



Evidence on social inclusion programming in Nigeria

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Question

What lessons can we learn from past programming approaches to tackling social exclusion/promoting inclusion in Nigeria?

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The K4D helpdesk service provides brief summaries of current research, evidence, and lessons learned. Helpdesk reports are not rigorous or systematic reviews; they are intended to provide an introduction to the most important evidence related to a research question. They draw on a rapid desk-based review of published literature and consultation with subject specialists.

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1. Summary

This rapid review has found evidence of a number of lessons from past social inclusion programming in Nigeria. Inclusion programming is understood as programmes that aim to include excluded groups in the employment market and education; as well as programmes which build the capacity of government and community based organisations (CBOs) to lobby for excluded groups and help them participate in decision-making; and those which seek to change ideas which encourage the exclusion of groups from parts of society.

The main lessons that have been drawn are:

- The importance of selection processes that target excluded individuals and are fair.
- The importance of seeking partnerships with both civil society actors and government in creating solutions, in order to help ensure they are taken by those actors, and have a better chance of staying in place.
- The value of working both to change attitudes and behaviour in the population and to change policy, so that both levels can reinforce each other.
- The limitations of programmes that help excluded individuals enter the employment market through training or access to technology, without considering the terms on which they are employed and how the market is structured.
- The importance of a rigorous evidence base for programmes to target the programme effectively and to show its effects.
- The importance of understanding how different forms communication include and exclude different audiences.

Social exclusion is when 'individuals are unable to participate fully in economic, social, political and cultural life, as well as the process leading to and sustaining such a state'.¹ It is broader than poverty as it is both an outcome and a process and includes exclusion from participation in markets, politics, education, services etc. not exclusively caused by lack of money. Many individuals are excluded on the basis of ethnic, caste, gender, political, sexual, disability status, religious or other identity. Social inclusion is defined as 'the process of improving the terms for individuals and groups to take part in society' and 'improving the ability, opportunity, and dignity of people, disadvantaged on the basis of their identity, to take part in society'.²

Despite economic growth and a transition to democracy in 1999 in Nigeria, a broad range of people are excluded from full participation in society. These include workers in the informal economy, nomadic pastoralists, ethnic and linguistic minorities, women, youth and people with disabilities (PWD) (Birchall, 2019).

Social inclusion programmes in Nigeria have sought to address these forms of exclusion by changing norms and attitudes, helping excluded individuals and groups to access the market and public services on better terms, capacity building with civil society organisations (CSOs) and government and advocacy work, amongst others. Many social inclusion aims are addressed by accountability and governance initiatives that seek to involve excluded groups in governance.

The main types of programming in Nigeria that seek to advance social inclusion are:

¹ <https://www.un.org/esa/socdev/rwss/2016/chapter1.pdf>

² <https://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/social-inclusion>

- Helping individuals excluded in some way, such as youth, enter employment with training or cash transfers.
- Building institutional capacity for organisations representing marginalised groups.
- Training community-based organisations (CBOs) in engagement with government in order to make effective demands for legislation against discrimination; services benefitting excluded groups; or more inclusive governance processes, among other goals.
- Facilitating partnerships between CBOs, traditional leaders, NGOs and government institutions.
- Training government institutions to be more responsive to demand.
- Training service providers such as schools in inclusive practices.
- Changing attitudes and behaviour through workshops and courses.
- Changing social norms in society at large through communications media and emulation of 'opinion leaders'.

This rapid literature review therefore includes evidence from a range of programmes that may involve improving inclusion, such as governance programmes, work-based initiatives and programmes to change norms, attitudes and behaviour. The review draws mostly on grey literature, most of which seeks to measure the impact of programming in terms of institutional change in CBOs and government, and attitudinal and behaviour change in citizens. It also considers some literature which analyses inclusion programming in a broader context by comparing programming strategies over time (Booth & Chambers, 2014; Punton & Burge, 2018), looking at its effect on labour markets and the experiences of informal workers (Meagher, 2015), or particular types of programming or tools for inclusion (Mann & Meagher, 2017; Wallace, 2014)

2. Individual level programmes

Inclusive market programmes

Inclusive market programmes have sought to help workers in the informal economy who have often not benefitted from market-led development. In this respect, Nigeria is less donor-dependent than other countries in the region. Programmes carried out include: **the Subsidy Reinvestment and Empowerment Programme (SURE-P)**, the **Youth Enterprise with Innovation in Nigeria Programme (YouWIN!)** and the **Youth Employment and Social Support Operation** (Meagher, 2015). These programmes typically provide training for informal workers, such as ICT training, to allow them to participate in new forms of economic activity or gain access to credit or marketing networks.

A number of ICT platforms also specifically seek to include informal workers in credit, marketing and employment networks. The authors of a recent report on ICT for inclusion across Africa suggests policymakers and regulators need to do more to ensure that workers using these valuable platforms are included in a fair way (Mann & Meagher, 2017).

According to a USAID survey, not all employment-based inclusion programmes are based on labour market assessments, youth consultations or are monitored sufficiently. There is evidence of corruption and unfair selection of beneficiaries, or politicisation of the programmes in elections. Schemes did aim to make selection processes representative, but this was not always the case. YouWin!, which gives grants for business plans submitted by young Nigerians, for

example, had a low proportion of women in its first round of applications, so made the second round women-only. YESSO is a programme to help youth employment across all states, as well as vulnerable groups such as IDPs with cash transfers. It used a database compiled by community leaders who had ranked the eligible residents. However, a survey of several programmes highlights evidence that more men than women have been involved in the schemes, and that in some schemes, only certain jobs, such as hairdressing and petty trading, are deemed suitable for women (Banfield, 2014, pp. 26–32).

Meagher (2015) criticises state employment programmes for youth and the idea of market inclusion for failing to address the structural causes of the workers' exclusion. She argues, based on fieldwork with informal workers in Kano and Kaduna, that they lead to an increase in the numbers of workers in certain fields, and therefore make it harder for some informal workers to make a living. It has also been argued, based on interviews with workers in the informal sector, that the programmes disproportionately select those with good connections. Evidence from similar programmes around the world suggests that workers who receive credit to help them participate in informal markets often end up in debt to employers, and do not enter the market on good terms. The overall effect in Kano and Kaduna has been that 'inclusive initiatives are intensifying competitive struggles within the informal economy in which stronger actors are crowding out poorer, less educated and migrant actors'. She suggests that policymakers should instead focus on addressing the structural causes of unemployment among certain sectors of the population (Meagher, 2015, p. 835).

Community-based vocational rehabilitation (CBVR)

Aims and scope

The CBVR programme aimed to facilitate Employment for People with Disabilities (PWDs). It was implemented by the International Labour Organisation, the United Nations Development Programme and state governments.

It was started as a pilot project in Oyo State in 1991, before being introduced to Osun State in 1994, Katsina in 1996, Kano in 1996, Borno in 1997 and Yola in 1998. It helped 155 people with disabilities (PWD) from 1991 to 2002.

Actions

The programme arranged apprenticeships for PWD in order to help them integrate into Nigerian society. It sought to raise public awareness through radio, television, newspapers and handbills, as well as local chiefs and traditional leaders.

To participate, PWDs had to apply, attend an interview and provide medical reports. Apprenticeships were found in the following jobs: animal husbandry, typing and shorthand, catering, batik making, carpentry, shoe making, local cloth weaving, radio and television repair, block making, wood carving, cane work, patent medicine dealership, tailoring, hairdressing, embroidery, decorating and painting, motorcycle mechanics, goldsmithing, barbering, blacksmithing and small-scale business.

The programme also helped participants with small loans to buy equipment.

Results

Of the 155 Nigerians who went through the programme from 1991 to 2002, 90% were employed. Interviews with participants, their parents and trainers reported increased sense of self-worth and

more positive perceptions of PWDs willingness to work (Alade, 2004).. This review has been unable to find out whether the programmes have been continued since 2002.

3. Community level programmes

National Commission for Nomadic Education (NCNE)

Funders and implementers

The Nigerian Government initiated the programme in 1989. It has partnered with the World Bank, the United Nations Development Programme, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), the Fulbe Development Association of Nigeria (FULDAN), the Federation of Muslim Women Association of Nigeria (FOMWAN), the ALHayah Development Association, and the Mobgal Fulbe Development Association (MOFDA).

Aims and scope

The programme aimed to provide education to Almajiri children and adults who are typically excluded from it. Almajiri is the name given to nomadic pastoralists in northern Nigeria. There are around 9.4 million in the country. Many work for their parents all the year round and move from place to place, which makes them less likely to receive schooling.

The programme has run since 1989. It has included the building of schools. For example, '[b]etween the years 2010 and 2013 alone, one hundred and seventeen (117) new model Almajiri schools were constructed in 26 (out of 36) States of Nigeria' (Olaniran, 2018, p. 119).

It has built special schools, helped implement support services for schools in areas with a large number of Almajiri children, adult education, and radio learning.

It has also built mobile schools and mobile classrooms, canoe and boat school structures, helped provide improved infrastructural facilities and helped provide extension services in schools where there are many nomadic children.

Results and lessons

A review of the NCNE's work stressed the following lessons (Olaniran, 2018):

- The importance of taking context into account, such as the language and culture of the Almajiris.
- The importance of collaboration with local leaders such as Islamic clerics.
- The need for specially trained teachers.
- The importance of political will at the federal level to ensure state governments follow suit.

Education Sector Support Programme in Nigeria (ESSPIN)

Aims and scope

DFID's Education Sector Support Programme in Nigeria (ESSPIN) (2008–17) work included the aim of '**improving inclusion policies and practices in basic education**'. It worked in six states: Enugu, Jigawa, Kaduna, Kano, Kwara and Lagos (Cameron & De, 2016, p. 10).

It sought to ensure three things:

- School-based management committees (SBMCs) function according to their roles and responsibilities set out in state policy guidelines, and women and children influence the way schools are run and play a role in school improvement.
- Community and government organisations are better able to press for school improvement.
- Schools and communities support inclusive education.

Its work included (ESSPIN, 2017):

- training for teachers and management committees.
- Ran an Islamiyya, Qur'anic and Tsangaya Education (IQTE) pilot in Kano state.
- Ran a nomadic education initiative in Jigawa state.
- Supporting inclusive policies.

Results

The programme was assessed through various benchmarks, including attainment levels for boys and girls and the use of inclusive practices. Schools that used ESSPIN programming were compared against schools that did not.

- Evidence shows that teachers who had ESSPIN training were shown to be more 'spatially inclusive' (include children sitting in all parts of the classroom) than those who had not (Daga, 2015, iii).
- It also suggests that 'teachers in ESSPIN schools are more inclusive of girls than teachers in other schools' (Daga, 2015, iii).
- Women's participation in school management was shown to be 'highly constrained'. 'However, around half of ESSPIN schools met the SBMC women's inclusiveness criteria, compared to only 3% of non-ESSPIN schools' (Daga, 2015, iii).
- Overall, it increased the number of schools with inclusive practices from 5,167 to 7,720 (5,645 with advanced inclusivity). However, this was not consistent across all states, with some exceeding and others falling short of targets (ESSPIN, 2017, pp. 14–15).
- However, differences in levels of participation and success persisted despite the programme: 'Boys perform significantly better than girls on almost all literacy and numeracy tests, wealthier pupils perform significantly better than impoverished pupils, those speaking a majority language perform significantly better on numeracy tests than those speaking a minority language, and those who live in urban areas perform significantly better than those who live in rural areas' (Daga, 2015, p. 50).

Muslim women's organisations

Muslim women's organisations in Kano states have shown to be effective in including women in governance processes (Wallace, 2014). Kano has used *sharia* law since 1999, *kulle* (seclusion of women) is practised and there are higher rates of literacy among men.

The positive effect of women-led Islamic CBOs and NGOs has been shown by research based on participant observation and interviews with women working in the following Islamic NGOs and CBOs in the state: the Grassroots Health Organization of Nigeria (GHON), the Muslim Sisters Organization (MSO), the Federation of Muslim Women's Associations in Nigeria (FOMWAN), the Women and Development Network (WODEN), the Voices of Widows, Divorcées, and Orphans

(VOWAN), and two CBOs, the Trading Cooperative and the Traditional Birth Attendants. The following advantages and lessons have been found (Wallace, 2014):

- The organisations allow women to be political, social and economic actors and to make decisions partly independently of conservative social norms and Western development demands.
- The decision to aim for multiple sources of funding gives them autonomy from donors, which allows them to exercise more agency and escape too close an association with Western donors.
- They can reach women practising *kulle* (seclusion) better than Western NGOs, because they are backed by local leaders.
- Many use Islamic texts to justify women's inclusion in certain spheres. The 'Islamic framing of rights and discourses around education, political participation, economic security, health, and so on' has been shown to be effective in advocating for more rights (Wallace, 2014). For example, some organisations show rights in an 'Islam tree'.
- The research also shows the importance of networks. NGOs – both Nigerian and foreign – can provide training and capacity building to support smaller CBOs.

Coalitions for Change (C4C)

Coalitions for Change (C4C) ran from 2007 to 2011 and cost £7.4 million. It aimed to increase accountability and inclusion, by helping civil society organisations organise and work together better.

It created coalitions of government, citizens, media, civil society and the private sector for various issues such as transparency in the oil sector, monitoring the Virtual Poverty Fund and anti-corruption.

Results

A report notes that C4C's '[i]nclusive methodology that planned with minority voices and issues was important. It was useful to build on natural coalitions of people who were already comfortable working together' (DLP, 2012, pp. 25–26).

It also suggested that issues which 'already had traction' were more successful. Two issues, anti-corruption and the Monitoring Virtual Poverty Fund, which were inherited by DFID rather than driven by citizen-demand or previously popularised by DFID, were less successful (DLP, 2012, pp. 25–26).

A later review of the Partnership to Engage, Reform and Learn (PERL) programme suggested that C4C 'projects were mostly closer to civil society advocacy campaigns and largely failed to form effective partnerships between government and citizens. Arguably the most successful project in this "first generation" was the Joint Wetlands Livelihoods (JWL) project, which started in 2001/02 and succeeded in being locally led, issues-based, and multi-stakeholder driven, with a model that did not include NGO grant funding and employed a "no branding" approach' (Punton & Burge, 2018, p. 9). Another review argues that C4C programmes were 'run as civil society advocacy campaigns' and did not build broad coalitions or improve governance (Booth & Chambers, 2014, p. 3).

Voices for Change (V4C)

Aims and scope

DFID's Voices for Change sought to change attitudes and behaviour relating to women in leadership and decision-making roles and violence against women and girls (VAWG). It worked in Enugu, Lagos, Kaduna and Kano states and targeted 3 million men and women aged 16-25. It cost £27.6million and ran from 2013 to 2017.

It focused on legal and policy change and the promotion of women's leadership, as well as generating evidence on gender.

Actions

The programme worked on two levels:

- 'Focused intensive' – in small groups, face-to-face and online. These aspects of the programme used a 'stages of change model' to stimulate self-transformation in participants. This change occurred through the following steps: 'Pre- Contemplation; Contemplation or Awareness Raising; Planning the change / persuasion; Action; and Maintenance'. The individuals targeted were also expected to lead the diffusion of new attitudes to gender, and were chosen on this basis. As part of this, they were branded 'Purple people'.
- 'At scale' – the society-wide diffusion of attitudes and behaviour. This worked by developing a 'purple brand' and contacting important people such as religious leaders and radio producers who, along with the V4C 'Purple people' would spread the new ideas. The diffusion was informed by the annual 'Attitudes, Practices and Social Norms Survey'. Diffusion activities included radio broadcasts, online activities, activities in universities, as well as work with traditional and religious leaders, men's networks and women's groups. The online activities were not restricted to the four states in which V4C worked, and those to whom the ideas were diffused were less likely to be already interested in changing gender norms (see below).

See: Figure 1: Locations of V4C communications programming, Source: https://medium.com/@DFID_Inclusive/voices-for-change-576781a5d30a

The programme was informed by, and generated, evidence on attitudes to gender in Nigeria. For example, it produced the 'Being a Man in Nigeria' and 'Young People and Change in Nigeria' studies (Denny & Hughes, 2017).

Results

Analysis conducted afterwards showed that the intensive interventions were effective in changing attitudes and behaviour, although this depended on how engaged with ideas about gender participants already were (Voices for Change, 2017, p. 3).

There is also evidence that this led to broader changes in social attitudes. The Voices for Change legacy paper notes that '[b]etween 2014 and 2017, 89% of Nigerian young people aged 16-25 in the target states – amounting to 2.4 million people – showed positive behaviour or attitude changes in at least one of the three focus areas' (Voices for Change, 2017). It points to the difficulties in attributing this to V4C, but notes that V4C's ideas were diffused widely and that greater changes in attitude correlated with the spread of V4C (Voices for Change, 2017, p. 2).

There was contradictory evidence on attitudes to violence against women and girls (VAWG). On the one hand, '[q]ualitative sources showed important change in dimensions of VAWG better understanding of the different types of VAWG; a deeper appreciation of gender issues generally, including VAWG; more willingness and ability to speak out to assert women's rights, including against VAWG; and more willingness and confidence to report VAWG.' However, '[q]uantitative sources, on the other hand, did not find overall associations, either positive or negative, with V4C programming' (Voices for Change, 2017, p. 2). Surveys showed the majority disapproved of VAWG anyway, suggesting that the incidence of VAWG was not driven by attitudes. It posits that the more mixed success of VAWG programming may be because men often hurt women behind closed doors, meaning they are less likely to be influenced by changing social norms (Voices for Change, 2017, p. 2).

The programme drew several lessons:

- branding to make the scheme coherent across different media, and to reinforce the message;
- the importance of conceptual knowledge and survey data to target interventions;
- the importance of public speaking and discussion skills so that Nigerians who have been through the V4C programme can spread its ideas effectively;
- working with men and boys to change attitudes about women;
- the importance and difficulties of change at scale. V4C used programme participants, as well as communications media, to spread its message more widely. It found that programme participants were effective at spreading ideas, but that the use of communications media needs to be carefully considered because of variations in levels of access, and in depth of engagement. In addition, it was not possible to definitively prove the effect of V4C programming on the population as a whole.;
- the role of the internet, but also other media, such as radio among poorer populations, and the importance of ensuring deep and sustained engagement online;
- the possibility of changing attitudes among conservative populations, such as women in Kano, if the message is carefully tailored to local sensibilities and through local structures;
- the importance of working at different levels, including influencing public opinion and behaviour as well as advocating for changes in policy, so that the two can reinforce each other.

4. Governance programmes

Mobilisation for Development (M4D)

Aims and scope

The programme aimed 'to support local governance with the overall aim of strengthening social accountability and tackling social exclusion focussed on engaging citizens in local government delivery of services, including those from marginalised groups.' (Perry, Murray, Walker, Faulkner, & Burge, 2018, vii). It focused on adolescent girls and people with disabilities (PWD).

The programme worked in nine targeted local government areas (LGAs) in three northern Nigerian states: Kano, Kaduna and Jigawa.

It was funded by DFID and ran from 2012 to 2018. It cost £17.5million.

Actions

The programme had six core outputs:

- Helped community-based organisations (CBOs) organise, engage and aid community demands for equitable delivery of basic services and accountability.
- Helped PWD CBOs organise and make demands. Provided skills training to help PWDs achieve economic empowerment. Helped adolescent girls organise, engage and demand equitable basic services and accountability through life skills clubs (LSCs) and other platforms.
- Increased the capacity of policymakers (PMs) and service providers (SPs) to design and deliver basic services and operate accountably.
- Focused on better-fit approaches (BFAs) to basic service delivery and accountability on targeted issues identified, developed and tested.
- Shared the solutions and innovative BFAs with targeted stakeholders.
- Ensured that evaluation, for 'improvements in programme management and delivery [was] built upon an independent and credible evidence-based approach to accountability and learning.'

Results

An evaluation was conducted based on six longitudinal case studies and two stand-alone case-studies, and monitoring data. In-depth interviews and focus groups were used. This included 'first look' and 'second look' studies.

The evaluation found that following the programme CBOs reported being more confident and skilled in making demands and engaging with policy makers. They now consulted the community and worked with other CBOs before raising demands with local government. Citizens also reported being more confident in CBOs to represent their demands. Furthermore, interviewees with policymakers, CBOs and citizens said that CBO demands to PMs 'have become more convincing and better represent a range of community views' (Perry et al., 2018, p. 40).

There were partial successes in facilitating more female involvement in governance. While women were more involved in consultation in the semi-rural area, men reported more women's engagement in governance processes than women did (Perry et al., 2018, p. 39).

The evaluation also suggested that policy makers were more responsive to engagement from CBOs (Perry et al., 2018, p. 39). There is evidence that 'CBOs have worked to ensure citizen participation in LGA budget processes: according to the survey 75% of the capital projects appearing in the 2016 and 2017 budgets of eight out of the nine M4D LGAs were part of the community demands collated and prioritised by CBOs'. This can be attributed to M4d technical support (Perry et al., 2018, p. 41). Not all demands were implemented, which can partly be attributed to resource constraints. However, there is greater transparency, with PMs logging demands better and giving reasons for rejecting certain demands (Perry et al., 2018, p. 56).

In Kano and Kaduna, 650 girls' life skills clubs (LSCs) were established. Of these, 239 were established by M4D-supported CBOs and PMs/SPs. LSCs offered training on how to actively participate in governance processes (leadership, mediation, communication, economic prudence, taxation, planning, good manners and social skills). They also offered vocational/skills training (how to make perfume, washing-up liquid, beads and incense, as well as sewing, knitting, pastry making and cooking). The girls involved in the LSCs said they understood how to make demands better and had acquired specific communication skills to do this (Perry et al., 2018, p. 43).

The girls' parents, community and traditional leaders appeared accepting of the girls participation, which has been attributed to their improved skills and contributions. There is also evidence that girls involved in LSCs are getting involved in governance. This includes attending town hall meetings, engaging with CBOs, or engaging with policymakers directly. They have made demands for school classrooms, among other things (Perry et al., 2018, p. 44). There is also some evidence of the sustainability of LSCs – Nigerian CBOs have supported LSCs and state governments included LSC funding in 2018 budgets (Perry et al., 2018, p. 46).

People with disabilities (PWD) helped by the programme have gained in confidence, while attitudes to PWD among the community have also improved, with many parents of PWD now sending them to school or to learn a trade rather than begging.

PWD have become better able to engage with policy makers, but there is little evidence that their demands are being met (Perry et al., 2018, p. 47). In all three states, there has been an increase in the number of demands made by PWD CBOs.

See: Table 1: Number of demands made by PWD CBOs, by state by year, source: (Perry et al., 2018, p. 49), http://iati.dfid.gov.uk/iati_documents/46452898.pdf

States are also involving PWD in budgeting decisions and consultation, although the degree of involvement and responsiveness varies (Perry et al., 2018, p. 50).

A number of changes have been made in states where M4D ran. These are:

- a skills acquisition centre being established in a Jigawa in 2016 and in Kano in 2017.
- Animals belonging to PWDs being treated by the mobile veterinary service
- A Disabilities Bill was passed in in Jigawa State in 2017, and similar bills are being considered in Kano and Kaduna states.

The review suggested the following recommendations and lessons (Perry et al., 2018, pp. 92–95):

- Political economy analysis to identify influential stakeholders to help ensure community participation.
- The importance of M4D's training to both CBOs and citizens, and policymakers and service providers, to encourage a more co-operative approach.
- Gaining the support of traditional and religious leaders for initiatives led by CBOs, and particularly for ideas which may be interpreted as against Nigerian, Islamic, Christian or traditional values.
- Embedding changes in state-level processes and institutions, because of the high turnover of staff and lack of funds at local government level.

- Helping to set realistic expectations among citizens regarding service delivery in order to prevent disillusionment with community driven processes.
- Include measures to help 'deliver, or mobilise, increased budget allocations' at local government level. This was a key constraint.
- Targeting communications with good research in order to involve all the relevant stakeholders and develop mutual understanding.
- Convene learning events and mechanisms for dialogue between different stakeholders across states, to help scale-up the processes M4D wanted to encourage.
- Seek to collaborate with other development NGOs and state governments to tackle broader problems which cannot be tackled with a single programme.
- Should seek to support priority programmes during times of political change. A new government may end support for certain programmes, so it is important for donors to help support programmes and CBOs which may otherwise have their support or funding from government cut.

State Accountability and Voice Initiative (SAVI)

Aims and scope

SAVI was a governance and accountability programme. SAVI ran from 2008 to 2016 and spent £34.7 million. It initially worked in Jigawa, Lagos, Enugu, Kaduna and Kano, before adding Yobe, Katsina and Zamfara in 2011 and Anambra and Niger in 2014 (Derbyshire & Donovan, 2016, p. 8).

SAVI built on the lessons on DFID's Capacity-Building for Decentralised Development (CBDD) programme, State and Local Government Programme (SGLP, 2001-2008) and Jigawa Enhancement of Wetlands Livelihoods (JEWEL) project (2002-2008). These were 'locally led, issue-based, multi-sectoral, multi-state, multi-stakeholder platform-driven' and minimised DFID/UK 'branding' (Booth & Chambers, 2014, p. 8).

The SAVI programme helped state governments organisations, civil society organisations (CSOs) and the media build capacity to engage with the government. Rather than simply funding civil society organisations DFID approved of, the programme used a 'model of facilitated multi-stakeholder engagement' to facilitate 'constructive mutual relations among key players' in civil society and government. This enabled organisations lobbying on behalf of excluded people to lobby with an idea of how policymakers might be able to respond and how to effectively engage them, and likewise helped policymakers build capacity to respond effectively to these demands (Booth & Chambers, 2014, v).

The programme aimed to improve governance. A key facet was encouraging accountability in state institutions so that they could be more responsive to excluded groups' needs and demands. It included a specific focus on promoting gender equality and social inclusion (G&SI).

The programme was staffed mostly by Nigerians, and the state programmes by indigenes of the states it worked in. This helped local institutions build capacity that will outlast the programme. It may also potentially help the programme gain more acceptances locally.⁵

Actions

SAVI undertook the following actions with regards to gender inclusion (SAVI, 2015):

- Advocacy Partnerships (APs) in maternal child health, girls' education and disability rights, tailored to each state's conditions.
- Gender and inclusion incorporated into initial political economy analysis.
- Organisational or Partnership Capacity Assessments. These are self-assessments by partners on gender and social inclusion issues.
- Created a Gender and Social Inclusion (GS&I) capacity self-assessment tool for partners to use.
- Supported the creation of 'Gender and Social Inclusion Platforms' to 'engage more broadly on these issues'. These were made up of civil society, government actors, and others.
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- The Gender and Social Inclusion Partnership (GSI) in Jigawa State.

Results

SAVI was found to have performed well. It was measured in terms of how well its partners responded to citizen demands. SAVI has been linked to the following positive outcomes (Booth & Chambers, 2014; Derbyshire & Donovan, 2016):

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- In 2008, a Gender Working Group was established in Kaduna state. It was made up of women's organisations, who SAVI helped to unite and advocate better.
- In Lagos, supported the Lagos Civil Society Disability Policy Partnership (LCSDPP). In 2012, the state passed the Special Peoples' Law on disability rights, helped by the LCSDPP's lobbying.
- In 2015, the LCSDPP worked with Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) to make a 'checklist' to ensure the election process was fully accessible to PWDs. This was adopted by INEC's national office for the national election and rolled out across the country.
- In 2013, a gender policy was enacted in Jigawa state. The policy was crafted with many groups. SAVI had helped CSOs lobby for this and Jigawa state officials asked the G&SI group to help.
- 'Domestication' of Nigeria's gender policy for application to Muslim majority populations, which has encouraged increases in female employment in teaching, nursing, midwifery and the government bureaucracy (Jigawa).
- Increased budgets for maternal and child health following SAVI-supported radio phone-in programmes (Jigawa).

⁵ In Nigeria, *indigeneship* in a particular state often confers privileged access to jobs and social status.

- SAVI supported citizen advocacy in Yobe state. In 2013, the state raised the proportion of its budget spent on health from 8% in 2012 to 10.7% in 2013. The government has now institutionalised the involvement of CSOs in annual budgets.

5. Lessons learned

Market inclusion and individually focused programmes

Market inclusion has been made easier by mobile phone technology, market-led programmes and training programmes focused on the informal economy. Although Nigeria's economy has grown significantly in recent decades, levels of poverty and unemployment remain high. Certain groups, such as youth, refugees or internally displaced persons, or ethnic or religious minorities, are disproportionately affected. A number of programmes have been run, by the Nigerian state and development actors, to train unemployed youth for work, or to give informal workers better access to markets and credit from which they have been excluded using mobile phone and internet technology. However, research has shown that such programmes sometimes may have the effect of flooding informal economies which are already saturated because of economic difficulties in certain states. There is also evidence that they do not have fair or rigorous selection procedures and thus exclude those informal workers without the contacts or capital to access such opportunities. State programmes seldom address structural causes of unemployment or lack of skills and are often reactive or electorally driven, and therefore do not always consider the longer-term impacts (Banfield, 2014; Meagher, 2015).

ICT can allow informal workers to be included, but this inclusion is not always on better terms. A policy paper on inclusion using ICT across Africa argues that ICT may allow informal workers to get better access to market information or credit, but it can also entrench insecure employment, lock them into the use of privately owned ICT platforms, or 'open up informal livelihoods to greater control and intervention by formal actors, potentially undermining economic inclusion goals by exposing informal actors to more powerful competitors' (Mann & Meagher, 2017).

Changing norms

The effect of programming on changing norms is hard to measure definitively. However, recent programmes emphasise the importance of a good evidence base to understand existing norms and how many people have seen or heard the ideas that programmes seek to spread (Voices for Change, 2017). M4D developed an evidence base to show where M4D ideas and practices have been taken up by policymakers, and to target relevant policymakers and civil society actors effectively (Perry et al., 2018, p. 59). Voices for Change -had success in promoting increasing awareness of VAWG, and increased willingness to speak out, but this was not consistent across states or between genders. In Kano, men expressed more approval of VAWG after V4C programming. In Kano and Kaduno, men recognised V4C reported more VAWG occurring, but women reported less. It suggests 'intensive' interventions were more effective than 'at scale' ones which depicted but did not discuss VAWG, because the latter may have had to unintended effect of normalising VAWG in some cases. It also argues that '[a]s a primarily private "behind closed doors" practice, VAWG may not be subject to social norms programming via the same pathways as more public behaviour – other factors beyond social norms may be holding VAWG in place.'

In a number of contexts, terms such as gender are perceived as Western. **Programming has found it useful to re-describe its inclusion work in terms more likely to win support from conservative elites.** Muslim women's NGOs were shown to be effective at articulating rights and equality in terms relevant to Islamic texts (Voices for Change, 2017; Wallace, 2014).

Communications

The internet and radio have been shown to be effective in delivering inclusion messages at scale (Voices for Change, 2017). However, internet access varies by region and wealth.. In the V4C programme, **engagement with the internet was not always as deep and sustained as in-person classes.** The 'focused intensive' programming that V4C used to change attitudes required a step model involving pre-contemplation, contemplation or awareness raising, planning the change/persuasion, action, and maintenance. V4C's report found that some online engagement was superficial and ineffective, and advised that V4C employ people to help make sure that Nigerians accessing their online programmes engage sufficiently with them. While communications media were important in delivering messages to different stakeholders and citizens in general, the success of the message partly depended on what the recipient already believed and they context in which they lived. V4C found that results for violence against women and girls programming varied by state (Voices for Change, 2017)..

Attention to local political and institutional dynamics

DFID programmes since the 2000s have sought to focus on facilitating partnerships rather than adversarial relationships between civil society and Nigerian state institutions. They have also sought to build the capacity of both state and civil society institutions to increase accountability for marginalised groups.

A recent report on DFID's SAVI programme argues for an approach which facilitates partnerships between CBOs, citizens and state organisations. M4D similarly found success with approaches that focused on capacity building for CBOs and government, and focusing on facilitating citizens and governments to work together (Booth & Chambers, 2014, v; Perry et al., 2018, p. 74).

Evidence from both local organisations and DFID programmes suggests that programming that seeks to change policy and law through advocacy is more effective when it is integrated carefully into existing political and social structures. The SAVI programme and Mobilisation for Development (M4D) both sought to increase the capacity of citizens, civil society organisations and state bodies to engage with each other.

Programming that seeks to increase the effectiveness of CBO lobbying for excluded groups, or programming that seeks to change attitudes and behaviour harmful to excluded groups, has also found that working with traditional and religious leaders is also necessary, and important to gain acceptance for policies and ideas (Perry et al., 2018; Voices for Change, 2017; Wallace, 2014).

Working on multiple levels

Some of the larger programmes, such as M4D and V4C, sought to work on multiple levels to reinforce effects. Individually targeted programmes might impact on an individual, but that individual will not necessarily reach out to others to change attitudes at scale, and the programme is unlikely to do much to alter the structural causes of the exclusion. For example, the CBVR programme was shown to improve attitudes to PWD among friends and family of the participants but, as a relatively small-scale programme, did not spread its ideas any wider. V4C,

a much larger programme, sought to use individuals who had been through their intensive programmes as 'brand ambassadors', and to reinforce changes at different levels.

For structural change, **governance programmes are needed to institutionalise mechanisms that can help ensure inclusion such as continued funding for programmes, forums for discussion and laws or policies.** They can be difficult to work on because of factors such as changes in personnel.

Selection criteria

Programmes which focus on individuals should also pay close attention to selection criteria and methods. Most programmes for social inclusion target populations identified as excluded in some way. However, some employment programmes ask for applications and there is evidence they are susceptible to cronyism or political pressures (Banfield, 2014; Meagher, 2015).

While community programmes can include a broader range of people, CBOs do not always consult all citizens, and citizens do not always have confidence in CBOs. M4D, for example, sought to improve citizens' engagement with CBOs, and CBOs responsiveness. Surveys show that citizens' generally felt CBOs were more responsive to their demands following the programme, and that women were being included in discussions more often (although less so in rural areas) (Perry et al., 2018, pp. 38–39).

Sustainability

Evidence on the sustainability of programmes is limited. Several evaluations, such as that of M4D, sought to measure the longer term impacts of the programmes and whether their aims were being continued by CBOs or government institutions. Programmes such as ESSPIN, M4D and SAVI have also sought to consider ways to make their programmes more sustainable by considering local institutions and politics and provide some lessons on how this might be achieved (ESSPIN, 2017, pp. 41–43). There are no formal studies of sustainability, however.

Governments have shown interest in replicating M4D-led programmes, but there is as yet less definite support in budgets for this. Several programmes sought to measure the sustainability of the changes they encouraged following the end of the programme. In M4D, it was found that local government authorities did not always have the authority or institutional memory to institutionalisation changes that encourage inclusivity or accountability. Some accountability mechanisms have become institutionalised. However, **the strongest evidence of sustainability was among demand-side organisations – CBOs and girls' platforms**, which have been working independently of M4D (Perry et al., 2018, p. 69).

However, programmes such as SAVI could point to a number of policy changes the Disabilities Bill in Jigawa in 2017 or the Special Peoples' Law on disability rights in Lagos in 2012.

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