

TOWARDS A WORLDWIDE INFLUENCING NETWORK:

CITIZENS' VOICE, NORMS AND ATTITUDES: CONFLICT AND FRAGILITY IN NIGER

RESULTS OF THE STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP OF OXFAM NOVIB AND SOMO WITH THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS IN THE NETHERLANDS

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This report is based on the information provided by hundreds of people interviewed in the regions of Diffa and Tillabéri during October, November and December 2019. First and foremost, we want to express our gratitude to all who participated in the evaluation. Their willingness to give their time and discuss their knowledge and opinions with the interviewers made this evaluation possible. It resulted in valuable information for projectimplementation, will serve as endline data for evaluating the impact of this project and will also be used as learning for future programme development.

This evaluation was achieved through the extensive contributions and expertise of partners the Association for the Redynamization of Livestock in Niger ("I'Association pour la Redynamisation de l'Elevage au Niger" in French, or AREN), the Nigerien Network for the Non-Violent Management of Conflicts ("Réseau Nigérien pour la gestion non violente des conflits" in French, or GENOVICO) and the Panafrican Network for Peace, Democracy and Development ("Réseau Panafricain pour la Paix, la Démocratie, et le Développement" in French, or REPPADD), as well as the entire Conflict & Fragility team. The authors acknowledge also the many contributions of Oxfam staff in Niger and of course the interviewers who collected data for this study. The interviewers were trained by Oxfam staff during an endline workshop organised by Oxfam in Niger in October 2019. In addition, in February 2020, Oxfam and partner staff contributed to a reflection session on the preliminary results of the report.

The endline survey is part of the Strategic Partnership 'Towards a Worldwide Influencing Network' between the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Oxfam Novib and the Centre for Research on Multinational Corporations (SOMO).

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

OBJECTIVES OF REPORT & EVALUATION QUESTIONS

This report presents the findings of the impact evaluation of the outcome areas of increasing the citizens' voice, and shifting norms and attitudes for the Conflict & Fragility (C&F) project in Niger. This project is implemented as part of the Strategic Partnership – 'Towards a Worldwide Influencing Network' – of Oxfam Novib, the Centre for Research on Multinational Enterprises (SOMO) and the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This impact evaluation report presents an analysis of data from the baseline survey, fielded in February and March 2017, and the endline survey, fielded in October, November and December 2019. The objective of this study is to determine to what extent the activities of the project had contributed to increasing the citizens' voice, shifting norms and attitudes and building knowledge on conflict and justice for individuals in the targeted communities in Diffa and Tillabéri in Niger. Impact of the project is assessed by comparing a group of project participants (target group) to a similar group of people that did not participate in the project (comparison group). Evidence from 'Stories of Change' (SoC), a qualitative research methodology, provide insight on some findings as well.

The impact evaluation is part of the larger monitoring, evaluation, accountability and learning (MEAL) framework of the Strategic Partnership and the C&F project. The MEAL framework ensures that relevant, high quality and comparable data are collected for all of the following seven outcomes: improved policies of governments and public actors, improved policies of private sector actors, increased political will, strengthened Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), stronger and wider alliances, increased citizens' voice and shifted norms and attitudes.

Each outcome area has one or more methodologies for tracking the progress in that outcome area. For example, impact measurement through research surveys and 'Stories of Change' shows changes in the citizens' voice and shifted attitudes and knowledge.

The desired impact of the C&F project is a Niger in which conflict-affected populations of the regions of Diffa and Tillabéri enjoy more protection of their rights and live in a more secure and stable environment. This impact is deemed beyond the immediate control of the project, especially due to ongoing security challenges in Niger. However, the project works towards involving more women, young people and men directly or through CSOs in peaceful conflict management at various levels (local, national and regional) to contribute to a more conducive environment for peace.

C&F PROJECT AND ITS ACTIVITIES IN NIGER

The C&F project in Niger has supported the establishment of **Peace Committees** in eight communes¹ targeted by the project to act as an early-warning network on the outbreak of insecurity and to raise awareness and build capacity for conflict resolution and management. The project has also empowered young people and women to contribute to these goals through the **identification and capacity strengthening of women and youth leaders** for peace and stability. **Forums** and **trainings** in communities targeted by the project are intended to influence attitudes and norms on peace and stability and build knowledge about conflict management and human rights. Lastly, media campaigns on local radio stations spread awareness and build knowledge about the sources of conflict and how conflicts can be avoided, managed and resolved.

¹ Regions of Niger are subdivided into departments; departments are again subdivided into smaller administrative units known as 'communes'. There are both rural and urban communes.

FINDINGS

The activities of the C&F project in Niger may be contributing to positive outcomes, especially on shifting attitudes and norms. Respondents in the target group reported greater trust in the authorities and CSOs to resolve conflicts than comparison group respondents, and were also more likely to agree that local government authorities and elected officials fulfil their conflict resolution obligations towards the community. Although we cannot say whether these results have changed over time within the target group, we note that the attitudes of the comparison group on these themes have become more negative between the baseline and the endline. Respondents in the target group were more likely to be members of a Peace Committee and reported taking a greater number of actions to resolve conflicts than comparison group respondents. In terms of knowledge of security and access to justice, target group respondents said they knew more about conflict resolution mechanisms than respondents in the comparison group, although this contrast was only evident in the data for male respondents; there was no difference in knowledge among women in the target and comparison groups. Competition over land and other resources were far more commonly-cited as causes of conflict than religious extremism and armed jihad. Key findings of this study are summarized in Table 1 below.

Table 1. Overview of Findings

(SUB) EVALUATION QUESTION	NOTABLE FINDINGS	COMMENTS
Q1 The citizens' voice:		
Q1.1 Any change in citizens taking action?	Target group respondents took more actions to resolve conflicts than comparison group respondents	When analysing by gender, this contrast could only be observed among male respondents
Q1.2 What is the capacity of women and youth to contribute to the construction of peace?	Target group respondents were more likely to be members of a Peace Committee	This was true for women as well as men, though there was no difference among young people
Shifted attitudes and norms Q2 Does the project increase peaceful attitudes in targeted communes?	Target group respondents were more likely to trust the authorities and civil society to resolve conflicts, and to agree that local authorities and elected officials fulfil their obligations towards the population.	In comparison group communities, trust in these actors has declined since the baseline study
Knowledge on security issues and access to justice		
Q3 Does the project increase knowledge of security issues and access to justice of citizens in targeted communes?	Target group respondents reported having more knowledge of conflict resolution mechanisms Competition over land and other resources were the most frequently- mentioned sources of conflict	When analysing by gender, this finding was observed among men but not among women
	Respondents trust local authorities to help resolve conflicts and say they would seek the help of local authorities to resolve conflicts in their communities.	Very few respondents say they have ever engaged local authorities to help resolve a conflict themselves.

LIMITATIONS

This evaluation only considered activities of the C&F project in Niger aimed at raising the citizens' voice, shifting attitudes and building knowledge, rather than the entire project. External factors outside the control of the project may have had an influence on some of the results presented. Changes in the geographic scope of project implementation since the baseline resulted in limited comparability between the data collected for the target group between baseline and endline. Security challenges during data collection further restricted data collection largely to only one of the two regions where the project was implemented. Consequently, the analysis featured in this report relied mainly on endline comparisons between the target and comparison groups, focusing on the Diffa region. Men were also over-represented in the baseline and endline survey results.

The SoC interviews were conducted with eight members of Peace Committees. As the security challenges limited data collection, the enumerators of the quantitative survey had to do the in-depth SoC interviews. However, they were not trained in how to conduct in-depth interviews and how to record and transcribe the responses. This resulted in brief interview reports that were sometimes challenging to interpret.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the findings of this study and discussions with the project team and partners, we recommend that the project strive to create more impact in the final year of implementation, and in the development of future programmes in the following ways (more details are provided in section **6**. **Recommendations**):

- Build on strengths of existing Peace Committees to further strengthen community-level awareness and capacity for conflict resolution as they can be considered as accepted and relatively influential local entities. The project should establish more of them, and provide more and more frequent support to Peace Committees in terms of equipment, training, planning and prioritization of activities.
- Adapt programming to the changing nature of conflict and fragility in Niger which appears to be more driven by conflict over land resources and less by religious extremism. For future programme development, this also means there is a need to link project activities with climate change.
- Put greater emphasis on raising awareness and building capacity for using mediation as a conflict resolution tool and building capacity for effective mediation, especially among young people and women.
- Harness the capacities of women and young people to contribute to building peace especially through encouraging and enabling their participation in community discussions about conflict and peace.
- **Refocus activities on interventions that are truly gender-transformative** to ensure the project helps women, as well as men, to raise their voices, shift attitudes and build knowledge. Greater involvement of women in radio programming on peace-building may be one way to engage women and strengthen women's leadership on peace and conflict issues.



This report presents the findings of the impact evaluation on the outcome areas of citizens' voice, and shifted norms and attitudes for the Conflict & Fragility project in Niger² working within the subtheme on **women, peace and security**. This project is implemented as part of the Strategic Partnership 'Towards a World Wide Influencing Network' of Oxfam Novib, the Centre for Research on Multinational Enterprises (SOMO) and the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This impact evaluation report presents an analysis of data from the baseline survey fielded in February and March 2017 and the endline survey fielded in October and November 2019 to assess the impact of the C&F project on increased citizens' voice and shifted norms and attitudes.

The objective of this study was to determine to what extent the activities of the project may have contributed to (increased) citizens' voice, and (shifted) norms and attitudes for individuals in targeted communities. The endline data were analysed in conjunction with the baseline data to identify changes that the project may have contributed to in citizens' attitudes, norms and voice.

Helping to encourage and empower citizens to raise their voice, and working to shift norms and attitudes, are very difficult tasks, especially in a challenging socio-economic and security context like contemporary Niger. The country suffers from a combination of political instability, wide-spread poverty, chronic food insecurity, natural disasters such as frequent droughts, and the cross-border effects of insurgency and terrorism in neighbouring countries. The reader is encouraged to keep these realities in mind while reading these pages, to recognize the inherent difficulty of the ambition of the project and the challenge of achieving the desired results in a context such as that of the C&F project in Niger.

This report is organized as follows: the remainder of this **Introduction** briefly describes the Strategic Partnership overall and the C&F project in Niger. Section 2 introduces the **Evaluation Questions** for this study. Section 3 provides an overview of the **Evaluation Design**, with a focus on the structuring of the evaluation, the sampling and analysis approach and important differences between the baseline and endline samples. Section 4 presents the **Findings** grouped by theme. Within these thematic subsections, results are also summarized in overview tables under the evaluation and learning questions to which they correspond. Section 5 presents the **Conclusions** of this study, as well as its limitations, and Section 6 offers a list of **Recommendations** based on the results and reflections on the results by the project staff and partners.

1.1 STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP

Oxfam Novib and SOMO have a Strategic Partnership with the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs – 'Towards a worldwide influencing network'. This programme runs from 2016 until the end of 2020 and covers three thematic areas: Right to Food (R2F), Greater Responsibility in Finance for Development (F4D), and Conflict and Fragility (C&F). The thematic programmes are operationalised through 23 projects in 16 countries and three global projects.

All thematic programmes work towards several or all of the following seven outcomes: improved policies of governments and public actors, improved policies of private sector actors, increased political will, strengthened CSOs, stronger and wider alliances, increased citizens' voice and shifted norms and attitudes.

² From this point onwards, the Conflict & Fagility project is referred to only by the abbreviation C&F.

The impact evaluation is part of the larger MEAL framework of the C&F project (please see **Annex 1** for an overview). The MEAL framework ensures that relevant, high quality, and comparable data, is collected for all seven outcome areas. Each outcome area has one or more methodologies to track progress in that outcome areas.

This impact evaluation focusses on the outcome areas increased citizens' voice and shifted norms and attitudes. This is part of the larger MEAL approach, which collects data to monitor and evaluate all seven outcome areas. Findings presented here feed into the final evaluation of the SP programme wherein results of all outcome areas will be linked and validated.

1.2 PROJECT OVERVIEW C&F IN NIGER

The C&F project in Niger contributes to building a Niger in which conflict-affected populations of the regions of Diffa and Tillabéri enjoy more protection of their rights and live in a more secure and stable environment. This impact is deemed beyond the immediate control of the project, especially due to ongoing security challenges in Niger, described in section **1.2.3 Country Context for Niger**. However, the project will work towards involving more women, young people and men directly or through CSOs in peaceful conflict management at various levels (local, national and regional) to contribute to a more conducive environment for peace.

1.2.1 TARGET GROUPS

The project had the initial aim of reaching 270,000 people directly or indirectly living in eight communes in Diffa and Tillabery composed mainly of young people and women. By region, the project intended to reach 240,000 people in Tillabéri and 30,000 in Diffa. However, during the inception phase a new target of 81,000 was adopted, representing 30% of the total population in communes targeted by the project. In addition to young people and women, this total also included 300 religious leaders and opinion leaders and 200 participants in the annual regional exchange meeting on the issues and challenges of human rights in the context of armed conflict and terrorism.

1.2.2 ACTIVITIES FOR INCREASING THE CITIZENS' VOICE, SHIFTING ATTITUDES AND NORMS AND BUILDING KNOWLEDGE

- Peace Committees were established by the project in collaboration with customary and formal authorities and communities themselves in eight communes targeted by the project in the regions of Diffa and Tillabéri. The project supports Peace Committees through providing technology (tablets) for documenting and reporting cases of human rights violations, training for members on human rights protection, peaceful conflict resolution and peace building. Peace Committees have both an early-warning role to monitor and report conflict and insecurity as well as an awareness-raising and capacity-building role in targeted communities on topics including respect for human rights, supporting local actors involved in the resolution and management of conflicts and encouraging dialogue between citizens and local authorities on these themes. Peace Committees are made up of voluntary members who represent young people, women, cattle ranchers, farmers, religious leaders and representatives of civil society active on human rights. These groups support peace and conflict resolution by raising awareness among community members about violent extremism, radicalization, social and inter-community cohesion, and by denouncing human rights violations committee by terrorist groups and the armed forces.
- Community forums (caravans) organized by the project were conducted as one-day events in targeted communities to help develop cultural activities and influence religious preaching to be more supportive of peace and stability and to be more positive to towards the active involvement of women and youth in conflict resolution. Community forums were designed to be held twice during project implementation in targeted communities and support shifting citizens' attitudes and norms as well as increased knowledge on security issues and access to justice.

- Trainings on conflict prevention, the management/transformation of conflict and the roles that
 women and young people can play were also implemented by the project, with an intended
 frequency of two sessions during project implementation. Trainings covered the defence and
 protection of human rights, how to identify and follow-up on cases of human rights abuses as
 well as conducting advocacy with authorities on conflict prevention and management. Trainings
 should contribute to citizens raising their voices and taking action on resolving conflict and
 building peace, especially among women and young people, as well as to greater knowledge.
- Identification and capacity strengthening of women and youth leaders in targeted communities to act as models of change for peace and stability. The identification and coaching of youth, women and religious leaders as agents for change has been a core strategy from the start of the project. The project has targeted one recruitment drive for new leaders in targeted communities during project implementation. Developing new leaders should contribute most directly to building the capacity of young people and women to raise their voices and take action to promote peace and stability.
- Media campaigns on local radio stations The project supported the diffusion of radio messages related to sources of conflict, including deradicalization at risk of involvement in violent extremism, the management of shared resources, access to water points, animal theft and storage of animal feed, and how conflicts can be avoided, managed and resolved. Media campaigns are intended to be broadcast once per week in areas targeted by the project, and should contribute most directly to building knowledge around these themes.

1.2.3 COUNTRY CONTEXT FOR NIGER

Niger faces some of the most pressing development challenges of any country: the country ranks last out of 189 countries on the 2019 Human Development Index, a composite indicator of development comprising measures of the health, education and income of the population (UNDP, 2019).

Conflict has continued to affect the regions of Tillabéri, in the south-west of the country, and Diffa in the far south-east during project implementation. In Tillabéri, especially areas along the borders with neighbouring Mali and Burkina Faso, the security situation in the target areas has deteriorated in recent years, especially in the region of Tillabéri along the border with neighbouring Mali. Communities in border areas have suffered from incursions by armed non-state actors since 2012, resulting in loss of life and property and driving internal displacement of thousands of people from affected communities. Insecurity in the border region has further intensified since 2018 (OCHA, 2020). More recently, attacks against military posts in Tillabéri by militant groups claimed the lives of 160 military personnel from Niger in December 2019 and January 2020 (Jeune Afrique, 2020).

In Diffa, a state emergency was declared in February 2015 due to incursions of the Boko Haram group from Nigeria and violence perpetrated by other armed groups operating in the region and the larger Lake Chad area, including the killing, harming and kidnapping of civilians. Although emergency measures were eased in 2019, many continue to face insecurity in the region and 260,000 people in Diffa are displaced, either internally or as refugees from neighbouring Nigeria (OCHA, 2020). The threat of violence and the response of the security services and the state to contain it (closing markets, limiting civilian movements and economic activity) have exacerbated poverty conditions, contributed to rising tensions between communities and driven competition for scarce resources (Ahmed, 2018).

2 EVALUATION QUESTIONS

The evaluation questions below guided the evaluation and the selection of indicators to measure and methods to use to measure and analyse them.

Table 2 Evaluation Questions

Main evaluation question:

To what extent have the activities implemented by the C&F Niger project contributed to changes in the citizens' voice, shifted attitudes and norms, and increased knowledge on security issues and access to justice?

Sub questions:		
1 The citizens' voice	2. Shifted attitudes	 Knowledge on security issues and access to justice
Q1.1 Is there an increase in citizens taking action to access justice and promote peace in targeted communes? Q1.2 What is the capacity of women and youth to contribute to the construction of peace in conflict zones?	Q2 Does the project increase peaceful attitudes in targeted communes?	Q3 Does the project increase knowledge of security issues and how to access justice among citizens in targeted communes?
Q1.3 Do local leaders, Peace Committees and Youth Peace Committees successfully promote peaceful attitudes and encourage citizens to take action in targeted communes?		

In addition to investigating the impacts of the project on the outcomes voice and shifted norms and attitudes, the report will also dive deeper into determinants or factors that influence whether citizens raise their voice, shift attitudes and norms, or gain knowledge. Particularly related to raising the citizens' voice and taking action against injustice, or to fight for human rights, the project seeks to understand if citizens are themselves taking action to access justice and promote the resolution of conflict in targeted communities (Q1.1) and what capacities women and youth feel they have to contribute to building peace and resolving conflict (Q1.2). The project also wants to know how actors like Peace Committees and local leaders contribute to encouraging citizens to take action. This question will be addressed alongside exploring whether and how citizens take action and raise their voices on questions of conflict and peace. Throughout the analysis below, we also explore whether outcomes are the same for women and men.

3 EVALUATION DESIGN

3.1 EVALUATION DESIGN

The research for this report was a quasi-experimental impact assessment³, meaning that the impact of the project was assessed by comparing a group of project participants (target group) to a similar group of people that did not participate in the project (comparison group). This was done at the start of the project (baseline) and the end of the project (endline). This allowed us to see to what extent changes in outcomes were a result of the project itself, meaning that any changes could ideally be attributed to the project's activities. This methodology helps to avoid confusing changes in the context in which the project is implemented or other non-project related influences with the actual impact of the project. The people in the comparison group were assumed to provide a reasonable "counterfactual", an approximation of what would have happened in the target group if the project had never happened.

The quasi-experimental impact assessment is complemented by a qualitative research, called 'Stories of Change' (SoC). Interviewers collected these stories via in-depth interviews, using a semi-structured questionnaire. The questionnaire focused on understanding the experiences of Peace Committee members, including the successes they experienced as well as the barriers they faced in performing their tasks. Eight SoC interviews were collected during data collection for the quantitative impact study.

3.2 SAMPLING APPROACH

A multi-stage sampling approach was used to construct the samples for the baseline and endline studies. In the baseline sample, we purposively sampled two of the four communes in each of the regions. Therefore, of the eight total communes of intervention, the survey was conducted in four of them. Additionally, we selected three comparison communes (one in Diffa and two in Tillabéri) neighbouring the communes of intervention and with similar characteristics in terms of conflict dynamics.

Villages were sampled at random within each commune. Villages were weighted by their population size to aid the representativeness of the sample. Quotas for the number of households to sample within each village were also determined to be proportional to the estimated population size of the village. Individual households were sampled within the villages using the "random walks" approach of enumerators starting at a central point in each village, spinning a bottle or pen to determine the direction of walking, and interviewing every *n*th household encountered while walking in that direction. Here *n* represents a constant number chosen by the enumerator supervisor in each village sampled for this study.

The desired sample size for both the baseline and final studies was 700 households. The actual validated sample collected was 647 at baseline and 719 for the final study. The sample for the present study consists of 375 respondents in the target group (52%) and 344 in the comparison group (48%). We note that only about 48% of respondents in the target group reported personally experiencing or participating in one or more project activities.⁴ Random walks within villages produced a heavy gender skew in the baseline sample, which was 67% male and 33% female. A similar gender distribution in the sample was re-produced during data collection for the final study to maximize the comparability of the

³ In a fully experimental research design, participants are selected for the study at random and allocated to either the target or comparison group at random.

⁴ To ensure that our analysis was not affected by the large share of the target group that did not participate in any project activities, we ran the statistical analysis twice: once comparing the entire target group to the entire comparison group (the primary analysis featured here), and once again comparing only the target group that participated in project activities to the comparison group. There were only few differences in the results, which are noted in the text.

data collected at both points in time. This does have the liability of making gender-specific analysis more difficult, given the smaller sample available of responses from women.

Due to security reasons, the SoC interviews had to be collected by the survey enumerators and therefore have been collected in the communes sampled for the endline. The purposive sampling - in which we aimed to have a balance between men and women, young and older people - resulted in interviews with two women and six men. Four out of the respondents were youth (35 or younger) and four were over 35 years of age.

Please see **Annex 2** for full details on the sample.

3.3 SAMPLING CHANGES BETWEEN THE BASELINE AND ENDLINE AND DURING ENDLINE DATA COLLECTION

The sampling for the endline study differs from the sampling of the baseline study because of changes in the location of project activities since the inception phase and also due to security challenges in the field during data collection. The implications are that changes over time cannot be measured for the target group and that endline data are more reflective of responses from the region of Diffa than from Tillabéri.

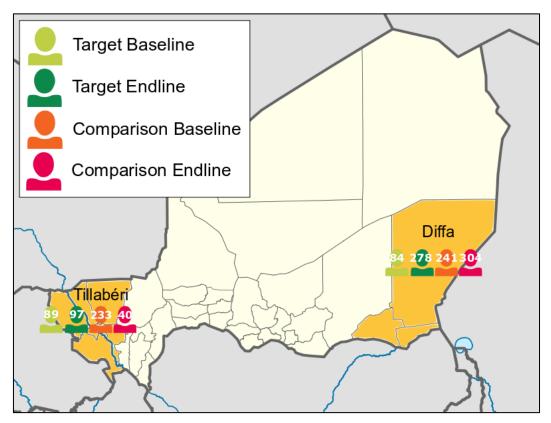
The geographic areas where the project implemented activities changed between the baseline and endline studies. Baseline data were collected in 24 communities envisioned to be part of the intervention area of the project (the target group). However, by late 2019 project activities were only being implemented in nine of these, as well as in other communities not previously sampled. Security challenges further limited access to some of these communities. This meant that only a small share of the original target group could be sampled again for the endline study, precluding measuring change over time in the target group.

The composition of the comparison group however was much more consistent between the baseline and endline samples. Therefore, we also looked at the change in the comparison group over time as a rough measure of how the context had changed in the wider intervention area during programme implementation. However, such comparisons should still be made with caution because the comparison group sample at endline is composed mostly of responses collected in Diffa, whereas the baseline comparison group was more evenly split between responses collected in Diffa and Tillabéri both areas. Security challenges forced further changes to the sampling during data collection. In three cases, the Government of Niger responded to security threats by requiring that humanitarian organizations travel under military escort on all operations in the field. Oxfam policy forbids operations under military or other armed escort, so these requirements effectively meant that data collection was effectively blocked following these decisions. The first security-related blockage was in the region of Diffa beginning on October 17th, 2019. Data collection in Diffa did not start until October 25th, when the travel restrictions were lifted. However, another blockage occurred in the region of Tillabéri starting on October 23rd, stopping work there as well. After consulting with project staff, the decision was made to end data collection in Tillabéri altogether and shift the remaining sample to Diffa. As a result, the endline is primarily reflective of respondents from Diffa, who comprise about 80% of the sample (the original distribution was roughly half of the sample collected in Diffa and Tillabéri each). While a limitation to this assessment, the security challenges in themselves confirm the relevance and urgency of this type of programming for the current context of Niger.

Figure 1 below shows the geographic distribution of the baseline and endline samples for the C&F study. The largest number of baseline and endline survey responses was collected in communities in the region of Diffa. In Tillabéri, before data collection had to be abandoned in late October 2019, enumerators collected 97 responses in targeted communities and 40 responses in comparison communities. Please note that the number of baseline responses displayed on the map reflects the

number retained after dropping responses from targeted villages where project activities were not actually implemented.

Figure 1: Map of Sampled Locations



3.4 ANALYSIS TECHNIQUES

To assess the contribution of a project to any one outcome, the standard approach is to investigate what has changed for people in the target group compared to what would have happened in the absence of our project (a so-called counterfactual approach). The measurement from the comparison group, people who are very similar to those in the target group but who did not benefit directly from any of the project interventions, provides this "counterfactual" trend against which the progress of the target group can be compared. Statistical analysis of the trends for the target and comparison groups, in comparison to each other, between the baseline and the endline can help to determine if a change observed in the target group can be attributed to the project itself (these are project "impacts"). Project impacts can be positive (participants have better outcomes than the comparison group) or negative (participants have worse outcomes than the comparison group).

The present study included baseline and endline measurements on a wide range of variables from both a target and a comparison group. However, our ability to pursue the impact analysis described above was severely limited by the changes in the geographic composition of the target group during project implementation. It was, regrettably, not possible to make valid comparisons for this target group between the baseline and the endline, given that only one village in the original target group sample that could be reached during endline data collection received any project activities. This meant that a different analytical approach had to be used, with the consequence that the impact of the C&F project in Niger was not possible to determine as originally envisioned and described above.

Nevertheless, to still determine as much as possible what impact may have looked like, we adapted our approach to allow us to indirectly measure the project's impact. For example, we used rigorous techniques to compare outcomes on attitudes and knowledge among respondents in the target group ¹⁴

to those from the comparison group at the endline only. If outcomes were significantly better for the target group than for the comparison group, this was evidence that the project *may have contributed* to these positive outcomes. Gender differences in the results were determined by calculating separately whether outcomes were better for men and women in the target group compared to men and women in the comparison group. In this report, when the endline outcome was significantly better for one gender, but not for the other, this is noted. All gender-specific outcomes are reported in the summary tables in **Section 4 Findings**.

Lastly, since the composition of the comparison group was relatively stable over time, we could consider changes in outcomes for the comparison group over time to determine if any major changes in the local context had occurred in recent years that could have had a bearing on the project's results.

We employed Propensity Score Matching (PSM) of respondents in the target and comparison groups at endline to ensure that our comparisons between these groups were as accurate as possible. It may be, for example, that some slight differences in the demographic or socio-economic characteristics of these groups make one group more likely to raise their voice on a particular topic or to have more prior knowledge of C&F topics. Using PSM helped to correct for any underlying differences between the target and comparison groups⁵ so that our comparisons between them were more likely to reveal "true" differences in the outcomes of most interest to the project. Findings in this report were based on calculations using weightings from this PSM model unless indicated otherwise.

Please see Annex 3 for more details on the quantitative analysis approach and PSM.

The SoC interviews were inductively coded, focusing on the topics of the endline survey: actions taken by the respondents and their community members (evaluation question 1.1), including recourse to the Peace Committees and local authorities (Q1.3) and understanding the role of women and youth in these committees (Q1.2). Next to that, the analysis also looked into the effect of the Peace Committees' actions on awareness (Q.2) and knowledge (Q.3) of citizens as well as on conflict resolution (Q.1.3). Lastly, it looked at respondents' feedback on their committee's functioning as well as the project's support.

3.5 READER'S NOTE ON RESULTS FIGURES AND TABLES

Most figures in this report visualize the results as bar graphs that show the proportion of respondents in the target and comparison groups at endline answering a question in a certain way or the average response to a given question by respondents in these two groups. Because data are based on responses from a sample of the people in the target and comparison groups, the results are subject to a degree of sampling error.⁶ These errors are visualized with a confidence interval in most figures, representing the range of the estimate at a confidence level of 95%. This means that, if the survey were re-run 20 times, the result obtained should fall within the range indicated by the confidence interval 19 of those 20 times. As a general rule of thumb, if the confidence intervals of two estimates overlap, then it is likely that there is no statistically significant difference between the estimates. If the confidence intervals do not overlap, then there is likely to be a significant difference between the estimates. However, there are exceptions to this general rule and readers are encouraged to rely on the report text and summary tables for definitive results on which comparisons or associations are statistically significant and which not.

The following chapter on findings of the evaluation contains summary tables presenting the results of several separate analyses. Most of these analyses are described in the text, but the tables provide an

⁵ Covariates included in the analysis were age, gender, household head's gender, marital status, education, household head's education, literacy level, household head's literacy level, occupation, household head's occupation, Poverty Probability Index (PPI), and region.

⁶ In public opinion polling, this is commonly referred to as the "margin of error" of the poll.

overview of all the analyses performed for this report. In these tables, the equal sign (=) means that there is no significant difference or result to report. An upward-facing arrow (\checkmark) means that there is a significant and positive relationship. A downward-facing arrow (\searrow) means that there is a significant and negative relationship.

Significant here means that statistical tests show a contrast or association with a p-value of less than 0.05, a commonly-used threshold for a statistically significant result. Please note that the term significance is solely a statistical appraisal of an observed difference or relationship, which does not necessarily mean that a finding or result is *meaningful* or *notable* from a programmatic perspective.



4.1 DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS

The following data provides a snapshot of the key socio-economic characteristics of target group respondents and their households at endline⁷. The average age of respondents is 42 years old. Women are slightly overrepresented: 58% women and 42% men. Around half of target respondents indicate to be the household head (52%). The majority of respondents is married (87%).

Most respondents are employed in a field other than agriculture (40%), 35% is employed either in agriculture, hunting, fishing, etc., and 25% is unemployed. The unemployment rate is higher for women (34%) than for men (12%). Education levels are quite low, with 78% of the respondents not having completed any form of education. The low education levels are also reflected in the low literacy rate, as under one-fourth of respondents (23%) said they could read a short text. The literacy rate is higher for men (33%) than for women (15%).

The ultimate envisioned impact of the project is increased protection of rights and a more secure and stable environment for the populations in Tillabéri and Diffa. One of the questions put to respondents aimed to get a general sense of safety, and asked whether respondents in general feel safe in the community. The majority of respondents (72%) indicated they generally feel safe in their community, with no significant differences between women and men nor between target and comparison respondents.

4.2 THE CITIZENS' VOICE AND TAKING ACTION

The findings below relate to the project evaluation questions about the extent to which project activities have contributed to changes in citizens' voice. More specifically, we examine if there is a difference in citizens taking action to access justice and promote peace in targeted communities (Q1.1), what capacities women and youth have to contribute to the construction of peace (Q1.2) and whether local leaders and Peace Committees encourage action and promote peaceful attitudes in their communities (Q1.3).

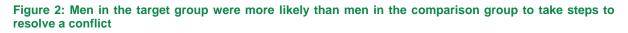
4.2.1 ACTION TO ACCESS JUSTICE AND PROMOTE PEACE

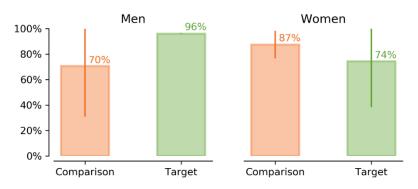
Raising the citizens' voice is about people taking action to make their concerns heard by duty-bearers, challenge the power of the state and corporate sector and have a say in the future direction of their society. It is also about ensuring that duty-bearers consult and take into account the citizens to whom they are accountable (however surveys will not measure this aspect of voice)). Voice is measured here as a citizen reporting having taken action on a particular topic, especially those related to the C&F project.

Respondents were asked if they had participated in any kind of collective or community action against injustice, or to fight for human rights, in the past year. On average 35% of respondents indicated they had done so, with no significant difference between target and comparison respondents.

⁷ Data is presented for the matched target group only.

A strong majority of respondents (83%) in both the target and comparison groups said they had taken steps to resolve a conflict in the community. Men in the target group were more likely to report taking action than men in the comparison group (Figure 2). There was no significant difference among women.

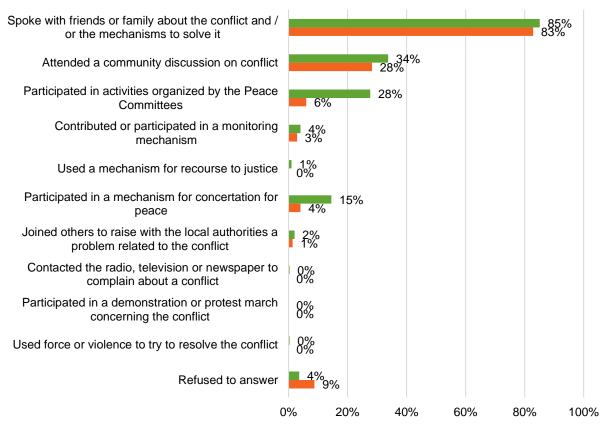




Source: SP NI C&F endline surveys, n men=339, n women=330

Respondents who indicated they had helped resolve a conflict in the community were asked what type of action they took. The most frequently-mentioned actions were talking with friends and family about the conflict and attending a community discussion on conflict (Figure 3). Among respondents who said they took action, those in the target group took a significantly greater number of actions than those in the comparison group, although the absolute difference was modest (1.7 vs 1.3 respectively).

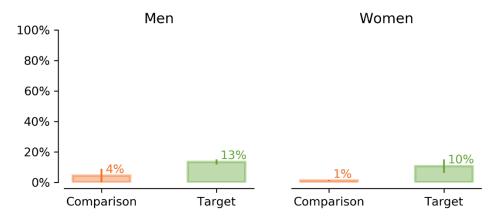
Figure 3: Speaking with family or friends about conflict is the most common step taken to help resolve conflict



Target Comparison

One of the strategies of the C&F project is to help establish and support Peace Committees to spread awareness and knowledge within communities about preventing and managing conflict. On average 8% of respondents indicated being a member of a Peace Committee, although the percentage was significantly higher among the target group (Figure 4).





Source: SP NI C&F endline surveys, n men=357, n women=345

Making use of formal justice institutions to settle disputes and seek justice is another aspect of what we consider 'taking action'. However, only six percent of respondents indicated that they had sought recourse from justice institutions for help settling disputes or obtaining reparations. There were no significant differences between the target and comparison groups on this measure.

The Stories of Change show that appreciation of recourse to justice institutions is mixed. One respondent sees recourse to the police or justice institutions as negative and recourse to community leaders and peace committees as a positive action. Another person has a more positive appreciation, describing a case where the Peace Committee and local authorities worked side by side to resolve a conflict between fighting farmers and pastoralists. Yet another one told a story of how community members, when they learned that their peers were arrested for engaging in a fight, resorted to the Peace Committee to negotiate with the local authorities:

"Last year, two young men got into a fight, a worker who was engaged with a young lady, and another one, a student. The engaged man came across the boy and the two started to argue until the engaged man lost control and slapped the boy, accusing him of wanting to go out with his fiancé. This fight brought them before the court in Nguigmi. As soon as his friends heard about this, they resorted to us, members of the Peace Committee, explaining their problem and clarified that they got into this fight out of jealousy. Aware that he had slapped indeed, we sent one of our committee members to inquire at the court of Ngiugmi about the boy. Before we went there, we reflected on who should go and decided on a representative from the youth group and a representative of the Peace Committee. Once before the judge, the committee members presented themselves and asked whether they could intervene in this case. When the members provided all the explanations to the judge, the two parties came to understand each other and apologized." (Respondent 2, male, 38 years)

4.2.2 CAPACITIES OF WOMEN AND YOUTH TO CONTRIBUTE TO PEACE

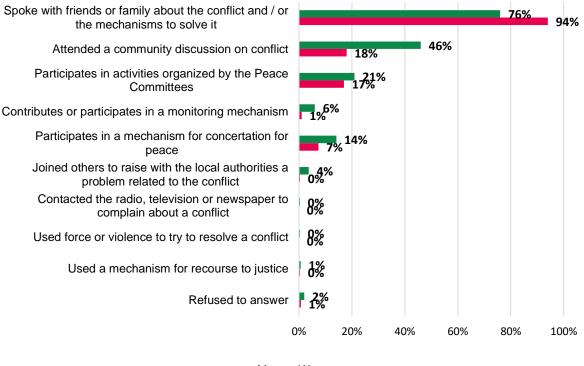
What is the capacity of women and youth to contribute to the construction of peace in conflict zones? There is no single indicator of the capacity to contribute to peace. We considered differences between women and men, and between youth (35 years old or younger) and older adults (above 35 years old), in their perceptions of having a role to play in conflict resolution, feeling able to change things in the community, their social norms around conflict resolution, membership in Peace Committees and actual steps taken to resolve conflicts.

The majority of women (83%) and men (84%) agreed that they have a role to play in conflict resolution. Female respondents were generally positive about their ability to change things in their community if they want to -36% said it was possible to do this but with difficulty, while 43% said it would be easy - though men were significantly more optimistic than women about their ability to change things at the community level, which in part seems to reflect Niger's persistently male -dominated society.

Women were quite positive about social norms regarding participation in conflict resolution: 83% said they think participating is desirable (compared to 77% of men⁸) and 76% indicated that it was common in their communities (compared to 71% of men). In fact, women were more positive about how desirable other community members would see their participation in conflict resolution than men (mean value of 5.7 vs 5.5 on average), which may reveal friction between positive attitudes of women about their participation with more negative attitudes of men based on traditional norms.

On average, 8% of female respondents were part of a Peace Committee, roughly the same share as among men (9%). A large majority of female respondents (79%) reported having taken steps to resolve conflicts although the percentage among men was higher (88%).⁹ In terms of specific steps taken, more women than men said they had spoken with friends and family about conflict. However, men were more likely to have attended community discussions, contributed to monitoring mechanisms and participated in mechanisms for concertation for peace (**Error! Reference source not found.**). This gender contrast may in part reflect that men are still much more able to participate in outside discussions beyond the family sphere.

Figure 5 Speaking with family and friends is the most common action taken by men and women to help resolve conflict, though men are more likely than women to attend community discussions about conflict



Men Women

Most youth respondents (80%) recognized their own role to play in conflict resolution. Young people were also mostly positive about whether they can change things in their community: 16% said it was

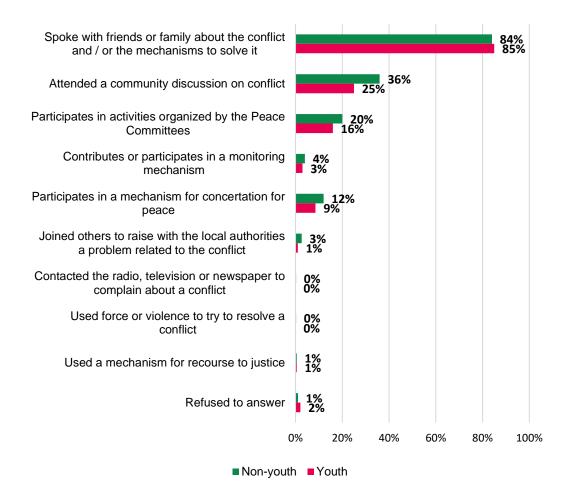
⁸ This difference is statistically significant.

⁹ These percentages are for the entire sample, target and comparison groups combined.

not at all possible but 33% said it is possible but with difficulty and a majority of 51% said it is easy to do so (compared to respectively 13%, 32%, and 55% for older adults). Strong majorities of youth respondents had positive social norms regarding participation in conflict resolution: 80% thought it was desirable and 78% indicated that it was common (compared to respectively 80% and 71% for older adults).

On average 6% of youth respondents said they were a Peace Committee member (across the treatment and comparison groups together). On average 82% of youth respondents had already taken steps to resolve conflict in the community. Specific actions taken were similar for young people and for older adults, although young people were significantly less likely to have attended community discussions about conflict (Figure).

Figure 6: Steps taken by youth and older adults to resolve conflict are similar, though youth are less likely to attend community discussions



4.2.3 LOCAL LEADERS AND PEACE COMMITTEES

Do local leaders and Peace Committees successfully promote peaceful attitudes and encourage citizens to take action in targeted communes? Results from this survey and the SoC interviews suggest some positive steps in this direction. For example, male respondents in communities targeted by the project were more likely than men in comparison communities to have taken action to resolve a conflict in their community. Respondents in the target group have more trust in local authorities and civil society to help resolve conflict than respondents in the comparison group. However, we have insufficient evidence to show that local leaders and Peace Committees have been successful in driving these results. One clear finding from the SoC interviews though is that Peace Committees would likely be more effective with more support from the project.

The SoC results describe instances in which the Peace Committees promoted peaceful attitudes. Peace Committee members mention that they have been informing community members on topics like human rights, sources of violence and peaceful conflict resolution. In addition, they supported community members when they were brought to justice. Lastly, they have been mediating between groups when they got into a violent conflict, sometimes on their own and other times together with the local authorities. One respondent described how the Peace Committee mediated between two groups of youth:

"Last year, on a Thursday evening there was a fight between two opposing groups of youth in the village. The cause of the problem was that two young men, one in each group, both were in love with a young girl. The group from the Southern neighbourhood were confronted by the group from the Nothern neighbourhood, armed with sticks, chains and slingshots. This fight resulted in a multiple young people being wounded. One young person had a head wound with blood pouring out. After he was brought to the Emergency Department to be taken care of, very early the next morning the Peace Committee called the two groups to the office of the youth [committee]. A consensus was reached, the two groups apologised to one another and agreed not to continue." (Respondent 7, 27, female and youth representative)

Another respondent also shared an experience in which the Peace Committee intervened:

"In 2018, pastoralist Peulhs and agriculturalist Kanuri from a village south of Chétimari got into a fight. The pastoralists brought their animals into a field. Immediately when he became aware of the herd in his field, the farmer ran towards the animals, trying to get them out of his field. The herder shot the farmer in his back with an arrow. Once they heard the news, both groups took up their arms: arrows, knifes, scythe. Unfortunately, the fight led to two deaths on the side of the pastoralists and two deaths on the side of the farmers." (While telling the story, the respondent shakes his head and he cries.) "When the representative of the farmers within the Peace Committee hear about the news, he went quickly to the site. Together with some other members, he managed to calm things down before calling the police, who came quickly." (Respondent 1, male, 25 years old and youth representative)

Several challenges limit committee members' ability to in promote peaceful attitudes and support conflict resolution. Some of these challenges are linked to external factors, while others can be linked to the C&F project's support. SoC interviewees tell how community members distrusted the committees (at first), thinking the committee members 'only did it for the money', sometimes even insulting them. The Peace Committee members have tried to deal with this by informing others about their roles and showing in practice how they can support. A second challenge is that there are too few Peace Committees in certain *communes*, while there would ideally be a committee in each village. As a result, the Peace Committee is not aware of all that is happening. This again leads to a weakened role of the committee:

"The absence of these Peace Committees in certain zones led to the committee having less autonomy and less power to be heard and consulted by the authorities." (Respondent 3, male, 55 farmers' representative)

Other challenges are linked to support provided by the project. Some respondents indicated that a lack of devices (tablets) hampers efforts of the Peace Committees to document and report conflicts. Half of the SoC interviewees complained about the lack of training and continuous support provided by the project. Though several respondents shared stories of successful negotiation, one respondent linked a lack of positive change in his village in part to the lack of training provided by the project.

4.2.4 TENTATIVE CONCLUSION

Findings from this section on citizens' voice show that respondents in the target group are more likely to be members of Peace Committees than respondents in the comparison group, though they are not

more likely to have taken action against injustice or to fight for human rights. Men, though not women, in the target group are more likely to have taken steps to help resolve a conflict and also have undertaken more actions to resolve conflict than men in the comparison group. Women and youth perceive they have strong capacities to contribute to building peace. These include a strong belief that they have a role to play, optimism that they can change things in their communities and favourable attitudes towards participating in reducing conflict and building peace. This provides a great basis for any kind of influencing or campaigning activities. In addition, local leaders and Peace Committees actions to shift attitudes and promote citizen action on peace are acknowledged by respondents but could have a wider reach in communities targeted by the project if there would be more Peace Committees and if they would receive more training and support.

The table below summarizes the results for raising the citizens' voice, grouped by the evaluation question each result responds to. Column #1 indicates if the target or comparison group had a more favourable outcome at the endline relative to the goals of the project. Column #2 indicates if outcomes were better at the endline for men in the target group, compared to men in the comparison group. Column #3 provides the same overview for target group women compared to comparison group women. Column #4 indicates if there was any significant change in the results for the comparison group for each indicator over time, and if so, whether the change was positive or negative.

Theme	Outcome variable	#1.) ALL: Which group has better outcomes at endline?	#2.) MEN: Which group has better outcomes at endline?	3.) WOMEN: Which group has better outcomes at endline?	4.) Has there been significant change in the counterfactual since baseline?
Is there a commun	an increase in citizens takir es?	ng action to a	ccess justice a	ind promote p	beace in targeted
Voice	Have you participated in any collective/community action against any injustice or to fight for rights, in the past year?	=	=	=	=
	Have you ever taken steps to help resolve a conflict in this community?	=	Target	=	1
	If yes, how many steps have you taken to help resolve a conflict in this community?	Target	Target	=	=
	Are you a member of a peace committee?	Target	Target	Target	×
	Have you ever resorted to justice as a means of settling local disputes or obtaining reparations?	=	=	=	=
				WOMEN: Which group has better	YOUTH: Which group has better outcomes at endline?

Table 3 - Summary Table: Findings on Raising the Citizens' Voice

What is the zones?	he capacity of women and youth to contribute to the co	outcomes at endline? Instruction of	peace in conflict
Citizens ' role in	Do you think you would have a role to play in resolving conflicts in your current community?	=	=
conflict resoluti on	Do you feel that people like yourself can generally change (improve) things in your community if they want to?		=
Voice	Are you a member of a peace committee?	Target	II
	Have you ever taken steps to help resolve a conflict in this community?		I
Social norms	What will be the reaction of other members of this community if you speak in public intervene in a role of mediation of conflict or in the activities of sensitization on the conflict?	=	=
	How many other people in this community take a role in conflict resolution?		

4.3 ATTITUDES AND NORMS ON C&F

This section responds to the second evaluation question: "Does the project increase peaceful attitudes in targeted communities?" To answer this question, we examine attitudes about political and institutional trust and the role of authorities and citizens in conflict resolution. We also look at factors that help shape these attitudes and perceptions, like social norms on citizens' participation in conflict resolution and attitudes towards empowerment.

4.3.1 POLITICAL AND INSTITUTIONAL TRUST

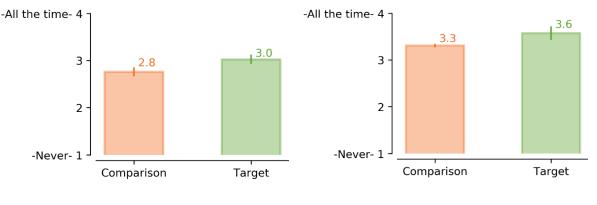
Respondents were asked how often they trust a list of nine organisations and institutions in doing the right thing¹⁰. We recategorized these actors into (1) authorities, (2) civil society, and (3) private sector, and calculated the mean value for these groups On average respondents trust civil society the most, followed by authorities and lastly the private sector. Reflecting on these results with project staff and partners, one potential explanation offered was that civil society, which includes traditional leaders, NGOs and CSOs, are trusted most because they are the most visible of these institutions to citizens and are perceived as being most responsive to their needs. There is no significant difference between target and comparison respondents in terms of their trust level.

Respondents were asked how often they trust a list of seven organisations and institutions to resolve conflicts¹¹. Again, we recategorized these actors into (1) authorities, and (2) civil society, and calculated the mean value for these groups. On average respondents had higher trust in civil society than in authorities in resolving conflict. This is confirmed by the SoC research, where different respondents related how citizens asked Peace Committees to negotiate with justice institutions or asked them to intervene in a conflict rather than going to the authorities directly. For both authorities (Figure 7) as well as civil society (Figure 8), target respondents more frequently trust these actors in resolving conflicts than comparison respondents.

¹⁰ This list includes religious leaders, traditional leaders, local CSOs, international NGOs, media, big companies, tax authorities, local government, and central government.

¹¹ This list includes marabouts, religious leaders, traditional leaders, local CSOs, locally elected representatives, and local government.

Figure 7: Target respondents more frequently trust authorities in resolving conflicts than comparison respondents Figure 8: Target respondents more frequently trust civil society in resolving conflicts than comparison respondents



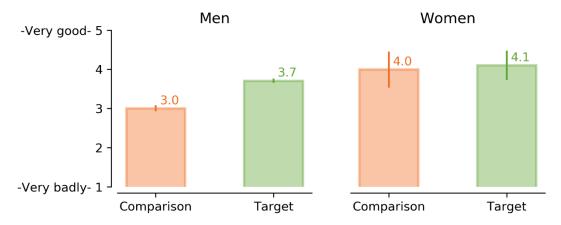
Source: SP NI C&F endline surveys, n=710

Source: SP NI C&F endline surveys, n=714

4.3.2 ATTITUDES ON AUTHORITIES' ROLE IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Satisfaction with the performance of state institutions in conflict resolution issues can influence whether or not citizens turn to the local authorities and representatives in times of conflict. In order to assess the attitudes of citizens towards the state's performance in conflict resolution, respondents were asked to what extent they thought local authorities and elected representatives were fulfilling their obligations towards the population. On average target respondents are more positive about this fulfilment of obligations than comparison respondents, although when zooming in on subgroups by gender this effect only holds for male respondents. On average women are more positive about how authorities are fulfilling their obligations than men (Figure 9).

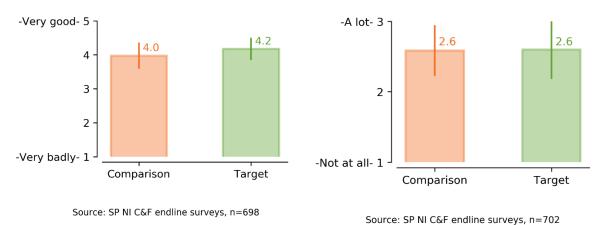




Source: SP NI C&F endline surveys, n men=353, n women=340

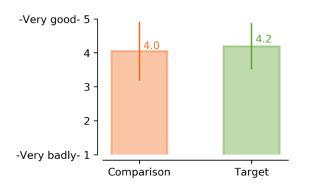
Subsequently respondents were asked whether local authorities and locally elected representative were facilitating the participation of the population in conflict resolution (Figure 10). Again respondents are quite positive: on a scale from 1 to 5 respondents rate the facilitation with 4.1 on average. There are no significant differences in attitudes here between target and comparison respondents. Similarly, the majority of respondents is quite positive about the extent to which their views on conflict are of interest to local authorities (Figure 11); there is no difference here between target and comparison respondents.

Figure 10: Target and comparison respondents have similar attitudes on the extent to which authorities facilitate the participation of the population in conflict resolution Figure 11: Target and comparison respondents have similar attitudes on the extent to which their views on the conflict are of interest to local authorities



Lastly, respondents were asked to rate the management of the conflict by local authorities (Figure 12). Again they have quite positive attitudes: authorities are rated 4.1 on a scale from 1 to 5. Target and comparison respondents have similar attitudes on conflict management by authorities.







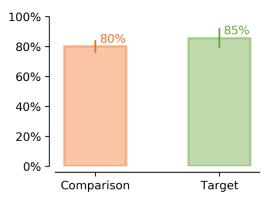
4.3.3 ATTITUDES ON CITIZENS' ROLE IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION

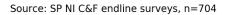
We assume that citizens who feel that it is possible to make a positive change in their communities are more likely to take action to try to make a change. The majority of respondents feel they could generally change (improve) things in the community if they want to: 78%. Around one-third of this group, however, recognize that it is possible – but with a little difficulty. There is no significant difference between target and comparison respondents in terms of how they perceive citizens' influence in making a positive change in their communities.

An individual's attitudes and perceptions of their own capacities and motivation to play a role in conflict resolution can influence whether or not they take action to resolve conflicts in their community. Respondents were therefore asked whether they thought they could play a role in resolving conflicts in their community. The majority of respondents recognizes this role (on average 83%), and there is no significant difference between target and comparison respondents (Figure 13).¹²

¹² If we compare only target group respondents who participated in at least one project activity, then the target group percentage is significantly higher than that of the comparison group.

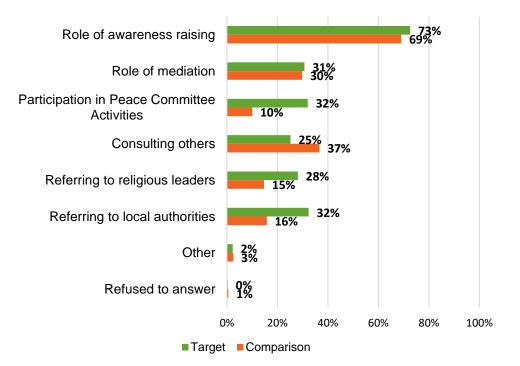
Figure 13: Similarly high percentages of target and comparison respondents recognize that they have a role to play in conflict resolution





Those respondents who recognize their role in conflict resolution were asked which roles these could be. On average, the most frequently mentioned roles are awareness raising (70%), mediation (32%), and consultation (32%) (Figure 14). Participants in the February 2020 reflection session remarked that it was surprising that the mediation was not reported by a greater percentage in the target group, as this has been a focus of the project, which will prompt some further research into learning more about why this has not been the case.

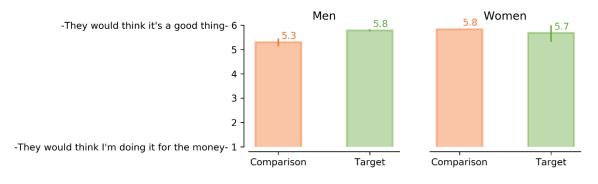
Figure 14: Awareness raising about conflict is the role that most respondents feel they can play in conflict resolution



4.3.4 SOCIAL NORMS ON CITIZENS' PARTICIPATION IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Respondents were asked how other community members (regardless of gender) would react if they were speaking in public, intervene in a role of conflict mediation, and/or participate in any other conflict sensitization activity. On average respondents are quite positive about this reaction: they rate the desirability of participating in conflict sensitization with 5.6 on a scale from 1 to 6. There is no significant difference here between target and comparison respondents, although when zooming in on gender there is a significantly higher effect on men that were targeted by the project (Figure 15).

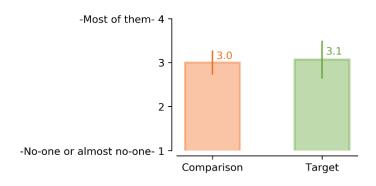
Figure 15: Men in the target group feel their participation in conflict resolution would be seen more favouably in their community than men in the comparison group

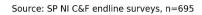


Source: SP NI C&F endline surveys, n men=348, n women=330

When asking respondents how many other people in the community take a role in conflict resolution (Figure 16), again there are no significant differences between target and comparison respondents: the majority of respondents indicates quite a lot/most of community members do so (on average 3.1 on a scale from 1 to 4). This is fairly close to the actual percentage of respondents who said they had taken some action to resolve a conflict in their community in the past year: 83% in the target and comparison groups combined.

Figure 16: Target and comparison respondents feel that many people in their community participate in conflict resolution





A majority of respondents recognizes the importance of women's participation in resolving local conflicts; target and comparison respondents recognize this importance similarly. Women and men both rate the participation of women as important (Figure 17). This is confirmed in the SoC interviews, where all but one respondent indicated that the participation of women is important. Reasons given for the importance are the fact that women are often part of the conflict, and suffer from its consequences more than men. Committees are composed of representatives of different interest groups (youth, women, farmers etc.) and these play an active role in performing the committee's duties.

Figure 17: Target and comparison respondents similarly recognize the high importance of women's participation in conflict resolution



Source: SP NI C&F endline surveys, n men=354, n women=342

4.3.5 ATTITUDES TOWARDS EMPOWERMENT

Empowerment is whether people have the capacity and opportunity to make their own decisions, a form of agency, and capacity to take their desired decisions (Alsop & Heinsohn, 2005). Empowerment has many different interpretations and ways of measurement. One can be empowered in different domains of life. Increasing empowerment in one domain may lead to spill over into other domains (Ibrahim & Alkire, 2007). We measured two aspects of empowerment at endline: self-esteem and gender attitudes.

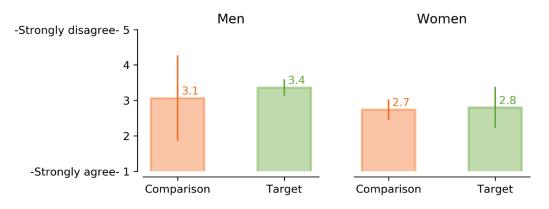
Conceptualizations of empowerment often include measures of self-esteem. Self-esteem was selected to proxy the capacity of a person to change aspects of their own life; individuals with higher self-esteem are more likely to have the power to change certain things in their life. Citizens with low levels of self-esteem are therefore also less likely to voice their concerns towards duty bearers. On a score from 1 to 5, on average respondents give themselves 4.5 when rating their own level of self-esteem. There is no significant difference between target and comparison respondents in terms of their level of self-esteem.

Fostering gender justice is at the heart of our programming. Women are often at a disadvantage in comparison to men in terms of different aspects of empowerment. We measure attitudes on gender equality to provide a general picture of attitudes towards women's empowerment. Such attitudes, when held by women themselves, or by others in society, may have an influence on the willingness and possibilities for women to raise their voices. Respondents were asked about their attitude to gender equality in three domains: education, work and political leaders:

- 1. A good education is more important for a boy than for a girl.
- 2. When women work outside the home, the whole family suffers.
- 3. On the whole, men make better political leaders than women do.

We've estimated the average level of gender equal attitudes by taken the mean of these three statements. On average respondents score 3.1 on a scale from 1 to 5. Target and comparison respondents have similar attitudes when it comes to gender equality (Figure 18). Interestingly, men's attitudes are significantly more in favour of gender equality than women's. Reflection session participants suggested this is an accurate reflection of widely-held attitudes about gender roles in Niger, which may be held even more firmly by women than by men, especially in rural villages.

Figure 18: The target and comparison group have similar attitudes towards gender equality, although men are somewhat more supportive of gender equality than women on average



Source: SP NI C&F endline surveys, n men=357, n women=346

4.3.6 TENTATIVE CONCLUSION

This section has looked at whether respondents from communities targeted by the project hold levels of trust, attitudes and norms more conducive to peace than their peers from comparison communities. By and large, responses to questions about trust in institutions and organizations, the role of authorities and citizens in conflict resolution, social norms on citizen's participation in conflict resolution and attitudes towards empowerment are very similar between these two respondent groups. However, target group respondents are more likely to say that they trust authorities and civil society to play a positive role in resolving conflict. Men in the target group are more likely than men in the comparison group to feel that local government and elected officials are fulfilling their obligations towards citizens and that other community members would approve of them intervening in a role of mediation of conflict or in the activities of sensitization on the conflict. We note that the trend in these measures in the comparison group is towards less trust and approval of these actors and actions since the baseline. This seems to suggest that the project may have positive impact in terms of increasing trust in actors and actions that can change their situation.

The table below summarizes the results for the shifting attitudes and norms, grouped by the evaluation question each result responds to. Column #1 indicates if the target or comparison group had a more favourable outcome at the endline relative to the goals of the project. Column #2 indicates if outcomes were better at the endline for men in the target group, compared to men in the comparison group. Column #3 provides the same overview for target group women compared to comparison group women. Column #4 indicates if there was any significant change in the results for the comparison group for each indicator over time, and if so, whether the change was positive or negative.

Theme	Outcome variable	ALL: Which group has better outcomes at endline?	MEN: Which group has better outcomes at endline?	WOMEN: Which group has better outcomes at endline?	Has there been significant change in the counterfactual since baseline?
Does the project	increase peaceful attit	udes and per	ceptions of r	orms in targe	eted communes?
Institutional	How often do you				
trust	trust authorities to do	_		=	
	the right thing?				

Table 54 - Summary Table: Findings on Shifted Attitudes and Norms

	How often do you			_	
	trust civil society to do the right thing?		=	-	-
	How often do you				
	trust the private				
	sector to do the right		=		=
	thing?				
	How often do you				
	trust authorities to	Target	_	_	
	resolve conflicts?	rarget			
	How often de veu				
	How often do you trust civil society to				
	resolve conflicts?	Target	=	=	
Authorities'	To what extent do				
role in conflict	you think local				
resolution	authorities and local				
	elected	Target	Target	_	
	representatives are			—	
	fulfilling their				
	obligations to the population?				
	To what extent do				
	local authorities and				
	local elected				
	representatives				
	facilitate the		=	=	=
	participation of the				
	population in conflict				
	resolution?				
	To what extent are				
	your views on the				
	conflict of interest to local authorities and	=		=	=
	local authonities and				
	officials?				
	What do you think of				
	the management of				
	the conflict by local			_	_
	authorities and local				
	elected				
	representatives?				
Citizens' role in	Do you think you				A .
conflict	would have a role to	_		_	
resolution	play in resolving conflicts in your	=		=	
	current community? ¹³				-
	If yes, how many	_		_	
	roles do you have to				
1	play in resolving				* *

¹³ If we compare only target group respondents who participated in at least one project activity, then the target group percentage is significantly higher than that of the comparison group.

					1
	conflicts in your				
	current community?				
	Do you feel that				
	people like yourself				
	can generally change			_	
	(improve) things in	_	_		-
	your community if				
	they want to?				
Social norms	What will be the				
on citizens'	reaction of other				
participation in	members of this				
conflict	community if you				
resolution	speak up in public or		Target		
	intervene in a role of		E Target		
	mediation of conflict				
	or in the activities of				
	sensitization on the				
	conflict?				
	How many other				
	people in this				
	community take a	_	_	=	
	role in conflict			—	
	resolution?				
Women's	How important is it to				
participation in	have women's				
conflict	participation to	_	_	=	
resolution	resolve local				
	conflicts?				
L		1		0	1

4.4 KNOWLEDGE SECURITY ISSUES AND ACCESS TO JUSTICE

This section addresses evaluation Question 3 "Does the project increase knowledge of security issues and access to justice of citizens in targeted communities?" We present results from questions about knowledge on the sources of conflict, conflict resolution mechanisms and the responsibilities of authorities towards citizens in times of conflict.

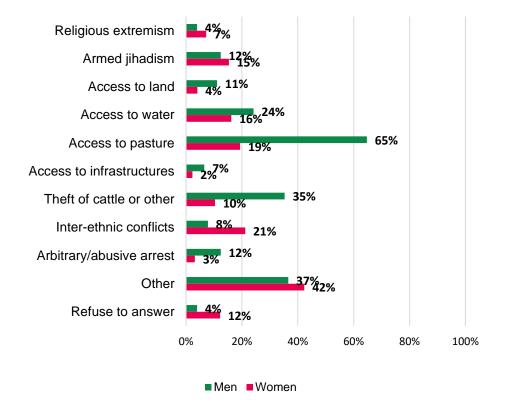
4.4.1 KNOWLEDGE ON SOURCES OF CONFLICT AND ISSUES OF INSECURITY

In order to assess the levels of knowledge about sources of conflict, as well as the perceptions of the principal sources of conflict in target communities, respondents were asked to name the main sources of conflict in their community (Figure 19 below)¹⁴. The most frequently mentioned source of conflict is access to pasture , cited by 19% of women and fully 65% of men. Access to water, cattle theft and "other" sources of conflict are also frequently mentioned. Respondents who said that "other" factors were sources of conflict in their communities may have been referring to control over economic opportunities or political influence, or disputes between families, religious groups or customary and formal justice institutions. Twenty-one percent of female target group respondents said inter-ethnic tension was a source of conflict in their community, compared to only 8% of male respondents.

¹⁴ The list that respondents could chose from includes: religious extremism, armed jihadism, land access, water access, pasture access, infrastructure access, theft of cattle or other, inter-ethnic conflict, arbitrary/abusive arrests, other, and refuse to answer. On average respondents listed 1.65 issues.

Religious extremism and armed jihad were cited by some respondents but were not among the most frequently-mentioned sources of conflict. This may be surprising in light of media attention to (jihadist) insurgents and terrorist networks in Niger and the Sahel region, and shows that access to basic resources pose greater security concerns for respondents than religious extremism and violence.

Figure 19 Access to pasture and other resources are leading causes of conflict, especially as reported by male respondents

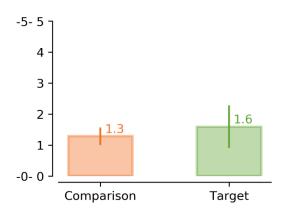


4.4.2 KNOWLEDGE ON CONFLICT RESOLUTION MECHANISMS AND ACCESS TO JUSTICE

Knowledge of different conflict resolution mechanisms is an important step in ensuring that conflicts are dealt with peacefully by communities. To gage their level of knowledge, respondents were asked what would they do in the event of a conflict in their community. On average the most frequently mentioned resolution mechanism is the use of local authorities (83%), which is followed by use of religious leaders (22%), use of the army/police (20%), and resource to the peace committee (18%). The preference for going to the local authorities contrasts with the very small percentage of respondents who said they had actually helped resolve a conflict by going to the local authorities. This may suggest a secondary knowledge gap among citizens in *how* to access local authorities, or reflect the presence of barriers to obtaining their help.

An indicator was constructed which represents the number of *peaceful* mechanisms mentioned by respondents, where these peaceful mechanisms are: (1) resources of the Peace Committee, (2) use of local authorities, (3) use of watchdog committees, (4) use of the army or the police, (5) use of religious leaders. If respondents gave an undesirable answer like indicating they would run away and/or resort to violence, the indicator is set to zero. There is no significant difference between the number of mechanisms that target and comparison respondents mention (Figure 20). However, men in the target group mention slightly more mechanisms than men in the comparison group. Still the overall picture is one of limited knowledge about the mechanisms for peaceful conflict resolution available: the average respondent could mention only two, although the number of mechanisms available may differ from community to community.

Figure 6: Target and comparison group mention a similar number of peaceful mechanisms they would resort to in case of an event of conflict in their community

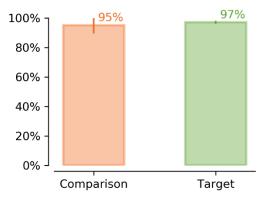


Source: SP NI C&F endline surveys, n=714

4.4.3 KNOWLEDGE ON AUTHORITIES' RESPONSIBILITIES TOWARDS CITIZENS IN CONFLICT

In order for citizens to effectively claim their rights, an awareness of the obligations of the state in ensuring those rights is a necessary reference point. To identify the levels of knowledge of state obligations towards citizens in times of conflict, respondents were asked whether local authorities have obligations towards the population in times of conflict (Figure 21).

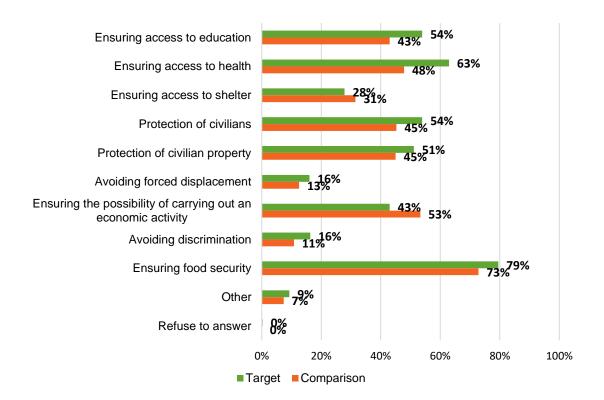
Figure 21: Target and comparison group respondents are nearly unanimous in their agreement that the state has obligations towards its citizens in times of conflict



Source: SP NI C&F endline surveys, n=708

Most respondents felt the state has obligations to citizens during conflict. We further asked respondents to enumerate those obligations. The most frequently mentioned obligations were on average related not to conflicts, but to basic social services and good governance: ensuring food security (80%), ensuring access to health (61%), ensuring the possibility of carrying out economic activities (51%), and ensuring access to education (50%). Only after that, respondents mentioned responsibilities that are more directly linked to times of conflict, such as protection of civilians and civilian property (Figure 22).

Figure 22: Ensuring food security and access to other goods and services are seen as priority obligations of the state in times of conflict



4.4.4 TENTATIVE CONCLUSION

Levels of knowledge about security issues and justice were very similar in the target and comparison groups on most topics, although in some cases their views converged in positive ways. For example, respondents were nearly unanimous in their agreement that the state has obligations towards its citizens in times of conflict. Respondents say conflict in their communities is more likely to be driven by competition of land and other resources than by religious extremism or armed jihad. This trend is important to take into account when designing future programming.

One contrast to note concerns the number of conflict resolutions mechanisms respondents would turn to in case of conflict. Men in the target group identified a slightly higher number of mechanisms than men in the comparison group, although there was no difference among women. Still, responses to this question demonstrated that knowledge of peaceful conflict resolution mechanisms is limited. Also, the gap between the widespread recognition of local authorities as a resource for resolving conflict peacefully and the very small percentage of respondents who said they had actually engaged local authorities to resolve a conflict bears repeating. It could be that this reflects a lack of knowledge about *how* to involve local authorities in conflict resolution, or the presence of barriers to doing so (such as political influence or monetary barriers). The project should reflect on these findings, to help citizens take greater advantage of local authorities as a resource for peaceful conflict resolution.

The table below summarizes findings for knowledge on security issues and knowledge about access to justice, grouped by the evaluation question each result responds to. Column #1 indicates if the target or comparison group had a more favourable outcome at the endline relative to the goals of the project. Column #2 indicates if outcomes were better at the endline for men in the target group, compared to men in the comparison group. Column #3 provides the same overview for target group women compared to comparison group women. Column #4 indicates if there was any significant change in the results for the comparison group for each indicator over time, and if so, whether the change was positive or negative.

Table 5 - Summary Table: Findings on Knowledge on Security Issues and Access to Justice

Theme	Outcome variable	ALL: Which group has better/higher outcome values at endline?	MEN: Which group has better/higher outcome values at endline?	endline?	baseline?
Does the project communes?	increase knowledge c	of security issue	es and access t	o justice of citi	zens in targeted
Sources of conflict	Number of sources of conflict mentioned.	-	=		=
	% of respondents indicating extremism / weapon jihadism as main source of conflict	=	=	=	X
	% of respondents indicating access to land/water/pasture/ infrastructure and/or cattle theft as main source of conflict	=	=	H	=
	% of respondents indicating inter- ethnic conflicts as main source of conflict	=	=	Target	=
Conflict resolution mechanisms	Number of <i>peaceful</i> conflict resolutions mentioned in case of conflict: resource for the peace committee, use of local authorities, use of watchdog committees, use of army or the police, use of religious leaders.	-	Target	=	-
Authorities' responsibilities	In your opinion, do local authorities and local elected officials <i>have obligations</i> to the population in times of conflict?	=	=	=	=
	If yes, number of state obligations mentioned.	=	=	=	1



This study aimed to provide answers to the main evaluation question of the C&F project in Niger:

To what extent have the activities implemented by the C&F contributed to changes in the citizens' voice, shifted attitudes and norms, and increased knowledge on security issues and access to justice?

Due to geographic shifts in the focus of the project since its inception and security-related challenges during data collection, we have approached this question primarily by testing whether the outcomes for key indicators for respondents living in the target communities were different and more desirable than those of respondents in comparison communities. Influencing citizens' actions and attitudes and building knowledge are difficult long-term processes, especially in a context as challenging as contemporary Niger. We highlight the following findings from this research in the areas of increasing the citizens' voice, shifting attitudes and building knowledge.

5.1.1 THE CITIZEN'S VOICE

Q1.1 Is there an increase in citizens taking action to access justice and promote peace in targeted communes?

Respondents in the target group are more likely to be members of Peace Committees than respondents in the comparison group, though they are not more likely to have taken action against injustice or to fight for human rights. Men, though not women, in the target group are more likely to have taken steps to help resolve a conflict and also undertook more actions to resolve conflict than men in the comparison group.

Q1.2 What is the capacity of women and youth to contribute to the construction of peace in conflict zones?

There is no one indicator for the capacity to contribute to peace but it is encouraging that strong majorities of women and youth respondents understand that they have a role to play in endling conflict, believe that they can change things in their communities if they want to and have taken steps on their own to end conflict. However, women are significantly less likely than men – and young people less likely than older adults – to attend community discussions about conflict and peace.

Q1.3 Do local leaders, Peace Committees and youth peace committees successfully promote peaceful attitudes and encourage citizens to take action in targeted communes?

Local leaders' and Peace Committees' actions to shift attitudes and promote citizen action on peace are acknowledged by respondents but could have a wider reach in communities targeted by the project. Fewer than half of respondents in targeted communities had personally experienced or participated in one or more of the project activities.

5.1.2 SHIFTED ATTITUDES & NORMS

Q2 Does the project increase peaceful attitudes in targeted communes?

By most measures of attitudes and norms included in this survey, we see little differences in the responses provided by the target and comparison groups. On some measures, like the belief that the 37

state has obligations to citizens in times of conflict, support for this position is already very high. However, target group respondents are more likely to say that they trust authorities and civil society to play a positive role in resolving conflict. Men in the target group are more likely than men in the comparison group to feel that local government and elected officials are fulfilling their obligations towards citizens and that other community members would approve of them intervening in a role of mediation of conflict or in the activities of sensitization on the conflict. We note that the trend in these measures in the comparison group is towards less trust and approval of these actors and actions since the baseline. Many respondents said they could play a role of raising awareness about conflict and peace, though mediation was a role mentioned by only a minority of respondents in both the target and comparison groups.

5.1.3 KNOWLEDGE ON SECURITY ISSUES AND ACCESS TO JUSTICE

Q3 Does the project increase knowledge of security issues and access to justice of citizens in targeted communes?

Levels of knowledge about security issues and justice were very similar in the target and comparison groups on most topics. However, men in the target group identified a greater number of conflict resolution mechanisms than men in the comparison group, although there was no difference among women. Access to land and other resources are far more common causes of conflict than religious extremism and armed jihad.

Most respondents trust local authorities to help resolve conflicts and most say they would approach local authorities to help resolve a conflict in their community. However, very few respondents say they have actually done so. This may reflect a lack of knowledge about *how* to engage with local authorities, or may reflect barriers that prevent citizens from doing so. Currently, it appears that local authorities are a trusted but under-utilized resource for peaceful conflict resolution in Niger.

5.2 LIMITATIONS

This evaluation looked at the outcomes of activities aimed at raising the citizens' voice, shifting attitudes and building knowledge, so it does not show the impact of the full project in all the outcome areas. This evaluation only looked at the contrasts between results for respondents in the target and comparison communities and did not account for the influence of external factors that could have had a strong influence on people changing their behaviour or attitudes. This was outside the sphere of influence of the project.

Another limitation of this study concerns the sampling. There was limited overlap in the target group samples for the baseline and the endline caused by a geographic shift in the project implementation since the inception of the project. Also, security-related limitations on fieldwork during data collection for the final study meant that most of the sample could only be collected in the region of Diffa.. The oversampling of men and the under sampling of women in the survey sample was a further limitation. Given that this gender skew was already present in the baseline sample, collecting a more gender-balanced endline sample would have further limited the analysis. A sample better balanced by gender, in both the baseline and endline, would have facilitated a finer-grained gender-specific analysis.

SoC interviews were conducted by survey enumerators not trained specifically in the SoC methodology. This resulted in brief interview reports that were sometimes difficult to interpret.

5.3 CONCLUSION

Despite the limitations of this study, this study provides insight into how the project has (possibly) provided a positive contribution to the beneficiaries and target communities. This is particularly

important as the context of insecurity and underdevelopment of the project's target areas is so dire, which makes both creating sustainable impact as well as evaluating this impact daunting tasks.

Activities of the C&F project in Niger may be contributing to some positive outcomes, especially on shifting attitudes. However, efforts should be redoubled to ensure that the project engages citizens, especially women and young people, effectively and helps citizens raise their voice on C&F topics in meaningful ways. In many cases, few differences can be observed between the levels of action, attitudes and norms and scope of knowledge of respondents from the target and comparison groups. However, respondents from communities targeted by the project are more likely to participate in Peace Committees and to take a greater number of actions to resolve conflict and build peace if they take any at all. Young people and women have a strong and promising capacity to contribute to building peace. Project activities rolled out with local leaders and Peace Committees are widely recognized by many in targeted communities, although their reach could be far greater if more Peace Committees were installed and the project would provide more training and regular support. Target group respondents also have some attitudes and norms more conductive to peace, such as trust in local authorities and civil society to resolve conflict, and they are more aware of existing conflict resolution mechanisms (at least among men) than their peers in the comparison group.

6 RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the findings and conclusions presented in this report, and after reflecting on these results with project staff and partners, we offer the following recommendations for the remainder of the C&F project implementation and for future projects on similar topics in Niger:

- Build on strength of existing Peace Committees: Membership in Peace Committees is higher in communities targeted by the project than in comparison communities; Peace Committee participation appears to have even fallen in comparison communities since the baseline study. The project should build on the strength of existing Peace Committees to further build community-level awareness and capacity for conflict resolution. This could be done by establishing more of them, providing more frequent support to Peace Committees, by ensuring the committees have sufficient devices to report human rights abuses and conflict and by establishing more Peace Committees. The project should further support Peace Committees with planning and prioritization of their activities and to develop detailed action plans for reducing the risk of conflict in their communities.
- Adapt programming to the local drivers of conflict and fragility in Niger: Conflict over resources is the leading cause of community conflict, more often cited than religious extremism and armed jihad. The project should tailor interventions carefully according to the local drivers of conflict in targeted communities. For future programme development, this also suggests a need to link project activities with climate change.
- Greater emphasis on mediation as a conflict resolution tool: Respondents in targeted communities were no more likely to identify mediation as a role they could personally play in conflict resolution than respondents in comparison communities. However, a number of SoC interviews indicated the positive effect of mediation. The project should put more emphasis on raising awareness of mediation as a valuable tool for conflict resolution and building capacity for effective mediation, especially among young people and women.
- Harness the capacities of women and young people to contribute to building peace: Young people and women have important capacities to contribute. The project should harness these capacities for greater impact, in part by encouraging and enabling the participation of women and youth in community discussions about conflict and peace.
- Refocus activities on truly gender-transformative interventions: Many of the positive findings of this report hold true for men but not for women. The project should refocus efforts to ensure that activities are truly gender-transformative, supporting women in participating and in becoming leaders, building their knowledge and raising their voices. Involving women in community radio programming and debates about peace-building, and organizing listening groups for women to access radio programming, may be one way to engage women and strengthen women's leadership on peace and conflict issues.

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ANNEX 1: SP MEAL FRAMEWORK

Table 6 below shows an overview of the SP MEAL framework for all C&F projects. Out of seven outcome areas, this impact study focused on just two: increasing the citizens' voice and shifting norms and attitudes. The other five outcome areas are measured using other methodologies, including outcome harvesting and process tracing for measuring improved policies and increased political will, and the Oxfam Novib Capacity Assessment Tool (CAT) and outcome harvesting to measuring strengthened CSOs and stronger and wider alliances.

Table 6: MEL methodology used per outcome area of the Conflict & Fragility project

Outcome area	Methodology	
Improved policies of governments and global actors		
Improved policies of private sector actors	Outcome Harvesting & Process Tracing	
Increased political will		
Strengthened CSOs	Oxfam Novib Capacity Assessment Tool &	
Stronger and wider alliances	Outcome Harvesting	
Increased citizens' voice	Surveys and Stories of Change	
Shifted norms and attitudes	Surveys and Stones of Change	

ANNEX 2: SAMPLING OVERVIEW

This annex gives an overview of the sample collected for both the target and comparison groups, by region, commune and village in the baseline and endline. Baseline sampling information is only provided for those villages that were retained for the endline study. For more detail on the differences in sampling between the baseline and endline, please see section **3.3 Sampling Changes Between the Baseline and the Endline**.

Table 7:	Sampling	overview	for	target	group
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Target group			Baseline	Endline
Diffa	Chatimari	Chetimari	9	31
		N'guel Kolo	19	74
		Gagamari	0	16
		Boudouri	0	116
	Kablewa	Kablewa	35	20
		Oudi Peulh	9	11
		Oudi Arabe	12	10
Tillabéri	Abala	Abala	0	58
		Tabotaket	0	11

		Tanchile	0	11
		Kourfa	0	17
	Tondikiwindi	Tondikiwindi	17	0
		Banibangou Haoussa	13	0
	Banibangou	Banibangou Zarma	22	0
		Soumattre 1/2	37	0
Total		173	375	

Comparison	group		Baseline	Endline
Diffa		Aboukardi	9	0
		Adjiri	5	0
	Chatimari	Maissirodi	5	0
	Chatiman	Tourban Guida	11	0
		Yaguirgui	6	0
		Zarwaram	17	0
		Baraam Tchang	4	0
	Kablewa	Kadjhidji	10	0
		Jario	7	0
		Maina Soroa	116	219
		Boudoum	8	12
	Maine Soroa	Cheri	16	28
		Djangiri Kollo	8	13
		Tam	15	26
		Koira Tegui	23	8
Tillabéri	Ouallam	Dabre	10	7
		Garbey Malo Koira	8	8
		Hassou	13	10
		Ouallam	0	7
		Sargane	25	0
	Tondikiwindi	Cewane	13	0
		Fanaka koira	11	0
		N'garan'na	4	6
		Mangaize	28	0
		Maourey	12	0
	Bankilare	Amarsingue	34	0
		Chatoumane	15	0
		Karkatia	11	0
		Tassoubrat	11	0
		Tiget	11	0
	Banibangou	Bassikaina	8	
Total			474	344

ANNEX 3 : TECHNICAL ANNEX

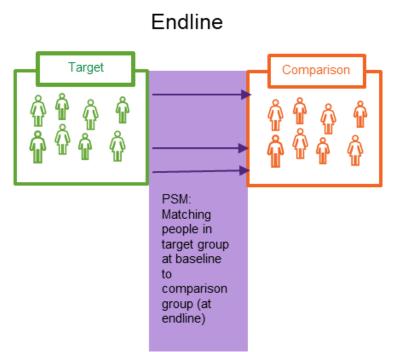
To assess the project's effects on a certain outcome, we investigate to what extent that outcome differs between a representative sample of people that participate in the project (the target group) with a comparison group. We know that it is very likely that the target and comparison groups are not directly comparable; they likely differ systematically on a range of characteristics. For instance, when a project's aim is to increase the extent to which people voice their concerns towards duty bearers, citizens with a higher socio-economic status might be more likely to voice their concerns towards duty bearers or might be more likely to join in the project's activities (or are more likely to be targeted by the project). In econometric terms, the probability of being treated (or targeted) by the project's activities is unknown¹⁵ and affected by people's characteristics before they join a project's activities (baseline). This probability - the probability of being treated or targeted by the project- is called the propensity score. The statistical technique we use, propensity score matching, makes sure that the target and comparison group are balanced or comparable based on their age, gender, household head's gender, marital status, education, household head's education, literacy, household head's literacy, occupation, household head's occupation, Poverty Probability Index (PPI), and region.

We use this propensity score to solve the problem of incomparability between the target and comparison group in two stages. In the first stage, we calculate the propensity score to select or match a comparison group where the distribution of age, gender, household head's gender, marital status, education, household head's education, literacy, household head's literacy, occupation, household head's occupation, Poverty Probability Index (PPI), and region is similar to the distribution of age, gender, household head's gender, marital status, education, household head's education, literacy, household head's literacy, occupation, household head's occupation, Poverty Probability Index (PPI), and region in the target group. Finding these matches is done based on the propensity scores calculated. Each person in the comparison group receives a weight, based on their propensity score¹⁶. This weight can colloquially be interpreted as a measure of similarity between that particular person in the comparison group and its match in the target group. Second, we calculate the values on the relevant outcome indicator for the comparison group using a weight for each observation in the comparison group. By doing so, bad matches, or in other words, people that are not very comparable to those in the target group, receive a lower weight in the calculation of the outcome for the counterfactual (comparison group). Better matches, or people in the comparison group who are more comparable to the people in the target group, receive a higher weight. By doing so, we make sure that the target and comparison group are comparable and balanced while still employing a large share of the sample that we have collected.

¹⁵Compare this to a situation where participation in the project would be determined by a coin toss (a randomized experiment). In this case, participation in the project would be solely determined by chance, not by any pre-exisiting characteristics of the people that intend to participate in the project. The propensity score (the probability of being the in the target group) would be known and equal to 0.5

¹⁶ We have implemented propensity score matching using a normal (Guassian) kernel estimator, where each persons' value in of the outcome indicator in the comparison group is given a weight. This weight is a kernel-weighted average of the outcome of all people in the comparison group, where the weight is expressed in proportion of closeness between the subject in the comparison group and the target group.

Figure A1 Schematic overview of matching



Please find the full text of the questionnaire in French via this link.

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