 729 respondents were interviewed during the baseline survey while 764 respondents were interviewed during the follow-up survey.

Table IV.1 presents the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents during both surveys. Just over 80 percent of the respondents were female, 70 to 80 percent of the respondents had some form of education, and three-quarters were married. The level of education was a function of the NGO to which the respondent belonged. The respondents who were members of FIDA or NAWOJ had significantly higher levels of education than the others. On the other hand, the proportion of those respondents with no education was high among WMA Oyo, FOMWAN-Jigawa and JCT. The distribution of the respondents by occupation reflects the professional orientation of the NGOs in the project. For example, almost three-fifths of the respondents were traders while slightly less than one-fifth was not gainfully employed.

The data indicate that across the two surveys respondents were fairly comparable in terms of gender distribution, age and marital status. However, the follow-up respondents had slightly more education than those in the baseline survey. In addition, there was a decrease in the proportion who were traders by occupation. Also, the average length of NGO membership was higher for the baseline sample (7.9 years) than for the follow-up sample (4.9 years) indicating that a larger number of newer members was interviewed during the follow-up survey than during the baseline survey. This is suggestive of a relatively large number of new members joining the NGOs during the period between the baseline and follow-up surveys.

B. Exposure to Project

Activities

The IEC activities implemented under the project varied by NGO and included seminars, radio and television talks, television drama, rallies, production and distribution of IEC materials, advocacy visits, sensitization workshops, live dramas and capacity-building workshops. Most (79 percent) of the NGO members were exposed to at least one D&G activity during the reference period. Exposure to project activities varied by NGO from 72.3 percent among MWA members to 100 percent among FIDA and NAWOJ members. The information in Table IV.2a shows that the D&G materials that enjoyed widespread reach among the intended NGO audience included posters, radio programs/spots, measuring utensils and T-shirts or scarves. Other important sources of D&G information were television, D&G workshops, newspaper articles and seminars/lectures. On the other hand, relatively few of the respondents were exposed to D&G press conferences or D&G newsletters.

The maximum number of activities to which a respondent could be exposed was 16. To facilitate subsequent analysis, project exposure was segmented into four levels: none (that is, no exposure), low (exposure to between 1 and 5 activities), medium (exposure to between 6 and 10 activities) and high (exposure to 11 or more activities). It can be seen that the upper limits for the low, medium and high categories result from simply dividing the possible number of activities into three equal parts. The distribution of the respondents by level of exposure and by NGO is provided in Table IV.2b. It shows that almost half of the respondents had low exposure to project activities while only about one-tenth was highly exposed. Members of FIDA were more likely than members of other NGOs to be

Table IV.1

**Socio-demographic Characteristics of Respondents:
Members Baseline, Follow-up Surveys**

| Socio-demographic Category | Percent Distribution | |
|--|-----------------------------|------------------|
| | Baseline | Follow-up |
| Sex | | |
| Male | 16.8 | 16.5 |
| Female | 83.2 | 83.5 |
| NGO | | |
| MWA-Oyo | 50.7 | 43.1 |
| NAWOJ-Oyo | 6.4 | 6.8 |
| GYM | 17.9 | 24.5 |
| Jagora | 5.3 | 4.6 |
| FOMWAN | 16.6 | 18.7 |
| FIDA | 3.0 | 2.2 |
| Age group | | |
| 15-34 | 58.4 | 57.9 |
| 35 + | 41.6 | 42.1 |
| Education | | |
| None/Koranic | 28.3 | 22.7 |
| Primary | 20.1 | 20.6 |
| Secondary | 30.5 | 35.4 |
| Post-Secondary | 21.2 | 21.4 |
| Marital Status | | |
| Single | 24.0 | 24.5 |
| Married | 71.2 | 70.6 |
| Divorced/Widowed/Separated | 4.8 | 4.9 |
| Occupation | | |
| Journalist | 6.2 | 6.5 |
| Lawyer | 2.6 | 2.1 |
| Civil Servant | 9.0 | 9.3 |
| Trader | 58.0 | 52.9 |
| Skilled Worker | 5.3 | 4.3 |
| Other | 5.5 | 6.7 |
| Unemployed/Housewife | 18.7 | 18.2 |
| Average Duration of Membership in Years | 7.9 | 4.9 |
| Number of Respondents | 729 | 764 |

Source: JHU/CCP and The Nigeria Democracy and Governance Project, 1997-1998

highly exposed to project activities. On the other hand, exposure was apparently less intense among MWA members than among other members.

Other factors associated with significant differentials in intensity of exposure were education and sex. Specifically, the results of the logistic regression show that, holding NGO, occupation, age, sex, marital status and religion constant, compared with their counterparts without any formal education, respondents with secondary education were more than twice as likely, and those with post-secondary education more than four times as likely to be intensely exposed to project activities (data not shown). Also, all other things being equal, men were almost seven times as likely as women to be highly exposed to project activities (data not shown).

Table IV.2a
Exposure to Specific D&G Activities and Materials: Members' Follow-up Survey

| Activity/Material | Percent Exposed |
|--------------------------|------------------------|
| D&G on Radio | 45.3 |
| D&G on Television | 26.8 |
| Live Drama/Theater | 19.1 |
| Newspaper Articles | 25.5 |
| Posters on D&G | 53.3 |
| Handbill/Leaflet | 29.4 |
| Sticker | 33.0 |
| T-shirt/Scarf | 30.5 |
| Key Chains/Badges | 18.6 |
| Measuring "kongo" cups | 39.3 |
| D&G Newsletter | 14.1 |
| D&G Workshop | 26.2 |
| Seminar/Lecture | 24.7 |
| Political Rally/Meeting | 22.1 |
| Advocacy Visit | 17.9 |
| Press Conference | 8.1 |

Source: JHU/CCP and The Nigeria Democracy and Governance Project, 1997-1998

Table IV.2b
Percent Distribution of Respondents by Level of Exposure to Campaign Activities and by NGO: Members' Follow-up Survey

| NGO | Level of Exposure | | | | Total Respondents n=764 |
|-----------------|--------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|------------------------------------|
| | None n=160 | Low n=357 | Medium n=156 | High n=91 | |
| MWA-Oyo | 27.7 | <u>58.4</u> | 11.8 | 2.1 | 329 |
| NAWOJ-Oyo | 0.0 | 25.0 | <u>51.9</u> | 23.1 | 52 |
| GYM | 15.5 | <u>40.1</u> | 23.5 | 20.9 | 188 |
| JCT | 2.9 | 17.1 | <u>51.4</u> | 28.6 | 35 |
| FOMWAN-Jigawa | 27.3 | <u>49.6</u> | 17.5 | 5.6 | 143 |
| FIDA-Abia | 0.0 | 0.0 | 17.6 | <u>82.4</u> | 17 |
| All Respondents | 21.0 | <u>46.8</u> | 20.4 | 11.8 | 764 |

Source: JHU/CCP and The Nigeria Democracy and Governance Project, 1997-1998
The figures underlined represent the mode for each NGO.

C. Knowledge About Human Rights and D&G Issues

The data suggest that there has been a positive change in the audience’s knowledge about a variety of D&G issues since the onset of the project. Prior to the project, the intended audience demonstrated limited knowledge about critical issues including the following: fundamental human rights and ways of ensuring that they are respected, local politicians and events, ways of improving the representation of women in politics, ways of ensuring that elected officers are accountable and ways of promoting the practice of democracy in the community.

Dealing With Unlawful Arrest

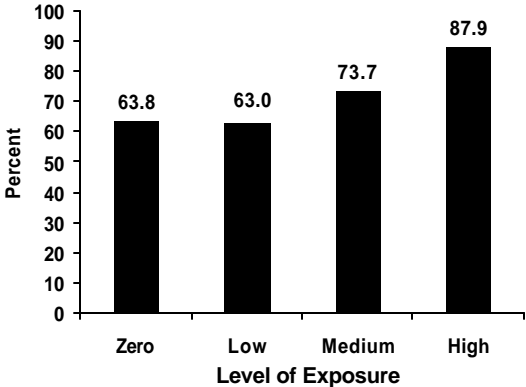
One question asked at both the baseline and follow-up surveys, which aims to capture the audience understanding of how to ensure that the rights of individuals are respected, relates to how they would advise a friend whose son has been unlawfully arrested. The findings are presented in Table IV.3. The proportion manifesting knowledge of the appropriate legal steps increased from about half at the baseline to 68 percent at the end of the intervention. This improvement is statistically significant (t=6.8, Pr.<0.001). The proportion of those

Table IV.3
Proportion Knowing Appropriate Steps to Take in Case of Unlawful Arrest:
Members’ Baseline, Follow-up Surveys

| Socio-demographic Category | Percent Who Know Appropriate Steps | |
|----------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------|
| | Baseline n=729 | Follow-up n=764 |
| Sex | | |
| Male | 48.0 | 61.9 |
| Female | 52.0 | 69.5 |
| Education | | |
| None/Koranic | 40.0 | 59.3 |
| Primary | 58.4 | 67.9 |
| Secondary | 48.0 | 63.4 |
| Post-Secondary | 65.1 | 85.8 |
| Age Category | | |
| < 35 years | 47.2 | 65.1 |
| 35 + | 57.2 | 72.4 |
| Religion | | |
| Moslem | 44.5 | 64.4 |
| Christian | 67.7 | 76.8 |
| Marital Status | | |
| Single | 42.9 | 65.0 |
| Married | 54.2 | 70.4 |
| All Respondents | 51.3 | 68.0 |

Source: JHU/CCP and The Nigeria Democracy and Governance Project, 1997-1998

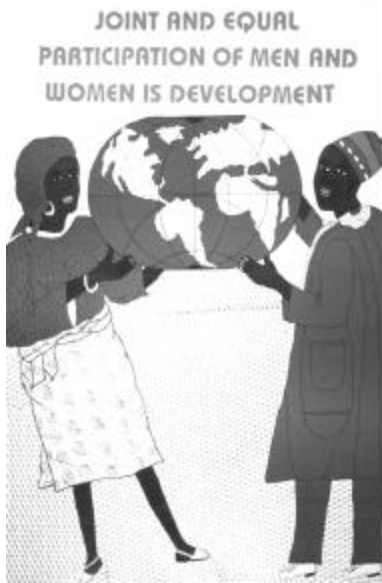
Figure IV.1
Proportion Who Knew Steps to Take in Case of Unlawful Arrest by Level of Exposure to D&G Activities: Members’ Follow-up Survey



Source: JHU/CCP and The Nigeria Democracy and Governance Project, 1997-1998

saying outright that they would not know what to do in such a circumstance dropped from 29 percent at the baseline to 17 percent at the end of the intervention. Moreover, for every socio-demographic group, the proportion providing a valid course of action was higher at the follow-up compared to the baseline. In other words, irrespective of the respondents’ socio-demographic background, the follow-up data suggests net improvement in this indicator.

Also, as can be seen in Figure IV.1, the higher the exposure to D&G activities, the higher the knowledge about fundamental human rights or unlawful arrest. It is pertinent to note, however, that a low level of



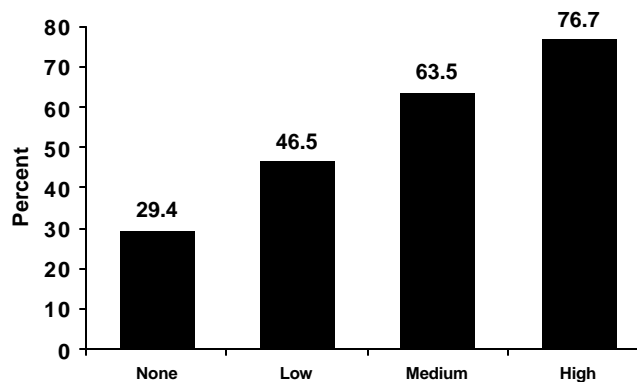
This poster, developed and distributed by Women, Law and Development Center, Lagos, is one of many developed under the D&G Project to promote favorable attitudes toward the involvement of women in civil society.

exposure does not appear to make any difference as far as this knowledge indicator is concerned. This suggests that a threshold exposure level is necessary to increase knowledge of appropriate actions.

Knowledge About Constitutional Rights

To assess awareness about basic constitutional rights, the follow-up questionnaire asked respondents to list these rights. Since this question was not asked at the baseline, it is not possible to measure the change in knowledge between the two points in time. Nonetheless, by looking at variations in this indicator by level of exposure, the follow-up data provides a means of gauging the effects of project activities on knowledge about the specific constitutional rights. Table IV.4 shows that half of the respondents knew at least one constitutional right and that knowledge was positively associated with exposure to project activities. Even a low level of exposure to project activities is significantly associated, by more than 50 percent over no exposure, with the knowledge of basic human rights (Figure IV.2). The proportion who knew any of the rights was more than twice as high among those with a medium level of exposure compared to those with no exposure. More than three-quarters of those with a high level of exposure knew at least one basic right.

Figure IV.2
Proportion Who Knew Any Basic Right by Level of Exposure to Project Activities: Members' Follow-up Survey



Source: JHU/CCP and The Nigeria Democracy and Governance Project, 1997-1998

Table IV.4
Proportion Mentioning Specific Constitutional Rights by Level of Exposure to Project Activities:
Members' Follow-up Survey

| Constitutional Right Mentioned | Percent Mentioning by Level of Exposure | | | | All Respondents |
|-----------------------------------|---|------|--------|------|-----------------|
| | None | Low | Medium | High | |
| | Right to Life and Property | 21.2 | 28.8 | 40.4 | |
| Right of Human Dignity | 11.9 | 23.2 | 32.7 | 56.7 | 26.7 |
| Freedom of Worship and Conscience | 15.0 | 25.2 | 39.7 | 63.3 | 30.5 |
| Freedom of Speech and Expression | 19.4 | 32.2 | 46.1 | 66.7 | 36.4 |
| Freedom of Association | 16.2 | 23.2 | 34.0 | 54.4 | 27.6 |
| Freedom of Movement | 15.0 | 26.6 | 37.2 | 61.1 | 30.4 |
| Any Right | 29.4 | 46.5 | 63.5 | 76.7 | 50.0 |

Taking the basic rights one at a time, we can see in Table IV.4 that the best known right was freedom of speech and expression, which was mentioned by 36 percent of the respondents. The proportion who knew each of the rights increased steadily with level of exposure.

Awareness of Political Environment

There is some evidence that the intended audience's knowledge about the local political environment, especially as it pertains to women, has improved somewhat also. For example, the proportion of respondents who stated that they did not know if there were any women elected to any office since the Third Republic (1992) dropped from 23 percent at the baseline to 14 percent at the end of the intervention. Similarly, the proportion who did not know whether there were any women who attempted to run for office but failed dropped from 24 percent to 14 percent. Moreover, the follow-up data show a strong correlation between exposure to project activities and familiarity with events on the local political scene. The proportion who admitted that they knew women who had participated or attempted to participate in politics was more than twice as high among those with medium or high levels of exposure than among those with no exposure (Table IV.5). The respondents exposed to project activities were also better able to recall the names of elected women than those with no project exposure.

Table IV.5
Specific Knowledge Indicator (%) by Level of Exposure: Members' Follow-up Survey

| Indicator | Level of Exposure | | | | All | X ² Sig. |
|--|-------------------|------|--------|------|------|---------------------|
| | None | Low | Medium | High | | |
| Aware of women who were candidates for elections | 20.0 | 25.2 | 44.2 | 52.2 | 31.2 | 46.2 |
| Could name women who were elected | 5.0 | 7.6 | 18.0 | 25.6 | 11.3 | 36.5 |
| Could name women who ran for elections but lost | 12.5 | 14.4 | 29.5 | 44.4 | 20.6 | 54.0 |
| Could name women candidates | 14.4 | 18.8 | 35.3 | 50.0 | 24.9 | 55.9 |

Source: JHU/CCP and The Nigeria Democracy and Governance Project, 1997-1998
 X² significant at p ≤ 0.001

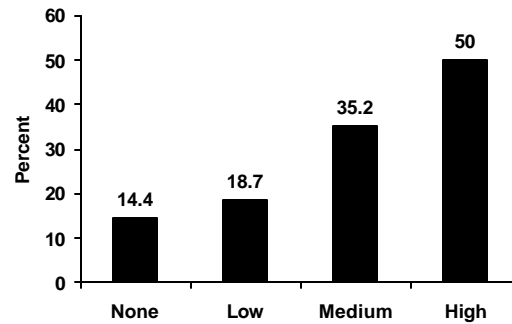
Another indication that the project may have improved the intended audience's familiarity with the local political scene was the increase in the proportion who could recall the names of the officials occupying specific political and traditional leadership positions. The follow-up data further show that knowledge about these officials is a function of exposure to project activities (Figures IV.3 and IV.4).

The project also has effects on the perceptions of the intended audience about what could be done to improve the representation of women in government (data not shown). The notion that women are under-represented in government is now more widespread with the proportion expressing this opinion rising from 73 percent at the baseline to 85 percent at the follow-up survey. The view that encouraging women to participate in politics and to become more involved in high-level decision making was more prominent at the follow-up (43 percent) than at the baseline (30 percent). Also, the



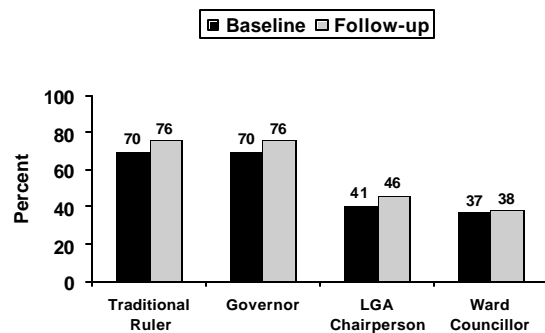
The above poster in Hausa and English was produced and distributed by Jamiyyar Matan Arewa (JMA)-Kano.

Figure IV.3
Proportion Who Provided Names of Female Candidates by Level of Exposure to Project Activities: Members' Follow-up Survey



Source: JHU/CCP and The Nigeria Democracy and Governance Project, 1997-1998

Figure IV.4
Proportion Who Knew the Names of Selected Officials: Members' Baseline, Follow-up Surveys



Source: JHU/CCP and The Nigeria Democracy and Governance Project, 1997-1998

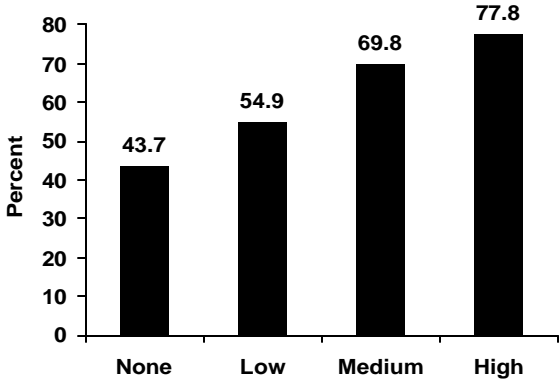
higher the exposure to project activities the more likely the respondents are to articulate valid means of increasing the representation of women in government.

Awareness of how to ensure that elected officials are held accountable has also improved. The proportion declaring that they did not know how to make elected officials accountable declined from 55 percent at the baseline to 36 percent at the follow-up. Not only that, the results again show that knowledge of the appropriate means of achieving this objective is positively associated with the intensity of exposure to project activities: 46 percent of those with no exposure compared with only 16 percent of those with high exposure did not know any means of ensuring accountability on the part of elected officials.

There has also been some improvement concerning knowledge about what the roles of individuals should be in ensuring the practice of democracy in the community. About half of the respondents (49 percent) at the baseline compared with 58 percent at the follow-up mentioned some ways to ensure the practice of democracy in their community. This is interesting considering that the follow-up survey was conducted at a time when there were general and serious doubts about the willingness of the

military administration to abdicate power. Indeed, with the confusing political situation and widespread corruption in the country, most Nigerians were resigned to the idea that change was unlikely in the country and that democracy was an illusion. The fact that more follow-up survey respondents suggested concrete ways of ensuring democracy during this politically charged time testifies to the success of the D&G Project. The positive relationship observed between exposure to project activities and this knowledge indicator (Figure IV.5) further points to the positive role of the project in changing perceptions toward a civil society in Nigeria.

Figure IV.5
Proportion Who Knew What They Could Do To Ensure Democracy by Level of Exposure: Members' Follow-up Survey



Source: JHU/CCP and The Nigeria Democracy and Governance Project, 1997-1998

Overall Changes in Knowledge About Fundamental Human Rights and D&G

In the evaluation design, a summary knowledge indicator was computed on the basis of all the knowledge questions. Due to the fact that fewer knowledge questions were asked at the baseline than at the follow-up, the indicator varies between 0 and 8 for the baseline survey and between 0 and 14 for the follow-up survey. To facilitate comparison between the baseline and follow-up surveys, individual scores were standardized by dividing the final score by the maximum possible score and expressing the indicator as a percentage. The modified index score therefore ranges between 0 and 100 points. Whereas the overall knowledge indicator was only 18 points at the baseline, it had increased to 26 points by the follow-up. This increase is statistically significant ($t = 7.9, p = 0.001$). Table IV.6 compares the overall knowledge indicator for both surveys for each socio-demographic group. Improvement in knowledge about D&G and fundamental human rights issues cuts across all socio-demographic groups. In many of the groups, the follow-up indicator was between one and a half and two times what it was at the baseline. That the observed improvement in overall knowledge has something to do with the project is strongly suggested by the results presented in Tables IV.7 and IV.8. As can be seen from Table IV.7, NGO members who were substantially exposed (that is, with medium to high levels of exposure) to D&G Project activities were consistently more likely to manifest a high knowledge level compared to their counterparts with little or no exposure. On the whole, the overall knowledge indicator was 21 points among those with little or no exposure to project activities while it was as high as 37 points among their counterparts who were substantially exposed. Comparing the overall knowledge indicator by level of exposure for each socio-demographic group

Table IV.6
Overall Knowledge Index Score by
Socio-demographic Characteristics:
Members' Baseline, Follow-up Surveys

| Socio-demographic Category | Overall Knowledge Index Score (range: 0 - 100) ¹ | |
|-------------------------------|---|-------------|
| | Baseline | Follow-up |
| Sex | | |
| Male | 20.1 | 31.4 |
| Female | 17.6 | 24.6 |
| Age group | | |
| 15-34 | 17.3 | 27.4 |
| 35 + | 19.1 | 23.5 |
| Education | | |
| None/Koranic | 14.1 | 16.5 |
| Primary | 16.8 | 21.0 |
| Secondary | 17.0 | 23.3 |
| Post-Secondary | 25.2 | 43.7 |
| Religion | | |
| Moslem | 16.8 | 23.7 |
| Christian | 21.1 | 30.0 |
| Marital Status | | |
| Single | 17.4 | 28.5 |
| Married | 18.0 | 25.2 |
| Occupation | | |
| Journalist | 29.7 | 47.6 |
| Lawyer | 32.9 | 72.3 |
| Civil Servant | 21.3 | 39.3 |
| Trader | 16.7 | 20.9 |
| Skilled Worker | 17.1 | 19.6 |
| Other | 6.3 | 21.0 |
| Unemployed/Housewife | 15.5 | 22.7 |
| All Respondents | 18.0 | 25.7 |

Source: JHU/CCP and The Nigeria Democracy and Governance Project, 1997-1998

¹ Computed as the proportion of knowledge questions asked that were correctly answered.

Table IV.7
Overall Knowledge Index Score by
Level of Exposure:
Members' Follow-up Survey

| Socio-demographic Category | Overall Knowledge Index Score (0-100) | |
|-------------------------------|---|-------------------------|
| | Little/No Exposure | Medium/High Exposure |
| Sex | | |
| Male | 23.5 | 35.2 |
| Female | 20.3 | 37.1 |
| Age group | | |
| 15-34 | 22.1 | 35.8 |
| 35 + | 19.0 | 38.3 |
| Education | | |
| None/Koranic | 15.6 | 21.7 |
| Primary | 18.1 | 32.0 |
| Secondary | 22.1 | 26.5 |
| Post-Secondary | 35.9 | 47.1 |
| Religion | | |
| Moslem | 19.5 | 32.6 |
| Christian | 23.0 | 44.9 |
| Marital Status | | |
| Single | 24.2 | 33.5 |
| Married | 19.7 | 38.1 |
| Occupation | | |
| Journalist | 37.9 | 51.5 |
| Lawyer | N/A ¹ | 72.3 |
| Civil Servant | 31.4 | 43.8 |
| Trader | 19.9 | 26.2 |
| Skilled Worker | 18.4 | 23.2 |
| Other | 17.5 | 25.8 |
| Unemployed/Housewife | 18.9 | 28.6 |
| All Respondents | 20.5 | 36.5 |

Source: JHU/CCP and The Nigeria Democracy and Governance Project, 1997-1998

¹ All lawyers were exposed to the project.

(Table IV.7), the respondents with little or no exposure to the project invariably exhibit a lower level of knowledge than their counterparts with medium to high exposure. As interesting as these results are, there are some chances that the observed differences are not due to exposure to the project but to some confounding factors. For example, it is possible that the highly educated respondents exposed to the project scored higher in knowledge than their counterparts not exposed to the project because the former also have some characteristics such as a younger age, Christian religion or high professional status that make it easy for them to have access to information on a wide range of issues.

One way of resolving this issue is to “isolate” the net effects of exposure on knowledge through a multivariate analysis. This estimates the effects of exposure to project activities on the chances of exhibiting medium to high knowledge while controlling for socio-demographic characteristics. The results are presented in Table IV.8 in terms of odds ratios, which denote the number of times a certain

Table IV.8
Odds Ratio of Having a High Knowledge Score by Selected Variables:
Members’ Follow-up Survey

| Characteristics | n | Odds Ratio | z | p> z |
|---------------------------|----------|-------------------|----------|-----------------|
| Sex | | | | |
| Male (RC) ¹ | 127 | 1.00 | | |
| Female | 637 | 1.07 | 0.25 | 0.805 |
| Age Group | | | | |
| 15-24 (RC) | 166 | 1.00 | | |
| 25-34 | 273 | 2.05 | 2.65 | 0.008 |
| 35-44 | 192 | 1.93 | 2.01 | 0.045 |
| 45 + | 127 | 1.13 | 0.35 | 0.742 |
| Level of Exposure | | | | |
| None (RC) | 160 | 1.00 | | |
| Low | 357 | 1.66 | 2.00 | 0.045 |
| Medium | 156 | 2.34 | 2.93 | 0.003 |
| High | 91 | 5.89 | 5.02 | 0.000 |
| Education | | | | |
| None/Koranic (RC) | 172 | 1.00 | | |
| Primary | 156 | 1.21 | 0.66 | 0.506 |
| Secondary | 268 | 1.68 | 1.86 | 0.063 |
| Post-Secondary | 163 | 4.72 | 4.40 | 0.000 |
| Religion | | | | |
| Christian (RC) | 257 | 1.00 | | |
| Moslem | 523 | 1.13 | 0.57 | 0.565 |
| Marital Status | | | | |
| Married/Ever Married (RC) | 577 | 1.00 | | |
| Single | 187 | 1.26 | 0.91 | 0.364 |

Source: JHU/CCP and The Nigeria Democracy and Governance Project, 1997-1998

Note:¹ RC means Reference Category for Odds Ratios

socio-demographic group is likely to manifest the attribute being assessed compared to a specific reference group. In the estimated logistic model, the dependent variable, which is the knowledge score, takes on the value of one if the score is five points (out of a possible 14) or more, and 0 if otherwise. The independent variables whose effects were estimated include exposure status, age, sex, education, religion and marital status.

It appears that only three of the six independent variables have significant “pure” effects on knowledge. These are exposure status, education and age. Sex, religion and marital status do not appear to have an impact on the knowledge of the respondents when controlling for the other characteristics. Age appears to have a curvilinear relationship to knowledge, with respondents aged 35 to 44 years being more than twice as likely as those aged 15 to 24 years to exhibit high knowledge of the

issues examined. Education bears a positive association with knowledge. With this variable, however, it appears that primary education makes no significant difference in terms of knowledge compared with no education. Secondary education confers only a marginally significant advantage. What truly makes a difference is education at the post-secondary level: the respondents with post-secondary education were almost five times as likely as those with no formal education to exhibit a high level of knowledge. It is noteworthy that in the presence of all these variables known for their correlation with knowledge, exposure to project activities still has a significant independent effect on knowledge. Respondents with a medium level of exposure and those with a high level of exposure were more than two times and almost six times as likely, respectively, to manifest a high knowledge score compared to their counterparts with no exposure to the project. The data, however, suggest that while some exposure to project activities may lead to increased knowledge, what is likely to make a real difference is extensive and active participation in project activities.

Another interesting point is that the level of knowledge about D&G and fundamental human rights issues is still generally low. Even among those with substantial exposure to project activities, only two groups (lawyers and journalists) scored above 50 points on the average. A situation in which some of the categories of people with significant exposure to the project (e.g., illiterates, traders, skilled workers, those unemployed) exhibited an average level of knowledge less than 30 points indicates that much remains to be done.

D. Impact on Attitudes Toward Women’s Empowerment

A major objective of the D&G Project was to encourage attitudes that favor increased economic, social and political empowerment of women as well as respect for fundamental human rights of individuals. As such, a set of questions was included in both the baseline and the follow-up questionnaires to measure attitudes of the intended audience with respect to these issues. The findings are presented in terms of women’s political empowerment and women’s economic and cultural empowerment.

Women’s Economic and Cultural Empowerment

The baseline data showed that the intended audience is generally not opposed to women attaining high economic status. For example, 85 percent agreed that women should be given the same opportunities as men while 85 percent were of the opinion that a daughter should be encouraged to aspire to anything she wants in life (Table IV.9). Also interesting is that 86 percent of the respondents

Table IV.9
Proportion of Respondents Agreeing with Specific Women’s Economic and Cultural
Empowerment-Related Statements: Members’ Baseline, Follow-up Surveys

| Statement | Percent Agreeing | |
|---|-------------------------|------------------|
| | Baseline | Follow-up |
| 1. Women should be given the same opportunities as men | 84.5 | 85.9 |
| 2. I would encourage my daughter to aspire to anything she wants in life | 85.1 | 83.2 |
| 3. A male child is preferable to a female child | 23.8 | 22.3 |
| 4. Boys should help with housework the way girls do | 86.6 | 85.2 |
| 5. If resources are scarce, it is better to educate a boy instead of a girl | 28.9 | 28.3 |
| 6. A man has the right to put a woman in purdah | 60.6 | 58.1 |
| 7. A girl of 16 is old enough to become a wife | 52.0 | 49.9 |
| 8. Women should not be permitted to work outside the home | 17.1 | 13.7 |
| 9. A woman has no cultural rights to make decisions in the family | 31.2 | 20.4 |
| Women’s Cultural and Economic Empowerment Attitudinal Index | 3.7 | 4.1 |

believed that a boy should help with housework the way girls do. This indeed reflects a notable departure from the traditional gender-based division of labor, but may also reflect the fact that respondents were predominately female. Nonetheless, it is pertinent to note that at the baseline some attitudes indicating preference for the boy or the man over the girl or the woman in terms of economic and social status still prevailed. For example, about one-fifth of the respondents still believed that a woman has no cultural rights to make decisions in the family while almost one-quarter of the respondents agreed with the assertion that a male child is preferable to a female child. Similarly, 29 percent agreed that given scarce resources, it would be better to educate a boy than a girl. Also indicative of attitudes favoring comparatively lower social and economic status for women at the baseline was the finding that about three-fifths of the respondents believed that a man has the right to put a woman in purdah. Not only that, more than half of the respondents (and more than 90 percent of the members of the northern NGOs) were of the opinion that a girl age 16 is old enough to become a wife. In sum, at the baseline the general attitude among the intended audience appeared to be that whatever social and economic status a woman attains should not conflict with the ideals of male supremacy and dominance and should actually advance them. This attitude does not appear to have changed much as shown by the follow-up data. Proportionally, as many respondents during the follow-up survey as during the baseline survey believed that a male child is preferable to a female child, that a man has the right to put a woman in purdah and that a 16-year-old girl is old enough to marry. It is worth noting that these issues were not addressed in detail during this phase of the project and therefore the lack of change was anticipated.

An index assessing women's economic and cultural empowerment was calculated to capture the broader impact on this issue. The index was based on the questions in Table IV.9 and was computed by attributing +1 if the attitude expressed was positive and -1 if it was negative. Analysis by socio-demographic groups showed that two groups, Moslems and men, still have particularly poor attitudes with respect to the economic and cultural empowerment of women.

Table IV.10 provides the results of a logistic regression that relates highly positive attitudes about women's economic and cultural empowerment (index score above 3 points) to project exposure and other characteristics. The most significant determinants of women's economic and cultural empowerment-related

Table IV.10
Odds Ratio of Manifesting Highly Positive Attitudes
About Women's Economic and Cultural Empowerment
by Selected Background Variables:
Members' Follow-up Survey

| Characteristics | n | Odds Ratio | z | Pr> z |
|-------------------------|-----|------------|------|-------|
| Sex | | | | |
| Male (RC) ¹ | 127 | 1.00 | | |
| Female | 637 | 9.69 | 7.13 | 0.000 |
| Age Group | | | | |
| 15-24(RC) | 166 | 1.00 | | |
| 25-34 | 273 | 2.18 | 3.08 | 0.002 |
| 35-44 | 192 | 3.09 | 3.80 | 0.000 |
| 45 + | 127 | 4.45 | 4.62 | 0.000 |
| Project Exposure | | | | |
| Not Exposed (RC) | 160 | 1.00 | | |
| Exposed | 604 | 1.60 | 2.00 | 0.045 |
| Education | | | | |
| None/Koranic (RC) | 172 | 1.00 | | |
| Primary | 156 | 1.49 | 1.48 | 0.139 |
| Secondary | 268 | 1.70 | 1.98 | 0.048 |
| Post-Secondary | 163 | 1.18 | 0.46 | 0.648 |
| Religion | | | | |
| Moslem (RC) | 523 | 1.00 | | |
| Christian | 257 | 11.85 | 7.34 | 0.000 |

Source: JHU/CCP and The Nigeria Democracy and Governance Project, 1997-1998

Note:¹ RC means Reference Category for Odds Ratios

attitudes were sex, religion and age. Exposure to project activities also had a positive influence as those respondents were 1.6 times as likely as their counterparts who did not have such an exposure to manifest positive attitudes relative to women's economic and cultural empowerment.

Women's Political Empowerment

The baseline results showed that respondents were generally in favor of limited political empowerment and restricted political involvement of women. As shown in Table IV.11, a marked number of the respondents agreed with statements that connote that women should not have the same level of political decision-making power as men. For example, about two-fifths of the respondents were of the opinion that women politicians were not as good as their male counterparts, while almost one-third agreed that women should not run for elective office. Similarly, 54 percent of the respondents believed that a woman is better as a Vice President than as a President. The fact that there was a general feeling that women should assume subordinate roles in decision making was clearly borne out by the fact that 52 percent of the respondents agreed that a woman should not question a man. The follow-up survey data show some improvement in attitudes. For example, compared with the baseline, in the follow-up survey, slightly more respondents expressed the opinion that women should be able to compete with men in politics and that a woman should be able to rise to be the President of Nigeria.



Members of the Nigeria Association of Women Journalists-Oyo paying an advocacy visit to a senior government official.

Table IV.11
Proportion of Respondents Agreeing with Specific Women's Political Empowerment-Related Statements: Members' Baseline, Follow-up Surveys

| Statement | Percent Agreeing | |
|--|------------------|-----------|
| | Baseline | Follow-up |
| 1. Women should not run for elective office. | 30.9 | 30.3 |
| 2. Women should leave politics to men. | 20.4 | 16.6 |
| 3. Women who run for politics are prostitutes. | 9.8 | 7.4 |
| 4. Women should be able to compete with men in politics. | 79.5 | 86.8 |
| 5. Women politicians are not as good as men politicians. | 37.9 | 36.1 |
| 6. A woman should be able to rise to be the President of Nigeria. | 75.8 | 80.0 |
| 7. If asked to choose between a woman President and Vice President, I would prefer the woman to be a Vice President. | 53.7 | 55.1 |
| 8. A woman should not question a man. | 52.3 | 53.7 |
| 9. Women cannot make as good decisions on important matters as men can. | 27.5 | 26.6 |
| 10. A woman who wants to make decisions alongside men is lacking in humility. | 45.4 | 42.8 |
| Index of Positive Women's Political Empowerment Attitudes | 3.3 | 3.8 |

Source: JHU/CCP and The Nigeria Democracy and Governance Project, 1997-1998

Table IV.12
Comparison of the Index of Women’s Political Empowerment-Related Attitudes by Socio-demographic Characteristics: Members’ Baseline, Follow-up Surveys

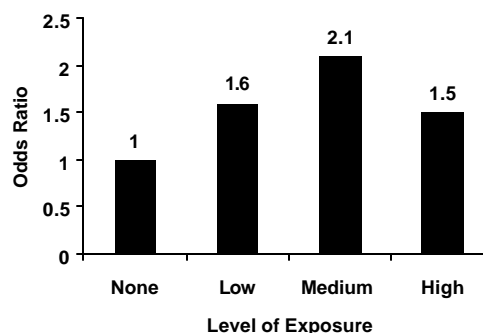
| Socio-demographic Category | WPE Attitudinal Index | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|------------|
| | Baseline | Follow-up |
| NGO | | |
| MWA | 3.3 | 4.1 |
| NAWOJ | 7.8 | 8.1 |
| GYM | 1.5 | 2.3 |
| Jagora | 3.0 | 3.7 |
| FOMWAN | 2.8 | 2.7 |
| FIDA | 8.5 | 8.5 |
| Sex | | |
| Male | 1.2 | 1.2 |
| Female | 3.7 | 4.3 |
| Age group | | |
| 15-34 | 2.6 | 3.6 |
| 35 + | 4.2 | 4.0 |
| Education | | |
| None/Koranic | 2.8 | 3.5 |
| Primary | 3.2 | 3.5 |
| Secondary | 2.7 | 3.3 |
| Post-Secondary | 4.7 | 5.2 |
| Religion | | |
| Moslem | 2.6 | 3.2 |
| Christian | 5.1 | 5.0 |
| Marital Status | | |
| Single | 2.3 | 2.8 |
| Married | 3.7 | 4.0 |
| Occupation | | |
| Journalist/Lawyer | 7.9 | 8.0 |
| Civil Servant | 2.0 | 2.6 |
| Trader | 3.2 | 4.1 |
| Other | 1.7 | 1.7 |
| Unemployed/Housewife | 2.5 | 2.4 |
| All Respondents | 3.3 | 3.8 |

Source: JHU/CCP and The Nigeria Democracy and Governance Project, 1997-1998 - Membership Survey

The index of attitudes about women’s political empowerment was computed in a similar manner as the women’s economic and cultural empowerment index on the basis of the ten attitudinal questions shown in Table IV.11. The index score ranges between -10 and +10. On the average, it was 3.3 at the baseline and 3.8 at the follow-up. Table IV.12 shows that improvement in women’s political empowerment-related attitudes cut across socio-demographic groups. It is noteworthy that some socio-demographic groups still manifested notably poor women’s political empowerment-related attitudes during the follow-up survey. These include men, members of GYM and FOMWAN, Moslems, unmarried respondents, the unemployed and those in low-skill professions.

The results of the multivariate analysis of the follow-up data show that the most important correlates of women’s political empowerment-related attitudes were gender, project exposure, age and knowledge about women’s political empowerment and fundamental human rights. Positive women’s political empowerment-related attitudes were strongly associated with post-secondary education, female gender, exposure to project activities, middle adulthood (ages 35 years and above) and a high level of knowledge about women’s political empowerment and basic

Figure IV.6
Odds Ratio of Manifesting Positive WPE Attitudes by Level of Exposure to Project Activities: Members’ Follow-up Survey



Source: JHU/CCP and The Nigeria Democracy and Governance Project, 1997-1998

human rights. It is surprising to note that as shown in Figure IV.6, project exposure has a curvilinear relationship with women's political empowerment. The reason for this unexpected finding is not clear.

E. Impact on D&G-Related Behaviors

The data suggest that there have been some changes in the behaviors of the intended audience since the D&G Project was initiated. These changes will be discussed in terms of information-seeking behavior, discussion of D&G issues with others, participation in the electoral process and recruiting members for NGOs.

Information-Seeking Behavior

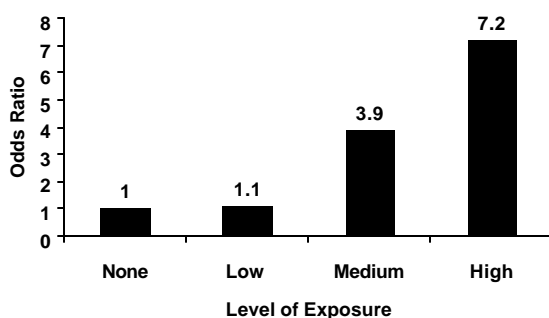
Exposure to project activities was associated with improved information-seeking behavior. The respondents who were exposed to one or more project activities tended to listen to the radio and watch television more often than their counterparts who were not similarly exposed (Table IV.13). Exposed respondents were also considerably more likely to attend political rallies, listen to the news or read newspapers. The index of information-seeking behavior was 2.58 points (out of a possible 10) among the respondents with no exposure, but 4.62

Table IV.13
Percent Involved in Various Information-Seeking Activities by Exposure to Project Activities: Members' Follow-up Survey

| Information-Seeking Activity | Percent Doing (Regularly or Irregularly) | |
|--|---|---------|
| | Not Exposed | Exposed |
| Listen to the radio for political activities | 52.8 | 82.1 |
| Watch TV for political activities | 34.6 | 60.3 |
| Attend political rallies | 15.1 | 38.7 |
| Listen to the news | 70.2 | 86.0 |
| Read newspapers | 30.2 | 57.3 |
| Index of Information-Seeking Behavior | 2.58 | 4.62 |

Source: JHU/CCP and The Nigeria Democracy and Governance Project, 1997-1998

Figure IV.7
Odds Ratio of Manifesting Information-Seeking Behavior by Level of Project Exposure: Members' Follow-up Survey



Source: JHU/CCP and The Nigeria Democracy and Governance Project, 1997-1998

among those who were exposed to the project ($t = 8.1$, $p = 0.0001$). However, it is hard to establish the direction of the association; whether media exposure led to greater project exposure or project exposure led to greater participation.

As shown in Figure IV.7, after controlling for the confounding effects of education, sex, religion and age, exposure to the project is strongly correlated with information-seeking behavior. It is interesting to note that any exposure (either high or low) to the project makes a significant difference in terms of information-seeking behavior.

Discussion of Political Views

Discussion of political views and voting for a woman are two behaviors that have become somewhat more common since the beginning of the project. The proportion of NGO members who had discussed their political views with other people (including spouse/partner, sibling, parents, parents-in-law, religious leader) was 63 percent at the baseline and 70 percent at the follow-up ($t = 2.9$, $p = 0.002$). More impressive is the change in the incidence of discussing the possibility of voting for a woman. Less than half (46

percent) of the baseline respondents admitted that they had discussed voting for a woman candidate compared with 87 percent at the follow-up. The follow-up data show a positive correlation between level of exposure to project activities and discussing voting for a woman (Figure IV.8). Whereas only about half (55 percent) of those with no exposure had discussed the issue, this had risen to 69 percent among those with medium exposure, and 94 percent among those with high exposure. This relationship remained even after controlling for confounding effects such as sex, age, religion, occupation and education. In comparison with no exposure, medium exposure to project activities is associated with more than a threefold increase while high exposure is associated with more than an eightfold increase in the likelihood of discussing voting for a woman.

Participation in the Electoral Process

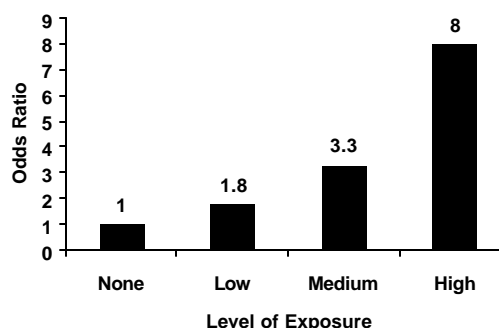
The data suggest that membership in political parties remained at about 20 percent. Regarding political involvement, the proportion who reported registering to vote in the most recent elections and the proportion who actually voted have declined slightly. However, the proportion who planned to vote in the next election rose from 66 percent during the baseline survey to 72 percent during the follow-up survey ($t = 2.49$, $p = 0.01$; Table IV.14). The index of political participation remained almost the same: 4.0 at the baseline and 3.9 at the follow-up. These findings were expected and may even point to some success of the project considering the political situation in Nigeria and the general lack of confidence in the political transition program by then

Table IV.14
Comparison of Selected Indicators of Political Involvement:
Members' Baseline, Follow-up Surveys

| Political Involvement Action | Percent Reporting | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------|-----------|
| | Baseline | Follow-up |
| Member of Political Party | 22.6 | 20.2 |
| Intend to Join Party | 24.6 | 28.9 |
| Registered to Vote in Last Elections | 81.2 | 76.8 |
| Voted During Last Elections | 65.0 | 60.8 |
| Plan to Vote in Upcoming Elections | 66.1 | 72.1 |
| Index of Political Involvement | 4.00 | 3.94 |

Source: JHU/CCP and The Nigeria Democracy and Governance Project, 1997-1998

Figure IV.8
Odds Ratio of Discussing Voting for a Woman by Level of Exposure to Project Activities: Members' Follow-up Survey



Source: JHU/CCP and The Nigeria Democracy and Governance Project, 1997-1998

President Abacha during the campaign period. Indeed, while interest in political participation dropped nationally (see omnibus survey data in Chapter VI), D&G Project NGO members did not show a decline in interest. Table IV.15 highlights the level of political participation by exposure to the campaign and shows that higher campaign exposure was associated with greater likelihood of being a

Table IV.15
Selected Indicators of Political Involvement by Level of Exposure: Members' Follow-up Survey

| Political Involvement Action | Percent Reporting by Level of Exposure | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|------|--------|------|
| | None | Low | Medium | High |
| Member of Political Party | 7.0 | 16.9 | 27.9 | 43.3 |
| Intend to Join Party ¹ | 16.4 | 30.8 | 46.8 | 46.4 |
| Registered to Vote in Last Elections | 56.4 | 78.3 | 82.3 | 96.7 |
| Voted During Last Elections | 43.2 | 60.8 | 65.4 | 83.3 |
| Plan to Vote in Upcoming Elections | 55.1 | 73.8 | 74.0 | 92.2 |
| Index of Political Involvement | 2.55 | 3.93 | 4.59 | 5.39 |
| Number of Respondents | 160 | 357 | 156 | 91 |

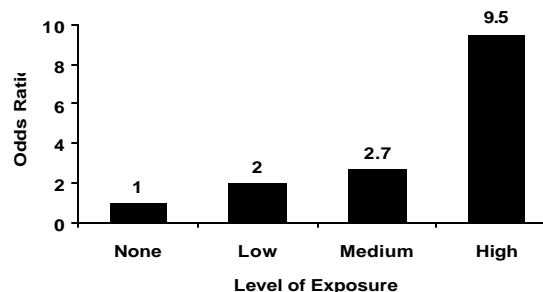
Source: JHU/CCP and The Nigeria Democracy and Governance Project, 1997-1998

Note:¹ Among those who do not belong to a party.

member of a political party or intending to join one and greater involvement in the electoral process.

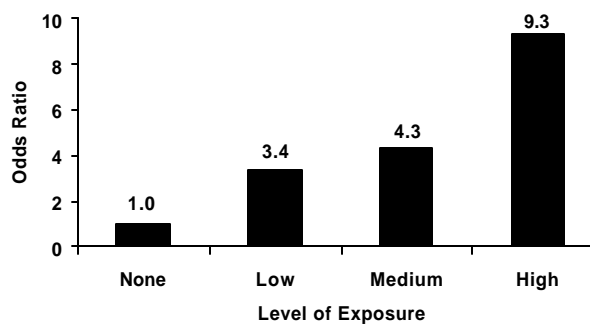
When the data were controlled for socio-demographic variables, the correlation between campaign exposure and political participation became even more evident (Figures IV.9 and IV.10). Similarly, the odds of being a party member were more than three times as high when one had low exposure to the project and more than nine times as high when one had high project exposure compared to when one had no project exposure (Figure IV.10). The results of a regression model that estimated the effects of project exposure, age, sex, education, occupation and religion on the index of political involvement showed that project exposure was second only to religion as the most significant correlate of political involvement. Age and education did not appear to have any significant effects, while being a Moslem was strongly associated with increased political participation.

Figure IV.9
Odds Ratio of Voting by Level of Exposure: Members' Follow-up Survey



Source: JHU/CCP and The Nigeria Democracy and Governance Project, 1997-1998

Figure IV.10
Odds Ratio of Being a Party Member by Level of Exposure: Members' Follow-up Survey



Source: JHU/CCP and The Nigeria Democracy and Governance Project, 1997-1998

Participation as a Candidate in Elections

It is one thing to participate in the electoral process as a voter but quite another to run as a candidate for an elective office. Running for an elective office reflects the desire to participate actively in decision making at a specific level. One objective of the D&G Project was to motivate the intended audience to become more involved in the decision-making process within their associations and communities by running for office. There was an increase in the proportion who planned to run for elective office, from 37 percent at the baseline to 43 percent at the follow-up. This result was impressive in view of the prevailing political situation at the time of the follow-up survey.

Analysis of political intentions by campaign exposure shows a steady increase. While only 26 percent of those with no exposure stated they intended to run for office, this had risen to 37 percent among those with low exposure, 58 percent among those with medium exposure and 74 percent among those with high exposure. Table IV.16 presents the results of a multivariate analysis and shows that after

Table IV.16

Results (Odds Ratio) of the Logistic Regressions of the Effects of Exposure to Project on Intention to Run for Elective Office Controlling for Age, Sex, Occupation, Religion and Education: Members' Follow-up Survey

| Indicator | Level of Exposure | | | | Pseudo R ² |
|--|-------------------|------|--------|-------|-----------------------|
| | None | Low | Medium | High | |
| Plan to run for public office in the near future | 1.00 | 1.49 | 3.25* | 6.01* | 11.0% |

Source: JHU/CCP and The Nigeria Democracy and Governance Project, 1997-1998

* Significant at p=0.001

adjusting for appropriate confounding factors (age, sex, occupation, education and religion), project exposure was strongly correlated with the plan to run for public office.

In the face of these results, one might ask whether the relationship between exposure to project activities and political ambition is unidirectional. In other words, which comes first: exposure to the D&G Project or political ambition? It is easy to argue that people with political ambitions are more likely than others to be interested in any activity related to politics. For example, they may attend political meetings to increase their visibility and to build up a constituency for themselves. However, a regression analysis based on the 303 respondents who were interviewed at both surveys and for whom we have information on prior political ambitions failed to show any statistically significant association between prior political ambitions and exposure to the project.

Recruiting Members for NGO of Affiliation

One objective of the campaign was to assist in the expansion of the NGOs. It was hoped that NGO members would benefit enough from the project that they would invite others to join their NGO. When asked whether they had invited someone to join their group, slightly more people at the follow-up (63 percent) than at the baseline (56.6 percent) said they had. Attempts at recruiting new members into the NGO were greater among those who were more exposed to project activities. For example, less than half of those with no project exposure had encouraged someone to join their NGO, but this had risen to 57, 75 and 90 percent among those with low, medium and high exposure respectively.

F. Perceptions About D&G Activities

Opinion about the D&G Project

NGO members were greatly appreciative of the D&G Project and many felt that the activities had influenced them positively (Table IV.17). The ways in which the activities were perceived to have influenced the women's behaviors and attitudes include: increasing awareness about the need to become more actively involved in the democratic process, facilitating the realization that women can be leaders, generating increased interest in politics and community leadership, providing improved knowledge about human rights issues, increasing knowledge about the democratic process and promoting increased interest in and commitment to the NGO of affiliation.

Table IV.17
Proportion Who Were of the Opinion that D&G Information Had Positively Changed Their Behavior and Ways of Thinking by Source of Information: Members' Follow-up Survey

| Source of Information | Percent Positively Affected |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Radio/Television | 56.5 |
| Print Media/Promotional Materials | 51.7 |
| Workshop/Seminar/Rally | 56.6 |

When asked about their involvement in the D&G Project, 82 percent of the respondents said that they were pleased with the program while only 3 percent stated that they were disappointed with it. Overall, 71 percent of the respondents felt that the D&G Project had a positive influence on them.

Perceptions About the NGO Decision-Making Process

While the D&G Project aspired to inculcate democratic values among the NGO members as a whole, the project also aspired to instill democratic principles within the workings of the NGO. For example, the project helped to: establish fairer electoral procedures, increase involvement of NGO members in the decision-making process and promote improved accountability of NGO business, especially financial. To see if members perceived these changes, questions about these issues were included in both the baseline and follow-up surveys. The analysis shows that members have generally not perceived any improvement in financial decision making. On the contrary, it appears that the situation has worsened. Whereas 52 percent of the baseline respondents reported that the general memberships were "often" or "always" involved in financial decision making, only 38 percent gave similar responses during the follow-up survey (Table IV.18). This finding, however, should be interpreted with caution. While it is possible that the use of democratic procedures in decision making have deteriorated within some of the NGOs, it is also possible that the project has succeeded in raising the awareness of the members regarding democratic decision making, thereby making them more critical

Table IV.18
Perceptions about the Participation of the General Membership in Financial Decision Making in the NGO: Members' Baseline, Follow-up Surveys

| Perceived Frequency of Membership Involvement in Decision Making | Percent Reporting | |
|--|-------------------|-----------|
| | Baseline | Follow-up |
| Never | 11.4 | 18.5 |
| Sometimes, but not often enough | 35.9 | 43.9 |
| Often/Always | 52.3 | 37.9 |

interpreted with caution. While it is possible that the use of democratic procedures in decision making have deteriorated within some of the NGOs, it is also possible that the project has succeeded in raising the awareness of the members regarding democratic decision making, thereby making them more critical

of their leaders' practices. In other words, it is possible that although efforts have been made to improve the involvement of the general membership in decision making, the high expectations of the members, resulting from exposure to project activities, have not yet been met. Levels of dissatisfaction varied by NGO, and were particularly high among FOMWAN and JCT members with over 80 percent and over 70 percent, respectively, stating that the members "never" or "only sometimes" participate in decision making.

Still, 56 percent of the respondents felt that the management style of their leaders, in terms of involving members in decision making, had improved since the D&G Project began. Only 1 percent said that the management style had become worse while 12 percent felt that it remained the same.

When asked whether there were any conflicts within the NGOs, the respondents suggest fairly harmonious relationships. Only 3 percent of the follow-up sample and 5 percent of the baseline sample stated that conflicts were regular occurrences in their NGO. Similarly, perceptions about the effectiveness of the mechanisms for resolving conflicts had not changed largely because members were fairly satisfied from the inception (95 percent at baseline and 96 percent at the follow-up considered the mechanisms to be adequate, good or very good).



Some of the participants at a workshop on fundamental human rights and women's political empowerment.

Chapter V. Internal Democracy of NGOs—Institutional Analysis

The level of the capability of the NGO partners was assessed through the coverage and membership size of the NGOs; networking patterns; involvement in the electoral process; extent of democratic practices in the NGO; types, scope and number of activities organized for the general membership; extent of involvement in advocacy and political lobbying and resource base. Information concerning each NGO was collected during group interviews with three to four executive members of the NGO (including the President/Chairperson, Vice President, Secretary, Public Relations Officer) using a structured institutional diagnostic tool.

Results suggest that Phase I of the D&G Project had an appreciable impact on capacity building among NGOs. Moreover, NGOs are beginning to apply the concept of democracy in their own organizations.

A. Membership and Coverage

There has been an increase in the membership of the NGOs between the baseline and follow-up surveys. The total number of members increased by 32 percent while the number of active members increased by 48 percent. However, the number of local government areas covered increased by only 3 percent. Thus, while the NGOs did not substantially extend their activities to new local government areas, they intensified actions in the local government areas in which they were initially active and not only gained new members but succeeded in turning many passive members into active ones.

B. Capacity Building in D&G

All the participating NGOs had conducted one or more workshops or training for their members during the six months preceding the follow-up survey. The workshops addressed various D&G topics. For example, three professional NGOs (AWAC, NAWOJ-Oyo and NAWOJ-Kebbi) conducted workshops for women politicians and leaders to improve their advocacy and political lobbying capabilities. Four NGOs organized workshops to enlighten their members about fundamental human rights and civic responsibility. Issues directly related to women's empowerment were specifically covered in workshops and seminars organized by at least nine of the NGOs. Although attendance records of these workshops were not always meticulously kept, it seems clear that many members and non-members benefited from the workshops. For example, at least 2,600 members participated in a series of Political Dialogue seminars organized by the MWA-Oyo in ten of its markets. Also, 95 women attended the one-day workshop organized by NAWOJ-Lagos for female politicians and journalists. Similarly, 210 women participated in the capacity-building workshop for women leaders organized by NAWOJ-Kebbi.

When asked whether the D&G Project had helped or hurt their NGO, the leaders interviewed were unanimous in responding that the D&G Project had remarkably improved the knowledge of the members about women's political empowerment, democracy and governance and fundamental human rights and civic responsibility. Leaders of the various NGOs estimated that between 60 percent and 100 percent of their members were now better informed on D&G issues.

C. Networking Patterns

One expectation for the D&G Project was that NGOs would learn about each other and expand their networks and contacts. Networking is an important factor in improving the capability of an organization because it broadens the horizon of the organization, facilitates exchange of ideas and materi-

als, improves its resources and helps ensure more effective use of them. The D&G Project appears to have improved the networking capabilities of the participating NGOs. During the follow-up survey, all the NGOs reported increased and better collaboration with other D&G NGOs in their cluster since the onset of the D&G Project. The average network size increased from 3.9 at the baseline to 4.4 at the follow-up.

In addition, the types of NGOs collaborating were more varied than before. Initially, the tendency was for NGOs to collaborate with organizations that were similar in purpose and socio-economic status of members. The follow-up data show that most of the NGOs have extended the list of organizations with which they collaborate to include other NGOs interested in women and D&G issues within and outside their cluster. For example, NAWOJ-Oyo was collaborating only with elite associations such as the Association for Reproductive and Family Health and the Society for Women and AIDS in Nigeria at the baseline. The follow-up data reveal that they are now collaborating with such grassroots organizations as the MWA-Oyo and COWAD. Similarly, NAWOJ-Enugu is now collaborating with organizations, such as the Blind Women Association and Catholic Women Organization, whose primary area of concern is different from its own. Collaboration among NGOs with different areas of interest became possible as the D&G Project enabled the organizations to identify common points of concern and realize the advantage of joining forces and learning from others. The nature of the collaboration among the NGOs involves participation in the planning and implementation of activities, organizing joint activities, exchanging IEC materials and generally sharing experiences.

The D&G Project has also resulted in increased membership in other groups either as individuals or corporately. For example, as a result of their participation in the D&G Project some members of the MWA-Oyo joined the Breast Cancer Association of Nigeria. Similarly, through their involvement in the project, some members of NAWOJ-Oyo are now members of COWAD and GADA.

D. Democratic Practices Within the NGOs

There has been improvement in the extent of practice of democratic procedures within some NGOs. The highest body responsible for the management of the organization is, in most cases, a board of directors or trustees. This decision-making body contained between 5 and 19 people at the baseline and between 5 and 16 people at the follow-up. At the baseline, three of the NGOs reported that the members of this body were appointed by the leadership without any consultation with the non-executive members. At the follow-up, all the NGOs said that they were now employing an electoral process in the selection of their leaders.

In some NGOs, due to the large membership size and wide coverage area (e.g., AWAC, COWAD and MWA), it is not feasible for the entire general membership to meet regularly. In such organizations the practice is for Units to send at least two representatives to the general meeting. The frequency of such meetings ranges from once a year to weekly depending on the membership size of the NGO and its coverage. Between the baseline and follow-up surveys there was no change in the regularity of the general meetings. However, in the opinion of many of the leaders, there has been an increase in attendance at the meetings.

There appears to have been some improvement in the extent of participation of non-executive members in decision making within the NGOs as seen in Table V.1.

Table V.1
Change in the Extent of Involvement of the General Membership in Decision Making Within
the NGO: Institutional Baseline, Follow-up Surveys

| NGO | Baseline | Follow-up |
|---------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| NAWOJ-Oyo | Never | Sometimes, but not often enough |
| FIDA | Never | Often |
| GYM | Sometimes, but not often enough | Always |
| FOMWAN-Jigawa | Often | Always |
| MWA | Often | Sometimes, but not often enough |
| AWAC | Often | Always |
| COWAD | Often | Always |

Source: JHU/CCP and The Nigeria Democracy and Governance Project, 1997-1998

In spite of the perceived increased participation of members in decision making, most of the NGOs rated their level of democracy lower at the follow-up than at the baseline. For example, two of the NGOs (NAWOJ-Kebbi and MWA-Oyo) that considered themselves to be democratic at the baseline now consider themselves to be somewhat dictatorial. However, this may not indicate a real deterioration in the practice of democratic procedure but may be due to an improved understanding of what democracy implies.

Some improvement in the practice of democracy was evident in the change in means of conflict resolution within the NGOs (Table V.2). It appears that conflicts are now more likely to be resolved not by a select few, but through the participation of a cross section of the members.

Table V.2
Methods of Conflict Resolution Within NGOs:
Institutional Baseline, Follow-up Surveys

| Method of Conflict Resolution | Number of NGOs Reporting | |
|---|--------------------------|-----------|
| | Baseline | Follow-up |
| Through Dialogue/Discussions | 7 | 8 |
| Resolved by Elders' Forum | 7 | 1 |
| Resolved by Conflict Resolution Committee | 0 | 1 |
| Resolved by Executive Committee | 2 | 1 |
| Resolved by Disciplinary Committee | 1 | 3 |
| Resolved by General Assembly | 0 | 2 |

Source: JHU/CCP and The Nigeria Democracy and Governance Project, 1997-1998

E. Involvement in Strategic IEC Activities

The D&G Project assisted the NGOs with the development of strategic and results-oriented activities. These efforts were implemented and appear to have been well received. For example, advocacy visits became more focused with the purpose of influencing policy. There was also an increase in the number of letters written to officials within the six months prior to follow-up surveys (Table V.3).

Table V.3
Involvement of NGOs in Advocacy and Political Lobbying During the Six Months Preceding each Survey: Institutional Baseline, Follow-up Surveys

| Activity | Average Number of Times Activity Done | |
|--|---------------------------------------|-----------|
| | Baseline | Follow-up |
| Paid courtesy visits to officials | 12.8 | 2.0 |
| Paid lobbying/advocacy visits to officials | 4.7 | 6.6 |
| Hosted officials as guests to NGO | 2.0 | 4.4 |
| Held discussions on radio | 4.4 | 4.3 |
| Held discussions on TV | 0.9 | 2.6 |
| Had articles about NGO in newspapers/magazines | 2.1 | 5.8 |
| Distributed materials to the public | 3.7 | 10.7 |
| Held rallies and other public events | 0.7 | 2.6 |
| Wrote letters to officials | 4.5 | 13.4 |
| Held discussion groups/seminars | 1.4 | 3.3 |

Source: JHU/CCP and The Nigeria Democracy and Governance Project, 1997-1998

Outreach to the public in the form of publishing newspaper and magazine articles about the NGO, distributing IEC materials and holding rallies, group discussions and seminars were more common



The Anambra State Women Awareness Committee at Ofala Festival, where the Igwe (local traditional leader) reduced the period of mourning.

during the life span of the project than before. The outcomes of the increased involvement of the NGOs in strategic IEC activities are evident in many landmark events around the country. For example, due to the activities of AWAC and other sponsored NGOs in the eastern part of the country, there was a court ruling in Anambra State to uphold a woman's right to inherit her husband's property. Also, in Anambra State, a traditional ruler reduced the widowhood mourning period for women

from one year to one month. In Katsina State, as a result of advocacy from the local chapter of NAWOJ, the governor appointed two women to the cabinet. Moreover, the involvement of the NGOs in the D&G Project has resulted in the institutionalization of women's political participation in many parts of the country. For example, the Kano-based JMA established the Political Action Platform to ensure increased participation of women in politics. Similarly, NAWOJ-Katsina formed the Association of Women in Politics to serve as a forum for addressing issues related to political involvement of women and to act as a lobby group for women politicians. In Oyo State, the MWA has set up pressure groups in ten markets to advocate better working conditions within the markets. Overall, there has been increased coverage of women's issues in the print and electronic media because of increased activities of members of NAWOJ.



This poster was developed and distributed by NAWOJ-Lagos to promote positive attitudes toward women's political empowerment.

Chapter VI. Reaching the General Population with the D&G Project–Community Analysis

The primary audience of Phase I of the D&G Project was the NGO membership. The membership participated in the events such as political rallies, workshops, dramas, seminars and listened to mass media interventions such as radio and television programs, all designed to increase the participation of women in political dialogue on women’s political empowerment, fundamental human rights and civic responsibility and democratic participation. NGO membership of 16 NGOs, however large, is a small portion of the population of Nigeria. Although the D&G Project focused on the membership, it was hoped that its impact would be felt by the rest of the population, since a large number of NGO projects involved mass communication activities. To assess the impact of the D&G Project in the general population, data were collected from a national omnibus survey. For the community level analysis, 4,017 respondents were interviewed during the baseline survey (Wave 1) and 5,016 were interviewed during the follow-up (Wave 2). The results in Table VI.1 suggest that the two samples are comparable in terms of the respondents’ socio-demographic characteristics.

Table VI.1
Socio-demographic Characteristics of Respondents: Omnibus Baseline (Wave 1), Follow-up (Wave 2) Surveys

| Socio-demographic Characteristics | Percent Distribution | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| | Wave 1 June 1997 n=4017 | Wave 2 February 1998 n=5016 |
| Sex | | |
| Male | 50.0 | 50.0 |
| Female | 50.0 | 50.0 |
| Age group | | |
| < 21 years | 15 | 15 |
| 21-25 | 26 | 21 |
| 26-30 | 23 | 23 |
| 31-40 | 20 | 25 |
| 41-50 | 11 | 10 |
| 51 + | 5 | 5 |
| Education | | |
| None/Koranic | 22 | 19 |
| Primary | 19 | 20 |
| Secondary | 42 | 42 |
| Post-Secondary | 17 | 21 |
| Marital Status | | |
| Single | 45 | 53 |
| Married | 52 | 43 |
| Divorced/Widowed/ Separated | 3 | 3 |
| Religion | | |
| Christian | 55 | 58 |
| Moslem | 44 | 41 |
| Others | 1 | 1 |

Source: JHU/CCP and The Nigeria Democracy and Governance Project, 1997-199

ship, it was hoped that its impact would be felt by the rest of the population, since a large number of NGO projects involved mass communication activities. To assess the impact of the D&G Project in the general population, data were collected from a national omnibus survey. For the community level analysis, 4,017 respondents were interviewed during the baseline survey (Wave 1) and 5,016 were interviewed during the follow-up (Wave 2). The results in Table VI.1 suggest that the two samples are comparable in terms of the respondents’ socio-demographic characteristics.

An examination of the omnibus respondents reveals little, if any, changes in D&G-related attitudes and behaviors between both surveys (Table VI.2). For example, the proportion agreeing with the statement that a woman should be able to inherit her husband’s property when he dies increased only in the West and Lagos zones. In the north and east, the proportion has either decreased or remained the same. Almost half of the respondents held the view that women should leave politics to men and there had been no improvement since the baseline survey.

Also disturbing is the finding that more people at the follow-up survey (23 percent) than at the baseline (18 percent) believed that women who run for politics are prostitutes. In all the zones, with the exception of Lagos, the proportion agreeing with this proposition increased. Preference for a male child was also evi-

dent and increased in most zones between the baseline and follow-up surveys (data not shown). Attitudes had not changed favorably with regard to the preference for subordinate positions for women. In sum, one can say that the women's political empowerment-related attitudes of the general public remained largely (and increasingly) in favor of limited political empowerment of women and preferential treatment of the male child. The fact that there were improvements in these issues among NGO members but not among the general population suggests that the D&G Project was successful among NGO members, but that the effects have not yet been felt by the general population.

Concerning D&G-related behaviors, findings show a deterioration in the general population since the baseline survey with:

- a decline in political party membership from 36 percent to 30 percent (particularly pronounced in the West where the indicator decreased from 26 percent to 17 percent),
- reduced electoral participation in terms of registering to vote in the most recent elections (from 72 percent to 52 percent) and
- a general decline in intention to vote in the next election (from 68 percent to 57 percent).

By comparison, NGO members manifested sustained interest in electoral participation. Thus, it appears that NGO members, unlike the general public, maintained confidence in the democratic process despite circumstances in the political arena that discouraged hope.

Results of the D&G Project suggest that the campaign had appreciable impact and was associated

Table IV.2
Proportion of Respondents Agreeing With Specific Women's Political Empowerment-Related Statements by Zone: Baseline (Wave 1), Follow-up (Wave 2) Surveys

| Statement | Survey | Percent Agreeing | | | | |
|--|--------|------------------|------|-------|------|-----------|
| | | Lagos | West | North | East | All Resp. |
| A woman should be able to inherit her husband's property when he dies | Wave 1 | 72 | 66 | 72 | 85 | 73 |
| | Wave 2 | 78 | 75 | 73 | 82 | 76 |
| Women should leave politics to men | Wave 1 | 38 | 40 | 48 | 36 | 44 |
| | Wave 2 | 34 | 39 | 54 | 38 | 46 |
| Women who run for public offices are prostitutes | Wave 1 | 9 | 14 | 23 | 12 | 18 |
| | Wave 2 | 9 | 18 | 30 | 16 | 23 |
| A male child is preferable to a female child | Wave 1 | 30 | 32 | 44 | 39 | 40 |
| | Wave 2 | 33 | 32 | 46 | 34 | 40 |
| If resources are scarce, it is better to educate a boy instead of a girl | Wave 1 | 31 | 39 | 55 | 40 | 48 |
| | Wave 2 | 26 | 38 | 58 | 37 | 47 |
| If asked to choose between a woman President and Vice President, I would prefer the woman to be a Vice President | Wave 1 | 62 | 56 | 56 | 60 | 57 |
| | Wave 2 | 65 | 62 | 58 | 55 | 59 |

Source: JHU/CCP and The Nigeria Democracy and Governance Project, 1997-1998

Chapter VII. Behavior Change for D&G: Lessons Learned

with significant changes in civic awareness, improvements in democratic practices, expansion of women's networks, nullification of several repressive laws and the election of a record number of women into political office. Internal activism within the participating NGOs resulted in greater accountability, as well as institutionalization of democratic practices. Legal reforms regarding inheritance rights and lessening mourning periods are well under way in several areas. While the D&G Project cannot take credit for all these achievements and while there is still plenty of room for improvement, these successes are encouraging. Along with these changes, Phase I of the D&G Project also provided challenging and ground breaking opportunities for learning. Some of the lessons learned to date from this project are presented below.

It is possible to implement D&G activities in a difficult political and social environment.

The D&G Project was implemented at a time when Nigeria was going through one of the most difficult political periods of its history. The annulment of the 1993 presidential elections contributed to the growing lack of confidence in the political transition program. Under Phase I of the project the NGOs operated in a general climate of fear and it is suspected that many D&G activities were monitored by unfriendly political interests. Among the general population there is also a resistance to women's participation and empowerment in politics. The fact that positive results were achieved, despite all of this, shows that a difficult social and political environment is not necessarily a deterrent to the implementation of effective D&G activities.

D&G interventions can be most effective when they access existing readiness for participation in the political process.

In late 1997 and early 1998, there was general skepticism in Nigeria about the seriousness of the military to transfer power to a democratically elected government. The NGO members, however, maintained confidence in the democratic process and even showed renewed vigor and activism in politics. The selection of NGOs for the D&G Project required that they be already interested or involved in women's political empowerment and fundamental human rights issues. Their existing readiness made it easier to implement D&G activities successfully and in a brief period of time.



Some participants at a sensitization workshop for women leaders and politicians organized by Nigeria Association of Women Journalists-Enugu, August 1997.

Working with NGOs capitalizes on synergy and group dynamics.

Because the D&G Project worked with NGOs, members could benefit from the energy and enthusiasm of each other. The sense of “collective ability” and the power of group action was clearly evident in their activities. Lobbying efforts were more successful because groups of women, rather than one woman, visited leaders. Many women on the sidelines were also swept into the fervor of the activities. D&G activities lend themselves to community activism that can mobilize people quickly and achieve immediate results.

NGOs can apply democratic practices within their own organizational practices.

The baseline survey showed that a certain level of undemocratic practices were taking place within the NGOs. However, by the end of the project, there were clear signs of movement toward fairer practices and greater accountability. Organizations that generally appointed officials have now started electing them. Conflicts are increasingly resolved by committee as opposed to individuals. Members are questioning their officials and demanding accountability. Thus, as they challenge political leaders to implement the principles of fair governance in the community, the women began challenging themselves to implement these principles in their own organizations.

The use of multiple media is an effective strategy.

The D&G Project relied on multiple mass media components, including radio and television programs, newspaper articles, posters, leaflets and other print materials. It also had a strong community-based media and interpersonal communication component including seminars, rallies and workshops. This combination appears to have been more successful than adopting a singular approach.

The micro-grant process enabled innovation, independence and synergy.

Because each of the D&G NGOs developed and implemented their own projects, they were able to customize their activities and become responsive to their communities’ priorities. Thus, for example, while groups in the east focused on women’s civil rights issues, the women in the north focused on election of women into government. Market women were able to focus on their priorities, such as demanding and acquiring rights to an empty plot for additional stalls. This independence enabled experimentation and development of innovative ideas. The media activities implemented by NAWOJ acted as an umbrella, uniting the activities while maintaining their uniqueness.

Grassroots groups require time and support.

The majority of the D&G NGOs were small and had little experience in writing and implementing micro-grant projects. What they lacked in experience, they made up in vigor and commitment. Substantial time, however, was spent in the first several months training them and building their capacity. Many have improved substantially, but still require considerable technical assistance especially in reporting and financial management.

Tried and tested communication strategies for behavior change work in D&G.

In health communication for behavior change, interventions revolve around interpersonal communication, community mobilization and mass media, all of which have been used in the D&G Project. Interpersonal communication have contributed to an increase in NGO membership and active members and to more members discussing politics. Community mobilization has achieved change in women’s status, institutionalization of women in politics, election of women and both networking and

collaboration among NGOs. Mass media is increasing positive coverage of women and their political issues, supporting women who venture into politics and providing a forum for discussing and advocating these issues.

Two key communication principles used in health interventions apply to D&G as well. First, frequency of exposure is important and secondly, the objectives of the intervention need to be specific, measurable, achievable, realistic and timely (SMART) to effect behavior change. Data suggest that a threshold of exposure is necessary to achieve impact on the intended audience. Low exposure to project activities makes little or no difference in terms of knowledge, attitudinal or behavior change. A big project is necessary for big impact. Exposure to consistent campaign messages from a variety of sources is critical if one is to see marked positive change. The focus of the objectives of the Phase I intervention was on knowledge of democracy and women's political empowerment, where significant change did occur.

It is possible to evaluate the impact of D&G interventions scientifically.

This report documents the impact of a D&G Project using the steps to behavior change approach. It shows that it is possible to evaluate the impact of D&G interventions scientifically. Just as we have seen and measured behavior change in our health communication programs, we can do so for behavior change with regard to D&G.

Next Steps

As Nigeria enters a new political era, women will undoubtedly play an important role in the success of the political transition. The D&G Project may very well be presenting a critical opportunity to position women in the constructive contribution to governance. The democratic and human rights principles that the Phase I D&G groups have championed are likely to influence the women, and possibly their communities, for a long time.

Encouraged by the positive results achieved during Phase I of the D&G Project, JHU/PCS developed a second phase of the project that took into consideration lessons learned from the previous phase. Phase II of the D&G Project (March 1998 to February 1999) built on the successes previously achieved and targeted a wider audience than Phase I. Specific objectives of D&G Phase II are the following:

1. To increase support for increased participation of women in governance among the general population,
2. To promote attitudes favorable to the eradication of harmful traditional practices in selected states of the federation and
3. To increase the level of political activism among women.



This poster encouraging the audience to vote for women candidates was produced by Nigeria Association of Women Journalists-Lagos and widely distributed among the D&G NGOs.

During Phase II, JHU/PCS worked with 19 NGOs from 13 states, including most of those that participated in Phase I, to implement a series of activities at the national, regional and NGO levels. National-level activities were cross-cutting and beneficial to all D&G NGOs. They included training workshops in advocacy and organizational democracy for NGO members, production and dissemination of a D&G training video, radio spots promoting political involvement of women and media coverage of project activities and women's political empowerment issues by NAWOJ groups. Regional and cluster-based activities addressed cluster-specific D&G issues. The cluster-based activities were supported primarily through the Resource and Training Centers and addressed electoral participation, women's decision-making competency and other women's political empowerment issues. They included joint mass-media activities such as a radio D&G drama serial, radio jingles and print materials. NGO-level activities form the bulk of the efforts of the Phase II D&G NGOs and directly target the population within their local government areas of operation. These activities were designed to address specific local issues and concerns that have political connotations.

The impact of Phase II was evaluated through NGO institutional analysis and population sample surveys. Anecdotal and empirical evidence suggest that project activities have been successful in increasing knowledge, promoting positive attitudes related to women's political empowerment and fundamental human rights and civic responsibility, and in improving the involvement of women in the democratic process. A detailed description of the goal, objectives, implementation process and achievements of Phase II, as well as subsequent phases of the D&G Project, will be the topic covered a future publication.

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Appendix

JHU/PCS Democracy and Governance NGOs

NORTHERN CLUSTER

| Organization | Project Location | Key Objectives | Key Beneficiaries | IEC Materials | Other IEC Activities |
|------------------------|-------------------------|---|--|--|---|
| Jagora Cultural Troupe | Jigawa State (5 LGAs) | Sensitize communities on civil rights issues (focus on women in purdah) Mobilize women to participate in development activities | Women in purdah Community Leaders | 5 live performances 1 video drama 1 audio drama | Sensitization of community leaders 7-day sensitization workshop |
| FOMWAN-Jigawa | Jigawa State (6 LGAs) | Create awareness of fundamental rights for women Reduce traditional prejudices against women | 5,000 women in identified LGAs Youth | 5 radio discussion programs | 1 2-day TOT workshop 5 1-day workshops 1 political dialogue lunch |
| Gumel Youth Movement | Jigawa State (2 LGAs) | Create awareness of FHR/CR | Men and women in Gumel Emirate | 2,000 posters 3,000 handbills 500 stickers | 1 2-day workshop 3 1-day sensitization workshops |
| NAWOJ-Kebbi | Kebbi State (8 LGAs) | Increase coverage and visibility of women politicians Encourage and increase women's participation in politics | Women leaders and Journalists | 150 radio discussion program slots 10 TV discussion program slots | 3 1-day workshops for women leaders/politicians (18) |
| NAWOJ-Kano | Kano State (4 LGAs) | Strengthen capacity of Northern NAWOJ members to cover WPE issues Increase coverage and visibility of women politicians Support DG activities of NGOs | Women and men journalists Women leaders/politicians | 3,000 posters 200 scarves 1 TV jingle (24 radio broadcasts) 1 documentary NGO D&G activities | 2 2-day capacity-building workshops for Northern NAWOJ members (100) 3 1-day workshops for women leaders/politicians (108) |
| NAWOJ-Katsina | Katsina State | Support DG activities of NGOs Increase coverage and visibility of women politicians Strengthen capacity of Northern NAWOJ members to cover WPE issues | Women journalists Women leaders/politicians | 28 radio programs 28 TV programs 3 newsletters 1 documentary | 1 1-day workshop for women leaders/politicians 8 WPE rallies Courtesy calls on traditional leaders in 5 LGAs |
| JMA-Kano | Kano State (5 LGAs) | Create awareness of WPE among JMA constituency Strengthen capacity of JMA members to advocate for WPE | Community women | 2,000 posters 2,000 stickers 2,000 scarves | 1 2-day workshop for JMA members 6 1-day follow-up workshops at LGAs Seminar at Emir's Palace |
| FOMWAN-Katsina | Katsina, State (3 LGAs) | Sensitize and enlighten members about their civic responsibilities and rights to enable them to participate in politics | Women and FOMWAN members | 1 audio cassette on WPE 1 radio jingle broadcast (180 times) 1 TV jingle broadcast | 1 2-day TOT workshop 2 1-day LGA workshops |

SOUTHWESTERN CLUSTER

| Organization | Project Location | Key Objectives | Key Beneficiaries | IEC Materials | Other IEC Activities |
|---------------------------|--|--|--|--|--|
| MWA-Oyo | Oyo State (19 community markets in Ibadan) | Sensitize market women for more active political participation to contest elective office | Market women | 3,000 posters 150 T-shirts 1,000 measuring kongos 250 scarves | 1-day TOT workshop 19 Market-based political forums 15 follow-up meetings 1 1-day DP workshop |
| COWAD | Oyo State (Oyo Town) | Encourage youth participation in democracy Foster leadership skills among youth Improve attitudes of youth toward women's political participation | Youth Teachers and PTA members | 8,000 posters 2,000 face caps 2,500 biros | 1 2-day TOT workshop 5 2-day student workshops 20 WPE school clubs 1 WPE carnival |
| NAWOJ-Oyo | Oyo State | Support DG activities of NGOs Increase coverage and visibility of women politicians Strengthen capacity of Western NAWOJ members to cover WPE issues | Women and men journalists Women leaders/politicians | 3 newsletters 28 radio talk shows 28 TV talk shows 28 radio spots 29 articles 2,000 posters 2,000 stickers | 2 2-day workshops for NAWOJ members 2 1-day workshops for women leaders/politicians 5 WPE rallies |
| NAWOJ-Lagos | Lagos State (20 LGAs) | Support DG activities of NGOs Increase coverage and visibility of women politicians Strengthen capacity of Western NAWOJ members to cover WPE issues | Women journalists Women leaders/politicians | 2,000 posters 3,000 stickers 3 editions of newsletter 10 half-page newsletters and magazine feature articles 1 radio talk show 1 TV talk show 1 30-minute documentary (three times) 1 TV jingle | 2 2-day workshops for journalists 2 1-day workshops for leaders/politicians 1 3-day TOT workshop |
| WLDCN (worked nationally) | Abia, Anambra, Enugu, Ebonyi, Cross Rivers, Edo, Delta | Sensitization of violence against women Teach assertiveness and negotiation skills | NGOs working with women General public | 1 TV spot 1 radio spot 2,000 posters 1,000 stickers 1 video documentary 300 fact sheets | 1 3-day TOT workshop on leadership |

SOUTHEASTERN CLUSTER

| Organization | Project Location | Key Objectives | Key Beneficiaries | IEC Materials | Other IEC Activities |
|--------------|---------------------------|---|---|--|--|
| AWAC | Anambra State (7 LGAs) | Create awareness of WPE and CR among low-literate women Establish linkages between women politicians and rural women Coordinate with other DG NGOs/CBOs | Low-literate women and men Igwes (traditional rulers) | 5,000 posters 8 20-minute radio programs 2,000 stickers 400 badges 600 scarves | 8 1-day sensitization workshops for women leaders 8 visits to traditional leaders 8 market rallies |
| NAWOJ-Enugu | Enugu State | Support DG activities of NGOs Increase coverage and visibility of women politicians Strengthen capacity of Eastern NAWOJ members to cover WPE issues | Women journalists Women leaders/politicians | 6 TV talk shows 7 newspaper articles 3 cluster-based newsletters 1 radio jingle 1 TV jingle 1,000 stickers 500 scarves | 2 2-day capacity-building workshops for Eastern NAWOJ members 3 1-day workshops for women leaders/politicians 4 WPE rallies 8 press conferences |
| FIDA-Abia | Abia State (1 LGA) | Reduce traditional prejudices Create awareness of FHR Provide legal services for women | Urban and rural Umashia women residents | 1,000 posters 1 TV drama broadcast (two times) | 2 seminars 4 rallies 1 legal clinic |