



Final Evaluation Report

# Mobilising for Development Independent Evaluation Manager (IEM)

Date: 28 November 2018

Authors: Chris Perry, Aoife Murray, David Walker and Sally Faulkner, with technical inputs from Richard Burge

Submitted by Itad

In association with TfDC

### Disclaimer

The views expressed in this report are those of the evaluators. They do not represent those of the DFID, M4D or of any of the individuals and organisations referred to in the report.

'Itad' and the tri-colour triangles icon are a registered trademark of ITAD Limited.

## Contents

<b>List of acronyms</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>Executive summary</b>	<b>vii</b>
<b>1 Introduction</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>2 Context</b>	<b>14</b>
2.1 Rationale	15
2.2 Theory of change	15
2.3 M4D's approach	16
2.4 Synergies with other programmes	16
<b>3 Purpose, scope and objectives</b>	<b>16</b>
3.1 Background	16
3.2 Objective and purpose	17
3.3 Changes to the TOR	17
3.4 Scope	18
<b>4 Evaluation design and methodology</b>	<b>19</b>
4.1 Evaluation questions	19
4.2 Approach	20
4.3 Theory of change	20
4.4 Data collection and analytical methods	23
4.5 Analysis and synthesis	25
4.6 Implementation	26
4.7 Independence	31
4.8 Limitations	31
<b>5 Analysis and findings</b>	<b>34</b>
5.1 Synthesised and summarised micro-ToC narrative	34
5.2 Are CBOs effective pathways for community participation in governance processes? <b>[Relevance]</b>	38
5.3 How useful is the Learning and Life Skills Club concept to adolescent girls and the community? <b>[Relevance]</b>	42
5.4 How effective has M4D's support been to PWD? <b>[Effectiveness]</b>	47
5.5 What factors lead PMs and SPs to respond to citizens' demands? <b>[Effectiveness]</b>	52
5.6 How are M4D's communications supporting replication and scale-up? <b>[Effectiveness]</b>	57
5.7 How effective is M4D's strategy on BFAs? <b>[Effectiveness]</b>	61

5.8	How effective is M4D's overall strategy in ensuring replication, crowding-in and scaling-up? <b>[Effectiveness]</b>	66
5.9	What processes of accountable and responsive local governance supported by M4D are likely to continue without external assistance? <b>[Sustainability]</b>	69
5.10	What are the mechanisms through which improvements in accountability and responsiveness lead to improvements in basic services? <b>[Relevance]</b>	74
5.11	Is citizens' access to, use of, and satisfaction with basic services improving in M4D LGAS? <b>[Impact]</b>	76
5.12	Summary of conclusions against micro-ToC change pathways	82
<b>6</b>	<b>Recommendations</b>	<b>92</b>
<b>7</b>	<b>Lessons learned</b>	<b>94</b>
<b>8</b>	<b>Communication of evaluation findings and recommendations</b>	<b>96</b>
	<b>Annex 1: IEM Terms of reference</b>	<b>98</b>
	<b>Annex 2: Evaluation design and methodology</b>	<b>110</b>
	Evaluation questions	110
	Overall approach	112
	Data sources	113
	Methods and analysis	116
	Ethics	122
	<b>Annex 3: M4D Theory of Change</b>	<b>123</b>
	<b>Annex 4: Consolidated micro-ToCs with key change pathways identified</b>	<b>124</b>
	<b>Annex 5: Mapping of change pathways against evaluation questions and research topics</b>	<b>125</b>
	<b>Annex 6: Achieved sample</b>	<b>126</b>
	<b>Annex 7: Case study micro theories of change and research objectives</b>	<b>130</b>
	Case study 1: The role of community-based organisations as pathways for inclusive community participation in governance	130
	Case study 2: Factors that support or constrain policy makers' and service providers' response to citizens' demands	131
	Case study 3: The role of life skills clubs in promoting basic service delivery and accountability	132
	Case study 4: The effectiveness of the better-fit approach in promoting improved basic service delivery and accountability	134
	Case study 5: The effectiveness of M4D's support to people with disabilities	136
	Case study 6: The effectiveness of M4D's overall strategy in ensuring replication and scale-up of successful initiatives	138

Case study 7: Processes of accountable and responsive governance supported by M4D that are likely to continue without external assistance	139
Case study 8: Key influencing factors that contribute to improvements in local governance and the success of the M4D programme	141
<b>Annex 8: Bibliography</b>	<b>142</b>

## List of acronyms

AGs	Adolescent Girls
ARCS	Accountability, Responsiveness and Capacity Scale
BFA	Better-Fit Approach
CBR	Community-Based Rehabilitation
CBO	Community-Based Organisation
CDAS	Community Dialogue Action Scorecard
CDAS+	Girls Platforms' Community Dialogue Action Scorecard
DFID	Department for International Development (UK)
DRF	Drugs Revolving Fund
EDD	Evaluation Design Document
EQ	Evaluation Question
ESC	Evaluation Steering Committee
ESSPIN	Education Sector Support Programme in Nigeria
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HDI	Human Development Index
HoD	Head of Department
IDI	In-Depth Interview
IGA	Income-Generating Asset
IEM	Independent Evaluation Manager
ILGP	Integrated Local Government Planning
LG	Local Government
LGA	Local Government Authority
LSC	Life Skills Club
MDA	Ministries, Departments and Agencies
M4D	Mobilising for Development
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
MTR	Mid-Term Review
MVS	Mobile Veterinary Service
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
PCSMS	Participatory Community Service Management System
PERL	Partnership to Engage, Reform and Learn
PHC	Primary Healthcare

PM	Policymaker
PWD	People with Disabilities
RINCOF	Ringim Committee of Friends
SAVI	State Accountability and Voice Initiative
SCE	Second Chance Education
SEQAS	Specialist Evaluation and Quality Assurance Service
SIAP	Service Improvement Action Plan
SP	Service Provider
SPARC	State Partnership for Accountability, Responsiveness and Capability
TfDC	Theatre for Development Centre
ToC	Theory of Change
TOR	Terms of Reference
USAID	US Agency for International Development
V2P	Voice to the People
WASH	Water, Sanitation and Hygiene

## Executive summary

**Nigeria's poverty rates are high and unequal and the country has experienced economic difficulties as a result the 2014 fall in oil prices.**

Around 60 million out of 170 million Nigerians live below the national poverty line, with a further 60 million people living not far above it.<sup>1</sup> Gross Domestic Product (GDP) grew at an average of 5.7% per annum between 2006–16 driven by volatile oil prices and reached a low of -1.5% in 2016.<sup>2</sup> As oil prices dominate the country's growth pattern, the onset of the oil price shock in 2014 sent the economy into decline – returning to growth only in the second quarter of 2017.<sup>3</sup>

**Governance institutions are both part of the problem and the potential solution.** While many Nigerian states are demonstrating progress towards undertaking internal reforms and awareness of the gains to be made by delivering better quality services to their public, governance systems continue to lack accountability and are based on diversion of public resources, corruption and patronage.<sup>4</sup>

**To help Nigeria achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in the north, the Department for International Development (DFID) funded a £17.5 million six-year (2012–2018) programme called Mobilising for Development (M4D).** The Programme has been designed 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. M4D worked in nine targeted local government areas (LGAs) in three northern Nigerian states: Kano, Kaduna and Jigawa.

**The role of Independent Evaluation Manager (IEM) was subcontracted by M4D and was**

**conducted by Itad from November 2014 to May 2018,<sup>5</sup> beginning shortly after the inception phase and running parallel with the implementation of the Programme.** The objective of the IEM is to: *'identify and evaluate the causal mechanisms through which the M4D programme aims to make policymakers (PMs) and service providers (SPs) in three Nigerian States more accountable and responsive to citizens. This includes assessment of specific projects supported by the M4D programme, the strengths and weaknesses of M4D and its approach as a whole, and the individual approaches adopted by programme partners.'*<sup>6</sup> The total revised budget for the IEM is £681,475.

The **impact** to which M4D is intended to contribute is: *'Demonstrate improvements in citizens' access to, use of and satisfaction with improved basic services, particularly for marginalised groups.'*<sup>7</sup>

The programme's intended **outcome** is: *'Policy Makers and Service Providers are more responsive and accountable to citizens' better articulated demands and entitlements, especially adolescent girls (AG) and people with disability (PWD).'*<sup>8</sup> To achieve these outcomes, the Programme aims to deliver the following **outputs**:

1. Community-based organisations (CBOs) organised, engaged and aiding community demands for equitable delivery of basic services and accountability.
2. PWD CBOs and platforms of girls organised, engaged and demanding equitable basic services and accountability.

<sup>1</sup> *Nigeria Economic Report*, The World Bank (August 2014). <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/684961468197340692/Nigeria-economic-report>. Nigeria's human development indicators are also worse than in comparable lower middle-income countries. UNDP Human Development Index 2011. <http://hdr.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/NGA>.

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/nigeria/overview>

<sup>3</sup> This growth is driven by the recovery of oil production, sustained growth in agriculture, and the positive impact on investment and other private sector activities from the improved availability of foreign exchange to support imports (World Bank 2018).

<sup>4</sup> *Business Case: Nigeria Public Sector Accountability and Governance Programme*, DFID (2015).

<sup>5</sup> The Itad-led IEM began approximately six months after DFID had invoked the pause clause in the previous IEM providers contract at the end of the inception phase.

<sup>6</sup> *IEM terms of reference*.

<sup>7</sup> *M4D Theory of Change*

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*.



3. Increased capacity of PMs and SPs to design and deliver basic services and operate accountably.
4. Better-fit approaches (BFAs) to basic service delivery and accountability on targeted issues identified, developed and tested.
5. Solutions and innovative BFAs promoted and shared with targeted stakeholders.

In addition to these five core outputs, a sixth has been added which relates to the work of this evaluation and which will result in *'improvements in programme management and delivery built upon an independent and credible evidence-based approach to accountability and learning.'*<sup>9</sup>

**The scope of the IEM has been to explore, using exclusively qualitative methods, how and why the M4D Programme achieves (or not) the results highlighted above.** There is an explicit focus on assessing the causal mechanisms and contexts in which the results are delivered. The evaluation is therefore concentrating on 'output to outcome' and 'outcome to impact' causality. It does not attempt to establish the extent to which M4D outcome or impact targets were achieved. Specific links in the M4D Theory of Change (ToC) were explored, assessing their strength and explaining how and why an intervention works or does not work.

**The evaluation assesses results in specific contexts over time and has covered a subset of M4D interventions which are together representative of the M4D ToC as a whole.** The evaluation has captured government, CBO, and citizen perspectives, including those of disadvantaged groups (PWD, girls and women). The evaluation has also explored what alternative explanations there might be for observed changes, and how credible is the claim for M4D's contribution.

**The M4D ToC forms the basis for the evaluation design and the selection and prioritisation of areas of investigation under the evaluation.** To help strengthen the evaluability of the Programme, we are using 'micro-ToCs' that are nested within the overall programme ToC to

elaborate the causal chain of various components of the Programme. These micro-ToCs are intended to magnify particular parts of the overall programme ToC by providing more detail on intermediate changes and specific contributory factors in particular contexts.

**The IEM has adopted a purely qualitative approach, consisting of longitudinal and stand-alone case studies and triangulation with M4D's project-monitoring data.** The IEM has carried out six longitudinal case studies and two stand-alone case studies. Each case study examined an aspect of M4D's work (e.g. related to causal pathways in the ToC) for specific cases (e.g. M4D partners and partner organisations) across multiple contexts (i.e. locations in which M4D works). Each case study maps to two or more of ten evaluation questions (EQs) and the design of each was informed by research topics developed in collaboration with DFID and M4D. Six of the eight case studies were implemented using a longitudinal design that included a 'first look' study and 'second look' study – staggered across two rounds to enable evidence and learning to be made available to the Programme and stakeholders during the lifetime of M4D.

**Case study primary data sources were in-depth-interviews (IDIs) and focus group discussions (FDGs) with different stakeholder groups.** Specific samples were prepared for each case study and were designed with reference to location (state, LGA and wards) and the types of partners or partner organisations with whom M4D works (e.g. CBOs, PWDs, citizens). Case study field work and the writing-up of transcripts was carried out by the IEM Nigerian research partner, the Theatre for Development Centre (TfDC). Individual case study reports were prepared by members of the core IEM team based on TfDC transcripts.

**Cross-cutting issues which the EQs and case studies address include gender, social inclusion, capacity building and power relations.** Issues of poverty, human rights and HIV/AIDS, environment and anti-corruption are not explicitly addressed as these are outside the

---

<sup>9</sup> M4D logframe

scope of the evaluation as determined by the M4D ToC.

**In addition to case study reports, over the lifetime of the evaluation the IEM prepared four briefing notes on common findings/lessons and two case study synthesis reports.** Briefing notes were produced at key points throughout the evaluation which synthesise and compare case study findings as well as integrate and triangulate findings against other M4D monitoring and evaluation (M&E) information. The two case study synthesis reports synthesise 'first look' and 'second look' case study findings respectively – drawing conclusions around patterns where there is consistent evidence of outputs leading to outcomes and outcomes leading to impacts.

**The analysis and main findings documented in the IEM Final Evaluation Report are presented against the ten EQs.** The ten EQs being examined are presented below together with a summary of the main evaluation findings. Each EQ is associated with the relevant Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) Development Assistance Committee (DAC) evaluation criterion.

**1. Are CBOs effective pathways for community participation in governance processes?**

**[Relevance]:** The confidence of citizens in the ability of CBOs has grown, engagement between CBOs and PMs/SPs has become more effective, and CBOs are now articulating citizens' demands more capably. As a result, local governance processes have improved, including the involvement of women, though the views of men and women appear to differ over what this means in practice. There are concerns that if PMs/SPs fail to respond to demands and don't improve services, for example due to lack of funding, this positive change in engagement may be undermined.

**2. How useful is the learning and Life Skills Club (LSC) concept to AGs and the community? [Relevance]:** LSCs and girls' platforms have become increasingly well established and demonstrate increased influence on PMs/SPs. The most important things which girls' reported they had learned

from their involvement in LSCs appears to be making demands, acquiring social and behavioural skills, improving income-generating opportunities and valuing education more. Parental and community, and local government acceptance of girls' platforms and LSCs, together with evidence of replication in non-M4D LGAs point toward them being sustainable, though evidence of LGAs allocating funding towards this is more evident in Jigawa than in Kaduna or Kano.

**3. How effective has M4D's support been to PWD? [Effectiveness]:** PWD have, with the support of M4D, gained in self-confidence, further enabled by a positive change in attitudes towards PWD among family and community members. PWD CBOs now appear to be more organised and are engaging more with PMs/SPs, though this is more evident in Kano State. Nevertheless, it appears that only PWD demands which are not capital intensive are being met, and the fact that they are included in LGA budgets but not delivered appears to be contributing to a slowdown in the number of demands being made.

**4. What factors lead PMs and SPs to respond to citizens' demands? [Effectiveness]:** Improvements in the capabilities of CBOs, PWD CBOs and girls' platforms and those of LGA-level PMs/SPs, enabled by M4D support, have contributed to higher levels of engagement between these groups and a general improvement in the responsiveness and accountability of PMs/SPs as a result. Aided by more systematic logging of demands by PMs/SPs, the demands of citizens are increasingly being incorporated into LGA budgets and plans. There has been progress in implementing responses to these plans, although these are low capital intensive, primarily because of resource constraints faced by LGAs.

**5. How are M4D's communications supporting replication and scale-up? [Effectiveness]:** Over the lifetime of the Programme, M4D has expanded the range of channels it uses to reach stakeholders and promote replication and scale-up. Lessons shared by M4D appear to have been taken up by a

range of stakeholders, including CBOs, traditional leaders and PMs/SPs, as well as having gained recognition among a wider pool of actors. These outcomes have been aided by improved communications targeting by M4D, which has improved the flow and uptake of M4D lessons.

**6. How effective is M4D's strategy on BFAs?**

**[Effectiveness]:** Among the BFAs examined under the evaluation, there appears to have been a good level of buy-in for the BFAs at the LGA and state levels. The M4D strategy of being politically neutral and ensuring that BFAs complemented the work of PMs/SPs also appears to have been a key factor in this. There is increasing evidence of CBOs and PMs/SPs advocating for the replication of BFAs (though less so in Kaduna State) and of LGAs seeking to replicate and scale up BFAs, including incorporating them in LGA budgets in some instances. However, as with other initiatives supported by M4D, the availability of LGA funding for BFAs was often cited as a major challenge.

**7. How effective is M4D's overall strategy in ensuring replication, crowding-in and scaling-up? [Effectiveness]:** M4D has gained interest amongst PMs/SPs by demonstrating the effectiveness of multiple types of intervention, although the potential for sustained replication, scale-up and crowding-in remains limited unless core resourcing issues are addressed. The positive feedback loop between gains in LGA responsiveness and accountability on the one hand, and the demonstration of effective M4D interventions on the other, has contributed to PMs/SPs responding more efficiently and positively to requests for replication, adaption and scale-up.

**8. What processes of accountable and responsive local governance supported by M4D are likely to continue without external assistance? [Sustainability]:** The processes which exhibit the strongest signs of sustainability include CBO coalitions, LSCs which are being replicated by CBOs in non-M4D LGAs, accountability BFAs, and town hall meetings, interface meetings and participatory budgeting appear to have

become increasingly routine. However, as indicated earlier, uncertainties over future funding and the potential for stakeholder confidence being undermined due to demands not being met, represent serious threats to sustainability. M4D's own end-of-programme assessments suggest that evidence of changes being sustainable is far more evident in demand-side organisations (e.g. CBOs, PWD CBOs and girls' platforms) compared to the supply-side (i.e. government organisations).

**9. What are the mechanisms through which improvements in accountability and responsiveness lead to improvements in basic services? [Relevance]:**

As highlighted within the analysis of other EQs, behaviour change among, and between, CBOs, CBO PWDs, girls' platforms and LGA-level PMs/SPs has been an important mechanism, with these groups now better recognising the value of working together. This has enabled another important mechanism to become evident: the incorporation of evidence-based and inclusive citizen demands within LGA budgets and plans. However, one key mechanism does not appear to be widely evident, that of state government releasing sufficient funds to implement LGA budgets and meet citizens' demands.

**10. Are citizens' access to, use of, and satisfaction with basic services improving in M4D LGAs? [Impact]:**

Both IEM case study findings and M4D M&E data suggest that there have been improvements in the water sector, as well as in the health and education sectors. The improvements appear most evident for women and girls, but access to services among PWD still remains poor. A range of stakeholders (including ward CBO and PWD CBO members, two groups of girls, two formal PMs/SPs) reported no improvements in service delivery and pointed to examples of community self-help in the absence of government support. Where there have been improvements, many respondents attributed these to the work of NGOs and donor projects rather than government.

**Based on the evaluation analysis and main findings the following recommendations are proposed** for DFID to consider when designing interventions aimed at strengthening local governance processes, primarily in Nigeria but also in other similar contexts, and for managers of ongoing development interventions in Nigeria:

1. Political economy analysis or 'power mapping' should be embedded in all future programming and be incorporated within capacity building provided to CBOs.
2. When designing programmes or interventions that aim to strengthen community-driven development in Nigeria, DFID and/or development programmes should ensure that strategies are included which aim to gain the support of traditional and religious leaders.
3. To ensure that more accountable and responsive behaviours exhibited by LGA-level PMs/SPs are sustained, future LGA-focussed programming should also include initiatives that aim to strengthen state government-level policies and procedures that influence these behaviours.
4. DFID governance programmes should exercise caution when supporting initiatives which raise expectations of better service delivery among citizens where there is little chance of this being feasible in practice, otherwise the credibility of community-driven processes may be undermined in the medium term.
5. When designing future governance programmes that support community-driven development, DFID should include explicit measures that aim to deliver, or mobilise, increased budget allocations for responding to local development plans.
6. DFID and other development programmes should aim to maximise impact by promoting successful interventions through multiple communications channels, underpinned by a well-maintained communication strategy.
7. In order to support replication and scale up, development programmes in Nigeria should invest in promoting successful interventions

through convening learning events and establishing mechanisms of cross-state dialogue and between different groups of stakeholders (e.g. PMs/SPs, CBOs, PWD CBOs).

8. DFID should identify options, or mechanisms, for incentivising different development programmes to more effectively collaborate around specific core governance issues or problems, particularly where they are connected to other development programmes which are focused on service delivery issues.
9. DFID should review opportunities for support to be provided under its ongoing portfolio of programmes in Nigeria to help strengthen the resilience of promising initiatives supported by M4D to political change over the next 12 months.

**Based on the evaluation main findings the following lessons learned are identified** for DFID Nigeria and other development programmes to consider when making adaptations in their approaches within similar contexts.

1. Building coalitions among CBOs, citizens and religious and traditional leaders is an effective way to amplify the influence and impact of lobbying efforts.
2. Training provided by M4D to PMs, SPs, CBOs and citizens is consistently referred to as a key catalyst for providing actors with technical know-how, confidence and network connections regarding situation analysis (power and stakeholder mapping), budgeting (costing and prioritisation) and process issues (negotiation and framing demands).
3. A more focussed communications strategy prepared by M4D enabled the Programme to orient its activities concerning the replication, adaptation and scale-up of interventions to greater effect.
4. Encouraging replication and scale-up also demands a specific set of activities, including media work, advocacy and events to disseminate and encourage best practice.

5. The fundamental lesson that enabled M4D to achieve components of its strategy for promoting replication, scale-up and adaptation of interventions was the holistic perspective relating to changes in the governance system.
6. Specific efforts to reach out to PWD and AGs can deliver real results.
7. In terms of PWD, AGs and marginalised communities, it seems that LGAs tend to wait for inclusive legislation to be brought in at the state level, rather than be more proactive in their response.
8. In the current restricted funding environment, CBOs and citizens should be encouraged to consider how to prioritise the available funds, as well as demanding additional funding for new services.
9. Self-help approaches to funding are inevitable, but if they are not linked to government funding they risk undermining a governance approach.
10. The demand platforms, as demonstrated by the PCSMS, have proved to be critical in capturing, consolidating and progressing the demands of citizens and CBOs among PMs and SPs.

**The main limitation of the evaluation is that it uses purely qualitative approaches. There are also several specific limitations associated with the case studies.** Identified biases include:

selection bias in research sites, group biases in focus groups, response bias and translation issues. The IEM has adopted actions to mitigate these and has sought to understand any implication for evaluation findings and conclusions.

**An Evaluation Steering Committee (ESC) has played an important role in governance of the IEM contract.** The ESC has been the key governance body for the IEM with the core mandate to validate that key evaluation processes and products are independent, robust and credible, and that they fulfil the intended objectives and purpose of the evaluation.

**The IEM team has ensured that the evaluation adhered to ethical standards for evaluations and the DFID Ethics Principles for Research and Evaluation.**<sup>10</sup> The confidentiality of information and privacy and anonymity of study participants have been ensured, with all interviewees notified at the beginning of interviews that any information they provide will be confidential. Interview notes are stored securely and accessible only to the team, and will be destroyed after the evaluation has been finalised. Individual names and other personally identifiable information have not been used in any reports unless explicit permission was given by the interviewees. Participation in research and evaluation was voluntary and free from external pressure and inclusive. Separate IDIs and FGDs were held for specific M4D beneficiary groups covering women, AGs and PWD.

---

<sup>10</sup> *DFID Ethics Principles for Research and Evaluation*, DFID (July 2011).



# 1 Introduction

**The £17.5 million Mobilising for Development (M4D) Programme aimed to improve policymakers' (PMs) and service providers' (SPs) responsiveness and accountability towards citizens' better articulated demands and entitlements, especially adolescent girls (AGs) and people with disabilities (PWD).** Funded by the UK Department for International Development (DFID), the total budget was £17.5m over a six-year programme cycle (May 2012–18). M4D aimed to build capacity of supply- and demand-side stakeholders and identify Better Fit Approaches (BFAs) to service delivery by combining detailed political economy assessments with the latest thinking on improving governance programming in Africa. The Programme places an emphasis on experimenting with and learning from new and innovative approaches to produce lessons from which DFID and others can draw.

**The M4D evaluation was funded by DFID, conducted by Itad (as the IEM), and ran from 1 November 2014 to 15 May 2018,<sup>11</sup> beginning shortly after the inception phase and running parallel with the implementation of the Programme.** The evaluation had a focus on both learning and accountability, as expressed in its objective (see Annex 1 Terms of Reference) and purpose:

- To identify and evaluate the causal mechanisms through which the M4D Programme aims to make PMs and SPs in three Nigerian States more accountable and responsive to citizens.
- To measure the level of success of M4D interventions as well as how successful certain interventions were relative to other interventions.

The evaluation included an assessment of specific projects supported by M4D, the strengths and weaknesses of its approach, and the individual approaches adopted by programme partners. Specifically, it encompassed six 'first look' case studies, six 'second look' case studies, two stand-alone case studies, the development of four learning notes which fed back key learning to the programme team, a 'first look', and 'second look' case study synthesis findings report, which presented conclusions against the main change pathways in the overall M4D theory of change (ToC). This final report summarises insights from across all of these components.

The main intended users of the evaluation are M4D's management team, the Evaluation Steering Committee and DFID. Insights are also of relevance to other DFID-funded local governance programmes, including service-delivery support interventions, and programmes developing evidence bases of 'what works' in various sectors and contexts, particularly as this relates to building collective action and the role collection action plays in improving service delivery.

**The report is structured as follows:**

- **Section 2** describes the context and approach.
- **Section 3** outlines the purpose, scope and objectives of the evaluation.
- **Section 4** presents the evaluation approach and methodology.
- **Section 5** presents the analysis of the evaluation and the main findings for each evaluation question.
- **Section 6** presents recommendations for DFID and other development programmes working in Nigeria.
- **Section 7** draws out lessons for future programmes.

---

<sup>11</sup> The Itad-led IEM began approximately six months after DFID had invoked the pause clause in the previous IEM providers contract at the end of the inception phase.

## 2 Context

Nigeria's poverty rates are high and unequal – despite being the largest economy in Africa – with around 60 million out of 170 million Nigerians living below the national poverty line, with a further 60 million people living not far above it.<sup>12</sup> The gross domestic product (GDP) grew at an average of 5.7% per annum between 2006-16 driven by volatile oil prices and reached a low of -1.5% in 2016.<sup>13</sup> As oil prices dominate the country's growth pattern, the onset of the oil price shock in 2014 sent the economy into decline – returning to growth only in the second quarter of 2017.<sup>14</sup>

Between 2005-15, Nigeria made progress in socio-economic terms as the country's human development index (HDI) value increased by 13.1%.<sup>15</sup> In 2015, Nigeria's value was 0.527, ranking it in the low human development group, however, the value is above average in this group and for sub-Saharan Africa.<sup>16</sup> However, the country continues to face ongoing developmental challenges which include diversifying the economy, addressing insufficient infrastructure, and building strong and effective institutions, as well as governance issues, public financial management systems and the living conditions of the population. Inequality (income and opportunities) has been growing rapidly and has adversely affected poverty reduction. Discounting the aforementioned HDI value for inequality, it falls to 0.328 – representing a loss of 37.8% in the inequality distribution of HDI indices.<sup>17</sup>

The divide between the north and south has continued to widen due to the Boko Haram insurgency and a lack of economic development in the north. Poverty is comparably worse in the north<sup>18</sup>, with large pockets of the population still living without adequate access to basic services, and a lack of job opportunities at the core of regional inequality and rising social and political unrest.<sup>19</sup> In particular, AGs and women are disproportionately affected by underdevelopment in the north.<sup>20</sup> Since 2012, the political economy has continued to evolve at the local and state levels. In 2015, the fifth consecutive national elections witnessed a change in government from the People's Democratic Party (PDP) to the Buhari-led All Progressives Congress (APC) – and significantly was the first peaceful transfer of power between two political parties in the country's history.<sup>21</sup> As Nigeria's federation structure gives significant autonomy to states, the change in government also resulted in a change in the state-level executive governorships to APC representatives. The economic environment has been volatile: having entered into recession has resulted in significant reductions and delays in the allocations and release of federal funds to state level budgets, which has directly affected the ability of local government (LG) to function. This period of fiscal uncertainty followed the ending of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) funding in 2012, which resulted in the LGs becoming fully dependent on dwindling state-level resources.

Governing institutions are therefore part of the problem and the potential solution: while many Nigerian states are demonstrating progress towards internal reforms and awareness of the gains to be made by

<sup>12</sup> Nigeria's human development indicators are also worse than in comparable lower middle-income countries. UNDP Human Development Index 2011. <http://hdr.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/NGA>

<sup>13</sup> Nigeria Economic Report, The World Bank (August 2014). <http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/nigeria/overview>

<sup>14</sup> This growth is driven by the recovery of oil production, sustained growth in agriculture, and the positive impact on investment and other private sector activities from the improved availability of foreign exchange to support imports (World Bank 2018).

<sup>15</sup> UNDP HDI Nigeria 2005-15. [http://hdr.undp.org/sites/all/themes/hdr\\_theme/country-notes/NGA.pdf](http://hdr.undp.org/sites/all/themes/hdr_theme/country-notes/NGA.pdf).

<sup>16</sup> *Nigeria HDR Country Notes 2016*, UNDP (2016). Averages are 0.497 and 0.523 respectively: [http://hdr.undp.org/sites/all/themes/hdr\\_theme/country-notes/NGA.pdf](http://hdr.undp.org/sites/all/themes/hdr_theme/country-notes/NGA.pdf).

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> See 'Regional Disparities Within Nigeria' (internal). DFID Working Paper (2013). The World Bank Nigeria Economic Report indicates that more than 60% of those living in poverty are in the North (North East and North West) and more than three quarters are in rural areas.

<sup>19</sup> <http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/nigeria/overview>

<sup>20</sup> *Gender in Nigeria Report 2012* British Council (2012)

<sup>21</sup> The current Buhari administration identifies fighting corruption, increasing security, tackling unemployment, diversifying the economy, enhancing climate resilience, and boosting the living standards of Nigerians as its main policy priorities. <http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/nigeria/overview>

delivering better services to their publics, the system lacks accountability and is based on diversion of public resources, corruption and patronage.<sup>22</sup>

## 2.1 Rationale

M4D was one of DFID's few programmes working on local governance.<sup>23</sup> There was little known about which approaches are most effective in improving accountability and service delivery at the local level in Nigeria. M4D was designed to demonstrate the principle that where communities and local government meet, it is possible to reshape the relationship between the Nigerian state and its citizens whilst ensuring direct improvement of delivery of services that matter to citizens. This was premised on the proposition that strengthening the capacity of both the demand and supply side, i.e. CBOs and marginalised groups on the one hand, and SPs & PMs on the other, would ensure that citizens are better able to demand services, and PMs and SPs are better able to respond to such demands, leading to improvements in delivery of improved service. M4D's aim of strengthening social accountability and tackle social exclusion focussed on engaging citizens in local government delivery of services by:

- Supporting citizen's groups to know what services they can expect and to engage with local government when services are not delivered.
- Working with disabled and women's groups to increase their voice with local government services.
- Improving accountability (in particular for women and girls).

## 2.2 Theory of change

M4D's ToC (see Annex 3) is based on the understanding that addressing supply and demand simultaneously will lead to better service outcomes as it will stimulate interest and support from SPs, PMs and citizens to work together to solve problems and make more effective use of existing resources. Particular emphasis is placed on increasing the voice of PWDs and girls to demand for services and their effective engagement in decisions on service provision that would meet their needs.

The **impact** to which M4D is intended to contribute is: *'Demonstrable improvements in citizens' access to, use of and satisfaction with improved basic services, particularly for marginalised groups.'*

The programme's intended **outcome** is: *'Policymakers and service providers are more responsive and accountable to citizens' better articulated demands and entitlements, especially adolescent girls and people with disabilities.'*

To achieve these outcomes, the programme aimed to deliver the following **outputs**:

1. Community-based organisations (CBOs) organised, engaged and aiding community demands for equitable delivery of basic services and accountability.
2. PWD CBOs and platforms of girls organised, engaged and demanding equitable basic services and accountability.
3. Increased capacity of PMs and SPs to design and deliver basic services and operate accountably.
4. BFAs to basic service delivery and accountability on targeted issues identified, developed and tested.
5. Solutions, innovations and BFAs promoted and shared with targeted stakeholders.

In addition to these five core outputs, a sixth was added which relates to the work of this evaluation and which will result in *'improvements in programme management and delivery built upon an independent and credible evidence-based approach to accountability and learning.'*

<sup>22</sup> *Business Case: Nigeria Public Sector Accountability and Governance Programme*, DFID (2015).

<sup>23</sup> *M4D Project Completion Review Report*, DFID (April 2018).



## 2.3 M4D's approach

Given the politically challenging and culturally sensitive context that the north presents, M4D's approach was rooted in political economy analysis to allow for a high degree of political sensitivity in an effort to influence change. By building capacity of supply- and demand-side stakeholders and identifying BFAs to service delivery, the programme combines detailed political economy assessments with the latest thinking on improving governance programming in Africa. M4D placed an emphasis on experimenting with and learning from new and innovative approaches to produce lessons from which DFID and others can draw.

M4D's approach can be characterised by three main features. Firstly, M4D is a **social accountability** programme which aimed to work on both supply- and demand-side issues of governance at the same time. It seeks to *'develop both citizen's capacity to organise, engage with stakeholders and influence decision makers, as well as to develop policymakers' and service providers' capacity to respond to demands and include them in processes of policy making, planning and service delivery.'*<sup>24</sup> This is reflected in the ToC through the intersect of Outputs 1 and 2 with Output 3, contributing to the achievement of the outcome.

Secondly, M4D builds **social inclusion** into all aspects of its work. Efforts to improve social accountability for excluded groups is deeply engrained within the M4D ToC and in all of the programme's outputs, although Output 2 incorporates a specific focus on two excluded groups: AGs and PWD.

Thirdly, **innovation** is another key element of M4D's approach, including the identification and piloting of BFAs to service delivery and accountability – interventions which focus on targeted issues, aiming to strengthen convergence of engagement and interaction between the supply and demand to find solutions and bring about improvements. This is reflected in the ToC through the contribution of Output 4 to the achievement of the outcome, and also the promotion and sharing of solutions, innovations and BFAs developed with M4D support under Output 5.

## 2.4 Synergies with other programmes

M4D had strong synergies with other sector and governance programmes operating in the region, which it sought to take advantage of.<sup>25</sup> In particular, it has worked closely with DFID's state-level programmes such as the State Accountability and Voice Initiative (SAVI) and the State Partnership for Accountability, Responsiveness and Capability (SPARC) as a means to address key obstacles to effective LGLG in Nigeria, namely the upward accountability of LG to state structures, as well as fiscal capture. This, in turn, means that engagement with and influence over state, and indeed federal, institutions is a critical factor in achieving reform at the local level. In addition, M4D sought to identify synergies with the successor programmes to SPARC and SAVI – pillars 1 and 2 of the Partnership to Engage, Reform and Learn (PERL) which began in May 2016.

# 3 Purpose, scope and objectives

## 3.1 Background

The IEM contract was originally awarded to an evaluation provider in 2013. This provider implemented the inception phase of the IEM, prepared an initial scoping report in August 2013 and then a first version of an Evaluation Design Document (EDD) in October 2013. The EDD was revised several times in response to feedback from the Evaluation Steering Committee (ESC) and finally a Specialist Evaluation and Quality Assurance Service (SEQAS) review.

In March 2014, DFID decided that continuing with the provider would not result in the type of evaluation that was required and therefore invoked the contractual pause clause. Subsequently, Itad was requested

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

by DFID to take over management of the IEM and to submit a technical and commercial proposal for implementing the remaining IEM terms of reference (TOR). Given that the IEM was already meant to be operational at this time, the agreed approach to preparing an Itad technical proposal for the IEM was to focus on implementing the existing EDD, noting only differences or additional details, rather than completely revise the evaluation design. The Itad-led IEM began work on the implementation phase on 1 November 2014<sup>26</sup> – approximately<sup>27</sup> seven months after the previous IEM providers submitted the final version of the EDD.

### 3.2 Objective and purpose

This report reconfirms the objective the evaluation as stated in the TOR for the IEM (see Annex 1) as to:

*‘identify and evaluate the causal mechanisms through which the M4D Programme aims to make policymakers and service providers in three Nigerian States more accountable and responsive to citizens. This includes assessment of specific projects supported by the M4D Programme, the strengths and weaknesses of M4D and its approach as a whole, and the individual approaches adopted by programme partners.’*

Further, the purpose of the evaluation was to measure the level of success of M4D interventions as well as how successful certain interventions were relative to other interventions.<sup>28</sup> The TOR required the IEM to produce evaluative products that serve a dual purpose – accountability and lesson learning – to contribute to ongoing improvements during the M4D programme cycle and the development of a stronger evidence base to inform future governance interventions in Nigeria. Specifically, the IEM was required to produce lesson-learning products for use by M4D and its partners in order to improve the impact of the Programme’s work and also mid-term and end-term synthesis reports with actionable recommendations for DFID and M4D on how the programme could improve its overall impact.

### 3.3 Changes to the TOR

The scope of work covered a six-month inception phase and a subsequent implementation phase, based on the inherited inception phase design carried out by the previous SP. The subsequent EDD detailed the scope of the evaluation relating to the implementation phase only and was confirmed with DFID at the outset of Itad’s tenure as IEM provider. A detailed implementation schedule for the evaluation<sup>29</sup> was outlined, containing three components (see further detail in Annex 2):

1. **Component one:** Engagement, management and communication.
2. **Component two:** Baseline and end-line household survey.
3. **Component three:** Case studies.

Over the course of the evaluation, there has been a number of adjustments to the scope of work which were agreed with the ESC, in response to SEQAS reviews of the baseline household survey report and case studies 1 and 3 in late 2015 and early 2016. In addition, the original implementation schedule envisaged the IEM being completed in December 2018, whereas M4D was confirmed (mid-2017) to end in May 2018. The evaluation was therefore required to realign with implementation at the request of DFID. In response, the IEM prepared a revised EDD which consolidated all aspects of the evaluation design in a comprehensive manner, taking into account agreed changes to the evaluation design.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>26</sup> While Itad began working on the contract in November 2014, the IEM contract was not officially signed by both parties until 15 January 2015.

<sup>27</sup> Based on the last version of the EDD submitted by the previous IEM provider on 25 March 2014.

<sup>28</sup> Communicated by the DFID M4D SRO via email in July 2016 subsequent to ESC discussions.

<sup>29</sup> Updated implementation schedule, IEM (25 February 2015).

<sup>30</sup> *Evaluation Design Document*, IEM (November 2017).

**Table 1: Key departures from the evaluation implementation schedule**

<b>Cancellation of the end-line survey</b>	<p>After the baseline household survey was conducted and a draft household survey report prepared, the ESC made the decision to cancel the follow-up end-line survey based on advice from the M4D Mid-Term Review (MTR) Monitoring &amp; Evaluation (M&amp;E) expert, a SEQAS reviewer and ESC members' own views, assessing that it <i>'is fundamentally flawed since it does not include any kind of comparison group, is too broad to measure the diverse and localised set of interventions and was implemented after programme activities had begun.'</i><sup>31</sup></p> <p><b>Consequently, the household survey was removed entirely from the evaluation design.</b></p>
<b>Reduction in the number of 'second look' case studies from eight to six</b>	<p>In April 2016, the DFID indicated that decisions on case studies 4 onwards should wait until after SEQAS review of the revised 2015 deliverables had been completed and for DFID, M4D and the IEM to jointly reflect on how best the IEM can support M4D going forward. Subsequently, the ESC agreed that: a) the IEM could proceed with a priority fourth case study, and b) after further discussions in October 2016, case studies 5 and 6 could proceed.</p> <p><b>As a result, it was subsequently agreed with the ESC<sup>32</sup> to make case studies 7 and 8 standalone without 'second look' studies given that there will be no more than nine months between the 'first look' and 'second look' fieldwork and it will be difficult to identify changes.</b></p>
<b>Adjustments to the scope of analysis within synthesis reports and the final evaluation report</b>	<p>In the Itad technical proposal and evaluation implementation schedule, synthesis reports were intended to draw together the evidence base from the household survey data, the individual case study reports and other sources as well as provide the foundation blocks for this final evaluation report.</p> <p><b>With the cancellation of the household survey, these reports, this final evaluation report is based on 'first look' and 'second look' case study reports and other secondary data (such as from M4D's M&amp;E systems).</b></p>
<b>Preparation of a new EDD</b>	<p>The IEM prepared a new EDD which constitutes a standalone report documenting the current design and framework for the evaluation, reflecting the changes made since the Itad-led IEM began. The need for a new EDD is also in part due to the unconventional background and inception to the IEM – where the design and framework for the evaluation has been spread across a number of documents, including the earlier EDD produced by the previous evaluation provider,<sup>33</sup> Itad's technical proposal<sup>34</sup> and the M4D ToC (see Annex 3) and logical framework.<sup>35</sup></p>

### 3.4 Scope

Building on the objectives and purpose, the evaluation background and changes to the evaluation TOR, the overall scope of the evaluation consists of exploring, using exclusively qualitative methods, how and why the M4D Programme achieves its results, including a focus on causal mechanisms and contexts.

The M4D ToC formed the basis for the evaluation design and the selection and prioritisation of areas of investigation. M4D's ToC maps the links between outputs, outcome and impact, the causality and the main assumptions. The evaluation concentrated on output to outcome and outcome to impact causality, therefore not attempting to establish the extent to which M4D impact targets have been achieved. Specific links in the ToC were explored, assessing their strength and explaining how and why an intervention works or does not work.

<sup>31</sup> ESC Meeting Minutes, 7 June 2016.

<sup>32</sup> ESC email communications, 2 March 2017.

<sup>33</sup> *Mobilising for Development Evaluation Design Document (DRAFT)*, 7 February 2014.

<sup>34</sup> *Technical Proposal (Revised) – IEM for M4D Programme, Nigeria*, Itad, 21 October 2014.

<sup>35</sup> *M4D Logframe Version 2.0*, 7 January 2015.

The evaluation assessed results in specific contexts over time and covered a subset of M4D interventions which are together representative of the M4D ToC as a whole. The evaluation captured government, CBO, private sector and citizen perspectives, including those of disadvantaged groups (PWD, AGs and women). The evaluation also explored what alternative explanations there might be for observed changes, and the credibility of M4D's claim for contribution.

## 4 Evaluation design and methodology

The evaluation design and methodology is summarised below. Further details are provided in Annex 2.

### 4.1 Evaluation questions

The evaluation addresses ten key Evaluation Questions (EQs) supported by a number of sub-questions. A full description can be found in Annex 2. The key EQs (Figure 1 below) are a revised set of the EQs<sup>36</sup> formed during the original inception phase, which included a review of the M4D TOC, logframe and unpacking of the related causal relationships and assumptions. These revised EQs followed a collaborative process of identifying priority research topics to be examined under the IEM, aligned with the M4D ToC and logical framework, and the EQs documented in the original EDD. The EQs and sub-questions were agreed by M4D staff and DFID in early 2016 following discussion and refinement of the research topics.<sup>37</sup>

Figure 1: Key evaluation questions mapped against the relevant OECD-DAC criteria

OECD-DAC Criteria	Key Evaluation Questions
Relevance	1. Are CBOs effective pathways for community participation in governance processes?
	2. How useful is the Learning and Life Skills Club (LSC) concept to AGs and the community?
Effectiveness	3. How effective has M4D's support been to PWD?
	4. What factors lead PMs and SPs to respond to citizens' demands?
	5. How are M4D's communications supporting replication and scale-up?
	6. How effective is M4D's strategy on BFAs?
	7. How effective is M4D's overall strategy in ensuring replication, crowding-in and scaling-up?
Sustainability	8. What processes of accountable and responsive local governance supported by M4D are likely to continue without external assistance?
Relevance	9. What are the mechanisms through which improvements in accountability and responsiveness lead to improvements in basic services?
Impact	10. Is citizens' access to, use of, and satisfaction with basic services improving in M4D LGAS?

<sup>36</sup> A series of EQs and an evaluation matrix, describing what information would be required to test the theory, and how this information was to be gathered, was documented in the original EDD.

<sup>37</sup> *Evaluation Design Paper*, IEM (February 2016).

## 4.2 Approach

M4D worked in complex, culturally sensitive context, with a myriad of contextual conditions influencing potential outcomes. These include, varied political and socio-economic conditions, state and LG systems and entrenched social norms particularly pertaining the involvement of marginalised groups (women, AGs and PWD). M4D was also likely to be just one of a number of factors influencing change, giving rise to the ‘attribution problem’, i.e. the challenge of attributing a particular change to a particular programme when other factors are also contributing.<sup>38</sup> In order to address these challenges and answer the EQs, the IEM adopted a **theory-based approach**, drawing on elements of **developmental evaluation** and applying **contribution analysis** as the main analytical approach. This approach is also considered suitable to programmes where the structure and activities are not determined in advance, such as M4D.

### 4.2.1 Theory-based approach

The evaluation drew upon theory-based methodologies to establish a conceptual basis for the intervention(s) against which empirical evidence was collected and analysed to test and revise the validity of the theory. A theory-based approach allowed the IEM to evaluate M4D’s ToC by looking at each component, the causal links and the assumptions within the theory, and seeking evidence that confirms or challenges the theory. The evaluation developed micro-ToCs (detailed in Section 4.3) which are nested within the overall M4D Programme ToC. This enabled the evaluation to elaborate the causal chain of various components of the Programme.

We applied elements of a developmental approach, by focussing on both formative and summative evaluation objectives to support learning and accountability. Developmental evaluation is associated with the facilitation of continuous development loops and supporting innovation and programme redesign. However, this was beyond the mandate of the IEM. The approach also seeks to situate evaluation away from the typical divide between formative or summative, and places it as an evolving process within and alongside the programme being evaluated. We applied the latter concept, as the evaluation intended to be useful to M4D when adapting and refining the programme, delivering evaluation results in a timely manner to help the programme deliver maximum impact. The summative aspect of this evaluation provides an assessment of M4D’s overall impact, providing DFID with an assessment of the results achieved.

### 4.2.2 Contribution analysis

As the main analytical approach, contribution analysis<sup>39</sup> enabled the evaluation to examine pathways of change within the M4D ToC and assess linkages between different programme components – how outputs relate to each other – as well as the causality from output to outcome, and from outcome to impact. It offered a rigorous and structured approach to evaluating the ToC against the evidence collected. Contribution analysis enabled the evaluation to demonstrate plausible association between the programme’s observed outcomes and impacts by building a credible, clearly evidenced contribution story.

## 4.3 Theory of change

The ToC is the cornerstone of a theory-based evaluation, especially in conducting contribution analysis. The M4D ToC formed the basis for our evaluation design. M4D’s ToC (see Annex 3) maps the links between outputs, outcome and impact, the causality and the main assumptions but is a high-level theory

<sup>38</sup> Wimbush et al. (2012).

<sup>39</sup> Contribution analysis is a theory-based approach to evaluation developed by John Mayne. It is an iterative process that examines the theory for how a programme should contribute to a specific change and the likely effects of other factors. The six-step process includes: setting out the cause-effect issue to be addressed; developing a TOC; gathering existing evidence on the TOC; assembling and assessing the contribution story and challenges to it; seeking out additional evidence; revising and strengthening the contribution story (Mayne, 2011).

and follows the structure of the logical framework. Therefore, there were limitations in using M4D's ToC as a basis for the evaluation.

Pathways to change in accountability and service provision are in reality longer and more complex. These pathways may be non-linear and may not require all components of the programme to operate in each case. Change may occur quite quickly depending on the political economy and if relationships between citizens and PMs are good; in other cases, change may stall and the process may run out of energy. There is little analysis of the linkages and causality between outputs in the programme's high-level ToC. For example, neither the full range of actors and relationships is represented, nor are all of M4D's activities. Also, the way in which interventions are adapted to meet local circumstances is not reflected, and it is unclear how sustainability, replication and scaling up are to be achieved.

To address these limitations, we applied two discrete but related tools to improve the evaluability of the programme:

**1. Annotated M4D ToC<sup>40</sup>:** We developed an 'annotated' ToC (see Figure 2 below), which unpacks the high-level M4D ToC in greater detail and maps the key EQs (detailed in Section 4.1) onto this. It illustrates how outputs relate to each other and specifies causal pathways in further detail. The annotated theory also indicates what changes citizens might notice if results were achieved at output, outcome and impact levels.

The content of the annotated ToC was not edited – with the exception of the output, outcome and impact statements, which were revised to be consistent with M4D's edited ToC. The colour scheme was adjusted to match both the M4D ToC and the micro-ToCs. Activity-output and output-outcome assumptions have been derived from the M4D logframe output and outcome indicators, respectively.

**2. Micro ToCs:** We developed micro-ToCs that are nested within the overall Programme ToC in order to elaborate the causal chain of various components of the Programme. These were useful as the overall ToC did not represent the full detail of how project activities are expected to lead to change as pathways to achieving improvements in services and accountability are longer and more complex than M4D's ToC illustrates.

This step was particularly important as M4D is a learning, adaptive programme and not all initiatives were captured adequately in the original ToC, with many localised interventions being unknown at the start of the programme. Therefore while, the overarching/programme ToC provided a general framework for identifying key causal linkages, it was necessary to be specific through micro-ToCs based on these more localised interventions.

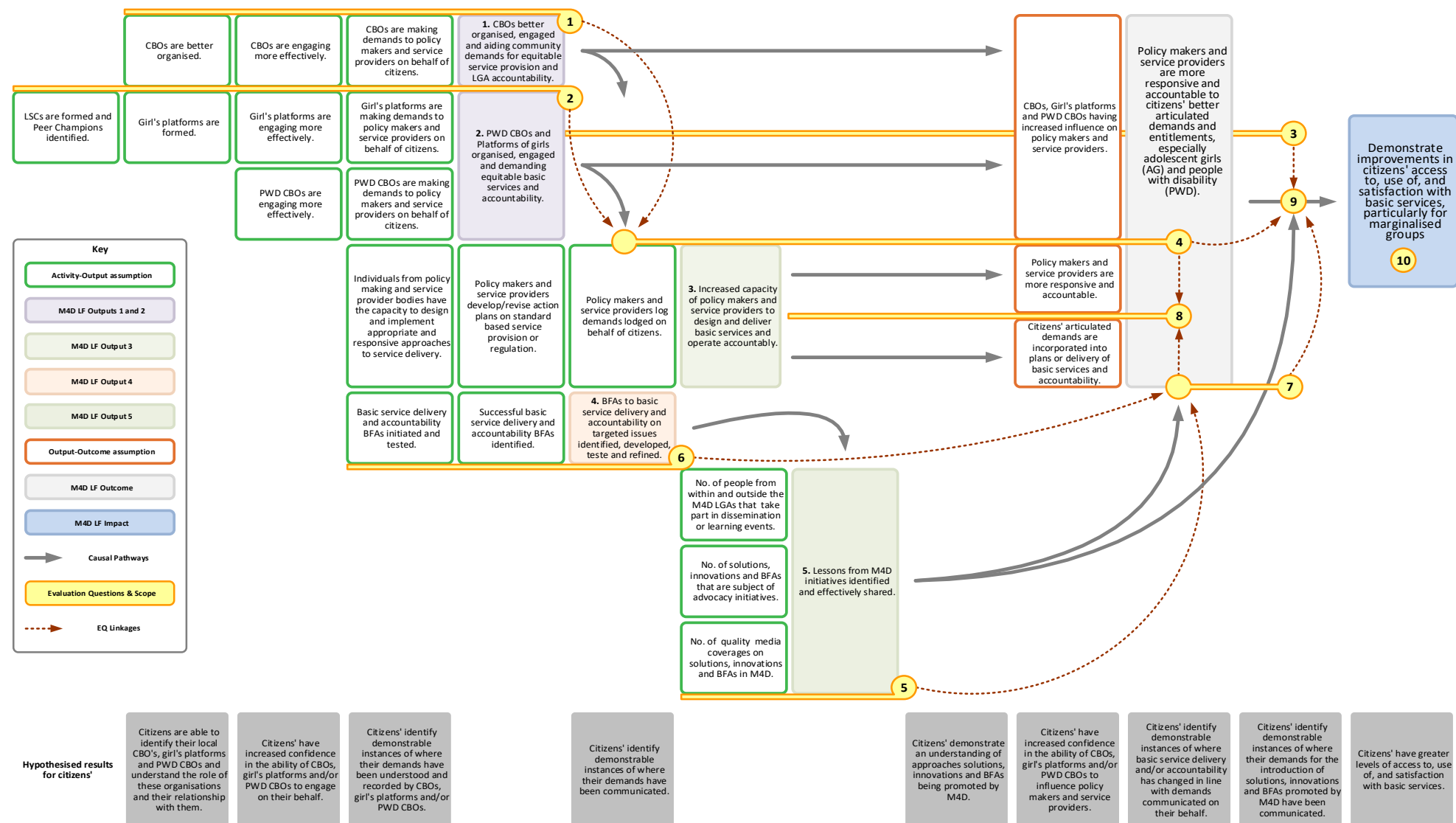
Micro-ToCs magnified particular parts of the overall Programme ToC by providing more detail on intermediate changes, specific contributory factors and in particular contexts. They add a richer level of detail behind the Programme ToC, and are a magnification of key parts of its causal logic. In combination with the annotated ToC, these micro-ToCs offered a guide to more effectively evaluating the M4D Programme components. Micro-ToCs were developed for each case study carried out under the evaluation and are shown at Annex 7.

By taking the M4D Programme ToC, creating EQs to test it, designing appropriate methods to gather evidence and comparing the actual results with those predicted by the theory, we evaluated M4D's contribution to its intended outcome and impact, and assessed how and why it achieved results.

---

<sup>40</sup> The 'annotated' ToC builds on the revised version of the original 'expanded' ToC prepared at the beginning of the Itad-led IEM. This 'expanded' ToC can be found in the *IEM Evaluation Design Document*, November 2017 (Annex 5).

Figure 2: M4D's annotated ToC (with key EQs mapped and linked)





## 4.4 Data collection and analytical methods

---



### Longitudinal qualitative case studies

The evaluation carried out eight case studies (a summary of the research objectives and micro-ToC for each is contained in Annex 7) which were used to examine aspects of M4Ds work (e.g. related to causal pathways in the ToC) for specific cases (e.g. M4D partners and partner organisations) across multiple contexts (i.e. locations in which M4D works) in order to contrast and compare findings. The case studies were mapped against the 10 key EQs and subsequently onto the M4D ToC. Six of the eight were implemented using a longitudinal design that includes, for each study, a baseline and end-line. The ‘first look’ constitutes a baseline situation that is specific to that case study at that time (even where this is after the start of the programme overall) and is more formative than summative in focus – documenting early lessons and recommendations that M4D can use to strengthen programme achievement and performance. Conversely, the ‘second look’ effectively forms an end-line for a case study, and is more summative than formative. These case studies were staggered across two rounds (‘first look’ and ‘second look’) to enable evidence and learning to be made available to the Programme and stakeholders during the lifetime of M4D.



### Case study selection and prioritisation

An extensive consultation workshop with M4D, DFID and key programme advisers led to a short list of research topics to be examined through case studies. The process was structured in a way to develop a framework for selection from the bottom up, taking M4D’s staff in-depth understanding of their work, and drawing on their learning priorities.

Workshop participants were asked to review learning priorities and to develop potential case study research questions. Participants were asked to consider a number of dimensions during this process, in particular how case studies could be used to explore particular parts of the M4D Theory of Change. A total of 19 research questions were identified and participants were then asked to map each of these to the M4D Theory of Change. The IEM team then facilitated the formulation of potential case study definitions among participants and the 19 original research questions were translated into 11 case study definitions.

Eight case studies have been designed and carried out by the IEM – derived from the 11 short-listed definitions developed during the workshop. Each case study research topic was selected from the short-list and were further refined in discussion with the ESC. The detailed focus of each case study was consistent with the overall research topic and guided by the following criteria: contrast and comparison; geographical spread and practical trade-offs.



### Sampling approach

The case study approach was tailored to each M4D intervention, so that the sampling of locations to visit, people to talk to and strategies for selecting participants in group work was informed by the type of intervention and its context. Each case study topic therefore contained a bespoke sampling strategy.



Our sampling decisions were driven by a consideration of whom the researchers need to talk to in order to test the theory. Our sampling approach was therefore purposive, and iteratively developed for each case study topic. Respondents were identified in consultation with M4D, stakeholder lists, monitoring data, staff recommendations, according to their relationship (or non-relationship) to M4D, their role in the government system, their ability to comment on the interventions and pathways and their relationships to each other. We aimed to triangulate evidence across a range of different stakeholders, through comparing insights from M4D project participants with insights from knowledgeable ‘outsiders’. Each case study consulted up to 30 stakeholders, and for the ‘second look’ case studies, the sample was replicated insofar as possible. In total, 345 in-depth-interviews (IDIs) and 72 focus group discussions (FGDs) were carried out across the eight case studies over three years. Respondents included M4D programme staff and implementing partners, participants in M4D activities, beneficiaries, local and state-level government stakeholders, stakeholders from civil society and other external vantage points such as the media. Many stakeholders were consulted twice, allowing change to be tracked over time for the ‘first look’ and ‘second look’ studies (see Annex 6 for the final achieved sample breakdown).



### Data sources

The eight case studies drew on IDIs and FGDs with different stakeholder groups: M4D implementing partner staff, semi-structured interviews with key formal and informal PMs; SPs, CBOs and beneficiaries. Where possible, the evaluation also drew on M4D project monitoring data for triangulation purposes: for example, Community Dialogue Action Scorecard (CDAS); Accountability, Responsiveness & Capacity Scale (ARCS); demand database/log; BFA design, evaluation and advocacy documents; records from learning events and media reports and a CBO Perception Survey. A summary of the data sources required for each EQ is detailed in Annex 2. Specific data collection tools were designed for each case study, including bespoke topic guides for IDIs and FGDs.



### Cross-cutting issues

Cross-cutting issues which the evaluation addresses include gender, social inclusion, capacity building and power relations. Issues of poverty, human rights and HIV/AIDS, environment and anti-corruption are not addressed as these are outside the scope of the evaluation as determined by the M4D ToC. Issues related to power relations and capacity building are examined as part of EQ1, in terms of the way communities participate in governance processes. Gender is addressed through examining the role of LSCs and girls’ platforms and their relationship to AGs under EQ2. Issues of social inclusion as they relate to PWD are examined under EQ3, including building the capacity of PWD CBOs and influencing the provision of services for PWD.

Issues of power relations, gender and social inclusion are examined under EQ4, as they relate to the way in which AGs and PWD engage with PMs and SPs. Gender and social inclusion issues are examined under EQ6 in terms of the effectiveness of M4D’s BFA strategy in improving service delivery for PWD and AGs. Issues related to capacity building, gender and social inclusion are examined under EQ7 as they relate to the sustainability of structures and acquired skills of M4D partner organisations, including PWD CBOs, girls’ platforms and LSCs.

Research topics for the case studies examined cross-cutting issues of gender, social inclusion, capacity building and power relations. As evident from the research focus of

each study at Annex 7, issues of gender as they relate to AGs are examined in case studies 2, 3, 4 and 7. Issues of social inclusion as they relate to PWD are examined in case studies 4, 5 and 7. Issues of capacity building are examined in case studies 1, 3 and 7 and issues of power relations are examined in case studies 1 and 7.



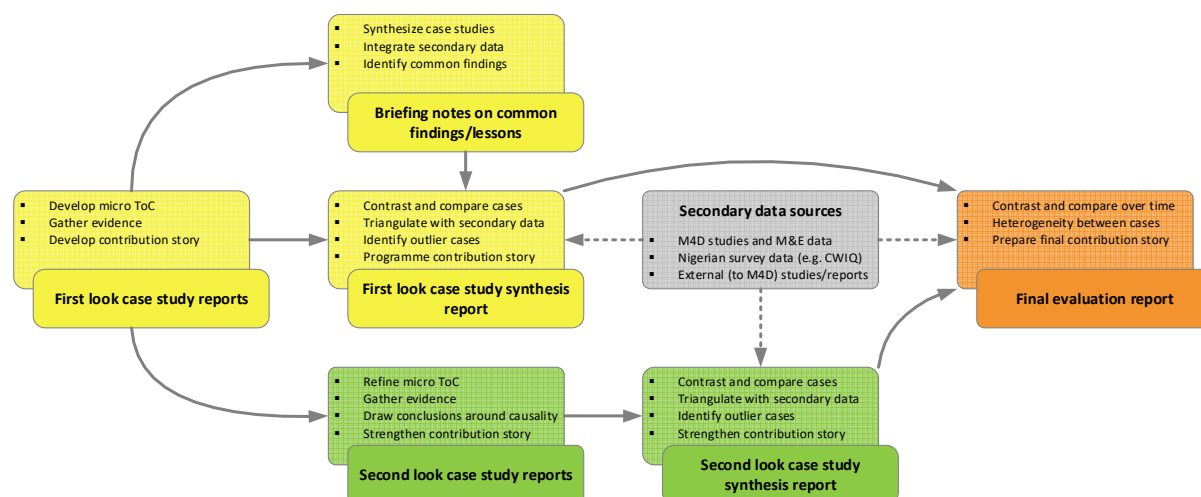
### Triangulation

The case study approach is a useful way to capture the complexity of change processes and to ensure sufficient understanding of contextual factors and unexpected pathways to change. This depth of understanding is very valuable, but the breath was limited to concentrated location. For this reason, the validity of the case studies is improved when they are triangulated with a more generalisable data set. The evaluation used M4D data to: a) triangulate case study findings within planned briefing notes on common findings/lessons (for example, through synthesising the findings of BFA-related case studies with M4D's own assessments/evaluations of BFAs), and b) triangulate overall findings against the M4D ToC within planned case study synthesis reports and the final evaluation report.

## 4.5 Analysis and synthesis

This final report brings together the findings from three years of evaluation outputs across components 1, 2 and 3. It draws conclusions about causal factors (what works, how, in what circumstances, and for whom), and to provide an external analysis of the potential for results to move beyond the Programme and local context and to say something about whether M4D interventions are replicable (and what it is that is replicable). Our overall approach triangulated the results of case study findings with M4D's own M&E data. Contribution analysis was the main analytical approach. Figure 3 presents a summary of the analysis and reporting plan data from the various evaluation components, illustrating how this has fed into the final report.

Figure 3: IEM analysis and reporting plan



The analysis and synthesis process involved the production of the following deliverables over the course of the evaluation:

- **Eight 'first look' case study reports and six 'second look' case study reports** which document the findings and lessons learned from the field research.

- **Three ‘first look’ briefing notes and one ‘second look’ briefing note on findings and lessons** which were prepared at key points during the evaluation, to feed into programme learning. The briefing notes incorporated a cross-case synthesis, comparative analysis integrating and triangulating findings against other sources of M&E, where available. The briefing notes were a key component of the IEM’s development evaluation approach and are the primary source of information for evidence and learning forums (see Sections 4.2 and 4.6).
- **One ‘first look’ case study synthesis report** which analysed data across the ‘first look’ case studies (1-8) and provided conclusions around patterns where there is evidence of outputs leading to outcomes. The synthesis reports provided evidence of the key change pathways identified against the consolidated micro-ToCs (See Annex 4).
- **One ‘second look’ case study synthesis report** which analysed data across the ‘second look’ case studies (1-6) and provided a further set of evidence for patterns and conclusions pertaining to the achievement of outputs and outcomes.
- **A final evaluation report** which integrates the analysis of the case studies and other data generated throughout the lifetime of the evaluation.

## 4.6 Implementation

The evaluation had three main components, each summarised below and described in detail in Annex 2.

### 4.6.1 Component One: Engagement, management and communication

#### Finalisation of approach, ongoing management and progress reporting

The evaluation approach was confirmed with DFID at the outset of Itad’s tenure as IEM provider during preparation of a detailed implementation schedule.<sup>41</sup> In February 2015, Itad submitted a report detailing how the IEM will comply with standard operating procedures and duty-of-care arrangements.<sup>42</sup> The IEM submitted annual progress reports in early 2015, 2016 and 2017, contributions for inclusion in the M4D MTR report in early 2016 and has provided contributions to M4D quarterly reports on a regular basis.

In response to SEQAS, DFID and M4D feedback in January 2016, the IEM prepared a design paper<sup>43</sup> which documented the background, summarised the design set out in the original ToRs, the EDD produced by the previous evaluation provider, Itad’s technical proposal, the M4D’s ToC, logframe and additional design work carried out during 2015.

In June 2016, SEQAS feedback led to revisions of the design document to: a) strengthen the use of the M4D ToC as the evaluation framework and ensure that all future evaluation products reflect a clear link to the ToC; b) clarify elements of the IEM method and approach; c) reflect the ESC decision to not proceed with the end-line survey; and d) further develop the mini-survey approach incorporated within the Itad IEM technical proposal in order to help understand the contribution of the M4D Programme at the impact level, given that the household survey will no longer be used for this purpose. Discussions over September–October 2016 led to several versions of a discussion note from the IEM on the objectives and design considerations of the expanded mini-survey approach. A revised design paper was submitted to the ESC in early November 2016.

---

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> *Response to Standard Operating Procedures and Duty of Care*, IEM, 2 February 2015.

<sup>43</sup> *Evaluation Design Paper*, IEM (February 2016).

Further considerations of the design paper by the ESC and discussions with the IEM resulted in a new standalone EDD being submitted in May 2017 by the IEM. The EDD documented the current design and framework for the evaluation, reflecting the changes made since the Itad-led IEM began. In response to Evaluation Quality Assurance and Learning Service (EQUALS) feedback in July 2017, the ESC requested that the IEM: a) scaled back the design of the IEM, including abandoning the use of the mini-surveys; b) revised the EDD to reflect the practical suggestions from EQUALS; c) incorporated into the EDD a draft outline of the final evaluation report; and d) annexed selected case study material to aid a broader understanding of the design. An adjusted version of the EDD was submitted in response.

### **Development of a communications and engagement strategy, including stakeholder network mapping**

The IEM carried out a preliminary stakeholder mapping and fact-finding visit to Abuja in March 2015, supported by the IEM Country Coordinator. Key areas of early discussion facilitated included: a) a review of M4D communications and KM plans; b) generating, reviewing and categorising a list of IEM stakeholders; c) identifying issues related to the methods, timings and routes to engaging key stakeholders; and d) identifying issues related to the information needs of different stakeholders.

Drawing on the results of the fact-finding visit, the IEM prepared a draft *Communications and Engagement Strategy Report*<sup>44</sup>, which was submitted to M4D and DFID in April 2015. The strategy was subsequently reviewed with M4D as part of a case study identification and selection workshop held in Kano during May 2015.

### **Analysis, synthesis and production of evidence products**

An analysis and reporting plan was developed and is outlined above (data collection and analysis). The design calls for the preparation of two synthesis reports – the first synthesising the results of the ‘first look’ case study findings and the second synthesising the results of the ‘second look’ findings, with both integrating an analysis of relevant M4D M&E data. The ‘first look’ synthesis report was submitted in (February 2018) and the ‘second look’ synthesis report in (April 2018).

### **Review, support and analysis of secondary data (from M4D M&E systems)**

A review of M4D’s M&E system took place in August 2015 and consisted of: a) a review of the most recent M4D monitoring and evaluation framework and other related documents; b) the development of a data inventory template; c) the sharing of the data inventory with M4D to obtain information on the M&E system; d) a review of this information and carrying out a number of discussions with relevant M4D staff; e) the identification, review and collation of the M4D M&E tools and their products (data, reports evidence, etc.); and f) creation of an internal IEM repository of M4D M&E tools and products.

These resulted in an internal IEM report which mapped and documented the results of the M4D M&E system inventory, assessed the data available to measure M4D logframe indicators and opportunities and challenges to the IEM for integrating this data with its own evaluative work. Subsequent to this work, the IEM has periodically collated additional M4D M&E data and maintained an up-to-date data repository. This data has been used to: a) guide identification of case study research topics for 2016; b) to cross-check fieldwork findings during preparation of case study reports in order to help identify and follow up on any anomalies; and c) to integrate M4D M&E data with case study findings within briefing notes.

### **Engagement with M4D – dialogue over use and implications of IEM evidence**

There has been three major engagements with M4D over the lifetime of the evaluation. A case study identification and selection workshop (May 2015) to develop a common understanding of the

<sup>44</sup> *Communications and Engagement Strategy*, IEM (April 2015).

purpose of the IEM case studies and to identify programme learning priorities jointly with M4D. The main output of this workshop was a *Joint IEM/M4D Case Study Workshop Report*,<sup>45</sup> which documented the results of the workshop and four priority case study research topics. The second and third engagements have been in the form of collaborative and participatory evidence and learning workshops held in November 2015 and April 2017, respectively. The purpose of these workshops was to: jointly review key findings from case study work carried out, identify potential actions that could be taken to increase the value or impact of the work of M4D, and prioritise actions that could be potentially undertaken by M4D over the next six–12 months.

#### 4.6.2 Component Two: Baseline and end-line household survey

As outlined in Section 3.3, the ESC made the decision to cancel the follow-up end-line survey based on advice from the M4D MTR M&E expert, a SEQAS reviewer and ESC members' own views. In addition, the objective of the household survey report prepared after the first survey round was adjusted to reflect this decision. The *Household Survey Results* report<sup>46</sup> therefore provides a 'snapshot' of the profile and perceptions of households with regards to aspects of access to, use of and satisfaction with education, health and water services in the sampled locations in order to identify issues which M4D might find useful in helping identify areas of prioritisation. The findings documented in the household survey report were not used in the IEM synthesis reports or this Final Evaluation Report. For brevity and in response to the fact the household survey findings were not part of this Final Report, a short summary of the survey activities carried out is contained in Annex 2.

#### 4.6.3 Component Three: Case studies

##### **Finalisation of overall case study design**

Work on developing a process for the identification, screening and selection of IEM case studies began in March 2015 as part of the preliminary stakeholder mapping and fact-finding visit to Abuja (see Section 4.6.1) carried out by the IEM.

In May 2015, a comprehensive case study identification and selection workshop followed with M4D and IEM. Engaging M4D staff ensured that the selected case studies would remain relevant and useful for M4D's purposes as a learning programme. The main output of the workshop was a *Case Study Workshop* report<sup>47</sup> documenting the process, materials and results of the workshop, including the next steps required to finalise selection and definition of the three case studies to be carried out in 2015. The final selection involved a broader process including a transparent selection criteria and involving the ESC, so as to ensure that the evaluation remains independent.

##### **Rolling selection of case studies and initial preparation/arrangements for fieldwork**

A joint IEM/M4D case study workshop report was submitted to M4D and DFID and the ESC members agreed on their interest in improving M4D's strategic direction and programme learning. The ESC also had a role to play in shortlisting four focal case studies. Consequently, in discussion with DFID and the IEM team, the Steering Committee proposed adjustments to research questions documented within the four prioritised case study definitions and three final case study research topics were identified (see Annex 7).

In March 2016, the IEM submitted a paper to the ESC documenting proposed priorities for the remaining five case studies to be implemented over 2016–17 which was delayed until after SEQAS review of the revised 2015 deliverables had been completed and for DFID, M4D and the IEM to

<sup>45</sup> *Joint IEM/M4D Case Study Workshop*, IEM (June 2015).

<sup>46</sup> *Household Survey Results*, IEM (November 2016)

<sup>47</sup> *Joint IEM/M4D Case Study Workshop*, IEM (June 2015).

jointly reflect on how best the IEM can support M4D going forward. Consequently, indicative scheduling for case study fieldwork was pushed back further into 2016.

In May 2016, the ESC agreed that the IEM could begin planning for a priority fourth case study focussed on BFAs implemented by M4D. A design paper was submitted to the ESC in early June and after an extensive consultative process between the IEM and ESC, a final design paper was agreed by the ESC in late July. As a result of these discussions, the coverage and scope of the case study was adjusted to cover all three M4D programme states and a selection of both successful and unsuccessful BFAs. These adjustments required the budget for the case study to be increased above the normal allocation, with the implication that fieldwork of some subsequent case studies may have to be reduced as a result.

In October 2016, case studies 5 and 6 proceeded. Design papers for these case studies were submitted to the ESC in early September and final design papers agreed in November 2016. Follow-up discussions were held with the ESC on the sampling strategy for these case studies and this was agreed on in early December 2016.

Discussions between the IEM and the ESC on the scope and focus of case studies 7 and 8 took place during February 2017, including on: a) whether or not these cases studies should be converted to standalone 'single look' studies or remain as 'first look' and 'second look'; and b) alternative options for the research topics of the case studies, including with regards to their potential status as 'single look' studies. A final design paper was agreed with the ESC in April 2017 documenting the research topics and sample, reflecting the agreement to make these case studies 'single look' only.

In July 2017, it was agreed with the ESC that individual 'second look' design papers were not required for case studies 1 to 6. The IEM subsequently developed a single design paper which sets out: a) the overarching 'second look' case study research questions with links to the M4D ToC and target groups; and b) the sample to be achieved for each case study.

For each individual case study, once design papers had been agreed with the ESC, interview and discussions guides were designed for each sample group. Guides were shared with the TfDC team for comment and improvement. The guides covered the key points to be included in each session during the fieldwork, but also allowed enough space for the team to follow up interesting issues as they emerged. All recruitment of participants was conducted by the TfDC team, using screening questionnaires, letters of authority and confidentiality statements provided by the Itad team.

Prior to the first case study, a five-day training session was held in Abuja for the TfDC team in July 2015. The training consisted of: a) extensive security training (delivered by Palladium's Security Adviser) covering travel protocols, communications, driver training and emergency procedure', b) evaluation background, sampling, data collection, analysis and write-up processes; and c) implementation of pilot fieldwork in a community on the outskirts of Abuja and subsequent write-up of interview transcripts. This ensured that the team was fully briefed on the project objectives and used a consistent approach across the locations and sample groups.

Training held prior to subsequent rounds of fieldwork was delivered by the Country Coordinator at TfDC offices in Zaria and focussed on: a) case-study specific background, samples and research topics, and b) reflecting on challenges and lessons learned from previous rounds and identifying actions to address these. Case study research assistants provided desk-based support to the Country Coordinator ahead of these training sessions, including helping to prepare training materials and holding Skype briefings to ensure that the Country Coordinator was adequately briefed on the issues to cover during training.

### **Case study fieldwork (FGDs, IDIs, mini-surveys)**

Case study fieldwork was carried out by TfDC. The IEM Country Coordinator provided in-country oversight and monitoring of fieldwork, and helped to address any challenges encountered in the field. A summary of the fieldwork carried out is as follows:

<b>Case Study 1 ('first look'):</b> August 2015	<b>Case Study 1 ('second look'):</b> July 2017
<b>Case Study 2 ('first look'):</b> September 2015	<b>Case Study 2 ('second look'):</b> July 2017
<b>Case Study 3 ('first look'):</b> September 2015	<b>Case Study 3 ('second look'):</b> October 2017
<b>Case Study 4 ('first look'):</b> August 2016	<b>Case Study 4 ('second look'):</b> October 2017
<b>Case Study 5 ('first look'):</b> January 2017	<b>Case Study 5 ('second look'):</b> December 2017
<b>Case Study 6 ('first look'):</b> January 2017	<b>Case Study 6 ('second look'):</b> December 2017
<b>Case Study 7 ('single look'):</b> May 2017	
<b>Case Study 8 ('single look'):</b> May 2017	

### **Data write-up, cross-checking and qualitative data analysis**

Data write-up, cross-checking and qualitative data analysis was carried out immediately after the fieldwork for each case study, using the processes set out in Annex 2. The data analysis process incorporated three steps for each case study. Firstly, all FGDs and IDIs were audio recorded and written up by TfDC using a standard template provided by Itad. This ensured comprehensive and consistent analysis of the data. Secondly, Skype debriefs were held by the IEMs case study experts with the TfDC team to ensure that their insights and contextual knowledge were captured. Thirdly, the write-ups were reviewed and collated, allowing the IEM to compare the views of different sample groups and locations. On the basis of these collated write-ups, individual draft case study reports were prepared and submitted to the ESC for review and feedback. Individual reports were prepared for 'first look' case studies 1 to 8 and 'second look' case studies 1 to 6.

### **Comparative analysis of case studies**

In order to help better understand what works and under which circumstances an important feature of the IEM approach is to compare cases across different locations and contexts. Comparative analysis was carried out within a series of four briefing notes on common findings/lessons.

The first briefing note<sup>48</sup> covering case studies 1 to 3 was submitted in October 2015 and was the basis around which discussions were held during the evidence and learning workshop in November 2015. The second briefing note<sup>49</sup> covered case studies 4 to 6 and was prepared in March 2017: it was the basis around which discussions were held during the evidence and learning workshop in April 2017. The third briefing note<sup>50</sup> covered case studies 7 and 8 and was prepared in November 2017, with the fourth and final briefing note<sup>51</sup> covering 'second look' case studies 1 to 4 being prepared in February 2018.

The purpose of each briefing note was to showcase some of the successes that the Programme had achieved and to draw attention to challenges, learning opportunities and potential programme adaptations. Each briefing note provides a synthesis of the most significant observations from the case studies covered.

### **Synthesis of case studies**

<sup>48</sup> *Briefing Note 1: Common Findings and Lessons From Case Studies 1, 2 and 3*, IEM (November 2015).

<sup>49</sup> *Briefing Note 2: Common Findings and Lessons From Case Studies 4, 5 and 6*, IEM (March 2017).

<sup>50</sup> *Briefing Note 3: Common Findings and Lessons From Case Studies 7 and 8*, IEM (November 2017).

<sup>51</sup> *Briefing Note 4: Common Findings and Lessons From Second Look Case Studies 1, 2, 3 and 4*, IEM (February 2018).

A *'First Look' Case Study Synthesis Report*<sup>52</sup> was produced in February 2018 which analysed data across the 'first look' case studies (1 to 8) and provided conclusions around patterns where there is evidence of outputs leading to outcomes. The synthesis reports provided evidence of the key change pathways identified against the consolidated micro-ToCs (See Annex 4). A *'Second Look' Case Study Synthesis Report*<sup>53</sup> was produced in April 2018 which analysed data across the 'second look' case studies (1 to 6) and provided a further set of evidence for patterns and conclusions pertaining to the achievement of outputs and outcomes.

## 4.7 Independence

The IEM performed a key developmental/learning role throughout the evaluation and we considered it to be essential that 'independence' is not equated with 'separation.' We defined an independent evaluation as, *'an evaluation carried out by entities and persons free of the control of those responsible for the design and implementation of the development intervention.'*<sup>54</sup> Being 'free of control' and clear about the different roles and responsibilities between the IEM and programme staff (as well as other stakeholders such as DFID and the ESC) were essential to maintain both the objectivity and integrity of the evaluation.

- The Evaluation team had clear and **independent reporting and governance structures** so that it was accountable to a body that is not the implementer, i.e. the ESC.<sup>55</sup> This avoided undue external pressure that may undermine the quality and objectivity of the evaluation.
- The Evaluation team (and their respective organisations) had **no conflict of interest** during the implementation of M4D. Itad established a firewall,<sup>56</sup> whereby persons who are directly involved in the IEM are not involved in the implementation of M4D, thereby creating a separation of management and accountability for the Programme and the IEM within Itad. In addition, the various contracts with the M4D are separately managed, and this applies to pre-positioning, bidding and contract delivery. Our information management systems enforced documentation access restrictions related to the separation of personnel and ensured that each team cannot access documentation related to other contracts.
- The Evaluation team **focussed on improving measurement and learning**, and not the management and implementation of the Programme. The former role involved different elements, including: (i) **Independent**, primary data collection and analysis by the IEM; (ii) **collaboration** with the M&E Unit of M4D to improve measurability (e.g. M&E system improvements); and (iii) evidence-based **advisory support** to programme management and stakeholders more generally. The first function was under the independent control of the IEM, while the latter two functions are advisory for the programme, rather than compulsory.

## 4.8 Limitations

<sup>52</sup> *First Look Case Study Synthesis Report*, IEM (February 2018).

<sup>53</sup> *Second Look Case Study Synthesis Report*, IEM (April 2018).

<sup>54</sup> *Glossary of Key Terms in Evaluation and Results Based Management*, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)/Development Assistance Committee (DAC) (2002).

<sup>55</sup> The IEM will be contracted by Palladium/GRM (the managing agent for M4D), who will need to be informed of our findings and judgements, but should not be allowed to influence them.

<sup>56</sup> The term 'firewall' is used here to describe an agreement established to prevent the exchange of undisclosed information that may materially affect the objectivity of the IEM.



An overarching limitation of the evaluation is that it adopts purely qualitative approaches. This is a consequence of the quantitative household surveys component having been assessed as being *‘fundamentally flawed since it does not include any kind of comparison group, is too broad to measure the diverse and localised set of interventions and was implemented after programme activities had begun’*.<sup>57</sup> It was subsequently removed from the evaluation design.

It was **not possible to establish the impact of M4D through the purely qualitative approach** of the evaluation or through integrating M4D’s own M&E data as the Programme is not measuring its impact-level indicators itself. The IEM therefore mitigated this constraint by examining EQ10 to the extent possible with the qualitative data collected through the evaluation – noting that this examination will be limited to the specific locations covered under the evaluation and that any conclusions cannot be generalised to the programme as a whole.

Some **characteristics of M4D as a programme** provided constraints for the design. For example, M4D was designed to be an adaptive programme, and as such, at the outset of the evaluation, the full extent of the programme was unknown, and therefore the full range of interventions (e.g. BFAs, girls clubs, etc.) and their locations from which to draw a sample was similarly unknown. Related to this, M4D supports a diversity of interventions, so aggregation of a large number of interventions to an overall impact is less appropriate than learning about what works and why so that it can be replicated in other contexts and/or scaled-up. These constraints were mitigated through engaging with M4D, DFID and key programme advisers in a consultative process to identify a shortlist of research topics to be examined through case studies – with the detailed design of each being phased over the lifetime on the evaluation.

There are several **specific limitations associated with the case studies**, summarised below. We have implemented a number of actions to mitigate these limitations and acknowledged any sources of bias identified during case study data collection and analysis in order to understand any implications for evaluation findings and conclusions:

- **Selection bias in research sites:** It is possible that research teams may be directed towards locations and respondents who were more positively disposed towards M4D. This potential bias was mitigated by ensuring selection decisions were carried out by the research teams in consultation with, but not determined by the M4D team. In the specific case of citizens, this potential source of bias was mitigated by using a screening questionnaire to ensure a good mix, screening out anyone with vested interests associated with the focus of the research topic in question, and to gain a mix of members and non-members.
- **Group biases in focus groups:** Where there were large differences in groups, dominant individuals may lead the discussion. We mitigated this potential limitation in a number of ways. Unless not appropriate to the specific research topic in question, we took steps to avoid elite groups, such as village chiefs or traditional rulers, attending the FGDs, and conducted single-sex groups to ensure against men dominating discussions. In the case of AGs, we grouped participants by age (e.g. 13 to 15 and 16 to 18-year-olds) to ensure that they were comfortable and participated actively.
- **Response bias:** Respondents may, for various reasons, tell researchers things that they think they want to hear rather than the unvarnished truth. For example, this may be a particular concern of CBOs, who are supported by and may have received grants from M4D, and may therefore not want to criticise. We mitigated this by providing research teams with guidance (within the field guides) on how to probe the reasons behind given answers and to seek more specific examples in order to get beyond the rhetoric.

---

<sup>57</sup> ESC Meeting Minutes, 7 June 2016.

- **Translation issues:** All FGDs and IDIs with respondents were held in Hausa (or English) and translated into English by the Research team. Translated statements did not always reflect nuances in interpretation. This risk was mitigated by having members of the core IEM team conduct debriefs with the field researchers to test their understanding of the transcripts and, in particular, of verbatim quotes.

Given that case studies use qualitative methods and each covered a limited sample of locations and respondents (compared to all locations in which M4D works), **case study results cannot be said to be completely representative of all** M4D locations and all target groups associated with the case study (e.g. CBOs, PWD, etc.). While it is possible to draw logical inferences from the data (if a certain set of circumstances produced a particular outcome here, then it is likely that the same may happen in other cases), it is not possible to make statistical generalisations. In order to address this limitation, individual case study findings are triangulated with those from other case studies (where there exist common themes) and M4D's own monitoring data.

The selection of respondents for the 'second look' case studies was the equivalent of the sample for the 'first look' case studies to allow for meaningful comparisons. Thus, the locations selected for each case study were the same. In order to ensure that differences in findings between the 'first look' and 'second look' studies reflect actual changes over time, rather than idiosyncratic variation between respondents, we interviewed the same respondents during the 'second look' studies as for the 'first look' studies insofar as possible. During the 'second look' studies, every attempt was made to contact the same respondents who took part in the 'first look' case studies and reinterview them. A potential limitation related to this approach is that there may be some **attrition amongst the sample of 'first look' respondents**, for example, if people moved, changed jobs, were unavailable or simply unwilling to take part. To address this potential limitation we substituted them with an alternative respondent with the same characteristics as the person replaced, in terms of age, sex, experience of the issue involved and job description.

The 'first look' and 'second look' synthesis findings were **limited by the quality and quantity of the available evidence** from the individual case studies. Furthermore, some degree of error regarding the allocation of progress ratings (RAG) and data confidence ratings (high, medium and low) are inescapable. As far as possible, we mitigated these error margins through a more detailed presentation of text, including text sources, in the review tables. Weekly exchanges between members of the Research team at design, implementation and analysis stages also ensured that shared understandings of the methodology, concepts and approaches used by M4D were maintained.

A further limitation associated with implementation of the evaluation has been the **compression of case study work over 2017 and the volume of case study and synthesis reports prepared over 2017 and early 2018**. As documented in Section 3.2 above, this was a result of the hiatus in case study work during 2016 and the requirement for the IEM to be completed in May 2018 rather than December 2018. This has not only provided the IEM with logistical challenges, but has: a) placed increased pressure on M4D teams in supporting the planning of case study field work, and b) placed increased pressure on the ESC and the wider M4D team in reviewing and commenting on case study reports. The IEM highlighted these potential challenges during the 2016 Annual Progress Report together with a number of potential actions to mitigate them (which were subsequently implemented), including: a) expediting the process of designing the second look case studies by preparing a single consolidated design paper, b) making case studies 7 and 8 standalone – removing the need for second looks and reducing demands on the ESC, M4D and the IEM, and c) preparing and agreeing a clear schedule for implementing the remaining case studies and carefully monitoring and updating this schedule during 2017.

## 5 Analysis and findings

Each case study carried out under the IEM contributes evidence to two or more EQs. In this way, the evidence base for each EQ is broadened given that the sites visited differs between each case study. Table 2 below summarises how each case study maps to each EQ, in addition to how each EQ maps to the overall Programme ToC in Figure 2.

As documented in Section 4.3, a micro-ToC was developed for each case study (except for case study 8). Micro-ToCs are nested within the overall Programme ToC and elaborate the causal chain of various components of the Programme. Micro-ToC diagrams and narratives for each case study are shown at Annex 7.

In Section 5.1 below we synthesise and summarise individual case study micro-ToCs against which the Programme is being evaluated – demonstrating what was expected or assumed – followed by analysis and findings for each EQ in Sections 5.2 to 5.11, showing what was found in practice to have been achieved or not. The evidence base for the analysis comes from case study reports, the ‘first look’ and ‘second look’ syntheses of case studies and M4D M&E data and reports.

Synthesis reports (see Section 4.6) prepared under the evaluation presented evidence against each of 15 key change pathways identified within the consolidated case study micro-ToCs (See Annex 4). A simplified version of this mapping is shown in Figure 4 below – with the 15 change pathways grouped within four clusters as follows:

- **Change Pathway Cluster A:** Citizens demonstrate better relationships with and influence on PMs/SPs.
- **Change Pathway Cluster B:** Citizen demands are reviewed and accommodated in PM and SP planning discussions.
- **Change Pathway Cluster C:** Innovations, adaptations and replications of BFAs are emergent.
- **Change Pathway Cluster D:** Longer-term behavioural change and budget commitments indicate sustainable impacts.

These four clusters were defined to facilitate the synthesis process and provide an avenue to further summarise the core findings for each of the change pathways. Section 5.12 sets out synthesised and summarised evidence for each change pathway and cluster from both the ‘first-look’ and ‘second-look’ case studies, together with a summary of conclusions for each change pathway cluster.

### 5.1 Synthesised and summarised micro-ToC narrative

#### 5.1.1 Output to outcome

**Strengthening the organisation, engagement and demand making capabilities of CBOs:** M4D assesses, builds and monitors the capacity of CBOs to enable them to engage effectively with citizens, including marginalised citizens, identify and prioritise their needs and make well-formulated, evidence-based demands to SPs and PMs. M4D aims to pave the way for CBOs to create linkages with other (non-M4D supported) CBOs to promote wider community participation in governance processes and to promote coordinated efforts among CBOs.

**Strengthening the organisation, engagement and demand making capabilities of girls’ platforms:** M4D forms LSCs for girls in each of the communities it works in and trains mentors to support each of the clubs. The aim is to equip girls with skills required to tackle the challenges that they experience and to be able to effectively engage with relevant stakeholders on their priorities. Each LSC identifies a peer champion to represent the club in a girls’ platform, which is an organised LGA-level structure. Peer champions serve as representatives of girls in the LGA during engagement processes by mainly targeting CBOs to make demands of PMs and SPs on the priorities of girls. At the same time, M4D conducts training with CBOs, traditional leaders and formal PMs/SPs on the importance of considering the needs of marginalised groups such as AGs, and encourages engagement with them. M4D supports collaboration

between the girls' platforms and the CBOs and traditional leaders so that they can better influence the PMs and SPs, and represent the views of AGs in the community.

**Strengthening the organisation, engagement and demand making capabilities of PWD CBOs:** M4D selects PWD CBOs, assesses their capacity through the participatory self-application of the CDAS, and provides training and mentoring support where needed. This enables the CBOs to engage with PWDs and helps PWD identify and prioritise their needs, so that CBOs can then engage with PMs and SPs on behalf of their constituency. M4D also provides financial support to PWD CBOs to catalyse efforts and supports them in working with other CBOs to increase their influence. M4D also provides capacity building to PMs and SPs and creates platforms for PWD CBOs, PMs and SPs to engage with one another.

**Strengthening the capabilities of PMs/SPs:** M4D builds the capacity of the supply side (SPs and PMs) in participatory planning, budgeting and policy making, setting service standards and accountability. By promoting and facilitating collaboration (interface meetings) between supply- and demand-side stakeholders, M4D creates opportunities for both sides to come together and for CBOs, girls' platforms and PWD CBOs to make demands. Community engagement capacity is therefore strengthened and willingness to respond to citizens' demands improves. This increased collaboration and capacity is envisaged to lead to changes in the attitudes toward citizens' (especially AGs and PWDs) and in CBOs, girls' platforms and PWD CBOs having more influence over PMs' and SPs' logging of citizens' demands. Because of these changes, PMs and SPs factor citizens' demands into their planning, increasingly respond to them, and are increasingly accountable for their delivery.

**Developing and testing service delivery and accountability BFAs:** M4D works with communities, grassroots organisations/CBOs, PMs and SPs to identify BFAs that point to problems in service delivery and accountability at the LGA level. BFAs can be programme or community-initiated and identified by any stakeholder party (M4D, citizens, PMs/SPs). BFAs go through a process of 'convergence' which aims to ensure that common interests are shared between citizens and all stakeholders involved. M4D then facilitates the development, implementation, evaluation and advocacy of BFAs in collaboration with targeted stakeholders. By demonstrating the success of the BFAs in the short term, it is envisaged that those BFAs will then be replicated or scaled up in other LGAs where similar service delivery and accountability problems exist. By directly engaging citizens and stimulating engagement with PMs and SPs on BFAs to address common issues and foster buy-in, it is envisaged that PMs and SPs will become more responsive and accountable to citizen needs.

**Promoting and sharing solutions, innovations and BFAs:** M4D aims to promote and share successful solutions, innovations and BFAs to targeted stakeholders including communities, grassroots organisations/CBOs, PMs and SPs. The Programme seeks to identify successful initiatives for replication and scale-up, and support learning and dissemination with targeted stakeholders from within and outside M4D's target states. Advocacy activities that are facilitated between stakeholders and wider media advocacy efforts are intended to promote and raise awareness for replication and scale-up. By demonstrating the successful initiatives to targeted stakeholders in the short term, it is envisaged that those stakeholders will be incentivised to replicate or scale up in other LGAs where similar service delivery and accountability problems exist. By directly engaging citizens and promoting successful initiatives with PMs and SPs to address common issues and foster buy-in, it is envisaged that PMs and SPs will become more responsive and accountable to citizen needs.

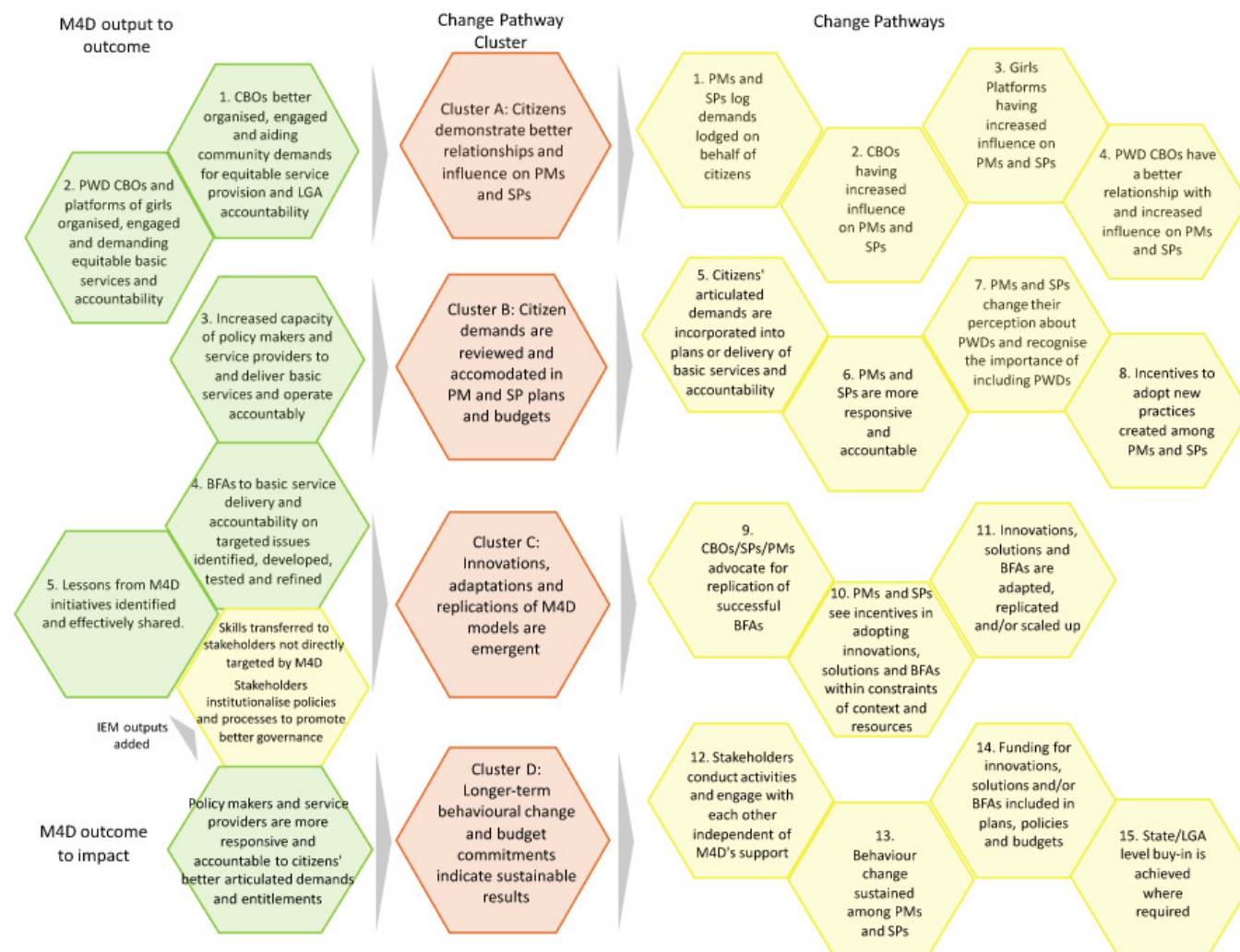
### 5.1.2 Outcome to impact

It is envisaged that changes in behaviour among targeted stakeholders (e.g. CBOs, girls' platforms, PWD CBOs, SPs, PMs) and strengthened engagement between supply and demand sides will ultimately lead to better access to, use of, and satisfaction with improved basic services, particularly for marginalised groups. It is also envisaged that demonstrable BFAs and sustained replication and scale-up will contribute to this development objective through improving responsiveness, accountability and service delivery. M4D employs sustainability strategies to incentivise these envisaged behaviour changes, including using various funding modalities that aim to prevent dependency among supported CBOs and SPs/PMs and to ensure that stakeholders can leverage sufficient funding for the continuation of M4D-related activities.

**Table 2: Mapping of case studies against evaluation questions**

Case studies		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
		The role of community-based organisations as pathways for inclusive community participation in governance	Factors that support or constrain policy makers' and service providers' response to citizens' demands	The role of life skills clubs in promoting basic service delivery and accountability	The effectiveness of the better-fit approach in promoting improved basic service delivery and accountability	The effectiveness of M4D's support to people with disabilities	The effectiveness of M4D's overall strategy in ensuring replication and scale-up of successful initiatives	Processes of accountable and responsive governance supported by M4D that are likely to continue without external assistance	Key influencing factors that contribute to improvements in local governance and the success of the M4D programme
<b>Evaluation Questions</b>	1	Are CBOs effective pathways for community participation in governance processes?	✓	✓	✓				✓
	2	How useful is the Learning and Life Skills Club concept to AGs and the community?		✓	✓				
	3	How effective has M4D's support been to PWD?		✓		✓			
	4	What factors lead PMs and SPs to respond to citizens' demands?	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
	5	How are M4D's communications supporting replication and scale-up?					✓		
	6	How effective is M4D's strategy on BFAs?			✓		✓	✓	
	7	How effective is M4D's overall strategy in ensuring replication, crowding in and scaling up?			✓		✓		
	8	What processes of accountable and responsive local governance supported by M4D are likely to continue without external assistance?						✓	✓
	9	What are the mechanisms through which improvements in accountability and responsiveness lead to improvements in basic services?	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	10	Is citizens' access to, use of and satisfaction with basic services improving in M4D and non-M4D LGAS?	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	

**Figure 4: Conceptual overview of the case study synthesis categories – linking M4D outputs to change pathways and clusters**





## 5.2 Are CBOs effective pathways for community participation in governance processes? *[Relevance]*

### 5.2.1 Summary of key findings

Between the ‘first look’ and ‘second look’ case studies in the sites visited, it is evident that **the confidence of citizens in the ability of CBOs has grown and engagement among CBOs has increased**. This finding is also reflected in the evidence presented by the M4D CDAS<sup>58</sup> scores<sup>59</sup>, which show higher levels of ‘engagement’ moving from a baseline of 2 to an endline of 5.4. Nevertheless, whilst M4D CDAS scores point towards this engagement being sustainable beyond the end of the programme, concerns were identified during the ‘second look’ studies that **if PMs/SPs fail to respond to demands and improve services, this positive change in engagement may be undermined**.

From both the case study findings, and the M4D scores on how CBOs are ‘organised’, there is a wide range of evidence which suggests that **CBOs are now more capable to articulate citizens’ demands** that have been identified through stronger community engagement and are evidence-based. There is widespread evidence that **M4D support has been instrumental in bringing about this change**. As a result, combined with more effective engagement with PMs/SPs, local governance processes have improved, including the involvement of women. There are, however, **examples of differing views between men and women over what involvement of women means in practice**.

### 5.2.2 Analysis and findings

**Engagement between CBOs and citizens has continued to improve and is seen as an important way to formulate evidence-based demands that reflect community needs.** During the ‘first look’ Case Study 1 in the sites visited in Kano, citizens reported that CBOs were engaging in a more inclusive way, with real efforts being made to include women and PWD. CBO representatives reported that their ability to engage with citizens had improved considerably and emphasised the importance of gaining the support of traditional leaders in order to motivate citizens to take part in meetings and get involved.

During the ‘second look’ Case Study 1 in the sites visited, both citizens and CBO representatives reported that, compared to before when CBOs made their own demands for the community without consultation, they now worked together to identify problems and raise demands (see examples, right). In both LGAs visited, the use of interface and town hall meetings were identified as important

*We decided that the CBO write a letter to the LG; the LG replied that it could not build classes without permission from the state government. We then came back, discussed and wrote a letter to the state government sending our demands. By the grace of God they came and built the first laboratory; it is there in the western side.*

**Male citizen, ‘first look’  
Case Study 1**

*When we noticed that the accidents on our roads were getting out of hand, the first thing we did was to take pictures and conduct interviews where possible with the victims, we retrieved reports from the doctors about some accidents and we also went to the police for their reports on some of the accidents and sometimes on incidents of robbery on the road. We took these evidences along with a demand for the road to be fixed.*

**Ward CBO member, ‘second look’  
Case Study 1**

<sup>58</sup> The M4D administered CDAS measures changes in the way CBOs are organised (i.e. are orderly and functional), engaging (i.e. with communities and disadvantaged groups), and influencing (i.e. are influencing PMs/SPs).

<sup>59</sup> On a scale of 1 to 6, with 6 being the highest score.

mechanisms which have enabled increased engagement between CBOs and citizens. However, in the rural LGA, one group of women complained that the timing of some meetings was still not convenient because they took place during farming hours. It also said that town hall meetings were not new and had previously been used to liaise with informal leaders and village chiefs. In the sites visited, it appears that citizens' main engagement with SPs/PMs is through CBOs, with PMs/SPs and citizens in both LGAs reporting no direct contact, apart from one group of men in the semi-urban LGA.

**The confidence of citizens in the ability of local CBOs has grown and CBOs are better able to mobilise citizens as a result, though there are concerns that if PMs/SPs fail to respond to demands and improve services, this positive change will be undermined.** During the 'second look' Case Study 1, several factors were identified by respondents that appear to have contributed to improved confidence of citizens in the ability of CBOs to make demands on their behalf. Firstly, in both LGAs, it was reported that citizens' perceptions of CBOs had changed because of their increased engagement with them: this has helped them to gain a better understanding of the role of CBOs, away from the perception that they were politically motivated or simply used contributions from citizens for their own purpose. Secondly, thanks to the work of CBOs, citizens now also have a much better understanding of their right to make demands of government and to engage with governance processes, making it more likely for them to get involved in community activities. Thirdly, the strengthened capacity of CBOs appears to have been an important factor, with one PM/SP reporting that because CBOs have now a stronger voice, the citizens have more trust in them. However, M4D staff in Kano and one group of citizens voiced concern that when PMs/SPs fail to respond to the forwarded demands of citizens, they begin to think that the CBOs are either not forwarding their demands or not following up on them.

**Overall, women appear to have become more involved in governance processes, though there are examples of differing views between men and women over what this means in practice.** During the 'first look' Case Study 1, there was variation in the involvement of women between the two LGAs visited. Women had far greater involvement in consultation processes and were well informed about community development issues in the semi-urban LGA compared to the more traditional rural LGA. Generally, however, citizens acknowledged that, although progress had been made, there is still some way to go before women are involved on an equal basis.

During the 'second look' Case Study 1 in the traditional rural LGA, groups of both male and female respondents reported that women had become more involved in governance processes – a distinct improvement over what had been reported previously. Women now have their own specific groups and organisations, are active members of some CBOs, and are supporting LSCs and girls. Women's confidence has improved as they have become more involved in community activities – enabled by an increased awareness of the importance of including women among the wider community and the enhanced ability of CBOs to relate to the needs of women. In the semi-urban LGA, views reported by male and female groups were by contrast polarised. While there is some evidence of changes in the involvement of women in governance processes over the last two years, this was largely reported by men. Groups of women respondents showed little knowledge of governance processes and of M4D/CBO and LSC activities. One group of

*CBOs always bring to us issues or concerns they have searched into before tabling it before us. Before the coming of M4D it was not usually this smooth but for M4D they (CBOs) do their homework before bringing citizens' demands to us.*

**LGA PM, 'first look' Case Study 1**

*In fact, in all nooks and corners of our community, citizens are more enlightened about the dispensations of governance. Gone are the days of aggressions and contempt. The CBOs employ subtlety in their approaches to demand making now.*

**State PM, 'second look' Case Study 1**



women reported that the only time that CBOs had engaged with them was during the election, or through home visits to provide information about maternal and child health.

**There is evidence that local governance processes are improving due to strengthened relationships between CBOs and PMs/SPs underpinned by enhanced CBO capacity to forward better articulated citizens' demands that have been identified through stronger community engagement.** According to almost all SPs/PMs during the 'first look' Case Study 1, CBOs had improved the ways in which they listen to and engage citizens (see examples, right). They believed that CBO demands have become more convincing and better represent a range of community views. All CBOs commented that, whereas before their previous practices had met with limited success, they had seen improvements in the way their demands were handled by SPs/PMs and were positive about how M4D support had helped them to put forward better articulated demands. Nevertheless, one PM interviewed was critical of CBOs, suggesting that they lacked an understanding of government processes and therefore made demands that were unrealistic.

Two state-level PMs in Kano reported during the 'second look' Case Study 1 that CBOs now involve them more in meetings and are better at engagement and better able to articulate specific demands, and that this has led to improved relationships between PMs and CBOs. They also believed that this was contributing to improved governance processes and participation. Ward CBO members said that, because of M4D training, they are now able to produce comprehensive evidence-based reports to support their demands and pointed to a number of examples, including demands for the construction of a community road, renovation of a health facility and construction of classroom blocks. Among groups of citizens interviewed, there was widespread reports of how they have begun to trust CBOs to articulate their needs and were confident in their ability to represent them. Within the semi-urban LGA, citizens and ward CBO members said that the demands of communities have changed from individual to collective demands, particularly from PWD and the LSC.

**Traditional and religious leaders are working more closely with CBOs, and are engaging more with citizens, though some citizens don't have confidence in the ability of traditional and religious leaders to influence PMs/SPs.** In both LGAs visited, a range of respondents said that traditional and religious leaders (or informal PMs) are increasingly engaging with CBOs and citizens and providing support, leading one CBO member and one traditional leader in the semi-urban LGA to report that their relationship had improved so much over the last two years that traditional leaders feel that they are now like a part of the CBO. However, in the rural LGA visited, while a number of positive examples of informal PM engagement and support were provided, respondents from several focus groups reported that they had far greater confidence in the ability of CBOs to forward demands to PMs/SPs.

**There is widespread evidence that M4D support has been instrumental in strengthening engagement among a range of stakeholders, including between citizens, CBOs, and formal and informal PMs/SPs, and that community engagement in governance processes has improved as a result.** In all sites visited, both citizens and CBOs reported that the skills and understanding CBOs had gained through M4D training and workshops had directly contributed to improvements in CBO/citizen engagement, including the use of interface and town hall meetings. In the sites visited in Kano, citizens also said that CBOs are now more organised and accountable, and they attributed this to the support provided by M4D.

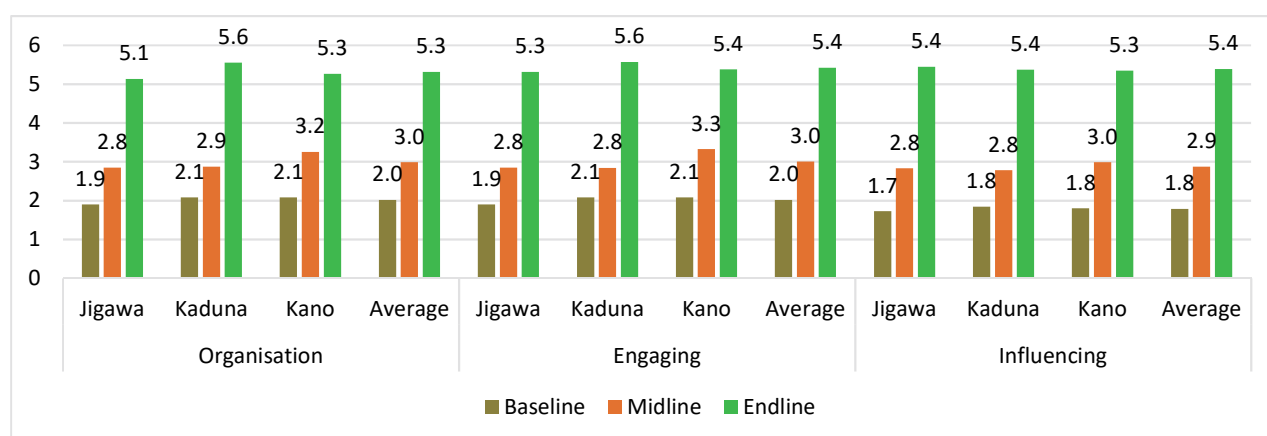
In the rural LGA visited, a ward CBO member reported that M4D training provided to CBOs had contributed to citizens' better understanding their rights to make demands to PMs/SPs and to the associated role of CBOs. Another factor mentioned by the ward CBO member was the role of traditional and religious leaders helping to engage with and mobilise citizens, and the increased engagement of CBOs with these leaders. One traditional leader and several citizens highlighted the role that M4D had played in bringing CBOs, traditional leaders and citizens together, and indicated

that this had improved relationships and encouraged traditional leaders to get more involved in governance processes.

**M4D M&E data suggests that there are two important pathways for CBO contribution to changes in the way communities participate in governance processes: a) platforms for engaging and influencing SPs and PMs, and b) community participation in budget processes facilitated by CBOs.**

A CBO perception survey carried out by M4D in late 2017 suggests that platforms for engagement such as town hall meetings have become institutionalised across M4D LGAs, that these are effective mechanisms for engaging with the wider community to generate and prioritise demands, and that citizen demands are collated within LGA budgets as a result.<sup>60</sup> In addition, networks established by CBOs have enabled their active participation in project monitoring and quality assurance of social services, with survey findings indicating that almost all CBOs surveyed were involved in these kinds of activities. Since 2016, 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

Figure 5: CBO CDAS scores



**M4D data indicates there have been large positive shifts in the way in which CBOs are organised, engage with communities and PMs/SPs, and influence PMs/SPs in all three M4D states.** The 2018 *M4D Output Progress Report* shows that CDAS scores have improved a great deal over the lifetime of the Programme (see Figure 5).<sup>61</sup> According to M4D M&E reports, a score of 5 (well-matured) or 6 (exemplary) suggests that CBOs are demonstrating advanced skills across the various assessment criteria: this points towards organisational capacity having been institutionalised in a sustainable way. Across all three M4D states, the average end-line CDAS score was above 5 in all three categories, suggesting that CBOs have the organisational arrangements and capabilities, the community engagement and PM/SP influencing mechanisms needed to sustain their work. The M4D perception survey also reflects increased influence by CBOs: it shows that they have been active in aiding their communities to make demands which are the outcome of consultations with most members of their various communities.

<sup>60</sup> *M4D Report of Perception Survey of CBOs in M4D LGAs, 2013–2017*, M4D (February 2018).

<sup>61</sup> *M4D Outputs Progress Report*, M4D (March 2018).

## 5.3 How useful is the Learning and Life Skills Club concept to adolescent girls and the community? *[Relevance]*

### 5.3.1 Summary of key findings

In both Kano and Kaduna, **LSCs and girls' platforms have become increasingly well established and respondents report that the number of girls involved in LSCs has grown**. This is echoed by M4D M&E data which suggests strong progression in the organisation and engagement of girls' platforms and the creation of a total of 650 LSCs, including **239 LSCs established by M4D-supported CBOs and PMs/SPs**. The main reasons girls wanted to join LSCs appear to be acquiring domestic skills, followed by improving income-generating opportunities and educational reasons. Whilst Girls' Platforms Community Dialogue Action Scorecard (CDAS+) scores point towards sustainability and case study findings suggest positive signs for LSC/girls' platform sustainability, **apart from in Jigawa, there is limited concrete evidence of shifts in practices and policies among either CBOs or LGAs that may underpin the sustainability of LSCs**. Within a sustainability assessment prepared by M4D in April 2018, several examples of potential sustainability related to girls' platforms or LSCs were identified, including preparation of an LSC strategy by the Ministry of Women's Affairs in Jigawa, together with budgetary provision. Similarly, the M4D sustainability assessment reports that the Kano State Ministry of Women Affairs & Social Development *"has demonstrated a high level of commitment for supporting and sustaining"* LSCs, but provides no details as to whether any strategies or budgets have been formulated to support LSCs beyond the end of M4D. **The M4D sustainability assessment concludes "... that LSCs and GPs are likely to continue in some form after the end of M4D, in the programme's focal LGAs. Considering the political economy of each of the three states it's likely that the sustainability rate will probably be highest in Jigawa State."** A key factor in the success of LSCs and girls' platforms suggested by both the case study findings and M4D M&E reports appears to be **increasing acceptance of them by parents and community members, and SP/PMS**. In addition, **girls' platforms are demonstrating an increased influence with PMs and SPs: M4D support has been a contributing factor in this change** through helping improve the way in which AGs' demands are communicated and considered.

### 5.3.2 Analysis and findings

**Evidence shows that, in both Kano and Kaduna states, LSCs and girls' platforms have become increasingly well established and the number of girls involved in LSCs has grown.** Between the 'first look' and 'second look' studies, important factors which appear to have enabled this trend are: continued parental support; new LSCs being established; the recruitment of new cohorts of AGs as previous cohorts graduate and the girls' platforms' role in the success of the LSCs. Specific training provided to AGs has included: a) how to actively participate in governance processes (leadership, mediation, communication, economic prudence, taxation, planning, good manners and social skills), and b) vocational/skills training (how to make perfume, washing-up liquid, beads and incense, as well as sewing, knitting, pastry making cooking). Peer champions reported that they had also receiving training focussed on: power mapping; stakeholder analysis; identifying and prioritising demands; gender and social inclusion; communication skills; negotiation; problem tree analysis, and rights and obligations (Kano); and participation in

*My parents do not put us in school, so my expectation is that I learn good skills here so I can help myself. If I can get the support I would like to be a tailor.*

#### **AG, 'first look' Case Study 3**

*In the past when we were not advised about our studies, whenever we went to school ... we miss lessons and do not pay attention to our studies. Now we see the value in education and have begun to pay attention to our studies.*

#### **AG, 'second look' Case Study 3**

governance, the constitution and implementation of action plans (Kaduna). In both Kano and Kaduna states, peer champions reported that they had received refresher training between the 'first look' and 'second look' studies and, in Kaduna, cross-girls-platform learning events were reported within the state.

**The most important things which girls reported they had learned from their involvement in LSCs appears to be making demands, acquiring social and behavioural skills, improving income-generating opportunities and valuing education more.** Perceptions of the value of LSCs amongst the six groups of LSCs members interviewed in Kano and Kaduna remained broadly the same between the 'first look' and 'second look' studies. In all three FGDs conducted with LSC members in Kaduna, girls highlighted how they had learnt about the process of demand creation and articulation. Among the six FGDs conducted with LSC members in Kano and Kaduna, AGs reported that they had learned social and behavioural skills from their involvement in LSCs. For example, learning "how to relate with people in a more respectful manner", gaining "communication, inter personal communication and relation" skills, learning "how to behave and act as ladies", and learning "how to take proper care of themselves".

One LSC member said that "The LSC has helped me to realise the role of a woman because before M4D, some of us wake up and do not help with the house chores, we did not know how to care for our bodies"; another said "how she has become more helpful and collaborative in the house over the last one year and its all thanks to the LSC", whilst a third said "I greet my parents and show gratitude to them. I do house hold chores".

The great majority of girls interviewed during both the 'first look' and 'second look' studies reported that they see LSCs as an opportunity to acquire skills to become economically independent – a perception that has contributed to an increased emphasis on skills acquisition within LSC training activities in Kano.

During the 'first look' study, most girls indicated that access to education was another priority for them (see examples, right). While many of them attend primary or junior schools, the possibility of further education is limited and they see LSC training as a way to further develop their skills instead. This perception seems to have strengthened at the time of the 'second look' study, with several examples of AGs actively valuing the LSCs for educational reasons, including: a) girls using money from new businesses (because of LSC training) to pay for education costs in Kano; b) girls making demands for better educational services and sensitising others on the importance of education in both Kano and Kaduna states, including a successful demand for the building of classrooms in a girls' secondary school in Kano; and c) the Kano Education Secretary reporting that girls have realised how it is important for them to go to school as one of M4D's biggest achievements.

**Parents and other community members seem to have become more accepting of AGs' participation in the LSCs/girls' platforms and of their interactions with CBOs, traditional leaders and PM/SPs.** During the 'first look' study, it was observed that improvements in the girls' behaviour (e.g. communication, interpersonal) and their ability to contribute to household income were beginning to influence community opinion. This perception was also observed during the 'second

*They have influenced us indeed because every time we sit with them they advise us. For example, that issue of health centre that I was telling you, how it needs improvement; you see, they are the ones that brought this problem to our attention.*

**Ward CBO member, 'first look'  
Case Study 3**

*As a result of M4D, I am more assertive, I can express myself in the presence of people, I have my own contributions to make, and in the past, I could not speak even amidst my friends [...] If you had come before M4D, you would not have had audience with us because we will be shy and not talk, but now we can talk with anyone that comes our way.*

**AG, 'second look' Case Study 3**

look' study, along with evidence that some parents are happy for their daughters to continue in the LSCs because they have noticed their successes and are proud of them.

There also appears to have been a change in the general cultural acceptance of the girls' engagement with governance processes (e.g. townhall meetings, interface meetings) and their interactions with key stakeholders, including CBOs, PMs/SPs and traditional leaders. This may be because community members have seen that the girls come to no harm and that the collaborations have had some positive outcomes for the community.

**In general, girls' platforms are demonstrating an increased influence on PMs and SPs directly, in some cases independently of CBOs and M4D.** During the 'first look' study, it was observed that peer champions had gained the knowledge and skills to influence decision makers, but that there had been limited engagement of girls' platforms with PMs and SPs, though they believed that they would become more influential over time. During the 'second look' study, there was a fair amount of evidence of girls' platforms confidently participating directly in town hall meetings and other meetings with PMs and SPs. In many cases, this engagement has been with the support of CBOs and there is evidence that girls have been visiting the LGA and are engaging with PMs and SPs directly, suggesting that they have gained better communication skills and have become more competent in diplomacy and making evidence-based demands.

A range of examples of where girls' platforms had made demands, some of them successfully, were given by different stakeholders (see examples, right). One traditional leader in Kano cited a successful demand for the building of classrooms in a girls' secondary school as evidence of the improved capacity of girls' platforms in recent years. A CBO member in Kano reported that girls have made several demands for school facilities and requested for women's toilets facilities in market places. The platform in Kaduna reported that they believe that the support provided by M4D has led to some of their demands in the areas of health and education being met. These findings are broadly echoed in the M4D Outputs Progress Report<sup>62</sup> in which it is reported that girls' platforms made 16, 13 and 42 educational and 3, 8 and 7 health demands in Kano, Kaduna and Jigawa respectively.

**Collaboration between CBOs and girls' platforms has increased, particularly the provision of CBO support to girls' platforms, though evidence of CBOs engaging with LSCs is mixed.** Between the 'first look' and 'second look' studies, collaboration between CBOs and girls' platforms seems to have continued and, in some cases, increased. Key areas of support which CBOs have provided to girls' platforms include: a) procurement, financial and logistical support; b) working with them on community mobilisation and sensitisation activities; and c) helping them implement their action plans and organise community meetings.

There is good evidence in both Kano and Kaduna states of CBOs working with girls' platforms to help them making demands to PMs/SPs, including helping girls to finalise and prioritise demands, putting demands in writing and following up on them. Meetings between CBOs and girls' platforms in Kano had reportedly also helped to improve CBO attitudes towards working with them, and women in general, because they had found their opinions to be equally useful to those of male citizens and noted that they bring up different issues to men. During the 'second look' study, some respondents were critical of the manner in which CBOs were supporting girls' platforms to make demands and felt that there was room for improvement. In Kano State, some AGs claimed that no CBOs had participated in forwarding demands during 2017 while one traditional leader in Kaduna had had little engagement with CBOs concerning LSCs/AGs, leading him to think that CBOs had *'not properly understood and domesticated the methods and processes that M4D introduced in terms of their engagement with the LSCs/AGs.'* This finding contrasts with evidence from the 'first look' study where LSC peer champions stated that they had mainly channelled their demands through CBOs.

---

<sup>62</sup> M4D Outputs Progress Report, M4D (March 2018)

**There has been an increase in support to girls' platforms from traditional leaders, who are able to use their relative power and influence to lobby on behalf of girls.** During the 'first look' study, the two traditional leaders interviewed in Kano and Kaduna states reported that, while they had some experience of engaging with LSC members, this was limited to the LSC mentors or peer champions – since engaging with larger groups of girls is seen as culturally inappropriate – and that M4D training had been instrumental in helping them understand the importance of listening to the views of AGs. During the 'second look' study, it appeared that collaboration between AGs and these traditional leaders has strengthened considerably. Both traditional leaders reported that their interaction with AGs had changed over the last two years and that they were happy that AGs felt able to come to them directly. Girls platform representatives in both Kano and Kaduna states indicated that the traditional leaders had been instrumental in making demands to PMs and SPs on their behalf, because the leaders are better positioned to follow up with the relevant stakeholders. The traditional ruler in Kaduna State attributed this change to M4D, saying that through the training he had learnt how to communicate with AGs and became aware of their rights, and also that he no longer saw them as being 'fragile' and in need of help, but as actually very intelligent and determined, which has influenced his commitment to support them.

**While there are some positive signs for the sustainability of the LSC/girls' platforms, there is, apart from in Jigawa, limited concrete evidence of shifts in practices and policies among CBOs or PMs/SPs that may underpin the sustainability of LSCs.** Several positive changes appear to have taken place between the 'first look' and 'second look' studies, which may help to facilitate the sustainability of LSC and girls platform models. Parents are now more positive towards the participation of girls in LSCs, which contrasts with a concern voiced by girls during the 'first look' study that it would be difficult to convince their parents if the LSCs were not supported by M4D anymore. There have been examples of girls' platforms in Kano organising their own meetings and events independently of M4D, continuing with activities after M4D funding had stopped and of strong relationships between girls' platforms, CBOs and traditional leaders. Similarly, in Kaduna State, there are examples of relationships between girls' platforms, CBOs and PMs/SPs becoming more of a norm. Whilst M4D reported that girls' platforms are being registered as cooperative societies during the case study field work, no evidence of any detailed plans or strategies aimed at their continuation was evident, particularly in terms of funding, either from CBOs or the LGA. Within a sustainability assessment prepared by M4D in April 2018, areas of potential sustainability related to girls' platforms or LSCs included: a) adoption of the LSC core curriculum by the state government in Jigawa, b) preparation of an LSC strategy by the Ministry of Women's Affairs in Jigawa, together with budgetary provision, and c) girls' platforms involvement in governance processes becoming more of a norm due to relationships between girls' platforms, CBOs and PMs/SPs in all three states. There are examples of scale-up in both Kano and Kaduna states, where it was reported by M4D staff that some CBOs have started setting up their own LSCs without any support, though it is unclear how their activities will be funded going forward. Similarly, the M4D sustainability assessment reports that the Kano State Ministry of Women Affairs & Social Development *"has demonstrated a high level of commitment for supporting and sustaining"* LSCs, but provides no details as to whether any strategies or budgets have been formulated to support LSCs beyond the end of M4D.

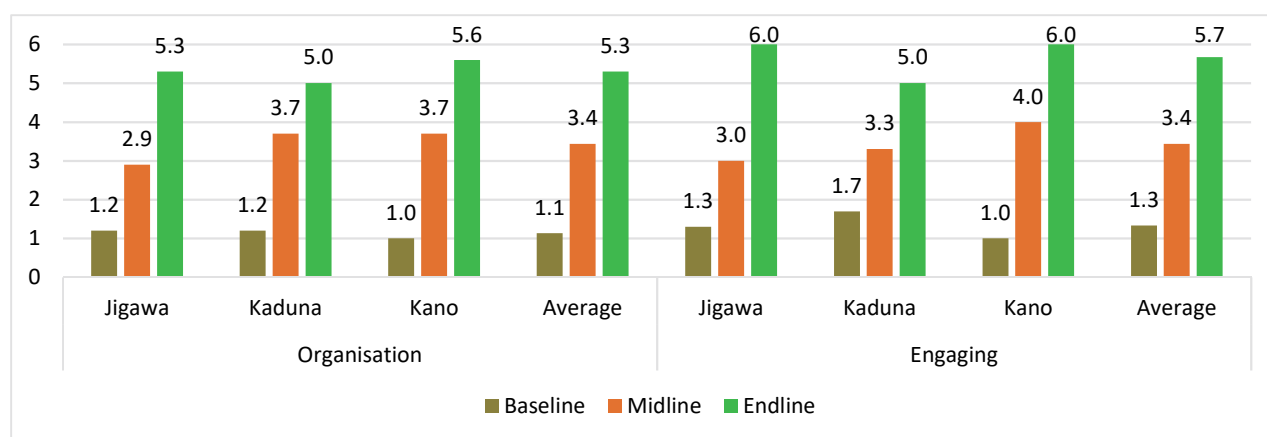
**M4D has made a positive impact on relationships between different groups of stakeholders which has improved the way in which AGs' demands are being communicated and considered.** During the 'first look' study, there was good evidence of M4D having been instrumental in helping establish effective relationships between LSCs, girls' platforms and CBOs in order to facilitate indirect engagement of AGs with PMs/SPs. There was evidence of both formal and informal PMs/SPs beginning to understand the importance of listening to the views of AGs as a result of M4D training, and conversely of girls having better relations with PMs/SPs because of the support provided by M4D – which improved how girls' demands are communicated.

During the ‘second look’ study, there was evidence that M4D appears to have been instrumental in convincing parents to involve their daughters in LSCs, and this, in turn, has encouraged other parents to allow their daughters to participate. The growing acceptance of the engagement of girls in governance processes and with CBOs, PMs/SPs and traditional leaders was attributed to communities having become more aware of the rights of AGs, both because of M4D’s work in this area and of wider government efforts. Both formal and informal PMs/SPs are increasingly receptive to the needs of AGs and this ‘listening mode’ was attributed to M4D training.

**M4D M&E data provides evidence of LSCs being scaled up and of prospects for girls’ platforms’ sustainability being good.** According to *M4D 2016 Output Progress Report*, there are some positive signs of the LSC model becoming more institutionalised in M4D-targeted states.<sup>63</sup> For example, the Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Development (MWASD) in all three states has included allocations in the 2018 budget to scale up the number of LSCs. Over the lifetime of M4D, the Programme has supported the establishment of 411 LSCs while CBOs supported by M4D and PMs/SPs have helped to establish a further 239. Like the CDAS framework applied for CBOs, M4D developed a CDAS+ framework for assessing the progress of girls’ platforms in each of the nine LGAs where it works.<sup>64</sup> The results of CDAS+ show that, on average across the nine girls’ platforms, there has been considerable progress between the baseline and end-line assessments as shown in Figure 6 below. While girls’ platforms in Kaduna State do not appear to have progressed as well as those in Jigawa and Kano states, taking M4D’s view that a score of five points towards sustainability, the CDAS+ scores suggest, together with M4D reports, that girls’ platforms have begun targeting girls outside of M4D focal wards, and that they can function well independently of M4D support.<sup>65</sup>

**M4D reports that the use of town hall meetings by girls’ platforms as a community engagement mechanism has become increasingly routine.** M4D M&E reports indicate that over the lifetime of the Programme, girls’ platforms have increasingly embedded the use of town hall meetings as a community engagement mechanism with support from LSC members and CBOs. M4D also reports that these meetings help to keep girls in their communities informed about the progress that girls’ platforms are making with their demands to decision makers. Echoing case study findings, M4D reports that LSCs have become accepted by communities because of LSC contributions to girls’ education and upbringing, with community members expressing observed differences between girls who had attended LSCs, and those who had not.

Figure 6: Girls platform CDAS+ scores



<sup>63</sup> *M4D Outputs Progress Report*, M4D (March 2018).

<sup>64</sup> The M4D administered CDAS+ measures changes in the way girls platforms are organised (i.e. are orderly and functional), engaging (i.e. with LSCs), and influencing (i.e. are influencing PMs/SPs).

<sup>65</sup> On a scale of 1 to 6, with 6 being the highest score.



**M4D M&E reports identify several good practice examples of girls' engagement.** The girls platform in one Kano LGA has targeted a wide range of stakeholders on the need for a skills acquisition centre for girls with disabilities. In another Kano LGA, the girls platform has engaged with government officials over girls' demands through town hall meetings facilitated by state government, as well as LGA-level town hall meetings. Another example given relates to the Second Chance Education (SCE) in Kano and Kaduna states where, because of girls engaging with communities on gender issues, it is reported that several adolescent girls (married and unmarried) have returned to school to further their education.

## 5.4 How effective has M4D's support been to PWD? *[Effectiveness]*

### 5.4.1 Summary of key findings

Over the lifetime of the Programme, **PWD have, with the support of M4D, gained in self-confidence further enabled by positive change in attitudes towards PWD among family and community members.** Both the case study findings and M4D's own M&E data point towards **PWD CBOs now being more organised and engaging more with PMs/SPs**, though according to M4D M&E data, this appears more evident in Kano compared to Jigawa or Kaduna. Despite there being **evidence of a range of PWD demands being made and included in LGA budgets, there are very few examples of these demands being met** within either the case study findings or M4D M&E data. The main factor appears to be **unrealistic LGA budgeting and insufficient LGA budget provisions being made** by state governments. There is evidence that this is leading to frustration among PWD and potentially contributing to **a slowdown in the number of demands being made.**

### 5.4.2 Analysis and findings

**Over the lifetime of the Programme, one of the biggest observed changes in the sites visited in all three states is the growth in self-confidence of PWD who have received support through the work of M4D.** During the 'first look' Case Study 5, it was reported that PWD understand their rights better and have gained confidence. It was also reported that this was beginning to affect how PWD are perceived by the wider community and that attitudes towards them are changing as people relate to them more. The confidence of PWD in their own ability continued to increase between the 'first look' and 'second look' Case Study 5. In Jigawa State, one LGA PM reported that there was evidence of behaviour change amongst PWD because of increased confidence, suggesting that PWD no longer view themselves as 'underdogs' and have started working with other citizens towards improved service delivery. In Kaduna State, a PWD CBO Chair also reflected on the change in PWD behaviour and reported that they were now working harmoniously with other members of the community. Similarly, a PWD CBO Chair in Kano said that PWD have a better

*In the past, the PWD didn't have the initiative to ask PMs/SPs of their right or check what the government was doing. M4D really has helped to build their capacity to even form their association and see how best to articulate their needs. Basically, because their capacity has been built, they have a wider knowledge on making demands and being specific about it.*

#### **Formal PM, 'first look' Case Study 5**

*We have no doubts that we have finally found our rightful place in society... We as PWD saw our disability as a reason to give up on life and to limit ourselves, while others saw us as merely a people always in need of charity. We did not know that we had rights, responsibilities and the capacity to make it in different fields.*

#### **PWD, 'second look' Case Study 5**

sense of self-worth, which is linked to their involvement in governance, their engagement with PMs/SPs and their access to livelihood options.

Despite PWD's increased confidence, in the 'second look' Case Study 5 in Kaduna State, it was reported by a PWD CBO member that some PWD CBO members still consider themselves to be incapable of contributing to the development of their household or community, let alone governance. In addition, Kano M4D staff reported that, because PWD have suffered from discrimination for so long, changing their behaviour is difficult. Furthermore, in some cases, PWD are not keen to engage with the programme because no direct incentives are provided.

**PWD CBOs have become more organised and unified, and there are now clear leadership positions and elections being held.** During the 'first look' Case Study 5, in the sites visited in all three M4D states, a range of informants (PMs/SPs, PWD CBO members, PWD, and M4D staff) reported that since receiving support from M4D, supported PWD CBOs had become more organised and engaged. However, concerns were raised about conflicts within some PWD CBOs in Kano and Jigawa states resulting from the perception that the CBO leadership was dominated by people with certain types of disabilities (i.e. PWD CBOs tended to cater for one type of disability – such as blindness). During the 'second look' Case Study 5, it was observed that, while there hadn't been any big changes since the 'first look' study, there were a number of important results, including: a) The further strengthening of PWD CBOs, with elections being held to reinforce the leadership structure and constitutions amended; b) a higher participation of women in leadership positions, and c) addressing issues related to the domination of leadership positions by people with one particular type of disability .

**The provision of skills training and income-generating assets (IGAs) appears to have been an important factor in building confidence amongst PWD and, in some instances, is helping them to become more economically empowered.** During the 'first look' Case Study 5, there was limited and anecdotal evidence of PWD having used any skills training or the provision of IGAs to become more self-reliant, through a wide range of respondents reported that they had gained competence and confidence through the support of CBOs. During the 'second look' study, there were several examples reported of PWD becoming more economically empowered and self-reliant. In Jigawa State for example, one group of PWD reported that they were able to raise funds since being provided with grinding machines and groundnut oil pressing machines (by a non-M4D organisation). In Kaduna State, a PWD CBO had successfully negotiated access to vocational training in a school for PWD which was providing them with income-generation and educational training. In Kano State, one PM commented that some PWD are engaged in income-generating activities as training on craft making has made begging seem less attractive to them.

Despite these positive examples, during the 'second look' Case Study 5, one group of PWD in Jigawa claimed that they still lacked the skills and capital necessary for economic empowerment. Other PWD in Jigawa also suggested that M4D should support initiatives that would help PWD holding the Nigeria Certificate in Education (NCE) in order to gain jobs or further education opportunities. In the same state, a PWD CBO secretary indicated that while two PWD had received training on how to fix phones, they had not been provided with sufficient equipment to then apply their training, let alone to train others.

**The attitudes of family and community members have changed and they are now more supportive of PWD though there are some concerns over behavioural changes being sustained.** During the 'first look' Case Study 5, there was some evidence that the attitudes of parents and community members towards PWD was beginning to change because of the work of PWD CBOs. PWD and PMs in all three states reported that, despite there still being challenges, stigmatism towards PWD had decreased and that they were now more socially included and acknowledged. In Jigawa State, M4D reported that parents of disabled children now wanted their children to receive an education and acquire skills – this was backed up by a PM from the Education Department reporting that PWD were now being sent to school and did not have to resort to begging anymore.

During the ‘second look’ Case Study 5, PWD in the sites visited in all three states reported that they had been experiencing further improvements in community support since the ‘first look’ case study. They attributed this improvement to the increased capacity of PWD CBOs and the range of public sensitisation activities that they had conducted. In Jigawa and Kaduna states, but less so in Kano, PWD CBOs have had success in encouraging parents to allow their children with disabilities to go to school. In Kano State, a PM from the Education Department reported that there was still some unwillingness on the part of parents to send their disabled children to school, but he also noted some improvements. Some PWD in Kano State were less positive and believed that the support received was because of the presence of M4D, and that this would change when the programme ends.

**PWD CBOs have improved the way in which they document and communicate demands to government and are engaging with PMs/SPs, though engagement mechanisms are not institutionalised everywhere and there is evidence of a slowdown in demands being made, possibly due to low demand satisfaction.** During the ‘first look’ Case Study 5, M4D staff and PWD CBO representatives in the sites visited in all three states reported that PWD CBOs had been collaborating strategically with a range of CBOs across all three states to make demands of government and to advocate for the rights of PWD. There was also strong evidence reported by a range of PMs/SPs across all states that PWD CBOs had approached them directly to make demands for PWD’s better access to public services and to promote their participation in governance. In all three states, demands had included improved disabled access to buildings and facilities and the provision of inclusive education. Demands for greater economic opportunity for PWD were made in Jigawa and Kano states while demands for improved, and subsidised, access to health care for PWD were made in Kaduna and Kano states.

During the ‘second look’ Case Study 5, a range of respondents (PWD, LGA PMs/SPs, M4D staff) in Jigawa and Kano states reported an increase and strengthening of engagement between PWD CBOs and PMs/SPs over the previous two years. In Kaduna State, there is more evidence of PWD CBOs organising advocacy events than engaging directly with PMs/SPs. A feature of the engagement between PWD CBOs and PMs/SPs has been the use of interface and town hall meetings organised by M4D at the LGA level, as well as at the state level. It was reported by several LGA PMs/SPs in Jigawa State that these meetings were now institutionalised, but this was not evident in Kano and Kaduna states, where no meetings had been held for several months in Kano and for almost a year in Kaduna in the sites visited. M4D staff reported that this was due to the frequent transfer of government officials from the LGA – pointing to issues of sustainability in these locations.

**Table 3: Number of demands made by PWD CBOs**

State	LGA	2014	2015	2016	2017	Total
Jigawa	Mallam-Madori	0	0	1	2	3
	Miga	0	0	4	0	4
	Ringim	0	1	1	2	4
	<b>Total</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>11</b>
Kaduna	Igabi	0	0	1	1	2
	Kachia	0	2	1	0	3
	Kudan	1	2	1	0	4
	<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>9</b>
Kano	Dawakin Tofa	0	2	8	3	13
	Garun Mallam	0	2	2	6	10
	Sumaila	0	0	0	4	4
	<b>Total</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>27</b>
<b>Grand Total</b>		<b>1</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>47</b>

Source: M4D Master QA Data Sheet, February 2018

*Now PWD, women and indeed all citizens are invited to present their demands which will be prioritized and incorporated in the LGA budget. Before the M4D program, only senior LGA officers (HODs and directors) were involved in the budget process.*

**LGA PM, ‘second look’ Case Study 5**

*In all my years as a District Head, I have never before witnessed or received in audience PWD, coming as a group to make demands and request for support to participate in governance at the LG level.*

**Informal PM, ‘second look’ Case Study 5**

Similarly, during the 'second look' Case Study 5, in the sites visited in all three states except for one LGA PM/SP in Kaduna State, it was reported by LGA PMs/SPs that the capacity of PWD CBOs to generate demands, prioritise them, and forward them on to the correct person or department within the LGA had been enhanced. In all three states, numerous examples of PWD making demands were given, though there appeared to be an overlap with examples given during the 'first look' study in many cases. It was unclear how many of the examples had been made since the 'first look' study and in Kachia LGA in Kaduna State it appears that no demands had been made in the previous year – which M4D staff interpreted as a sign that PWD were becoming discouraged due to unmet demands. This finding is corroborated by M4Ds own data on the number of demands made in each LGA (see Table 3) – which shows that no demands were made by PWD CBOs in Kachia LGA during 2017. Between 2015 and 2016, the number of demands grew considerably in Jigawa and Kano. Between 2016 and 2017, there was a more modest increase in demands in Kano and the number of demands reduced in Jigawa and Kaduna – where only one was made.

**In most sites visited, there is evidence that PWD CBOs are now being fully involved in participatory budgeting, that PMs/SPs are gathering feedback from PWD and that PWD are involved in a range of LGA activities.** During the 'first look' Case Study 5, in all sites visited, PWD and LGA SPs/PMs reported that PWD were being increasingly included in LGA budgeting processes, and there was evidence of PWD being consulted on LGA plans through town hall meeting invitations. During the 'second look' study, PWD and LGA SPs/PMs in Jigawa and Kano states reported that PWD are consistently included in participatory LGA budget meetings and that their demands are included in the LGA budget as a result. An LGA PM/SP in Jigawa reported that this was not the case in non-M4D supported LGAs in the state. In Kaduna State, it appears that only the 2015 LGA budget was developed using a participatory process. Similarly, during the 'second look' study, it was reported by LGA PMs/SPs in Jigawa and the Rehabilitation Board in Kaduna that they were making more effort to gather direct feedback from PWD and monitor activities in order to ensure PWD satisfaction. There is much less evidence of PMs/SPs in Kano State trying to get feedback from PWD. PWD in all three states are now involved in LGA activities, including development projects and the planning and monitoring of activities.

**There seem to be some improvements in the PMs'/SPs' understanding of the need to be responsive and accountable to the needs of PWD. However, in Kaduna State, it was noted that there were too many limitations for this to be effective.** During the 'first look' Case Study 5, in the sites visited in all three states, there was evidence that LGA PMs and SPs had logged PWD CBO demands and informed their plans and budgets accordingly. For the first time, PWD received a response in terms of whether their demands can be addressed, when this can be done and by whom. These changes appeared to occur for two main reasons: a) LGA PMs/SPs seemed to better understand that empowering PWD is in their own interest, and b) the capability of PWD to make demands has been enhanced.

During the 'second look' study, there was evidence of improvements in the PMs'/SPs' understanding of the need to respond in the sites visited in all three states, though PWD and a PWD CBO member in Kaduna State reported that, because of frequent changes in government officials, the responsiveness of PMs/SPs had been negatively affected. In Jigawa State, one informal and two formal PMs/SPs reported that over the previous two years the LGA had developed the practice of providing feedback on how funds are being spent and how projects are going. In Kano State, one group of disabled men reported that compared to previous practice, when the LGA would make promises but fail to deliver, PMs/SPs now do make an effort to respond to demands within their capacity.

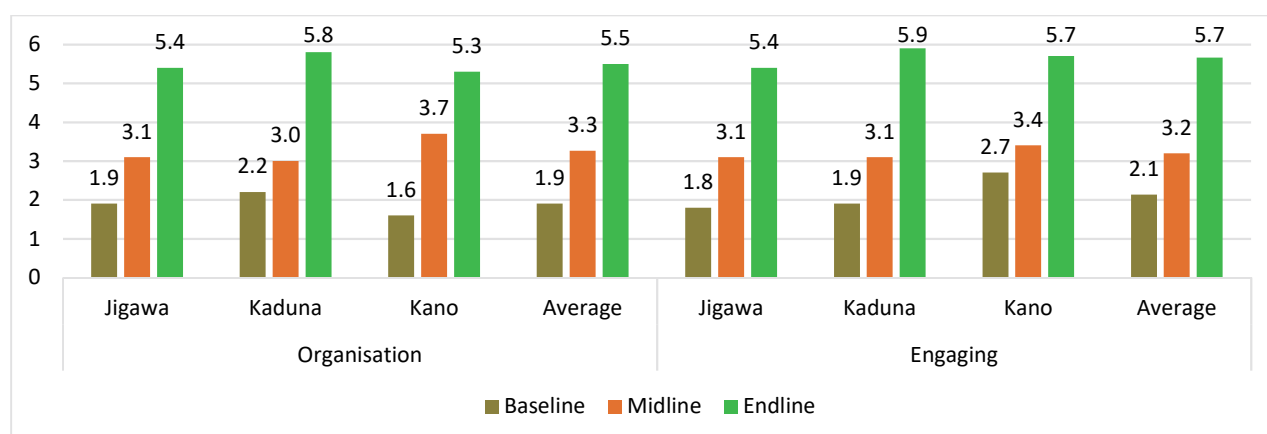
**PWD demands which require little monetary investment are being met, but not capital-intensive ones, primarily because of LGA funding constraints and unrealistic LGA budgets, leading to declining confidence in LGA PMs/SPs among PWD.** During the ‘second look’ Case Study 5, in the sites visited in all three M4D states, there was a range of examples given of where PMs/SPs have implemented activities as a direct result of demands made by PWD, though these were characterised as requiring very little funding. For example, in Jigawa State, six deaf students asked an LGA PM/SP for financial assistance and each received a 20,000 naira scholarship; another Jigawa LGA PM/SP reported that they had provided scholarships for some PWD to attend higher education and a school for deaf children. A similar scholarship scheme was referred to by an M4D staff member in Kaduna State and by an LGA PM/SP in Kano State.

Examples of improvements being made at health facilities in response to PWD complaints or demands were given in the sites visited in all three states. These included the appointment of PWD to a hospital committee in Jigawa State to ensure that PWD needs were better addressed, PWD inclusion in polio immunisation campaigning in Kaduna State and actions taken in Kano State to address communication problems between health care workers and speech and hearing-impaired citizens.

Despite these positive examples, M4D staff in Jigawa State reported that it was difficult to get PMs/SPs to respond to demands which required construction undertakings or were capital intensive, even when allocations for such demands were included in the LGA budget and repeated follow-ups made. A similar situation was reported in the sites visited in Kano and Kaduna states. Many PWD voiced frustration at this situation and blamed high staff turnover and lack of interest from the LGA. In the sites visited in all three states, PMs/SPs said that the reason why demands had not been met was a lack of government funding at the LGA level and reliance on state government funds, which are often not forthcoming. PMs/SPs said that, while PWD demands are logged and included in LGA budgets, they do not necessarily get implemented due to financial constraints.

These findings are supported by M4D monitoring data which shows that of the 47 demands made by PWD CBO’s (see Table 3), 13 (28%) of these (see Table 4 in Section 5.5) have been ‘incorporated into plans or delivery of basic services and accountability’ and only 2 (4%) have been implemented (neither of which are classified as being capital-intensive).

Figure 7: PWD CBO CDAS scores



**Similar to mainstream CBOs and girls’ platforms, PWD CBOs have made great progress in becoming more organised and in engaging with communities and other CBOs. As a result, a total of 47 demands have been made by M4D-supported PWD CBOs, though far more were made in Kano**

<sup>66</sup> In this context, demands are classified as capital intensive if they involve construction of new facilities (e.g. schools, classrooms, toilets, health centres, boreholes, drainage) or maintenance/repair/rehabilitation of a sufficiently large number of facilities (e.g. multiple boreholes, not just one).

**State compared to Kaduna or Jigawa.** The M4D-administered CDAS was also used to measure changes in the way PWD CBOs are organised and engaging (see Figure 7). Looking at the subset of PWD CBOs within those reported in Section 5.2 suggests a similar pattern is evident in the progression of PWD CBO scores as with the wider group of CBOs, with PWD CBOs tending to perform slightly better overall. According to the *M4D 2018 Outputs Progress Report*, this progression has been enabled by cross-learning exercises between mainstream CBOs and PWD CBOs in particular.<sup>67</sup> The M4D report also highlights that a total of 47 demands were made by supported PWD CBOs, with the majority of these being made in Kano (26), followed by Jigawa (12) and Kaduna (9) states. Education (18) and livelihoods (26) are the two sectors to which almost all demands relate.

**Very few examples of specific initiatives aimed at improving basic services for PWD appear to have been implemented within ministries, departments and agencies (MDA)-supported LGAs.** The *M4D 2018 Outputs Progress Report* provide a few examples of where specific initiatives aimed at improving basic services were put in place in the M4D-supported LGAs. These include a skills acquisition centre being established in a Jigawa LGA in 2016 and a Kano LGA in 2017. In addition, under the Mobile Veterinary Service (MVS) BFA (examined in detail under Section 5.7), M4D report that animals belonging to 29 PWD were treated for different ailments. Another important change which M4D suggests will benefit PWD is the passage of the Disabilities Bill in Jigawa State in 2017, and similar bills being considered in Kano and Kaduna states. These disabilities bills are considered in more detail as part of the EQ on sustainability in Section 5.9.

## 5.5 What factors lead PMs and SPs to respond to citizens' demands? [Effectiveness]

### 5.5.1 Summary of key findings

There seems to have been a **general improvement in the responsiveness and accountability of PMs and SPs**. Evidence from both the 'first look' and 'second look' studies links this to the improved capacity and organisation of the CBOs and their ability to engage more professionally and make better articulated demands, as well as M4D technical support provided to the PMs and SPs. Both studies highlight how **the improved capacity of both groups of stakeholders is leading to higher levels of engagement**, which in turn creates incentives for improved responsiveness and accountability on the part of the LGA. There is also evidence that the systematic logging and filing of demands significantly improved between the 'first look' and 'second look', and this is providing added incentives for responsiveness and increasing transparency. **The demands of citizens are increasingly being incorporated into plans or delivery of basic services and accountability**, and there is a broad amount of evidence demonstrating progress in terms of responses to these demands, although far more non-capital-intensive demands are being implemented compared to capital-intensive demands. There is also limited but well-evidenced feedback **of some gaps in PM's and SP's responsiveness and accountability, particularly in relation to girls' platforms**. This is largely attributed to the **resource constraints faced by the LGA, although it was mentioned that general bureaucracy may slow down project implementation**. M4D's contribution to these improvements is clear, through both stakeholder training and facilitation of engagement, although some other organisations have been working on improving basic services.

### 5.5.2 Analysis and findings

**There is evidence in both the 'first look' and 'second look' studies that links the increased responsiveness of the PMs and SPs to the improved capacity and organisation of the CBOs, and their ability to engage more professionally and make better articulated demands.** Prior to the

<sup>67</sup> *M4D Outputs Progress Report*, M4D (March 2018).



intervention, PMs/SPs did not trust CBOs to be representative because they were often confrontational and unorganised. The PMs and SPs also found it challenging to communicate directly with citizen groups that had limited understanding and awareness of how governance processes work. However, as noted in Section 5.2, M4D training has led to the improved coordination and partnership capacity of CBOs, which has enabled them to engage more effectively with PMs/SPs. The CBOs and marginalised groups in the community also now understand their rights and gain confidence in the governance processes. The organisational and budgeting skills of the CBOs continued to improve between the two studies, which resulted in more positive responses from PMs and SPs. The increased attention of CBOs on media reporting and procurement processes was also cited by a small number of respondents in the ‘second look’ study as contributing to improved transparency and accountability.

M4D also taught the CBOs how to summarise and prioritise demands, and to frame them in a way that demonstrated a shift from individual interest to community or group needs. FGD respondents in the ‘second look’ study said that this was making the demands more persuasive and resulted in increased responsiveness from PMs/SPs. Respondents in both studies highlighted the efforts of the CBOs to represent a coordinated view from their communities and make collective demands. The majority of PMs and SPs consulted said that this was making their work easier given that they were consulting with a wide range of citizens’ views on specific issues. This increased engagement was ultimately leading to increased trust and better relationships between the two groups of stakeholders and enabled PMs and SPs to see the value of including citizens in governance processes.

**There was sufficient evidence that M4D training provided instrumental technical support to enable PMs and SPs to become more responsive and accountable.**

Previously PMs/SPs did not have the knowledge and awareness to organise and engage citizens and CBOs.

However, it is clear that LGA officials have now developed a more positive attitude and approach towards citizens and CBOs. However, in the ‘first look’ study there is evidence that M4D’s training was allowing PMs and SPs to better understand and deliver their roles and responsibilities, and that this support has improved relationships with both citizens and CBOs. In the ‘second look’ study, respondents also often reported improved transparency, with PMs and SPs providing explanation and feedback relating to the reasons that they might not be able to meet demands, as well as where resources are allocated. In the ‘second look’ study there was also evidence that the LGA PMs/SPs are receiving improved support and political commitment from state-level PMs and ministries.

**There is substantial and broad evidence that structures and processes for inviting and incorporating demands are being established and are strongly associated with M4D outputs.**

During the ‘first look’ study, respondents mentioned numerous structures for inviting and incorporating feedback from CBOs, including through forums and town hall meetings. It is then used to inform budgets, formulate policies and plans, and improve services. During the ‘second look’ study, CBOs were increasingly engaged in participatory budgeting processes,

*PMs and SPs [now] understand that the CBOs are not representing their selfish interest but the interest of the citizens and the development of the community.*

**LSC Mentor, ‘second look’  
Case Study 2**

*PMs and SPs now engage the citizens to know what their demands are before logging and addressing it, unlike before where citizens were not contacted and projects were just implemented without their inputs. Now there is participatory budgeting process, and citizens are shown the budget, and explanation regarding why some demands are not met is been done also.*

**LCS Mentor, ‘second look’  
Case Study 2**

*We have quarterly meetings where the PMs/SPs give account of the activities they have carried out, the amount expended and the plans they have for other projects or programmes.*

**Ward CBO, ‘second look’  
Case Study 1**



rather than their feedback simply being incorporated into budgets at a later date. A good amount of evidence from respondents across all states show that this process has led citizens, CBOs and PMs/SPs to be more confident in the process of budget preparation, which has helped to prioritise demands in a more transparent manner. CBO respondents also said that the process creates transparency as PMs and SPs now provide account of financial spending. The ‘second look’ study also provided evidence that community input and participation are being formally institutionalised through greater CBO input, with meetings being postponed if CBO members couldn’t attend, for example. Anecdotal evidence pointed toward a higher number of town hall meetings, increasingly attended by PMs and SPs, as well as traditional authorities. Further evidence of increased engagement and the institutionalisation of these processes can be found in Section 5.2.

*I think the PMs/SPs understand us better now, which has led to the change in attitude. In the past, when you came with demands, they were likely not to look at them but now they understand that we all are enlightened and we all have roles to play in the dispensation of governance.*

**Ward CBO, ‘second look’  
Case Study 3**

**Evidence shows that higher levels of engagement between PMs/SPs, CBOs and citizens created incentives for improved responsiveness and accountability.** Respondents highlighted a better mutual understanding of all parties’ respective roles in democratic processes and service delivery as a result of M4D training. This has strengthened the sense of partnership, which has led to an increased degree of collaborative rather than confrontational interactions. Increased engagement with CBOs and citizens also acts as an incentive for increased responsiveness from PMs and SPs. One LGA respondent in the ‘second look’ study claimed that the interactions with citizens had been an eye opener, and it seems to have the ability to improve the level of job satisfaction that PMs and SPs derive from their work. CBO respondents in Jigawa State confirmed that PMs and SPs are now under more scrutiny and have to provide explanations as CBOs and citizens are monitoring responses to demands.

**The systematic logging and filing of demands significantly improved between the ‘first look’ and ‘second look’ studies, and this is providing added incentives for responsiveness and is increasing transparency.** Although in the ‘first look’ study processes were still being established, by the ‘second look’ study all the PMs and SPs claimed to be logging demands made by citizens and bringing them to the attention of the relevant heads of departments (HoDs). Many PMs and SPs noted the use of logbooks in every LGA department and the issuing of acknowledgements of receipt. It was noted that this tracking system and introduction of a paper trail between relevant community members and PMs/SPs has strengthened accountability and accuracy because documents were less likely to be lost or unaccounted for. However, there was still a lack of clarity in the responses from girls’ platforms who did not seem aware of the logging status of their demands. Improved logging of demands is reported to be a result of better systems at the LGA level, improved monitoring of demands from citizens and CBOs, and direct engagement between PMs/SPs, citizens and CBOs.

**There is growing evidence between the ‘first look’ and ‘second look’ studies that demonstrates citizen demands being incorporated into plans or delivery of basic services and accountability.** While some PMs and SPs in the ‘first look’ study said that they were accommodating citizen demands in planning and budgeting, this evidence was not systematic across the sites and they refrained from providing detailed examples. This was cited as being due to funding constraints. There also seemed to be evidence of a lot of gaps, particularly with regard to reaching marginalised groups such as AGs. The ‘second look’ study has more robust data suggesting that CBOs are having more success when they forward demands, which is attributed to M4Ds staff realising that they should support the CBOs to engage with PM/SPs at key moments in the annual budget cycle. M4D’s *Mid-Term Narrative Report* (2016) supports this finding: planning processes are changing and becoming more inclusive. However, it also notes that there are variations between different sectors and LGAs in the way they involve citizens.

**There is a broad amount of evidence demonstrating progress in terms of responses to demands, although often these are non-capital-intensive.** In the ‘first look’ study, there was promising evidence that PMs and SPs had started to incorporate citizen demands into plans for service delivery, although the evidence lacked significant depth. In the ‘second look’ study, CBOs, PWD and girls’ platforms were able to give a variety of examples of PMs and SPs being responsive to their demands. In the ‘first look’ study, there was evidence of ambulance services and a PWD skills acquisition centre being provided in Miga LGA while drainage and other water and sanitation issues were also addressed in Ringim LGA. The ‘second look’ study provided evidence of more working days for nurses in target LGAs in Kano State, while in Jigawa there were responses to demands for rural electrification and more casual staff allocated to health facilities. However, in the ‘second look’ study, it was noted that responses are relatively low-intensity, one-off capital transfers rather than more complex or systemic shifts in resource allocation.

M4D monitoring data support these findings, indicating that all targets that relate to this outcome area are being achieved. The M4D data shows that, by the end of the programme, a total of 190 citizen demands were ‘incorporated into plans or delivery of basic services and accountability’ and that 71 (37.4%) of these had been implemented<sup>68</sup> (see Table 4). Overall, the majority (62.6%) of demands incorporated into plans are classified as being capital-intensive<sup>69</sup>, though the opposite is the case when looking at demands made by girl’s platforms (40%) and PWD CBOs (38.5%). It appears that non-capital-intensive demands are much more likely to be implemented compared to capital intensive demands, with 54.4% and 26.9% of non-capital and capital-intensive demands having been implemented respectively, though of the total implemented around 55% (39) were non-capital and 45% (32) were capital intensive demands. Almost twice as many girls’ platform demands that were implemented were non-capital-intensive compared to those that were capital-intensive, and no PWD CBO demands that were implemented were classed as capital-intensive.

**Table 4: Number of demands made by PWD CBOs**

Indicator	CBOs	GPs	PWD CBOs	Grand Total
No. of citizens' articulated demands that are incorporated into plans or delivery of basic services and accountability	152	25	13	<b>190</b>
No. and (%) of demands incorporated into plans classed as <b>non-capital-intensive</b>	48 (31.6%)	15 (60%)	8 (61.5%)	<b>71 (37.4%)</b>
No. and (%) of demands incorporated into plans classed as <b>capital-intensive</b>	104 (68.4%)	10 (40%)	5 (38.5%)	<b>119 (62.6%)</b>
No. and (%) of all demands incorporated into plans that have been implemented	56 (36.8%)	13 (52%)	2 (15.4%)	<b>71 (37.4%)</b>
No. and (%) of <b>non-capital-intensive</b> demands incorporated into plans that have been implemented	28 (58.3%)	9 (60%)	2 (25%)	<b>39 (54.9%)</b>
No. and (%) of <b>capital-intensive</b> demands incorporated into plans that have been implemented	28 (26.9%)	4 (40%)	0 (0%)	<b>32 (26.9%)</b>

<sup>68</sup> These figures include demands implemented directly through LGA budgets/plans and those implemented through other state or national level delivery mechanisms.

<sup>69</sup> To examine the extent to which demands incorporated into plans or implemented are capital intensive or not, the IEM examined the list of demands recorded by M4D and classified each as either capital-intensive or not. Demands are classified as capital intensive if they involve construction of new facilities (e.g. schools, classrooms, toilets, health centres, boreholes, drainage) or maintenance/repair/rehabilitation of a sufficiently large number of facilities (e.g. multiple boreholes, not just one). Demands classified as not being capital intensive include requests that would not require a large expenditure compared to construction (e.g. provision of school materials or furniture, drugs, medical equipment) or would ordinarily be expected to be funded under the government recurrent budget (e.g. provision of teachers, health care workers). The IEM recognises that this is not a definitive classification and should be reviewed with M4D, and presents this classification for the purpose of better understanding the types of demands responded to by government.

M4D's ARCS data also showed progress. In 2015, the data shows that as many as 497 individuals, out of a target of 355, demonstrated increased capacity in terms of feedback structures, budgets, due process, leadership and reporting. By the 'second look' report the total was 607, in response to a target of 557. ARCS also showed that the overall capacities of PMs and SPs in the nine M4D LGAs had improved, although there were continued issues relating to transparency. The 'second look' study noted that there had been an improvement in ARCS data, due to the open budgeting system being adopted and operationalised in all M4D focal LGAs. For example, in Kano State, accountability scores rose from 1.9 at baseline in 2014 to 3.0 at end-line in 2017, while the responsiveness indicator increased from 1.8 at baseline to 4.2 at end-line. Similarly, in Kaduna State, major successes are highlighted with regard to the engagement and collaboration with community members, including marginalised groups. In relation to the number of revised or developed action plans on standard-based service provision or regulation with communities and marginalised groups, M4D also expanded to 50 (beyond a target of 36).

**Despite this progress, limited but well-evidenced feedback shows that there are still some gaps in PM's and SP's responsiveness and accountability.** In the 'second look' study in particular, a number of CBOs and citizen FGDs gave examples of demands not being followed up after logging. In both the 'first look' and 'second look' studies, a key constraining factor beyond the remit of M4D was resource constraints. As a result, low-intensity responses are progressing, whereas higher capital investments are contained by fiscal constraints. In the 'second look' study in Ringim LGA, there is evidence to demonstrate that efforts are being made to co-fund demands where resources are limited. Further limiting factors include change of government and officials, and political instability.

**M4D has contributed significantly to responsiveness and accountability by building the capacity and skills of PMs, SPs and CBOs through training of all stakeholders.** The establishment of engagement mechanisms and structures to gather feedback from CBOs, including forums and meetings, was also heavily linked to M4D programming in all three states. The inclusion of CBOs in participatory budgeting was largely associated with the technical guidance coming from M4D, and this was said not to exist before M4D. Meanwhile, M4D staff declared that they have had impact at the state level where they have contributed to discussions with the Governor that have resulted in a call for all LGAs to demonstrate participatory budgeting processes as of 2018.

However, a number of other suggested explanations were cited by state-level PMs to explain the increased responsiveness of PMs and SPs to citizen demands. The introduction of more thorough audit processes at the LG level, the presence of zonal LG inspectors who report to the ministries, and the activities of the state and LG reform project, were described as contributing in parallel to M4D to greater transparency and accountability of state and LGs to citizens, including through support provided by the "State and Local Government Reform Project" prior to M4D. Anecdotal evidence also shows that PMs and SPs now have an improved human resourcing process through which incoming

*M4D has made much faster progress than expected in terms of getting LGAs to accept the role of citizens in participatory process, but there is insufficient evidence yet of moving to the later stages of the continuum, where resources are made available for the implementation of plans. To date the most successful service delivery improvements have been on relatively low-hanging fruit issues as noted earlier.*

**Mid-Term Narrative Report (2016)**

*The issue is that some of those demands are not met, although things that relate to transfer of people to some places have been met...But when it comes to issues like construction, it becomes a problem. They will log the demand and say we are going to enter it in the budget, yet they have not been able to. It is not that they don't want to, but they [have few] resources at their disposal.*

**M4D Staff, 'second look'  
Case Study 1**

officers are brought up to speed on the governance shifts across the three states, particularly the implementation of the Open Budget Policy mandate which helped to facilitate the observed increase in participatory budgeting processes, and with which M4D actively collaborated.

In terms of inclusion of marginalised groups, a small number of respondents indicate that M4D's key role has been in supporting the development of PWD capacity to engage and assist in these longer-term supervisory roles. Further evidence suggesting that these findings are unique to the M4D intervention sites arise from a small number of statements declaring that recently transferred directors and other PM/SP staff need to be brought up to speed regarding the deeper level of PWD engagements.

## 5.6 How are M4D's communications supporting replication and scale-up? [Effectiveness]

### 5.6.1 Summary of key findings

There appears to be three areas where M4D communications activities have been demonstrably shown to be supporting replication and scale-up: creating channels, achieving reach and uptake, and improving targeting toward key actors.

Firstly, with respect to creating channels, there is **strong evidence that M4D has expanded the number of avenues through which formal and informal messages concerning replication and scale-up were able to reach stakeholders**. Evidence of such channels was not highly evident in the 'first look' studies, but the variety and number of media platforms and engagements expanded considerably over 2017–18.

Secondly, **there is a fair amount of evidence demonstrating uptake of key M4D messaging amongst CBOs, traditional leaders, PMs and SPs, as well as a recognition gained from a wider pool of actors**. The evidence shows that lessons were shared with a wide variety of actors, including LGA departments, state agencies, government ministries, and multilateral development partners. Uptake was most evident at the subnational level, although some notable examples of state-level uptake are present in Jigawa and Kano states.

Finally, **there has been a notable shift in M4D communications improving targeting toward key actors which has improved the flow and uptake of M4D lessons**. In the early and mid-stages of implementation, M4D communications approaches are shown to be relatively fragmented and opportunistic. A more focussed vision, developed as a response to the MTR, facilitated M4D to orient and tailor its communications approach in a way more appropriately catered for the needs and interests of audiences.

### 5.6.2 Analysis and findings

**There is strong evidence that the messaging and channelling of M4D communications have improved over the course of Programme**. The vast majority of PMs, SPs, CBOs and citizens stated that communication and interaction between SPs and PMs have improved through the BFA process. This evidence is corroborated in the 'second look' Case Study 4 and synthesis report. For instance, the case study reveals an expansion in the number of M4D media engagement activities taking place. Stakeholders declare greater familiarity with the

*There have been media communication on Rahama, Arewa Radio and Radio Kano stations. M4D's media action trained them on ways of interfacing with the media and promoting the replication and scale-up of the BFAs.*

**LGA CBO member, 'second look' Case Study 4**

Participatory Community Service Management System (PCSMS) initiative as a result of hearing about it through television, radio and other media channels. Similarly, the MVS achieved greater awareness amongst all actors – particularly through the use of documentary films released online via the YouTube platform. Detail on the inclusion and targeting of marginalised groups, such as PWD and AGs, in the targeting of communication activities is weak. However, there is a small amount of evidence suggesting that AGs and PWD have, at times, been engaged in the development of communications materials, as demonstrated in the MVS documentaries. The total media coverage until February 2018 is presented in Table 5.<sup>70</sup>

There is also good evidence from the M4D monitoring data that formal dissemination activities, in addition to media engagements, have been increasingly contributing to the replication and scale-up of M4D interventions.<sup>71</sup> Learning events organised by M4D, under programme Output 5, gained an increased emphasis as a result of the MTR recommendations. Specific indicators framed around ‘new knowledge’ were collated and shared with key stakeholders in order to encourage the uptake of successful M4D approaches. The evidence of associated replications, drawn from M4D monitoring data, is presented in Table 6.

**The findings demonstrate that informal communications channels have expanded and deepened over the course of the programme and have made significant contributions in creating awareness and familiarity of M4D programmes amongst a wide variety of stakeholders.** The ‘first look’

Case Study 4 found that increased upward communication flows from citizens and CBOs to PMs and SPs were providing a foundation for the increased responsiveness of PMs and SPs. The same ‘second-look’ study also provided evidence suggesting that citizens and CBOs had increased dialogue space and confidence to develop informal relationships with PMs and SPs. These shifts are associated with a fair amount of evidence linked to rights-based, advocacy and message- framing techniques promoted by M4D.

**Table 5: Typology of REACH of media activities – Feb 2018**

YouTube	439 views; 11 subscriptions; 1 comment
Facebook	1,288 likes; 1,270 followers
Twitter	101 followers
Explicit feedback for print publications	8
Explicit feedback from radio and TV broadcasts	102
Direct reach by SMS on media broadcast	2403

**Table 6: Replicated initiatives – Feb 2018**

State	Replicated Initiative
Kaduna	Town Hall meetings, LG planning and budgeting, Girls’ Platform Strategy, Service Improvement Action Plans (SIAP)
Jigawa	Participatory planning, MVS, <i>Kai da Hukumarka</i>
Kano	Open Budget Initiative, TOR for councillors, SCE, Drug Revolving Fund (DRF), SIAP, SERVICOM
Kaduna, Kano, Jigawa	LSC scale-up

**Table 7: List of M4D lessons shared and associated channels<sup>72</sup>**

M4D Lesson	Channel
1. Second Chance Education (SCE)	Stakeholder learning event
2. Mobile Veterinary Services (MVS)	Stakeholder learning event
3. Integrated LG Planning (ILGP)	Stakeholder learning event
4. Participatory Community Services Management System (PCSMS)	Stakeholder learning event
5. Community-Based Rehabilitation (CBR)	Media
6. Life Skills Club (LSC)	Media
7. Open Budget Initiative (OBI)	Media

<sup>70</sup> M4D Outputs Progress Report, M4D (March 2018).

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.



M4D Lesson	Channel
8. Service Compact with All Nigerians (SERVICOM)	Media
9. Kai da Hukumar Ka	Media
10. Service Improvement Action Planning (SIAP)	Learning event between Kano LGAs
11. Approaches to CBO engagement	Learning event between Kano CBOs
12. Drug Revolving Fund (DRF)	Learning event – 44 LGAs in Kano
13. Demand generation by PWD	Learning event – non-M4D LGAs and M4D LGAs
14. Sulhu Committee work Jigawa	Learning event and media
15. Platforms for engagement	Learning event and media
16. Budget briefing	Learning event and media
17. Borehole maintenance	Learning event and media
18. Cluster farming	Learning event and media
19. PPP toilet	Learning event
20. Local Emergency Transport Scheme (LETS)	Media
21. Tax for service	Media
22. Community-led Total Sanitation (CLTS)	Media
23. Power mapping	Media
24. Learnings from M4D grants to partners	Media
25. Work with informal policymakers	Media

**There has been significant progress in the development of an evidence base to map and understand the reach and uptake of M4D communications activities, which has in turn provided convincing evidence that PMs/SPs and CBOs have been advocating with a wide variety of stakeholders for the replication of successful BFAs in all three states.** The ‘first look’ Case Study 4 revealed a fair amount of anecdotal evidence that M4D interventions were using advocacy and communications activities to promote the replication of BFAs, but significant detail on the subject matter was lacking. As a result, linking these findings to contributions made by M4D was initially challenging.

The second synthesis study obtained substantially more detail regarding the reach and targeting of M4D communications activities. A broad variety of stakeholders in Kano, Kaduna and Jigawa states reported increased advocacy and communication initiatives with LGA-level actors, particularly the MVS BFA and PCSMS in Kano and Jigawa states. The M4D Programme is also shown to have gained recognition from a wider pool of actors. These include ESSPIN, UNICEF, PATH2, the World Health Organization and the Japanese government, where collaborative partnerships and engagements between PMs, SPs and citizens have been deepened.

Evidence of downstream impacts due to this recognition and engagement is limited. Nevertheless, as EQ 7 outlines below, there are multiple areas where M4D has gained interest amongst PMs and SPs by demonstrating the effectiveness of multiple types of intervention. These include scale-up and budgeting commitments made from PMs/SPs as a result of attending communications and lesson-sharing events. There is also a small degree of evidence that demonstrates progress in targeting traditional leaders and state-level actors. For example, several stakeholders reported that the role of M4D in a cross-state learning event (December 2016) was an important factor towards achieving state-level buy-in for the successful initiatives in Jigawa. Consequently, the Deputy State Governor of Jigawa is reported to have convened additional meetings on scaling up the PCSMS and MVS which resulted in a state-level commitment to scale up the MVS, as well as to include relevant support for this in the 2017 budget. Nevertheless, further evidence of state-level interactions is weak or limited, suggesting that the targeting and reach of upstream actors have not reached full potential.

**There has been a notable shift in M4D communications activities from a relatively opportunistic and ad hoc approach to targeting relevant audiences toward a more focussed and strategic vision.** The ‘first look’ Case Study 4 outlined an initial lack of clarity and limited shared understanding of the

purpose of the communications elements, as well as the definitions relating to replication, innovation, and scale-up. This was demonstrated in the M4D monitoring data indicator (Number of M4D lessons shared through appropriate media channels and/or learning events for 2015-17), which was shown to have notably lower level of achievement in comparison to other indicators.

As discussed, feedback from the MTR emphasised the need for improved strategizing regarding this communications approach. This shift facilitated deeper thinking on the appropriate reach and targeting of M4D lessons. As shown by M4D monitoring data, the lessons shared have varied by state, development partner, and associated medium (see Table 7 for more detail) but suggest a useful balance of stakeholder-focussed learning events, media-focussed events, and combinations of the two.

**Table 8: List of M4D lessons, media, and targeted partners<sup>73</sup>**

State	Lesson shared	Development partner	Medium of sharing
<b>Kano, Kaduna and Jigawa</b>	LSCs	Ministry of Women Affairs	Meetings/interactive sessions with state teams
<b>Kano</b>	DRF, PCSMS	SPHCDA	State learning event
<b>Kano, Jigawa</b>	LSCs, CBR	Ministry of Budget and Planning	Stakeholders' meetings/interactive sessions
<b>Kano Kaduna and Jigawa</b>	CBR	State Rehabilitation Board	Stakeholders' meetings/interactive sessions; dedicated radio programme
<b>Kano Jigawa</b>	SCE		Stakeholders' meetings/interactive sessions; dedicated radio programme
<b>Kano</b>	SERVICOM	SERVICOM Directorate	Learning event and interactive sessions
<b>Jigawa, Kano</b>	SCE	SUBEB	Annual stakeholders' event interactive sessions
<b>Kaduna</b>	ILGP	Ministry of Local Government	Annual stakeholders' event
<b>Kano, Kaduna and Jigawa</b>	ILGP, CBR, PCSMS, MVS,	LGA departments	Stakeholders' meetings and interactive sessions
	MVS; PCSMS, SCE, ILGP	Association of LG (ALGON)	Annual stakeholders' event
	SCE, MVS, ILGP, PCSMS	DFID & DFID Programmes	Annual stakeholders' event
	CBR, OBI, DRF, SERVICOM	CSOs	Stakeholders' meetings; learning events
<b>Jigawa</b>	CBR	SHA	Interactive sessions
<b>Kano, Kaduna and Jigawa</b>	<i>Sulhu</i> Committee Work, cluster farming	USAID <i>Hisba</i> Committee	Annual stakeholders event
	<i>Sulhu</i> Committee, cluster farming	Primary School Management Board	Annual stakeholders event
<b>Bauchi, Plateau, Gombe, Taraba, Sokoto, Katsina, Zamfara, Yobe, Niger</b>	<i>Sulhu</i> Committee work, cluster farming, CBR, SIAP, LSCs, platforms for engagement, budget briefing, borehole maintenance	Various agencies of the state governments	Annual stakeholder event

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.



## 5.7 How effective is M4D's strategy on BFAs? *[Effectiveness]*

### 5.7.1 Summary of key findings

In both the 'first look' and 'second look' studies, there is clear evidence that **BFAs influence both the 'demand' and 'supply' side of governance**. BFAs such as PCSMS can be seen to have improved communication between citizens, CBOs and the LGA, which creates pressure on PMs and SPs to be more responsiveness and accountability. This relationship provides a foundation for PMs and SPs to adopt new practices.

The success of the BFAs in part relies on the fact that they have had the support of the LGA, as shown in both the 'first look' and 'second look' studies. This is mostly attributed to the fact that M4D staff were careful to be politically neutral and ensured that their BFAs complimented the work of the PMs and SPs. **There has therefore been a good level of buy-in at the LGA and state levels**. Although BFAs such as PCSMS are designed to invoke supply-side incentives by improving communication flows up to the state level, the fact that the ability for demands to be 'escalated' creates behaviour change reflects this existing level of buy-in.

Between the 'first look' and 'second look' studies there was a strengthening in evidence of CBOs, SPs and PMs in all three states advocating for the replication of BFAs, although there is still less systematic evidence of this in Kaduna State. At the same time, there was an increase in M4D advocacy activities, which led to an improvement in stakeholder recognition of M4D's advocacy strategy. There was also a notable increase in BFA media-related activity in Jigawa and Kano states. In the 'second look' study, there was also some emerging evidence of bottom-up community-level advocacy efforts.

**Respondents in both studies discussed how the LGAs were keen to scale up and replicate various BFAs, yet funding was constantly cited as a major problem**. Despite this, there was some limited evidence of LGAs trying to find funding elsewhere. However, evidence from the 'second look' study shows that, although some BFAs were incorporated into budgets, this did not necessarily mean that they were implemented. In both 'first look' and 'second look' studies, the evidence suggests that replication and scale-up of the BFAs is having more success in Jigawa than in Kano and Kaduna states. Although there are other organisations working on service delivery, M4D is seen as having a key role in facilitating engagement between citizens and PMs and SPs, the promotion of the BFAs and in developing collaborative partnerships between other stakeholders. However, it was noted that the agency of government officials and the new administration's focus on anti-corruption has had a positive impact.

### 5.7.2 Analysis and findings

**Between the 'first look' and 'second look' studies there is evidence that BFAs have led to improved communication between citizens, CBOs and the LGA, and can create demand-side pressure that contribute to improved responsiveness and accountability**. The PCSMS in particular has enabled community members to report issues directly to the LGA instantly and has reduced bottlenecks in communication. This means that officials become immediately aware of any problems, and they are able to track their demands and follow up. This increases pressure for responses. The PMs' and SPs' openness to new technologies, such as the use of tablets and other mobile technologies, has also improved efficiency of communication by reducing the need to travel in person and/or send letters. In the 'second look' study, PCSMS was linked to improvements in water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH) in Jigawa State, due to the prompt responses received from the LGA. MVS also introduced a system for making demands which provides another foundation for PMs and SPs to engage and deliberate on new and more timely delivery of information relating to community needs. The M4D monitoring data also shows that the number of citizens' quality demands that are logged and initial

action identified by targeted SPs and PMs, exceeded the target of 104 to reach 115 demands.

**The dialogue and general relationship between CBOs and PMs/SPs continued to strengthen and improve, providing a foundation for PMs and SPs to adopt new practices.** In all three BFAs, there have been high levels of interaction with traditional leaders and CBOs who are able to add further pressure on PMs and SPs and hold them to account. In the DRF for example, health facility committees consisting of traditional leaders, religious leaders, youth and women have been developed, providing a formal avenue through which to address the LGA. In the 'second look' study, evidence shows that both citizens and CBOs have increased capacity and the necessary individual agency to influence, develop relationships with, and make demands of PMs and SPs. These shifts are supported by increased awareness of rights-based approaches, partly underpinned by M4D training activities. MVS in particular is credited with facilitating an improved relationship between the government and the Fulani community. In this way, the BFAs can be seen to be developing a foundation through which PMs and SPs are influenced to adopt new practices.

**Part of the BFAs' success was that they were seen as politically neutral and focussed around issues that key stakeholders could agree on, resulting in PMs and SPs providing channels for the M4D change pathways to be more actively successful.** The PMs' and SPs' openness to new governance platforms and communication technologies have smoothed the implementation of M4D activities in both the 'first look' and 'second look' studies. Some formal PMs and SPs consulted explained how the respective BFAs make their work easier as it helps them solve problems and provides them with the necessary information in an efficient manner. There were some signs of apprehension among the PMs in the 'first look' study, but this seems to be an early sensitisation issue and the 'second look' study makes no mention of resistance.

An important but not widely recorded factor contributing to the building of incentives among PMs and SPs was the degree of early consultation in the design and adaptation of the BFAs. Another crucial factor was the ability of M4D to promote the initiatives as politically neutral, thus ensuring that stakeholders could find a common ground and further incentivising LGA officials to engage with the BFAs.

**In both the 'first look' and 'second look' studies there are several examples of improved upward communication flows to the state level, which incentivises responsiveness amongst PMs and SPs.** Through PCSMS, M4D has created a mechanism that enables existing 'supply side' government reforms to be applied in practice, by establishing formal structures through which they are obliged to explain inefficient service delivery or justify the non-movement of a complaint or demand. The 'escalation' function is seen as a motivating factor, indicating that there is some level of buy-in by government stakeholders, with some respondents claiming that responsiveness and accountability have become the 'new norm' at local, state and federal levels. The DRF is also increasing information flows between the

*You see, if these people did not want to work we could send it to their superiors. In the past we would write a letter and if he had no interest in the issue he would simply keep the letter without forwarding it, but now there is no privacy – whatever was sent to him, the whole education sector from the LG to the state will see it.*

**SP, 'first look' Case Study 4**

*Just before we came in for this discussion, the vice-chairman saw us on his way to his office, he shook hands with each of us. This could not have happened in the past, he would have just walked past us.*

**Citizen, 'second look' Case Study 4**

*Engaging CBOs and communities in the process of the MVS BFA identification was key, and in Miga LGA engaging Miyetta Allah (CBO) was crucial to ensure that the Fulani accept the process.*

**PM, 'first look' Case Study 4**

LGA and state levels, allowing efficient identification of gaps in the distribution of drugs and medicine, thus providing an incentive for state-level actors to reallocate resources. However, at the time of the 'second look' study, some respondents questioned the responsiveness of the PMs, as many demands for services had not been met. Some respondents also noted the existence of personal incentives in the form of job satisfaction, as citizens often express gratitude for improvements in services.

**Involvement of marginalised communities varies between BFAs, with MVS performing the best across both studies, particularly through its impact on the Fulani communities. Inclusion in the PCSMS improved between the two studies,**

**but there is a consistent lack of evidence of inclusion in the DRF.** In the 'first look' study, there was little evidence outlining the degree to which the PCSMS had explicitly engaged PWD and AGs in consultations, leading to the conclusion that the approach lacked clarity on targeting marginalised groups. However, inclusion in the PCSMS seems to have improved by the 'second look' study, as there are many examples of access to training, demands made and responses received by AGs and PWD. The PCSMS also enables the inclusion of PWD with mobility difficulties, as they are able to make demands from their homes. There is, however, little evidence from both studies of inclusion in the DRF. Respondents had little awareness of the consultation of AGs and PWD in the DRF or knew little about their representation in the Local Health Committee. Although women benefit from the DRF through better access to drugs for example, they are not having much input.

In the 'first look' and 'second look' studies, CBO and citizen respondents explained that MVS had promoted the inclusion of marginalised groups, particularly women and PWD in the Fulani communities, who now have improved access to services. For example, they now send their children to school and allow them to get polio vaccinations. The high levels of inclusion were confirmed by the 'second look' study. This highlights how the design of service delivery that meets the needs of marginalised groups can contribute towards enhancing inclusion and citizenship. MVS also led to women and PWD being sensitised on the treatment available for their animals and vets conducting home visits. Improved WASH services mean that girls no longer have to travel long distances in search of water and there are now separate female public toilets. It was also reported that ramps were built to make public toilets easily accessible to PWD.

**Between the 'first look' and 'second look' studies, there was a strengthening in evidence of CBOs, SPs and PMs in all three states advocating for the replication of BFAs, although there is still less systematic evidence of this in Kaduna State.** In the 'first look' study only a small number of stakeholders recognised M4D's efforts to promote BFAs through communication initiatives, although some did note that M4D had undertaken useful advocacy in MVS and in the agricultural leasing BFA. By the 'second look' study, CBOs, traditional leaders and even PMs and SPs across all three states were widely reported to be advocating for the replication, scale-up and continued implementation of successful BFAs. In Jigawa State, targeted CBOs were said to have institutionalised advocacy efforts and some were even acting independently of M4D, although this does not appear to be the case in Kano State, where CBO and M4D respondents raised concerns regarding the sustainability of communication efforts.

**In the 'second look' study, there is emerging evidence of bottom-up community-level advocacy efforts for the continuation and replication of successful BFAs.** Specifically, in Jigawa State, efforts pertaining to the continuation of the MVS are considered to have had influence at the LGA level in Miga.

*If it stops and our animals begin to die again, we will come back to the chairman and disturb him about our individual needs, and if he wants to return for a second term, none of us will vote him into power, he cannot be wicked to us and we will vote him again.*

**Citizen FGD, 'second look' Case Study 4**

**There seems to have been an improvement in stakeholder recognition of M4D's advocacy strategy between the 'first look' and 'second look' studies, as well as a notable increase in BFA media-related activity in Jigawa and Kano states.**

During the 'first look' study, there was a lack of awareness amongst stakeholders of M4D's core advocacy aims and objectives, and it was suggested in the 'first look' study that that M4D needed to develop a systematic advocacy strategy. This seems to have been achieved as a number of stakeholders in the 'second look' study highlighted the impact of M4D dissemination and learning events, including securing state-level buy-in for MVS in Jigawa State. According to M4D monitoring data, the indicator '[n]umber of M4D lessons shared through appropriate media channels and/or learning events' was only 50% achieved in the 'first look' study, but had more than doubled its performance in the 'second look' study, surpassing the target by 15. Multiple stakeholders also reported awareness of communication and media activities relating to the PCSMS and MVS BFAs. DRF stakeholders are also reported to have featured in the media, although it is unclear if this was in relation to BFAs in general or the DRF specifically. PMs/SPs are widely reported to be incentivised after learning about AGs' improved literacy and understanding their responsibilities in providing services. However, there is limited evidence to determine the influence on replication and scale-up efforts.

**There is sufficient evidence to show that PMs and SPs are recognising context and budget constraints in reviewing adaptation, replication and innovation opportunities, but details are lacking.** While commentaries on the scale-up of SCEs and LSCs are positive, several respondents dispute this by claiming that state funding has not been forthcoming. For instance, in the case of Ringim Committee of Friends (RINCOF) scale-up across five wards in Ringim LGA, a handful of interviewees stated that SCEs have 'yet to be institutionalised' while others suggested that funds have been committed.

Resource constraints remained in the 'second look' study. In the 'first look' study, the evidence base lacked information on the way SPs and PMs negotiate funding for scale-up, the scope of funding, the degree to which it has been ring-fenced, and whether there was sufficient technical capacity for implementation. PMs and SPs do recognise to some degree the limits of the funding context and are finding ways to undertake small-scale activities within these parameters. However, there is insufficient evidence to discern whether PMs and SPs are contextualising longer-term scale-up and replication within the full range of budgeting possibilities via support from M4D, or via other channels.

**Despite funding constraint, some BFAs have been incorporated into budgets, but by the 'second look' study it was noted that this did not necessarily mean that the BFAs would be implemented.**

Multiple evidence sources in the 'first look' study declared that the PCSMS and MVS, for example, were included in the 2016 budget for Jigawa and Miga respectively. A state-level PM declared that despite the context of constrained resources, funding for scale-up of the LSC interventions in Ringim LGA was sought via alternative means pending state budget approvals. However, while in Jigawa State the Ministry of Women's Affairs implemented the LSC in five non-M4D LGAs by the time of the 'second look' study, in Kano State, they had been incorporated into LGA budgeting instruments without being implemented – though it wasn't clear from interviewee responses what budget year was being referred to (i.e. if included into the 2018 budget, at the time of the 'second look' it would have been too early to expect implementation to have begun). Some respondents highlighted that

*Their appreciation of the SCE has helped reduce illiteracy in the LGA, they see the need for scale up but are constrained because of the lack of funds.*

***Girls Platform, 'second look'  
Case Study 4***

*Initially, funds to support activities were sourced from another Safe Motherhood Programme where NGN 2million was allocated ... and that since then, the LSC and SCE have been included in the 2017–19 mid-term expenditure framework for all LGAs.*

***PM, 'first look' Case Study 4***

the funds committed have not been disbursed and that they are continuously rolled over from year to year.

**There is sufficient evidence to suggest a mixed progression in terms of increased adaptations, replications and scale-up of M4D BFA-related interventions.** M4D's final *Output Level Progress Report* in March 2018 showed that of the 11 BFAs that had been successfully implemented, eight were being sustained without M4D intervention. This includes PCSMS in all three states. In both 'first look' and 'second look' studies, the evidence of replication and scale-up was much stronger in Jigawa State, and by the 'second look' study multiple respondents reported the state-level commitment to scale up the MVS in all 27 LGAs, with the PCSMS being scaled up to nine wards in Mallam Madori LGA. Such successes were based on limited political resistance to the MVS, DRF, and PCSMS BFAs, but also careful PM sensitisation and familiarisation on these =. Meanwhile, in Kano and Kaduna states, even by the 'second look' study there was little evidence to confirm that the PCSMS and other BFAs had been replicated and that the State Governor was expressing interest in scale-up.

In both the 'first look' and 'second look' studies, it was noted that there was a lack of clarity on terminology relating to sustainability in the individual BFAs, which had resulted in a lack of coordination and momentum for adaptation and replication. In the 'first look' study, there were some misunderstandings of the role of M4D in adapting or replicating the BFAs, but this was not discussed in the 'second look' study. Consequently, according to a small number of M4D staff, the variable definitions relating to adaption, replication or scale-up were a key factor that hampered progress in this area. In both studies, there is evidence of limited government resources available to scale-up or replication, with multiple stakeholders in Kano and Kaduna states continuing to cite funds as the primary constraint in the 'second look' study.

**M4D is seen as having a key role in promotion of the BFAs and in developing collaborative partnerships between other stakeholders, although the agency of government officials and the new administration's focus on anti-corruption has had an impact.** The BFAs and, in particular, the development of PCSMS is strongly associated with M4D. While there are other organisations in Nigeria that are influencing service provision, M4D was noted as being the only intervention encouraging collaboration between citizens, CBOs, PMs and SPs. Also, although other organisations support the delivery of public services in the sector that some of the BFAs engaged in, it does not appear that they are engaged in bringing about change through the convergence of the 'supply' and 'demand' side of governance. M4D is widely recognised among respondents as providing a relatively key role among other active stakeholders (including ESSPIN, UNICEF, PATH2, the World Health Organization and the Japanese government) in developing collaborative partnerships and engagements between PMs, SPs and citizens.

Where advocacy initiatives have been undertaken, the respondents associate the activities primarily with M4D rather than parallel or state, CBO or NGO activities. The M4D approach of establishing initiatives which complemented the work of PMs and SPs was also seen as being particularly effective in gaining interest and traction. However, a number of respondents also stated that the anti-corruption drive by the President Buhari administration is making LG accountability and responsiveness a new norm. Other key informants emphasised that the rationale for increased responsiveness was also based on an interest in being re-elected which is external to M4D to some extent.



## 5.8 How effective is M4D's overall strategy in ensuring replication, crowding-in and scaling-up? *[Effectiveness]*

### 5.8.1 Summary of key findings

In summary, there are two areas where M4D's overall strategy performance on ensuring replication, crowding-in and scaling-up can be discussed: (i) gaining traction for replication, crowding-in and scaling-up through demonstration and (ii) using interventions to promote responsiveness and accountability.

Firstly, **M4D has effectively gained interest amongst PMs and SPs by demonstrating the effectiveness of multiple types of intervention, although the potential for sustained replication, scale-up and crowding-in remains limited unless core resourcing issues are addressed.** Between the 'first look' and 'second look' studies, the findings show a progressive shift of PM and SP attitudes towards the adaptation, replication and scaling-up of BFAs, particularly the service delivery BFAs. Fewer successes are noted in non-M4D sites, although the uptake of MVS and PCSMS initiatives are significant in that they will be applied across all LGAs. Nevertheless, there has been limited shifts over the course of the programme with respect to addressing fiscal capacity constraints at LGA level. Although a handful of successes are evident, the latter challenge remains instrumental in preventing the gains made in awareness raising to be transferred to longer-term implementation.

Secondly, **the positive feedback loop between gains in LGA responsiveness and accountability on the one hand, and the demonstration of effective M4D interventions on the other, has been productive.** The expanded infrastructure and communications platforms for channelling and promoting M4D intervention outcomes has enabled PMs and SPs to respond more efficiently and positively to requests for replication, adaption and scale-up.

This infrastructure was evident in the 'first look' case studies, but significantly improved communications and advocacy approaches evident in the 'second look' studies are key factors contributing to PMs' and SPs' increased interest in M4D interventions. Steady increases in broader behavioural change amongst all stakeholders, indirectly linked to M4D support, also appear to be a contributing factor to this outcome.

### 5.8.2 Analysis and findings

**The findings demonstrate progress in terms of increased adaption, replication and scale-up of M4D BFA-related interventions.** In the 'first look' Case Study 6, there was limited reference of adaption, replication and scale-up, particularly amongst BFAs that focussed on accountability in comparison to those aimed at service delivery. At these early stages, the SCE and LSC programmes showed the most movement in terms of consolidation and diffusion. Towards the end of the M4D Programme there was considerably more evidence available that confirmed that LSC and SCE solutions were leading examples of scale-up and replication, particularly in Jigawa and Kano states. PM/SP respondents cited this positive performance, as well as the technical assistance of M4D, in influencing their decisions to support the diffusion process through varied planning and budgeting

*The LG would call for a meeting and inform the CBOs about what made it into the budget, they would hand out copies of the budget to members and ask them to inform the community. However, in terms of implementation, they do not see a single thing from the items listed. The CBO conducts follow-up visits and each time they are told the items would be implemented but nothing is done and no tangible explanation is given except that the government is yet to approve, there is economic recession or there is no fuel, etc. Most times, in a year no project is implemented and this is very unpleasant to the community.*

**Informal PM, 'second look'  
Case Study 6**

responses (see below for more detail). However, the contribution of RINCOF, and the support of PMs/SPs in the local education authority, community and social development, and State Agency for Mass Education were also identified as key factors in promoting the SCE and LSCs in the LGA.

**The diffusion of M4D models into non-M4D sites remains limited, but there are signs of traction and interest emerging among CBOs, rather than PMs and SPs.** Fragmented but promising signs of uptake of M4D interventions are evident in Jigawa State, where a small number of LSC and SCE interventions have been trialled. Although evidence is limited, these shifts appear to be driven by CBOs rather than PMs and SPs, although some exceptions are apparent.

**Steady progress has been observed with respect to PMs and SPs reacting to citizen and CBO requests for M4D interventions to be sustained in government plans and budgets, although constrained fiscal capacity limits tangible expenditures.** There is good evidence in both the ‘first look’ and ‘second look’ case studies that PMs and SPs were responding to increased demands for quality service provision. The findings show that PMs’ and SPs’ responsiveness to these demands have been increasing, as demonstrated in the absorption of multiple M4D interventions into 2016 and 2017 budgets and plans at LGA level. The PCSMS and MVS interventions have experienced notable success in this regard, particularly in Miga LGA in Jigawa state.. Respondents regularly associated these outcomes with M4D support, including technical guidance on budgeting, participatory processes and issue prioritisation, the allocation of start-up capital, and broader commitment to the sustainability dimensions of the initiatives.

Nevertheless, despite this progress in budgeting commitments among PMs and SPs, structural challenges have continued throughout the Programme that prevent the cycle of budget allocations proceeding to expenditure. The most significant of these challenges has been fiscal capacity, and the inability of LGAs to negotiate the flow of funds, often with the result that commitments roll-over into subsequent budgets. There is a small amount of evidence testifying that other capacity constraints, such as staff and technical facilities, have limited the ability of LGAs in Kano and Jigawa states to proceed with their commitments.

**There is fair degree of evidence demonstrating downstream impact on citizens’ access, use and satisfaction with basic services that have been replicated or scaled-up by M4D, although these impacts have largely been short-term and low investment in nature.** With a small number of exceptions, such as the forthcoming scale-up of LSC, SCE, PCSMS and MVS initiatives in Jigawa and Kano states, the fiscal capacity constraints experienced by LGA and state actors have limited government’s ability to increase the availability of basic services for citizens’. This is not to suggest that replication, adaption and scale-up have no potential: on the contrary, there is strong evidence to suggest that diffusion of M4D interventions is occurring across all three states. For example, the SCE intervention has been scaled up in a non-M4D ward.

Overall, the ‘second look’ case study findings reveal a greater number of adapted and replicated interventions than the ‘first look’ findings. The M4D data shows that there were approximately six models replicated across the interventions sites at the time of the ‘first look’ case studies, and that eight additional replications subsequently took place. There is also a small amount of anecdotal evidence, primarily from the ‘first look’ findings (Case studies 4 to 6), suggesting that a handful of alternative funding sources are being pursued in parallel to government or M4D support to facilitate the replication and scale-up of interventions. Strategies include engagement with international NGOs and funders, but also point-of-service cost-recovery mechanisms such as the imposition of levies, fines, and membership fees.

*Stakeholders from both the state and other LGAs have participated in the workshop in Dutse where they learned about the LSCs. The workshop was organised by M4D and during the process the participants from Roni got to learn from the stakeholders from the M4D LGAs.*

**Informal PM, ‘second look’  
Case Study 6**



**There is positive, but limited and fragmented evidence that M4D diffusion strategies have been steadily influencing state-level actors.** Detail from case studies 4 and 6 (both ‘first look’ and ‘second look’) show that there has been recognition of M4D interventions at the state level with respect to the MVS, DRF, LCS, SCE and PCSMS BFAs, most notably in Jigawa State. For example, the state government has supported the implementation of LSCs with support from the Ministry of Women’s Affairs, and LSCs have thereby expanded into five additional non-M4D sites. The PCSMS has also been allocated sufficient funding to accommodate expansion in all 27 LGAs. State government figures in Kano and Kaduna states have also recently come forward to express willingness to replicate MVS and PCSMS interventions. For the former, the M4D annual report (2016) states that a sum of 44m naira was approved in 2017. Reference to such expressions were relatively rare in the ‘first look’ case studies, suggesting a growing familiarity and recognition amongst state-level actors of the value of M4D interventions.

*PMs and SPs now engage the citizens to know what their demands are before logging and addressing it, unlike before where citizens were not contacted but projects were just implemented without their inputs. Now there is participatory budgeting process, and citizens are shown the budget, and explanation regarding why some demands are not met is been done also.*

**LSC mentor, ‘second look’  
Case Study 3**

**There is strong evidence to suggest that PMs and SPs are progressing along a responsiveness and accountability scale across all intervention sites because of improved capacities and facilities for decision making.** The M4D monitoring data reveals that the wider infrastructure for channelling and promoting M4D intervention outcomes has enabled PMs and SPs to respond more efficiently. The ARCS, which uses ‘Structures for feedback’, ‘Budgets’, ‘Leadership’, ‘Reporting’, and ‘Due Process’ as indicators, showed that 497 individuals demonstrated increased capacity in these areas in 2015.

As presented in the ‘second look’ Case Study 6, these numbers are corroborated in respondent feedback across the spectrum of stakeholders, particularly over the final two years of the Programme. Respondents noted that CBOs revealed increased ability to negotiate their M4D-related concerns and frame them in a way that reflected community interests rather than individual needs. This, along with improved organisational, communication and budgeting skills amongst CBOs because of M4D training, have been factors influencing PMs and SPs to be more responsive and accountable.

Nevertheless, there is limited corresponding evidence relating to improved transparency. The findings of ‘first look’ synthesis show that M4D faced challenges in obtaining and interpreting data relating to the responsiveness of PMs and SPs, particularly in relation to LGA budgeting and procurement commitments. Similarly, according to ‘second look’ Case Study 6, accessing information related to budgeting, planning and procurement at LGA level remained a challenge for non-government actors.

The demonstration and replicability effects of the initiatives, as well resonance with the need to do more, were also instrumental to the increased responsiveness of PMs and SPs. For example, the fact that many stakeholders benefit from the *Sulhu* work made it resonate with existing realities. The *Sulhu* system (a system of mediation), while aimed at ensuring the rights of AGs, is respected by communities because it resonates with religious beliefs. It has also yielded a number of positive externalities such as resolving conflicts between Fulani herders and farmers. The Jigawa State Government and the National Social Investment Office intend to scale up this work.

**There is a fair amount of evidence showing that the expansion of communication channels used for the promotion of solutions, innovative and BFAs have increased the responsiveness and accountability of PMs and SPs.** Findings from the ‘second look’ Case Study 5 show that there has been an expansion in the number and type of communication channels for citizens, CBOs and M4D staff to engage with PMs and SPs. These channels include the demand-logging platforms,

participatory budgeting and planning processes, town hall meetings, as well as more inclusive, formal and informal LGA-level meetings. As a result, the space for civil dialogue has widened, thereby enabling a wider variety of inputs, particularly those from PWD and PWD CBOs.

The 'second look' Case Study 5 findings suggest that citizens have increasingly been able to use these channels with confidence and expertise, with support from M4D. For example, there is good evidence that training and guidance from M4D staff, such as stakeholder mapping and the consolidation of meeting minutes, has been instrumental in fostering new and improved ways of working on both the demand and supply sides.

**Evidence of progressive behavioural change amongst PMs and SPs has improved over the course of the M4D Programme, demonstrating shifts in perception toward PWD and AGs, but also governance processes more widely, that contribute to accountability and responsiveness.** Findings from the 'first look' case studies 4 to 7 revealed that the majority of behavioural changes were observed with respect to improved attitudes toward PWD and AGs, as documented in Sections 5.3 and 5.4. Evidence of adjustments in behaviour and attitudes with respect to the governance process amongst PMs and SPs, as well as citizens and CBOs, were relatively anecdotal in nature. Nevertheless, the 'first look' findings did provide indications that a handful of stakeholders were noting shifts in the awareness and engagements of different actors as a result of participating in M4D interventions.

The 'second look' findings gathered across case studies 4 to 6 provide more comprehensive examples of behavioural change across the range of M4D stakeholders. Several statements refer to improved cordiality and mutual understanding between citizens and CBOs on the one hand, and PMs and SPs on the other. As per the first set of findings, evidence of behavioural shifts amongst PMs and SPs when engaging PWD in Kano and Kaduna states, remains. There are a number of change pathways that are associated with these behavioural shifts, a discrete example of which is the social inclusion and social models of disability training provided by M4D to CBOs, PMs and SPs. More broadly, references in the 'second look' findings provide increased reference to behavioural shifts associated with improved familiarity and mutual understanding, gained through continued interaction and dialogue in LGA meetings, participatory budgeting activities, and town hall meetings.

## 5.9 What processes of accountable and responsive local governance supported by M4D are likely to continue without external assistance? [Sustainability]

### 5.9.1 Summary of key findings

There are some positive signs of where processes of accountable and responsive local governance are likely to continue without external assistance, though challenges to the sustainability of these remain evident. The **processes which exhibit the strongest signs of sustainability include CBO coalitions** which are working together independently of M4D support **and LSCs which are being replicated by CBOs in non-M4D LGAs. Step-down training between LGA officials has also proved popular and is seen as an effective way of building capacity and sharing knowledge** in some M4D-supported LGAs, though there are concerns that this model may not be resilient to staff transfers. **Town hall meetings, interface meetings and participatory budgeting appear to have become increasingly routine**, though several M4D staff voiced concern that **stakeholder confidence in these processes will be undermined because of demands not being met**. The responsiveness of PMs has increased because of M4D capacity building, but this does not appear sustainable because changes are not embedded and will gradually dissipate as a result of staff transfers. M4D end of programme assessments suggest that **evidence of changes being sustainable is far more evident in demand-side organisations (e.g. CBOs, PWD CBOs and girls' platforms) compared to government organisations.**

An important sign of the sustainability of efforts to improve basic services for PWD is the **passage of a Disability Bill in Jigawa State, and state governments considering such a bill in Kano and Kaduna states**. There are some **good examples of where BFAs supported by M4D have become institutionalised accountability mechanisms**, though some sustainability concerns remain due to uncertainties over future funding.

### 5.9.2 Analysis and findings

**There is strong evidence of CBOs forming and valuing coalitions and working together independently of M4D support, pointing towards sustainability of these informal institutions.** During the field work for Case Study 7, across all three states, various stakeholders (CBO members, LGA PMs/SPs, informal PMs/SPs) gave examples of where CBO coalitions had been established and highlighted the support received from M4D as being pivotal in this. One CBO member in Kaduna State believed that by engaging multiple stakeholders to work together, M4D has helped create and mobilise a 'critical mass' that will continue to carry out collective activity for the development of the community even after M4D has exited. An LGA PM/SP from Jigawa State gave a similar view because of the perceived value among CBOs of using these coalitions to share learning and expertise.

**There is a lot evidence that town hall meetings, interface meetings and participatory budgeting have become increasingly routine, and due to the popularity and success of these mechanisms are likely to be sustained, provided stakeholder confidence is not undermined because of unmet demands.** The town hall meetings and interface meetings introduced by M4D seem to be continuing in all three states without M4D support according to 17 stakeholders interviewed during the field work for Case Study 7. Several Jigawa PMs/SPs said that stakeholders understand these engagements are important for ensuring accountability and greater CBO representation. M4D staff in Kaduna State also thought that the meetings would continue because they have become part of the system, regardless of who is posted into LG positions. In all three states, M4D staff, CBO members and PMs/SPs reported that collaboration between CBOs and LGA with respect to LGA budget preparation had become popular and that M4D support had been critical in enabling this. Several stakeholders across the three states reported that both the local governance and CBOs are committed to continuing these processes after M4D finishes. However, three different M4D staff in Kaduna and Kano, together with members of a girls' platform and an LSC, voiced concerns that unmet community demands because of insufficient budget allocations may discourage some citizens' from engaging in these processes and making demands. One M4D staff member in Kaduna said that no PWD CBO demands had been made in some locations in 2017 because previous demands remained unmet (see Table 4 in Section 5.5). With regards to AGs, an M4D staff member in Kano said AGs were becoming discouraged, as most of their demands have not been responded to, and another M4D staff member in Kaduna said they have observed a reduction in the enthusiasm of girls and in the frequency of demands going to PMs/SPs.

**There is evidence to suggest that LSCs will be sustained beyond the end of M4D, including the fact that they are being replicated in non-M4D LGAs.** As per Section 5.3, there are some positive signs

*We are now getting to understand the way to get citizens demands, prioritise them and forward to government. We are now part of the governance process. We have a voice. We participate in the quarterly interface meetings, the town hall meetings, the participatory budget meeting and the budget defence meeting. We are very happy and committed to ensuring that the process is sustained.*

**CBO member, 'single look'  
Case Study 7**

*While M4D has built capacity for participatory budgeting in four LGs in the state, when these demands are not met as a result of low budgetary allocation, the excitement dies down and there could be a breakdown in trust and acceptability of the process. This waters down the initiative and affects its sustainability.*

**M4D staff, 'single look'  
Case Study 7**

for the sustainability of the LSC/girls' platforms, including within the M4D sustainability assessment, though during the 'second look' field work for Case Study 3 in Kaduna and Kano, no evidence of any detailed plans or strategies aimed at their continuation was evident, particularly in terms of funding, either from CBOs or the LGA. During the field work for Case Study 7, further evidence from stakeholder interviews pointed towards the sustainability and replication of LSCs. CBO members and PMs/SPs in both Jigawa and Kaduna states reported that LSCs had become extremely popular and, in Jigawa, were likely to continue beyond the end of M4D because they had been included in LGA budgets. It was also reported that CBOs were replicating LSCs in non-M4D-supported LGAs in all three states. It was noted by one stakeholder that one of the reasons the M4D project is so popular in the Ministry of Local Government is because it takes a practical approach and is not too complex, which means that initiatives can be easily understood and sustained by the local stakeholders.

**In all three LGAs, it seems that M4D has increased the responsiveness of PMs by building their capacity and making them more aware of their rights and responsibilities, but these changes do not appear to be sustainable because they are not embedded and will gradually dissipate as a result of staff transfers.** During the field work for Case Study 7, in the sites visited in all three states, LGA PMs/SPs said that, because of M4D support, they had become more organised and strategic in drafting projects and meeting the demands of the citizens. LGA PMs/SPs, together with several CBO members and M4D staff, also said that SPs/PMs were now more open to working with the community because they better understand their roles and the rights and responsibilities of citizens due to M4D training. While this evidence points to the PMs/SPs having become more responsive and accountable, there is little evidence that these changes are embedded within LGAs. Several M4D staff were unconvinced of the sustainability of these changes because of frequent changes in government staff.

**Step-down training among LGA officials has proved popular and is seen as an effective way of building capacity and sharing knowledge in some M4D-supported LGAs, though there are concerns that this model may not be resilient to staff transfers.** In the sites visited during the field work for Case Study 7, the success of step-down training appeared most evident in Jigawa, and there was some evidence of this approach in Kaduna but very little in Kano. In Jigawa State, four LGA PMs/SPs gave as examples of success the PCSMS, Miga MVS, participatory budgeting, documentation and evidence gathering, revenue generation, gender and social exclusion, planning for strategic goals and objectives, and citizen and CBO engagement. In addition, one of the LGA PMs/SPs said that, in particular, documentation and record-keeping had improved as a result. An LGA PM/SP in Kaunda said that local extension workers have benefitted from step-down training, which had resulted in renewed confidence of local farmers in the LGA and helped to establish a coherent feedback mechanism between them. However, in Kano State, there were no examples given of where effective step-down training had been used, though the reasons for this are unknown. In the sites visited in all three states, PMs/SPs voiced concern that staff transfers and retirements undermine sustainability of the step-down approach. PMs/SPs interviewed in Jigawa State reported that in order to combat this challenge they were ensuring that junior staff were involved in step-down training as they were less likely to be transferred.

**The M4D end of programme assessment suggests that the large majority of M4D-supported CBOs, PWD CBOs and girls' platforms demonstrate sustainable organisational arrangements and processes of engagement and influencing. Around half of M4D-supported government**

*I will continue with the M4D approach in any LGA I find myself because it supports an open governance process promoting transparency and accountability.*

**LGA PM/SP, 'single look'  
Case Study 7**

*[the only way to sustain the changes] is to ensure that the process is replicated in every ward, in all the LGAs ... this way any government that comes in will continue with the processes.*

**PWD CBO, 'second look'  
Case Study 2**

**organisations demonstrate sustainable feedback structures, and budget and due process mechanisms.** The M4D end of programme *Outcome and Impact Progress Report*<sup>74</sup> suggests that an average score of 4 or more across all dimensions of assessment within the CDAS (CBOs and PWD CBOs) or CDAS+ (girls' platforms) frameworks is the level at which an entity begins to demonstrate sustainable organisational arrangements and processes of engagement and influencing. Of the 53 CBOs supported by M4D, 51 scored an average of 4 or more whilst all nine PWD CBOs and all nine AG platforms scored 4 or above. Similarly, using the ARC framework to assess how sustainable are government feedback structures and budget and due process mechanisms, of the 50 government organisations supported by M4D, 26 of them scored 4 or above.

M4D reports that there have been significant changes in internal CBO systems and processes, including improved financial management, better organisation and improved understanding of, and relationships with PMs and SPs. M4D also reports that across all M4D LGAs, CBOs and girls' platforms have evolved broad networks and platforms with other CBOs, and routinely come together to discuss and present demands to PMs. According to M4D, CBO and girls' platform community engagement mechanisms such as town hall meetings are institutionalised.

With support from M4D, SIAPs have been developed by government departments in consultation with citizens (including marginalised groups). This has increased the inclusion of communities in LGA planning processes and provided opportunity for citizens to provide feedback. M4D reports that the effectiveness and level of community involvement vary between states and sectors and also that, in some sectors, participatory planning processes were already evident – onto which the Programme 'latched' and built. M4D also reports that budgeting processes have changed in M4D-supported LGAs, becoming more inclusive and leading to budgets which have increasingly reflected the needs of citizens.

**There are some good examples of where BFAs supported by M4D have become institutionalised accountability mechanisms, though some sustainability concerns remain due to uncertainties over future funding.** The clearest example of an accountability mechanism being institutionalised, and replicated independently of M4D support, is the Service Compact with All Nigerians (SERVICOM)<sup>75</sup> BFA supported by M4D in Kano, as reported in the 'second look' Case Study 1. After having been established in the three M4D LGAs in collaboration with SPARC, and now ARC, the state government is replicating this initiative across all LGAs. There is evidence that the SERVICOM initiative is sustainable due to policy changes having been documented within government, making it difficult for current and incoming PMs/SPs to deviate from them.

Another accountability mechanisms which is displaying some signs of sustainability is the PCSMS BFA, as reported in both the 'second look' Case Study 1 (Kano) and Case Study 4 (Kano and Jigawa). A wide range of respondents (including a group of citizens in Kano, M4D staff, formal PMs/SPs, a CBO member) stated that the PCSMS had been integrated into the LGA budget, but they were unclear on

*If it stops and our animals begin to die again, we will come back to the chairman and disturb him about our individual needs, and if he wants to return for a second term, none of us will vote him into power, he cannot be wicked to us and we will vote him again.*

***Female citizen, 'second look'  
Case Study 4***

*We told the Governor we don't want a policy because Kaduna State already has a Gender Equity and Social Inclusion Policy that has disability issues well mainstreamed. What the bill hopes to achieve is a legal framework that will ensure there is no reversal.*

***State PM/SP, 'second look'  
Case Study 5***

<sup>74</sup> M4D *Outcome and Impact Progress Report*, M4D (March 2018).

<sup>75</sup> M4D established the BFA as a mirror of the federal SERVICOM initiative which aims to 'promote effective and efficient service delivery in MDAs to ensure customer satisfaction and to manage the performance-expectation gap between Government and citizens as well as other members of the public, on issues of service delivery.' <http://servicom.gov.ng/our-clinic/about/>.



what this budget was for. However, some M4D staff voiced concern that PCSMS is fully sustainable, given that it is still heavily supported by the Programme and that some PMs/SPs expect them to keep purchasing tablets and support the process indefinitely. A CBO member also voiced concern around the sustainability of technical support for PCSMS after the end of M4D.

**There have been some positive responses from government in the three MDA states to adopt legislative measures for improving services to PWD, but generally, while some political buy-in for M4D-supported initiatives is evident, state governments have not yet make policy changes that will allow this buy-in to remain resilient to changes in political leadership or financial challenges.**

An important initiative that has the potential to institutionalise the social model of disability promoted by M4D is the passage of state disability bills, as reported in the 'second look' Case Study 5. The Jigawa State House of Assembly, with support from M4D, passed such a bill in December 2016 in which M4D ensured the incorporation of the social model of disability. In Kaduna State, a draft state disability bill had been prepared with M4D support and submitted to the Governor who had approved the draft bill for further development. Support to this process had also been provided by PERL. Responses from several LGA PMs/SPs in Jigawa and Kano states indicated that they did not fully understand the social model of disability or were unable to give concrete examples of how it was being implemented or delivering results. A District Head in Kaduna thought that it would be necessary for M4Ds work to continue for some more years if the systems and structures needed for the social model of disability were to be completely embedded within the LGA.

During the 'second look' Case Study 1, the recent fall in oil prices, and its impact on the size of government budgets, appears to pose a risk to the sustainability of improvements in relationships between government and citizens. While one group of citizens appreciated the financial challenges faced by the LGA in responding to demands, another group was less sympathetic, suggesting that lack of interest rather than a lack of funds was the main reason for not addressing the needs of citizens. During the 'second look' Case Study 1, M4D noted that, while there had been examples of state governments demonstrating buy-in to policies or initiatives, this was dependent on finance which is often not forthcoming. In addition, a state PM/SP reported that state-level buy-in was not sufficient for sustainability due to political change and financial challenges. M4D staff gave the example of the Open Budget Initiative which state government had directed LGAs to adopt. While M4D had supported participatory budgeting in the LGAs it supports, M4D staff voiced concern about its sustainability without policies being in place to institutionalise this approach at LGA level. The M4D sustainability assessment reports that SHoAs in the three supported states have mandated use of participatory budgeting for budgets in all LGAs. However, unless this mandate is underpinned by appropriate legislation or changes in government regulations (i.e. institutionalised), its sustainability is subject to continued political support.

## 5.10 What are the mechanisms through which improvements in accountability and responsiveness lead to improvements in basic services? *[Relevance]*

### 5.10.1 Summary of key findings

As highlighted within the analysis of other EQs, **behaviour change among, and between, CBOs, CBO PWDs, girls' platforms and LGA level PMs/SPs has been an important mechanism, with these groups now better recognising the value of working together.** This has enabled another important mechanism to become evident; **the incorporation of evidence based and inclusive citizen demands within LGA budgets and plans.** However, **one key mechanism does not appear to be widely evident as reported against previous evaluation questions; that of state government releasing sufficient funds to implement LGA budgets and meet citizen demands.** As highlighted earlier, this is primarily because of state government resource constraints and problems with state-LGA fiscal transfer, but also because, as LGA budgets appear to be essentially a collation of citizen demands, they may be unrealistic in the first place. **The main factor contributing to increased capacity of PMs/SPs to design and deliver basic services was the support provided by M4D,** though contributions from other development programmes and some government departments were highlighted. **Many respondents attributed improvements in service delivery to the work of NGOs and donor projects rather than government.** M4D support, and the work of LSCs/girls' platforms in particular, in helping generate and communicate clearer demands was seen as a contributory factor.

### 5.10.2 Analysis and findings

**The way in which CBOs, PWD CBOs and girls' platforms are now making demands means they are more likely for them to be considered by PMs/SPs, and PMs/SPs are logging these demands in a more systematic and transparent way than before.** As reported against previous evaluation questions, in particular EQ4, there is evidence of several important factors in the pathway of change between improvements in accountability and responsiveness and improvements in service delivery. Firstly, CBOs, PWD CBOs and girls' platforms are now preparing and communicating demands for better services in a way that is more likely for them to be considered by PMs/SPs and reflected in government budgets and plans. A related factor is that because of M4D support demands have become more evidence-based, which has resulted in CBOs having more influence over PMs/SPs. This change is an important mechanism through which PMs/SPs are better able to understand the priority service delivery needs of citizens which is a necessary precursor to designing and delivering the services that citizens want.

Secondly, demands made by CBOs, PWD CBOs and girls' platforms are being increasingly logged by PMs/SPs in a more systematic and transparent way than before. Combined with local planning and budgetary processes becoming more inclusive and participatory of all CBOs (including MWD and AG representation), this has contributed to citizens' demands being increasingly included in LGA budgets. There is good evidence that PMs/SPs now collate, log and file CBO and citizens' demands in a systematic way and escalate them to the relevant governmental departments when necessary. There is evidence that LGA PMs and SPs had logged PWD CBO demands and informed their plans and budgets accordingly (see Section 5.4), and that CBOs were increasingly engaged in participatory budgeting processes, rather than their feedback simply being incorporated into budgets at a later date (Section 5.5). M4D also reports that budgeting processes have changed in M4D supported LGAs, becoming more inclusive and leading to budgets which have increasingly reflected the needs of citizens (Section 5.9).

**The main factor contributing to increased capacity of PMs/SPs to design and deliver basic services was the support provided by M4D, though contributions from other development programmes and some government departments were highlighted.** During field work for Case Study 8, in the sites visited in all three states, both formal and informal LGA-level PMs/SPs suggested that the main



contributory factor to them having increased capacity that cut across sectors was the support provided by M4D. Other development programmes identified by respondents included the Education Sector Support Programme in Nigeria (ESSPIN) in education, Sasakawa Africa Association and FADAMA III in agriculture, and Maternal, Newborn and Child Health (MNCH) and NURHI II in health, though it was reported that these had primarily worked with state-level government organisations, or targeted groups of citizens directly. In general, respondents did not believe that there were any other factors apart from M4D which had driven this change, though one LGA PM/SP in Kano State mentioned quarterly training provided by the Ministry for Local Government and an LGA PM/SP in Kaduna mentioned support provided by the LG Service Commission. Similarly, in Kaduna State, an LGA PM/SP who had not worked directly with M4D suggested that his department had always been knowledgeable about preparing budgets and implementing projects. An informal PM/SP in Kaduna said that M4D's capacity building was unique because it focuses on innovative ways of community mobilisation and creates the opportunity to learn from other stakeholders.

**Factors that have contributed to the success and impact on basic services of BFAs include M4D's role in their establishment, the support of traditional and religious leaders in the case of MVS in Jigawa State and, in the case of PCSMS in Kaduna State, the existence of a previous government-led 'hot-line' initiative.** During the field work for Case Study 8, in the sites visited in all three states, CBO members, girls platform members, and PMs/SPs all said that the innovations were introduced, and became successful, because of M4D. In Jigawa State, several PM/SP and CBO respondents highlighted that, without the support of traditional and religious leaders, it would have been less likely for BFAs to have enjoyed the interest and trust of communities. In particular, respondents identified Fulani traditional leaders as playing a central role in sensitising the community on the need for animals to be treated, which in turn led to increased interest in the MVS – a finding echoed in the 'second look' Case Study 4 as reported in Section 5.11. In Kaduna State, one PM/SP reported that, prior to M4D introducing the PCSMS, the LGA had provided CBOs and leaders within communities with mobile phones to report any security concerns, and that this initiative had also enabled communities to make demands of PMs/SPs, helping to ground the acceptance and usage of tablets in order to enhance service provision and accountability under the PCSMS BFA.

**Many respondents attributed improvements in service delivery to the work of NGOs and donor projects rather than government. M4D support, and the work of LSCs/girls' platforms in particular, in helping generate and communicate clearer demands was seen as a contributory factor.** In all three LGAs visited during the 'second look' Case Study 1, stakeholders suggested a variety of reasons for improvements in the access to, use of, and satisfaction with basic services, in particular health and education. One group of women said that improvements in health and education could be attributed to the work of NGOs rather than government. A ward CBO member in one LGA and a formal PM/SP in another said that various initiatives in recent years had provided a foundation on which M4D had been able to build, including Partnership for Transforming Health Systems (PATHS), ESSPIN, Teachers Development Programme (TDP) and Global Partnership for Education (GPE). A state PM/SP and an LGA PM/SP both said that M4D had helped bring about changes in service delivery through exposing people to more effective ways of demanding services and by showing PMs/SPs how to be more accountable. Similarly, during the 'second look' Case Study 5, respondents pointed to the work of the GPE and ESSPIN in supporting PWD in Jigawa State as being contributory factors for change.

In both Kano and Kaduna states, a range of stakeholders (groups of girls, a ward CBO, M4D staff) in the wards visited during the 'second look' Case Study 3 attributed the positive changes in access to, use of, and satisfaction with basic services to M4D support and the work of the LSCs/girls' platforms in particular. Key factors which had enabled these changes identified by stakeholders included the generation and communication of clearer demands by LSCs/girls' platforms and greater collaboration between different groups. Nevertheless, there was evidence of community self-help also having been an important factor in the improvement of basic services. For example, while the source of funding

was not clear, a CBO leader reported that, in one case, the community itself had built classrooms and provided school equipment. M4D grants had been used by the CBO to make improvements at a local girls' school and some better-off community members had also made financial and material contributions towards the improvement of the health facility and the local girls' school.

While a wide range of respondents said that the BFAs supported by M4D had directly contributed to service delivery improvements during the 'second look' Case Study 4, it is important to note that a number of other initiatives were working in many of the same areas, though none of these were focussed on bringing about change through the convergence of the supply and demand sides of governance. For example, with respect to the PCSMS, a UNICEF WASH programme had been supporting communities in Kano and Jigawa states through drilling boreholes based on demands made through ward level committees. Some respondents pointed to two DFID-funded health programmes (Maternal, Newborn and Child Health Programme and PATHSII) as having laid foundations on which M4D had built. Similarly, during the 'second look' Case Study 5, respondents said that projects by WASH COM and UNICEF had improved PWD access to fresh water. Within the agriculture sector, some respondents mentioned the World Bank-funded FADAMA III programme and the AfDB-financed Agricultural Transformation Agenda Support Programme, as well as support provided by IFAD.

*The women in these locations desired to visit the hospitals but could not because there was a shortage of female attendants. Without much ado, the LG chairman, had some female attendants sent over. Now, these girls and women can freely visit the clinic.*

**LGA CBO, 'second look'  
Case Study 3**

*We are yet to achieve our 2016 goal on inclusive classrooms because the board has not engaged the educational sector enough to identify the entry points to see what can work and what is not working. There is still much more that should be done especially in providing learning aids for people with hearing impairment as a starting point.*

**State PM, 'second look'  
Case Study 5**

## 5.11 Is citizens' access to, use of, and satisfaction with basic services improving in M4D LGAs? *[Impact]*

### 5.11.1 Summary of findings

Within both the case study findings and M4Ds M&E data, the evidence points to **improvements in access to services, in particular in the health, education and water sectors**, though this was more evident in Jigawa compared to Kano and Kaduna states. These **improvements appear to be most evident for women and girls but access to these services among PWD still remains poor**. Case study findings suggest that **the DRF has been particularly successful in ensuring that health facilities have access to drugs and respond to increasing demand**, and this seems to be confirmed by the **growth in primary healthcare (PHC) attendance rates** reported by M4D. Nevertheless, during the case studies, **a range of stakeholders reported no improvements in service delivery** and pointed to **examples of community self-help in the absence of government support** due to resource constraints.

### 5.11.2 Analysis and findings

**Despite funding constraints and the inability of LGAs to meet all demands, there have been some clear examples of service delivery improvement across all three M4D states for a range of beneficiaries, though the evidence is far more mixed for PWD.** During the 'second look' Case Study 1 in Kano State, a variety of respondents in all three LGAs visited reported that, despite the lack of funding and the inability of the LGA to meet all demands, there have been some clear improvements in service delivery. During the 'second look' Case Study 2 in Jigawa State, in the LGAs visited, the view

that there has been an improvement in access, use and satisfaction with basic services was voiced by M4D staff, groups of LSC and girls' platform members, PWD, and several ward and LGA-level CBO members.

Many stakeholders reported that AGs were experiencing improvements in the level of access to several basic services in both Kano and Kaduna states during the 'second look' Case Study 3, including groups of girls, formal and informal PMs/SPs, ward and LGA CBO representatives and M4D staff. There is strong evidence that the BFAs examined during the 'second look' Case Study 4 have contributed or directly led to improvements in the delivery of services for communities, with marginalised groups including Fulani, women, AGs and PWD having benefited. Mixed evidence of improvements in the delivery of services for PWD emerged from the 'second look' Case Study 5, with some improvements reported in Kano and Jigawa states, but very few in Kaduna.

**Improvements in education service delivery is evident in all three M4D states, particularly for AGs, but less so for PWD and children with disabilities.** The SCE initiative was given as an example of improved education service delivery in all three LGAs visited in Kano State during the 'second look' Case Study 1, including by a state formal PM/SP, LGA PM/SP, groups of women and M4D staff. SCE has been implemented with financial contributions from the LGA and community, and according to a group of women in one LGA, has resulted in improved literacy and school attendance among girls. In the same LGA, several respondents, including a formal PMs/SPs, a ward CBO and a women's group said that, due to CBO demands, classrooms had been constructed, schools renovated, teacher attendance improved and education provision has been made for PWD. In another LGA, ward and LGA CBO members said that there are now more teachers in the local girls' secondary school while two groups of women reported that a local school had been renovated.

During the 'second look' Case Study 2 in Jigawa State, groups of LSC and girls' platform members said that girls' education was improving and pointed towards the construction of school toilets in one LGA and the establishment of a senior secondary school for girls in another. During the 'second look' Case Study 3, a traditional leader, LGA education secretary, head teacher and CBO member in Kano State reported that more girls are enrolled in school and attributed this increase to a change in the attitudes of girls and their parents because of community sensitisation initiatives. The traditional leader and a CBO member reported that the provision of more classrooms and desks were also important factors for this change. One group of girls in Kaduna State reported being very satisfied with the renovation of their local girls' secondary school.

During the 'second look' Case Study 2, PWD in one Jigawa LGA said that a skills acquisition centre had been provided by the LGA, and PWD in another Jigawa LGA said that special classes for deaf children were now being provided in one special primary school. There were examples of where access to, and use of, education by PWD appear to have improved in the sites visited in Kano and Jigawa states, but not Kaduna. Both groups of PWD and several formal PMs/SPs said that this was because of more teachers being provided in special schools, free education for PWD/children of PWD and, in Kano State, providing equipment for these special classes.

**Improvements in community access to protected water sources is evident across all three M4D states with women and girls appearing to benefit most from this, but access to these sources remains poor for PWD.** According to a group of women, a traditional leader and two formal PMs/SPs, in one LGA during the 'second look' Case Study 1, there have been improvements in the water supply and an increased number of boreholes. One LGA PM/SP said that M4D had directly contributed to this change through collaboration with the LGA and also that citizens had contributed by digging trenches for pipes.

In one of the LGAs visited during the 'second look' Case Study 2 in Jigawa State, citizens requested, and received, repairs to faulty boreholes in the community and in schools. During the 'second look' Case Study 3, in both Kano and Kaduna states, it was reported by girls and an LGA PM/SP respectively

that less AGs now have to collect water from unprotected sources due to the maintenance and/or construction of wells and boreholes by the LGA and, in the case of Kano State, the provision of a generator.

During the 'second look' Case Study 4, within a Jigawa LGA visited, several examples were provided of water supply improvements as a result of the PCSMS BFA. Respondents said that they had received prompt responses and improved maintenance of water points and boreholes and a group of men reported that girls no longer have to travel long distances in search for water. In Kano State, it was reported that handheld pumps had been fixed as a result of demands made through the PCSMS. There was limited evidence of PWD having improved access to water supplies during the 'second look' Case Study 5, with one LGA PM/SP and a PWD CBO member saying that the provision of potable water is poor and particularly challenging for PWD.

**Citizens now have much better access to quality drugs, more children are being immunised, and improvements in health care facilities appear to have benefited pregnant women in particular, though again, there is less satisfaction among PWD.**

In two of the LGAs visited during the 'second look' Case Study 1, several respondents said that health services had improved. A formal PM/SP and CBO member from one LGA said that the availability of drugs and facilities at the local health clinic and improved, with the PM/SP reporting that the number of monthly deliveries had increased from six to over 50. In another LGA, a formal PM/SP, a ward CBO and a group of women reported that citizens have more access to drugs and medication, with the formal PM/SP attributing this to the DRF having been extended from 12 hospitals to 24.

During the 'second look' Case Study 2 in Jigawa State, groups of LSC and girls' platform members said that access to healthcare had improved and pointed towards new antenatal care and delivery services that are now available at the local health facility – meaning that pregnant women in the community no longer have to travel as far for these services. In the ward visited in Kano State during the 'second look' Case Study 3, AGs and a ward CBO reported that health services are now more accessible and are being used more, and that children have greater access to immunisation. This is due to a community health care facility being renovated and given a new maternity ward and laboratory, the provision of health care workers and equipment by an INGO, and community sensitisation initiatives changing attitudes around seeking health care. In Kaduna State, one LGA PM/SP and an M4D staff member noted a link between reduced teenage marriage and pregnancy, improved confidence and empowerment of girls, and sensitisation about education. A group of girls in Kano State said that because of construction of a new health facility, access had increased.

During the 'second look' Case Study 4, within two LGAs visited in Kano and Jigawa states, a group of men, LGA CBO member and LGA PM/SP all said that additional staffing in local clinics (e.g. antenatal care or primary healthcare facilities) had been provided in response to demands made through the PCMSCS BFA. In Kano State, according to one group of men, a CBO member and several formal PMs/SPs, the DRF BFA appears to have contributed to a range of service delivery improvements. Through successfully addressing the shortage of drugs experienced previously, citizens no longer need to travel to health facilities outside of their community. Citizens are also now more satisfied

*For us herdsmen, so much has changed. We do not have to travel much to get our animals treated. We used to up to Niger Republic and spend about five months before coming back. This was because we were losing our animals to many diseases and patronage had dropped and this had economic implications for us. Now that our major problems have been solved, we have come to trust the government and have embraced its programmes.*

**Fulani herdsman, 'second look' Case Study 4**

*There is better access to potable drinking water, rural electricity and health care. Farming water pumps have been installed, for dry season irrigation farming. There is therefore less migration to other states during dry season.*

**Formal PM, 'second look' Case Study 2**

with the medicine they receive, since the DRF is providing quality drugs at subsidised rates and they no longer need to run the risk of purchasing counterfeit drug from vendors outside of their community.

In Jigawa State, one group of PWD said during the 'second look' Case Study 5 that there had been no improvements in basic services for them and that they could not pay their medical bills – despite an LGA PM/SP reporting that PWD and their children are given free medical treatment by the LGA, suggesting that there may be a problem with policy implementation. Conversely, in Kano State, one group of PWD said PWD are promptly attended to and medicines are given for free at local health clinics.

**The MVS BFA has had a positive impact in the agriculture sector and has also given rise to unintended positive results for the Fulani community.** During the 'second look' Case Study 4, the MVS BFA was credited with having contributed to several service delivery improvements in the agriculture sector. A group of women in one LGA in Jigawa State said that as a result of the BFA, more veterinarians are available and their animals can receive better care. Several formal PMs/SPs, a CBO member and M4D staff said that livestock were healthier as a result of the BFA and that this had resulted in better quality produce that had enabled them to increase sales to producers of dairy products outside of the LGA. According to one group of women in Jigawa State, this change was benefiting women in particular as it was helping to reduce dependency on their husbands and to become more confident, self-reliant and independent.

In Jigawa and Kano states, according to several formal PMs/SPs, a CBO member and a group of citizens, the MVS BFA also appears to have given rise to some unintended benefits for the Fulani community. The MVS has helped contribute to an increased sense of 'belonging' among the Fulani which has encouraged them to become more settled, reduced conflicts with farmers, prompted them to send their children to school and allowed them to receive vaccinations.

**Whilst the evidence of unintended results is sparse, some examples in addition to those relating to Fulani herdsman (see above) were cited by several respondents.** For example, a formal PM/SP during the 'second look' Case Study 4 said that the PCSMS had contributed to better relationships between teachers and school based monitoring committees, who are now working together to generate and prioritise demands to present to PMs. Two unintended results related to the MVS BFA include young people volunteering to help the vets treat animals and becoming inspired to study veterinary medicine, and an example of a veterinary doctor pursuing research through the MVS on the effects of farming practices. During the 'second look' Case Study 6, M4D staff reported an unintended result where CBOs liaised with an LGA to obtain support from a philanthropist to build a community primary school in response to an LSC generated demand. Another unexpected result was PWDs securing an agricultural loan from the FADAMA III project for tricycles to be used in farming processes.

**A range of stakeholders reported no improvements in service delivery and pointed to examples of community self-help in the absence of government support due to resource constraints.** During the 'second look' Case Study 2, two CBO members (ward CBO, PWD CBO) voiced concern that demands are slow to be met due to inadequate government resources being available, while the PWD CBO highlighted that, although a skills acquisition centre in Miga LGA had been provided, no trainers had been made available.

During the 'second look' Case Study 3, some negative views were expressed. In Kano State, two groups of girls claimed that there had been no improvements to service delivery, either in terms of water, electricity, roads or maintenance of their schools, and said that they were therefore not satisfied with the provision of, or access to basic services. In Kaduna State, one formal PM/SP noted that government funding for was not sufficient for effective service delivery to AGs and pointed towards literacy initiatives having to be stopped as a result. Another formal PM/SP commented that

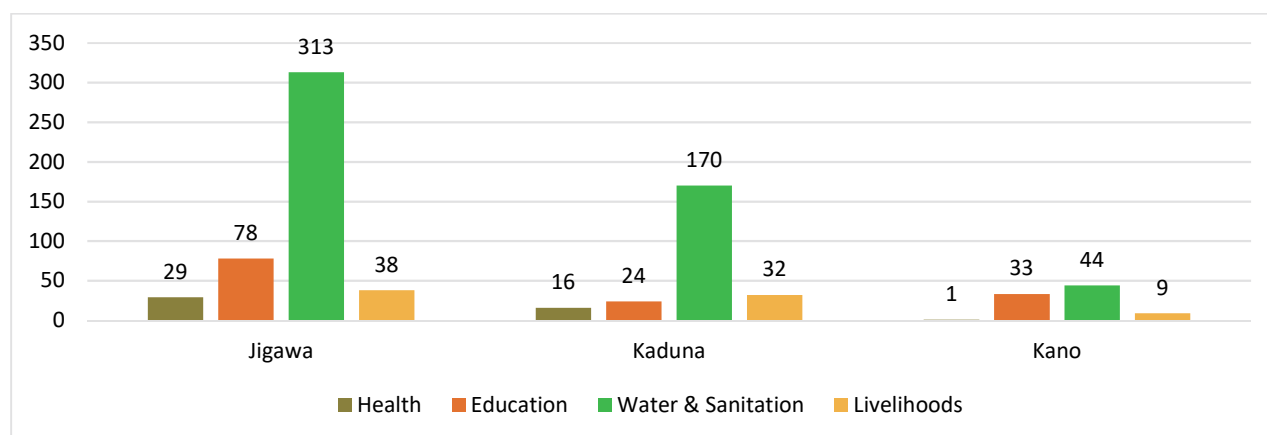
some improvements to services were owing to community members themselves rather than LGA provision, particularly for the provision of boreholes.

A range of concerns were voiced over the delivery of services for PWD in the sites visited during the 'second look' Case Study 5. One group of PWD in Jigawa State and two in Kaduna State said that they were completely unsatisfied with basic services and were not aware of any improvements over the last two years. Respondents in Kaduna State pointed towards private donations from better-off community members, together with the provision of community-donated soft loans, as sources of funding for some PWD-oriented initiatives, such as improving access to fresh water.

**Between 2015 and 2018 in M4D-supported LGAs, there appears to have been substantial increases in the provision of some basic services, particularly the provision of additional water points. M4D LGAs in Jigawa State have received the most additional services, followed by Kaduna State, and to a far lesser extent Kano State.** Within the project completion *Outcome and Impact Progress Report*<sup>76</sup>, M4D has documented a range of changes to the delivery of basic services in the health, education, water and sanitation and livelihoods sectors in the M4D-supported LGAs. Figure 8 is based on data contained within the M4D *Outcome and Impact Progress Report* and shows the change in the number of services being provided in each of the four sectors in 2018, compared to 2015. The changes refer to the number of additional primary (including nomadic) and secondary schools established, additional health facilities (including for primary healthcare), additional water points (mainly boreholes) and provision of overhead tanks and solar panels for existing water points. Changes in the livelihoods sector consisted of a variety of initiatives including, among others, construction of new feeder roads, markets, and skills acquisition centres. It was not clear from the report how these additional facilities were funded.

In addition to these additional facilities, there was extensive rehabilitation of existing facilities. Across all M4D-supported LGAs, around 66 schools received some form of renovation or repairs, around 35 health facilities were renovated or upgraded (including the provision of equipment in some cases), around 330 boreholes were repaired and around 14 feeder roads were rehabilitated. It was not clear from the report how this rehabilitation was funded.

**Figure 8: Change in the number of facilities in selected sectors between 2015 and 2018 in M4D LGAs**



**Source:** Data collected by M4D CBOs through a community mapping exercise and reported in the M4D project completion *Outcome and Impact Progress Report*.

**Across M4D-supported LGAs there has been large primary and junior secondary enrolment growth in recent years, though as teacher numbers have not kept up with this growth, there appears to be concerns on the impact on education quality. While gender parity has improved slightly in Jigawa State, there has been no change in Kano State and boys are still far more likely to be enrolled in schools than girls.** Within the project completion *Outcome and Impact Progress Report* M4D has

<sup>76</sup> *Outcome and Impact Progress Report*, M4D (March 2018).

identified several proxy indicators for measuring the impact of the Programme focussing on education and health as summarised in Figures 9-12 below. There appears to have been steady primary and junior secondary enrolment growth over the period 2014–2017 in M4D-supported LGAs overall. Over the period, Jigawa State had an average annual growth rate of 24%, followed by Kano State (19%) and Kaduna State (13%). However, the number of teachers in primary and junior secondary schools has not kept pace with this growth, leading to an increase in pupil teacher ratios between 2014 and 2017 from 27 to 43 in Jigawa State and, more extremely, from 58 to 86 in Kano State. The primary and junior secondary gender parity index (GPI) in Jigawa State increased from 0.35 to 0.42 over 2015 to 2017 but remained static at 0.49 in Kano State over the same period. GPI figures for Kaduna State were not available. The growth in the number of female teachers in both Jigawa and Kano states has exceeded that of male teachers. In Jigawa, between 2015 and 2017, the number of female teachers at primary and junior secondary levels grew by 43% and 150% respectively, compared to 15% and 20% for male teachers. In Kano, the growth in teacher numbers was modest, with female primary or junior secondary teacher number growing by 14% and male teachers by 11%.

**Attendance at PHC facilities has shown a very large increase across M4D-supported LGAs and there has been strong growth in the number of female PHC staff, though overall PHC staff numbers in Jigawa State appear not to have kept up with the growth in demand.** There appears to have been a marked increase in the number of people attending PHC facilities across M4D-supported LGAs. This increase was most evidence in Kano State where, between 2014 and 2017 attendance increased by 174%, followed by an increase of 121% in Jigawa State and an increase of 64% in Kaduna State. While the numbers of PHC staff appears to have kept up with this growth in Kano, this does not appear to be the case in Jigawa, where annual attendance per staff member grew from 493 to 895 between 2014 and 2017. There has been a greater increase in female PHC staff members compared to male PHC staff. Between 2014 and 2017, the number of female PHC staff members grew by 35% in Jigawa and 68% in Kano compared to a growth in male staff members of 15% and 31% in the same states.

Figure 9: Total primary and junior secondary enrolment in M4D-supported LGAs<sup>77</sup>

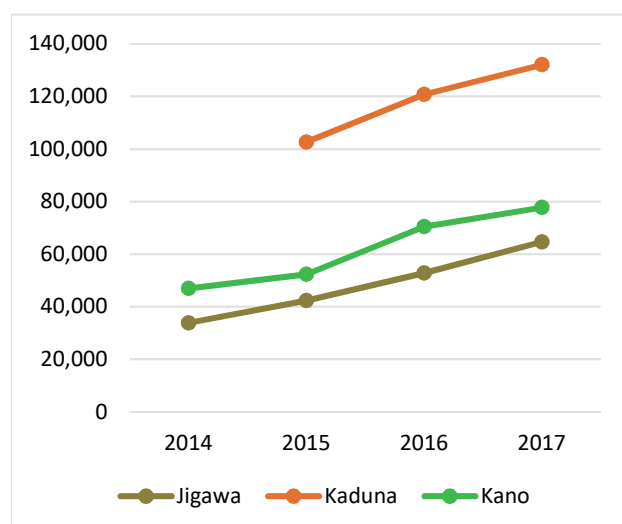
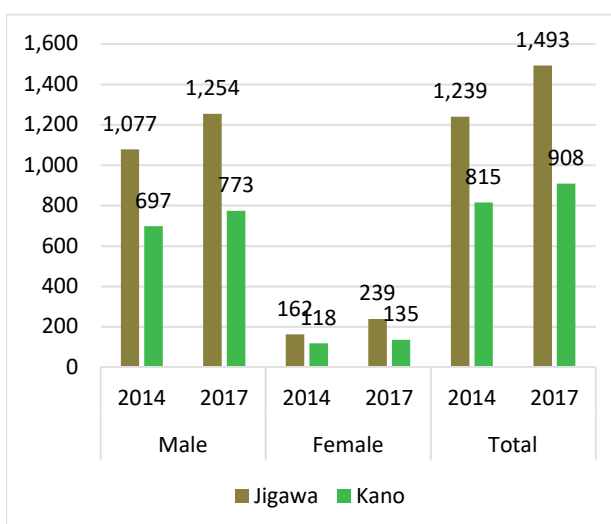


Figure 10: Number of primary and junior secondary school teachers in M4D-supported LGAs<sup>78</sup>

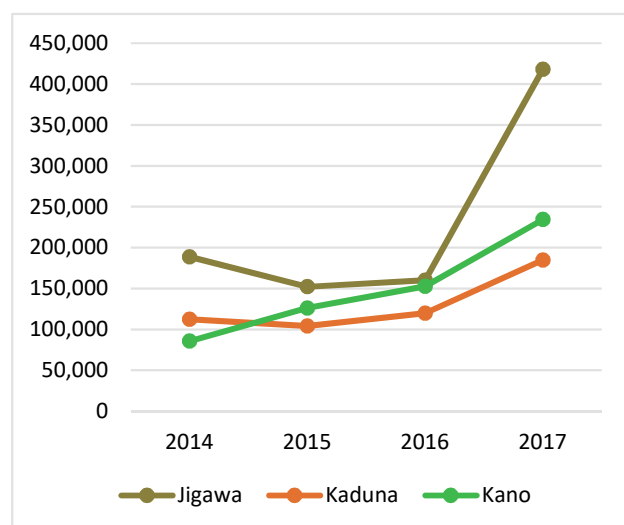
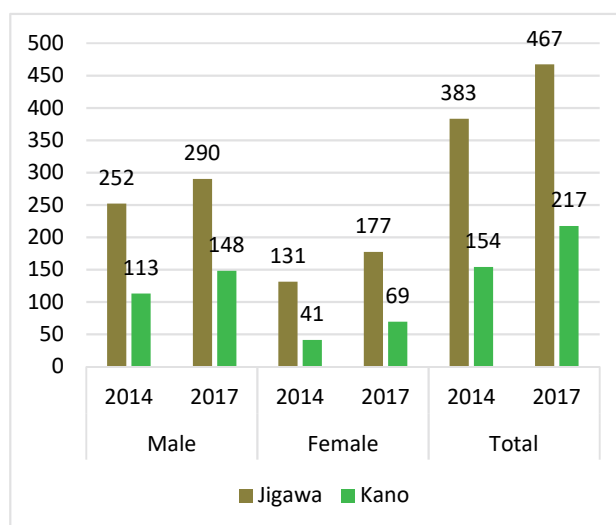


**Source:** Administrative data collected by M4D from supported LGA departments and reported in the M4D project completion *Outcome and Impact Progress Report*.

<sup>77</sup> Only Jigawa reports disaggregated primary and junior secondary school enrolment. In order to more easily compare across states we therefore present combined primary and junior secondary enrolment for each state.

<sup>78</sup> Teacher numbers were not available in Kaduna State.



**Figure 11: Total PHC annual attendance in M4D-supported LGAs****Figure 12: Number of PHC staff in M4D-supported LGAs<sup>79</sup>**

**Source:** Administrative data collected by M4D from supported LGA departments and reported in the M4D project completion *Outcome and Impact Progress Report*.

## 5.12 Summary of conclusions against micro-ToC change pathways

As the Red, Amber and Green (RAG) ratings in Table 9 demonstrate (see Figure 13 for key), there has been a broad degree of positive movement toward the objectives outlined in the M4D ToC, much of which is associated with M4D interventions. There are no considerable data gaps to prevent either a confident or moderately confident assessment of progress toward M4D objectives and associated M4D contributions.

**In summary, the synthesis of evidence against the consolidated micro-ToCs (see Annex 4) reveals good and intermediate progress of M4D interventions across all change pathway clusters.** Of the 15 pathways, 11 demonstrate progressive shifts toward outcome and impact objectives. Pathways 6, 11 and 14 show medium progression, each of which shows a broad spread of activities within the pathway which are performing well, moderately, or poorly. As might be expected, the first four pathways, situated at the output-outcome programming state, show the most consistently high levels of progress, degrees of evidence confidence, and associations with M4D contributions. Importantly, there no 'Red' RAG ratings, or 'L' (low) evidence confidence ratings applied to the synthesis findings.



**Cluster A** shows considerable shifts toward improved processes and structures for logging demands, and that these developments have increased the efficiency and effectiveness of demands being dealt with by PMs and SPs. In tandem with this, citizens and CBOs (including PWD CBOs and AG platforms) demonstrate increased knowledge, diplomacy and strategic thinking when attempting to influence PMs and SPs. There is considerable evidence that this improved confidence and ability of CBOs to articulate their demands is strongly associated with M4D training and

technical guidance activities. However, PMs and SPs are also appreciative that citizens and CBOs are increasingly more able to frame their demands in an informed manner. This has led to a positive feedback loop of mutual understanding.

<sup>79</sup> PHC staff number were not available in Kaduna State.



Figure 13: Key to RAG and confidence ratings





**Red:** Available evidence suggests that observed progress within the change pathway are negligible or embryonic.

**Amber:** Available evidence suggests that observed progress within the change pathway are promising or encouraging.

**Green:** Available evidence suggests that observed progress within the change pathway are strong and sound.

H, M or L: High, Medium or Low degree of confidence that the available evidence is representative of all respondent's views.







**Table 9: Summary of change pathways (1-15) and cluster findings (A–D), with RAG and confidence rating and supporting evidence**

#	Change Cluster & Pathway	First look synthesis		Second look synthesis	
		Rating	Summary of evidence	Rating	Summary of evidence
<b>A</b>	<b>Change Pathway Cluster:</b> Citizens demonstrate better relationships and influence on PMs and SPs.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>CBOs, as well as more specific groups or mechanisms (such as PWD CBOs and AG platforms) are increasingly able to influence PMs and SPs as a result of M4D contributions.</li> <li>There is a good degree of evidence confirming that PMs and SPs are responding to an increased level of influencing from citizens.</li> <li>There is mixed, limited, but important evidence across the four change pathways demonstrating that changes in discriminatory gender and social norms are facilitating wider change processes, although there is much work to be done in this regard.</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The four change pathways reviewed show that CBOs, as well as more specific groups or mechanisms (such as PWD CBOs and AG platforms), are increasingly able to influence PMs and SPs.</li> <li>PMs and SPs are more appreciative and responsive to CBO demands.</li> <li>Positive attitudinal change of PMs and SPs in relation to the role of PWD and AGs in governance discussions has enabled additional outcomes.</li> </ul>
<b>Activity to Output</b>					
<b>1</b>	PMs and SPs log demands lodged on behalf of citizens.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Although there is a small amount of evidence that shows systems for logging demands are set up and being used by PMs and SPs, the evidence is itself largely positive, reliable and strongly demonstrative of significant contributions from M4D.</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>There is strong evidence from a wide variety of stakeholders that PMs and SPs are progressing with the logging of demands made by or on behalf of citizens.</li> <li>There is widely informed and reliable evidence that there are improvements across all sites regarding the processes of logging demands, and that the process is becoming more institutionalised.</li> </ul>
<b>Output to Outcome</b>					
<b>2</b>	CBOs have increased influence on PMs and SPs.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>There is strong, consistent and widely available that evidence that CBOs are having increased influence on PMs and SPs as a result of M4D Programme contributions – particularly as a result of improved facilities and confidence to do so.</li> <li>There is broad and reliable evidence that PMs and SPs are more receptive to demands made by CBOs due to M4Ds introduction of more strategic policy engagement processes.</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>There is convincing evidence from all stakeholders that CBOs are having increased influence on PMs and SPs, and that this is consistent across all research sites.</li> <li>There is widely informed and strong evidence that the increased influence of CBOs on PMs and SPs is associated with improved relationships associated with M4D engagements.</li> <li>The data and feedback from respondents confidently show that the increased influence of CBOs on PMs and SPs has been supported by M4D activities to improve engagement techniques.</li> </ul>

#	Change Cluster & Pathway	First look synthesis		Second look synthesis	
		Rating	Summary of evidence	Rating	Summary of evidence
3	Girls Platforms (GPs) have increased influence on PMs and SPs.	H	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>There is relatively limited but strongly valid evidence that GPs have gained the knowledge and skills to influence PMs and SPs, although the data also confirms that AGs have had limited direct engagement with PMs and SPs – a lack of progress not entirely associated with M4D.</li> <li>There is a relatively limited amount of high confidence evidence regarding the degree to which PMs and SPs have responded to demands made by GPs.</li> <li>There is a small amount of very reliable evidence demonstrating shifts in discriminatory gender norms directed toward adolescent girls.</li> </ul>	M	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A fair amount of evidence shows that AGs are demonstrating increased direct and indirect influence over PMs and SPs, with a few exceptions.</li> <li>A wide variety and number of stakeholders report that attitudinal change of PMs and SPs has been instrumental in enabling AGs to have increased influence with them although the degree of change is variable.</li> </ul>
4	PWD CBOs have a better relationship with and increased influence on PMs and SPs.	L	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Broad but low confidence evidence shows that PWD CBOs have acquired skills to organise themselves via M4D contributions, engage with PWD, and make demands of PMs and SPs on behalf of PWD.</li> <li>A fair amount of anecdotal evidence reveals that PWD are increasingly perceiving themselves as right holders, which is in turn supporting them to demand equitable basic services and accountability on behalf of PWD.</li> <li>There is a broad amount of low confidence evidence associated with M4D activities to suggest that PMs and SPs have logged PWD CBO demands and informed their plans and budgets accordingly.</li> </ul>	M	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A consistent and broad amount of evidence from multiple stakeholders shows that PWD have increased confidence and skills in engaging and influencing PMs and SPs which are associated with M4D contributions.</li> <li>There is a wide and reliable pool of evidence that demonstrates multiple supporting factors that have facilitated an increase in PWD influence on PMs and SPs.</li> <li>A fair amount of reliable evidence shows that the space for PWD to participate and engage PMs and SPs has expanded under the influence of M4D contributions.</li> <li>A fair amount of evidence shows that the progress on integrating PWD CBO concerns into budgets has been supported by an increase around incentives for participatory planning and budgeting.</li> </ul>
B	<b>Change Pathway Cluster:</b> Citizen demands are reviewed and accommodated in PM and SP		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>There is a significant amount of evidence showing that structures and processes for inviting and incorporating demands are being established and are strongly associated with M4D outputs, particularly those structures that improve upward communication flow from citizens to PMs and SPs.</li> <li>Broad indicative evidence shows that PMs and SPs are responding constructively to citizen demands, although this evidence is insufficiently</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>There is strong and widely substantiated evidence that a significant number of demands are being incorporated into PM and SP decision making via M4D technical support although downstream tangible responses are broadly observed as low-intensity or short-term in nature.</li> </ul>







#	Change Cluster & Pathway	First look synthesis		Second look synthesis	
		Rating	Summary of evidence	Rating	Summary of evidence
	planning discussions.		<p>systematic to draw detailed conclusions on the key factors facilitating this change.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Limited but important evidence shows that a contributing factor encouraging PMs and SPs to adopt new practices are changes in the perceptions of marginalised groups.</li> <li>Ad hoc evidence shows contributions from PMs and SPs have provided channels for the M4D change pathways to be more actively successful.</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Processes for addressing and responding to the demands of marginalised groups are demonstrated by mixed evidence although challenges are not significantly associated with M4D performance shortfalls.</li> <li>There is broad and reliable evidence demonstrating that PMs and SPs are being incentivised to adopt new practices as a result of enhanced demand management platforms on the supply and demand sides, as well as a widened and improved variety of communication channels that connects citizens and CBOs to PMs and SPs.</li> </ul>
<b>Output to Outcome</b>					
5	Citizens' articulated demands are incorporated into plans or delivery of basic services and accountability.	M	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>There is a good amount evidence that structures and processes for inviting and incorporating demands are being established, and these are strongly associated with M4D outputs.</li> <li>There is a reliable and moderately limited amount of detailed evidence demonstrating that demands are being incorporated into plans or delivery of basic services and accountability, although M4D M&amp;E data appears more positive.</li> <li>There are limitations in interpreting the data relating to the incorporation of demands into plans or delivery of basic services and accountability, which has limited conclusions on M4D contributions.</li> </ul>	M	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>There is consistent evidence from a wide variety of stakeholders that demands are being incorporated into plans, basic services and accountability discussions.</li> <li>A fair amount of evidence reveals that demands are being incorporated into plans, basic services and accountability discussions through an increased variety of communication channels supported by M4D.</li> </ul>
6	PMs and SPs are more responsive and accountable.	M	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>There is a good amount of reliable evidence associated with M4D interventions demonstrating that PMs and SPs across the sites are responding positively to demands made by CBOs, including GPs and PWD, although detail on the factors supporting these responses is weak.</li> <li>The M4D data strongly suggests that PMs and SPs are progressing along a responsiveness and accountability scale.</li> </ul>	M	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A significant amount of evidence reveals that there has been progress in terms of PMs and SPs becoming more responsive and accountable as a result of M4D interventions, but responses can be broadly defined as short-term or low-cost.</li> <li>A fair amount of triangulated evidence shows that M4D provided instrumental technical support to enable the progress of PMs and SPs to become more responsive and accountable.</li> <li>Limited but well-evidenced feedback shows that there are gaps in PMs and SPs' responsiveness and accountability, particularly in relation to AG platforms.</li> </ul>

#	Change Cluster & Pathway	First look synthesis		Second look synthesis	
		Rating	Summary of evidence	Rating	Summary of evidence
7	PMs and SPs change their perception about PWD and recognise the importance of including PWD.	M	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>In all three states, there is broad amounts of fairly reliable evidence that suggests that M4D's intervention has contributed to changing PMs and SPs perception about PWD, enabling them to recognise their needs, rights, and capabilities.</li> <li>There is a fair amount of evidence that CBOs attest to improved perceptions, although these improvements are not uniform or comprehensive across the M4D implementation sites.</li> </ul>	M	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A wide variety of stakeholders from across the intervention sites, although to a lesser extent in Kano and some parts of Kaduna, report that PM and SPs are making an effort to gather and recognise feedback from PWD with support from M4D.</li> <li>With a few exceptions, there is good evidence from all stakeholders across the sites that PMs and SPs are recognising the importance of PWD in budget process through engagements in participatory budgeting.</li> <li>There is a fair amount of evidence from all stakeholders that PMs and SPs are working with PWD in a more structurally embedded way, which is indirectly associated with M4D's capacity support to PWD.</li> </ul>
8	Incentives to adopt new practices are created among PMs and SPs.	M	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Significant amounts of good quality evidence demonstrate that improved upward communication flow from CBOs to government administrations is incentivising PMs and SPs to adopt new governance approaches.</li> <li>Several examples from the case studies suggest that improved upward communication flow and transparency as a result of M4D demand-logging platforms is incentivising PMs and SPs to be increasingly responsive.</li> <li>A small amount of reliable evidence shows that government (re)-engagement in planning phases supports PMs and SPs to be open to new governance practices – although clear connections to M4D activities in this area are unknown.</li> </ul>	M	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A small amount of evidence from across the stakeholder spectrum suggests that new demand management platforms on the supply side have incentivised PMs and SPs to adopt new practices.</li> <li>A fair amount of evidence, corroborated across several other change pathways, demonstrates that increasingly effective demand-side pressures are incentivising PMs and SPs to adopt new practices.</li> <li>There is increased dialogue between the citizens and CBOs on the demand side, and PMs and SPs on the supply side, supported by a fair amount of evidence, which has provided a foundation for PMs and SPs to adopt new practices.</li> </ul>
C	<b>Change Pathway Cluster:</b> Innovations, adaptations and replications of BFAs are emergent.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>In the area of advocacy for adaptation, replication and innovation, there is a limited amount of evidence suggesting that progress has been challenging.</li> <li>A sufficient degree of evidence shows that PMs and SPs are recognising context and budget constraints in reviewing adaptation, replication and innovation possibilities, but this evidence lacks explanatory detail.</li> <li>there is a fair amount of evidence that suggests that SCE and LSC programmes, alongside accountability BFAs (rather than the service</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>There is good evidence from multiple stakeholders demonstrating that M4D's media and communication efforts has led to PMs/SPs and CBOs advocating for the replication of successful M4D models in targeted states.</li> <li>There is evidence to suggest that successful M4D models are gaining traction among PMs/SPs, progress has been made in scaling up successful M4D models, notably the MVS, LSC and SCEs. Key constraints remain with respect to media engagements and terminology concerning scale-up, replication and innovation.</li> </ul>

#	Change Cluster & Pathway	First look synthesis		Second look synthesis	
		Rating	Summary of evidence	Rating	Summary of evidence
			delivery BFAs) are demonstrating traction with PMs and SPs in terms of adaptation, replication and innovation, but mostly at LGA rather than state level.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>There is limited evidence of scale-up and replication of successful M4D models in non-M4D locations. However, there are signs of traction beginning to emerge among CBOs though this is in its infancy stage.</li> </ul>
<b>Output to Outcome</b>					
9	CBOs/SPs/PMs advocate for replication of successful BFAs.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A fair amount of anecdotal evidence suggests that initiatives have been undertaken by CBOs, SPs and PMs in all three states to advocate for the replication of BFAs, and while the overall depth of the evidence base is limited and unsystematic, linkages to M4D performance can be considered high.</li> <li>Limited but important evidence demonstrates that a shared clarity on communication strategies or advocacy approaches is lacking amongst M4D stakeholders.</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>There is a considerable amount of evidence to suggest that PMs/SPs and CBOs are advocating for the replication of successful BFAs in all three states, however, there is more systematic evidence in Jigawa and Kano.</li> <li>There has been a notable increase in media-related activity promoting successful M4D models among targeted stakeholders in Jigawa and Kano. However, there is limited evidence to determine the influence on replication and scale-up efforts.</li> </ul>
10	PMs and SPs see incentives in adopting innovations, solutions and BFAs within constraints of context and resources.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A broad amount of anecdotal evidence suggests that PMs and SPs recognise that traction for scale-up of BFAs is tempered by a lack of resources and contextual issues. However, this evidence lacks detail on M4D contributions as the processes used by PMs and SPs to review these constraints are unclear.</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>PMs/SPs recognise the positive achievements and opportunities that M4D models and approaches have brought in LGAs and at state level. Resource constraints still persist and there is limited evidence of adoption in Kano State.</li> </ul>
11	Innovations, solutions and BFAs are adapted, replicated and/or scaled up.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>High amounts of fairly reliable evidence outline a mixed progression in terms of increased adaptations, replications and scale-up of M4D BFA-related interventions.</li> <li>There is a good amount of evidence suggesting that SCE and LSC programmes demonstrate a relatively high degree of traction amongst PMs and SPs, with clear contributions from M4D.</li> <li>Limited but important evidence shows that community-level engagement factors are a barrier to scale-up.</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>There is fairly reliable evidence to suggest that progress has been made to replicate and scale up M4D's successful solutions and BFAs. Resource constraints are the main factor hindering progress.</li> <li>There is considerably more evidence demonstrating progress in the scale-up of LSC and SCE solutions in Jigawa compared to Kano State. A high degree of traction is evident among PMs/SPs.</li> <li>Scale-up and replication of successful M4D models in non-M4D locations is in its infancy stage, but signs of traction are beginning to emerge among CBOs.</li> </ul>



#	Change Cluster & Pathway	First look synthesis		Second look synthesis	
		Rating	Summary of evidence	Rating	Summary of evidence
D	<b>Change Pathway Cluster:</b> Longer-term behavioural change and budget commitments indicate sustainable impacts.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>CBOs are not only increasing their activities to work opportunistically with partners independently of M4D engagements, but are also being more strategic with new partners and, in some cases, innovating and adapting M4D interventions.</li> <li>There is clear but limited evidence of state authorities responding to opportunities raised by M4D to innovate, adapt and scale up associated interventions.</li> <li>There are symptoms of behavioural change amongst PMs and SPs associated with M4D interventions, although the limitations of the evidence prevent further detailed investigation.</li> <li>While the evidence on state-level buy-in is narrow, it nevertheless suggests that state-level participation is very likely to have been complicit in several innovations, replications and scale-up activities of M4D interventions.</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>There are good indications that behavioural change of PMs and SPs is emerging as a result of a collection of outcomes relating to increased accessibility, responsiveness and accountability.</li> <li>There is positive and well-evidenced progress that citizen and CBO demands are being taken up into budgets and plans, facilitated by increased and more effective communications channels although full commitment to expenditure is often absent.</li> <li>There is a broad amount of evidence to show that state-level actors are showing a fair amount of interest in terms of buying into M4D interventions, with a handful of examples of formal follow-up.</li> </ul>
<b>Outcome to Impact</b>					
12	Stakeholders conduct activities and engage with each other, independent of M4D's support.	M	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A small amount of consistent evidence shows that CBOs across all intervention sites are working opportunistically with partners and government actors to independently strengthen their positions, with fair contributions provided by M4D.</li> <li>In addition to more opportunistic or responsive engagements, there is a fair amount of reliable evidence showing that CBOs across all three states are seen to be developing coalitions with each other to proactively and independently engage with PMs and SPs, and share programme lessons.</li> <li>Fair evidence exists of independent scale-up, replication and sustainability of M4D approaches, although the contributing factors for this change are unclear in the evidence base.</li> <li>Limited but promising evidence reveals a small number of commitments and plans for scale-up, innovation and adaptation. However, the examples are mixed in the extent to which funding commitments are confirmed or forthcoming.</li> </ul>		Analysis for this change pathway is based on Case Study 7 for which there was only a single look – the results of which are covered by the 'first look' synthesis.

#	Change Cluster & Pathway	First look synthesis		Second look synthesis	
		Rating	Summary of evidence	Rating	Summary of evidence
13	Behaviour change is sustained among PMs and SPs.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A limited amount of consistent evidence suggests that some behaviour changes amongst PMs and SPs are observed in relation to views of PWD, which is loosely correlated with M4D contributions.</li> <li>Low amounts of anecdotal data suggest that there is an increased dialogue between PMs, SPs, CBOs and citizens which is symptomatic of behaviour change.</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>There are multiple examples from a wide spectrum of respondents of increased accessibility, responsiveness and accountability from PMs and SPs, which is indicative of more in-depth behavioural change.</li> <li>There is some tentative evidence that shows that training and increased interaction has provided a foundation for PMs and SPs to engage with CBOs (particularly PWD CBOs) and adjust their perceptions, while changes in the CBOs have also influenced a gain in mutual respect.</li> </ul>
14	Funding for innovations, solutions and/or BFAs are included in plans, policies and budgets.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Fair amounts of anecdotal evidence show that while commitments are being made in relation to plans and budgets (and less so in terms of policies), a key constraint for honouring those commitments remains limited fiscal space capacity across all sites – an area beyond M4D's sphere of influence.</li> <li>Limited amounts of anecdotal evidence reveal that alternative funding sources are being pursued in parallel with government and M4D support in order to ensure that innovations, solutions, and/or BFAs are included in plans, policies and budgets.</li> <li>The lack of clarity and transparency in budgeting documents limits observations for this change pathway, which in turn limits a judgement on M4Ds contribution.</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Positive progress on the integration of BFAs into budgets, promoted by M4D, is supported by fairly convincing evidence.</li> <li>There is broad and convincing evidence from a wide pool of stakeholders showing that a lack of financial support hinders the ability to replicate/scale up initiatives.</li> </ul>
15	State/LGA level buy-in is achieved where required.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>There is very limited and fragmented evidence showing the adoption of innovations, adaptations, replications and scale-up of M4D interventions, which indicates a degree of state/LGA buy-in.</li> <li>There is a fractional amount of evidence that suggests that a lack of state-level advocacy by M4D has diminished the opportunities to obtain state and LGA-level buy-in to enable innovations, replications and scale-up of M4D outputs.</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A handful of anecdotal feedback from respondents reveal good progress regarding the development of state-level bills and other support for PWD, although M4D's contribution to these shifts is unclear.</li> <li>A limited amount of anecdotal evidence suggests that there are good examples of state buy-in in Jigawa and Kano, with less evidence emerging in relation to Kaduna.</li> <li>Fairly convincing evidence shows that there is some fair progress in garnering the interest of state-level actors to buy into M4D activities.</li> </ul>

Based on the summary of conclusions against micro-ToC change pathways set out above, we can also conclude the following in terms of how successful certain interventions were relative to other interventions.

**The different interventions designed to bring about increased influence on PMs and SPs of different groups, including CBOs, Girls Platforms and PWD CBOs have all demonstrated success.**

This is evidenced by a green RAG rating against change pathways 2-4 in Table 9. This appears to be most unequivocal for interventions focussed on CBOs, where there is strong evidence from a wide variety of stakeholders. Whilst there is also a fair amount of evidence in support of increased influence by Girls Platforms and PWD CBOs, it is not as widespread as for CBOs and there are also some exceptions where increased influence was not evident. One form of intervention, which stands out across all three groups of stakeholders, is the success of participatory planning and budgeting in including prioritised stakeholder demands within LGA plans and budgets.

**There have been variations in the success of different interventions designed to bring about changes in behaviour among PMs and SPs, including incorporating citizen's demands within plans and budgets, becoming more responsive and accountable, changing perceptions towards PWDs, and the creation of incentives for adopting new practices.** This is evidenced by a mixture of green and amber RAG rating against change pathways 5-8 in Table 9. As highlighted with regard to change pathways 2-4, there has been a marked improvement in the manner, and extent to which, citizen's demands have been included into LGA plans and budgets (change pathway 5) and of the success of town hall meetings and interface meetings.

Conversely, the extent to which this has translated into improvements in responsiveness and accountability among SPs and PMs appears to have worsened between the first and second look case studies. During the first look there were some encouraging signs of progress along a responsiveness and accountability scale, but during the second look, despite extensive support from M4D, gaps were observed in the responsiveness and accountability of PMs and SPs, particularly in relation to girl's platforms, with most responses defined as short-term or low-cost.

**The different interventions designed to enable to replication and/or adaptation of innovations, solutions and BFAs have all demonstrated success, though the extent to which these have been in practice replicated or scaled up has been limited by SP/PM resource constraints.** This is evidenced by a mixture of green and amber RAG rating against change pathways 9-11 in Table 9. M4D support has been successful in both encouraging and enabling PMs/SPs and CBOs to advocate for the replication of BFAs and there have been notable improvements in the way M4D has supported media-related activities since the first look. In addition, there is clear evidence that PMs/SPs recognise the positive achievements and opportunities that M4D models and approaches have brought in LGAs and at state level.

However, whilst there is evidence to suggest that progress has been made to replicate and scale up M4D's successful solutions and BFAs, resource constraints faced by SPs/PMs has been a limiting factor. There are also variations in replication and scale-up between locations – for example the progress in doing so with LSCs and SCE in Jigawa compared to Kano.

## 6 Recommendations

This section documents recommendations for DFID and other donors to consider when designing interventions aimed at strengthening local governance processes, primarily in Nigeria, but also in other similar contexts. The recommendations are also designed to be of relevance for managers of ongoing development interventions in Nigeria, either being funded by DFID or other development agencies. Recommendations are derived from the analysis and main findings presented in Section 5 and informed by ‘suggested ways forward’ documented within the four briefing notes and two synthesis reports prepared by the IEM.

1. **Political economy analysis or ‘power mapping’ should be embedded in all future programming and should be incorporated within capacity building provided to CBOs.** The identification of influential stakeholders can be essential to securing community participation, overcoming resistance and funding for service improvements. The power-mapping approach adopted by M4D, identifying the most significant actors, was an important component of its success and should be embedded in governance programmes from their inception.
2. **When designing programmes or interventions that aim to strengthen community-driven development in Nigeria, DFID and/or development programmes should ensure that strategies are included with aim to gain the support of traditional and religious leaders.** Based on the evaluation findings, the involvement of traditional leaders appears to be crucial to gain community support for initiatives, and in advocating for citizens' demands. However, they are not the most effective stakeholders to reach out to women and girls in all instances, therefore their role in consulting communities should be part of wider efforts involving a range of influencers.
3. **In order to ensure that more accountable and responsive behaviours exhibited by LGA-level PMs/SPs are maintained, future LGA-focussed programming should also include initiatives that aim to strengthen state government-level policies and procedures that influence these behaviours within the same programme.** Improvements in the accountability and responsiveness of LGA PMs/SPs need to be embedded in management structures and working practices, not reliant on individual attitudinal changes or commitments, where they are at risk of being eroded within government departments or LGAs because of (often frequent) staff movements. Many of these structures and practices are governed by state government-level policies and procedures, requiring engagement at this level to effect change. This process of change is likely to take time and therefore needs to be built into programme design from the beginning.
4. **Development programmes should exercise caution when supporting initiatives which raise expectations of better service delivery among citizens where there is little chance of this being feasible in practice, otherwise the credibility of community-driven processes may be undermined in the medium term.** Several advances were observed in the M4D Programme with respect to PMs and SPs recognising the importance of M4D interventions, but the lack of commitment and delivery of longer-term and more intense resource investments served to undermine hard-won trust and credibility among stakeholders, particularly among citizens and CBOs. Agencies seeking to undertake similar interventions should prioritise a process of setting expectations among all actors at the outset of programming activities. This process could be underpinned by a detailed assessment of fiscal space capacity, ideally at both state and LGA levels. This process would set the stage of appreciating the possibilities of delivery, replication, adaption and scale-up, but also provide a further dividend relating to downward accountability and transparency.
5. **When designing future governance programmes that support community-driven development, DFID should include explicit measures that aim to deliver, or mobilise, increased budget**

**allocations for responding to local development plans.** A common finding from several case studies as highlighted under Recommendation 4, was that funding constraints meant that the LGAs were unable to respond to many documented citizen demands. While there are a number of contributing factors (e.g. unrealistic LGA budgets and plans, competing priorities), two fundamental reasons include reductions in federal allocations to states, and uncertain budget releases from state to LGA governments. Future governance programmes should therefore include explicit measures that seek to improve fiscal space, either by working with state governments to improve mechanisms for collecting internally generated revenues or by providing, or leveraging, external assistance which is linked to improvements in state-LGA fiscal transfer arrangements. Local government funding in Nigeria is a difficult area and requires liaison with state-level actors and budgeting processes to secure release of funds. LG programmes therefore need to have state-level links built in from the beginning if they are likely to require public funds.

6. **DFID and other development programmes should aim to maximise impact by promoting successful interventions through multiple channels underpinned by a well-maintained communication strategy.** The findings show that multiple and targeted communications channels are vital to enable the groundswell of mutual understanding between citizens, CBOs, PMs and SPs, as well as individual behavioural change. All stakeholders seeking to improve governance programming in Nigeria or similar contexts should therefore not underestimate the potential of capturing dissemination and communications activities under a detailed strategy. An often overlooked but important aspect of effectively implementing such a communications strategy concerns the capture of uptake and impacts of communications activities. Building and maintaining this evidence base is critical for informing the overall impact story associated with an intervention, particularly in more complex areas such as governance.
7. **In order to support replication and scale up, development programmes in Nigeria should invest in promoting successful interventions through convening learning events and establishing mechanisms of cross-state dialogue and between different groups of stakeholders (e.g. PMs/SPs, CBOs, PWD CBOs).** M4D exhibited several successes in replicating and scaling up interventions in target LGAs, and to some extent, at state level. However, limited gains were observed in non-M4D locations. A series of cross-state learning visits organised by programme implementers and/or state authorities would assist in not only sharing underlying factors that have facilitated successes, but also serve to map shortfalls and potential easy wins for initiatives to be replicated, adapted and scaled-up. In this sense, programmes could explicitly undertake an important knowledge-broker role in their overall strategy to achieve greater impact.
8. **DFID should identify options, or mechanisms, for incentivising different development programmes to more effectively collaborate around specific core governance issues or problems, particularly where they are connected to other development programmes which are focused on service delivery issues.** M4D has been unable to address some of core governance challenges which have prevented LGAs managing citizen expectations or implementing responses to government demands. There have also been limited changes to state government policies and processes that will enable initiatives adopted by LGAs to be sustained. In the future, DFID should take a more active role in providing programmes with incentives to collaborate with one another beyond more narrow coordination or information sharing. In addition, DFID should consider working with state governments to help them strengthen their aid coordination capacity so that development interventions, and the linkages between them, are fully reflected in government reform plans and that the reform process itself influences stronger collaboration between programmes.
9. **DFID should review opportunities for support to be provided under its ongoing portfolio of programmes in Nigeria to help strengthen the resilience of promising initiatives supported by**

**M4D to political change over the next 12 months.** The next Nigerian general election is less than 12 months away and the potential for political change is likely to create a sense of uncertainty among stakeholders who are attempting to sustain and replicate interventions supported by M4D. DFID should consider selecting those priority interventions which show the best potential for medium-term sustainability and review what opportunities exist for support to be provided under its ongoing portfolio of programmes in Nigeria in order to help further strengthen their resilience to changes in political leadership. A good example of such ongoing support is that being provided in Kano and Kaduna states by PERL to help pass disability bills in those states.

## 7 Lessons learned

This section documents lessons learned from the evaluation which are aimed at DFID Nigeria and other development programmes to help them reflect on where they might consider making adaptations in their approaches within similar contexts. Lessons learned have been identified by the authors of this report and are derived from the analysis and main findings presented in Section 5 and informed by lessons identified in the two synthesis reports prepared by the IEM.

1. **Building coalitions among CBOs, citizens and religious and traditional leaders is an effective way to amplify the influence and impact of lobbying efforts.** Where these also involve SPs and PMs, this can help secure buy-in from senior officials for the release of funds.
2. **Training provided by M4D to PMs, SPs, CBOs and citizens is consistently referred to as a key catalyst for providing actors with technical know-how, confidence and network connections regarding situation analysis (power and stakeholder mapping), budgeting (costing and prioritisation) and process issues (negotiation and framing demands).** Actors seeking to convene other actors in the M4D intervention sites, as well as beyond, should appreciate the efficiencies associated with providing and fostering the collective 'rules of the game' amongst all engaging parties.
3. **A more focussed communications strategy prepared by M4D enabled the Programme to orient its activities concerning the replication, adaptation and scale-up of interventions to greater effect.** Evidence from the 'first look' case studies collectively showed significant shortfalls in the M4D communications programme beyond what was expected for the stage of the Programme. Guidance brought forward by the mid-term report supported the development of a communications strategy which identified both key targets and associated methods for engagement.
4. **Encouraging replication and scale-up also demands a specific set of activities, including media work, advocacy and events to disseminate and encourage best practice.** Securing concrete commitment to scale-up, rather than provoking interest and good intentions, is likely to be a long-term process and needs to be started early in the programme to deliver results.
5. **The fundamental lesson that enabled M4D to achieve components of its strategy for promoting replication, scale-up and adaptation of interventions was the holistic perspective relating to changes in the governance system.** Through technical support to both citizens and CBOs, as well as PMs and SPs, successful interventions were contextualised through tools such as stakeholder mapping, costing and issue prioritisation, and several other lesson-learning events. This contextualisation helped to facilitate improved mutual understanding of governance challenges among stakeholders, and to set more realistic expectations regarding the possibilities for change. In summary, this cross-cutting approach encouraged a positive feedback loop for government and citizens relations, although multiple unfulfilled budget commitments have put some tension on these gains.
6. **Specific efforts to reach out to PWD and AGs can deliver real results.** These groups are keen to be involved and to express their views to PMs.



- 7. In terms of PWD, AGs and marginalised communities, it seems that in many (though not all) cases, LGAs tend to wait for inclusive legislation to be brought in at the state level, rather than be more proactive in their response.** While such policy changes are necessary, there are also changes that could be made to the operation of the LGAs to facilitate inclusion, such as the changes of job descriptions to focus PMs and SPs more on the needs of PWD and other marginalised groups. Future donor programming could work with LGA-level officials to find innovative ways to improve inclusion.
- 8. In the current restricted funding environment, CBOs and citizens should be encouraged to consider how to prioritise the available funds, as well as demanding additional funding for new services.** The evaluation findings suggest that because citizen demands are being included in LGA plans, but not delivered due to resourcing constraints, some citizens (especially PWD) are beginning to disengage. If there was greater clarity among CBOs and citizens as to the likely available funding, community expectations might be better managed.
- 9. Self-help approaches to funding are inevitable, but if they are not linked to government funding they risk undermining a governance approach.** If funds raised by communities could be used to leverage further public funds, this might be a good way to integrate the two approaches.
- 10. The demand platforms, as demonstrated, for example, by the PCSMS and townhall meetings, have proved to be critical in capturing, consolidating and progressing the demands of citizens and CBOs among PMs and SPs.** Given that this has proven to be one of the lynchpins through which citizens and CBOs have gained entry into a variety of governance debates and decision-making processes, LG actors in Nigeria should seek to consolidate these platforms by securing funding and documenting best practice. If LGAs capture this funding and document ways of working, then lessons can be handed over to forthcoming authorities. LGAs operating in environments where citizen engagement is considered to be low can also experiment with demand-logging platforms to determine the effectiveness.

## 8 Communication of evaluation findings and recommendations

Two learning events were held in Abuja, Nigeria during the week commencing 7<sup>th</sup> May 2018; one 1-2-hour event with a cadre of DFID advisers at the DFID Nigeria offices and one half-day event with a mixed audience of State and Federal Government representatives and law makers, representatives from other governance projects in Nigeria, and M4D staff. A further learning event is expected to be carried out with a cadre of DFID advisers at the DFID London offices and DFID will publish and disseminate this final evaluation report both within Nigeria, and within DFID more widely.

The two learning events held in Nigeria were carried out in collaboration with the M4D programme manager and deputy programme manager. Each learning event consisted of a presentation by M4D setting out the main results achieved by the programme, followed by a presentation by the IEM setting out the following:

1. Introduction to the IEM, including objectives, EQs, and overall methodology.
2. Main findings, presented within thematic areas rather than against each EQ for brevity, including: a) Changes in community participation, b) changes in the responsiveness of LGA-level PMs/SPs, c) better fit approaches, d) sustainability of observed changes, and e) changes in service delivery.
3. Selected recommendations and lessons learned.

The learning events included plenary discussions where participants were given the opportunity to ask questions or query evaluation findings, recommendations and lessons learned. In addition, during the half-day learning event, two interactive breakout group sessions were included: a) one facilitated by M4D and focused on discussing some key M4D results, and b) one facilitated by the IEM and focused on identifying actions in response to key opportunities and challenges associated with M4Ds work (see Figure 14 below for the guidance provided to breakout groups). The actions identified by participants in the IEM facilitation breakout session is shown in Table 10.

Following on from the learning events, DFID and M4D provided written comments to the IEM on the final evaluation report which the IEM used to subsequently adjust the report. In summary, the substantive comments focused on: a) further triangulating findings by additional analysis of M4D M&E data, b) clarifying some of the findings by providing additional evidence, c) ensuring some findings were not overstated, given the few response data points on which they were based, and d) nuancing some of the recommendations and lessons learned to better take account of strategies adopted by M4D during the life of the programme.

Figure 14: Guidance provided to learning event participants for the IEM facilitated breakout session

### Breakout session 2

1. We have identified 3 key opportunities and 3 core challenges associated with M4Ds work. In your groups:
  - Select at least one opportunity and at least one challenge. You should either select from the list, or propose additional opportunities or challenges within your group.
  - Identify potential actions that can be taken to respond to the opportunities and address the challenges selected.
2. When identifying potential actions, please think about different actors and the actions they might take. E.g. state and LGA governments, CBOs, citizens, donors.
3. Write your proposed actions on a flip chart and present these to the wider group.

### Group discussions

Opportunities?	Challenges?
How can additional resources be mobilised to support community driven development?	How can commitment to community driven development among citizens be maintained when their demands are not being met?
What needs to happen to ensure the passage of Disability Bills translates into improved services for PWDs?	How to make LGA budgets more realistic and releases against them more predictable?
What do LGAs and CBOs need to do to assure the sustainability of the LSC approach?	How can improvements in LGA capabilities and processes become better institutionalised?
<b>Other opportunities?</b>	<b>Other challenges?</b>

Results in Development

**Table 10:** Synthesized and summarised actions identified by participants in IEM facilitated breakout group

Opportunities	Challenges
<b>Mobilising additional resources</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Prioritise raising additional funds from donor agencies and within communities for improved services.</li> <li>▪ Develop a strategic action plan for improving services, covering the private sector, donor and communities.</li> <li>▪ Increase tax revenues at both state and LGA levels through land registration and link to utilities.</li> <li>▪ Enhance social corporate responsibility.</li> <li>▪ Create a better enabling environment for investors (ease of doing business).</li> <li>▪ Implement community development fund law.</li> </ul>	<b>Maintaining commitment to community driven development</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ No actions identified.</li> </ul>
<b>Ensuring disability bills translate into improved services for PWDs</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Ensure community based rehabilitation units are established across all LGAs.</li> <li>▪ Ensure effective participation of PWDs in government decision-making, planning, implementation and M&amp;E.</li> <li>▪ Carry out community engagement and enlightenment on disability issues.</li> </ul>	<b>Making LGA budgets more realistic</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Release funds according to negotiated priorities and an improved sequencing of projects.</li> <li>▪ Enhance monitoring of budget implementation by communities.</li> <li>▪ Sensitisation and capacity building to policy makers, government officials.</li> <li>▪ Judicious allocation/utilisation of the funds allocation to LGAs.</li> <li>▪ Stakeholders are not sufficiently involved in budget preparation processes.</li> </ul>
<b>Assuring sustainability of the LSC approach</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Scale up the LSC approach to more and ensure increased budgets are available to help reach more girls and train them.</li> <li>▪ Enable greater collaboration with the LGA and local partners. This will help promote ownership of the programme.</li> <li>▪ Encourage and support LGAs to take over the initiative. The community and social development department can be responsible for this.</li> <li>▪ Have a committed local person passionate enough to push the LSC initiative. This person should ideally be at the state level.</li> <li>▪ Institutional strengthening of all relevant players at the state and local levels. Promote and encourage synergies among all players and ensure proper coordination.</li> <li>▪ The LGA and Director of Women Affairs should ensure curriculum is updated regularly. It should be contextualised to ensure it is more acceptable to the community.</li> </ul>	<b>Institutionalising LGAs capabilities and processes</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Sustain momentum in the demand and supply-side convergence strategy.</li> <li>▪ Ensure annual LGA capacity building plans are in place and that they are funded.</li> </ul>