VOICES4CHANGE
EMPOWERING ADOLESCENT GIRLS AND WOMEN IN NIGERIA

Strengthening the enabling environment for young women's empowerment in Nigeria: Achievements and learning from Voices for Change

Executive Summary

Voices for Change (V4C) was an innovative programme aiming to work at scale to strengthen the enabling environment for young women's empowerment in Nigeria. The programme worked across four states – Enugu, Lagos, Kaduna and Kano – and specifically targeted young men and women aged 16-25 with a range of interventions designed to inspire deep-seated personal transformation on gender equality, and to diffuse these changes among a wider population. It was implemented over four years from October 2013 to September 2017.

Programme approach – at scale and in depth

Programme design was underpinned by a Theory of Change (ToC) which expressed a long-term (20 year) vision of change for gender equality. In this, the three domains of 'Self', 'Society' and 'Formal Institutions' are the core sites at which change was sought. The domain of the 'Self' foregrounds personal transformation as the foundation for diffusing changes more widely. The 'Society' domain foregrounds changing social norms at scale and laying foundations for a gender equality movement. The 'Formal Institutions' domain represents the domain at which legal and policy changes can both support and create population-wide social changes. A key feature of this ToC is that changes towards gender equality in each domain should work together or synergize to amplify and strengthen the broader enabling environment for gender equality.

The programme strategy involved working at two levels - the 'at scale' level which targeted young people society-wide in the four states with a branded communications campaign, and the 'focused intensive' level which created intensive learning opportunities in both face-to-face and online spaces for key individuals selected for their potential to amplify and promote the change once they had gone through their own personal transformation. These two levels, for which different kinds of interventions were designed, drew on two models of change: a scale model, which centralised an idea of the **diffusion** of new attitudes and behaviours concerning gender equality, and social norms change as the catalyst for this; and a **stages of change** model in which individuals go through different steps of Pre-Contemplation; Contemplation or Awareness Raising; Planning the change / persuasion; Action; and Maintenance, and which centralised an idea of self-transformation as the foundation.

In V4C's programming, the selection of participants for intensive programming was based on the diffusion model: Who would be best placed to drive diffusion? Meanwhile, the stages of change model – the quest for self-transformation – drove the content and immediate objectives of intensive inputs. The branded communications campaign, 'Purple', aimed to stimulate the initial stages of change among a wider population, and thereby prepare that population for the diffusion effects carried forward by key influencers, while also creating a sense of society-wide approval for the changes, as part of the social norms approach. Using a range of communications channels, the strategy set out to achieve a layered experience in which individuals would be addressed with similar messages through different media / interventions.

This would be achieved in part by 'saturating' particular contexts with multiple messages, so that a changing population would be supported, and changes reinforced, from different sources. In other words, the media campaign aimed to create the conditions for diffusion: the Purple brand aimed to spread the ideas sufficiently widely so that diffusion by key influencers would be amplified and accelerated at scale by diffusion via new social norming.

Buttressing these two levels of broad strategy were two further focus areas. One pursued legal and policy change in the formal institutions of government and promoting women's and girls' leadership and political participation. The second generated evidence on gender as a tool in the hands of everyone touched by the programme, and aimed to stimulate discussion, debate and persuasion and therefore to contribute to personal and institutional change.

As an innovative approach, V4C used a range of quantitative and qualitative tools to track results, create an evidence base for strategic mid-programme adjustments, and to lay the foundation for understanding outcomes. This paper aims to bring those tools together to present an overview of the programme's outcomes and draw out learning pertinent to other programmes with similar objectives.

Overall outcomes

V4C was successful in stimulating population-wide changes in specific attitudes and behaviours related to gender equality. Between 2014 and 2017, 89% of Nigerian young people aged 16-25 in the target states – amounting to 2.4 million people – showed positive behaviour or attitude changes in at least one of the three focus areas: women's role in household decision-making, women in leadership, and violence against women and girls (VAWG). While it is difficult to put precise numbers on the proportion of these changes directly attributable to Purple initiatives, there is strong combined evidence that **Purple played a major role in these changes,** first because there is good evidence that people reached by the programme experienced greater levels of change than others on most counts, and therefore in overall terms the programming 'worked', and second because a range of sources indicate that diffusion was indeed quite rapidly taking place to those not directly or intensively reached by the programme.

> Between 2014 and 2017, 89% of Nigerian young people aged 16-25 in the target states – amounting to 2.4 million people – showed positive behaviour or attitude changes in at least one of the three focus areas.

Purple stimulated widespread 'contemplation' of gender issues, especially among men.
Both women and men exposed to Purple also experienced positive changes in attitudes and behaviour in the target areas of women's leadership, and on women's role in household decision making, but with some variation across states, and according to which media channels were most closely associated with the changes.

> People reached by the programme experienced greater levels of change than others on most counts, and diffusion was quite rapidly taking place to those not directly or intensively reached by the programme.

In the third target area, Violence Against Women and Girls (VAWG), results were more complex. Qualitative sources showed important change in dimensions of VAWG: better understanding of the different types of VAWG; a deeper appreciation of gender issues generally, including VAWG; more willingness and ability to speak out to assert women's rights, including against VAWG; and more willingness and confidence to report VAWG. Quantitative sources, on the other hand, did not find overall associations, either positive or negative, with V4C programming. Across states and gender there were some both positive and negative – and therefore contradictory – results. For example, men in Kano now show increased approval for VAWG; but men and women in Enugu report that less VAWG is taking place. In Kaduna and Kano States, men who recognise Purple report an increase in VAWG, but women in these two states do not, suggesting that Purple programming may have made men more aware of what constitutes violence and therefore report a greater incidence than previously.

> Qualitative sources showed change in particular dimensions of VAWG: better understanding of different types of VAWG; more willingness and ability to speak out to assert women's rights, including against VAWG; and more willingness and confidence to report VAWG.

There are also signs that some of this complexity is related to people's 'starting positions': regardless of Purple exposure, respondents who had opposed VAWG most strongly in 2014, who experienced it least and who supported it least show some dampening in terms of attitudes and behaviours, whereas for all other respondents positive change is seen. Different starting points may also be related to geographies, or to different programme intensity in different areas. It is also possible that as a primarily private 'behind closed doors' practice, VAWG may not be subject to social norms programming via the same pathways as more public behaviours.

Nevertheless, it is clear that Purple programming reached deeply into target states and age groups, and also beyond these. Although core monitoring was limited to target areas, we know that some interventions reached beyond these

areas and age ranges, and it is likely that others did too. **Purple also succeeded in reaching poorer groups**, and overall programming was equally effective among these as among those in wealthier social groups. Radio, however, was the most effective medium for reaching poorer young people.

How did these changes come about?

Intensive programming: Evidence from both quantitative and qualitative sources strongly suggests that intensive interventions aimed at self-transformation were successful in producing high levels of attitude and behaviour change. Among a large proportion of participants, they also generated commitment to diffusing those changes through actions and using influence. There is also evidence, however, that the pathway to this commitment was different among different groups. Intensive programme effects appear to be strongest among men, with Purple being associated with dramatically higher rates of change and positive beliefs compared to men in the wider population. This suggests that carefully constructed conversations about gender in safe, supportive environments can have transformative effects among men. It is notable that these intensive inputs appear to have caused no 'male backlash'.

> Intensive interventions were successful in producing high levels of attitude and behaviour change and often also a commitment to diffusing those changes through actions and using influence.

There is also evidence from intensive programming results that the starting points of different participants along a spectrum of change can influence the pace and magnitude of their change because some participants have already made progress in contemplation of gender issues and in attitudes to gender equality and therefore change less in these dimensions. On the other hand, moving towards taking action on gender equality was associated with – although not exclusive to - intensive programming. Starting 'further back' on the model does not necessarily mean slower progress along it but those starting 'further forwards' on the model are more likely to move into action and taking steps to influence others.

> New knowledge and increased self-confidence were important foundations for moving young people towards the 'action' stages of change.

Moving young people towards the 'action' stages of the change model seems to have important foundations in the acquisition of both new knowledge and increased self-confidence through the programme. Actions taken by

intensive programme participants tend to be concentrated in their own behaviours, personal relationships, and a willingness to speak out on gender equality. But the qualitative studies also describe some evidence of action beyond the personal sphere, and suggest that this ability was associated with the most intensive levels of engagement.

> The Purple brand provided a sense of wider societal support for core messages and moved large numbers of people into (early) stages of change.

The Purple brand: Studies confirm that the Purple brand generated high levels of recognition and was successful at delivering intended messages. At the same time, it also lent coherence to a campaign involving a number of different media interventions, connecting up otherwise disparate communications channels, and giving a sense of wider societal support for core messages, and of change taking place at scale. Purple interventions also moved large numbers of people into the early stages of change at least, with the Purple Tinz radio show as well as the brand itself being the elements most closely associated with change. Many young people exposed to Purple also took action, mainly in the personal domain.

It is clear that the strategy of working towards saturation – of concentrating the brand with different 'connected' products operational in the same locations – had the advantage of producing a 'layering' effect, so that messages were reinforced from different sources. Some variations in responses to Purple show that good progress can be made even in locations where it seems that harmful attitudes and behaviours are deeply embedded. Since media exposure varies widely across the states of Nigeria this involved identifying and using the most effective channels for each location in the communications strategy. The campaign confirmed that some messages are relevant across all audiences – self-fulfilment or successful relationships – but it was still necessary to adapt creative work for regional relevance.

> Many people connected to V4C only via contact with someone else exposed to intensive programming and / or Purple messaging report high levels of change and also themselves diffuse their new ideas and attitudes to others.

Diffusion of new ideas, attitudes and behaviours: Alongside the widespread workings of Purple, diffusion has clearly and rapidly taken place through the use of influence in personal networks as people shared their new ideas on gender equality with peers and family, or simply found opportunities and confidence to speak out.

Many of these people connected to V4C only via contact with someone else exposed to intensive programming and / or Purple messaging also report high levels of change. This includes personal change as well as the ability to take action. In addition, there is evidence that some of these people also themselves diffuse their new ideas and attitudes to others, though less consistently than those exposed to intensive programming. An important dimension of the influence of Purple people over others has also been simply steering peers towards Purple products.

Legal and policy change in formal institutions made significant progress with V4C's support. Meanwhile key influencers and some others found opportunities to pursue institutional changes at local levels.

Institutional change: V4C's work on policy and legal changes in the formal institutions of government made significant progress through the passage of the Violence Against Persons Prohibition bill (VAPP) into law at federal level in 2015 and subsequent state-level steps to bring many years of advocacy to fruition. As anticipated in the programme's longer term vision, it was too early for this to reach the point of generating the widespread social changes that might follow the effective implementation of new laws. At the same time, a gender technical resource centre housed in the National Assembly to strengthen knowledge and capacity of legislators to be more responsive, also worked to re-energise and build multi stakeholder platforms to demand legislative change. To strengthen advocacy for women's leadership and political participation, platforms for collective action in each state were supported by the programme from 2016. Evidence from the Gender Equality Movement (GEM) in Enugu shows this group had developed several key features of a coherent movement in its early stages of development – it was not expected in the programme that they would have evolved into fully mature movements by this point. There are also indications that this group and others, such as the Purple Clubs established in post-secondary education institutions (PSIs) hosting Safe Spaces, have begun to play a part in further diffusion of messages as well as in pushing for – and in some cases achieving - change. At the local level, as part of the diffusion process, several 'key influencers' have found opportunities to make significant local level institutional changes in pursuit of greater gender equality, such as ensuring women are included in some traditional ruling cabinets for the first time and in church decision making bodies. A smaller number of young people have also found ways to tackle inequality in formal and informal local institutions.

Reflections on creating change at scale

V4C's experience offers a number of broad learnings relevant to catalysing social change at scale. These include that:
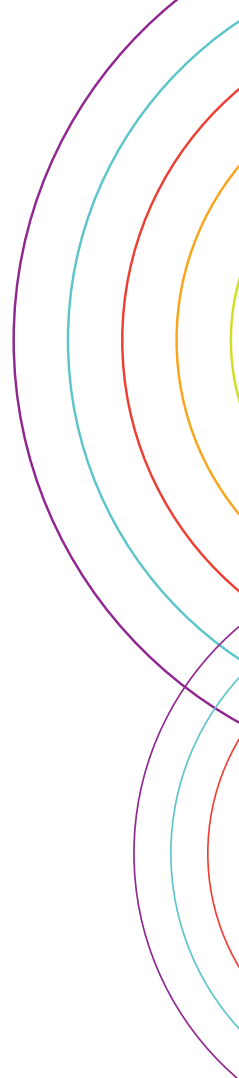
The importance of branding

The Purple brand set out to sell gender equality to young people. Informed by media research and beneficiary feedback, it offered a brand that both young women and young men wanted to be identified with and a coherent set of messages and values many wanted to share with their peers. Many young people were moved to change attitudes and behaviours by engaging with the brand alone, and some were also able to take action.

However, the brand also had an important role in linking programme interventions, and thereby creating a 'layered' effect. Infused throughout the different communications components and digital content, it lent coherence to the overall campaign, connecting up otherwise disparate communications channels, helping to build a sense of a wider societal support for the messaging on gender justice, and a sense of change taking place at scale. Strongly linked also to the intenisve interventions, it provided the 'glue' connecting layers of intervention in which messages were reinforced from different sources. Not only were young people on board, but they were hearing and seeing radio personalities and religious leaders also supporting Purple messaging.

Using diffusion for scale and value

Working at scale aims to amplify reach and therefore overall programme effectiveness as well as to enhance cost effectiveness and value. A challenge for V4C was how to scale up the success of safe spaces in an affordable way. Physical and virtual safe spaces were therefore carried out as the foundation for a diffusion process, supported by a communications campaign working more widely. A key dimension of all learning intervention was facilitating young people to take action, actively spreading key messages among their networks and creating new norms.

This learning strategy has borne results. Survey evidence suggests that each young woman or man going through the physical safe space positively shifted the attitudes and behaviours of up to 6 others. Other data shows that people's ability to influence in their personal and wider networks was at the core of the diffusion process, carrying change throughout and beyond V4C's visible boundaries. This diffusion effect has implications for how to include moving towards action and influence in learning, as well as how to calculate cost-effectiveness when diffusion is being used.

Establishing knowledge, skills and self-confidence to support diffusion

V4C's experience strongly suggests that moving towards the action and influence which creates diffusion was enabled by some key founding elements. These include new knowledge and concepts in gender and gender inequality, new skills in discussion and 'speaking out' and new levels of self-confidence enabling young people to use those knowledge and skills. For those who had access to one, the existence of a platform from which influence could be amplified was an important part of gaining wider reach in the diffusion process.

Working with men and boys

Central to achieving change at scale, was working with men and boys to create a broad movement for change. Purple messaging, therefore needed to speak to the realities of young men and women, creating a shared vision of a gender equitable future. Messaging was also informed by the 'Being a Man in Nigeria' study[1] which provided insights about the notion of masculinity in Nigeria and evidence informed communications messaging and training on gender justice. The findings resonated powerfully with ordinary men and women in Nigeria and provoked a national level conversation on the links between negative masculinities and gender discrimination.

It is notable that intensive programme effects appear to be strongest among men, being associated with dramatically higher rates of change and positive beliefs compared to men in the general population. This suggests that carefully constructed education about gender in safe, supportive environments has transformative effects particularly among men. Men also sometimes responded to messaging more strongly than women, especially in early-stage change dimensions such as contemplation, suggesting that differences in the 'starting point' of people engaging with Purple influenced the scale of change.

Achieving change in 'challenging' contexts

While the programme offers a few examples of 'difficult areas' where change was slow, it offers more examples of potentially difficult areas where change was in fact rapid and substantial – for example, young women in Kano – the most conservative in terms of gender equality – consistently showed strong, positive responses to Purple programming. The programme was careful to create messaging to enage men (as above) but also to adapt messaging to context as far as possible. This involved, for example, responding to preferences in the language of change (such as using 'equality' or 'justice'), and developing messages built on interpretations of religious texts by recognised scholars that are supportive of gender equality. This suggests that where the context appears challenging, getting messaging 'right' can unlock an even greater scope for change than in less challenging contexts.

Complexity of VAWG programming

Confirming international evidence from elsewhere that the intensity of engagement in violence against women and girls (VAWG) issues is an important factor in change, intensive programming in V4C showed clear positive results, as did media mechanisms that used discussion of violence as its main vehicle rather than simple depiction of violence. However, the programme's mixed overall effects on VAWG also confirm the complexity of VAWG programming. The APSN data shows that there was no overall impact on VAWG, highlighting the challenge of achieving consistent change at scale. The picture of change was mixed at State level, and the overall neutral impact was in part due to low levels of public approval of VAWG prior to the programme despite high levels of its occurrence at baseline. At the same time, despite apparently low levels of public approval for VAWG, many respondents in qualitative studies did claim to have influenced others to change their approval of VAWG. This suggests that social disapproval of violence may not strongly affect the prevalence of violent behaviours towards women, and may not reflect the actual scope for change. Similarly, programme experience reflects evidence from elsewhere that changes in VAWG, because of its complex nature, are difficult to track over short time periods.

Digital interventions can achieve scale and visibility

Digital approaches significantly helped to get issues of gender equality into public debate, adding visibility and reach to intensive programming. V4C experience suggests that the depth of engagement with the content seems to really count, which has implications for how these tools are used as well as for measurement of their impacts. Survey data shows that in moderated spaces, where people have the opportunity to reflect and debate online through the Purple Academy or the mobile space, attitudes and behaviours have changed. At the same time, evidence indicates that social media use in general is correlated with less positive individual change related to VAWG possibly due to other harmful gender messages and imagery accessed online. Together these suggest the need for close moderation of on-line platforms and need to combine digital approaches with other more intensive communications approaches, including safe spaces and moderated radio discussions which can bring about more consistent changes in attitudes and practices, in particular on VAWG.

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[1] http://www.v4c-nigeria.com/being-a-man-in-nigeria-perceptions-and-realities/

Ensuring equitable access with a variety of media tools

The target group for Purple was the whole population of 16-25 year olds; for intensive programmes targeting incorporated ideas about participants' potential to influence others as well as their social connectivity. Using a variety of media tools was important in responding to these different targeting objectives. While the online spaces had some bias towards a better educated population – and a more socially connected one – radio was the medium with the widest reach, and was also effective at reaching lower-educated, poorer parts of the population. The demographics of the average radio listener are similar to overall state demographic profiles, showing that V4C reached a broad audience. Messaging/branding, through careful pre-project research, was also successful in having a wide appeal among young people: survey data also revealed that programming was equally effective among poorer groups as among those in wealthier social groups.

**Institutional change – opportunities at local and national, formal and informal levels**

While programme activity was primarily concentrated at the level of formal institutions for legal and policy change, a number of more local level changes to both formal and informal institutional structures were also set in motion – such as changing policy on women's leadership in student bodies of education institutions and institutionalising gender equity in traditional leaders' structures. Moving forwards, clearer and more explicit/precise strategies to support key influencers and new gender advocates to drive these processes of local level structural change would be an important new focus. In a context where policy reform takes years and implementation in general is weak, creating localised 'sanctions' through religious and traditional structures has the potential to achieve the impact intended through longer term legal reform strategies. E.g. enforcing 'legal reforms' which support the change being promoted within society and self.

Movement building for advocacy with formal and informal institutions

The programme's evolving focus on movement building reflects a recognition of the **role of widespread public advocacy/ visible support in driving normative / structural change at local levels** as well as at the level of Formal Institutions. The launching of State Platforms as well as Purple Clubs in post-secondary education institutions (PSIs), conceived and driven by beneficiary groups, aimed to bring together individuals and groups who would combine their efforts in a movement for change. Case-study evidence from Enugu showed that this collection of groups had moved into early development stages of a coherent GEWE movement by the close of the programme. This and other groups had also succeeded in taking joint action with tangible successes. In line with programme expectations, full movement evolution had not taken place at this stage, but the indications are that this is a promising method to embed and magnify the role of influence more consistently in the programme.

The Theory of Change:

Programme experience suggests that the ToC large holds, except that in the available timeframe, the effects of changes in the Formal Institutions domain did not fully evolve, therefore available insights into how these interact with the other domains remain tentative. For synergies between the Self and Society domains, the programme presents a strong case, in some detail, of the scale-up that can result from working in these domains simultaneously.
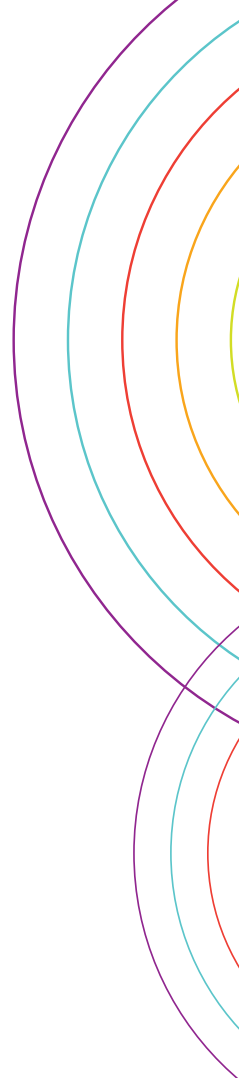
1 Introduction to V4C

Voices for Change (V4C) was an innovative programme aiming to work at scale to strengthen the enabling environment for gender equality in Nigeria, and by doing so to facilitate the empowerment of young women. The programme worked across four states – Enugu, Lagos, Kaduna and Kano – and specifically targeted young men and women in the age range 16-25 with a range of interventions designed to inspire deep-seated personal transformation on gender equality, and to diffuse these changes among a wider population. The programme was implemented over four years from October 2013 to September 2017 with a budget of £27.6 million. Broadly, the strategy involved creating intensive learning opportunities for men and women in both face-to-face and online spaces alongside a branded communications campaign reaching widely across the population using a range of media channels. Intensive learning interventions targeted individuals on the basis of their potential to diffuse their learning more widely and influence others.

The programme took a social norms approach on the understanding that this offers a means to achieve change at scale as existing social processes of approval, disapproval and expectation can be used to bring people on board with new norms. It focused specifically on changing social norms relating to three behaviours: women in leadership; women's role in household decision-making; and violence against women and girls (VAWG). This focus guided the content of interventions as well as of programme results frameworks, but the programme was also grounded in a broader conception of gender equality in all its dimensions, and often worked beyond these focus behaviours.

1.1 The model of change

Programme design was underpinned by a Theory of Change (ToC) which expressed a long-term vision of change for gender equality, as the programme itself was conceived as the initial or pilot stage of this 20-year vision. This ToC presents the three domains of 'Self', 'Society' and 'Formal Institutions' as core sites at which change was sought using different interventions. The domain of the 'Self' recognises how deep-seated personal transformation offers the foundation for diffusing changes more widely. The 'Society' domain is the focus for changing social norms and laying foundations for a gender equality movement. The 'Formal Institutions' domain represents the

domain at which legal and policy changes, once achieved, can both support and create population-wide social changes. A key feature of this ToC model is its assertion that intervention in each of these three domains creates a value-added beyond what could be achieved by working only in one or two domains. In other words, it asserts that changes towards gender equality in each domain should and can work together or synergize to amplify and strengthen the broader enabling environment for gender equality.

In terms of strategy, the programme worked at two levels – the 'at scale' level which addressed society-wide young people in the four states with a branded media campaign; and the 'focused intensive' level which worked with key individuals selected for their potential to amplify and promote the change once they had gone through their own personal transformation.

These two levels, for which different kinds of interventions were designed, drew on two different models of change.

- The scale model centralised an idea of **diffusion**, and social norms change as the catalyst for this. This model[2] posits that some people – 'innovators' and 'early adopters' – are quick to take up new ideas, and will then spread them. Diffusion takes place through social influence: a 'critical mass' of 'opinion leaders' spread new ideas. Adoption of the new ideas takes place in some cases because people are convinced of the value of the change; but in others because of the prevalence of the change, and because of social expectations: people believe that others have adopted the change and expect them to do so also.

- The focused intensive level recognised the primary need for self-transformation as the foundation from which participants would move into action (behaviour change) and influencing others (diffusion). In this, it drew on a stages of change model of change, where individuals go through different steps before sustained change is arrived at: Pre-Contemplation; Contemplation or Awareness Raising; Planning the change / persuasion; Action; and Maintenance.[3]

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[2] The model originated in ideas about the uptake of innovations, see e.g. Rogers, (Everett 1962) (16 August 2003) Diffusion of Innovations, 5th Edition. Simon and Schuster, and has been later elaborated to explore the role of social networks in this, see e.g. Davis, Clayton A.; Julia R.Heiman; Filippo Menczera 'A Role for Network Science in Social Norms Intervention' , Procedia Computer Science Volume 51, 2015, Pages 2217-2226.

[3] The Stages of Change model was initially developed to understand health behaviour, see e.g. Prochaska, J. O. & Di Clemente, C. (1983a). Stages and processes of self-change of smoking: Toward an integrative model of change. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 51, 390–395. V4C's use of the model represents an adaptation of this model.

Figure 1: The stages of change model
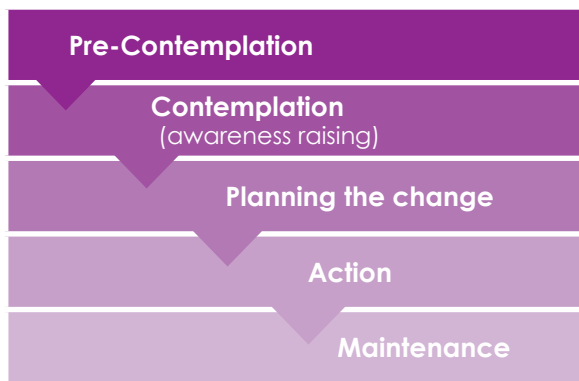
Pre-Contemplation

Contemplation
(awareness raising)

Planning the change

Action

Maintenance

In V4C's programming, the selection of participants for intensive programming was based on the diffusion model: Who would be best placed to drive diffusion? Meanwhile, the stages of change model – the quest for self-transformation – drove the content and immediate objectives of intensive inputs. The branded communications campaign ('Purple') aimed to stimulate the initial stages of change among a wider population, and thereby prepare that population for the diffusion effects carried forward by key influencers. Using a range of communications channels, the strategy aimed to achieve a layered experience, in part by 'saturating' particular contexts with multiple messages, so that a changing population would be supported, and changes reinforced, from different sources. In other words, the media campaign aimed to create the conditions for diffusion: the Purple brand and its communications products also aimed to spread the ideas sufficiently widely so that diffusion by key influencers would be amplified and accelerated at scale by diffusion via new social norming.

Buttressing these two levels of broad strategy were two further focus areas. In the Formal Institutions domain, legal and political work within government structures aimed to influence the formal legal and policy framework which contribute to shaping social behaviours related to gender equality. Implementation of changes achieved would in principle reinforce and strengthen the attitude and behaviour changes driven by diffusion, and 'enforce' them in areas where diffusion was weak.

Underpinning all of these, knowledge on gender was recognised as a foundation, not just as the basis for the design of intensive training and media campaigns, but also as a tool in the hands of everyone touched by the programme, to stimulate discussion, debate and persuasion and therefore to contribute to personal and institutional change. Generating and widely publicising an evidence base on current perceptions of gender identity the status of gender (in) equality in Nigeria was therefore an important feature of the programme.

V4C therefore worked in five programme areas:

• Developing and delivering a 'safe spaces' curriculum with young women and men in physical and online settings;

• Creating the 'Purple' brand and developing communications products to deliver it in campaigns with society-wide reach;

• Targeting key influencers such as religious and traditional leaders (RTLs); radio station producers and presenters; and also working with men and boys in social and community networks.

• Supporting and promoting political processes towards policy and legal reform in formal institutions alongside developing platforms and opportunities for advocacy.

• Developing research to underpin and strengthen programme strategy and generate evidence for stakeholders to take forwards.
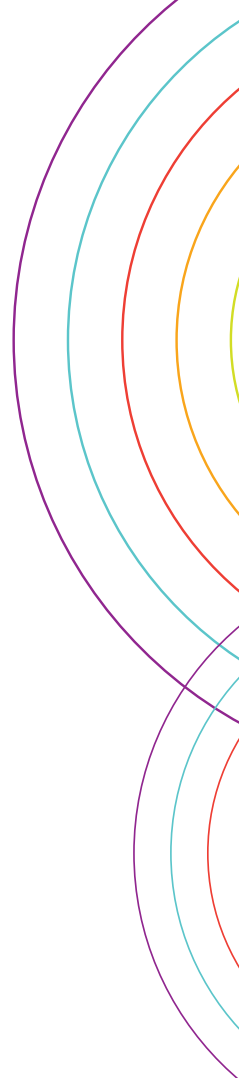
2 Purpose of the paper

Aware of the innovative – and therefore less predictable - dimensions of its approach, V4C put in place a complex and multi-pronged monitoring and learning system designed to track results, create an evidence base for strategic mid-programme adjustments, and to lay the foundation for understanding outcomes. Rounding off these, a number of studies took place in the endline period to pin down what V4C had or had not achieved and how. These were a mixture of follow-up studies to earlier results-tracking exercises and stand-alone studies seeking insights into particular areas. Two quantitative studies were used to track change in social norms (the APSN survey) and responses to the media campaign (the Media Tracking survey). These were supported by qualitative studies exploring the details of change taking place: a qualitative study supporting the media tracking survey; case studies of particular processes; and a How Change Happens study exploring patterns of causation. Details of these are given in the Appendix.

This paper attempts to bring these studies together to present an overview of V4C's achievements, and to develop insights into the results from the different perspectives these studies represent. In doing so, it aims to draw out the learning that this programme offers to other implementers using similar approaches.

In what follows, Section 3 describes the population-wide attitude and behaviour changes evidenced from the quantitative study and discusses how far these are associated with V4C programming. Section 4 elaborates the question of how far the Purple brand reached both within and beyond target areas, and to what extent it reached poorer groups.

Sections 5, 6 and 7 then provide details on how different parts of the programme's strategic architecture drove different dimensions and levels of change – the role of personal transformation as the foundation for action and influence (Section 5); the role of Purple in creating the conditions for diffusion and personal networks as the framework for carrying diffusion out (Section 6); and the role of collective action in stimulating and advocating for institutional change (Section 7). Section 8 then reflects on what this process tells us about achieving change at scale using the model of change pursued, and gathers together some key learnings.

3 What changed?

3.1 Population-wide attitude and behaviour change

Key insight: While it is difficult to be certain of precise numbers, it is clear that Purple is strongly associated with attitude and behaviour change at scale.

V4C was successful in stimulating population wide changes in specific attitudes and behaviours related to gender equality. The APSN survey showed that between 2014 and 2017, 89% of Nigerian young people aged 16-25 in the target states – amounting to 2.4 million people – showed positive behaviour or attitude changes in at least one of the three focus areas: women's role in household decision-making, women in leadership, and violence against women and girls (VAWG).

The survey design does not enable us to confirm changes are directly attributable to V4C but it, and other data sources, provide strong evidence that V4C is a major factor in the changes. First, there is strong evidence that those reached by the Purple experienced greater levels of change than others, and therefore in overall terms the programming 'worked'.[4] Second, alongside this evidence that the programme broadly 'worked' among those directly reached, there is evidence from a range of sources that diffusion was also taking place to those not directly or intensively reached by the programme, as indeed the ToC implies. Third, there is strong evidence that V4C in fact reached beyond its target population. While in the target age group 61% of the population, or 1.46 million people, recognised Purple, the Media Tracking survey indicates that Purple brand recognition was similar in the secondary target population (ages 26-35) as in the main target age group. This suggests potentially a further 1.1 million young adults were directly touched by Purple and may have improved attitudes over the course of the programme as a result. These dimensions are each addressed in more detail below.

3.2 Change in specific behaviour areas – and associations with V4C programming

Key insight: attitudes shifted more easily/quickly than behaviours in all three areas and these changes are clearly associated with Purple for contemplation of gender issues; women's decision making and women's leadership. Some people changed in two or three dimensions, but change in one area does not automatically imply change in another.

For the three areas targeted for attitude and behaviour change, the APSN survey found that between 2014 and 2017, 2.2 million people had improved personal attitudes to women in leadership, and 1.1 million people had improved behaviour. For women's role in household decision making, 1.6 million people had improved attitudes and 1.3 million people had improved behaviours. On VAWG, 2.2 million people had improved attitudes and 1.9 million people had improved behaviours.

On average across these change areas, about APSN finds that 57% had exposure to Purple, and a further proportion are likely to have been influenced by indirect processes, elaborated in Section 6. Through regression analysis, the APSN survey establishes that in general, those who had been exposed to Purple underwent stronger positive change than other young people in the target states. For instance, the largest overall change was among young people who have been exposed to V4C programming and now hold positive attitudes in all three dimensions. This amounts to an increase among an estimated 240,000 young people exposed to Purple against virtually no change in the same category (all three behaviour dimensions) among those not exposed to Purple.

The association between V4C programming and changing attitudes/behaviours is strongly supported by the other data sources which detail respondents' pathways to change and unpack the degree to which they themselves attribute their changing perspectives to particular types of V4C inputs. For instance, the Purple Academy survey found that 82% of respondents felt the course was very effective in changing their attitudes towards gender discrimination, and a further 16% felt it was effective in doing so. From the qualitative studies, the Purple e-spaces (PES) case study found that the viewpoints that had changed closely mirrored the curriculum of the PES. Most viewpoints mentioned echoed the content of the six chapters of Purple Academy and V4C's main areas of focus for change, and were thus closely aligned to the knowledge users had gained from the course. The How Change Happens (HCH) study also provides detailed evidence that while respondents are aware of other experiences shaping their readiness for change in gender equality, they generally credit their own changes in attitudes and action (behaviour) clearly to specific V4C interventions that they have had contact with.

From the APSN survey, this association between degrees of change and V4C exposure is clear for two of the target areas - women's household decision making and women's leadership. It is also clear for another dimension measured in the later surveys, the degree of 'contemplation' of gender issues, which, as the an early stages of the change model, gives some indication of a future potential for attitude and behaviour change. For the third target area, VAWG, the picture of change, and the association of these changes with V4C is more complex, and is addressed in Box 1 below.

3.2.1 Contemplation

Key insight: Purple stimulated widespread contemplation of gender issues especially among men.

APSN confirms that larger increases in how much people say they think about gender issues are associated with exposure to some dimension of V4C's interventions – but since the 'intensive' learning interventions reached a relatively small proportion of the population, in effect this means exposure to some dimension of the Purple brand, which was designed to reach widely across the population. This effect is larger for men: the change effect is twice as large for 'Purple' men compared to non-Purple men. Familiarity with V4C's radio programming, campaign billboards and simple recognition by respondents of the purple logo are all associated with these changes.

3.2.2 Leadership

Key insight: Both women and men exposed to Purple experienced positive changes in attitudes and behaviour on women's leadership, but with some variation. Among Purple Academy users, women experienced more positive change than men; in Kaduna, men experienced more positive change than women.

On women's leadership, a similar association is found: the survey finds that Purple exposure correlates with greater positive changes among both men and women in the approval of women in leadership positions than in the wider population. Increases in this approval were particularly strong in the southern states of Enugu and Lagos, and the HCH study confirmed high levels of approval for women's leadership – which was also the most discussed area of change in this study – among respondents in Enugu and Kano. Research into the effectiveness of Purple

Academy also found high levels of change in this dimension, with 66% of users strongly agreeing and 30% agreeing that the course has made them more keen to support female leaders. Results included some variation across states and gender though: in the Purple Academy survey, women were significantly more positive about this change than men (74% strongly agreed against 58% of men); and qualitative research found that the television executions and the 50/50 branding particularly encouraged young women to pursue their leadership goals alongside more general ambitions. Variations were not always wholly positive, although these do not on average change the overall positive trend in the association between Purple and attitudes to women's leadership. The APSN survey found, for example, that among women in Kaduna only, Purple programming correlates with less positive attitude change in this dimension than among women (or men) aged 16-25 in the wider population.

3.2.3 Decision making

> **Key insight:** Over 60% of those with positive changes about women's role in decision making had direct contact with Purple, but there is state-wise variation in which media channels were most closely associated with these changes.

Changing attitudes and behaviour regarding women's role in decision making has the highest level of association with V4C programming, according to the APSN survey, with over 60% of people with positively changed beliefs having had direct contact with Purple. Which inputs are most closely associated with these changes, however, varies across states and gender: in Enugu in particular, all major types of V4C programming are associated with positive change in this dimension, but in Lagos change among men specifically is most closely associated with the billboards campaigns; while in Kano attitude change among women is most closely associated with the Purple brand in general. The qualitative media research notes that the radio drama Purple Tinz was effective in prompting young people to think about gender roles in the household and the role of collaboration between men and women. These variations in effectiveness of different media channels are discussed further in Box 3.

3.2.4 Violence Against Women and Girls (VAWG)

Only in the dimension of attitude and behaviour change related to VAWG is there no clear association with V4C programming. APSN data shows no average association across states between V4C and increased approval or disapproval of VAWG, despite a high number of people reporting changes among the wider population. Underneath these broad level figures, however, some associations are apparent, both positive and negative. What we might conclude from these variations in discussed in more detail in Box 1.
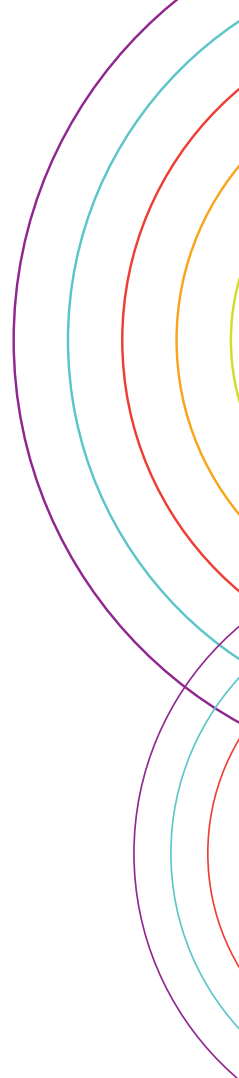
Cross-Cutting Issues Box 1: Complex results in VAWG

VAWG was the one behaviour area where the APSN survey – which measured physical violence in the home in questions about hitting or slapping – did not find overall associations, either positive or negative, with V4C programming. These overall neutral results hold for effects on attitudes and behaviour as well as perceptions of others' attitudes and behaviours. They also hold for attitudes and behaviours on 'silencing women'. Within this, breaking the data down by state and gender, the survey shows some both positive and negative results – for example, men in Kano now show increased approval for VAWG; while men and women in Enugu report that VAWG is taking place less. In Kaduna and Kano States, men who recognise Purple report an increase in VAWG, but women in these two states do not.

APSN also found high levels of disapproval of VAWG at baseline. In 2017, regardless of Purple exposure, respondents who had opposed VAWG most strongly in 2014, who experienced it least and who supported it least show some backsliding in terms of attitudes and behaviours, whereas for all other respondents positive change is seen. Other data sources also found overwhelmingly high levels of disapproval of VAWG – and some of these attitudes may have preceded V4C intervention. For example, a clear majority of respondents in the Purple e-spaces case study, including the non-users, expressed disapproval of VAWG and a belief that it was wrong in terms of fundamental human rights. The HCH study found little change in approval of VAWG, because virtually all respondents claimed prior disapproval. These sources, alongside the Purple Academy survey, show improvements in particular dimensions other than approval: better understanding of the different dimensions to VAWG; a deeper appreciation of gender issues generally, including VAWG; more willingness and ability to speak out to assert women's rights, including against VAWG; and more willingness and confidence to report VAWG.

There are a number of possible explanations for this mixed evidence. More visibility of VAWG may account for increased reporting. It is also possible that despite awareness and intention to focus on promoting positive 'new' norms to avoid reinforcing 'old' norms by making them more visible, increased visibility of VAWG as a result of V4C radio and TV shows may have inadvertently 'normalised' the perpetration of VAWG in some locations. This explanation sits uncomfortably, however, with the finding from the qualitative messaging research conducted in 2017 which found that the strongest support was around the concept of "real men don't beat". This was found to be an 'aspirational' idea for young men and the idea of being a "real man" was appealing. V4C directly promoted narratives which engaged their male audience members and specifically looked to re-shape norms around masculinity in a positive way. In addition, this qualitative research confirmed the value of engaging religious and traditional leaders to promote the message that "no religion condones violence against women".

Second, evidence from elsewhere indicates that behaviour change around VAWG requires intensive and 'layered' programme exposure. It is possible that in certain geographies, this intensity – and the signposting that in some places did often lead people exposed to media campaigns to safe spaces or PA interventions – was not sufficiently achieved. Related to this, APSN data confirms that some types of programming were associated with stronger results in VAWG – intensive programming had clear positive results, as did media mechanisms that used discussion of violence as its main vehicle rather than simple depiction of violence. (More detailed discussion of these possibilities is available in V4C's VAWG Learning Paper)

Key insights: As a primarily private 'behind closed doors' practice, VAWG may not be subject to social norms programming via the same pathways as more public behaviours – other factors beyond social norms may be holding VAWG in place. Certainly, norms and expectations around VAWG are potentially more complex and difficult to influence and measure over a short programming period because an overall positive trajectory is difficult to establish.

There are signs that individuals' different starting points may have influenced their journeys on attitudes and behaviour around VAWG – this is discussed for other behaviours in Section 5 below. That some changes were also State specific suggests that these starting points may be related to geographies, and/or that programming differences in different states may have achieved more intensity in some areas than others. Overall, intensive interventions in VAWG are associated with change, while the 'at scale' approach has a mixed impact due to the private nature of VAWG.
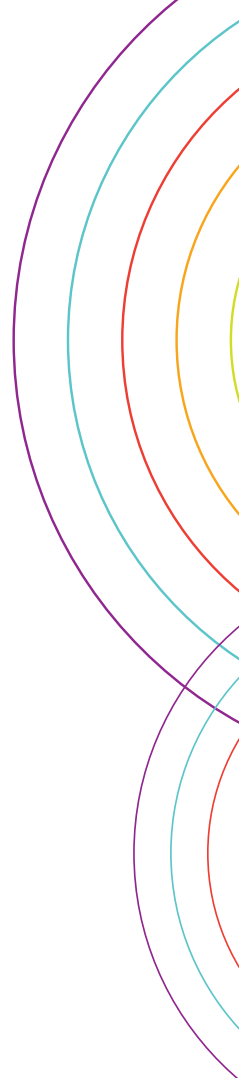
4 How far did Purple reach?

> **Key insight:** Purple programming reached deeply into target states and age groups, and also beyond these. Although core monitoring was limited to target areas, we know that some interventions reached beyond these areas and age ranges, and it is likely that others did too.

Data sources confirm that programming reached widely across the target states. As mentioned, 61% or 1.46 million young people recognised a core subset of programming (radio, Purple logo, billboards, website, physical/virtual safe spaces). At the same time, various sources suggest that Purple's reach was in fact considerably wider than our data, which focused on target populations, can tell us. Aside from the estimated 1.1 million people in the secondary target age group (ages 25-35) who recognised Purple, some interventions by their nature also reached beyond target areas. Online interventions clearly had a potential reach beyond the target states: tracking of Purple Academy completion shows that this reached non-target states even in larger numbers than target states. By September 2017, 34,490 women and men in the 16-25 age group in target states had started Purple Academy and a further 84,838 (all age groups) people in other Nigerian states. It is likely that radio coverage also reached beyond tracked areas into non-target states in some cases.

Most importantly, however, improved attitudes and behaviours on gender equality were intended to diffuse more widely through the social norm change process, and through active influencing on the part of supported gender advocates. As is documented further below, a number of the data sources include evidence that diffusion was indeed taking place, especially among family and friends many of whom would not have fallen into the targeted (and tracked) age cohort, and some of whom may not have been in target states. There is indication, for example, that some V4C-exposed individuals physically travelled beyond the target states, and also that their (physical) social networks reached beyond these areas. Those who used social media to propagate Purples' messaging would also have reached beyond their geographical locations.

4.1 Issues of equity

> **Key insight:** V4C succeeded in reaching poorer groups, and overall programming was equally effective among these as among richer groups. Radio was the most effective medium for reaching poorer young people but the multimedia package was important in reaching a variety of groups as well as creating a reinforcing, 'layering' effect. We do not have clear evidence on the wealth profiles of those reached by diffusion.

V4C did not set out to target the poorest groups; rather it had two levels of targeting. For the brand and communications campaigning, the target was the whole population of 16-25 year olds, on the face of it regardless of wealth status. For the intensive programming, individuals were selected a) for their roles as potential key influencers, with ready-made platforms and b) for their potential role as influencers. For users of online spaces, this potential was conceived in terms of their higher levels of social connectivity and therefore networking potential.[5] For physical spaces, post-secondary education institutions (PSIs) were identified as locations in which to run courses and later to bring course alumni together in Purple Clubs. The influencing potential of PSI-based participants was conceived in terms of their networking potential within those institutions as well as their potential outreach to family and friends in their home areas, which included semi-urban and rural areas. In addition, as groups on their way to higher than average education levels, these participants were seen as the next generation of employers and leaders who would acquire more influence in their networks during the course of the long-term changes envisaged.

Nevertheless, V4C did succeed in reaching substantial numbers of people from poorer groups. While the APSN survey shows that on average, programming reached young people who were slightly more educated and less poor than each state's average demographics, attitude and behaviour change results were good among the poorer half of young people. Of the total number of young people who knew Purple and had positive change, 43% (or 646,000) were amongst the poorer half of the population. This suggests that programming was equally effective for rich and poor.

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[5] This aspiration to draw on the potential of social networking drew on the experience of social media campaigns in Nigeria that called for change and achieved national visibility and action, such as the Bring Back Our Girls campaign and Enough is Enough.

Some variations across different communications channels suggests that some methods were better at reaching poorer groups than others. For instance, online spaces have some bias towards a better educated population. Among respondents to the Purple Academy survey, none were educated only to primary level. 44% had achieved a secondary school education and 56% had gone on to further education. This profile was consistent across gender and across the states.

On the other hand, radio was most successful in reaching poorer, less educated young people, the demographics of the average radio listener being similar to overall state demographic profiles. Radio was also found to be most effective in the northern states of Kano and Kaduna. Broadcasting Purple Tinz in Hausa, alongside making local versions of the drama to be more reflective of the regional context are likely to have been contributing factors in the particular association of radio with brand recognition and attitude/behaviour change in Kano.

A variety of evidence on the Theory of Change from the HCH study as well as the Case Studies on key influencers, particularly on the role of personal and institutional influence, suggests that the strategy of targeting influencers and potential influencers has succeeded in amplifying gender equality messaging. It is probable that those reached in this way included poorer groups, for instance among religious congregations and the home communities of safe spaces alumni. However, we do not at this point have firm evidence on the profile of those reached through diffusion of this kind.

5 What drove the changes? The role of personal transformation as the foundation

5.1 Strong results of intensive programming

Key insight: Evidence from both quantitative and qualitative sources strongly suggests that intensive interventions aimed at self-transformation (online and physical learning spaces and training for key influencers and others) were successful in producing high levels of attitude and behaviour change. Among a large proportion of participants, they also generated commitment to diffusing those changes through actions and using influence. There is also evidence, however, that the pathway to this commitment was different among different groups.

Face-to-face and intensive online learning interventions among all groups targeted - young men and women safe space participants in PSIs and through the online Purple Academy; intensive training with men involved in a number of men's networks; personal transformation trainings among key influencers such as RLs, TLs, radio station stakeholders, and brand ambassadors – were all designed to use reflective and discursive methodologies which could result in deep-seated self-transformation processes and challenge established ideas about gender identity. This was the foundation for moving through the subsequent stages of change, which were also built into the curriculum. Adapting to the different groups, trainings included facilitating participants to consider and plan action at personal levels, and at more institutionalised levels for those who already had a platform. These intensive interventions aimed to engage a body of potential influencers who would be able to promote the change in a very real and tangible way, visible at local levels.

The ASPN data tells us that the most intensive forms of V4C programming such as safe spaces (both physical and online courses) and other forms of training for men in men's networks, and among Brand Ambassadors for example, are associated with larger positive changes in attitudes, particularly around decision-making and leadership, and also around a broader conception of gender equality. This is confirmed by data from the Purple Academy survey and the HCH study. According to APSN, positive changes in attitude among this group are significantly larger than in the general population of young

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[6] For instance at 'contemplation' stage, signalled by self-selection into intensive programming.

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people, even when people with some (but not intensive) V4C exposure (amounting to about 50% of the group) are included in this wider group. On the other hand, APSN data also suggests that for online interventions some depth of engagement is required if it is to result in consistent change (see Box 2).

Cross-Cutting Issues Box 2: Web-based interventions: depth of engagement, alongside moderation, seem to matter

Social media tools hold the potential to stimulate debate at scale by exponentially adding visibility to issues. Social media use in V4C interventions was also primarily linked to Purple branding, therefore adding to visibility of the brand, linking people to Purple products and adding to a sense of widespread support for messaging. However, use of social media is also very diverse, notably in terms of depth of engagement as well as individual response and objectives. Drawing results from different sources together on the changes experienced by young people interacting with V4C's online interventions suggest some lessons for online change strategies.

First, depth of engagement with the content seems to really count. The APSN survey, which asked initially about recognition of Purple Academy branding (the name or the landing page image), indicated an estimated 159000 people who said they did. On the other hand, monitoring for Purple Academy shows that at the time of the survey, a lower number of almost 13,300 young people in the 4 focal states had completed at least one PA unit. The supplemental APSN survey selected respondents who had participated in V4C's 'intensive learning' interventions, and included a group of PA users who had completed at least one module. Results among these two groups were quite different. Those relatively superficially exposed to online Purple programming – perhaps merely recognising the website indirectly via signposting on billboards or adverts - showed much lower levels of reported change – including on willingness to support women leaders; willingness to speak up against VAWG, and in levels of contemplation of gender issues. Those with more intensive engagement reported 4-8 times greater levels of change on these dimensions. Subsequent analysis on the basis of APSN data then excluded responses based on simple recognition of the Purple website on the basis that this was an unreliable indictor of Purple exposure.

Online interventions like V4C's exist in the reality that information available online is copious and of variable quality and objectives. At the same time, those accessing V4C's web content are most likely to be accessing other content discussing gender too, but in unmoderated or less moderated formats. The PES Case Study reports that V4C staff, particularly the two full-time On-line Content Community Managers, played a critical role in in facilitating and shaping e-spaces discussions. Their understanding of young people's interests, their ability to respond to current affairs rapidly, and their ability to manage on-topic, safe and engaging discussion was clearly appreciated. Other qualitative data from Purple programming indicates that moderators were required to manage some sharing of quite polarized views and a vocal minority of participants who disparaged progressive gender views. This suggests that unmoderated sites may suffer from more frequent regressive views, dampening the positive change effects of superficial PA engagement by some users. Moderation also encourages engagement, and is therefore connected to the issue that depth of engagement is a significant factor for achieving changed attitudes.
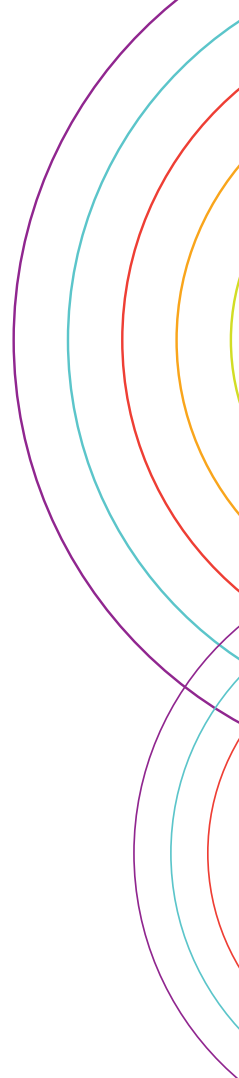
5.2 Intensive programming among men

Key insight: intensive programme effects appear to be strongest among men, with Purple being associated with dramatically higher rates of change and positive beliefs compared to men in the general population. This suggests that carefully constructed education about gender in safe, supportive environments has transformative effects particularly among men. It is notable that these intensive inputs appear to have caused no 'male backlash'.

For example, the belief that women and men should enjoy equal opportunities is 41% stronger among men with intensive exposure than men in the wider population and 21% stronger for women. Participant's perception that this belief has strengthened over the last two years is also 69% stronger for men and 21% stronger for women with intensive exposure, compared to the wider population. The survey also reveals stronger support for female leaders among this group – 41% stronger for men and 22% stronger for women. For both men and women, participant's perception that this support has strengthened over the last two years is 117% stronger among these groups.

5.3 Evidence of diffusion of changes resulting from intensive programmes

Key insight: iInitial evidence of diffusion includes that some friends of intensive programme participants report high levels of change.

The APSN survey also looked in some detail not just at participants of intensive interventions, but also at the group of respondents who had not had intensive exposure themselves, but knew someone who had. Results among this group are discussed in more detail below (Section 7.3). Of note here is that on some axes of change, respondents reported even greater magnitudes of change than among intensive intervention participants – for instance, their belief that women and men should enjoy equal opportunities is 50% stronger than among the general population, against 41% and 21% among men and women with intensive exposure.

## 5.4 Differing starting points along the stages of change model

Key insight: The starting points of different participants along a spectrum of change can influence the pace and magnitude of their change because some participants have already made progress in contemplation of gender issues and in attitudes to gender equality and therefore change less in these dimensions.

Intensive exposure participants were broadly self-selecting, and qualitative data confirms that many already had some exposure to ideas about gender equality. This is less likely the case for those in the above group who were merely friends of participants and did not self-select into intensive programming. This prompts us to consider that the magnitude of change in attitude/beliefs is related not simply to the intensity of exposure, but to the starting points of different participants. Starting 'further back' on the model does not necessarily mean slower progress along it but those starting 'further forwards' on the model[6] are more likely to move into action and taking steps to influence others (See sections 5.6 and 6.2 below).

Qualitative data lends strong support to this hypothesis. While APSN reports strong perceptions of change among intensive programme participants, qualitative data suggest that this is true for many participants but not all, because part of this group already had strong beliefs in favour of gender equality = this is discussed further below in Section 5.4.1. This line of thinking may also explain the overall lower magnitudes of change that the APSN survey found among women than men, as women encountering Purple may perhaps already have been at 'contemplation' stage of gender issues.

The PES study, for example, found the degree of change varied significantly among the different users. For some, the changes represented a radical change in world view, while others simply felt that their existing ideas had been confirmed or affirmed. Upbringing, personality, support or opposition from friends and family, previous personal and intellectual experience of gender issues all framed their starting points. For some participants, the e-spaces interventions had made them strengthen their views, and for some this included considering how they could begin to intervene in situations they found themselves in.

Similarly, 'prior inclination' emerged as a strong feature in the HCH study of the drivers described by participants who had continued to be active on gender issues. Although the study found the majority of this group to be strong and convincing gender advocates, the degree to which people felt their worldview had been changed depended on their initial beliefs. Reported change was low in some dimensions, notably on attitudes to VAWG, as very few respondents claimed prior approval of VAWG.
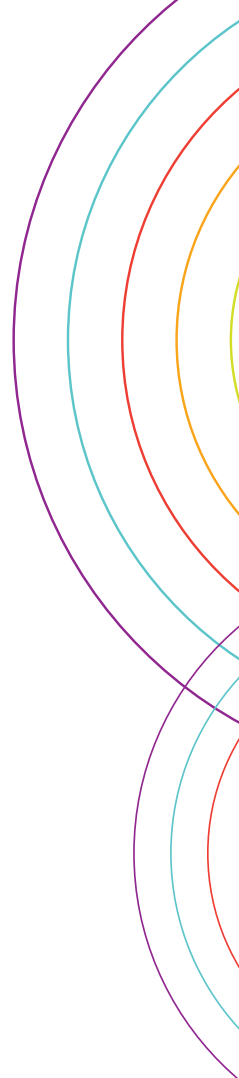
5.4.1 Other drivers beyond V4C

Another dimension to levels of prior inclination which place people at different points on the stages of change process at the outset includes other drivers of gender change present in the target states during or previous to V4C implementation. As detailed in the HCH study, these include role models and public figures who have defended or advocated gender equality – including media personalities, authors, teachers and religious figures (not trained by V4C). The Case Studies also suggest that V4C has to some degree built on the work of other development programmes, for instance among Traditional Leaders, DFID's SAVI (State Accountability and Voice Initiative) project in Nigeria, was identified as a previous influence in the development of stages of change for legislation. For those involved in intensive V4C programming, the most relevant effect of these is that they have in different ways 'primed' people so that, along with different personal experience and knowledge trajectories, people affected by the programme are at different 'stages' at the outset.

5.5 Moving through stages of change: Further dimensions of self-transformation

Key insight: New knowledge and increased self-confidence are important foundations for moving towards action and are highly valued dimensions of change among those pre-disposed towards greater gender equality.

The qualitative studies identified some dimensions of change which were frequently raised, but which the APSN study did not clearly pick up. For example, participants in both studies identified a new ability to speak out as a strong benefit of the courses, and that this was founded on a combination of new knowledge and skills provided in the courses as well as increased levels of self-confidence inspired by the programme. For many participants, these were experienced as profound and transformative gains, enabling them, for example, to put themselves forward for leadership positions, support other women towards leadership, take up issues of gender divisions in the home, intervene in their own and others' relationships, demand better treatment from men, and advocate for girls' education in local communitiesv (see section 5.6). The PES study found this particular configuration of changes to be especially prevalent among young women.

The significant roles of combined new knowledge and confidence were also emphasised in the Purple Academy survey, where 74% strongly agreed and a further 25% agreed that they had gained knowledge for their personal development. On confidence, 73% strongly agreed that the course had made them feel more confident in expressing opinions in a public setting and a further 24% agreed.
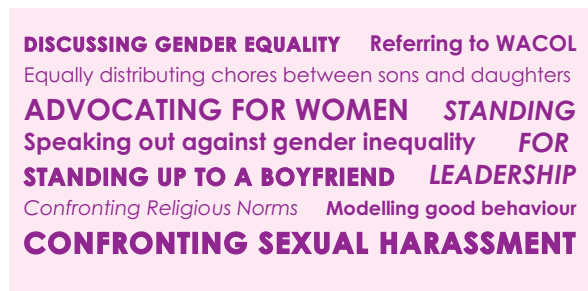
5.6 Moving towards action

Key insight: Moving towards taking action on gender equality was associated with – although not exclusive to - intensive programming. Gaining the ability to take action seems therefore to be in many cases linked to starting out further along the stages of change model.

Actions taken by intensive programme participants are concentrated in their own behaviours, personal relationships, and a willingness to speak out on gender equality. But the qualitative studies describe some evidence of action beyond the personal sphere, and suggest that this ability was associated with the most intensive levels of engagement.

APSN data suggests the intensive courses are successful at moving participants into contemplating action and perhaps also action itself. For example among those exposed to intensive courses, men's willingness to speak up against VAWG is 35% stronger than in the general population, and women's is 25% stronger. Men's belief that other people should challenge the limitations put on women is 38% stronger, while women's is 24% stronger.

The HCH study found that 73% of the intensive intervention participants who were still involved with Purple Clubs or other collective platforms, and 65.5% overall had been motivated to take action on gender equality. For most of these, actions taken were focused on personal networks and home situations. Speaking out against gender equality, advocating for women, and discussing gender equality were most frequently mentioned actions. The Purple Academy survey found the two most common prompted actions claimed to have been taken were 'telling someone to change their behaviour' (86%) or 'talked to family or friends about the issues raised' (82%). This picture is also confirmed by the PES study, which notes that the emphasis for action was in the personal sphere of friends, peers and family.

Figure 2: Types of action taken by intensive programme participants:

DISCUSSING GENDER EQUALITY   Referring to WACOL
Equally distributing chores between sons and daughters
ADVOCATING FOR WOMEN   *STANDING*
Speaking out against gender inequality   *FOR*
STANDING UP TO A BOYFRIEND   *LEADERSHIP*
Confronting Religious Norms   Modelling good behaviour
CONFRONTING SEXUAL HARASSMENT

Source: *How Change Happens: a light touch study on the Theory of Change*

PES found that most respondents who have taken independent action beyond their personal spheres were the 'super-users' who had completed PA, and perhaps participated in PSS as well. HCH notes that some participants spoke of taking action in workplaces or churches, and of intervening with strangers, but this was less frequent.

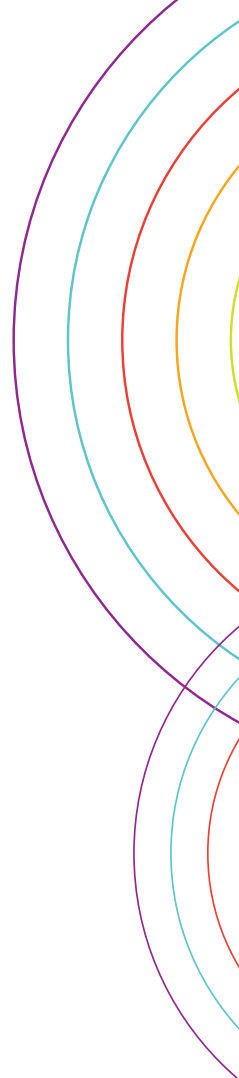# 6 What drove the changes: The role of diffusion

V4C set out to work at scale by diffusing ideas about gender equality through two mechanisms. The first was through the creating of the Purple brand, and the widely broadcast media products that delivered it which laid the groundwork for diffusion. The second was via the influence of those exposed to more intensive programming.

6.1 The role of branded communications: creating the conditions for diffusion

Key insight: The Purple brand set out to sell gender equality to young people. It generated high levels of recognition and was successful at delivering intended messages. It also lent coherence to a campaign involving a number of different media interventions, connecting up otherwise disparate communications channels, and giving a sense of a wider societal support for core messages, and a sense of change taking place at scale.

The Purple brand set out to 'sell' gender equality to young people. Underpinning the brand development was the drive to make gender equality attractive for young Nigerians, and to associate the idea with values which were already important to them – career success, relationships and families, and contributing to the wider community, for example. Beyond this, however, the brand set out to offer an identity that young people could relate to as a group, and therefore played a part in building a 'movement' among young people towards gender equality and generating collective action. At its best, it gave people a platform from which to speak out and a group identity which was aspirational.

Purple's success can in part be measured in terms of brand awareness because brand visibility and popularity is central to the sense of scale as well as its normative power. Purple brand awareness reached high levels and these increased significantly during the programme lifetime. Media tracking research in 2017 among 16-35 year olds found in areas with more intense Purple activities in Kano, Kaduna, Lagos and Enugu, the Purple brand was recognised by almost half (47 per cent) of the sample. Awareness was 27 per cent in areas with lower levels of activity, but when prompted with a short description of Purple, awareness rose to 63 per cent in areas where Purple programming was more intense, and 35 per cent in other areas. Both quantitative and qualitative research indicated that young people found Purple to be lively and fun, well-pitched in tone of voice, and spoke to them in their language. It was educational and of genuine value to young people, helping them to increase their self-confidence, communications skills, and understanding of relationships.

The brand was also successful at communicating the intended messages: in areas with more intense programming, 70% of those who were aware of Purple recalled at least one relevant message relating to gender equality or challenging discrimination. There was some variation in which products delivered these messages most successfully, and this also varied to some degree by state. Billboards (41%) and the Purple Tinz radio show (24%) were the most commonly recalled media. Radio also appears to be the most effective medium at reaching lower-educated, poorer parts of the population. On prompting, 58 per cent of 16-35 year olds said that Purple Tinz radio was very relevant to them, and 45 per cent said that the billboards were very relevant. Significant variations by state do exist, for example, 51 per cent of 16-35 year olds were aware of Purple Tinz radio show in Kano, but only 11 per cent were aware in Lagos, – this issue of geographical variation is discussed further in Box 3.

Qualitative data from the HCH study and from the Media studies also suggests that in important ways, Purple did indeed create a sense of a wider social movement, of being part of a wider change. Qualitative media research in 2016 and 2017 found that young women felt supported and encouraged by the Purple campaign, which made them feel they were not alone and sometimes gave them confidence to challenge discriminatory behaviour in their communities. Young men were offered a new sense of equality through the campaign, and of the meaning of masculinity.

6.1.1 Effects of the Brand on stages of change

> **Key insight:** Purple also moved large numbers of people into the early stages of change at least, especially the Purple Tinz radio show as well as the brand itself. Many also took action in the personal domain.

ASPN data strongly suggests that the branded products created change in attitudes and practices independently of the more intensive personal transformation interventions. People with exposure to V4C but not intensive exposure (therefore through communications products and the brand) show positive changes that often are 50-200% larger than those observed in the broader population. Contemplation of gender issues in particular increased significantly more for this group than those not directly touched by V4C, suggesting that the branded campaigns succeeded at the very least in moving people into the early parts of the Stages of Change process. The Purple Tinz radio show and the Purple brand itself were most consistently associated with these changes across genders and states.

Purple's products also prompted people to take action. Almost all (86 per cent) of respondents to the 2017 Media Tracking survey who had seen or heard any Purple communication said they took action as a result. These actions included talking to family and friends about gender issues and challenging unacceptable behaviour. Young people exposed to Purple were also more likely to report a greater ability to influence those around them in 2017, compared to how influential they felt in 2014. This "empowerment" effect is 2-3 times larger for women, especially poor women, and appears to relate to exposure to Purple Tinz radio programming in particular.

6.1.2 The role of layering

> **Key insight:** It is clear that the strategy of working towards saturation – of concentrating the brand with different 'connected' products operational in the same locations – had the advantage of producing a 'layering' effect, so that messages were reinforced from different sources.

Young **people** who had more intensive contact via Purple spaces or local Purple activities understood that Purple Tinz radio show, billboards, local clubs and promotional activities were part of a wider movement for change. Layering also carried the advantage of generating interest in other Purple products, in particular from less intensive intervention of the brand to more intensive interventions such as PA or safe spaces. 22 % of Purple Academy users, for example, found out about the course from television, where a campaign had promoted the Purple Academy.

Evidence from the HCH study also suggests that 'layering' worked in reverse also – with intensive exposure respondents acknowledging the supportive role of the brand, and sometimes of layering of intensive interventions – following up safe spaces courses with completing Purple Academy, for example.
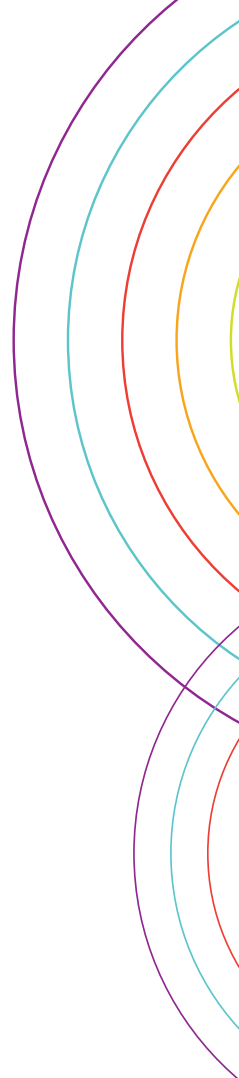
## Cross-Cutting Issues Box 3: Context matters: state-wise variation in baseline, strategy and results

V4C's results show a few important differences between the four states, and make clear that strategies need to be adapted to local contexts. First, there were differences in where young Nigerian men and women were starting from. At baseline, in Lagos there was widespread condemnation of VAWG, in contrast to other states, where a substantial minority of young Nigerians condoned violence under some circumstances. Attitudes towards women and decision-making were broadly positive in Lagos and Enugu, but less so in Kano and Kaduna. Attitudes towards women in leadership were most negative in Kano, with young men and women often rejecting the idea of women taking up leadership positions.

Next, there were variations in media exposure across the four states and in awareness of the Purple brand. Awareness was highest in Enugu, where 60% of young people were aware of the Brand, with billboards the most significant source of awareness and TV second. Awareness in Kano was 50%, with radio being the most significant source. Awareness in Lagos was 40%, with TV, billboards and bus-side adverts the most important sources. Brand awareness was lowest in Kaduna, at 23%. These differences prompted adaptations in our media strategy, for example, increasing the number of radio stations V4C used in Lagos, and using more outdoor and online advertising to target young people. The programme also adapted the messaging to respond to feedback from the states, tailoring the characters and storylines of Purple Tinz more closely to Northern and Southern lifestyles.

Variations in the impact of V4C programming by state were complex and no single pattern emerged. However, we can distinguish certain trends. In Lagos and Enugu, for example, changes in behaviour regarding women's roles in decision-making and leadership were strong. In Kano, women's attitudes towards decision making had changed positively, but there were few signs as yet of changes in behaviour. Exposure to V4C programming correlated with greater likelihood of contemplating gender issues, and this effect was twice as strong in the South as in the North. The impact on young people's perception of their ability to influence those around them increased, and this was particularly true of Kano and Kaduna.

These differences may reflect a combination of factors. First, if attitudes are already positive, then there is not much room for further improvement. So with most young people in Lagos already condemning violence against women, we should not expect a lot of change. Conversely, if attitudes are very deeply entrenched, it may take longer for change to occur. So, for example, negative attitudes towards women's leadership in Kano were deeply embedded in cultural and religious beliefs which may have made them unlikely to change quickly. On the other hand, as earlier evidence has found, beginning further back on the stages of change model also offers greater scope for change. Indeed, the programme has been surprised by the degree of change among women in Kano, who have reacted positively to the Purple brand and shown large positive shifts in empowerment.

Key insights: Good progress can be made in locations where it seems that harmful attitudes and behaviours are deeply embedded, but media exposure varies widely across the states of Nigeria and any communications strategy needs to use the most effective channels for each location. Some messages are relevant across all audiences – self-fulfilment or successful relationships – but creative work still needs to be adapted to be relevant to be regionally relevant.
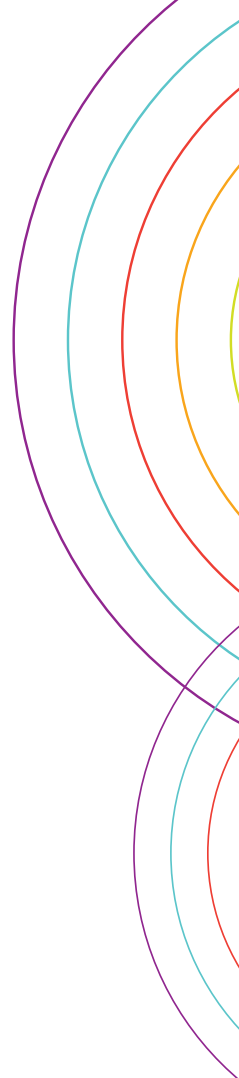
6.2 The role of personal networks in diffusion

6.2.1 Moving towards influencing others

Key insight: Alongside the widespread workings of Purple, diffusion has clearly and rapidly taken place through the use of influence in personal networks as people shared their new ideas on gender equality with peers and family, or simply found opportunities and confidence to speak out. Those exposed to intensive programming have been most consistently able to influence others, but there is evidence that diffusion has also been taken on by those exposed only to Purple communications, as well as those only connected to V4C indirectly as a peer group member of someone exposed to intensive programming.

Evidence from different sources confirms that participants in intensive interventions, having acquired conviction on gender equality through a combination of prior inclination and self-transformative dimensions of the approach, were able to identify areas where they had influenced others on gender equality issues.

The PES case study, for example, found that some young women and men were spreading the Purple message to the external world, and that most of these were among the intensive users of the online spaces. These users also tended to express bigger ambitions for how Purple could spread more widely. In the HCH study, perceptions of participant's ability to influence others varied quite widely across the three contexts: they were highest in the Enugu Purple Club and lowest in the Kano State Platform. Nevertheless, an average of 55% of 'involved' participants spoke of and gave examples of their ability to influence others. Like in the PES study, issues on which they felt they had influenced others were concentrated in personal relationships and spaces: the most mentioned issues were persuading men to treat women better; helping friends to re-negotiate abusive relationships; introducing friends to Purple; and establishing more equality in the division of chores at home.

Aside from participants of online and physical safe spaces, V4C also targeted some specific groups seen as already endowed with constituencies which they could influence. These included religious leaders, traditional leaders and radio presenters and producers. Like for safe spaces participants, it is clear from the Case Studies and the HCH study that not all of those reached in these groups took the step of influencing others – even when they had a platform from which they could take action. For instance, the Case Study on religious leaders found that 62% had not taken action. But the HCH study, not surprisingly, found that these participants more readily saw their role in terms of their influence over others.

6.2.2 Diffusing Purple

Key insight: Steering peers towards Purple has been an important dimension of influence.

Like the linked communications products, personal networks have been an important mechanism in signposting programme interventions. Among Purple Academy survey respondents, 53% had already recommended the course to a friend, and 38% had themselves found out about the course via friends. Similarly, the Purple e-Spaces study found that in Lagos and Kano, friends were the most common sources of initial information about the e-spaces.

6.2.3 Evidence of change among recipients of diffusion

Key insight: People reached via the influence of others report personal change as well as the ability to take action. In some cases, these respondents report their own ability to influence others, thus taking part in further diffusion.

The APSN survey found while 1% of the population participated in Safe Spaces, another 4% says they know someone who participated, suggesting that that knowledge about Safe Spaces has diffused by a factor of four. The degree of change reported by this group is high; at times higher than the changes reported by the safe space participants themselves. For example, safe space participants' friends exhibit a 50% stronger belief that women and men should enjoy equal opportunities than those not exposed to Purple, and a 288% larger change in how much they think about gender issues.
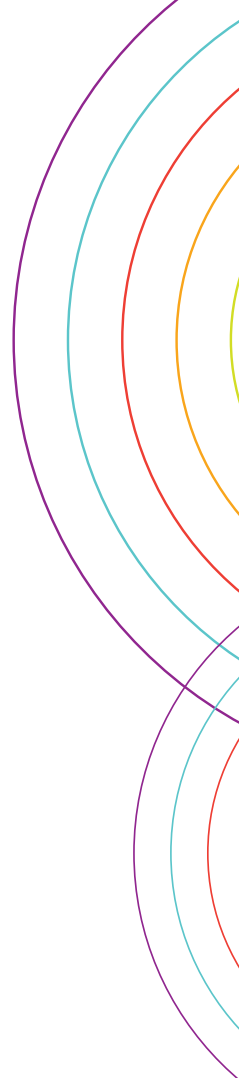
Reported changes among safe space participant's friends include some implying action and influence on others: they show a 56% stronger perception that their willingness to speak up against VAWG has strengthened over the last two years; and a 30% stronger belief that their willingness to challenge the limitations put on women has strengthened over two years. If any of these people succeeded in shifting any of the beliefs of their peers through this reported willingness to act, then these changes would likely be among the 1 million people with changed attitudes / behaviours identified by the APSN survey but no (apparent) V4C exposure.

The HCH study interviewed friends of safe space and other involved Purple respondents, with a view to understanding whether and how this type of diffusion was taking place. Here also, levels of reported change in some dimensions were significant – particularly around newly strengthened belief in women's leadership, an increased ability to speak out, and strengthened support for gender equality in general. These respondents attributed their changes to their 'involved' friend or group of friends, to a religious leader, and to Purple Club events which they had witnessed, among others. The most common vehicle of influence on them was simple discussion, and sometimes information and practical help from friends. While less consistently strong in their support for gender equality than the 'involved' friends interviewed in the study, some of this group – as in the APSN study – also claimed new abilities to take action and to diffuse further by influencing others themselves – including by supporting women taking on leadership positions; intervening at work to avoid men dominating, and intervening in gendered arrangements at home. Others felt they had influenced women to come forwards for leadership, influenced friends about their personal relationships, and family members on their attitudes.

7 The role of institutional change and collective action

V4C worked directly for change in formal institutions and achieved significant progress. At the same time, there are many examples of institutional change taking place at local levels through the diffusion process – that is, through the influence of people moved to action by Purple. The strategy of 'movement building' – bringing different groups together for collective action – is also beginning to emerge as a force for stronger advocacy, as well as further diffusion.

7.1.1 Institutional change in formal institutions

Key insight: V4C's work on policy and legal changes in the formal institutions of government and political parties made significant and essential progress, taking steps to bring many years of advocacy to fruition. As anticipated in the programme's longer term vision, it did not reach the point of generating the widespread social changes that might follow the implementation of new laws.

V4C achieved notable success in its support of better-informed gender responsive legislation. The programme specifically supported the passage of the Violence Against Persons Prohibition bill (VAPP) into law at federal level in 2015 alongside the multiple actors who had worked over a cumulative 12 year period. Following this success at the federal level, V4C provided specific support at state level in Enugu and Kaduna to progress VAPP along the necessary legislative stages, which led to securing sponsors for the bill. A VAPP Act has also been passed in other (non-target) Nigerian states.

A second ground-breaking gender related Bill, the GEO, was taken through the legislative stages of both Senate and House of Representatives and has made good progress in attracting support at state level in both Enugu and Kaduna. In Enugu, advocacy in support of this bill was specifcially taken on by the state platform brought into being by V4C.

V4C also helped to revive and strengthen the Gender Technical Unit (GTU), a key resource for progressing gender policy housed within the government, which played a pivotal role in the VAPP process. This was found through the GTU Case Study to have been very effective in strengthening and enhancing the responsiveness of the legislature/National Assembly and its relevant committees. This success can be attributed to finding different ways of working – specifically, bringing together large numbers of political 'insiders' with 'outsiders' to engage in more effective advocacy.
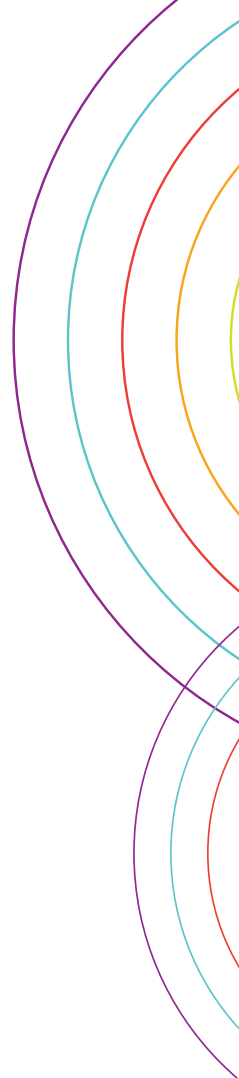
These are significant achievements, but their results in terms of population-wide behaviour changes will likely be seen in the future when the law is later implemented and begins to operate as an effective sanction. At this point, it is expected to interact with the social change process catalysed through Purple.

7.1.2 Moving towards institutional change through diffusion

Key insight: In partially unintended, additional outcomes, several 'key influencers' have found opportunities to make significant local level institutional changes in pursuit of greater gender equality. A smaller number of young people have also found ways to tackle inequality in formal and formal local institutions.

V4C targeted 'key influencers' – specifically, groups with pre-established platforms or constituencies of influence. Many of these have successfully used these platforms to disseminate messages on gender equality as well as to take and advocate for institutional level actions, sometimes achieving ground-breaking changes. The Case Study on traditional leaders, for example, documents evidence of women being included in the traditional ruling cabinet for the first time, broadly on the same terms as men. Several respondents (male and female traditional leaders and community members) said that this change was being extended to other organising and decision-making bodies in their communities. Women traditional leaders have also initiated or influenced significant changes in local laws and policies that discriminate against women, most notably practices around widowhood, land and inheritance rights and banning child marriage. Religious leaders have also contributed to increasing women's representation on church decision making bodies.

In other cases, Purple actors without a clear platform have also found ways of tackling institutionalised inequality. Staff of radio stations targeted for intensive trainings, for example, described how changes at the workplace went beyond the expected changes in broadcasting – that staff on air were better able to discuss gender issues and more willing to devote more programming time to these – to changes in work practices, such as women presenting programmes that used to be presented by men only, and some reports of more women in leadership positions – such as that Solid FM appointed a woman as Head of Programmes. Some young safe space participants have also found ways to exert their influence on more public platforms – for example, by leading local activities on gender equality, and influenced community members on issues such as girls' education.

7.1.3 Advocacy and institutional change via platforms for collective action

Key insight: Platforms for collective action on broad gender issues were still relatively new at the close of the programme, therefore evidence on their role is not as developed as for the other drivers of change. Nevertheless, there are indications that they have begun to play a part in further diffusion of messages as well as in pushing for institutional level change.

Creating collective identity through branding was a driver of programme strategy from the outset, but V4C became gradually more focused on the role of movement building, first in the institutional change processes and later in the diffusion process. State platforms bringing different groups together around the issues of women's leadership and political inclusion were established in all four states. In PSIs where safe spaces programmes had been carried out, Purple Clubs were established. In some cases, the state platforms coalesced into wider movements as more groups or 'clustered' became involved. At the close of the programme to enhance sustainability, explicit efforts were made to bring groups together in a broader movement associated with Purple.

Purple Clubs

Purple Clubs were established in PSIs that had hosted the physical safe spaces courses. These brought together alumni from the courses, along with others in the institution interested in advocating for gender equality. Purple Clubs held various events to raise the profile of gender issues within the PSIs and more widely, at the same time bringing the intensive programming 'arm' of V4C into a visible association with the Purple brand. It is clear from the HCH study, that brand identity was an important dimension of involvement in the Purple Club for many participants.

Through these collectives, some young women and men safe space graduates succeeded in effecting institutional changes within their PSIs. In the Enugu State University, the student council election policy which prevented women from standing for President was overturned. In the Federal College of Education in Enugu, in 2015, a woman was elected President of the Student Council for the first time. In a different form of institutional change, student demand for safe space training was so great that the PSI leadership has agreed to institutionalise the safe space curriculum. Four PSIs in Enugu and Lagos have embedded the Purple Academy curriculum into their general studies programme.
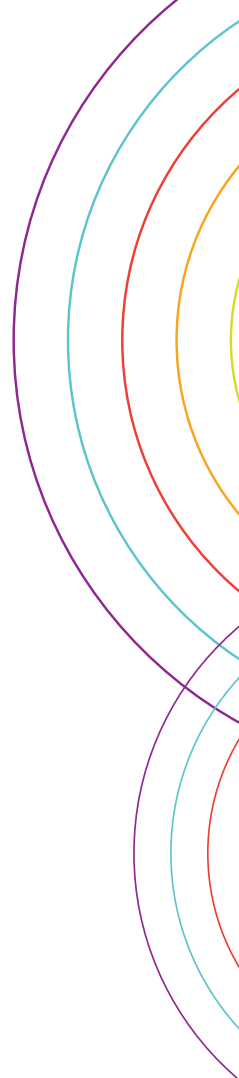
State Platforms

State Platforms took somewhat different forms across locations. Initially focused on women's political participation, in the case of Enugu the platform later brought together groups with a wider set of interests in a movement more closely associated with Purple in general.

The efforts of advocacy in women's political participation in Lagos and Kano states have resulted in the election of eight women out of the 57 local government chairpersons in Lagos State Local Government elections – while modest, this represents a doubling of previous numbers. In Kano, two women contested and won leadership positions within the North West Union of Journalists, which was a first for this organisation. Their resolve to contest was as a result of their membership of the Kano State Platform.

The Enugu State Platform, meanwhile, emerged as a broader movement known as the Gender Equality Movement (GEM). This has a membership of over 100 organisations and individuals, including the men's networks, safe space alumni, female politicians, professional women, female lawyers' association, and the female lecturers' association.

It is clear from the HCH study and from a case study of the GEM in Enugu that these groups have suceeded in developing many of the early features of movement formation, although not all have yet fully established common process or strategies. This is in line with programme expectations, given the timeframe. Nevertheless, the advantages of beginning to operate as a unified force are clear to many respondents. Working together and holding joint events and rallies has brought opportunities in both Kano and Enugu for further diffusion of gender equality messages, as well as opportunities to add numerical strength to the advocacy vehicle. They have successfully acted on a range of issues, including advocacy and action in support of women's leadership; protesting cases of violence against girls; alongside more general human rights issues.

8 Reflections on creating change at scale

V4C put into action an ambitious and complex programme which aimed to work at individual levels as well as 'at scale' in ways that were mutually supportive and would lead to widespread change in attitudes to gender equality among young people in Nigeria. This experience offers a number of learnings relevant to catalysing social change at scale.
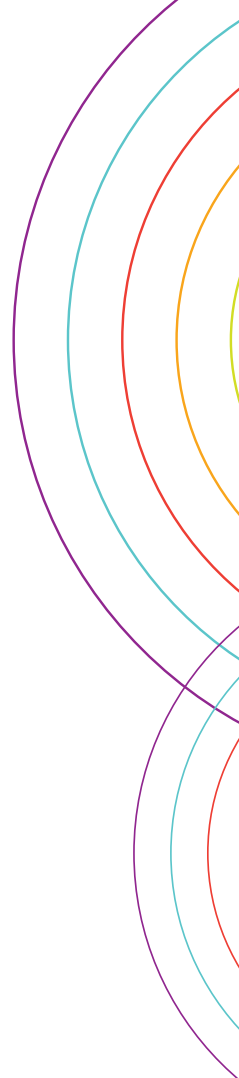
8.1 The importance of branding

The Purple brand set out to sell gender equality to young people. Informed by media research and beneficiary feedback, it offered a brand that both young women and young men wanted to be identified with and a coherent set of messages and values many wanted to share with their peers. Many young people were moved to change attitudes and behaviours by engaging with the brand alone, and some were also able to take action.

However, the brand also had an important role in linking programme interventions, and thereby creating a 'layered' effect. Infused throughout the different communications components and digital content, it lent coherence to the overall campaign, connecting up otherwise disparate communications channels, helping to build a sense of a wider societal support for the messaging on gender justice, and a sense of change taking place at scale. Strongly linked also to the intensive interventions, it provided the 'glue' connecting layers of intervention in which messages were reinforced from different sources. Not only were young people on board, but they were hearing and seeing radio personalities and religious leaders also supporting Purple messaging.

8.2 Using diffusion for scale and value

Working at scale aims to amplify reach and therefore overall programme effectiveness as well as to enhance cost effectiveness and value. A challenge for V4C was how to scale up the success of safe spaces in an affordable way. Physical and virtual safe spaces were therefore carried out as the foundation for a diffusion process, supported by a communications campaign working more widely. A key dimension of all learning intervention was facilitating young people to take action, actively spreading key messages among their networks and creating new norms.

This learning strategy has borne results. Survey evidence suggests that each young woman or man going through the physical safe space positively shifted the attitudes and behaviours of up to 6 others. Other data shows that people's ability to influence in their personal and wider networks was at the core of the diffusion process,

carrying change throughout and beyond V4C's visible boundaries. This diffusion effect has implications for how to include moving towards action and influence in learning, as well as how to calculate cost-effectiveness when diffusion is being used.

8.3 Establishing knowledge, skills and self-confidence to support diffusion

V4C's experience strongly suggests that moving towards the action and influence which creates diffusion was enabled by some key founding elements. These include new knowledge and concepts in gender and gender inequality, new skills in discussion and 'speaking out' and new levels of self-confidence enabling young people to use those knowledge and skills. For those who had access to one, the existence of a platform from which influence could be amplified was an important part of gaining wider reach in the diffusion process.

8.4 Working with men and boys

Central to achieving change at scale, was working with men and boys to create a broad movement for change. Purple messaging, therefore needed to speak to the realities of young men and women, creating a shared vision of a gender equitable future. Messaging was informed by the 'Being a Man in Nigeria' study[7] which provided insights about the notion of masculinity in Nigeria and data informed communications messaging and training on gender justice. The findings resonated powerfully with ordinary men and women in Nigeria and provoked a national level conversation on the links between negative masculinities and gender discrimination.

It is notable that intensive programme effects appear to be strongest among men, being associated with dramatically higher rates of change and positive beliefs compared to men in the general population. This suggests that carefully constructed education about gender in safe, supportive environments has transformative effects particularly among men. Men also sometimes responded to messaging more strongly than women, especially in early-stage change dimensions such as contemplation, suggesting that differences in the 'starting point' of people engaging with Purple influenced the scale of change.

8.5 Achieving change in 'challenging' contexts

While the programme offers a few examples of 'difficult areas' where change was slow, it offers more examples of potentially difficult areas where change was in fact rapid and substantial – for example, young women in Kano – the most conservative in terms of gender equality – consistently showed strong, positive responses to Purple programming. The programme was careful to create messaging to enage men (as above) but also to adapt messaging to context as far as possible. This involved, for example, responding to preferences in the language of change (such as using 'equality' or 'justice'), and developing messages built on interpretations of religious texts by recognised scholars that are supportive of gender equality. This suggests that where the context appears challenging, getting messaging 'right' can unlock an even greater scope for change than in less challenging contexts.

8.6 Complexity of VAWG programming

Confirming international evidence from elsewhere that the intensity of engagement in violence against women and girls (VAWG) issues is an important factor in change, intensive programming in V4C showed clear positive results, as did media mechanisms that used discussion of violence as its main vehicle rather than simple depiction of violence. However, the programme's mixed overall effects on VAWG also confirm the complexity of VAWG programming. The APSN data shows that there was no overall impact on VAWG, highlighting the challenge of achieving consistent change at scale. The picture of change was mixed at State level, and the overall neutral impact was in part due to low levels of public approval of VAWG prior to the programme despite high levels of its occurrence at baseline. At the same time, despite apparently low levels of public approval for VAWG, many respondents in qualitative studies did claim to have influenced others to change their approval of VAWG. This suggests that social disapproval of violence may not strongly affect the prevalence of violent behaviours towards women, and may not reflect the actual scope for change. Similarly, programme experience reflects evidence from elsewhere that changes in VAWG, because of its complex nature, are difficult to track over short time periods.

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[7] http://www.v4c-nigeria.com/being-a-man-in-nigeria-perceptions-and-realities/

8.7 Digital interventions can achieve scale and visibility

Digital approaches significantly helped to get issues of gender equality into public debate, adding visibility and reach to intensive programming. V4C experience suggests that the depth of engagement with the content seems to really count, which has implications for how these tools are used as well as for measurement of their impacts. Survey data shows that in moderated spaces, where people have the opportunity to reflect and debate online through the Purple Academy or the mobile space, attitudes and behaviours have changed. At the same time, evidence indicates that social media use in general is correlated with less positive individual change related to VAWG possibly due to other harmful gender messages and imagery accessed online. Together these suggest the need for close moderation of on-line platforms and need to combine digital approaches with other more intensive communications approaches, including safe spaces and moderated radio discussions which can bring about more consistent changes in attitudes and practices, in particular on VAWG.

8.8 Ensuring equitable access with a variety of media tools

The target group for Purple was the whole population of 16-25 year olds; for intensive programmes targeting incorporated ideas about participants' potential to influence others as well as their social connectivity. Using a variety of media tools was important in responding to these different targeting objectives. While the online spaces had some bias towards a better educated population – and a more socially connected one – radio was the medium with the widest reach, and was also effective at reaching lower-educated, poorer parts of the population. The demographics of the average radio listener are similar to overall state demographic profiles, showing that V4C reached a broad audience. Messaging/branding, through careful pre-project research, was also successful in having a wide appeal among young people: survey data also revealed that programming was equally effective among poorer groups as among those in wealthier social groups.

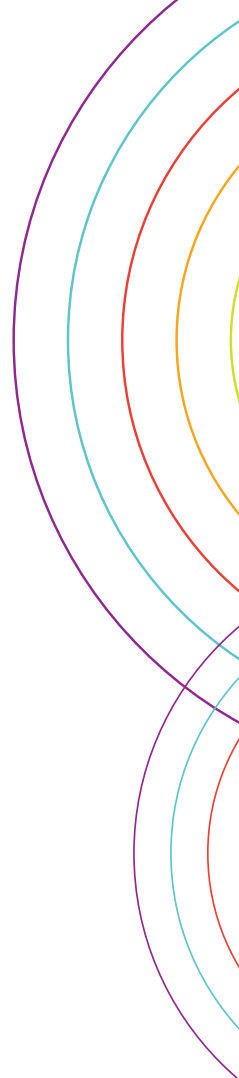## 8.9 Institutional change – opportunities at local and national, formal and informal levels

While programme activity was primarily concentrated at the level of formal institutions for legal and policy change, a number of more local level changes to both formal and informal institutional structures were also set in motion – such as changing policy on women's leadership in student bodies of education institutions and institutionalising gender equity in traditional leaders' structures. Moving forwards, clearer and more explicit/precise strategies to support key influencers and new gender advocates to drive these processes of local level structural change would be an important new focus. Creating localised 'sanctions' through religious and traditional structures has the potential to achieve the impact intended through longer term legal reform strategies. E.g. enforcing 'legal reforms' which support the change being promoted within society and self.

8.10 Movement building for advocacy with formal and informal institutions

The programme's evolving focus on movement building reflects a recognition of the role of widespread public advocacy / visible support in driving normative / structural change at local levels as well as at the level of Formal Institutions. The launching of State Platforms as well as Purple Clubs in post-secondary education institutions (PSIs), conceived and driven by beneficiary groups, aimed to bring together individuals and groups who would combine their efforts in a movement for change. Case-study evidence from Enugu showed that this collection of groups had moved into early development stages of a coherent GEWE movement by the close of the programme. This and other groups had also succeeded in taking joint action with tangible successes. In line with programme expectations, full movement evolution had not taken place at this stage, but the indications are that this is a promising method to embed and magnify the role of influence more consistently in the programme.

8.11 The Theory of Change:

Programme experience suggests that the ToC large holds, except that in the available timeframe, the effects of changes in the Formal Institutions domain did not fully evolve, therefore available insights into how these interact with the other domains remain tentative. For synergies between the Self and Society domains, the programme presents a strong case, in some detail, of the scale-up that can result from working in these domains simultaneously.

Appendix: The data sources

Attitudes, Practices and Social Norms survey

At the outset, V4C commissioned an 'Attitudes, Practices and Social Norms' (APSN) panel survey to provide annual data throughout the lifetime of the programme , using a sample of 4798 young people aged 16-25 representative of the wider population of each State in this age range. The survey explored changes in attitudes and behaviours among respondents as well as expectations and beliefs about other's attitudes and behaviours; it also tracked recognition of various Purple products/interventions, allowing associations between types of change and types of input to become visible. Importantly, the 'difference in difference' study design allows the comparison of effects amongst those who recognise Purple and those who do not, so we can understand programme effects in the absence of a control group. Including a control was considered not feasible due to the scale of intervention. The panel survey was supported by qualitative research in FGDs with different groups, intended to help guide interpretation of survey results.

After the baseline study in all four target states in 2014, respondents were re-contacted in 2015 (Enugu and Kaduna), 2016 (Enugu, Kaduna, and Kano), and 2017 (all four states). In addition, a supplemental APSN survey was conducted in two rounds (2016 and 2017) targeting young people who had participated in V4C's 'intensive learning' interventions. These were mainly physical safe spaces participants (80%), but also included participants of online learning spaces; men participating in the men's network interventions; members of radio listening panels, and young people supported as Brand Ambassadors for the Purple brand. These young people were asked the same questions as the representative sample of young people in our four target states.

Media Tracking studies

Quantitative and qualitative studies were carried out in 2016 and again in 2017 tracking the progress and impact of media campaigns and brand development in the four target states. The quantitative survey used a representative sample of the target population and age group in Local Government Areas (LGAs) covering both intensive and non-intensive intervention area, but with more focus on intensive intervention areas. The sample also covered a secondary target audience sample in the 25-36 age group. The studies aimed to assess levels of awareness of the Purple brand; the effectiveness of specific communications vehicles; reach of the brand and its products; and levels of engagement with issues raised in the radio show, Purple Tinz. The qualitative studies on media-driven change, carried out in September 2016 and May 2017 in all four states, aimed to gain in-depth insight into responses to the brand and to explore the most effective messages to promote gender equality among young people.
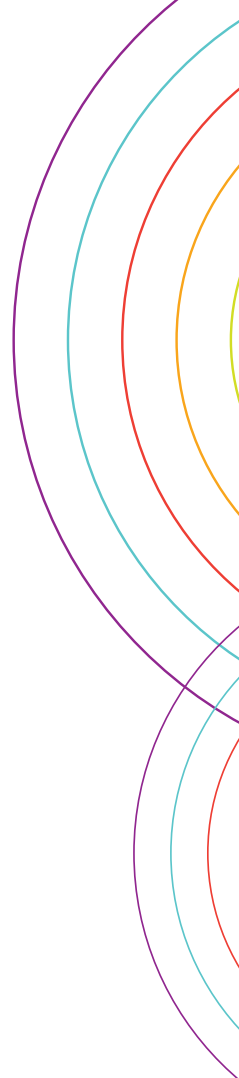
Qualitative Case Studies

These were carried out in 2016 and 2017 in five operational areas. In 2016, studies involving around 100 stakeholders were carried out among religious leaders; traditional leaders; radio station staff; and the Gender Technical Unit which had been strengthened by the programme to carry forward legal and policy changes at the Federal level. In 2017, a study was undertaken in Kano and Lagos among 130 'super users', 'light users' and 'non-users' of the Purple e-spaces, to understand the extent of and experiences of change. Purple e-spaces included Purple Academy course users; as well as more general users of the iampurple.ng website which included online content related to the radio drama Purple Tinz; and the discussion forum initiated by V4C.

The How Change Happens Study

At the close of the programme, a qualitative study was undertaken to shed light on how far the ToC had actually played out in practice, and how far and by what mechanisms synergies between the domain areas had in fact been activated by the programme. This study took place in Enugu and Kano focusing on the Purple Club in a post-secondary institution (PSI) in Enugu where safe spaces courses had taken place, and on the State Platforms in Enugu and Kano, where V4C had begun to bring together groups of programme stakeholders, participants in the growing, brand-driven Purple movement and other interested groups onto a common platform as the basis for collective action. It sought testimony from three types of respondents – those that had accessed direct and intensive programme inputs and who had engaged with the collective platforms; those that had accessed direct and intensive programme inputs but were not strongly engaged with the platforms; and those that had not accessed intensive inputs but were in the reference groups of people that had.

The Purple Academy Survey

Also at the close of the programme, a separate survey was conducted specifically among a representative sample of 1,128 users of the Purple Academy online course to explore attitudes to the course; pathways through which users influence change as a result; and actions on gender equality stimulated by the course. The survey took place in all four states, but had a higher proportion of respondents from Lagos (64%) reflecting the course user profile.