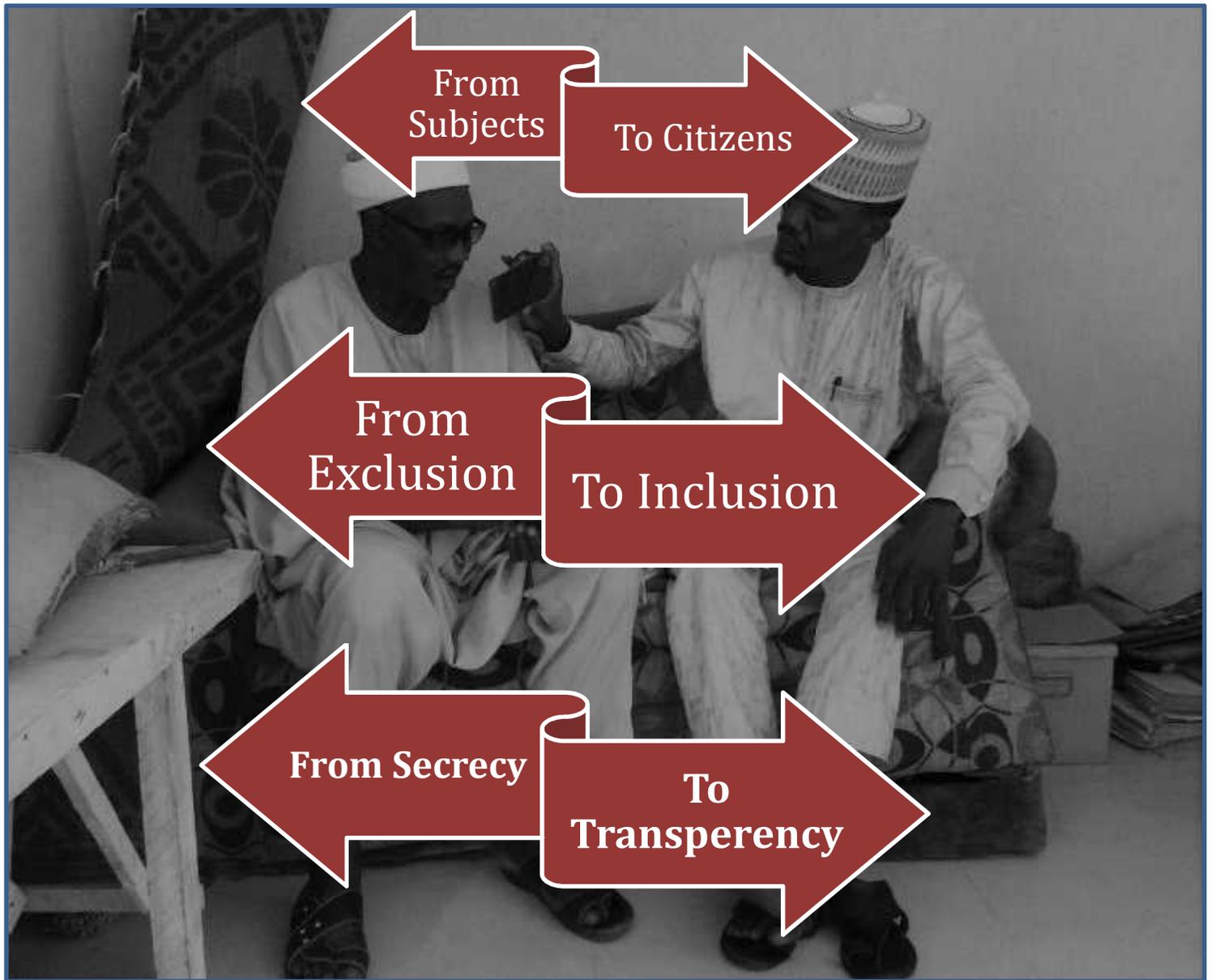


**Leadership, Empowerment, Advocacy and Development (LEAD) - A
Retrospective/Prospective Comparative Study of the LEAD Project in Sokoto
and Bauchi States, Nigeria**



Independent assessment conducted by the development Research and Projects
Center (dRPC)

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

BAC	Budget Advocacy Committee
CBO	Community Based Organization
Cbsp	Community Based Strategic Planning
CDA	Community Development Association
CES	Community Engagement Strategy
CPS	Community Priority Setting
CSO	Civil Society Organizations
FGD	Focus Group Discussions
ITRL	Inclusion of Traditional and Religious Leaders
IWAY	Inclusion of Women and Youth
KII	Key Informant Interviews
LEAD	Leadership Empowerment Advocacy & Development
LGA	Local Government Area
NURTW	National Union of Road Transport Workers
PBP	Participatory Budget Process
PHE	Physical Health Education
PTA	Parents Teachers Association
RTI	Research Triangle International
SIP	Service Improvement Plan
T&A	Transparency and Accountability
THM	Town Hall Meetings
TPF	Tax Payer Forums
WBC	Women Based Committees
WDC	Ward Development Committees

Executive Summary

This is the report of a retrospective/prospective investigation on the impact of RTI-LEAD project in Sokoto and Bauchi States. The study explored and examined the qualitative nature of change in local governance, community engagement, and service delivery over the 8-year timeline of the LEAD project in Sokoto and Bauchi states. The study's timeline spanned 5 months and included processes of study design, instrument development and pretesting, field researcher identification, training and supervision, data collection, cleaning post-coding and analysis, and report writing supported by a dynamic process of gap filling.

The study employed a comparative research methodology. This methodology was operationalized on multiple levels, comparing urban with rural geographies; intervention with control LGAs; Sokoto with Bauchi state; the viewpoints of the community vis-à-vis that of LGA officials; viewpoints of LGA actors with that of state government officials; and comparing the past experiences of LGA officials and community members to their hopes and fears for their community in the future.

Several technical, procedural and methodological limitations affected this study. Mitigating steps however, assured that the strength of the analysis and conclusions were not impacted upon negatively. Arguably, the most significant limitation was the exaggerated, vague and oftentimes contentious claims of LGA officials in response to key informant interview questions. Another limitation had to do with the decision to prioritize the investigation in intervention LGAs, thereby giving disproportionate attention to LEAD champion LGAs. A further limitation was that this study does not differentiate amongst champion LGAs rolled out along different timelines.

Five research questions were explored with 424 respondents in the two states:

1. How has the relationship between citizens and the local government changed?
2. Have attitudes (respect, openness) changed on both sides?
3. Have citizen- and LGA attitudes toward the potential for change and improvement in local services and governance changed?
4. How do citizens and officials feel about the future of their community?
5. In what areas (services/sectors) do citizens and government officials feel there have been the most and the least changes?

Questions 1, 2 and 5 position the retrospective point of inquiry of this study. Responses to these questions generated important and in many cases unexpected findings. Responses from both the community and the LGA presented a story of transformation from disempowered subjects to empowered citizens in rural and urban intervention LGAs of Sokoto and Bauchi States. While this was more prominent in urban LGAs, the transformation was also recorded in rural LGAs. Interestingly, in Bauchi state the pre-LEAD period was not just described as a period of disengagement and disempowerment but of open conflict between LGA officials and communities. In Sokoto State, LGA officials describe the pre-LEAD relationship as that of "constant quarrelling". Inclusion of youth, traditional leaders and responsiveness to the needs of women were priorities in both urban and rural areas of the two states as the decision making process was expanded to include more constituencies. However, responsiveness to the needs of women did not always translate into the full inclusion of women in community level decision making bodies. Non-inclusion of women in the control LGAs was particularly stark as LGA respondents were proud to say that they do not work with women.

The transition from excluded subjects to included citizens in LEAD champion LGAs was directly attributable to the capacity building activities of the project. On

the demand side this was done with community associations, especially the WDC. On the supply side, this entailed building the technical capacity of local government to generate revenue from internal sources. Contrastingly, in non-intervention LGAs we observed that old civil society associations were engaged by local government on an ad hoc basis to carry out law and order instead of developmental functions. During the transformation both sides developed respect for each other and indeed surprised each other with the technical and motivational capacity to engage in inclusive governance. Citizens' participation in the scorecard development process was particularly recognized as an activity through which LGA officials developed new respect for ordinary people. This was especially the case in urban LGAs where representatives of community associations were able to access high level politicians at the state level to take forward their tasks with confidence and new capacity. In rural LGAs however, this was less the case as representatives of CSOs reported that they only had limited access to lower level LGA officials.

While Sokoto and Bauchi State shared a similar transformation process from subject to citizen over the eight

years of LEAD, in Bauchi State it was discernible that LGA officials in the intervention LGAs had a higher technical understanding of the experience of transformation than their counterparts in Sokoto. This notwithstanding, the new respect of citizens for officials in



*Picture SEQ Picture * ARABIC 1 Interview with an LGA official in Bauchi state*

LEAD intervention LGAs in Bauchi state was tempered by the fact that the community viewed officials as

disempowered and unable to respond to their needs due to the arbitrary control exercised by the state government. Words like “pity” were used to describe new relationships with LGA officials in Bauchi state, unlike in Sokoto state.

In terms of areas of most and least change, the health and water sectors were mentioned by rural and urban respondents as having experienced the most change. Unexpectedly, civics and LGA authorities stated and restated that modalities and processes of local governance experienced the most change and that this change was most likely to be sustainable. Therefore while changes in sectors such as health and water (not water and sanitation) were noted, respondents consistently identified improvements in transference and accountability in local decision making as the area of most change.

The prospective component of this study uses research questions 3 and 4 to set up this point of inquiry. The study found more optimism amongst civics and LGA officials in the urban LGAs than in rural LGAs. Civics expressed optimism in terms of self-sufficiency and willingness to exercise agency in engaging the future. While most respondents expressed a willingness to continue to advocate to engage government, they were also quick to point out that the future of local service delivery is dependent on the availability of adequate funding; a domain in which communities have limited control.

Overall, findings from this impact study point to the embedded and institutionalized nature of the LEAD project whereby relationships, perceptions, and expectations have been changed in an irreversible manner. These findings demonstrate that the intervention has been domesticated, owned, and embedded in intervention communities. Furthermore, the intervention positively affected governance in control communities due to transfers of LGA staff and citizens sharing of best practices. The overall impact of the project is best summed up in the

quote below from a LGA official who noted: "*The expectations at first was that they were coming to create awareness and go, but we came to realize that whatever we were taught was supposed to be our way of life, we are so used to it now that projects are brought before us and we design, plan and make decisions on how to implement such projects*".

1.0 Methodology - Retrospective/Prospective Comparative Study

1.1 Research Design

This study was designed as impact evaluation using qualitative research, operationalized through a multi-methods approach (Key Informant Interviews (KII) and Focus Group Discussions (FGD)). The study applied a combination of retrospective/prospective comparative points of inquiry to determine both past and future trends related to target areas of the RTI-LEAD project intervention. The retrospective component of the study examined past trends while the prospective component captured forecast for the future.

1.2 Research Questions

This study sought to examine and explore 5 key research questions:

1. How has the relationship between citizens and the local government changed over the 8-year project period?
2. Have attitudes (mutual respect and openness) changed for both sets of stakeholders?
3. Have citizen and LGA attitudes toward the potential for change and improvement in local services and governance changed?
4. In what areas (services/sectors) do citizens and government officials feel there have been the most and the least changes?
5. How do citizens and officials feel about the future of their community?

1.3 Study Location: Intervention and Control Sites

This impact evaluation was conducted in eight Local Government Areas across two LEAD focal states in Nigeria. The target states were Bauchi and Sokoto located in North East and North Western Nigeria respectively. Bauchi state has 20 Local Government Areas (LGAs) and an approximate population projection for 2018 of 6,997,309 people. Sokoto state has 23 LGAs and an approximate population

projection for 2018 of 5,307,167 people. The study locations were selected based on criteria of being RTI-LEAD intervention or non-intervention local government areas. By using a multistage sampling technique the study design determined the selection of three intervention LGAs and one control LGA in each state. Inclusion criteria for selection of intervention LGAs were as follows:



- i. Geographic location: one LGA was selected from each senatorial zone in the states
- ii. Level of development: representation from both rural and urban levels of development

After applying the above criteria the following intervention LGAs were selected:

LGAs	Bauchi State	Sokoto State
Urban LGA	Ningi, Misau	Wammako, Ilella
Rural LGA	Dass	Kebbe

1.4 Criteria for selection of control LGAs were:

- i. Geographic Location: The LGA must share similar socio-economic and demographic characteristics with the selected urban and rural LGAs. To qualify for selection as control, the LGA must be geographically contiguous with at least one of the intervention LGAs such that they share everything in common except RTI-LEAD intervention.
- ii. LGA is not among the champion LGAs of the RTI-LEAD intervention

After applying the above criteria the following LGAs were selected for both states:

	Bauchi State	Sokoto State
Control LGA	Ganjuwa (Rural Control)	Kware (Urban Control)

1.5 Study population

The study population for this evaluation was grouped into two strata which were:

- iii. Representatives from the Ministry of Local government and House of Assembly members with responsibility for LGA matters
- iv. Representatives from the LGA
- v. Representatives from the community and community associations

Representatives of the LGA were elected or appointed Council members, LGA heads of Administration, Service Directors, Sectional heads and Ward Development Committee Chairpersons. While representatives of the community associations were women’s groups, civil society organizations, community based organizations, traditional and religious leaders, businessmen and -women, and general community members. A total of 424 respondents were captured. A detailed breakdown is presented in Appendix 3 and the summary is found below.

Table 1: Summary of respondents reached by LGA and state level

Geography	Urban	Urban	Rural	Urban Control	Rural	Urban	Urban	Rural Control	State level
LGAs/State	Wamakko	Illela	Kebbe	Kware	Dass	Ningi	Misau	Ganjuwa	Min of Local Gov't
Instruments	53	53	53	53	53	53	53	53	4

1.6 Sampling

A combination of sampling techniques was used in selecting the participants for the study. For the LGA officials, a sampling frame was used to identify, select, and approach them during official working hours. Regarding women groups, civil society organizations, and community based organizations, the heads of resident organizations within the LGAs were purposively sampled to participate in the study. Community members on the other hand were randomly selected using systematic random sampling disaggregated by gender. The sample size for this study was approximately 424 respondents as presented in Appendix 3.

1.7 Data Collection

Data collection for this study was conducted using two qualitative research instruments - Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) Guides and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) Guides.

1.8 Instruments

Prior to the commencement of the data collection exercise, interview guides were developed by consultants and experts in research methodology, governance, social policy as well as a project evaluation expert. Separate guides were developed for LGA officials and community members. The instruments were structured to elicit responses on both retrospective changes and prospective visions for the future. Instruments were developed in English language, translated into Hausa language, pre-tested and revised on two occasions before its application on the field. The pre-test was conducted by trained researchers on a sampled population with similar characteristics as the target participants. Corrections were made based on observations before applying the instrument.

1.9 Training of Researchers

Twelve local researchers with a sound understanding of Sokoto and Bauchi local dialects of Hausa language were selected and trained for data collection. Six of them were from Bauchi state and six from Sokoto state. The choice of local researchers was a deliberate one in order to bridge any communication gaps that may arise due to language barriers unique



*Picture SEQ Picture * ARABIC 3 Training of researchers in Bauchi state*

to each target location. A two day training workshop was organized in each state where the researchers were taken through the instruments step by step: interviewing techniques, the essentials of qualitative research, digital data collection methods, ethics of research, and an overview of the RTI-LEAD project.

1.10 Instrument administration

Key Informant Interviews: KIIs were conducted with government officials and selected traditional leaders. These were conducted in the offices of the participants during official working hours. The approximate length of the KIIs were 40 minutes to 1 hour each, during which the participants were asked one-on-one specific questions about their technical capacity, governance, service delivery, transparency and accountability, and future steps.

Focus Group Discussion: The FGDs were organized predominantly for the community members with a small representation from the LGA. Separate FGDs were conducted for males and females and the approximate size of the FGDs were about 10 to 12 participants. The community members were administered separate questions from the LGAs officials, using guides asking questions about their ability

to demand improved governance, inclusiveness in decision making, change in service delivery, transparency and accountability as well as their needs going forward. The FGDs were conducted in Hausa language.



*Picture SEQ Picture * ARABIC 4 Female FGD Bauchi state*

1.11 Data analysis

A multi-stage methodology of data analysis was used to analyze qualitative data from the KIIs and FGDs. Firstly, data from the digital devices was transcribed and translated to English by consultant transcribers. These transcripts were then exported to a data analysis software (Microsoft Excel 2013) where thematic content analysis was applied to determine commonly emerging themes from the responses. Common themes were then post-coded, analyzed, and presented as frequencies using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) Version 22.

1.12 Ethical considerations

Prior to commencing each of the KIIs and FGDs, an informed consent protocol was applied whereby a prepared statement with the full information about the purpose of the study, intended use, research organization, name of the researcher, and assurances that all respondents would be anonymized was read out and approval to continue sought and obtained. Participants were then allowed to ask questions, given a consent sheet to sign or thumbprint after they had fully comprehended and accepted its contents. For participants who could not read or write, the consent form was read to them in the presence of a witness. For ethical reasons we anonymized all the quotes and statements directly attributable to respondents in our report of findings, in line with our ethical commitment outlined for the participants in the consent form and information sheet.

1.13 Limitations

There were limitations in executing this study. Some were encountered during the fieldwork exercise while others were encountered in the process of audio transcription and translation. Key limitations were:

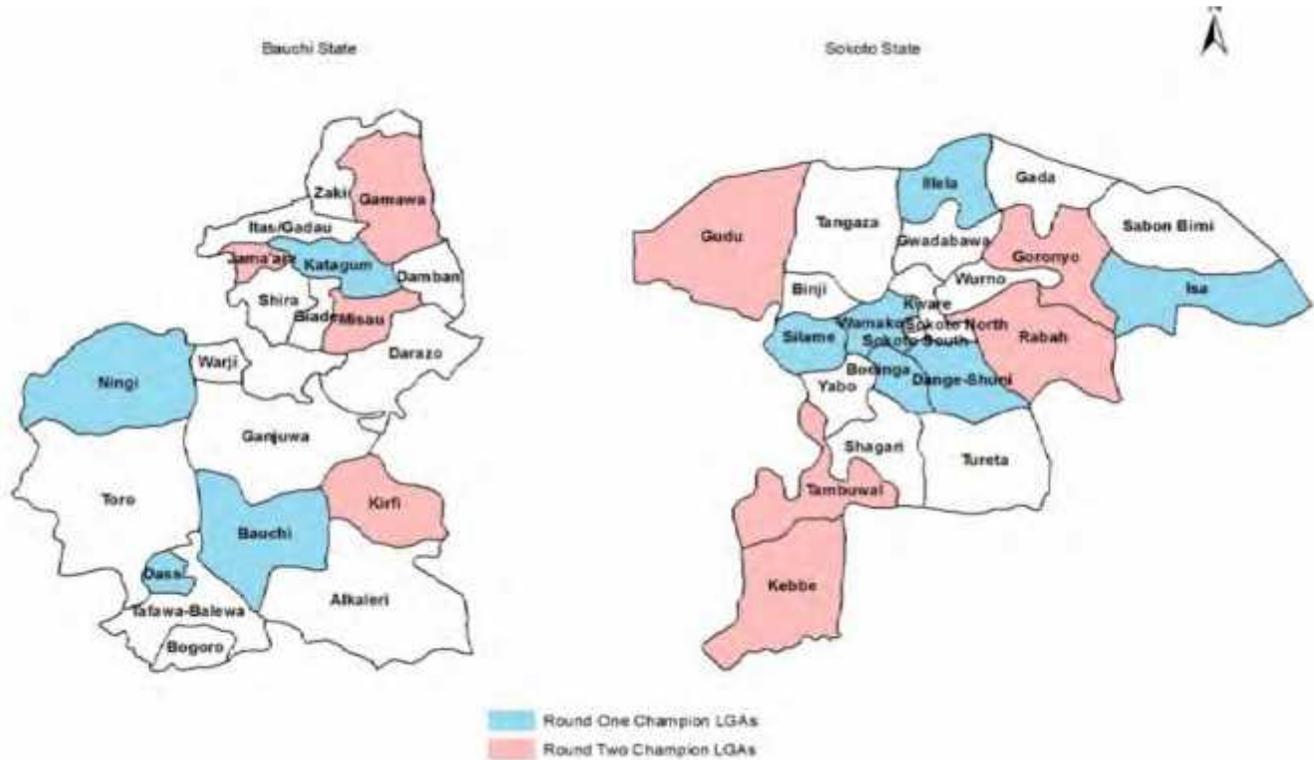
- i. The research team noted a number of false, vague and exaggerated responses from government officials especially in the control LGAs. As many members of the research team were from Bauchi state, they questioned responses but in accordance with the research protocol these responses were nonetheless documented. The research team was forced to return to the field – even as the data was being processed – to corroborate and triangulate research findings.
- ii. The research team experienced difficulty of adhering to the stratification factor of intervention and non-intervention LGAs as we found the control LGA to have had interventions from UNICEF and even the state government with implications for local level governance. In one case, an LGA official in the control LGA in Sokoto state claimed that a state government intervention had greater implications for local governance and accountability than LEAD. He even alluded to state level recognition for the LGA he headed arguing that: "*When the Governor came to Ganjuwa Local government, he set up a committee led by Baba Gamawa which rated us the first in the state and recommended that she should be given commendation letter. So you see there is accountability here*".
- iii. Another confounding factor encountered by the research team was the fact that about half of LGA officials from non-intervention LGAs reported that they worked in intervention LGAs during the timeline of the LEAD project. They reported further that they were exposed to the accountability innovations of LEAD which they sought to replicate in their new non-

intervention LGAs. One example was the Director Revenue Ganjuwa Local Government Najib Sani, who transferred to Ganjuwa LGA in January 2017 from an intervention LGA in Bauchi and replicated the revenue generation ideas from Bauchi he learnt under LEAD.

- iv. The research faced the challenge of the peculiarities of the local dialect of Hausa language in the two states. The challenge was addressed by:
 - a. Engaging researchers from the states who understood the local language and the local dialect
 - b. The same researchers were engaged to transcribe and translate the interview audios
 - c. The transcripts were then vetted, reviewed and validated by in-house team of researchers with expertise on the research area.
- v. A high rigor scientific design for a quantitative study would have required a selection of the same number of control and intervention LGAs in the two states for representative data capture. However, only one control LGA was selected in this qualitative study design since we chose to maximize learning from the intervention champion LGAs. The control LGA selected is representative as it shares all characteristics of non-intervention LGAs in the state.
- vi. The participants were not obligated to respond to all questions; hence some questions had no responses for some of the interviews. This resulted in varying cumulative percentages in some of the graphs as our analysis can only report the percentage of participants that responded to each question. Factors that affected quantifying qualitative responses were that interviewers may skip some questions for some respondents, the respondents may intentionally decline to answer some questions, there can

be missing values and there can also be invalid responses. All of this information cannot be included in the graphs hence serves as a limitation.

vi. Another limitation of this study is that the research design did not purposefully seek to recognize and test differences between round one and



round two champion LGAs when making the selection of LGAs. The main stratification factor of interest was a geographic factor of urban and rural LGAs. Thus it is beyond the scope of this study to conclude whether years of exposure correlates with trends of change in the LGA. The criteria for selection of control LGAs were:

- i. Geographic Location: The LGA must share similar socio-economic and demographic characteristics with the selected urban and rural LGAs. To qualify for selection as control, the LG must be geographically contiguous with at least one of the Intervention LGAs such that they share everything in common except RTI-LEAD intervention.

ii. LGA is not among the Champion LGAs of the RTI-LEAD intervention

After applying the above criteria the following LGAs were selected for both states:

INTERVENTION LGAs SELECTED		
LGAs	Bauchi State	Sokoto State
Urban LGA	Ningi, Misau	Wammako, Ilella
Rural LGA	Dass	Kebbe
CONTROL LGAs SELECTED		
	Bauchi State	Sokoto State
	Ganjuwa	Kware

1.14 Work plan of the study

See appendix 2

1.0 Sokoto State - Retrospective and Prospective insights on the LEAD project

1.1 Exploring changing relationships in Sokoto

How did the relationship between citizens and local government change over the lifetime of the LEAD project and what particular program activity or LEAD-initiative catalyzed this change? These questions are explored through in-depth interviews and FGDs in the urban and rural intervention LGAs. These questions will also be explored by comparing experiences of change in the intervention and control LGAs. While several responses were offered to this question, this study highlights the areas the majority of respondents pointed to. Responses to this point of inquiry will be explored in terms of answers provided by LGA and state level officials as well the responses of CBOs and individual citizens.



Picture SEQ Picture 1 ARABIC 5 KII with a community leader in Sokoto*

1.2 Changing relationships - From disengagement and conflict to engagement and partnership - perspectives of Government LG Officials from intervention LGAs (urban and rural) in Sokoto state

Questions about relationships between LGA officials and communities were explored through Key Informant Interviews and Focus Group Discussions with community members and local government officials in intervention sites. This section presents the local government's perspective that relationships had indeed changed when compared to the pre-project period, 8 years prior. The specific nature of the change identified can be characterized as a shift from indifference and disengagement between the two parties prior to LEAD to a current relationship of

engagement and partnership. LGA officials in urban LGAs were more likely to report significant changes in relationships than respondents in rural areas. Figure 1 below shows that the majority of respondents interviewed in urban LGAs (88% in Wammako and 93% Illela) reported that relationships had changed compared to 67% in the rural LGA, Kebbe. An LGA official in charge of water in a rural LGA best captures the disengagement status quo before the RTI-LEAD intervention: *"Before no one was bothered with what local government is doing or not. But with the coming of RTI-LEAD intervention, the WDC was strengthened and a lot of projects are executed together"*.

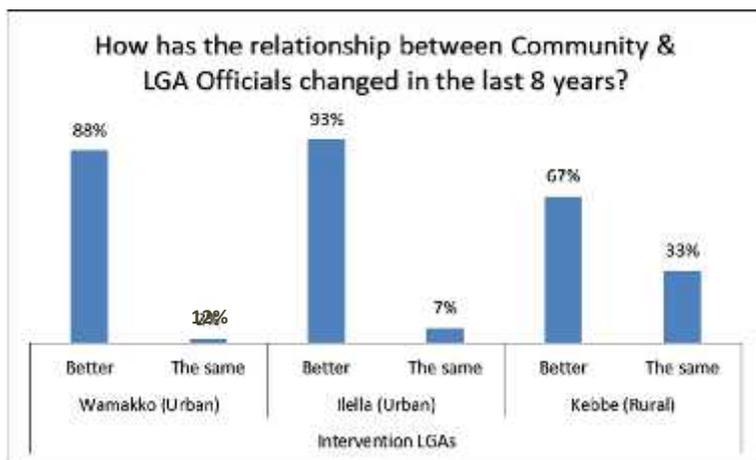


Figure SEQ Figure 1* ARABIC 1 Change in relationship between community & LGA officials in Sokoto state

The specific nature of the change identified can be characterized as a shift from indifference and disengagement between the two parties prior to LEAD to a current relationship of engagement.

In urban LGAs the relationship between officials and the community was described as

constant quarrelling. An official from an urban LGA explained this situation in the following terms: *"Sincerely, [the relationship] is now cordial, because now we have no problem between the citizens and the LGA officials that caused any quarrels of any kind. I have a good relationship with the community members, even in the town hall meetings we do, they meet me personally and ask me question and I tell them what they want to know. I think it is now better, it has improved"*.

A second official from an urban local government stated: ***"The relationship between the citizens and the LGA is now friendly after LEAD. Because the LGA does things transparently and whatever it will do it consults the citizens for advice. We don't just do things on our own anymore. They all contribute because if we don't involve the people it can become a problem for us in the future."***

"We don't just do things on our own anymore. They all contribute, because if we don't involve the people it can become a problem for us in the future".



Picture SEQ Picture * ARABIC 6 KII with LGA official in Sokoto

A recurring theme from urban and rural LGA officials was that that RTI-LEAD enabled them to understand the importance of working with community members in order to achieve sustainable development. Not only was the relationship close and

"friendly" but respondents from the LGA and from the community also described the interface as frequent, taking place in formal accountability platforms and through informal gatherings. A third local government official from an urban LGA explained this situation by saying: ***"We used to interact with members of the community in different activities which organized by LEAD and Government compared with last eight years when members of community are not fully involved in the activities of the LGA."***

Regarding the inclusion of ordinary citizens in the decision making processes, officials in urban LGAs were particularly happy about the capacity of traditional and religious leaders to participate in official government processes, describing

their contribution as informed, constructive, and productive. One director in an urban local government area put it this way: *"They [RTI-LEAD] made it so that traditional and religious leaders and the people's representatives come and sit together to discuss whatever issues they have even while preparing budgets which was done formerly by just LGA officials but now we all come together and sit down and talk details of what every village, settlement or community needs."*

Government officials interviewed in Wammako LGA in particular, were especially impressed with the interaction and inclusion of traditional and religious leaders in the budgeting process.

A second recurring theme from LGA officials in urban areas had to do with new skills acquired to engage citizens. Against this background, an official, in the rural LGA surveyed noted: *"To be frank, they [RTI-LEAD] help in our own department. They come to enlighten us about budget process, budget proposal and the issues of expenditure and revenue generation which we use their tactics and we are seeing in the process."*

1.2.1 Changing relationships - From subjects to informed and engaged citizens - CSOs perspectives in intervention LGAs (urban and rural) in Sokoto State

CBOs in both rural and urban LGAs affirmed that the LEAD project delivered *"great and important changes"*. While several important

"LEAD made it so that traditional and religious leaders and the people's representatives come and sit together to discuss whatever issues they

areas of changes were identified with some differences between rural and urban CSOs, the transformation from subjects to citizens emerged as a recurring theme. The Chair of the Budget Advocacy Group of Illela LGA sums up this situation best

when he says: *"Back then, [before LEAD] the budget used to be a very confidential document, no one knew what it contained and how it was expected to be spent but with the coming of LEAD... the LG citizens now know there should be transparency and community involvement in the governance of the community. Citizens now follow up on everything the LG does with regard to the budget and they raise alarm when things are not going on well."* Similarly, the Chairman WDC Forum of a rural intervention local government observed: *"I am the Chairman of WDC Forum... Before the coming of RTI-LEAD project it's difficult to meet with big people except during wedding and naming ceremonies, but now RTI-LEAD project has created the platforms to bring together the LGA and the citizens."*

Not only were citizens engaged, but responses from CSOs pointed to the fact that citizens were engaged from an informed position after having their capacity built in policy making and budgeting at the local level. A LGA representative in Kebbe, a rural LGA said: *"The greatest achievement was that people came to realize that the monies released by the government is what is used to fund the budget. They got to know that it is with the revenue of the LG that we funded the budget. We conducted rallies in the market and created awareness for the people in the community."*

A similar view was held by CSO representative from an urban LGA who noted that: *"Before the coming of LEAD, people used to think the budget was a secret document but now after the awareness, people now know when budget has been released and how it is intended to be used. They ask questions and the LG is accountable for how their money is spent, especially since the citizens will be responsible for bringing up issues of where and what should be developed."*

With regard to urban LGAs, two important and related changes to the relationship between LGAs and CBOs were identified by community

"The greatest achievement was that people came to realize that the monies realized by government is what is used to fund the budget"

actors. The first change was that there were now more actors and interest groups included in the budgeting process. Secondly, there was also increased gender representation as females were co-opted into committees. One female respondent from an urban intervention LGA noted that: *"We, of the Budget Advocacy Committee are involved in the dialogue. Budgets for the LGAs implementing RTI-LEAD project are being planned together and doing this gives us the time to learn. Before the LEAD project we are not able to meet with government officials but now we are able to do that. We can even meet with the Governor and discuss our worries with him. And we have been able to conduct dialogues like this severally and we have succeeded."*

While CBOs in urban and rural LEAD LGAs reported similar experiences of changes in inclusion and access, the experience was slightly different in rural LGAs where community members were not able to see and engage with LGA Chairmen and the Executive Governor as their counterparts in urban LGAs. In the rural community surveyed, community groups reported that they only experienced an increased access to lower line officials. The leader of the local budget advocacy group in a rural LGA noted that it was the: *"Ward Development Committee Chairman whom we meet with at all times to discuss the issues facing the community."*

Another finding about changes in the relationship between CSOs and the LGA in rural areas relates to the CBO advocacy strategy. Reports of rural CBOs suggest that they did not play by the rules and often disrupted the slow decision making

processes. CBOs did not wait to respond to LGA budgets and plans; rather CBO leaders in rural LGAs developed their own ideas and plans, proactively, taking the initiative of working through RTI to engage the LGA on their terms or to initiate self-help projects. For example, the WDC Forum leader in the rural LGA quoted above, went on to explain in the same interview how this worked: *"The last time we met through LEAD to discuss how to involve the local government in the development of the community involving market people, youth, and all other people involved and we are very sure that whatever we have learned through LEAD and a dandalin tattawa (a platform for talking) created will be sustained even when the project comes to an end."* An example of self-help projects was captured in the interview of the WDC Chairman who explained that: *"As a result of the training and retraining received from the RTI-LEAD, as the Chairman WDC I mobilized the people of my community most especially the well to do, and we built a school worth ₦2.3 million, and the school has been supervised by the coordinator. In 2018, we constructed a block for three more classes which cost ₦3 million, all through mobilization."*

"As a result of the training and retraining received from the RTI-LEAD, as the Chairman WDC, I mobilized the people of my community most especially the well to do, and we built a school worth N2.3 million"

1.2.2 Summary - from subject to citizen in intervention LGAs

In summary, respondents expressed the view that the RTI-LEAD project created a new dynamic between local government officials and the community. This new dynamic was one where LGA officials understood the importance and utility of forging a cordial and mutually beneficial relationship with community members in order to achieve sustainable development. Through the project, there was frequent and



Picture SEQ Picture 1* ARABIC 7 KII with LGA official in Sokoto state

continuous interface between the local government and members of the community about setting development goals, project implementation, revenue generation, and project supervision. This was evident in the perspective of a local government official from the rural LGA surveyed who said: *"The actual truth is the relationship between the people and LGA official is a very good one. It is more than we expected, we are always in contact with the people. If they have any problem, they come directly and tell us and whenever something comes up from the LGA official's part we call all the people, their leaders and their chosen representatives"*

The view expressed above was corroborated by another local government official in charge of water who remarked that within the 8 years of RTI-LEAD intervention: *"There's change, because before no one was bothered with what local government is doing or not. But with the coming of RTI-LEAD, the WDC was strengthened and a lot of projects were executed like schools, hospitals, boreholes and wells which I'm in charge of."*

1.3.1 Changing relationships between citizens and LGAs - CSOs perspectives from the control LGA

In the control LGA, Kware LGA, all government officials interviewed reported that they heard about the RTI-LEAD project. Some LGA officials reported that this

was because they were transferred from LEAD champion LGAs while others

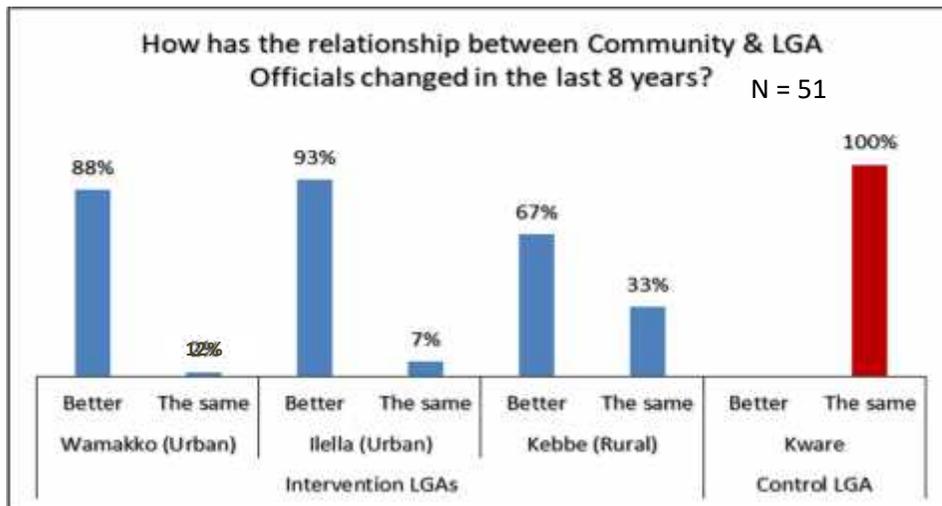


Figure SEQ Figure 1* ARABIC 2 Change in relationship between community & LGA across interventions and control sites (Sokoto)

reported that they heard about the project from colleagues or friends. Responses from officials painted an interesting but disturbing picture of little change in

the LGA's relationship with citizens in the past 8 years. Rather than the LGA officials being central to the change process with citizens, officials noted the close relationship between traditional and religious leaders with community members and community based organizations over provisioning of education, health, and other social services. Thus in the control LGA, officials appeared to be bystanders in local service delivery while traditional and religious leaders appeared to be directly engaged as alternative providers and advocates for modern service delivery. Civil society respondents noted that as a result of UNICEF programs in the LGA, women, traditional, and religious leaders were engaged in awareness creation for the uptake of polio and RI services. Under the UNICEF program the relationship between these actors and the LGA was not one of empowered advocacy but rather of alternative provisioning, with traditional and religious leaders carrying out the behavioral change communication work of the LGA.

"There's change, because before no one was bothered with what local government is doing or not. But with the coming of RTI-LEAD the WDC was

1.4 Changing attitudes (respect, openness) on the side of LGA and citizens in intervention (urban and rural) LGAs, Sokoto state

The question of changing attitudes of LGA officials and citizens aimed to determine how each constituency (LGA officials and citizens in associations and as individuals) viewed and were oriented to each other. Probing questions also explored how such views and



orientations changed from the pre-LEAD period. Respondents from civil society holding positions in advocacy platforms and participating in policy dialogues reported a change in their attitudes and perspectives on LGA officials. From viewing them as distant, separate from the people and indifferent to citizen's needs, since the LEAD project they viewed LGA officials in more humane terms, expressing sympathy for officials who they viewed as struggling to implement people oriented projects without adequate public funds for LGA activities. Community members also viewed LGA officials and the administrative processes as more open, citing as evidence of openness officials willingness to discuss the revenue side of the budgetary process in particular (both internally generated revenue projections and funding flows from the state government). Thus attitudes of understanding and appreciation of openness were the key shifts recorded compared to attitudes of disdain, disrespect and indifference prior to LEAD.

Responses of community members and of the Ward Development Committee representatives point to contradictory attitudes. Citizens were ready and empowered to hold government accountable to improve services in urban LGAs in

Sokoto state, but at the same time communities developed a strong independent attitude and commitment to alternative or complementary provisioning. This perspective is captured in the two quotes below:

"Right now, we are working on the areas of education and health sector and good governance. If we maintain this 3 then I think they are the major aspects of

"Now people know that they don't have to depend on the government for everything to be done unlike before."

"Right now, we are working on the areas of education and health sector and also good governance. If we maintain this 3 then I think they are the major aspects of development and if they are improved then all other sectors will work out

really well".

On the side of the LGA officials, representatives from urban LGAs reported that the LEAD project changed their attitude to working with and incorporating multiple ethnic groups in local decision making processes. While such groups were recognized as legitimate representatives of minority ethnic groups prior to the LEAD project, they were not formally incorporated into decision making bodies to represent said ethnic groups. One official from Illela LGA explained this situation in the following terms: *"Because we were very close to border we and there were many ethnic groups, we call different CSOs like Yoruba CSOs, Igbo CSOs and the rest from the town to sit down and decide with us.... All this is possible because of the awareness created by RTI-LEAD projects."*

Similarly, on the side of government, responses from officials in urban LGAs suggest that as a result of the LEAD project there was a transformation from no respect to increased respect for the role of citizens in local governance. For many

of the officials interviewed, they expressed surprise about the level of competence and the quick ability of citizens to learn technical issues about budgeting, to prioritize activities, to understand advocacy, and even demand increased funding. Citizens'



Picture SEQ Picture 1* ARABIC 9 KII with LGA official in Sokoto state

participation in the scorecard development process was particularly

recognized as activity through which LGA officials developed new respect for ordinary people. According to a senior urban local government official: *"Now we listen to all communities, women, youth and all. They present needs. So as you can see there is a high level of accountability and good discussions."*

"Now we listen to all the communities, women, youth and all."

1.5 Changing attitudes (respect, openness) of citizens and LGA toward the potential for improvement in services and governance in control LGA, Sokoto state

Interviews with LGA officials and citizens in the control LGA reveal that not much has changed in terms of expectations from each side related to service delivery and governance. Interviews also revealed the persistent relevance of old civil society such as



traditional and religious leaders who were engaged in keeping the peace and delivering services – a situation LGA officials described as similar to the status quo of 8 years ago. They also noted the role of security agencies in addressing disagreements within communities over the location of services and other areas of conflict. This form of conflict resolution within communities was identified as the established approach as there was no modern platform for meetings and dialogue in control LGAs. While it is not quite clear why so many of the responses of government officials in the control LGA revolved around maintenance of security, answers to questions pointed to the dominance of insecurity and conflict in the LGA. It is important to note that CSOs involved in conflict mitigation existed prior to the roll out of LEAD and did not include associations such as WDCs. One LGA official put it this way: *"As you are aware, in this Administrative Section, we are conducting security meeting all the time, which involves the District heads and associations like Miyatti-Allah [cattle owners and rearers association of mostly Fulanis] and the National Union of Road Transport Workers - NURTW."*

1.6 Areas (services/sectors) in which citizens and government officials feel there have been the most and the least changes in Sokoto State

The RTI-LEAD intervention sought to improve local governance processes, service delivery, transparency, and accountability. To determine areas of most and least change, both community members and LGA officials were asked the same question about the areas of most and least change, with probing sub-questions around issues of governance, service delivery, transparency, and accountability in the last 8 years. Most respondents from urban areas ranked health as the service area of greatest change in the recent past (Wammakko and Ilella), while a minority of respondents in urban LGAs failed to respond to the question by singling one sector. Rather, their responses demonstrated the interconnections between the sector areas. Additionally, some respondents in urban LGAs distinguished achievement in terms of the timeline of the LEAD project, claiming that the sectors in which RTI invested earlier achieved most change. There were no significant differences between government officials and civil society representatives.

A respondent from civil society affirmed the changes in the health sector in one of the urban local government areas: *"The truth is that over the past yearsthere is great improvement and development, most especially [in] the health sector."* Another CSO respondent from an urban local government said: *"Healthcare received the most attention and has improved a lot, it progressed the most."* The Chairman Budget Advocacy Group in one of the urban local government areas also concurred that health experienced the most change but added education as jointly achieving the most change. In his words: *"It is in the health and education sectors. Back then it used to be 0% but now we can rate them at a 90% improvement as a result of this LEAD project."* An official in the local government also stated that: *"Our hospitals were unhygienic and due to lack*

materials in the hospitals, one syringe was used for two patients. The RTI-LEADmakes hospital staff to discharge their duties responsively."

Interestingly, many community level respondents in urban areas did not answer this question in terms of development sectors such as health and education. Rather, responses on greatest changes revolved around the inclusive process of delivering socio-economic goods and services as opposed to a particular service area. An equal number of respondents who did identify a service area also mentioned inclusive processes of local level decision making as the area of most change. As one respondent from Illela LGA noted: "***Right now, we are working on the areas of education and health sector and also good governance. If we maintain this 3 then I think they are the major aspects of development and if they are improved then all other sectors will work out really well.***"

Many community level respondents in urban areas also did not answer this question in terms of development sectors, but indicated the greatest changes revolved around a cluster of integrated areas as expressed by a CSO representative interviewed.

"The truth is that over the past years....there is great improvement and development"

While health was overwhelmingly identified as the sector in which the most change occurred with the introduction of RTI-LEAD, many local government officials in urban areas qualified their responses by stating that depending on one's viewpoint, it was water that actually experienced the most change. They explained that this was because RTI only worked on health in recent years, while RTI had an investment in water from the beginning of the intervention. From a long term point of view, government officials identified water and to a lesser extent sanitation as

the sector of most change. One LGA official in an urban LGA covered put it this way: "**LEAD project in health and education matters most but they are just recent; initially it only intervened on water sanitation, budget planning and boosting**



Picture SEQ Picture 1* ARABIC 11 KII with LGA official in Sokoto state

internally generated revenue. So I will say water sanitation has improved the most."

The position that the water sector underwent the biggest change during the 8 year project was also captured by officials from rural areas: "**I will say the water and sanitation sector, because most times you see a borehole built and after a few years it stops working but still RTI-LEAD project have taken the tasks of repairing those boreholes coupled."**

"LEAD project in health and education matters most but they are just recent; initially it only intervened on water and sanitation, budget planning and boosting internally generated revenue"
Revenue"

Another official from a rural LGA noted that:

"Water and sanitation sector has improved a lot and the aspect of youth empowerment." A key informant in the Ministry of Local Government of Sokoto state endorsed the view that the most change occurred in water when he said: "**One of the greatest contribution is the water sector. Before the RTI you will see a water project that needed just two thousand (2,000) naira to repair but because people are not aware and sensitized.... some projects were abandoned. But with the coming of the LEAD project the communities were able to maintain some of their projects."**

Instead of responding to this question in terms of outcomes of improved services or sectors, a majority of respondents in rural LGAs discussed the issue of sectors of most change in terms of capacity building they went through. While technically this was not the expected response and interviewers did try to steer officials back to specific sector issues, they nonetheless documented responses of increased technical capacity of the LGA as the area of greatest change since the LEAD project. This was summed up in the following statement by an LGA official from the rural LGA surveyed: *"The one thing that I was impressed with the most is budget preparation and is the one that I really satisfied with. The issues of revenue generation in the LGA. They enlighten us about how to create the new sources of revenue, so that the LGA will generate more revenue. In this regards, if you compare this LGA with the non-champion LGA on the issues we will defeat them."*

Surprisingly, improvements in girls' education was an area of significant change identified by CSO respondents in the rural LGA surveyed. A respondent, whose views typified such responses noted that: *"In Kebbe, before this LEAD we had no girls that finished secondary school. But now since the coming of LEAD, they gave priority to the girl child education, so we repaired girl's junior secondary school that were neglected. Now we have more than 200 girl's graduates from the secondary school and some have enrolled into higher institution....I'm really proud of that. By 2015 we had about 215 students in the school then as against the 50 students before LEAD."*

Figures 3, 4, and 5 below, summarize the inquiry on areas of most and least changes. A comparison of Figures 3 and 4 shows that health ranked as the sector of most change in urban LGAs Wammakko and Ilella, while governance came first followed closely by health in Kebbe (rural). The majority of respondents in the

urban LGAs held the opinion that transparency and accountability remained average while a lower number of people saw improvements.

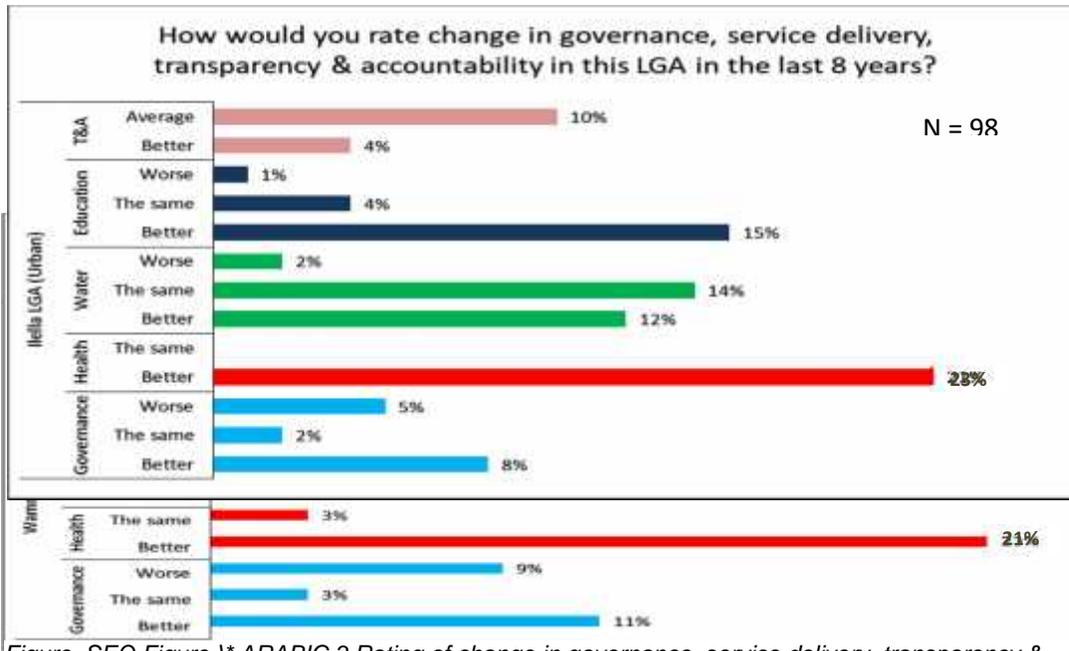


Figure SEQ Figure 1* ARABIC 3 Rating of change in governance, service delivery, transparency & accountability in Wamakko LGA, Sokoto state

A respondent from Illela local government areas stated that: *"The truth is that over the past 8 years all these aspects mentioned, there is great improvement and development well, most especially the health sector. For example, among the 11 wards we have, I know there is community WDC going round the town*

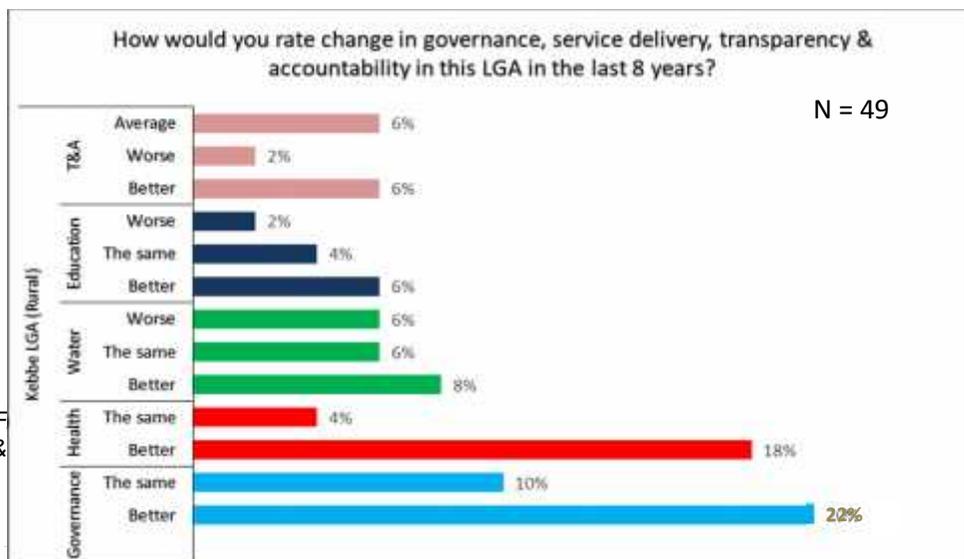


Figure SEQ Figure 1* ARABIC 5 Rating change in governance, service delivery, transparency & accountability in Sokoto State

enlightening people concerning child spacing, visiting of hospital by pregnant women."

The pattern is similar in the rural LGA where respondents expressed the belief that governance, health, and water recorded most changes. As pointed out by an official in the local government: *"Our hospitals were unhygienic and due to lack materials in the hospitals, one syringe was used for two patients."*

Regarding areas with the least change, a CSO respondent from an urban LGA discussed the neglect of the education sector. In his opinion, *"Up to now there's need for improvement in education, because the enrollment is low."* Partial inclusion of women emerged as another area of least change in rural LGAs. While

An area of least change in rural LGAs was the non-inclusion of women in decision making bodies.

respondents in the rural LGA surveyed were proud to report that women and girls benefitted from their activities under LEAD, an area of least change in rural LGAs was the poor inclusion of women in decision making bodies.

1.6.1 Areas of most and least changes in control LGA, Sokoto State

Areas of most change in the control LGA were identified by officials as that of security. Though there was no indication that the security situation changed for the better, officials noted significant changes in the numbers of security meetings and gatherings. *"We go to a lot of security meeting which involve the peoples' representatives like traditional rulers, security agents, we the Administrators....these conflict are occurring due to lack of respect for law and order, people do ignorantly take law into their hand."*

Officials in the control LGA in Sokoto noted further that water is another sector that changed least over the past 8 years in the control LGA. Interestingly, officials in the control LGA painted themselves as victims, disempowered and unable to change the status of the water problem they identified. This is well captured in the

statement of one official from the control LGA: "*Wherever you go Water is scarce. Water has always been scarce. Some areas here there is no water at all, in some areas, due to negligence from the people, wells were not constructed in the right locations. Therefore I'm calling for expansion or increase effort for adequate water supply.*" Another area of least change was identified as the inclusion of women in the policy making process in the control LGA Kware. This is well summed up by one official who simply said: "*We don't associate with women, they don't play any role.*"

1.7 Citizens' and officials' prospects for the future of the community in intervention LGAs (urban and rural) in Sokoto state

"We don't associate with women, they don't play any role".

The level of optimism for the future differed between urban and rural intervention LGAs and between interventions to control states. Key informants at the state level also held different views from LGA officials and representatives of advocacy civil society groups. State government officials interviewed in this study were optimistic that government in Sokoto state will be able to sustain the gains of the LEAD project but stressed that this was contingent on the cost of sustainability. In the words of one state government officials from the Ministry of Local Government: "*The Government should be able to provide all the things required for it's sustain. The only problem is the politics of Government succeeding another government and even within the same party the attitude of sustaining the project is going to be difficult.*"

An official from the rural LGA surveyed also addressed the role of government in sustaining the gains of LEAD when he noted: "*I expect a lot of improvement along with the local government contributing its own share of participation.*"

Then with this in the future, perhaps in 12 years to come there will be great progress."

The statement below by a representative of the Budget Advocacy Group in Illela LGA best captures the optimism and commitment of civil society in urban areas for the future of the community when he says: *"We see light at the end of the tunnel. If we can get more commitment from the government and more organizations to invest in projects like LEAD ...then, we in this place will be more developed. But as of now even if we don't get any federal government allocation, we can depend on ourselves with the trainings, awareness and advocacy the LEAD has carried out on us."*

In addition to being demonstrative of optimism and commitment, the statement above raises the issue of institutionalization of the LEAD project as a mechanism for assuring sustainability in the future. This view was captured by a CSO respondent from the rural

"I expect a lot of improvement along with the local government contributing its own share of participation".

LGA surveyed. The official noted: *"The expectations at first was that they were coming to create awareness and go, but we came to realize that whatever we were taught was supposed to be our way of life, we are so used to it now that projects are brought before us and we design, plan and make decisions on how to implement such projects."*

In addition to the CSO perspective of civics having a bright future as a result of LEAD, LGA officials in urban LGAs also anticipated a bright future for the community as a result of the development of women and youth under LEAD. A Director in one of the intervention urban LGAs surveyed in Sokoto gave an optimistic forecast: *"I forecast a good reward for the LGA in the future based on*

how I see mata (the women) and matasa (youth) are up and running in education they are sensitizing each other especially in our health sector."

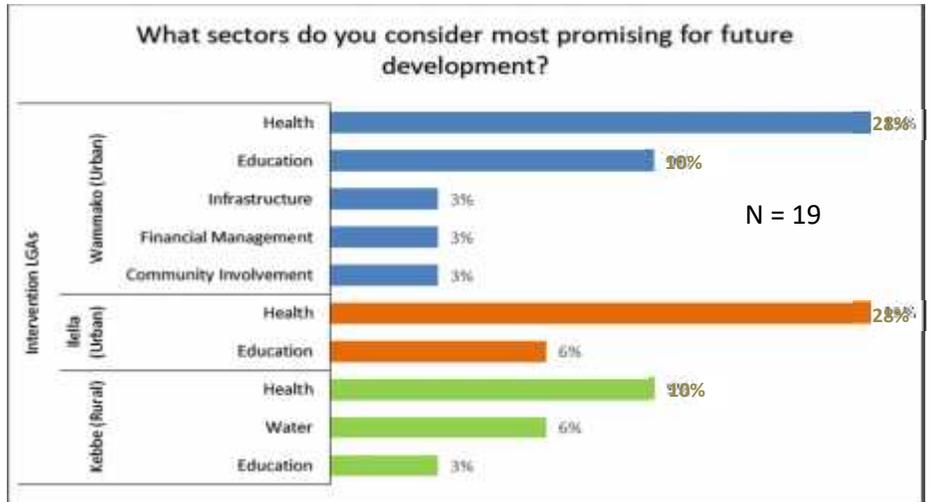


Figure SEQ Figure * ARABIC 6 What sectors do you consider most promising for future development (Sokoto state)?

Respondents were asked questions on what sectors

they consider most promising for future development in their local governments. Depending of respondent’s location, background and preference, answers ranged from health education, financial management to water and sanitation. Figure 6, below, presents the pattern of responses in urban and rural local governments. Health and education were generally considered as sectors with the best promise for development in the future. According to an official from an urban local government: *"To me I will say the health sector. It is the sector where we have all hands on deck and willing to assist. Almost all the foreign and home based NGOs are involved in the health sector. So anywhere you find a lot of people invested it has a potential for development."*

Another official held a different view when he identified internally generated revenue as the sector with greatest potential in the future. In his words: *"With good leaders I think if we continue on the path that we are now, boosting our internally generated revenue and putting it to good use, I think we will soar in*

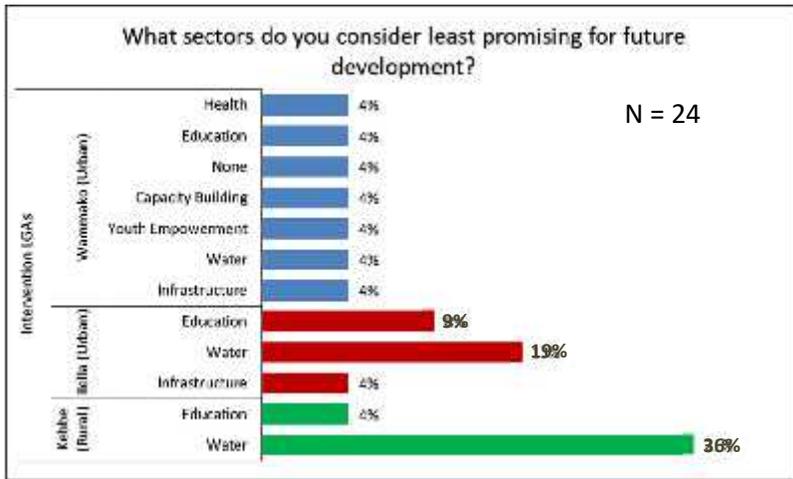


Figure SEQ Figure 1* ARABIC 7 What sectors do you consider least promising for future development (Sokoto state)?

term of finance."

Yet another local government official had this to say: *"Health and education both will greatly improve in the near future."*

A respondent from a rural local

government put it pointedly: *"Water*

sanitation, because we have healthy society as a result of clean water in our LGA."

When the question was asked which sectors respondents believed holds the least promise for development in the future, responses were diverse as could be seen in Figure 7. In the rural LGA, water emerged as the sector with greatest challenge in terms of future



Picture SEQ Picture * ARABIC 12 Male FGD Sokoto state

development. As a respondent put it: ***"I want more attention to be given to the water sector because of the problems faced now by many communities; which complain but the local government cannot resolve this problem; this is a matter for state and national government."*** Similarly, another respondent in the rural LGA, Kebbe, noted: ***"Ruwa! (Water!) Because in some places there is difficulty in reaching water even if the borehole is being constructed, if they try and no water, then in the future, they will just abandon that work."***

The views were slightly different in urban local governments where the concern for future development focused on other sectors. In one urban LGA, an official said: ***"I think the education sector is lagging behind and it needs to step up because when children and the youth are always on the streets instead of school or at restaurants and motor parks begging."***

In another urban LGA, a respondent pointed to the issue of youth empowerment as the area with least prospect for future development. In his words: ***"Youth empowerment is the sector with least promise for future development. The youth need to be equipped with skills and prospective employment. Because they are idle unemployed. Youth are dangerous to themselves and the society. For example if the youth can be enlightened on farming, it will be great."***

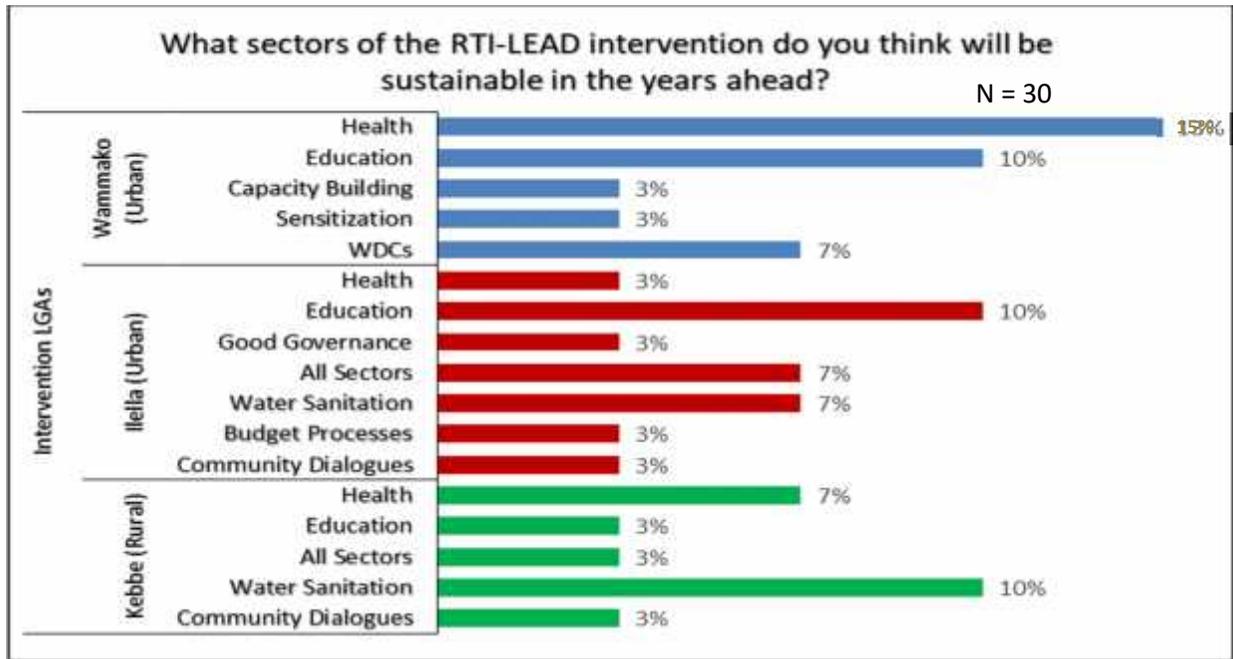


Figure SEQ Figure * ARABIC 8 What sectors of the RTI-LEAD intervention do you think will be sustained in the years ahead (Sokoto state)?

Respondents were asked which aspects of RTI-LEAD interventions they believed would be most likely to be sustained and by whom. Figure 8 captures the pattern of responses. In urban LGAs, the majority of respondents identified health and education as the sectors where RTI-LEAD interventions are more likely to be sustained. On the other hand, the majority of respondents in the rural LGAs believed that gains in the water sector during the LEAD's timeline holds the greater prospect of being sustained, followed by health. According to a local government official in a rural LGA: *"RTI-LEAD project strengthened the LGA official staff to deliver water sanitation. They have done a great deal of work in water."*

Another respondent from the rural local government supported the perspective that RTI-LEAD intervention in water sanitation will be sustained when he said: *"Firstly, successes in water sanitation, because we have more boreholes now and the citizens know how to repair them when they get broken."*

Other respondents mentioned WDCs and community dialogues as sustainable interventions. One representative opinion of a community respondent exemplified this by pointing to participatory decision making: *"Involvement of community members in government activities will continue for the next 10 years, due to its benefits."* Another respondent in an urban LGA provided an similarly generic response when he said that *"Whatever we have learned through LEAD and the platforms created will be sustained even when the project comes to an end."*

1.7. 1 Citizens' and officials' prospects for the future of the community in control LGAs in Sokoto state

Officials held a somewhat grim perspective on the future of the community, revolving largely around mitigating the conflict identified as the area of least change. One official noted that: "The future of this LGA is depended on law and order". While the majority of the respondents in the intervention LGAs (Wammako, Illela, and Kebbe) believed that the future of their LGA is very bright in terms of development potentials, the data collected from the control LGA shows that only 5% of the respondents were positive about the development potential of their LGA. The fact that the majority of respondents in the control LGA were aware of the LEAD intervention and its impact in neighbor LGAs created a situation of disgruntlement with conditions in the LGA, as well as impatience and pessimism about the future.

2.0 Bauchi State - Retrospective and Prospective insights on the LEAD project

2.1 Exploring changing relationships in Bauchi

The exploration of Bauchi state will cover similar questions as was discussed above. In particular, how did the relationship between citizens and local government change over the course of the LEAD project and what particular program activity or



Picture SEQ Picture * ARABIC 13 KII with LGA official in Bauchi state

initiative of LEAD catalyzed this change? As in the case of Sokoto

state, these questions are explored through in-depth interviews and focus group discussions in the urban and rural intervention LGAs. These questions will also be explored by comparing experiences of change in the intervention and control LGAs. While several responses were offered to this question, this study highlights the areas the majority of respondents pointed to. Responses to this point of inquiry will be explored in terms of responses of citizens, LGA- and state level officials, and responses by CBOs and state level CSOs.

2.2 Changing relationships - From distance and conflict to engagement and partnership - perspectives of Government Officials and citizens from intervention LGAs (urban and local) in Bauchi state

Ningi and Misau were selected as the urban LGAs and Dass selected as the rural LGA. Ganjuwa was selected as the non-intervention or control LGA. Community members from Ningi LGA explained the transformation of relationships in the following terms: "*Because of the knowledge we got in this program, we don't shy*

away from coming to see the LGA and we often come once or twice and it is because of this the training we got...This never happened before!"

Responses from government officials to probing questions about changes in relationships between government and citizens reveal a pattern similar to Sokoto state. Respondents recalled a pre-project relationship in terms of distance and separation between the officials and citizens and described the current relationship as one of engagement and partnership. A local government official from Ningi LGA noted that: *"Before, the situation was bad and people may even run away from you; it was the LEAD project that brought all these changes, it is the 100% the bringer of these changes. My relationship as a planning officer with the community members is good and cooperating."* Community members in urban LGAs shared a similar view as reported by one community member interviewed: *"LGA officials were not anxious to mingle with the community in their activities because they see it as interfering in their activities. But with LEAD the LGA now understands that the citizens did not come to interfere in their works but rather they come in order to assist them in executing some projects. It really helped."*

"Before, the situation was bad and people may even run away from you; it was the LEAD project that brought all these changes, it is the 100% the bringer of these changes"

One LGA respondent in a rural area shared his perspective about the LGA's changing relationship with community members in the last 8 years when he said: *"In the past when information was not being shared the community, people used to come to the secretariat and shout". Since LEAD our relationship (Alakar mu) with the community is good."*

Similar to LGA respondents in Sokoto, respondents in urban areas in Bauchi also admitted that before LEAD there was almost no engagement with women but that as a result of LEAD, the LGAs were strategically working with women.



Picture SEQ Picture * ARABIC 14 KII with LGA official in Bauchi state

Unlike Sokoto, though, LGA officials in the two urban LGA in

Bauchi state seemed to hold an almost feminist view of women, explaining that: ***"We are gender sensitive and so women are so powerful. For instance, they can even influence their husbands."***

In addition to working with women under the LEAD project, respondents in intervention urban LGAs identified another innovation which did not exist prior. Respondents in Ningi LGA explained that before LEAD, the LGA engaged with traditional and religious leaders, youth groups, and other

"It was only with the coming of LEAD that there was a transition from bilateral consultation to multi-interest group engagements in LEAD supported platforms."

constituencies. However, it was only with the coming of LEAD that there was a transition from bilateral consultations with the LGA to multi-interest platform based group engagements in LEAD inspired gatherings. One LGA respondent from Ningi LGA explained that such platforms included: *"Community leaders, religious leaders, associations and the disabled people... Before LEAD came, there were no such platforms. The only thing we did was to contact a traditional leader whenever we were going to his village. But we now bring them all together same time."*

Yet another significant area of change is that the community representatives interviewed noted that officials now engaged with individual citizens and with associations. They noted that in the past, individual community members sought out and interacted with officials. Since LEAD, associations were as significant as individual community members and were equally engaged by officials. One community member interviewed noted that: *"Yes, as a result of RTI-LEAD the LGA officials now relates well with us as citizens and as groups in the community such as Community-based Organizations & WDCs."* Further insights were shared by community members on the new relationship between the LGA and representative community associations. One official from the LGA in Dass had this to say: *"Before LEAD the difference was much. Before only one person will sit down and organize activities or projects in the LGA ... but now it is the civil*

society organization that the LGA will call together." A related observation shared by officials from the Ningi community member was that the role of CSOs had been transformed from that of awareness creation to that of advocates and empowerment agents. He said: *"Because of the capacity building we now have in LEAD we are not only doing things like sensitization when they look for us to create awareness among people. We are on WDCs."*

Another pointed noted was the frequency of engagement. One official of the LGA compared the past with the current experience in this way: *"Before the RTI-LEAD we faced difficulty trying to convince the people about what the LGA is doing or planning to do for them. We were not actually engaging the community member before the LEAD like we are doing now. It was difficult to organize community meetings even once in a year but now with the support LEAD we are organizing*

meeting quarterly." Figure 9 below



Picture SEQ Picture * ARABIC 15 Female FGD Bauchi state

summarizes feedback and insights from key informants on experiences of changes before and after the LEAD intervention. The figure shows that from the interviews conducted in the intervention LGAs, an overwhelming majority (100% in Misau, 100% in

Dass and 86% in Ningi) of the

respondents in the intervention LGAs were of the view that the relationship between community and LGA officials has changed for the better in the last 8 years except some few (14% in Ningi) that stated the relationship is still the same.

On the contrary, a significant percentage of the respondents interviewed in the control LGA held the view the relationship between the community and the LGA

officials is still the same and an even larger percentage stated that it can be rated average in the last 8 years (Fig. 9).

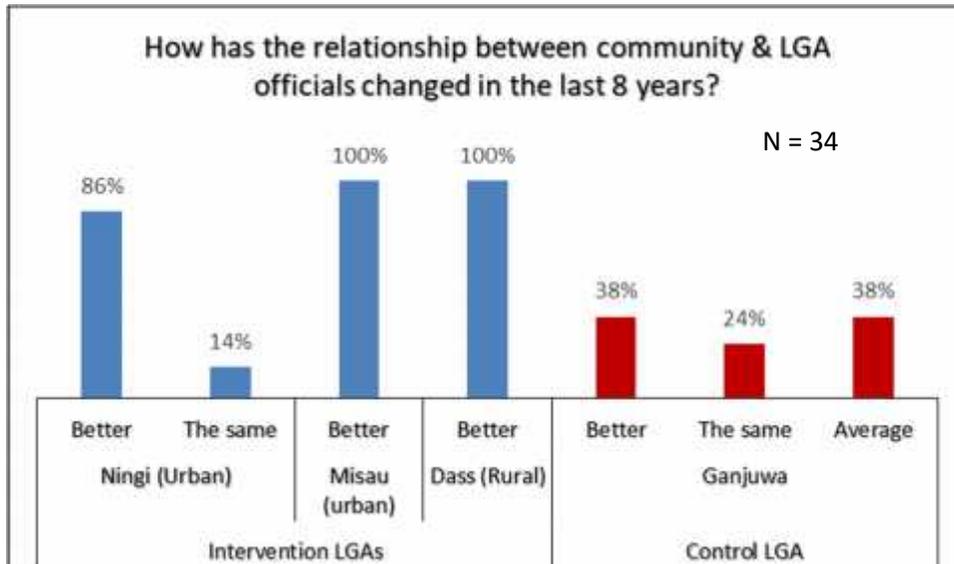


Figure SEQ Figure * ARABIC 9 Change in relationship between community and LGA in Bauchi state

In the non-intervention LGA Ganjuwa, officials also described changes in relationships over the past 8 years. However these relationships were not between the LGA and citizens or their platforms; rather they were described in bilateral terms as the relationships between specific interest groups such as the association of road transport workers and the LGA. Thus it appears that LGA officials and citizens were not as connected and engaged with each other in the control LGA as in the three LEAD intervention LGAs surveyed.



Another way in which experiences of change in Ganjuwa differed from the intervention sites relates to the engagement of women. During FGDs with women in Ganjuwa, LGA respondents lamented exclusion from decision making. Their experience of engagement is limited to being mobilized to clean public sanitation and health facilities. During the FGD, one female respondent noted *"Honestly the men involved in the decision making don't tell us anything, they leave us out and our husbands now will allow us to go out. We cleaned the hospital, also there was drainage system, and we clean."* Therefore while there were changing attitudes within the family where husbands now allow their wives to go out, the authority structure at community level has not yet adjusted to incorporate women into decision making bodies.

Therefore while there were changing attitudes within the family where husbands now allow their wives to go out

2.2 Changing attitudes (mutual respect and openness) for LGA officials and citizens

Community members in urban LGAs who were active in decision making platforms expressed an increased respect for LGA officials, viewing them as technically competent, accessible, and concerned about the people, especially young people. This was a finding that was similar to the situation in Sokoto state with one significant difference: community members expressed pity and empathy for LGA officials who they viewed as being pushed around by the state government and not allowed "to do their work for the people".

Another qualification to the general finding of respect and admiration is that officials with responsibility for revenue collection were reviled and feared. This was particularly so in the rural LGA of Dass. One official from the Dass LGA expressed the situation in the following terms: *"I will say internally generated revenue was highly unsuccessful as the way things are now, everything needs*

money in our markets, there are things that are supposed to be done but the authorities when they try to collect it they use to be exchange of words with officials collecting revenue."

An unexpected finding was that community members who were involved in accountability platforms revealed that they enjoyed increased respect from community members for their ability to identify and communicate community needs to LGA officials.



Picture SEQ Picture * ARABIC 17 KII with traditional leader Bauchi state

One participant in community dialogues of Ningi LGA had this to say: "*We sit down and do priority setting from all the wards like we sit down with the community, communities come out with their needs, and we will bring it out and take it here to there to the local government... hey respect us because we have much knowledge to use for the people.*"

With regard to the attitudes of LGA officials, interviews with such officials in Misau LGA revealed a new respect for traditional leaders in particular who officials no longer see as "gatekeepers to be used" but active participants to engage. LGA officials in Dass LGA also expressed a new respect for women and children as a result of the LEAD project. One official noted: ***"Truly women are our parents and I will say their contributions have been good...they bring their complaints, they will sit with us and get us to improve on the things, they have really played a vital role. Anytime RTI-LEAD do meetings with women they bring their wisdom."***

Another qualification to the general finding of respect and admiration is that officials with responsibility for revenue collection were reviled and feared.



In the control LGA with no LEAD intervention, traditional and religious leaders were viewed in utilitarian terms as instruments to mitigate conflict and most recently rural banditry.

In contrast, in non-intervention LGA, female respondents participating in FGDs painted a worrying picture about the attitudes of LGA officials to women in the community. They noted that LGA officials' attitude to them was one of pity. In her words ***"They would pity women and if we bring our problems they respond and they help us...but after that there is nothing."*** Similarly, in the control LGA with no LEAD intervention, traditional and religious leaders were viewed in utilitarian terms as instruments to mitigate conflict and most recently rural banditry. A LGA official in the control LGA expressed this view in the following terms: ***"If we hear anything***

like invasion of some towns, we get to know that through traditional leaders because they write to us. A meeting between Local Government management and security would then be convened and discuss whether they can tackle it at local level. If it is so serious, it would be communicated to Bauchi."

2.3 Citizens' and LGA attitudes towards the potential for change and improvement in local services and governance

LGA officials in urban intervention LGAs expressed a very positive attitude towards the sustainability of change in governance and local government services. Officials from these LGAs based this optimism on the new skills they acquired which they explained they will continue to apply after the LEAD close out. While LGA officials in Sokoto state linked the prospect of continued improvement in services with the training they received, they did not identify specific learning

points. However, in Bauchi state, officials responded to interviewers' questions about the potential for improvement in local services by identifying the key skills taught by LEAD of *"priority setting, meeting*



management, public expenditure tracking systems development, and revenue mobilization." For officials, the future will be assured if these skills could be sustained in the future.

Government respondents in the urban intervention LGA also believed that the important innovation of community radio would continue after LEAD. One official of an urban LGA said: ***"Due to LEAD intervention as we have community radio where we mobilized people through radio yes, this will remain."***

"Due to LEAD intervention as we have community radio where we mobilized people through radio. Yes, this will remain".

The community members expressed less enthusiasm and belief that services and good governance will be sustained. The level of skepticism was about the same in both urban and rural LGAs and also found to exist in the non-intervention LGA. In all cases, respondents explained their skepticism in terms of state level politics which undermined the ability of local level officials to deliver on services. One community level respondent in Misau LGA best explained this situation in the following words: ***"The problem is with the changes of the leaders in the LGA, today is this one, and then tomorrow is not him. When you start with this one in the LGA and they change him. Even the knowledge he has of working with you, he goes with it.... there are a lot of changes, more than before."***

When addressing the question of the potential for change in the future, LGA officials in the non-intervention LGA addressed this issue in terms of remuneration of workers. By their logic, if staff were well paid in any sector, then the sector would work well and the converse. There was no discussion of inclusion, participation or other governance indicators valued in the LEAD project. One statement by a LGA official captures this well: ***"In the health sector, personnel are really trying their best and the sector is doing well... the personnel who managed them are well paid. So also in educational sector. In water we have problems."***

2.4 Service and sectors in which citizens and government officials feel there have been the most and least changes

The survey inquired about the extent of change in governance, service delivery, transparency, and accountability over the past 8 years of the LEAD project. A

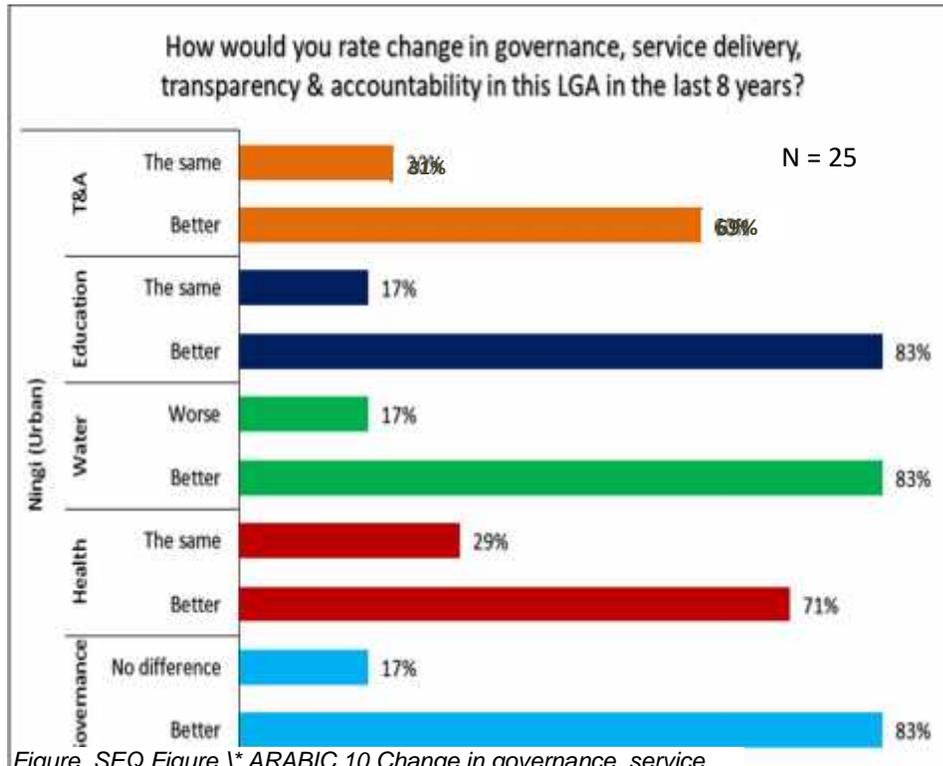


Figure SEQ Figure 1* ARABIC 10 Change in governance, service delivery, transparency & accountability in Ningi LGA (Bauchi state)

sample of 25 community members were interviewed on this question.

The Figures 10, 11 and 12 present their responses. In Ningi LGA, when 25 community members were asked this

question the majority believed

that governance, service delivery (health, water, education), and transparency and accountability are better than they used to be before RTI-LEAD project (Fig. 10).

This is an important finding as it demonstrates that civics attached greater value to capacity improvements in the ways the sector works rather than the service outputs of the sector per se.

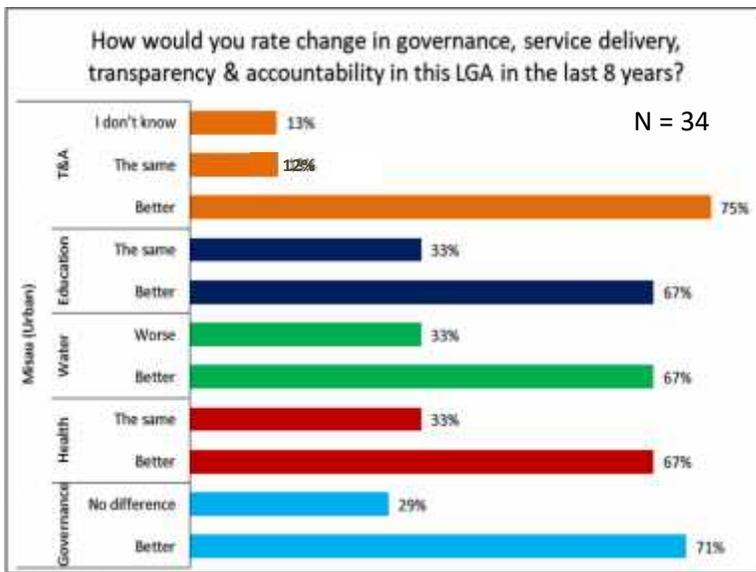
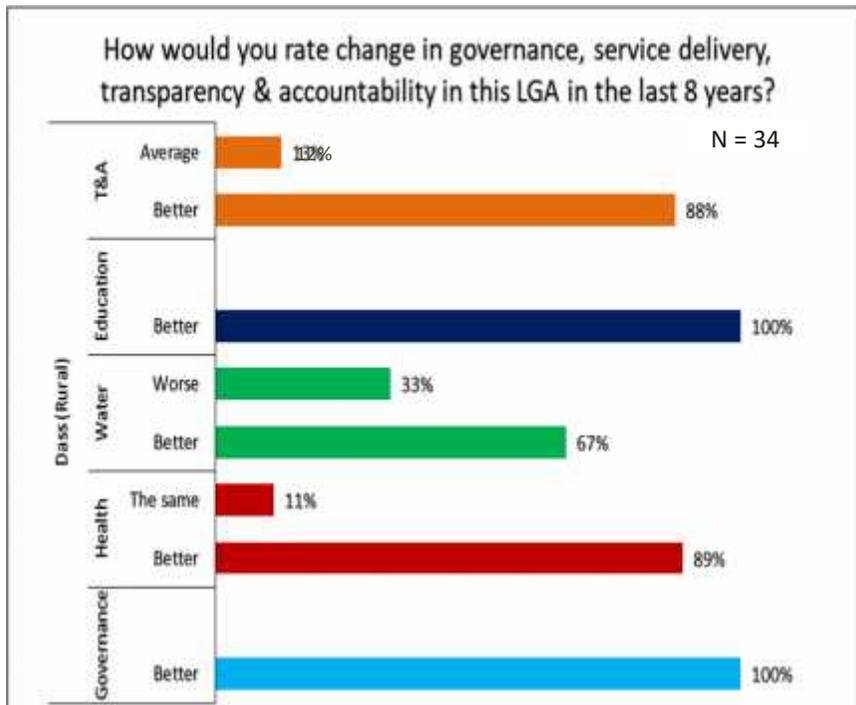


Figure SEQ Figure * ARABIC 11 Change in governance, service delivery, transparency & accountability in Misau LGA (Bauchi state)

In Misau, another urban LGA, the majority of civics expressed the opinion that there is substantial improvement in governance, service delivery (health, water & education), and transparency and accountability as shown in Figure 11. In the words of a community representative respondent:

"There is much improvement in water. I can recall sometime ago LEAD conducted training on water sanitation improvement and trained some CSOs,



SBMC and WDC from different Wards to conduct a search on the purity and source of water. They also give them equipment to go and repair any borehole in their Ward and called another meeting to check how many boreholes are

Figure SEQ Figure 1* ARABIC 12 Change in governance, service delivery, transparency & accountability in Dass LGA (Bauchi state)

functioning." In rural LGA Dass, community respondents held similar views on improved governance, service delivery, and transparency and accountability. Figure 12 illustrates responses similar to the urban LGAs with governance and education identified as having experienced the most change.

Community members in the non-intervention LGAs held strong and negative views about sectors in which there was least change arguing that all sectors recorded no-change over the past 8 years. This was particularly so in the case of rural areas. One female participant in an FGD in Ganjuwa LGA put it this way: *"All aspects of water, health and education, all these, none is better than the other over the years Between man and God people are still suffering, just recently there are some people that come to complain to me as the women leader of Ganjuwa local government on problem of water."*

In addition to the in-depth inquiry in the issue of most and least changes as reported by community based respondents, this study also explored similar questions with government officials in both the intervention and control LGAs.

Interestingly, responses from officials were quite similar to that of the community respondents. Both put a strong emphasis on improvements to good governance, accountability and transparency, as opposed to sectors such as water and education.

A local government official in Dass LGA offered an explanation for changes in these sectors in the following manner: *"Before what was absent was seeking for the citizens views which what they want. They*



were not asked about their views. Now they are included. That is most important change."

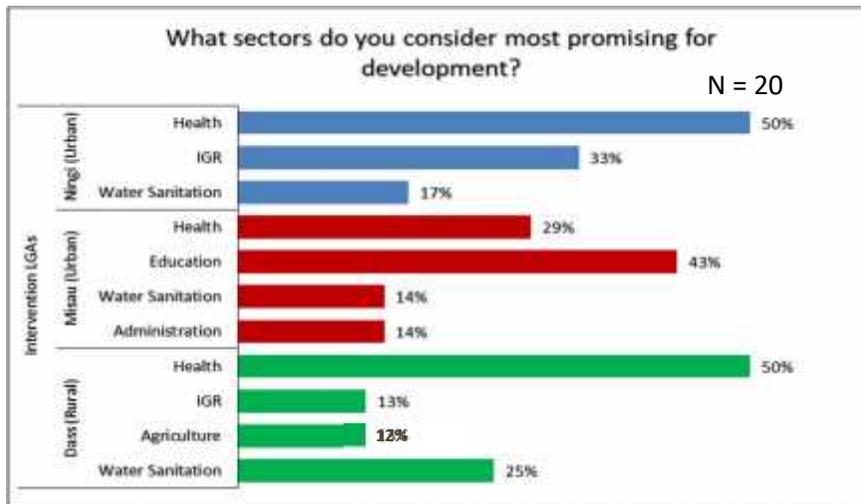
In Misau LGA a respondent said: *"The advent of RTI-LEAD created awareness to the people so they seek information on the happenings in the local government. For the local government that is the best change."*

2.5 Citizens' and officials' feelings about the future of their communities

In Figure 13, respondents shared insights on the future of their local governments. In Ningi, most of the respondents believed the local government has great development potential while some cautioned that future progress is contingent on the availability of funding. Others envisaged prospects for improved community inclusion (CI) in local governance. Responses in Misau included increased developmental potential, improvement in health, improved democracy, and

improved community inclusion. Only a few respondents shared the view the future is not promising.

In Dass, the majority of respondents held the opinion that the local government has great potential for more development while a number of respondents foresaw improvement in health. Similar to the urban LGAs, some respondents in Dass felt that future progress is dependent on adequate funding. One respondent from an



for development (Bauchi state)?

urban local government put it this way: *"By training and retraining by RTI we have received new ideas ... In the next decades there would be good future development in this LGA."* A similarly

optimistic outlook was evident in the perspective of another respondent in a different urban local government who said: *"We have great hope about the future development in this community so long as the LGA can be truly autonomous."* In the rural LGA surveyed one official put it this way: *"There will be continued developments because RTI-LEAD has educated people on developmental projects and had encouraged people to contribute to carry out some projects themselves."*

"There will be continued development because RTI-LEAD has educated people on development projects and had encouraged people to contribute to carry out some projects themselves".

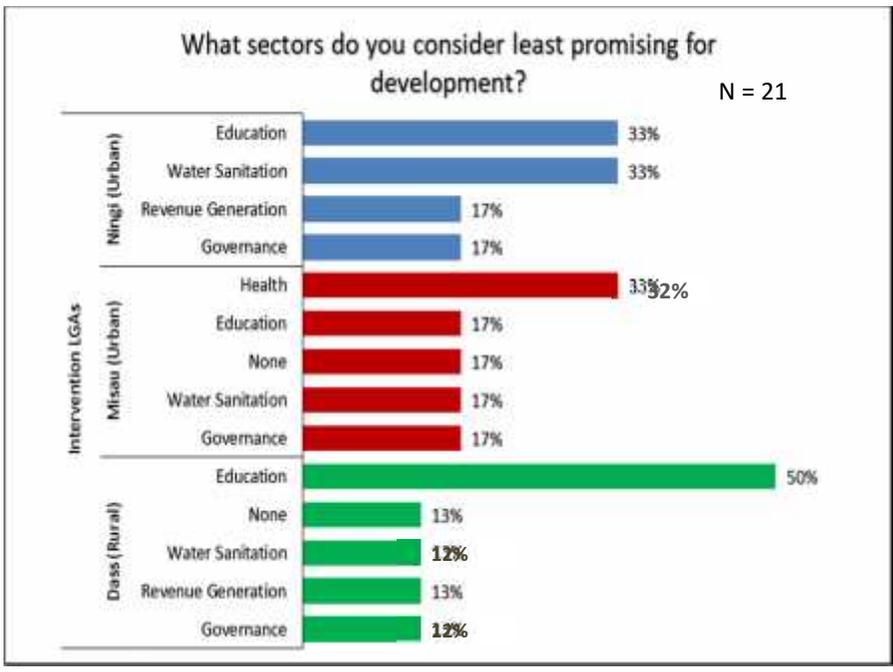


Figure SEQ Figure 1* ARABIC 14 what sectors do you consider least promising for development (Bauchi state)?

LGA and community respondents were asked which sectors they considered most promising and least promising in their respective local government areas. Figure 14 captures responses to the question. This figure shows that in Ningi, health, internally generated revenue (IGR) and water/sanitation were

mentioned as the most promising sectors for development in the future. In Misau, the order was slightly different with respondents identifying education, health, and water/sanitation as most promising sectors. With respect to rural Dass, the majority of respondents identified health as the most promising sector followed by water/sanitation, IGR, and agriculture. When the question about the least promising sectors was explored, responses varied. In Ningi LGA, respondents identified education and water/sanitation as the least promising sectors, followed by revenue generation and governance. Respondents in Misau LGA identified health as least promising, followed by education, water/sanitation, and governance. A significant number of respondents in Misau LGA chose education as the least promising sector followed by governance, revenue generation and water/sanitation. There were respondents who felt that no sector could be termed as least promising.

When the views of community members were probed about the future of their community, the sustainability of LEAD achievements was central to

In one FGD with 10 women participants, none had an answer to our questions on their feelings about the future of their communities. They responded that, they "could not really see the future".

the discussion. Respondents were asked about the sustainability of RTI-LEAD interventions in their respective local government areas. In Ningi, more respondents believed that all the RTI-LEAD initiatives will be sustained. In Misau LGA, the majority of respondents held the view that RTI-LEAD initiatives in health will be sustained in the coming years. This was followed by transparency and accountability initiatives, capacity building and service improvement plans. In rural LGA Dass, the majority of respondents held the view that education improvements will be sustainable. This was followed by transparency and accountability initiatives, water/sanitation, and health.

Interestingly, in the non-intervention LGA, Ganjuwa, respondents did not have

strong views about the sector with the most promise.

Indeed, in one FGD with 10 women participants, none had an answer to our questions on their feelings about the future of their communities. They responded that, they "***could not really see the future.***"

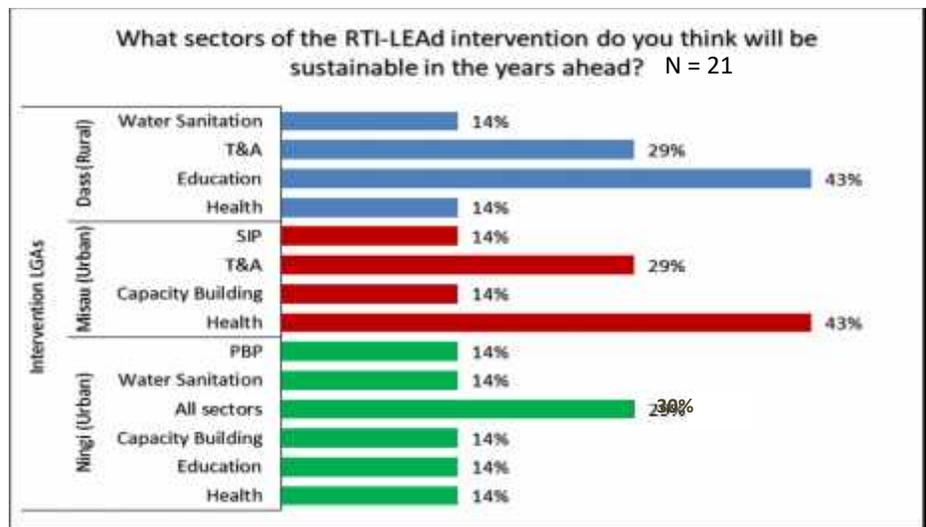


Figure SEQ Figure 1* ARABIC 15 What sectors of the RTI-LEAD intervention do you think will be sustainable in the years ahead (Bauchi state)?

Conclusions

The impact evaluation of the LEAD project conducted by the dRPC over a five month period, has surveyed the views of over 400 respondents in both Sokoto and Bauchi states to examine and address the research questions above. The study revealed a *status quo* of disengagement, social distance, isolation, and exclusion between local authority and disempowered subjects prior to the LEAD project. From the responses of officials and community members, the study documented how this *status quo ante* was transformed to a new reality of engagement, inclusion, and broad based integrated planning and programming. Findings also pointed to the embedded nature of the intervention after an 8 year timeline and the fact that capacity was built on both the demand and supply sides of local governance. Coupled with the optimism that community members and LGA officials held for the future, capacity and new technical skills suggest strong possibilities for sustainability of this intervention post-project close out.

On a final note, the discussion in the methodology section above must be recalled where it was observed that the LEAD project leapfrogged from champion intervention LGAs to non-intervention LGAs. This called into question our survey protocol and dichotomy between control and intervention research sites. While this was indeed a challenge to the survey methodology, and even acknowledged as a limitation above, the fact that LEAD's sub-state selective focus was invalidated by the project's broad reach across almost all LGAs in Sokoto and Bauchi states points to LEAD's statewide impact. LEAD has directly and indirectly impacted the governance structure throughout the two states; it has presented and supported an alternative governance model which though not accepted by all decision makers is nonetheless known to them. The interview responses from a representative from the Bauchi State House of Assembly best captures the statewide pervasiveness of LEAD when he said: *"I work at the state level, not at LGA level. In my work as a*

legislative member, I have never had direct linkage or information about LEAD activities. But there was a time a coalition of civil society in my constituency (not a LEAD champion LGA) invited me for a meeting and presented me with their priorities areas that they identified and wanted it to be included in the state annual budget. I know LEAD had something to do with this."

A challenge, however, lies with the broad success of LEAD. The challenge is that for many community members the main takeaway of LEAD is that they should be self-sufficient and ensure sustainability through their own efforts. In a real sense, this position runs counter to the advocacy role envisaged for civics in an ideal local governance model. While this was not the message of LEAD it was nonetheless a takeaway. This suggest that any follow-up intervention must strike a design and conceptual balance between the merits of self-help and of commitment advocacy.

Appendices:

Appendix 1: Review of LEAD Evaluations

Title	Author, Year	Objectives/Purpose	Methodology	Key Findings	Limitations
<i>Mid-Term Performance Evaluation of LEAD Project</i>	<i>Edward Birgells, 2013</i>	<i>To evaluate achievement towards expected results and document best practices and lessons learned during the project's implementation.</i>		<ul style="list-style-type: none">) Strengthened local government capacity for strategy development and improved internal structures;) Local government operations are now more transparent;) The capacity of 13 CSOs has been strengthened;) Service delivery has been improved, particularly in Sokoto State. Sixty community priority projects were included in LGA 2012 budgets in Sokoto and Bauchi;) Gender issues are being addressed. Women and the handicapped are part of all planning and capacity building efforts, and women have been appointed to director and sectional head positions in service departments in Bauchi;) Budget Skills Improved in both states. 	<i>At least half (50%) of the implementing LGAs in the two states were to be visited as contained in the original evaluation scope of work. However, this was not achieved due to lack of time.</i>
LEAD: An Analysis of Intergovernmental Flows for Local Services in Bauchi and	Henry P. Minis, 2011 Henry (Hal) P. Minis, RTI International	To stimulate a discussion about the current intergovernmental framework by providing a	A multidimensional methodology was employed in this study.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">) Assignment of responsibilities for local services is complex, often overlapping, and generally 	The study could not recruit and interview elected officials at the local

<p>Sokoto States</p>	<p>Hon. Adamu Jibrin</p>	<p>preliminary analysis of the current state of local service provision and funding in Bauchi and Sokoto states.</p>	<p>Relevant local and state government officials in Bauchi and Sokoto States were interviewed to explore their understanding of processes and perception of issues around governance. In Bauchi, the subjects for this interview included officials from the Ministry for Local Government Affairs, Ministry of Budget and Economic Planning (MBEP), Office of the Auditor General for Local Government, Office of the Accountant General, Ministry of Health, and Ministry of Education. While officials from Ministry for Local Government Affairs, Ministry of Budget and Economic Planning, Office of the State Auditor General, and the State Universal Basic Education Board were interviewed in Sokoto State. Moreover, selected</p>	<p>disempowers local governments;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">) The statutory allocation process through the JAC is not fully transparent;) Local governments have prioritized providing employment over qualifications in service staffing;) Information flow and availability hampers the process at many points at both state and local levels;) There is inadequate information for citizens about LGA services and projects, including implemented projects;) Several an accounted deductions from LG allocations to various agencies including SUBEB and Primary Health Care Development Agency;) IGR's contribution to total revenue is minor and almost insignificant;) Auditors have difficulty performing audits of LGAs because of poor documentation and slow LGA responses to questions in Bauchi;) While capital projects 	<p>government level because there was no LGA election in the two states.</p>
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			<p>officials from 10 and 12 LGAs in Bauchi and Sokoto States respectively were interviewed. Those interviewed at LGA level included Secretary, Head of Administration, Director Finance, and Service Heads.</p>	<p>consume the majority of budgeted resources, it is difficult to tell how many are actually implemented in Bauchi;</p> <p>) Allocation criteria favor smaller LGAs, which calls into question the meaning of an equitable distribution system in Sokoto;</p> <p>) Local governments play a key role in planning capital projects, those that are funded by the LGA and joint projects in Sokoto;</p>	
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Appendix 3 Research design for Impact Evaluation of LEAD project in Sokoto & Bauchi States

DESIGN PARAMETERS		SOKOTO				Sokoto and Bauchi	BAUCHI			
		Urban intervention		Rural intervention	Urban control		State Level	Rural intervention	Urban intervention	
	Informants	Wamakko	Illela	Kebbe	Kware			Dass	Ningi	Misau
Key Informant Interviews	DPM	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1
	Council Member	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1
	Sectional Head Planning	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1
	Sectional Head Revenue	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1
	Sectional Head Water	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1
	Rep of Min of LGA	-	-	-	1		-	-	-	-
	Director Health	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1
	Director Works	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1
	Director Finance	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1
	Director, Min for local Govt, Sokoto state	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
	Ast Dir Statistics, Min of Local Govt Sokoto	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
	Min of L/Gov Bauchi					2				
	Head of Local CSO	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1
	WDC Chairperson	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1
	Traditional Leader	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1
Sub-total		11	11	11	12		11	11	11	11
Focus Group Discussions	Representative of Women Groups	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1
	Representative from Local CSO	2	2	2	2		2	2	2	2
	Representative of LGA officials	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1
	Representative of Legislature	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1
	Community members	25	25	25	25		25	25	25	25
Total		53	53	53	53	2	53	53	53	53



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