

VOICES4CHANGE

EMPOWERING ADOLESCENT GIRLS AND WOMEN IN NIGERIA

BEING A MAN IN NIGERIA: PERCEPTIONS AND REALITIES

A Landmark Research Report by Voices 4 Change (V4C) - Nigeria
September, 2015

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ABOUT VOICES 4 CHANGE

Voices 4 Change programme (V4C) Nigeria aims to strengthen the enabling environment for the empowerment of adolescent girls and women in Nigeria. Funded by the UK's Department for International Development (DFID) and managed by a Palladium-led consortium, the programme is targeted at adolescent girls and women and those around them, particularly boys, men and traditional and religious formal and informal institutions. The goal of working with these stakeholders and institutions is to facilitate a desired shift in negative and stereotypical attitudes and behaviours towards girls and women, and create an enabling environment for positive gender relations and peaceful co-existence.

The programme has five complimentary outputs:

Output 1

Work with adolescent girls and women to improve life skills, building networks, campaigning to promote positive social norms;

Output 2

Use of traditional and new media to promote positive social norms and challenge discrimination;

Output 3

Work with key influencers (religious and traditional leaders and institutions) and men and boys to promote positive gender norms;

Output 4

Target and work with political and legal institutions to inform policy change and implementation related to gender equality and women's empowerment;

Output 5

Generating research and evidence for informed planning, programming and policy engagements to contribute to the goal of gender equality and women's empowerment (GEWE).

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Patience Ekeoba

Lead, Research and Evidence Output

Voices 4 Change programme

LIST OF ACRONYMS

Acronym	Meaning
CAN	Christian Association of Nigeria
CDC	Community Development Committees
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CBO	Community – based Organisation
GBV	Gender Based Violence
GEM	Gender Equitable Men (Scale)
FGD	Focus Group Discussions
FGM/C	Femal Genital Mutilation/Cutting
FCT	The Federal Capital Territory
IDI	In-depth Interviews
NiMAGES	Nigerian Men and Gender Equality Survey
IPV	Intimate Partner Violence
JAS	Jama'atu Ahli Sunnah Lidda'awati Wal-Jihad
LGA	Local Government Area
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
OECD	The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PBUH	Peace be Upon Him
SIGI	Social Institutions and Gender Index
VAWG	Violence Against Women and Girls
V4C	Voices 4 Change

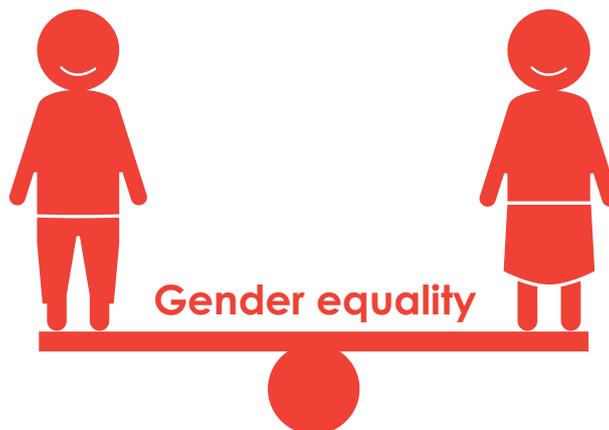
GLOSSARY

Masculinity (also called **manliness** or **manhood**) is a set of attributes, behaviours and roles generally associated with boys and men. It is a combination of socially defined and biological factors. Masculine traits include courage, independence and assertiveness. These traits vary by location and context, and are influenced by social and cultural factors.¹

Femininity (also called **girlishness**, **womanliness** or **womanhood**) is a set of attributes, behaviours, and roles generally associated with girls and women. Femininity is often perceived as a social construct, combining socially defined and biologically created factors. This makes it distinct from the definition of the biological female sex as both men and women can exhibit feminine traits.²

Gender equality is the absence of discrimination on the basis of a person's sex in opportunities and the equal allocation of resources or benefits or in access to services.³

Gender equity entails the provision of fairness and justice in the distribution of benefits and responsibilities between women and men. The concept recognises that women and men have different needs and power and that these differences should be identified and addressed in a manner that rectifies the imbalances between the sexes.⁴



Social norms are cultural products including values, customs, and traditions that represent individuals' basic knowledge of what others do and what others think they should do.⁵

Female genital mutilation/cutting (FGM/C): female genital mutilation for non - medical reasons, usually at an early age. Mutilation ranges from partial to total, and includes the removal of genital organs, stitching for cultural or other non-treatment reasons and is usually practiced several times through life (after birth or if the girl/woman is the victim of sexual assault).⁶

Wife/Widow inheritance, also known as bride inheritance, is a cultural and social practice whereby a widow is required to marry a kinsman of her late husband, often his brother. Examples of widow inheritance can be found in ancient and biblical times in the form of levirate marriage.⁷

Intimate partner violence (IPV) includes acts of physical aggression, psychological abuse, forced intercourse and other forms of sexual coercion, and various controlling behaviours such as isolating a person from family and friends or restricting access to information and assistance.⁸

Emotional IPV includes behaviour and action that deliberately insults, offends, upsets, belittles, intimidates and/or humiliates a partner directly, or indirectly by hurting people their partner cares about, or damaging things of importance or significance to them.⁹

Economic IPV includes behaviour and action that prohibits a partner from getting a job, going to work, trading or earning money. Economic violence may also include taking a partner's money against their will or utilising limited resources for personal gain by purchasing items in conflict to required and necessary household items.¹⁰

Physical IPV includes actual or threatened behaviour and action that physically hurts a partner, including the use of weapons, slapping, throwing objects, pushing, hitting, burning and choking.¹¹

Sexual violence: can be divided into three categories: (1) the use of physical force to compel a person to engage in a sexual act unwillingly, whether or not the act is completed; (2) an attempted or completed sexual act involving a person who, because of illness, disability, or the influence of alcohol or other drugs, or because of intimidation or pressure, is unable to understand the nature or condition of the act, decline participation, or communicate unwillingness to engage in the act; and (3) abusive sexual contact.

Violence against women and girls (VAWG) defined as 'any act of gender-based violence that results in or is likely to result in physical, sexual, psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life'. (UN declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women, 1993)



Gender-based violence (GBV): "physical, mental, or social abuse that is directed against a person because of his or her gender or gender role in a society or culture. In these cases, a person has no choice to refuse or pursue other options without severe social, physical, or psychological consequences"¹². GBV is any act... that results in, or is likely to result in physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life.¹³

Child Marriage: Nigeria Child Act 2007, defines a child as one who is below the age of eighteen years. Therefore, early marriage is defined as marriage to a child and in this case the consent of the child is not considered.

Wife hospitality:

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Understanding men's attitudes and practices to family, community life and relationships is crucial to improving and encouraging more equitable relationships between men and women.

The Voices 4 Change programme in Nigeria contributes to growing national and global interest in better understanding of men's attitudes, by providing innovative research and evidence to support debate and policy change and guide effective programme intervention.

The report is a synthesis of five studies – four qualitative and one quantitative – exploring how the culture of masculinity impacts on the way women are viewed and treated by men – and how women themselves regard the opposite sex.

Key findings of the studies, conducted in selected states in six geographical regions of Nigeria:

OVERALL FINDINGS

- Traditional gender attitudes and behavior may be changing in Nigeria as evidenced by responses garnered during the studies.
- At the broadest level, widely held ideas about masculinity and femininity are powerful “root causes” of gender inequality and violence against women in all its forms.
- Gender equitable and non-violent masculinities can bring important benefits to men and women alike, for example; better relationships, less stress, happier children, and future generations who reject violence against women and children in all forms.
- Positive, non-violent role models and education for men and boys (as well as women and girls) help ensure better gender equitable attitudes and behaviours. If these behaviours are inculcated in childhood and young adulthood, they last into adult life with family and possibly community-wide benefits.
- Rigid gender stereotypes of men and women create individual tensions, which find expression through negative social vices and interpersonal conflict and violence.

LESSONS FOR ENGAGING MEN AND WOMEN TO IMPROVE GENDER EQUITY

Perceptions of men's and women's behaviour:

- The majority of respondents in all five studies still believe men should be tough, intelligent, fearless and responsible – though women are largely regarded by men and women as being led by their emotions, making them weaker and more vulnerable than men.

Roles of men and women in the household:

- **Household decision-making dynamics are still often highly skewed in favour of men, but may gradually be changing.**
- **Participants overwhelmingly stated that it is a man's role to provide economically for the family.** However, women's increasing presence in the labour market is recognised as important for supporting their families and men in their role as providers.
- **Many men participate in household work which seems to be largely supported by participants and religious authorities.** However, the tasks men report participating in the most are traditionally associated with male heads of household, such as paying bills and repairing the house.

- **Men's involvement in parenting is still limited, but men with the most gender equitable attitudes reported contributing more.** Women and men in the study agreed that most men tend to play with their children or discipline them on a regular basis, but not contribute consistently to childcare in other ways.

Traditional practices and violence against women:

- **Respondents in Nigeria overwhelmingly reject many traditional practices, including FGM, wife inheritance, harmful widowhood practices and wife hospitality.** Similarly, only about one third of respondents agreed that early marriage "is important and should remain," with women more likely to hold this view than men. The education of girls is almost universally supported.
- **Violence against women and girls is widely tolerated.**

Over two thirds of all respondents agreed that "A woman should tolerate violence to keep her family together".

- **The prevalence of economic, emotional and physical intimate partner violence among participants is very high.** Men with the most gender-inequitable attitudes, older, informally employed and less educated men, were more likely to report perpetrating violence against a partner.

Leadership:

- **There are contradictions in the views about women as leaders and the tendency to view men as 'natural' leaders instead of women.** Although most men (and women) believe that women can be equally effective leaders, male and female participants of group discussions displayed largely discriminatory views. For example, considering women too emotional to lead.

Factors influencing masculinities:

- **Both Islamic and Christian religious teachings support gender equity and justice, although in practice interpretations appear contradictory.**
- **Dominant ideals of masculinity and femininity set standards that are difficult to reach, particularly in insecure environments that can engender violence, greater insecurity, economic decline, high unemployment, inequality and changed gender realities.**
- **Nigerian media promotes stereotypical ideas of men and women.**
- **Children raised in non-violent homes are more likely to be peaceful, compared to those who witness and experience physical, emotional and sexual violence in their homes and schools.** Roughly three in four respondents report being threatened with physical punishment in their childhood homes.

Impacts of masculinities:

- **Men report high rates of low-self-esteem, work-related stress and alcohol abuse.**
- **Widely held ideas about masculinity and femininity are powerful "root causes" of gender inequity and violence against women and in the community.**

Practising and promoting gender equitable attitudes and behaviours:

- There are concrete examples of individuals and communities in all states trying to promote gender equitable masculinities and improve the relationship between women and men in the household and in the community.

RECOMMENDATIONS

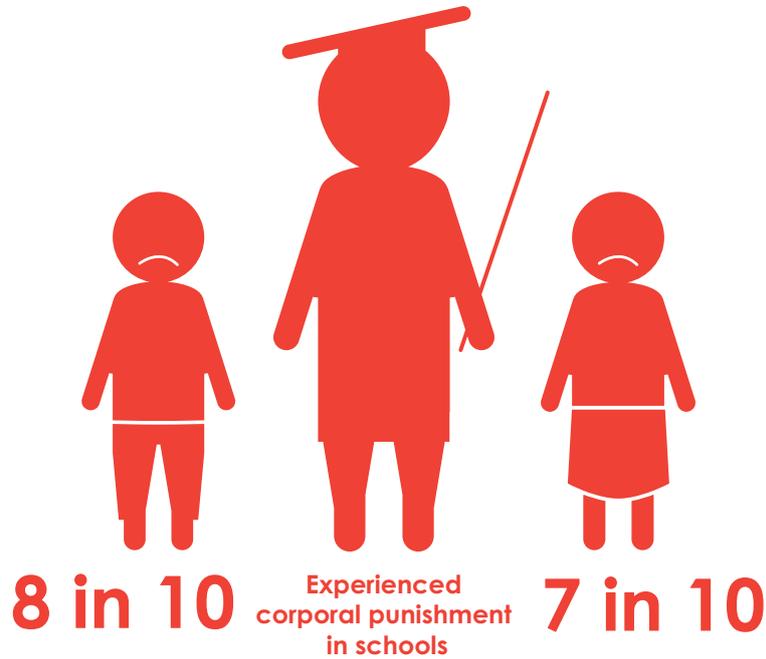
The following recommendations are designed for Nigerian activists, policymakers, researchers, religious leaders and others working at programme, policy or research levels to adapt and expand their work with men, boys, women and girls and Nigerian communities to advance a thriving, equitable gender-just future for all.

At Programme level:

1. Prioritise promotion of community-level awareness through education and campaigns to address prevailing social norms around violence, decision-making, leadership and undue expectations of male identity and relationships.
2. Increase capacity building of, and collaboration between, educational institutions, the media (and its regulatory agencies), independent community-based organisations (CBOs) for youth, women and peace, and traditional and religious institutions, to address negative gender social norms.
3. Support the education system to advance more equitable views of masculinity at all curriculum levels and address gender inequity, intolerance and perpetration of violence against children in school systems.
4. Expand and enhance work with young men, including activists, religious and traditional leaders in the community, who promote and model gender equitable masculine behaviour and popularise religious texts and books that support equitable access and opportunities for men and women.
5. Develop and roll-out social and economic activities for young people to address gaps in employment and others ventures that can enhance wellbeing and reduce restlessness.
6. Target and dedicate donor funding streams towards addressing underlying discriminatory gender norms.
7. Promote women in leadership positions and as positive change agents, providing platforms for meaningful policy influence and role modelling.

At Policy level:

1. Reform policies and practices of informal and formal institutions to promote and enforce positive equitable behaviours.
2. Establish and implement monitoring and evaluation frameworks and tools to support the effective mainstreaming of masculinity and gender issues into policies.
3. Review laws that undermine gender equity and support efforts to enforce existing legislation, for example the Violence Against Persons Prohibition Law (VAPP) promotes equality of opportunity for both sexes.
4. Acknowledge and consider the connections between conflict, masculinities, gender inequity and violence against women, children and in the community.



At Research level:

1. Conduct further research and analysis to unpack the specifics of gender norms in the context of different ethnicities, religions and regions.
2. Explore links between gender equitable attitudes and behaviours, stress, relationship satisfaction and community violence, alcohol abuse and childhood experience of violence. Undertake supplementary qualitative research to explore the nature of these links.
3. Undertake further studies to gain additional evidence where grey areas and contradictions exist, especially regarding acceptance and support for women's leadership.

INTRODUCTION

Nigeria can improve the wellbeing and social relations of citizens by addressing deep-rooted negative social norms about men and women.

Creating a new, more equitable culture will take sustained long term action by everyone with an interest in reaping these rewards. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) Social Institutions and Gender Index (SIGI) categorises Nigeria as highly inequitable (2014)¹⁴. High levels of gender inequity exist in Nigeria. Women benefit less than men from, and have lower participation rates in the economy, education, politics, health, access to justice and almost all areas of human development¹⁵.

Such inequity is partly rooted in patriarchal beliefs and practices that promote the dominance of men - and subordination of women. It presents a series of social expectations which dictate the qualities, behaviours, characteristics, needs, and roles for men vis-à-vis women¹⁶ and people who contradict expectations are often criticised and even penalised.

The inequitable ideas that underpin what it means to be a man and a woman in many societies don't just impact on women, but have consequences for men, their relationships with women and their families. Research consistently shows that men's behaviour – whether it is related to physical violence (in and outside the home), domestic work, caregiving, health-seeking behaviours, contraceptive use and HIV and STI prevention among others - tends to be influenced by their conformity with rigid and/or inequitable social norms traditionally tied to masculinity¹⁷.

A major challenge facing Nigeria the African continent, and the global community as a whole, is to dismantle inequitable social expectations of women and men as well as the injustices that result from them.

Understanding men's attitudes, their behaviours towards family, relationships and community life, as well as the underlying factors that prompt and support their dominance over women and girls, is crucial in bringing about this change.

Notions of masculinity must also be understood in relation to how women are viewed and treated by men and how women view and treat men and boys so we can encourage gender equitable masculinities and dismantle gender inequality barriers to accessing opportunities.

For years the lack of rigorous research to help us understand men's perceptions of these issues has been a major issue, both in Nigeria and globally.

Voices 4 Change (V4C) programme helps to meet this need by providing research and evidence to foster public debate and policy change on these issues. This report combines the findings of five research studies to shift the debate, attitudes and behaviours towards masculinity, femininity and gender equality in Nigeria. The five studies, and six briefs which draw on their evidence, are available for further reading at <http://www.v4c-nigeria.com> and include:

Two studies (quantitative and qualitative) using the Nigerian Men and Gender Equality Survey (NiMAGES) - **NiMAGES** is a large composite report, carried out through in-depth individual surveys focusing on ideas about masculinity and femininity, gender inequality, women in leadership, women in decision-making and violence against women and girls in six states¹⁸ in the six geo-political zones of Nigeria.

The Masculinity and Conflict study examines connections between masculinities, conflict and violence in four states¹⁹ in Nigeria.

The Masculinity and Religion study explores the influence of Islam and Christianity on masculinities in five states²⁰.

The Masculinity and Media study examines how mass media presents and shapes perception and behaviour of men, boys, women and girls drawing on media content analysis and interviews in three states²¹.

The Landmark Research Report (LRR) combines these studies into one narrative. It explores the connections between masculinities and femininities as they are experienced in Nigeria and how this impacts on men and women, their families and communities. It argues that when women and men equally participate in decision-making, leadership and other roles and responsibilities, and have equal access and opportunities in areas of life such as the home and community, it provides benefits for everyone.

However, achieving gender equitable masculinities and equality of opportunity in Nigeria are hindered by widespread insecurity, unemployment and inequality as well as current widespread support for male dominance over women. Shifting such dynamics requires recognition and support for everyday individual efforts as well as community and nationwide initiatives and commitments.

This report is the first of its kind to look at men and masculinities in Nigeria from different perspectives. More than 2,500 Nigerian men and women participated in the studies conducted in nine states, from all six geopolitical zones. They shared their opinions on how men and women should behave, the roles they should play in the home and the community and the relationships between them. Participants also discussed how roles and relationships are lived out in practice as well as how key influencing factors such as religion, media, conflict, the home and school environment may drive, undermine and challenge these ideas and related behaviours.

Participants were also encouraged to consider the impact of their ideas on men, their relationship with women and their families and communities. Importantly, men and woman gave examples where men have made concerted efforts to promote more peaceful and equitable relations within households and communities. Socio-demographic characteristics of the studies included regional, religious, sex and age differences.

As well as drawing on the five studies, we explore further recent and relevant data to strengthen key points as appropriate.

The specific objectives of the research studies were to:

Explore how perceptions of masculinity (and stereotypes) hinder progress towards gender equity / social justice, especially in relation to women's roles in decision-making and leadership.

Ascertain how these notions / perceptions of masculinity contribute to unequal power relationships, violence against women and girls, including harmful traditional practices.

Establish how the following factors contribute to reinforcing gender inequitable perceptions of masculinity: living in conflict situations, influence of the media and religious influences.

Explore how these factors support gender equitable notions of masculinity including identifying positive deviants and case studies.

Explore opportunities and barriers to changing practices of formal and informal institutions e.g. family, media, religions that re-inforce these notions of masculinity.

Finally, this report is divided into six sections:

Section 1: What it means to be a man in Nigeria: Perceptions. This section explores the perceptions of masculinity and femininity and how they underpin inequitable ideas regarding relationships between men and women and rigid roles in the home and community. It also explores counter views and minority voices that support gender equitable relationships.

Section 2: Realities for being a man in Nigeria. This section considers the realities that women and men face in terms of their own behaviour, the relationship with each other and their roles in the home and community. It also looks at the support and sanctions men face when they transgress the perceived 'ideal' of masculinity.

Section 3: Factors influencing perceptions and behaviours. This section explores how the following four factors contribute to reinforcing and challenging dominant perceptions of masculinity: living in conflict, the media, religion and the home and school environments.

Section 4: Impact of negative masculinities on men. This section highlights the effects of trying and failing to live up to social 'ideals' of male and female behavior towards men's mental and physical health, their relationships with women and how masculinities drive conflict and violence at community level. This section also considers the possible benefits of equitable relationships.

Section 5: Efforts promoting gender equitable attitudes and practices. This section presents examples of gender equitable behaviours and attitudes as well as efforts to promote peaceful and equitable masculinities at individual and community levels.

Section 6: Conclusions and Recommendations. This section presents conclusions and recommendations for researchers, programmers, activists and policymakers.

Voices 4 Change hopes the report will prove an important source of evidence for Nigerian activists, policymakers, researchers, religious and traditional institutions and others. It aims to contribute towards work with men and boys, women and girls, and Nigerian communities to promote a thriving, equitable, gender-just future in Nigeria.



REGIONAL CONTEXTS²⁰

Kaduna (one of the state where the conflict, media and religion study was carried out)

- Located in north west Nigeria and Its Capital is Kaduna
- Has a population of about 6 million people with about 63 ethnic group
- Predominantly a Muslim state with Christian community in the southern part
- The main stay of its economy is agriculture/forestry and livestock, and minerals

Kano (one of the state where the Images and religion studies was carried out)

- Located in north west Nigeria
- Its Capital is Kano
- Has the second largest population with almost 10m people with principal inhabitants being dominant Hausa and Fulani
- A major centre for production and export of agricultural product

Borno (one of the state where the conflict study was carried out)

- Located in north eastern Nigeria and its capital is Maiduguri
- It occupies a total land area of 69,435 sq. km and lies between latitude 10°N and 13°N and longitude 12° and 15°
- Has a population of over 4m people with Kanuri, Babur being the dominant ethnic
- Predominantly a Muslim state with Christian minority
- It the principal trading hub for northeastern Nigeria. Its economy is largely based on services and trade with a small share of manufacturing but have been greatly impacted by the insurgency

Rivers State (one of the state where the Images and conflict studies was carried out)

- Located in the southern part of Nigeria in the rich oil region of the Niger Delta with its capital in Port Harcourt
- It occupies a landmass of 11,077 km²
- It has a population of over 5m and major ethnic groups are Kalahari, Ikwere, Okrika, Ibani (Bonny and Opobo) Ekpeye, Ogba, Etche, Khana, Gokana, Eleme, Ndoni, Abua, Odual
- The state is predominantly Christian state
- It is economically significant as the centre of Nigeria's oil industry

Lagos (One of the state where the Images, religion, conflict and media study were carried out)

- Lagos is the smallest state in Nigeria but the most populous city in Nigeria, its capital is Ikeja
- Lagos State has a land mass of about 3,577 square kilometers with about 787 constituting lagoons, swamps, marches and creeks
- Has a mixture of Christian and Muslims
- The State is made up of varieties of ethnic composition but the dominant ethnic groups are the Egun (Ogu), Awori, Ijebu and other Yoruba dialect speaking sub groups
- It is the largest commercial, financial and industrial hub in Nigeria

Abuja / Federal Capital Territory – (one of the state where the media and religion studies was carried out)

- It is the capital city of Nigeria. It is located in the centre of Nigeria, within the Federal Capital Territory. Abuja is a planned city, and was built mainly in the 1980s.
- The Territory covers a total land area of approximately 8,000 square kilometers, while the City proper is to cover a total land area of 250 square kilometers.
- Has a population of almost 1.5m with predominant Kwa people and other ethnic groups like Bassas, Gades, Gwandaras, Koros and Ganaganas,
- It's has almost a balance of Muslim and Christian
- It the principal a civil servant state with some agricultural and trade activities

Bauchi (one of the state where the Images and religion studies was carried out)

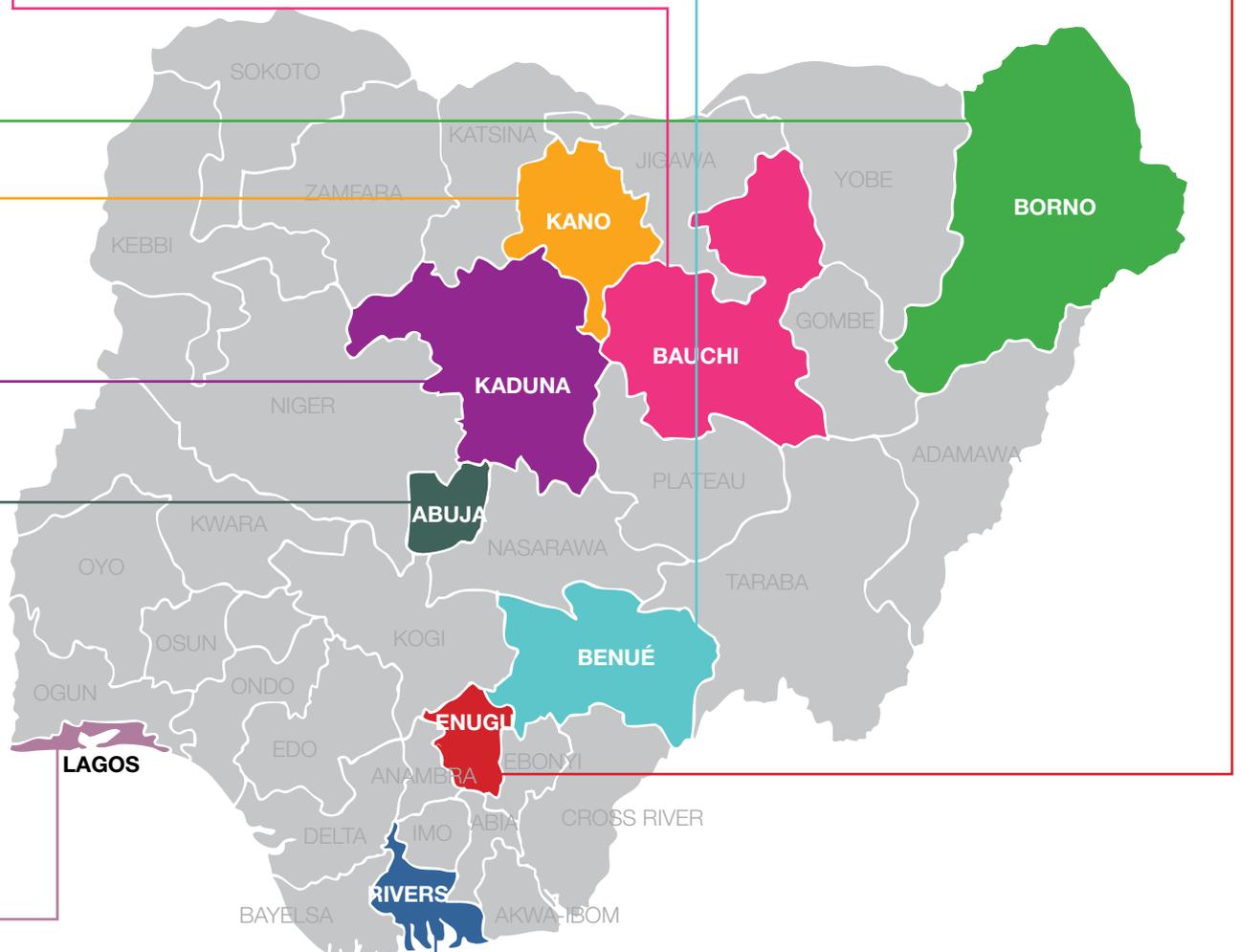
- Located in north eastern Nigeria and its capital is Bauchi
- It occupies a total land area of 49,119 km² representing about 5.3% of Nigeria's total land mass and is located between latitudes 9° 3' and 12° 3' north and longitudes 8° 50' and 11° east
- Has a population of about m 4.5m people with about 55 ethnic groups
- Predominantly a Muslim state
- Agriculture is its major economic activity

Benué state (one of the states where the Nimages study was carried out)

- Located in north central Nigeria and its capital is Makurdi
- Benue occupies a landmass of 34,059 square kilometers and lies on longitude 7° 47' and 10° 0' East. Latitude 6° 25' and 8° 8' North; and shares boundaries with five other state
- Has as a population of over 4m in 2006 census and major tribes are Idoma and Tiv, are spoken predominantly, majorly Christian with some Muslims
- Benué is a rich agricultural region; some of the crops grown there are potatoes, cassava, soya bean, guinea corn, flax, yams, sesame, rice, and grand nuts and has a large population of fisher men and women because of the river

Enugu State (one of the state where the Nimages and Religious studies were carried out)

- Located in the Southeastern part of Nigeria, capital is Enugu
- It occupies a landmass of 7,161 km²
- It has a population of almost 4m, ethnic group is Igbo
- Predominantly Christian
- Economically, the State is predominantly rural and agrarian, with a substantial proportion of its population engaged in farming, trading (18.8%) and services (12.9%)



SECTION 1

WHAT IT MEANS TO BE A MAN IN NIGERIA: PERCEPTIONS



This section focuses on perceptions of what it means to be a man or a woman in Nigeria. It also covers the extent to which different facets of dominant stereotypes are subscribed to, and how they underpin perceptions of men and women's roles and relationships. Ideas regarding men and women and their roles in society are not necessarily fixed or universal, and to some degree have adapted to accommodate changes in women and men's behaviour. In Nigeria there are significant minority (and on some issues majority) voices that do not subscribe to the dominant cultural 'ideal'. Differences in perceptions between regional, religious, gender, and age differences are discussed, where possible, throughout the report.



“7 in 10 men and 5 in 10 women believe men need to be tough.”

PERCEPTIONS - SOCIETAL EXPECTATIONS OF MEN AND WOMEN

The majority of respondents (male and female) in all five research studies believe that men should be tough, intelligent, fearless and responsible. **Toughness, being able to provide for a family through access to work and an income, and sexual performance are central to notions of masculinity.** For example, 69%²² of men and 53% of women believe men need to be tough, 59% of men believe a man has no value if he does not have an income and 61% of men believe that a man should be embarrassed if he cannot perform sexually.

On the other hand, women are largely perceived by men and women as being led by their emotions, making them weaker and more vulnerable than men. Women are expected to behave and dress modestly, be morally upright or honest, tolerant, patient and respectful and deferential towards men. 84% of men and 83% of women concur that women should obey their husbands on all matters.

As a result, **most people believe that men make decisions in and outside the home** and women are generally believed to be unable to make 'hard decisions' and face challenges in the way that men can.

Women's obedience to men is overwhelmingly justified by people across regions, age groups and genders with reference to African and Nigerian cultural traditions, religion ('the divine order') and the natural order.

Participants of the Religion and IMAGES qualitative studies also emphasised their vision of the complementarity of women and men's 'natures' – men being the 'head' and women being the 'heart' of the family. Girls and boys are generally socialised in these views, values and roles from birth and they are used to justify women and men's unequal access to power and resources.

In the Northern part of the country, findings from group discussions suggest that ideas of womanhood are even more strongly and intricately linked with strict observations of cultural and religious traditions, such as submissiveness to men, and social obligations such as marriage. For example, women are only respected if they are under the control of a man and generally the husband, as unmarried women receive less respect. Similarly, in other regions, such as Rivers, some believed that women who are not married are not respected.

'The religion has made man the head of a woman and has made man to take affairs of all. Most things in the society, that is taking care of your home, your society and every other thing, you are supposed to see a man as the head, and in this place you will always get people to respect you for being a man'.

Traditional Leader, Kano

These traditional ideas about men and women's roles in the home and community will be further explored in subsequent sections. However, we must note significant expressions of counter views to the dominant idea of women's vulnerability and weakness in comparison to men's strength. Even though nearly all women and men believe in the importance and naturalness of men's dominance over women, nearly half of women do not agree that men need to be tough to be a real man, and a significant minority of men also disagree.

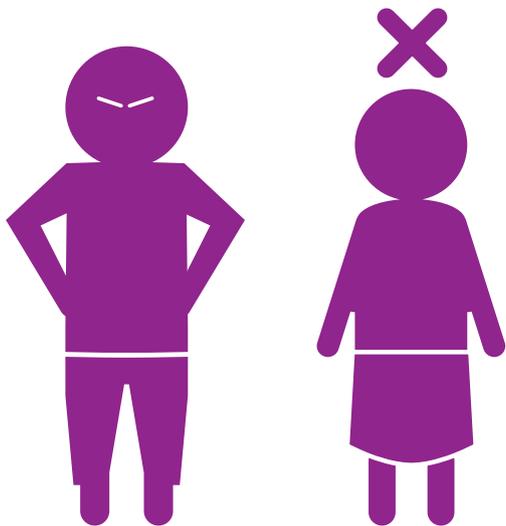
“The qualitative findings show a range of less stereotyped ideas about men and women.”

The qualitative findings also highlight less stereotyped ideas about masculinity and femininity – for example, women should be 'educated', 'advisors', 'independent' and 'mature and responsible' and men should be 'peaceful', 'gentle', 'loyal', 'honest' and 'caring'.

These less stereotypical views about men and women were expressed by a variety of individuals, including those who held gender equitable views and those who didn't, indicating the fluid, multifaceted and complex nature of masculinity and femininity in any given context. Group discussions in the qualitative studies strongly emphasised the importance of men being 'good', including being respectful and non-violent. This is related to the dominant social expectation that men should be responsible and in control of their emotions.

'It should not be that because I am a man and stronger, then a woman should have fewer rights. My wife has the right to tell me not to go out at a particular time.'

Male representative of a youth organisation in Lagos

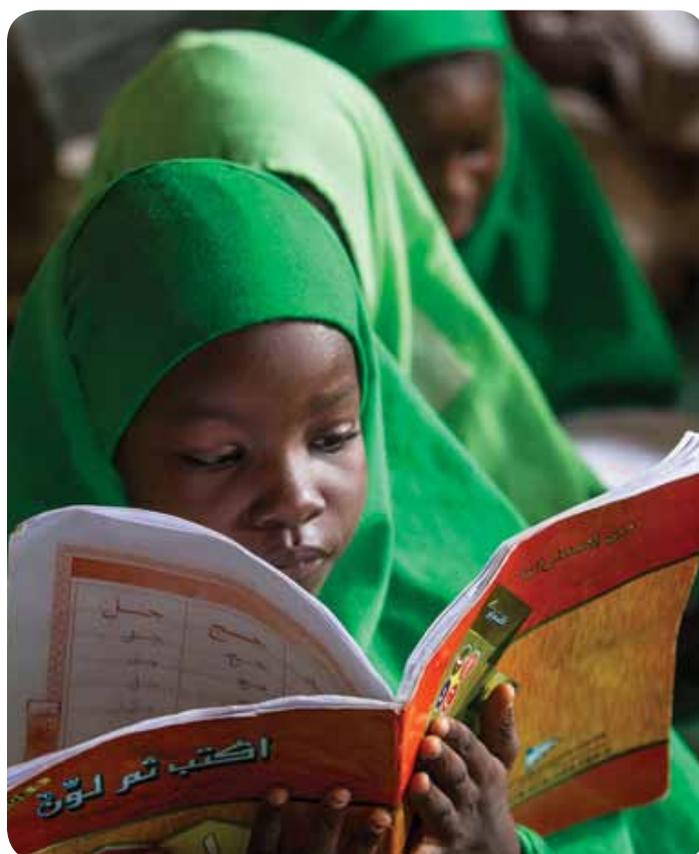


Nearly half of women do not agree that men need to be tough to be a real man and a significant minority of men also disagree.

“More than half of men and women do not subscribe to men's absolute superiority over women or fixed gender roles.”

“Participants of the NiMAGES quantitative study almost universally support the education of girls.”

Although nearly half of men and women hold a number of views that are considered gender inequitable (see Box 1 for how gender equitability was assessed) and only a small number (3 in 10 men and 2 in 10 women) hold high gender equitable views, **more than half of men and women hold moderate views, meaning that in some areas of life they do not subscribe to ideas of men’s absolute superiority over women or rigid gender roles.** Men living in urban areas, men aged 29-39 and women and men with at least primary education hold the most gender equitable views. Moderately gender equitable views are held by 57% of urban men, 51% of rural men, 38% of men with no education, 51% of men with primary education and 57% of men with secondary education and above. Participants of the NiMAGES quantitative study almost universally support the education of girls.



Box 1 - the Gender Equitable Men Scale (GEMS)

The NiMAGES quantitative study in Nigeria employed GEMS, a validated instrument to assess attitudes about gender that has been adapted and validated in household research in more than 20 countries – and other field-tested and validated questions on men’s attitudes and practices related to gender equality.

See Annex 3 for a list of factors included in the Scale for Nigeria as well as the findings from interviews related to the Scale.

“Participants overwhelmingly reject female genital cutting / mutilation, wife inheritance, harmful widow practices and wife hospitality.”

Further shifts in rigid beliefs regarding women's subordination to men are also evidenced by the fact that **participants overwhelmingly reject female genital cutting / mutilation, wife inheritance, harmful widow practices and wife hospitality.**

Although early marriage has more support, only about one third of participants believe that early marriage is important and should continue. More than 70% of men and women do not believe that a 'real man is one with many wives'. However, there is significant support by men (98%) and women (99%) for 'bride price'.

Despite young men generally holding less gender equitable views than men aged 29-39, men aged 18-24 were found to be far more likely to help out with domestic work. They were found to be far more likely to express support for role sharing and less likely to perpetrate intimate partner violence (IPV) than older men.

Young men's lower gender equitable attitudes overall compared to men aged 29-39 may point to a lack of certainty about their own masculinities or a possible resurgence of more rigid notions of masculinity. It could be that without much experience of relationships, young men express ideas about the kind of men they think they should be according to dominant social ideas.

The particular relationship experience that a man or woman has had impacts on their individual attitudes towards gender equity (equally, attitudes towards gender equity may impact on relationship experience). For example, women in a stable relationship, single (never partnered), divorced and widowed women were found to be far more likely to hold gender equitable attitudes than unmarried women in non-stable relationships.

By contrast, men who have been widowed, separated and divorced or who are not married but with a stable partner were found to be far more likely to have gender equitable attitudes than men who are legally married, single and never partnered, or unmarried without a stable partner.²³

Although support for gender equality is low across the regions there are regional variations regarding men's support for different aspects of gender equity such as support for role sharing and women's leadership. This is further discussed in subsequent sections. An overview of statistics by region can also be found in Annex 4.



More than 7 in 10 men and women do not believe that a 'real man' is one with many wives



PERCEPTIONS: MEN'S RELATIONSHIP WITH WOMEN.

According to the majority of women and men participating in the studies, 'a real man' is one who is married and succeeds in exercising authority over, and provides for, his wife/wives and children. Men (9 in 10) and women (8 in 10) overwhelmingly concur that women should obey their husbands in all things. In fact 9 in 10 of the men and 8 in 10 of the women interviewed for the NiMAGES study believe men should have the final word about decisions in the home. Even with expanding opportunities for women and changes in ideas about what women can do, this idea of men's dominance over women prevails across regions, genders and ages.

"There is agreement between men and women that women are an important source of support for men as head of the household and should be consulted before making decisions."

Nonetheless, waning support for harmful traditional practices also points to the fact that most do not support the subjugation of women under men in marriage. Even though there is huge support for 'bride price', 6 in 10 women and 5 in 10 men do not agree that it confers on the husband the right to do whatever he wants with his wife, so indicating a majority who reject men's absolute control over women. Furthermore, although a number of discussion group participants felt that women's perceived emotionality or irrationality makes them unsuitable to make important decisions in the household, **there is a fair amount of agreement from men and women across regions that women are an important source of support for men in their roles as head of the household and should be consulted before making decisions.** Women and men (young and old, across regions) in the qualitative studies spoke of the importance of intimate relationships based on respect, love, caring and mutual support and some even supported equality between men and women in relationships.

“Almost 6 in 10 of men and over 7 in 10 of women do not think physical violence against women is justified under ANY circumstances.”

However, significant levels of tolerance of violence against women in intimate relationships underscore men's dominance over women and support for their right to use violence to ensure women's conformity to ideas of womanhood – **43% of men but only 28% of women believe that there are times when a woman deserves to be beaten, and women across all states are blamed for the violence they suffer, due to their style of dress²⁴ or careless talk, nagging and arguing.** Other responses justifying IPV that came up included: disloyalty to one's husband, not preparing food on time, refusing to have sex, and women's hygiene. There also exists a strong belief that women should put up with violence in order to keep the family together (66% of men and 71% of women). Women are also blamed for the sexual violence they experience. For example, one young man interviewed for the conflict study reported that a young woman who was gang raped had given her 'consent' by entering an abandoned building with one of the men. The fact that 79% of men and 77% of women believe that a woman cannot refuse to have sex with her husband, also indicates a widespread belief of men's sexual entitlement over women and denial of sexual violence within relationships.²⁴

Despite a high tolerance for violence against women and girls, it is important to acknowledge that **57% of men and 72% of women do not think that physical violence against women is justified under any circumstances.** In all qualitative studies there was condemnation of violence against women and girls (VAWG). There was also some tolerance and justification for these actions from men, though it was often presented as men's perception of their duty to protect 'the weaker sex.'²⁵ Participants frequently made it clear that their religion

**43% of men
but only 28%
of women**

**believe that there are times when
a woman deserves to be beaten**



(whether Christianity or Islam) did not condone violence against women and girls. Some men and women recognise that VAWG is actually the fault of male perpetrators. Furthermore, in five of the six states (all except Enugu) covered in the NiMAGES qualitative study, some participants suggested that men who perpetrate violence are irresponsible, lack self-control, and/or are greedy and distrustful – in other words not a proper man. Drug and alcohol use is also seen as a 'causal' factor of violence against women. The widespread view that more needs to be done to tackle VAWG is also evidenced by, the fact that in most states male respondents believe that the law against VAWG is not harsh enough (Benué 91%, Lagos 73% , Bauchi 60%, Kano 56%, Enugu 56% and Rivers 44%).

PERCEPTIONS - DIVISION OF RESPONSIBILITY AND LABOUR IN THE HOUSEHOLD

Both women and men across regions subscribe to rigid ideas of gender roles in the home. **Nearly all men and women (over 9 in 10 women and men) believe that a woman's most important role is to take care of her home and family.** Because of men's perceived strength, resilience and intelligence they are considered best placed to provide for the family.

More than half of men and women (59% of men and 53% of women) believe that a man who does not have an income is of no value. Men are also expected to provide security and protection for the family, maintain the family's reputation and guide other family members on the 'right' path in life, particularly given (the) levels of crime and conflict across Nigeria. Women are rarely perceived to be leaders in the home and perceptions of women and restrictions on their mobility, especially in Northern States, makes it difficult for them to have a role in economic life.

'When a woman nags too much...even if the man does not mean it, he might slap you and later apologize. The way you talk and present issues at times, you should be able to co-ordinate yourself and know when to talk.'

Young man, Rivers discussing women's behaviour

'Maybe because of my upbringing, I was taught that a man that commits physical violence against a woman is a coward, I don't do it maybe because of my religion. I didn't see much of that when I was growing up, so I don't really believe in it. It wasn't normal for me because I've not seen it happen'.

Male, Lagos State



“There is a difference of opinion about whether women or men should be more responsible for maintaining the reputation of the family.”

There is, however, **a difference of opinion regarding whether women or men are more responsible for maintaining the reputation of the family.** Conforming to socially dominant ideas of how women and men should behave is key to ensuring a family's reputation. In this sense both men and women are responsible.

The man as the head of the family has overall responsibility but women are vital in the socialisation of children, as well as their care of the home in ensuring a family's reputation. Women are seen as the moral guardians and if they violate any rules they risk undermining the head of the family's standing in the family and community. The qualitative studies clearly show that women are often blamed for the bad behaviour of young people if they are not at home to care for their children.

There may be a process of social transformation at work regarding perceptions of men and women's roles and contributions to the family, in relation to changing economic realities. For example, younger men, both Christian and Muslim participating in the Religion study, believed that women and men could perform the same roles. Older men, both Christian and Muslim, were in support of sharing roles with women, but stressed that women need to be submissive to, and have respect for men.

In the Conflict and Religion studies **participants recognised that women's increasing presence in the labour market is an important way for them to support men in their role as providers.** However, most men believed that women should seek permission from the man and not supplant men in their role as head of the household and main provider of the family. Concern was expressed by some men and women that if women worked their children would be more likely to get into trouble. Nonetheless, some men in group discussions expressed unconditional support for women's economic independence.

'Why should we be equal? What made us equal? How? Are they strong enough like men to stand all that is impacted on him? Or they want to tell the creator that He has not done it well and that we want to all be equal'.

Male, Bauchi State

"The fact that women are working more is seen as important to support men in their role as 'providers.'"



A few men in Rivers State believed that women can use their 'feminine qualities' and advantages available to them to advance more than men in economic life. The statistics for women's labour participation in Nigeria (48% as opposed to men's rate of 64%²⁶) do not support beliefs that women are advantaged in the labour market, though this is a source of resentment for some men.

Men contributing to household work such as doing dishes, cleaning or cooking is widely supported (77% of men and 79% of women). Men and women believe that men helping with household chores are signs of love and support for women – this view was particularly presented by young men across regions in the Religion study. Older men were more likely to support role sharing when women were ill or incapacitated. A few male respondents in the qualitative studies expressed the view that although it was acceptable for a man to do housework a woman should not expect it. Some men worried about how they would be perceived by others.

PERCEPTIONS - WOMEN AND MEN'S ROLES IN PUBLIC LIFE

Over 7 in 10 men (and women) think women and men make equally good leaders and over 7 in 10 agree that it is right for women to aspire to occupy top positions in government and society. Furthermore, there is relatively high support from men for quotas in government, universities and executive positions and support for equal salaries (see Figure 1). Although support from men varies considerably by region there are relatively high levels of support for quotas in all areas of public life mentioned above. In Lagos support for quotas is consistently very high (Table 1). In Kano support is consistently the lowest of the regions.

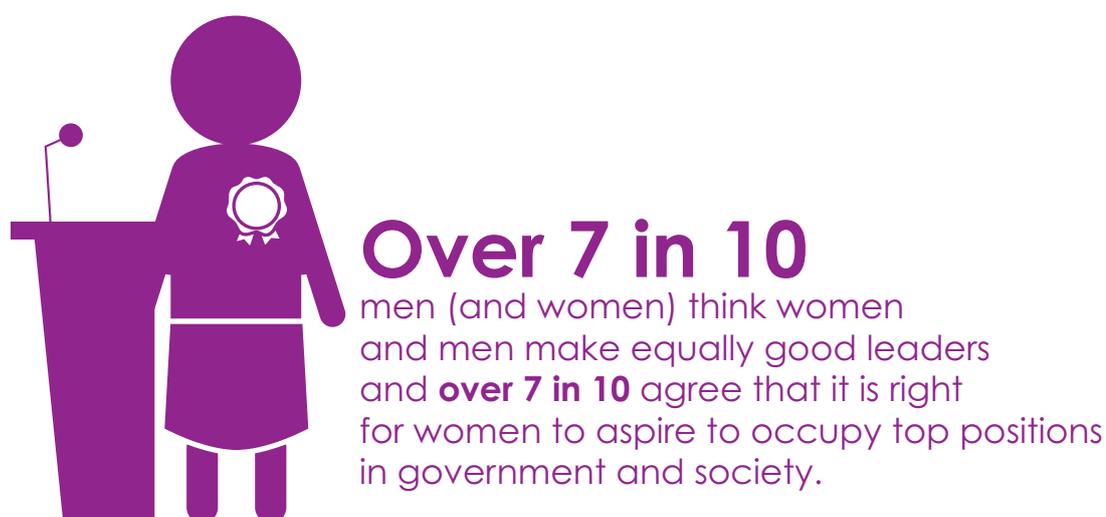


Figure 1: Men's perceptions of women in leadership (% agreed to statement) (NiMAGES study)

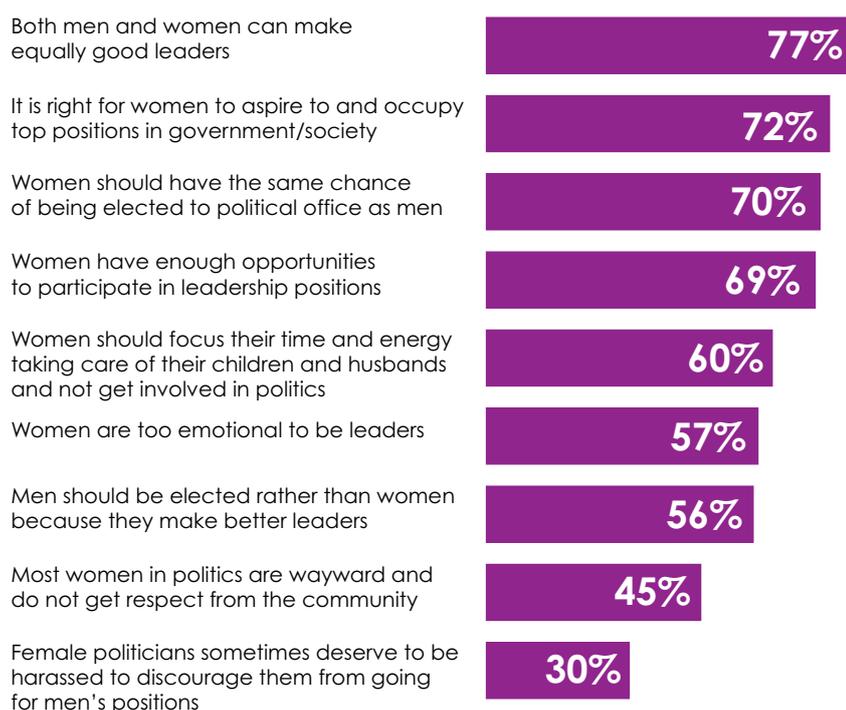


Table 1: Positive rates of male respondents' responses to gender equality policies
(NiMAGES study)

Policy	Total %	Bauchi %	Benué %	Kano %	Enugu %	Lagos %	Rivers %
Number of respondents	1532	146	159	159	356	463	249
Quota/income policies							
Support quota: fixed proportion of places in government	68	63	85	50	59	85	61
Support quota: fixed places in University	75	64	75	64	69	94	65
Support quota: fixed proportion of executive positions	66	60	74	46	62	83	67
Support equal salaries for men and women in the same working place	80	73	81	66	78	87	91

Most men and women interviewed for the quantitative study agreed that women make equally good leaders. However, 60% also felt that women should focus their time and energy on taking care of their children and husband and not take up leadership roles. Participants in the qualitative studies displayed largely discriminatory views across regions, suggesting that views of women's leadership are still influenced by entrenched socio-cultural norms. Other IMAGES country reports have also often uncovered similar discrepancies: men support gender equality in theory, but resist it at a personal level²⁷. More than half of respondents hold negative sentiments about women in leadership.²⁸

'Eagle was born to fly high to the peak of the sky. The chicken, no matter how you train it, will never fly high to the stage of eagle. No matter how you train a woman she can never be as good as a man.'

Male aged 18-25, Lagos

In-group discussions and in-depth interviews across the studies show **men and women believe men are more suitable for leadership roles because they are more disciplined and focused**, whereas women are characterised as less suitable for leadership because they are 'emotional', 'vulnerable', 'weak', 'easily influenced' and 'unthoughtful', or conversely 'too harsh' and 'domineering'. **57% of men participating in the NiMAGES quantitative study felt that women are too emotional to be leaders.** Men are perceived to be created and ordained to lead, not only by God but also by nature, which places the burden of childbearing and childrearing on women, not men.

Even respondents supportive of women's leadership expressed anxiety about the consequences for their families and households. Negative views of women's leadership do not just pertain to views of women's ability to lead but concern how a community might be viewed by outsiders if led by a woman.

"If women lead the community, people will believe that the men are useless."

Male participant, Lagos

A few respondents raised concerns about the appropriateness of women participating in political environments (and others) where they may be influenced by behaviour such as shouting and swearing.

However, **some male and female respondents did express views that supported women's leadership and cited examples of strong women leaders and role models** such as the President of Liberia, Ellen Sirleaf Johnson, the former President of Malawi, Joyce Banda and the female Vice Chancellor of Benué State University. Other figures such as Esther and Deborah in the Bible, Khadijah - the Prophet's wife in Islam, Folorunsho Alakija a Nigerian businesswoman and Omotola Jalade Ekeinde a Nigerian actress, singer and philanthropist were also cited.

One man from Lagos expressed the view that if women can run a home they can run a society. Others cited particular qualities that women bring to leadership roles – they are economical, can easily withstand pressure, are fearless, strong and hard-working. However, women and men recognise that there are limited opportunities for women to lead.

“Men and women believe men are more suitable for leadership roles because they are more disciplined and focused.”

‘You have some homes where the woman starts working and the kind of environment she works in starts to influence her. She will no longer be the good woman she used to be, she becomes a career woman. The home is not her priority anymore, career is more important, she has gone far in that career so even her husband cannot bring her back again. Then the husband, the children, the family members just take it as their cross to carry’.

Male Leader, Kano State

Men are also generally considered responsible for peace and security in the community according to respondents of the Conflict study.

Men were respected if they showed respect to others and gave their time to provide advice and help, including guiding young people. Earning respect in the community was seen as very important by both older and younger men. Participants in the Conflict study also thought women have a key role in caring for communities, encouraging peace and community improvements or supporting other women through their networks. However, it is seen as men's duty to resolve conflict when it occurs.

“Men are also generally considered responsible for peace and security in the community.”

‘At the end of the day women foster peace in our society and by that I mean they are the ones that create inter-community relationships. That is how groups are being formed and sustained by women’.

Male member of youth organisation, Lagos

SECTION 2

REALITIES OF BEING A MAN IN NIGERIA



Dominant ideas about masculinity and femininity set standards that are difficult to reach, particularly in a context of violence, insecurity, economic decline, high unemployment, inequality and changing gender realities. In practice men and women do not consistently adhere to dominant social ideas about behaviours, their role in the household or decision-making, which provokes different reactions that can limit or encourage gender equitable attitudes and behaviours.

This section explores the gaps between the perceptions discussed in Section One, and the lived realities of men and women in their families and communities, related to violence, decision-making and leadership. It shows that there are many examples of men's behaviour that are actually at odds with perceptions of both men and women. Many of these changes are positive, pointing in the direction of greater gender equality.

REALITIES – MEN AND WOMEN'S BEHAVIOUR

The section on perception highlights that men and women tend to have fairly rigid and stereotyped ideas about how society expects them to behave. But do men and women live up to these perceived expectations?

“Young men struggled to reconcile the need to prove themselves by providing for a family in the current insecure economic and political climate.”

Men were criticised by male and female respondents in the Conflict study for not living up to family responsibilities and for engaging in risky or violent behaviour (for example, alcohol and drug use, theft and fights). Some participants of the NiMAGES study also recognised that men can be irresponsible, hard and even wicked. As we will see in later sections, **young men in particular struggled to reconcile the need to prove themselves as men by obtaining and providing for a family within the current insecure economic and political climate.**

Some participants of the Conflict study described how money and wealth are more important for men now than previously. For example, older men in Kaduna viewed men nowadays as being too pre-occupied or corrupted by money and likely to engage in more risky and potentially aggressive behaviour to get more money (see section 3 for more discussion on this). However, we will also explore in this and later sections how some men have embraced more supportive roles in the home and in particular how they have promoted peace in their communities.

'An ideal man is supposed to be a man with wisdom and knowledge, a man that can say things that will happen to generations to come, but today people are carried away by influence of money, riches and wealth'

Married man, civil servant, age 50, Kaduna

“Women are becoming more visible in public, more vocal and more educated.”

Women are becoming more visible in public, more vocal and more educated. There are mixed reactions to these changes - with a number of older male respondents in the NiMAGES and Conflict studies expressing more progressive views than younger men (under the age of 29). That said, older women and men were troubled by the fact that young women behave less demurely and modestly than their elders. Many respondents also felt women are increasingly involved in violent activities in the community. A number of examples were given of women supporting gang activities or using their romantic connections to take revenge on people who have 'insulted' them. Some young women justified acting more aggressively, using violence or verbal abuse, for example, needing to protect themselves, their businesses and reputations when under threat. Interestingly more women than men said they would protect their reputation with force if insulted.

REALITIES - INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN

The section on perception explored social ideas regarding the relationship between women and men, including who should make decisions in the home and circumstances where violence against women is tolerated. But what are the reported *experiences* of women and men both in their parents' and current relationships?

“Men and women are making important decisions together - on investment (almost 3 in 10), on use of contraception (between 6 and 7 in 10) and the number of children to have” (almost 7 in 10).

Even though men and women said that men should have the final say about household matters, a much higher percentage of respondents report joint decisions in childhood and current households. Importantly, qualitative findings show that men recognised the contribution joint decision-making made to better relationships. This is explored further in section 4.

Men and women recall similar decision-making dynamics in their childhood homes with the majority saying their fathers 'had the final word' about decisions related to large investments. Mothers wielded most influence over decisions related to food and clothing. Parents were most likely to collaborate on decision-making when it came to children's affairs, such as health, schooling and marriage. Although even with regards to children, fathers were far more likely than their mothers to wield individual influence.

There is a similar pattern of decision-making in current households (where women and men are in intimate relationships), although joint decision-making appears to be slightly higher in contemporary homes.

Whenever I come back she tables the discussion and we discuss it between ourselves, because if you want to have peace, you have to give women their own chance because women too have their own thinking. You don't monopolise everything, give them their chances, hear what they have to say, you share everything, it's not the matter of being a man, you discuss, we are in a democratic setting

Man, Kano State

For example men say 21% of decisions regarding large investments were made jointly in their childhood homes whereas 28% say this is the case in their current households. **Men and women are making many important decisions together - over 2 in 10 male and female respondents reported joint decision-making for large investments, to high levels of joint decision-making on use of contraception (over 6 in 10 and over 7 in**

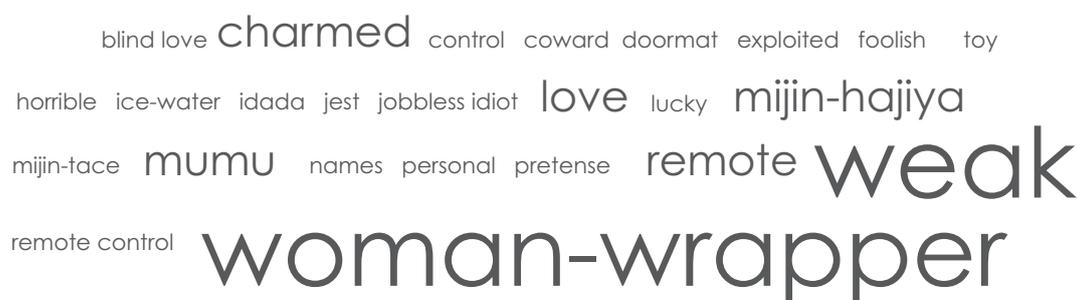
10 respectively) and number of children to have (over 6 in 10 and and nearly 7 in 10). Over half reported joint decision-making on areas such as children's schooling and spending time together. Fifty percent of women and 45% of men reported joint decision-making regarding their partner's ability to work outside the home. Women had very little sole decision-making power, including over their own ability to work. In fact men still wield considerable influence over areas that have a significant impact on women's lives²⁹.

“Young people now have more power to choose their marriage partner.”

Despite reported high levels of joint decision-making in the home, group discussions suggest that men can be perceived negatively when they show support for gender equity and involve women in decision-making. They can be seen as “not a real man”, “weak”, a “mijin hajiya” (dominated husband) and controlled or charmed by the woman. Figure 2 gives examples of terms provided that are used to describe men who involve women in decision-making. Most of the terms denote weakness in men in the Nigerian context. Having to prove they are ‘not women’ in a society entrenched with sexism is a key factor in leading men to assert their dominance and sometimes incite violence. Some male participants in the Conflict study gave examples where women's views were overruled just to demonstrate their power in the home and test women's obedience. By contrast a couple of examples were given where women stopped men from going out because they felt they were not fulfilling their responsibilities to the family, for example a woman stopping her husband from going to the bar.

Figure 2: Word cloud of phrases used to describe men who are involved in childcare and house chores (NiMAGES study). Larger words where more frequently used.

Male and female participants in the studies recognised that **young people now have more choice over their**



marriage partner. This was seen as positive, particularly by young women and men, but also by older women and men, who pointed out the high rates of divorce caused by arranged and forced marriages.

Women in Rivers also talked about how the movement away from polygamous to monogamous families was positive as this changing family structure led to less conflict and more harmonious marriages. The studies found a relatively high level of communications in couples.

The vast majority of men and women (over 7 in 10) in intimate relationships reported that they had talked about a problem they were facing with their partner in the last month. For men, this ranged from nearly 7 in 10 in Benué to just over 9 in 10 in Rivers. However, low numbers of men (21%) share personal problems with their wives and girlfriends. Further, whether the other person has money is seen as more important than it has been in the past for both women and men. Research participants in Rivers spoke of boys going out with older women as well as girls going out with older men for money and this ‘corrupting’ young people.

Despite some apparent improvements in the relationship between women and men, study respondents affirm that **wife battering, sexual harassment and assault are common in all study locations**, followed by rape and verbal abuse (see Figure 3).

42% of women experienced physical, economic and/ or emotional IPV and 40% of men say they have perpetrated IPV in their lifetimes. The rate is highest in Rivers (53%) followed by Benué (42%), Enugu (41%), Lagos and Kano (both at 38%) and Bauchi (37%)^{30,31}.

Men were more likely to report perpetrating violence if they were older, less educated, informally employed, held less gender equitable views, experienced work related stress and/or witnessed their mother experiencing IPV. It is not possible in this current study to determine if VAWG is increasing in different regions across Nigeria. The 2013 and 2008 Demographic and Household Surveys (DHS) in Nigeria both found that 28% of all women reported experiencing physical violence since the age of 15. The proportion of women who experienced physical violence in the 12 months preceding the survey decreased from 15% in 2008 to 11% in 2013. However, young men and women participating in the Conflict study felt that violence, including sexual violence against women had increased. Early marriage is also still common in Bauchi, Benué and Kano and the level of support for such traditions as early marriage and FGM is much lower than levels found in practice (see Annex 2 for more).

'Marriage was done with or without love, our grandparents were forced to marry a person they didn't love, but these days we choose whoever we want to get married to'

Married woman, trader, age 48, Ikorodu in Lagos



“Wife battering, sexual harassment and assault are common in all study locations.”

While Figure 3 does not provide a full picture of the presence of different types of violence in different States, it does illustrate that some participants of the NiMAGES qualitative study recognise that VAWG goes beyond hitting.

Figure 3: Common forms of violence against women and girls recognised by participants of the NiMAGES qualitative study by region

NORTH

Bauchi

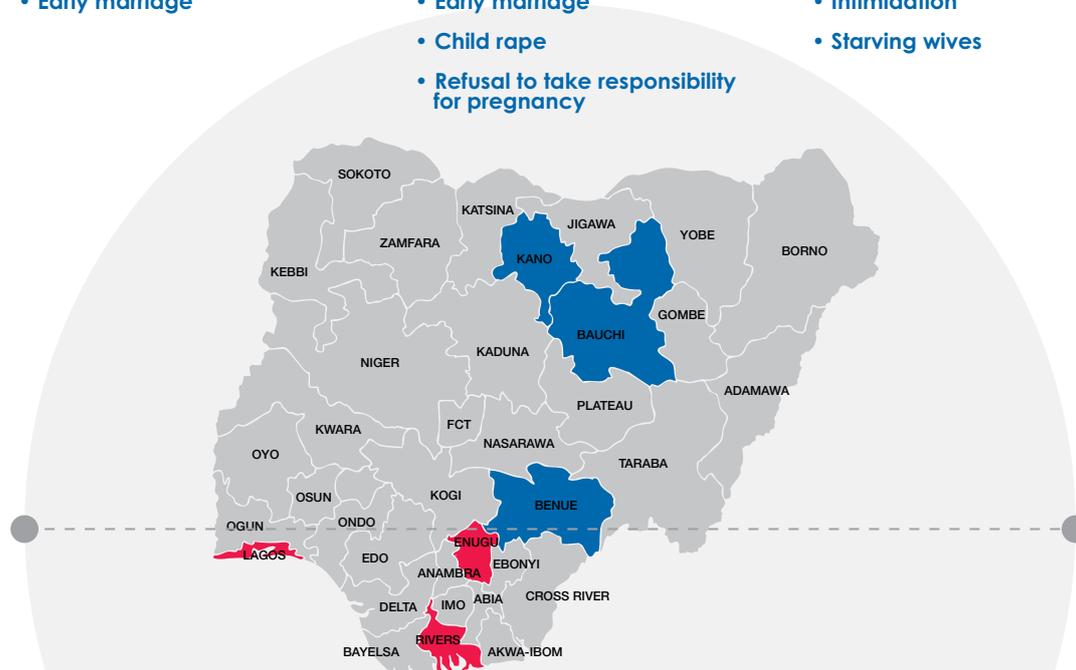
- Wife battering, sexual harassment and assault
- Rape
- Verbal abuse
- Early marriage

Benue

- Wife battering, sexual harassment and assault
- Rape
- Verbal abuse
- Early marriage
- Child rape
- Refusal to take responsibility for pregnancy

Kano

- Wife battering, sexual harassment and assault
- Verbal abuse
- Early marriage
- Intimidation
- Starving wives



SOUTH

Enugu

- Wife battering, sexual harassment and assault
- Rape
- Child rape
- Forced marriage

Lagos

- Wife battering, sexual harassment and assault
- Rape
- Verbal abuse
- Early marriage
- Forced marriage

Rivers

- Wife battering, sexual harassment and assault
- Rape
- Verbal abuse
- Child rape
- Intimidation
- Bullying

Men also perpetrate high levels of sexual violence against women. 11% of men reported committing rape, 6% against a partner or girlfriend³².

“Men perpetrate high levels of sexual violence against women: 11% of men report committing rape, 6% against a partner or girlfriend.”

Because most Nigerian men and women believe that marriage gives a man sexual rights over a woman, many men wouldn't perceive that they might be committing rape in the context of their marriage. Furthermore, these attitudes start early as one third of men report that before the age of 18 they have touched and sexually interacted with girls. These figures reveal a high level of men's sense of sexual entitlement over women. In Enugu and Lagos, forced marriage was considered a common form of violence particularly when a young man impregnates a girl and is pressured to marry her.

“Women encounter significant barriers to accessing support after experiencing violence.”

Women and men acknowledge significant barriers to women receiving help after experiencing violence. For example, rather than punish abusers, police sometimes dismiss violent acts against women as a “family matter,” or something meant to be resolved in the home itself³³. Other obstacles and reasons why women do not seek help include stigma and shame, a desire to maintain privacy, distrust of law enforcement, poor implementation of existing laws, fear of losing the marriage, guilt, love for their partner and illiteracy.

'Because of insurgency, and changing economic landscape in the country, things have become very hard. The Kanuris used to be farmers and traders but now there is no money, the economy has gone down, the region has been neglected, we have been left to our fate, so it's no longer easy for the man alone to maintain the house.'

Male representative of a peacebuilding organisation in Borno

Despite worryingly high levels of violence against women there exists a widespread belief that physical violence against women is unacceptable (previous section 1). There are also a variety of individual and community efforts at preventing VAWG and violence more generally – this is further discussed in section five.

REALITIES - THE DIVISION OF RESPONSIBILITY AND LABOUR IN THE HOME

The section on perception outlines the dominant ideas regarding women and men's roles in caring for children, carrying out work in the home, and providing security and responsibilities to provide economically. But what are the reported experiences of women and men both in their homes today and in their childhood homes?

A primary challenge to men's role as providers is that many are unable and sometimes unwilling to provide for their families, due to lack of economic opportunities and an insecure environment. (More in section 3). As a result, women are increasingly seeking paid work either to supplement family income or because of the absence of another earner - 40% of female participants of the NiMAGES quantitative study were employed either formally (17%) or informally (23%).

Some men worry that this leads women to be absent from their duties in the home including caring for children, or that women could usurp them in their bread-winning role. However, many recognise that given current economic circumstances, women's economic contributions from paid work are essential. To what degree women would be supported in continuing to work outside the home or in paid work if the economic situation improved, is unclear.

Even though men struggle to fulfil traditional roles they increasingly help out with household work and childcare. This shift in roles was largely supported by participants of qualitative studies, especially young men. In childhood homes fathers played a role in domestic and childcare duties but only at low to

moderate levels. In homes where children saw their fathers playing a role in domestic and childcare duties, they grew up doing the same. Respondents were most likely to recall their fathers playing a role in care for children; they were least likely to recall their fathers playing a role in fetching water. More than half of respondents reported that their fathers 'never' or 'hardly ever' prepared food, washed clothes, cleaned the house or fetched water. Nearly all respondents both women and men, reported that they had been taught to participate in the entire range of domestic tasks (included in the survey) as children.

"Younger men with a higher level of education and those with more gender-equitable attitudes are more likely to participate in domestic activities."

This may explain young men's support for sharing domestic work. Women were much more likely to have been taught how to cook food and slightly more have been taught the remainder of the tasks. However, upward of 77% of men reported being taught these particular household tasks.

Men and women report somewhat higher levels of men's participation in a range of household tasks in their current household compared to their experiences in their childhood home.

The tasks men report participating in most are those traditionally associated with men such as paying bills and repairing the house. However, many men also reported playing an 'equal', 'greater' or more modest role in duties traditionally seen as women's work, such as fetching firewood and water.

Further, a quarter of men believe they play an equal or greater part in washing clothes and cleaning the house (see Figure 4). For most domestic tasks women report men's participation as lower than men's own reports. It is likely that a man perceives his occasional contribution to be more significant than his female partner believes them to be. **Younger men, men with higher educational levels and men who hold higher levels of gender-equitable attitudes were more likely to report participating in household domestic activities.**

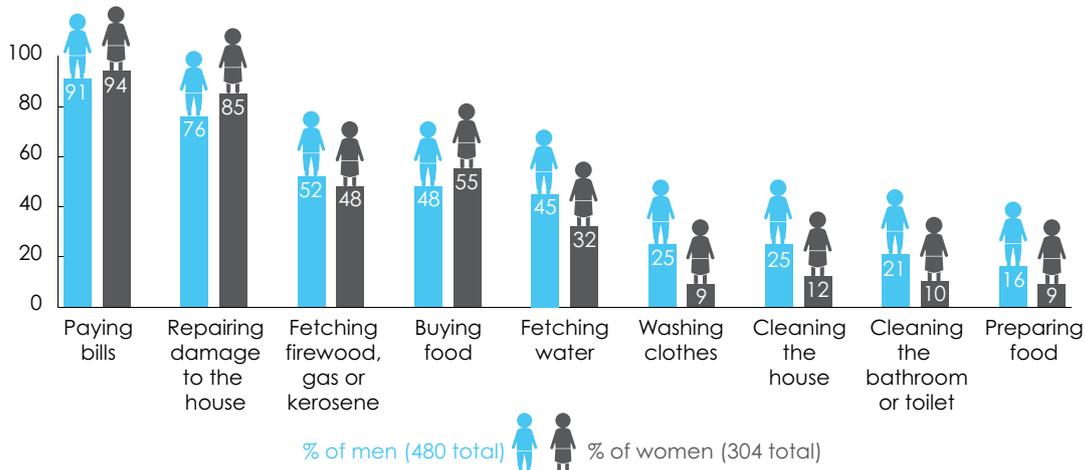
'Like my husband if I go to work and come back late, he helps me to cook and wash the clothes in the laundry room. And if I ask him to stop, he will say I should go and rest because I am very tired' (married woman, caterer, age 38, Port Harcourt in Rivers).

'Me and my brothers and sisters do the work, my sisters sweep, wash the dishes and do the cooking, while we fetch water and wash clothes.'

Young man, Borno



Figure 4: Men and women’s reports that the man “plays an equal or greater role” in various domestic duties (NiMAGES STUDY)

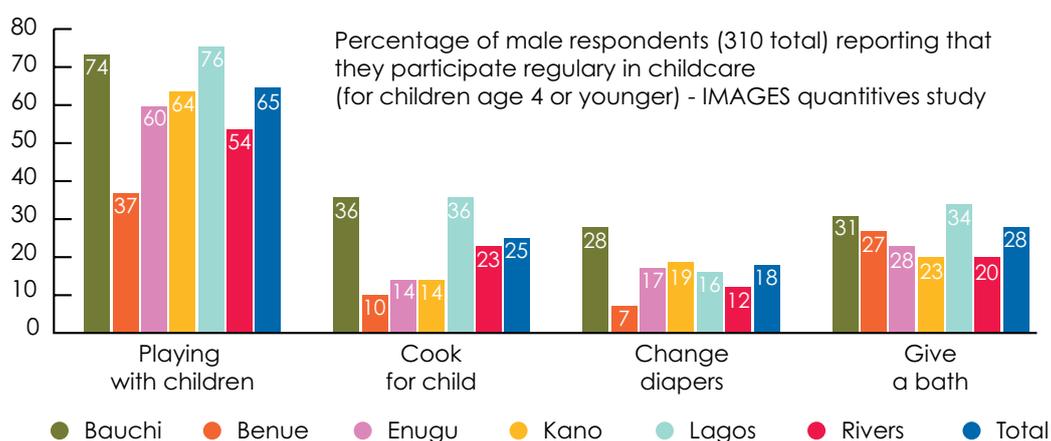


Less than 10% of women in Bauchi, Kano, Lagos and Rivers believe that men participate equally (or more) in daily childcare, whereas men give participation rates from 2 in 10 in Kano to nearly 5 in 10 in Rivers. Except in Benué and Enugu³⁴, women consistently report men’s participation in the daily care of children as lower than men’s own reports in their current and childhood homes (see Figure 5). This discrepancy between the views of the sexes is possibly due to women’s more accurate perception of men’s contributions, but also because of where men’s activities are overwhelmingly concentrated – in disciplining and playing with their children rather than engaging in the more arduous, tedious and continuous elements of childcare (such as feeding, changing diapers and bathing).

“Less than 10% of women in Bauchi, Kano, Lagos and Rivers believe that men participate equally (or more) in daily childcare.”

Both women and men report (at rates 60% and 65% respectively) that men regularly play with their children. The men with the highest levels of education (secondary school or higher) and the most equitable gender attitudes are also the men most likely to play an equal or greater role in childcare duties.

Figure 5: Percentage of male and female respondents reporting that they participate regularly in childcare. (NiMAGES study)



REALITIES – MEN AND WOMEN’S ROLE IN PUBLIC LIFE

The section on perception outlines the dominant ideas regarding women and men’s roles in public life. What are the reported experiences of women and how do men react to this?

“Women today are speaking up without encouragement and have proved themselves ‘outstanding’ in their public roles.”

Findings show that men recognise and often support the fact that women are taking on more visible roles in the community including participating in decision-making as well as community activities such as sanitation and peacekeeping, particularly in Kaduna, Lagos and Rivers. A male government representative in Kaduna for example, spoke of women having increased awareness of rights, that women are participating more in community and family decision-making and this leads to better outcomes in the home and community. A male peace-builder in Rivers reflected that, whereas 10 years ago women who were present did not talk in town hall meetings, **women today are talking without encouragement and have proved themselves ‘outstanding’ in their public roles.**

He cites the examples of the House of Assembly representative from this constituency, as well as the ‘women’s wing’ in the community which is ‘becoming stronger and prominent’, leading to women no longer being taken for granted in the community.

However, men still dominate in public spaces, for example in community decision-making forums and student unions³⁵. In some regions, particularly in the North, women are still not allowed in public spaces (or even to move freely outside their homes) or to attend community decision-making forums. If they do attend there is often an expectation that they remain silent. The male peace-builder from Rivers quoted above, commented that **‘only one in 15 community development committees (CDCs) in his area had a woman member which denies them the right to contribute** to the development of their communities’. In the studies, women expressed their desire to be more involved in leadership and decision-making. However they recognised significant barriers such as the need to ask men for permission and the belief that they would not be taken seriously by men and society in general if they took on such roles³⁶.

‘The roles of women in the community include being responsible for herself so that when she has to lead she will be able to lead right. Moreover this is not the first time a woman will be a leader in any community, during the time of Raji Rasaan, Ojikutu was his deputy and a female. If they do well in that leadership position that means they are from responsible homes’.

Religious leader, Lagos

“In an area of Rivers state, only 1 in 15 community development committees had a female member, denying them the right to contribute.”

The Conflict study provides numerous examples of men’s roles in community decision-making and security. In section 3, which explores the influence of conflict on men and masculinities, we will see how this can boil over into violence, as well as procure peace. However, the study also offers examples illustrating the nurturing, caring and arguably more positive side of their community role.



Examples in all states include how men provide free water, gifts to widows, scholarships for children and other kinds of help for those in need. Women and men also spoke of women's important role in caring for communities, enabling community improvements and caring for other women. They do this by helping those who have newly arrived to settle into their communities or to give them money to support their businesses. Through using networks, women significantly contribute towards peace and positive community development.

SECTION 3

FACTORS INFLUENCING PERCEPTIONS AND BEHAVIOURS



This section considers some of the most important factors influencing gender inequitable and equitable perceptions and behaviours such as the **media, religion and conflict**³⁷. These topics are the focus areas of the three studies commissioned to supplement the NiMAGES report on gender equality. We also include a section on childhood experiences, as significant findings emerged from the NiMAGES study regarding the importance of socialisation in forming ideas about men and women and their roles and value in society. Other important influencing factors such as poverty, education, unemployment, inequality and globalisation will be discussed where relevant.

CONFLICT

Conflict in Nigeria is worsening in intensity, prevalence and scope, with the country ranked 151 out of 162 countries in the Global Peace Index³⁸. Nigeria is currently experiencing insurgency in the North-East, conflict over land and water in the Middle Belt, urban violence in cities such as Lagos, and tensions over environmental degradation due to oil spills and gas flares in the Niger Delta. A key finding of the Conflict study is that **conflict can exacerbate violent masculinities by undermining men's perceived roles in the family and community**. **"Hyper-masculinities can also exacerbate conflict."** (i.e. exaggerated stereotypical male characteristics such as aggression)

"Conflict can exacerbate violent masculinities by undermining men's perceived roles in the family and community."

Dominant social 'ideals' of masculinity and femininity set difficult-to-reach standards, particularly given insecure environments that can engender violence, further insecurity, economic decline, high unemployment, inequality and changed gender realities.

Indeed, much divergence from these 'ideals' was observed in practice in all the studies. Conflicts in and between communities have made it difficult for men in all states to earn an income in order to obtain and maintain a family.

In Borno, for example, the impact of the insurgency has made it increasingly difficult due to the high likelihood of attacks. Land occupied by Boko Haram forces (otherwise known as Jama'atu Ahli Sunnah Lidda'awati Wal-Jihad (JAS)) has meant people are not able to cultivate farmland.

Curfews and attacks on businesses have also affected livelihoods. Added to this, prices of food and other necessities have drastically increased, leading to deepening food insecurity. Also in Borno, 'bride price' has become a blockage to marriage in the way that it has not been before, due to the changing economic situation engendered by insecurity.

'People of Bama cannot enjoy democracy while this is enjoyed in the state capital; we will not see it outside the metropolis and this brings about inequality among people... poor people are marginalised, young people are unemployed and older people are not given their basic necessities...If they are marginalised they will join violent groups to fight the government of the day.'

Representative from women's group in Borno

Respondents discussed community level violence in the context of marked inequality, poverty, unemployment and injustice placing pressure on young men to act in violent ways. Inequality and unfair treatment were seen as leading to a sense of injustice amongst those who were excluded and marginalised from power, wealth and influence, and unable to fulfil their roles in the family and community as a result.

For example, in Rivers there is conflict over scarce land where older men were seen as misusing resources and opportunities for their own ends. As a result some young men had lost respect for their elders. Changing power dynamics as a result of conflict and violence was identified, particularly in Borno and Rivers where some younger men's involvement in violence meant they were viewed with fear by older people.

“Respondents discussed community level violence in the context of marked inequality, poverty, unemployment and injustice placing pressure on young men to act in violent ways.”

Women's incomes were seen by some as having a positive influence in reducing men's financial burdens but women as providers also added pressure on men. Although there is a strong norm against violence young men recognised that **sometimes their only option in an insecure environment to protect their families involved engaging in criminal and sometimes violent activities.** (Section 4 highlights the high levels of crime in the six states covered by NiMAGES). They expressed empathy for young men's lack of choice in this regard, generally viewing men who stayed at home to avoid violence as 'acting like women' and so not earning respect from women and men of the household and community. This illustrates how negative views of women and their roles can reinforce masculinities that lead to violence.

There is a distinct perceived lack of action on the part of state and national governments in improving people's lives in communities. There was similar disillusionment with national security agencies, with many respondents seeing them as perpetrators of human rights violations such as arbitrary detention of men, sexual violence against women and weak protectors of communities.

“In most cases, if I can access police and I know you are misbehaving, I will show my power by calling on police to arrest you. Also if you offend me, all I have to do is buy boys in the community marijuana or alcohol and they will deal with you. Afterwards, you will give me respect when you see me on the street.”

Married man, age 39, Agege, Lagos

“Vigilante or community security groups are in some instances seen as key to stopping violence.”

As a result men in the community who see themselves as protectors, have set up **vigilante or community security groups and in some instances were seen as key to stopping violence.** Young men believed they were treated with more respect if they joined such groups which 'protected the community', even if through violence, creating incentives for joining. In fact others suggested that it was fear rather than respect that group membership prompted, and involvement was seen as ensuring men would be more likely to perpetrate violence and harass women in the home and community.

“There is a noticeable shift from elders or traditional leaders solving community problems, to them being addressed by police or vigilante groups.”

Participants also spoke of the shift from arbitration of community problems by elders or traditional leaders, to use of the police or vigilante groups. This was not always seen as positive as indicated above.

Although many traditional systems exclude women from positions of leadership, the police and vigilante groups are not necessarily more receptive to women's security concerns. The types of masculinity embodied by police and vigilante groups can often be more violent than that of elders and traditional leaders who use arbitration. Indeed, the current arbitration system seemed more open to violence, impunity and use of connections.

However, young men in Rivers also expressed frustration with elders stemming from perceived injustice and felt court resolutions rather than settlement by elders had led to a more peaceful situation now than in the past³⁹.

'It has changed because in those days they would call the feuding parties to an arbitration panel and would resolve the conflict for them but that does not work out these days.'

Married man, age 39, Agege, Lagos

“It is believed that those in power such as politicians, take advantage of ‘humiliated and stranded’ youth to drive group violence for their own political ends.”

Participants believe those with power, such as politicians, take advantage of 'humiliated and stranded' youth to drive group violence for their own political ends⁴⁰. Given the violent nature of political contestation in Rivers for the past two years and as politicians have recruited young men for use in elections, it is unsurprising this came out most strongly there. However, in Borno too, Boko Haram gave money to young recruits, which gave them access to goods such as motorbikes that they would not have otherwise had.

Many respondents felt men were naturally powerful (a view supported by participants in the other studies) and were raised to fight in order to provide for, and protect their family and community. They were therefore much more likely than women to get involved in violent behaviour, including gangs. However, examples of **women being involved in violence was also noted**, notably standing behind men and supplying them during stoning in Kaduna. Young women also spoke of participation in gangs, as well as using connections with gangs for their own ends. One woman from Rivers who was interviewed in-depth described her involvement in gang violence at school. She also described how selling alcohol on the streets meant she was often provoked to defend herself by force, including against men who tried to cheat her out of money.

Although both women and men reported violence and conflict as having damaging economic and psychosocial effects, as well as changing community relationships, their experiences differed. Men spoke of being targeted by security forces and having to escape for fear they would be harassed, shot or arrested with little chance of accessing justice or forced to join security groups. They also spoke about how fear undermined their positions and questioned whether involvement in vigilante groups or exposure to violence made them more prone to committing violence themselves.

Respondents felt women were disproportionately affected by violence due to their caregiving role and left economically vulnerable when male relatives were killed. Women also experienced fear, restrictions of movement and increased violence, including sexual harassment, rape and abuse by gangs and security forces, for example, being targeted if their partners or children are involved in gangs.

Some people felt their communities were seeing decreasing levels of violence. This perception may have been influenced by the timing of the research for the Conflict study, which took place in the immediate

aftermath of elections that were widely feared likely to trigger mass violence. That they did not was remarked upon in all states. The research also **cites examples of men who resisted involvement in violence and actively worked for peace**. In Lagos, people cited community peace groups as immediately intervening if there were problems. Although violence was seen as persistent in Rivers, people pointed to varying successful community efforts to address and prevent it. Experiences of conflict have also engendered some interesting role shifts for men. For example in Borno, where the conflict is most acute, some men are involved in comforting children traumatised by war.

“The studies reveal examples of men who resisted involvement in violence and actively worked for peace.”

Those who worked for non-governmental organisations had the most progressive views and spoke of how they were trying to effect change, including by educating boys and girls to be peace advocates and speak out against violence against women and girls. This is discussed further in section 5.

RELIGION

Nigeria is nearly equally divided between Christianity and Islam. The majority of Nigeria's Muslims are concentrated in the northern part of the country, while Christians dominate in the Middle Belt and south⁴¹. The study looking at the influence of religion on masculinities focused on these two main religions. Approximately 10% of Nigerians practice traditional religion. However, this was not covered in the study⁴².

Participants of the Religion study (as well as the Conflict and NiMAGES qualitative studies) overwhelmingly perceived that God created man in his own image, to lead, protect and provide for his family and community, spiritually and physically. Many participants referred to scripture to justify their beliefs. Women support men in their roles by cooking and caring for the family, and providing for the family in the absence of a man. However, despite overwhelming support for role distribution by gender, it was mostly agreed that neither Christianity nor Islam explicitly specifies detailed roles for men and women, beyond biological attributes. These roles and responsibilities are largely reported to be ascribed by culture, rather than religion, a view that was repeated across different respondent groups.

‘Even in the Quran you can see that wherever God mention a man at the same time he mention a woman “wattabi’ina wattabi’ati, Walmuminina walmuminati” and a lot of them compare a man and a woman in the Quran.’

The Federation of Muslim Women's Associations in Nigeria (FOMWAN) President, Kano State Chapter

“Many overwhelmingly perceived that God created man in his own image, to lead, protect and provide for his family and community, spiritually and physically.”

Contradictory views were expressed regarding religious support for men's involvement in domestic work. Women in Northern Nigeria, regardless of age or religion, perceived this to be an indication of support from their husbands, as well as a fulfillment of their religious obligations. However, they noted that cultural perceptions of men who perform domestic duties are to see them as weak. In contrast, Muslim women in the South, mostly from the older age range, believed that domestic work performed by men was a new mistaken trend of the younger generation. They did not believe this change in roles was supported by their

religion. Although younger women, men and older men indicated their support for men's involvement in domestic work, they did not provide a religious justification either way.

“Leadership is generally believed to be bestowed upon men by God.”

Leadership was a role generally believed to be ascribed to men by God. A leader is seen as someone who has the fear of God, is religious, and that God has chosen to guide people. For most Muslims, men and women across age groups, it was believed that while religion does not forbid women from holding leadership roles, they are not supposed to lead men, including in the home or in religious practices.

Christians, regardless of age group, gender or location, largely felt that either women or men can be leaders in the church or elsewhere if they are qualified and committed to service provision. Female leaders in the Bible such as Deborah and Esther were cited in support of this belief. Additionally, in the Catholic Church, women cannot be ordained priests and can only occupy 'lay' positions in the church. It was also believed by some respondents that some characteristics of women disqualify them from taking leadership roles in the church. Men are still expected to be the head of the household.

'According to the Prophet (PBUH) "no people will ever progress if they allow a woman to serve as their leader". Women can be elected to represent their interests but they cannot take leadership positions.'

Chairman of the Council of Ulama, Kano State

Religion was frequently used to justify men's dominance of women's leadership roles throughout all the studies. Yet when pressed directly, participants of the Religion study overwhelmingly stated their belief that culture, not religion upholds men's superiority over women. For example, the Koran states: ***“alimra'atu shakikatu filhayatul rajulu, la hayatu illabihi wabi ha. (Her life entirely and his is the one that come together to form one particular thing)***. This directly contradicts statements made by group members at other points in the discussion. This makes understanding the role of religion in influencing gender equity and inequity challenging.

Contradictory statements could be down to a lack of knowledge of religious teachings, a mixing of religion and culture, misuse of scriptures to justify pre-existing prejudices or possible reluctance on the part of respondents to admit their religion can be used to justify discriminatory behaviour. Exploration of the role of culture in upholding gender inequality was limited in the studies. However, one respondent gave an example of how the cultural tradition of involving first born daughters in family decisions was overridden by more strict evangelical religious doctrines barring their involvement.

Participants agreed that **religion does not stop women from speaking out or taking action**, especially if they are being cheated. Examples of the Prophet's wife in the Koran, and Esther in the Bible were cited as evidence. Restrictions on women speaking out are considered a misinterpretation of the scriptures.

All respondents, regardless of age, gender, location or religion agreed that no religion supports violence against women. Referencing the Koran, a male respondent said, *“The Prophet (Peace be Upon Him) said “wouldn't one of you be shy to beat his wife during the day and later come to her in the night for sex?”* (Male JNI Secretary, Kaduna). In addition, Chapter 4, Suratul An-Nisa (meaning The Women) of the holy Quran was dedicated to women, indicating God has a special place and respect for women which all should follow (Male Muslim Leader, Lagos). In contrast, older Christian women from Lagos felt that VAWG was fostered by religious preachers encouraging women to bear with IPV and by the Bible itself promoting subordination of women to their husbands. Although religion might not explicitly support VAWG, its mis-interpretation may promote ideology that condones it.

“No religion supports violence against women.”

Religion does not forbid women holding the rights to resources. The Hadith states “we should not be unjust as Allah is not unjust”. However, it was stated that in Sharia law, women were entitled to smaller inheritance because they stand to inherit from their immediate families and from their husbands. Furthermore participants believe that the bible advises that man should keep inheritance for his children, and that men inherit permanent items such as land, whereas women inherit disposable items such as gifts. Women are also not forbidden from accessing education. According to the hadith “seek for knowledge even if it means going to seek for it in China” and “seeking for knowledge is mandatory for every Muslim man and woman” (FGD with Muslim young men, Kaduna; FGD with older Muslim men, Kaduna).

‘The prophet (PBUH) was commanded by Allah “anytime you want to do something that Allah has not sent divined inspiration to you, you must consult your companions.” These companions include women. The prophet (PBUH) also said “anybody that sought advice shall never go astray”’

JNI Secretary, Kaduna

Religion does not forbid women from accessing opportunities for education.”

Religious leaders that promoted gender equity were mostly viewed with respect and as role models by study respondents, provided they preached within the tenets of religion. It was reported, however, that preachers in Kaduna and in Kano who preached in support of gender equity face resistance from other preachers in the community. Additionally, some preachers in Kano and Enugu do preach equal rights for women and men but not directly, due to fear of their fellow preachers.

It was believed by young Christian men in Enugu that Nigeria is not yet ready for religious preaching on gender equality, which is why **religious leaders were doing so with caution**, using scripture and stressing submissiveness of women, even within the discourse of gender equality. It is also believed by a male Pastor in Lagos that gender equality could not be discussed in certain churches, as it would be seen as encouraging men to be weak and unmanly. He also believed that tradition views gender equality as a problem that could result in separation or divorce of couples.

In most groups regardless of age, gender, location or religion, there were mixed feelings about equality in religious activities and spheres. We have also seen the emergence of men who relate to women on an equal basis. However, in general, such equality was not supported by Muslim men, who back the perception that women were not equal to men, using quotes from the Koran such as, “*Arrijalu qawamuna alan nnisaa*” meaning “men guard over women” and “where you don't find one male witness, you should get two female witnesses” (group discussion with older Muslim men, Kaduna). In addition, while women were generally less accepting of having unequal rights and privileges as men, most male respondents were of the opinion that women accept male dominance as God's will. Both male and female respondents stressed the need for women to remain humble and respectful to men.

Nevertheless, respondents supported religious leaders teaching men to respect women more, to share roles and responsibilities, promoting women and girls to speak out and sometimes manage resource allocation, and promoting education for women and girls.

MEDIA

Box 2: 'Man in Power'

In the popular Nigerian film, the main character Desmond embodies the possibilities and contradictions for men who strive for greater gender sensitivity. After being cast away by his community he returns as a successful (i.e. rich) man. His community, regretting having turned their backs on him now kneel and plead for forgiveness. A friend of Desmond lines up a group of beautiful and educated women so he can cherry-pick his bride to be but he sends them away. Desmond gives money to the elders for health centres, youth and women's empowerment, and feels embarrassed when people kneel in front of him. He regards his mother as the most important person in his life. However, while he promotes the idea of female empowerment, he simultaneously reinforces the power of the men (in this case, the elder council) in decision-making. He ends up enjoying the privileges of being perceived as a "real man", a successful man according to the dominant masculinity standards. (Media study, 2015)

One of the most important places for boys and men, girls and women to learn to make sense of their world is through the media, including newspapers, television, radio, films and comics.

"The media demonstrates a strong potential influence over perceptions and understanding of issues such as gender identities, relations and roles."

Nigerians are major consumers of media and most citizens rely on the media for information, education and entertainment. This demonstrates the potential power exerted by the media in shaping perceptions and understanding of issues such as gender identities, religions and roles.

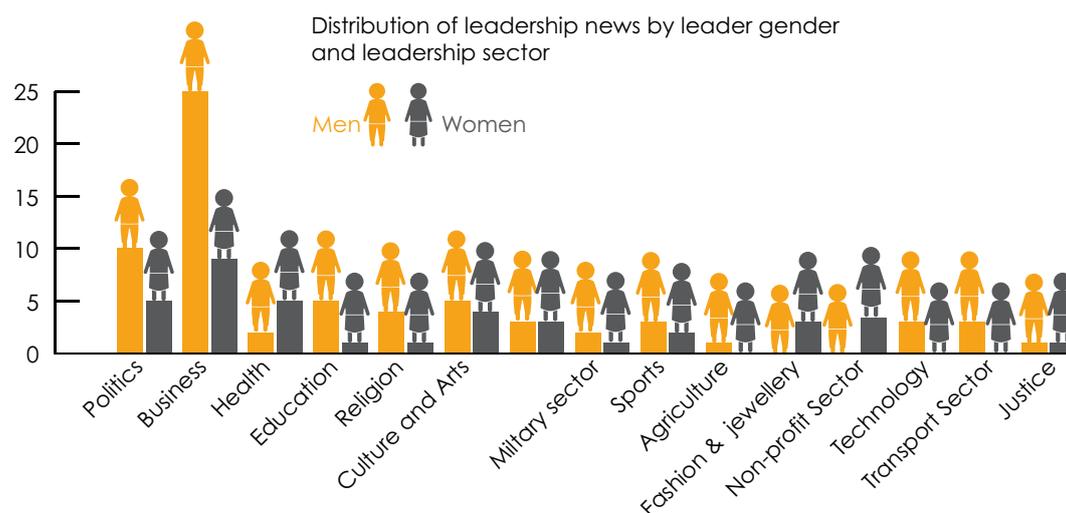
Within the context of a prospering Nigerian media industry, the study sought to understand the role of the media in shaping perception and promoting gender equitable and inequitable ideas of masculinity and femininity through reviewing a range of media products, and discussions with those who produce media content as well as consume it.

"The media promotes male dominance and leadership and tends to under-represent women in decision-making and leadership."

Mass media in Nigeria, via traditional outlets, entertainment and advertisements, promote stereotypical roles about what it means to be a man, presenting masculinity as fixed and inevitable. This was particularly evident in the films and cartoons analysed, but less in news media and advertisements⁴³. **The media promotes male dominance and leadership and tends to under-represent women in decision-making and leadership.** It does this by reinforcing traditional gender roles assigned to men and women, for example: describing the man by means of rational and professional-related adjectives, in leadership news stories, and by personal and emotional related adjectives in relation to women (or conversely emphasising their masculine traits). It mostly only focuses on gender issues when covering women's leadership news stories. In one newspaper only one out of six (29%) articles on male leaders explicitly mentioned gender issues compared to 67% of articles on female leaders. This contributes to the common understanding that gender issues are mainly women's issues. Men were more likely to be mentioned in conjunction with leadership in sectors such as

business and politics. Women were far more likely than men to be mentioned in fashion and jewellery and non-profit sectors. The media review also did not find a single references to female leaders in the education, religion, military, agriculture, technology and transport sectors (see Figure 6).

Figure 6: Media reporting of sectoral leadership by sex (%)⁴⁵ (Media study)



The Media study also noted that **films, cartoons and advertising promote dominant masculinities**, reducing women to submissive and dependent actors or sexual objects. For example, out of 22 *Mr. and Mrs. Cartoons* studied, at least 16, amounting to (73%), had messages explicitly conveying non-gender equitable stereotypes. (See Box 2 for an example from the film industry.) Women in films, cartoons and advertisements come across as obsessed with money and suspicious about men's fidelity, frivolous, fixated on fashion or how their body looks, and willing, most of all, to please their husbands sexually or through cooking. Whereas successful men are portrayed as responsible, inviolable and invariably rich. They are also presented as competent, professional and as having a sense of entitlement to be the decision-makers and economic providers for their families. They are also seen as being able to strongly influence the way women see themselves and as sexually active individuals (sometimes unfaithful and promiscuous). For example, one advert for MTN (telecommunications) offers the line that it is the obligation of a man to provide for women so that they can go shopping⁴⁶.

In both Lagos and Kaduna, participants of group discussions, irrespective of age and social background, generally agreed on negative gender representation in the media. They gave examples of media content that portrayed man as the head of the family, who must be obeyed by women, and portrayals of women as the weaker sex. They also mentioned newspaper interviews that favour men, as women are often asked private or personal questions; entertainment programmes, including music, that show female nudity; home videos, where men play key roles as achievers while women are always in the kitchen; and images that debase women and portray them as sex objects.

“Films and home videos tend to glorify violence against women.”

Research participants also felt that **films and home videos tend to glorify violence against women** by not ensuring perpetrators are convicted for their actions, or not showing the harmful consequences for women and society. They also cited examples of violence being glorified more generally – such as scenes in films where young boys handle weapons including guns. Despite the above, some of the participants mentioned instances where the media has helped to condemn or indirectly reject negative masculine behaviour. In this

regard, they commend the media for giving prominent coverage to some situations where women have been victims of abuse.

The media content review however, concluded that film narratives often sensationalised violence, portraying acts as isolated events or uncharacteristic of the perpetrator, rather than symptomatic of a wider social problem.

“Most believe there is a link between gender inequitable masculine images in the media and incidents of violence targeted at women.”

Although the majority believe such portrayals often reflect social realities, some argued that the facts are sometimes exaggerated. Only few reported that the media encouraged negative behaviour, including one man who said media stories had encouraged him to womanise. However, **most believe there is a link between gender inequitable masculine images in the media and incidents of violence targeted at women.** Male and female students opined that media images reinforce tendencies of boys and men to see themselves as the dominant sex, while women tend to be compelled to assume subservient roles, despite the growing presence of women in leadership positions in the country. There is agreement that **the consequences of stereotyped portrayals of men and women in the media** include the projection of harmful messages for boys growing up, low esteem of children and submissiveness of women.

Most media professionals approached for the study are aware of the role of the media in shaping perceptions on gender identities and roles and make efforts to create programming aimed at promoting gender equality. However, **media professionals are often constrained from promoting gender-equitable masculinities because of sexism in society and the media industry.** For example:

- Women are under-represented on editorial boards (see Figure 7) and ownership of media outlets. As editorial boards decide on content, a gender imbalanced board constrains many media professionals from promoting gender-equitable images.
- Male and female journalists and presenters are usually assigned different areas to cover depending on their sex. Professional women are assigned women's and children's programmes and stories, while men tend to cover men's issues or coverage that may require working longer, later hours. This reinforces the idea that women's issues and children's issues should be the concern of women and that men's issues should also be the sole responsibility of men.
- There is a widespread belief that content challenging gender stereotypes would not attract advertising revenue. The research found a number of programmes that had been created to target men in a positive way but that never got off the ground as a result of lack of advertising support.
- Gender equality programmes and existing regulation of the media regarding gender issues are mostly focused on women, actively excluding men as part of the discussion or as agents for social change.
- Although legislation is a key tool for making the media gender sensitive and responsive, enforcement has been a challenge as media content is hardly monitored in that respect.

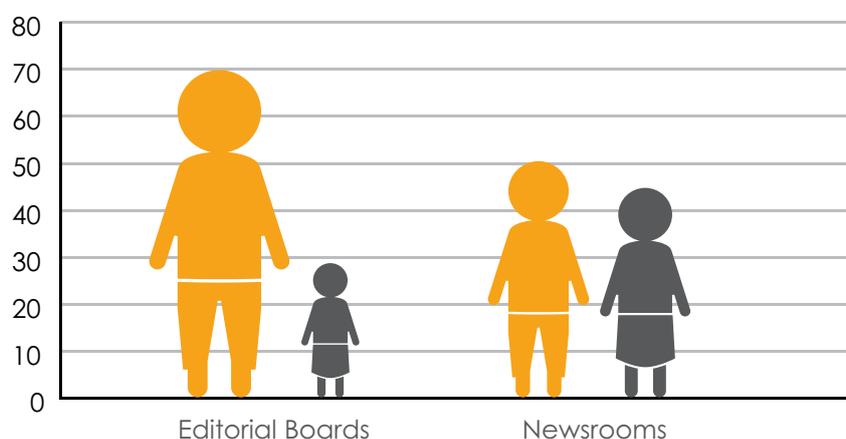
It is extremely hard work to be a producer. Working in production means you have to be extra strong because you work overnight and extra hours. It is not deliberate but men seem to be more suitable.

Media professional

We assign female reporters to cover events or stories on women affairs in order to consider religious and cultural sensibilities of the community we serve

News director

Figure 7: Sex composition of editorial boards and newsrooms (Media study)



Some media content in Nigeria mirrors, or has the potential to mirror gender equitable male images, for example, coverage of the celebration of fathers' day in churches and 'Masculine Hour' a radio programme aired weekly on Fridays, with young boys and men as the primary target. This programme discusses relationships and other issues affecting men and is a favourite weekend programme with radio listeners in Lagos.

“Gender equality programmes and existing media regulation on gender issues are largely targeted at women, excluding men and their issues from the discussion, or as agents for social change.”

The media has influenced my life in a very big way. I will say my future career was decided because of what I saw on TV. I saw someone that I want to be like and it has helped accelerate my life. And it has made me short-cut my life instead of going the long way”

Female student in Kaduna

Even some advertising recognises that men and women can be portrayed as equals. In one telecommunications advertisement of MTN the advert says that successful men and women always want something better without distinguishing areas of success by gender.

Positive male and female images in local media affect audiences by shoring role models and inspiring consumers to aspire for success in their chosen careers. The participants of group discussions cited important role models for them, most of who imbued gender equitable attitudes and behaviours (see Figure 8). The female role models were generally chosen because they have overcome gender challenges, demonstrated strength of character, excelled in their chosen careers and rendered gender-supportive services. The **male role models** are mostly men who the participants believe have exhibited positive gender or masculine values and those who have been successful in their field of endeavours.

“Positive male and female images in local media affect audiences by shoring role models and inspiring consumers to aspire for success in their chosen careers.”

Figure 8: Some examples of gender equitable role models cited by Media study participants

Male role models

Cited by male study participants:



Ben Murray Bruce - Media proprietor - "a fighter for women and children and for the unity of Nigeria"



Barack Obama - The first American black senator and president and a supporter of gender equity by supporting his wife

Cited by female study participants:



Goodluck Jonathan - Nigeria's former President



Mr. Raymond Dopkesi - Proprietor of African Independent Television (AIT)



Olu Jacobs Actor (married to a successful woman and a good husband and father)

Female role models

Cited by male study participants:



Christiane Amanpour – the Chief International Correspondent for CNN



Funmi Akingbade - writes a column in The Punch newspapers on sex and relationships

Cited by female study participants:



Folusho Alakija – despite limited education became a fashion designer and one of the richest women in the world



Genevieve Nnaji – a teenage mother who became one of Nollywood's most successful actresses



Omotola Jalade Ekeinde - actress, singer, philanthropist and former model



Ellen Sirleaf-Johnson – Liberian President

HOME AND SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT

The NiMAGES study demonstrates that home and school environments are significant influencers in developing men and women's gender identities. Positive male role models for boys (and girls), a home free of violence, and access to education are vital elements in establishing gender equitable attitudes and behaviours. When fathers participate in domestic work and childcare, their sons are more likely to help in the home in later life⁴⁷. Almost 6 in 10 men who frequently participate in traditionally feminine domestic tasks had fathers who did as well, compared to 41% of men participating in such tasks who did not have domestically active fathers. They are also more likely to agree that men should share work around the house with women – 80% compared to 70%⁴⁸.

“Positive role models for both sexes, a violence-free home and access to education are vital to establishing gender equitable attitudes and behaviours.”

Many of the research participants witnessed violence against their mothers. For example, about a quarter of respondents, both men and women, witnessed their mother being beaten by their father or another man in their childhood home. Men are less likely to perpetrate violence against their intimate partners and women less likely to experience IPV if their fathers were not violent with their mothers. 47% of men who witnessed their mothers experiencing IPV were also violent compared to 27% of men who did not witness IPV in their childhood homes. Women who witnessed IPV in childhood, are significantly associated with experiencing IPV later in life⁴⁹. The report, *State of the Worlds Fathers (2015)*, states that violence against children is more likely to be present in homes where IPV is perpetrated.



The fact that education for girls is supported by most Nigerian women and men, and that education is associated with more progressive views, underscores the important role it can play in developing progressive ideas about men, women and their contributions to society. Male and female students from Lagos and Kaduna interviewed for the Media study believed that men who support gender equality are more enlightened and educated. Qualitative findings show however, that though girls' education is supported, it is not taken as seriously as that of boys. It also suggests that teacher and students have a more positive

view of boys' abilities to learn. Further, **educational establishments often perpetuate the idea that violence against children is a legitimate form of punishment. For example, 80% of boys and 71% girls experienced corporal punishment in schools.** In the study on Conflict although schools were not seen to be teaching violence, participants talked about conflict within and between schools, with the presence of gangs within, or affiliated to schools, and use of violence to intimidate school authorities seemingly common.

“Men are less likely to commit and women less likely to experience IPV if their fathers were not violent with their mothers at home.”

The NiMAGES study reveals that Nigerian children also experience high levels of violence at home. For example 2 in 3 women and 3 in 4 men reported being spanked or slapped by parents or adults in their childhood home. About 3 in 4 respondents report being threatened with physical punishment in their childhood homes. It is interesting to view these findings in the light of recent statistics from the State of the World's Fathers report (2015), that reveal high levels of support from mothers and fathers for physical and verbal punishment of children. Over 6 in 10 mothers and fathers surveyed in Nigeria think physical discipline is necessary in bringing up a child. Just over 2 in 10 men in Nigeria who participated in the study think it is never justified to beat one's child⁵⁰.

Some respondents of the Conflict study described how important **initiation or life events are in emphasising the link between patriarchal forms of masculinity and violence.** In Lagos and Kaduna, people talked of Hausa and Fulani customs of beating boys to test maturity and manliness, with the young man required not to show suffering. Respondents also talked of the role of hunting in determining manhood: *'In Fulani and in Hausa land they say if you want to prove that you are a man, you should go and hunt rare animals'* (male member of vigilante group, age 55). It was not clear if these respondents were talking from experience or from hearsay based on stereotypes of other ethnic groups. Nevertheless, it is instructive that perpetrating and withstanding violence is seen as 'separating the boys from the men'. It also valorises and glorifies violence and the ability to 'withstand' it rather than encouraging approaches that are more peaceful.

Furthermore, sexual violence against children, although not condoned, is worryingly pervasive. Nine in every 10 males and females reported being raped as children. Even more respondents – approximately 2 in 10 men and women – reported that before they turned 18, "Someone touched [their] buttocks or genitals or made [them] touch someone's genitals when [they] did not want to."⁵¹ Given the well-established lifelong influence of childhood experiences of violence⁵², the issues of physical violence, corporal punishment and sexual violence experienced by children in Nigerian study sites are worthy of attention.

Section 5 provides examples of initiatives in Nigeria that encourage gender equitable fatherhood and work with young people to build their self-esteem.

First, however we consider the impacts of masculinities on men, their relationships with women and on the community as a whole.

SECTION 4

IMPACT OF NEGATIVE MASCULINITIES ON MEN



This section considers the impact of non-gender equitable masculinities (perceptions and realities) on men, their relationships with women and on the community at large. It also examines whether, and if so how, greater equality in relationships can bring benefits for all. Social norms that consider men to be the sole family breadwinner engender feelings of failure when this is not possible particularly in contexts of unemployment, poverty, insecurity and inequality.

Widely held ideas about masculinity and femininity are powerful “root causes” of gender inequity and violence against women, as well as wider violence in the community. Conversely, men spoke about the important role women played in alleviating their stress through their contributions to household economies and decision-making.

IMPACT OF SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS ON MEN'S HEALTH AND WELL-BEING

Adherence to culturally dominant forms of masculinity – which often urge men to practice strict emotional control and cultivate a sense of invulnerability or indestructibility – can adversely affect men's physical and mental health.

Social expectations that men should be strong and maintain and protect a family in the context of poverty, insecurity and poverty generates considerable pressure on men. **Men report high levels of alcohol consumption⁵⁴ (Benué 25%, Enugu 27%, Rivers 32%, Lagos 38%, Bauchi 50%, Kano 60%) and experience high levels of stress and depression.**

“Men report high levels of alcohol consumption - between 25% and 60% across states - and experience high levels of stress and depression. “

Over 6 in 10 men report regularly experiencing stress (70% in Lagos, 67% Enugu, 61% Rivers, 60% Kano, 55% Bauchi, 38% in Benué) and a third report being regularly depressed (similar levels across states).

Almost 3 in 10 men report regular low self-esteem. Men with no formal education are the most likely to report suicidal thoughts, low self-esteem and or negative feelings of well-being and men who report work-related stress are also more likely to report depression. Respondents in the studies point out that when boys and men are unable to attain a certain level of financial success or meet the financial responsibilities expected of them, they see themselves as failures. This often results in frustration, stress and unhappiness, which can also lead to violence.

Respondents in the Religion study believed that men and boys engage in risky behaviours (crime, alcohol and drug use) as a way to prove their ‘manhood’ to their peers and women and girls, or as an outlet from the stress of their ascribed roles and responsibilities. Pressure from family and society to be ‘successful’ also resulted in men engaging in risky behaviour even at the risk of their own lives, or to the detriment of their self-respect, health and integrity. Figure 9 illustrates how different the social expectations of a man can be from what men themselves are feeling, on top of their challenges and opportunities.

“Yes, there was a period my business wasn't booming; that was when we were in our second (year) of marriage and there were a lot of bills and pressure everywhere and it seems she was the only one bringing in money. She just did something, maybe she came home late or took a decision I felt I wasn't comfortable with and I started bursting out. She was at the kitchen and I went and slammed the kitchen door and I walked out, but later I regretted the action. It wasn't worth it, it's not good to beat your wife.”

Male, Lagos State

Figure 9: - Man surrounded by conflicting messages and experiences. (Source:Conflict study)

HOW I HAVE BEEN TOLD I NEED TO BE/ ACT ...

- Well educated
- Not dependent on parents
- Married with dependents
- Responsible
- Paid well, doing respected work
- Provide for my wife and children
- Have authority in the home
- Make sure my children have good home training
- Provide security for those in my family and community
- Calm and in control
- Take care of the community
- Be respected by family, friends and community by having power, money, influence, advice to share.



WHAT MY REALITY IS ...

- Parents could not afford school fees so have lower level of education than I would like
- Suffering from inequality, poverty, lack of connections or influence
- Unemployed/ not earning enough money – cannot get a job, dependent on parents, cannot afford to get married, cannot provide for family
- Rely on what wife brings in to support the family
- Finding it difficult to enforce authority at home without a job/ bringing in enough money to provide
- Insecurity – helpless in the face of conflict and violence and likelihood of it affecting family and community
- Lack of respect – by my wife, our children, my friends, my parents and anyone else in the community
- Negative influence of others – showing easy ways to make money, tempting me to drink and take drugs
- Get so frustrated and angry, I can't control myself sometimes and lose my temper.



WHAT I THINK ...

- It's so hard! I'm not praying/ trying enough; must try even harder
- To be a man is to overcome challenges – does this mean I'm not a proper man?
- It is so much easier for women
- A rich man is courting the girl I like. I can't compete
- My wife and children are afraid of the violence. I should be protecting them, not be afraid myself
- My wife brings in (more) money – how to show I still have authority over her?
- My wife may be unfaithful
- It's so unfair, my mates have the right connections so have gotten good jobs
- How can I get them all to respect me?
- It's wrong to be involved in violence but how else to provide? Money needs to be clean but do I have any other choice?





“Many respondents of the Conflict study felt that men’s consumption of alcohol and drugs led to household and community conflict and violence.”

Box 3: Resisting violence: The story of a 30+ year old married man from Rivers

This man used to have a business but now lacks capital to carry it further. He stopped school at class three. His father never provided for him growing up even though he was head of the household. This man did most of the household chores and took care of the children growing up as he was the oldest. He used to be involved in violent groups particularly when he was in school (there was lots of inter-school violence) and then in a vigilante group which also appears to have engaged in violence. He believes he is a lot less hot-headed since getting married. He now tries to avoid violence and resolves conflicts peacefully when he can. “For me I don’t want to go back that is why I say let God help me. There are things that I am trying to do, and I pray those things work out so that I will not go back to my former level. Most of the time you don’t know when troubles will come”. He believes if he gets a bit of help with his business it will be easier to avoid violence. This man now helps the community deal with community violence and has been involved in speaking to, punishing and arresting young men that abuse women.

Conflict study

Men involved in the Conflict study were clear about the pressures on them caused by the gap between expectations and their realities. These include poverty, lack of connections where necessary to succeed, dependence on parents, lack of positive role models in their parents and elders, feeling helpless in the face of conflict and inequality and struggles for income, struggles over courtship or exerting dominance required at home and desire to earn respect of wives, girlfriends, families and the community at large. This gulf led to personal struggles, intensified by an overwhelming sentiment expressed by many participants that ‘real

men' are able to overcome challenges and can succeed with hard work. No matter how hard they tried, success continued to be elusive. Men also talked of struggles to control their anger and exert self-discipline and control in the face of provocation by others. Box 3 illustrates the story of one participant in the Conflict study as he tries to resist the pressures on him to engage in aggressive behaviour.

Alcohol consumption is also seen as a way for men to escape the stresses of life. The NiMAGES study found that 2 in 10 men felt their alcohol consumption had led them to do something they regretted. Just over 1 in every 10 men report failing to do something that was normally expected of them because of their alcohol consumption.

Many respondents in the Conflict study also felt that men's consumption of alcohol and drugs, particularly in Kaduna, Lagos and Rivers, led to household and community level conflict and violence. A young woman in Lagos who sells a local gin and herbs concoction claimed the reason street boys drank was *'to step up, for them to get high and be able to do whatever they want to do.'* In Kaduna, a male religious leader said young men feel *'they are not getting anything from the society and their feelings about society is negative - that is why they go to whatever extent to intoxicate themselves because to them that is the only time when they will feel ok. This adds to the problem, because once they are intoxicated they are capable of committing any act.'*

IMPACT OF SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS ON RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN

The existence of strict unequal gender norms and roles creates tension within relationships. Respondents described how not fulfilling gender roles causes tension between men and women. For example, men believed that women are more likely to be promiscuous if their husbands fail to provide financially. The difficulties of men needing to be, and be seen as, the breadwinner given these challenges are a key driver of conflict at the household level. Men were worried about the potential loss of authority, control and respect that would follow from not being able to provide, particularly if their wives took on 'their role' of family provider. In order to offset this, women who earned more than their husbands often had to be seen to be more submissive, remain respectful or 'cover for him' by making it seem he was the one providing.

“Male respondents in all studies confirmed that they respond to economic stress with violence against both women and other men.”

Male respondents in all studies confirmed that they respond to economic stress with violence (against both women and other men). The NiMAGES study shows a link between work-related stress and perpetration of IPV.

Some expressed the view that if women and men could live up to their socially ascribed roles there would be peace in the home and community and they believe that the promotion of gender equality

“Because a man cannot do everything alone, in the Bible God created Adam and saw that Adam cannot carry the load alone that is why God created Eve too and Eve was there to help Adam [...] if you are married you are responsible and some of the responsibilities cannot be for you alone but for the two of you.” (Traditional leader, Rivers)

“You will share everything with whoever you are dating. You share your thoughts, money and everything you have, then the lady has that idea in her head that she is coming into a relationship to share things. Now sharing things means you have an idea or you have something to share, share it together and not above the other person so when you are making decisions it should be equal.”

Male student, Lagos

can lead to tension and conflict. However, **VAW is not just a consequence of men's inability to live up to their social roles but of the socially ascribed ideas that exist and how these are reinforced by formal and informal institutions.'**



“Male respondents in NiMAGES gave examples where their home environment was improved and their stress alleviated when women contributed economically to the home.”

Prevailing dominant ideas about how women and men should behave and the roles they should adopt underpin men's dominance over women and the family. This, in turn reinforces the use and tolerance of emotional, economic, sexual and physical forms of violence against women and children. **Violence is used to control women and children and as already highlighted, is common across Nigeria.** Particularly in Lagos, men spoke of the need to take back authority by force and gave examples where they 'tested' women's obedience.

Male respondents in NiMAGES gave examples where their home environment was improved and their stress alleviated when women were able to contribute economically to the home. Of course this may lead to increased stress for women unless other roles and responsibilities are also shared more equitably. Muslim women in the South are worried that women's entry into the workforce would lead to men not providing for them. Christian men, particularly younger men, believe role sharing among men and women would help to ease their burden – although this was based on the erroneous view that women currently did very little work of any kind. **Respondents of the studies also mentioned advantages of involving women in decision-making.** They recognised the important contribution of women in ensuring better decisions and that women's involvement could make the relationship stronger, healthier, long-lasting, trustful and peaceful. Women also feel more respected when working and encouraged to generate ideas⁵³.

“Nearly half of men in Enugu and Lagos interviewed for the NiMAGES report carried out thefts while 4 in 10 men in Enugu have been arrested.”

NiMAGES provides evidence that **men and women sometimes seek advice from each other and also advise their partners which can help alleviate stress. The Religion study suggests that men would be more open to women's advice than women realise.**

The women interviewed, regardless of age and religion, felt their advice regarding men's health would not be considered and might even create tension in the home. Conversely, men expressed openness to women's counsel and saw this as a show of love and communication between couples. In the same vein, a high percentage of men (over 7 in 10) and women (almost 8 in 10) interviewed for NiMAGES seek some sort of help when they feel sad, disappointed and frustrated - usually from informal sources- whereas only 2 in 10 men seek help from a wife or girlfriend. Just over 2 in 10 of men also seek help from their relatives or male friends.

'Whenever I want to do anything I discuss first with my wife, even when sometimes I don't make use of her opinion, sometimes she gives the right opinion but I don't make her know it is relevant, I stylishly make use of it'

Married man, age 37, Lagos

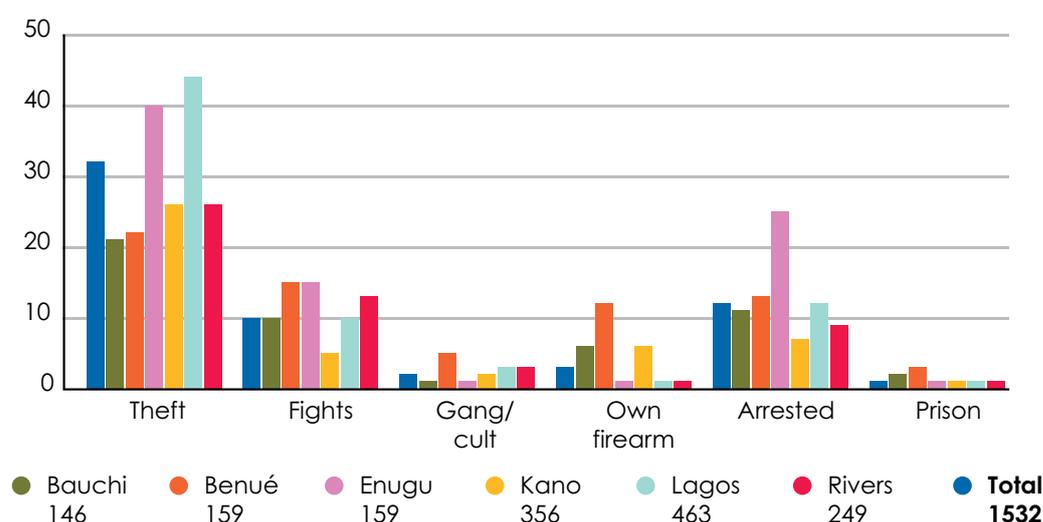
IMPACT OF SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS ON THE COMMUNITY

In addition to non-equitable gender roles and ideas around masculinity and femininity impacting men and women at the individual and household level, the studies found they also exacerbate conflict in the community, in the context of inequality, poverty and unemployment. Section 3 describes how pressures to provide for and protect a family and the community, as well as the lack of economic opportunities open to men, (especially young) can lead them to engage in violent and criminal activities. However, the study also found men taking on peace-building and community development roles in spite of the pressure arising from the challenges listed.

“Significant numbers of men report never having participated in criminal acts, especially not theft or physical fights.”

Nearly half of men in Enugu and Lagos that participated in NiMAGES have carried out thefts while 4 in 10 men in Enugu have been arrested (see Figure 10). Interestingly, none of the respondents in Rivers reported owning a firearm, but said that gang and cult membership is relatively low. This contrasts with the finding of the Conflict study which confirmed that cultism was widespread in Rivers and Lagos. In addition, people in Rivers also believed that armed robbery was common.

Figure 9: Men's reports of criminal activity, firearm ownership and imprisonment (percentage who report this act/experience among all male respondents) (NiMAGES study)



The impact of crime and violence in communities limits the mobility of residents especially for women. Rape, sexual violence and other forms of violence against women in the community were also said to be (increasingly) common, particularly in Rivers and Lagos. As a result, female respondents in particular expressed fear of going out in the community after a certain time. In Lagos, people believe society used to be peaceful with people being able to go out late at night to visit friends and sell their goods, but that this is no longer the case. ***‘In the past, tailors sewed ‘til the following day without fear, but now we dare not leave the shop opened at 6pm because the gangs operate anytime from then’*** (married woman, fashion designer, age 45, Ikorodu in Lagos). In Rivers, female respondents also expressed fear of going out at night and believed cultural practices that brought people together no longer take place due to political tensions in the community.

In spite of the above findings, significant numbers of men participating in NiMAGES report never having participated in criminal or delinquent acts, particularly theft and fights. Also, in some communities, men participate actively in peace building and community development. In Lagos, respondents cited community peace groups that intervene immediately if there are problems. In Rivers, although violence was seen as persistent, people pointed to varyingly successful community efforts to address and prevent it. The research found examples of men who resisted involvement in violence and actively worked for peace. This is discussed in the next section. “

Participants in all studies spoke about changing attitudes towards men and women’s roles, and value, and awareness of VAWG.”

Some respondents recognised and welcomed the role of women in community decision-making and peace building and believed that the increased empowerment of women and their presence in public life would greatly benefit communities in this regard.

‘If you allow a woman to contribute to the running of the home and community, you will discover that there will be better outcomes of the situation. So there is a general advantage to this.’

Government representative, male, Kaduna

SECTION 5

EFFORTS TO PROMOTE GENDER EQUITABLE ATTITUDES AND PRACTICES



Each section has emphasised the changing nature of masculinities and femininities and the differences between perceptions and reality. Here we feature examples of concrete efforts at both individual and community levels to promote gender equitable masculinities and improve the relationship between women and men in the household and in the community. Individual men, as well as those involved in religious and community organisations, support the women in their lives, resist violence and help others to do the same on a daily basis. A significant minority have participated in activities to promote men's involvement in fatherhood and to confront men's use of violence against women.

INDIVIDUAL EFFORTS PROMOTING GENDER EQUITY IN THE FAMILY AND COMMUNITY

All studies provide a number of examples where men displayed support for gender equitable behaviours and attitudes. Some male participants said they would support their wives in leadership roles even outside the home. They reported that decision-making at home should be the joint responsibility of the husband and the wife.

All I think differentiates a man from a woman is physical differences because women are equally up to the task; they can make decisions

Male student, Kaduna

“Some male participants said they would support their wives in leadership roles even outside the home, and that decision-making at home should be a joint responsibility.”

Important quotes and perspectives from individuals who challenged gender stereotypes and promoted gender equality were found in analysed news reporting in the Media study. For example, a successful male farmer says in his interview with Punch newspaper, “My mother taught me how to cook, bake and sew. Even ‘til this day, part of what my mother taught me is what led me and my wife to open a restaurant here in Lagos”. When talking about his wife, he acknowledges and reinforces her skills in managing finances, which is a role traditionally assigned to men: “My wife is very good at handling money (...) she signs all my accounts”⁵⁴.



“Many men across the studies, regions and age groups also made it clear that VAWG is wrong,”

including community and religious leaders. Apart from not engaging in VAWG in their homes and communities, some members of the group discussions claimed they speak, or would speak out against gendered violence in their communities if they had the opportunity. One man from Rivers shared his experience of how he intervened and counselled a young man who was beating his sister. Adherence to religious views and ‘moral’ upbringing were two preventive measures on VAWG mentioned during the in-depth interviews with participants.

“Families, grandparents, in-laws and even neighbours are key participants in resolving intra-family conflict that results in violence against women.”

Given the prevalent closed family structure in most parts of Nigeria, **families, grandparents, in-laws and even neighbours are key participants in resolving intra-family conflict that result in violence against women.** Although families tend to emphasise the importance of the women remaining with their husbands, examples were given where families stepped in to remove women from the household when they were experiencing consistent abuse. A young man in Lagos talked of how his mother’s family came to take their daughter away as they felt his father ‘*could not prove he is mature enough to control disagreement*’ and they would ‘not wait until he beats her to death.’

Men gave examples of where they had **resisted the urge towards using violence** even when they could be viewed as cowardly for not protecting their reputation. This resistance was often strengthened by experiences of violence and knowledge about its devastating effects. Many men spoke about being violent in the past but consciously trying to move away from this. A man involved in peace-building work in Kaduna talked of how he used to incite violence and believe people should be unfriendly towards non-Muslims, but now works towards inter-faith mediation and dialogue. A man in Rivers who was involved in gangs and is currently part of a vigilante group talked about his struggle to avoid violence. He gave examples of confrontations that could have ended in violence. He has struggled to control his anger as he feels violence is wrong, even when used to protect people. However, violence and abuse against a wife or girlfriend by another was seen as reasonable justification for retaliation.

As we have seen in other sections, those that support and practice gender equity are more likely to have some level of education. Men who participate in domestic work and do not perpetrate IPV are more likely to have had a positive male role model in the home (sharing domestic and care work and not perpetrating IPV). Despite the pressures to engage in risky and violent activities, men who promote peace and respect in the home and community are almost universally admired as role models themselves.

Some men also credited the influence of their mothers and religious leaders in their community with inspiring them to promote peaceful and more equal relations. Witnessing women, through personal experience or from the media, participating in economic work and leadership built an appreciation by men for women’s abilities to fulfil these roles and contribute to the household. The mixed views expressed in group discussions and one-to-one interviews, even by the same respondents on men and women’s roles and relations, shows that change processes are not necessarily neat and linear. Significantly it also suggests that reflection through discussion can catalyse insights regarding the value of greater gender equity.

COMMUNITY EFFORTS AT PROMOTING GENDER EQUITY

During the course of the studies a number of community responses to promote women's empowerment, challenge inequitable masculinities and reduce VAWG were noted.

“Participants of the qualitative studies shared how their communities respond to violence against women in different ways.”

Participants of the qualitative studies spoke about how their communities respond to violence against women in different ways. Fines and physical punishments of perpetrators of rape were mentioned in most states. On many campuses, rules and procedures are in place to check and control violent behaviour against women and girls. In Benué State, it was reported that churches reprimand men who hit their wives and church elders normally embarrass the husband(s) involved. The Media study confirmed instances where the media has helped to condemn or has indirectly rejected non-equitable violent masculine behaviour. For example Media reports on the *Ejigbo* women who were stripped naked and beaten on the allegation that they stole pepper, led to the alleged perpetrators being arrested and taken to court.



“Religious leaders defying the prevailing interpretations of Christianity and Islam that support men’s dominance over women.”

Similarly, the Religion study highlighted the presence of male religious leaders defying the prevailing interpretations of Christianity and Islam that support men's dominance over women. These men are playing an important role in supporting women's leadership and challenging patriarchal interpretations of the sacred texts. People spoke about how pastors taught men to love their wives and families, as well as help with domestic chores as a sign of their love. The male religious leaders who support gender justice are seen as role models and embody the aspirations of gender equitable masculinity. Many Christians and Muslims credited their religion with helping them resist the urge to be violent. They also tried to engage in interfaith work to build peace in communities where tensions exist. A young woman in Rivers spoke about a pastor who would try to reach out and engage with 'hoodlums' who caused conflict in the community, preaching love to them. The emergence of the Transformative Masculinity movement and the Positive Muslims movement within faith-based organisations in Africa provides an encouraging example of wider interventions that are mobilising men in faith communities to contribute towards the advancement of girls and women.

Campaigns promoting men's involvement in fatherhood and addressing VAWG are also relatively widespread across regions. Nearly 2 in 10 men in Enugu have participated in an activity questioning other men's use of VAWG – the average across six regions is about 1 in 10 (see Table 2). Further, almost 4 in 10 men in Enugu have encountered campaigns promoting fathers involvement in child care and 1 in 4 in the region have participated in activities to promote fathers' involvement in childcare. Other regions (such as Bauchi, Benué and Rivers) however, experience much lower rates of participation. Regions with higher levels of exposure to campaigns witness higher levels of involvement in activities to promote fathers' involvement in childcare.

Table 2: Male respondents' reported exposure and participation in VAWG and Fatherhood campaigns and activities (NiMAGES study)

Campaign item	Total %	Bauch %	Benué %	Kano %	Enugu %	Lagos %	Rivers %
Total Number of Respondents	1532	146	159	159	356	463	249
Violence against women campaigns							
Ever seen an advertisement questioning VAW	40	30	20	18	52	57	50
Ever encountered a campaign questioning VAW	37	27	19	24	50	52	37
Ever participated in an activity questioning other men's use of VAW	11	6	7	13	18	13	8
Fatherhood campaigns							
Encountered campaign promoting fathers' involvement in childcare	21	8	16	25	39	19	16
Participated in activity to promote fathers' involvement in childcare	13	7	7	19	25	11	9

Box 4: Promoting women's leadership in Rivers

"There is a project we are working on and we needed to form women development committees (WDCs) around communities where I met the first female community development committee (CDC) member. We discovered that it will be difficult to form WDC from CDC because most of the members of CDCs are male. Instead of working with the CDCs we decided to work with the women leaders in communities and we also called the CDCs to come with their women because the programme is aimed at women. (Male representative of peace-building organisation in Rivers)"

"Their work includes encouraging self worth in youth; promoting positive fatherhood; encouraging the leadership of women (see Box 4); educating boys and girls to be peace advocates and speaking out against violence against women and girls. They also advocate for breaks in between giving birth to improve women's health."

Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and community based organisations (CBOs) are also creating change as evidenced by examples given by NGO representatives for the studies. **Their work includes encouraging self worth in youth, promoting positive fatherhood, encouraging the leadership of women (see Box 4), educating boys and girls to be peace advocates and speaking out against violence against women and girls as well as advocating breaks between giving birth for improved health of women.**



The Voices for Change programme is focused on changing individual attitudes and behaviours and social and legal norms which disadvantage girls and young women. Implementation commenced in October 2013 and will run for four years, though the changes sought are generational.

As well as working with young women and girls (16-25 year olds) to build their self-esteem and social networks, it also targets young men and boys in the same age range, along with key influencers (traditional, religious, political and media). Working with men and boys is seen as an essential complement to work with girls and young women, towards changing gender relations. Interventions include working directly and virtually with groups of young women and young men to examine, understand and navigate gender relations and stereotypes and to promote support for women's involvement in decision making, women taking leadership positions, and men and women speaking out against all forms of violence against women and girls.

There has been a positive response from religious leaders of Christian and Islamic faiths to V4C work with them in exploring these issues and many have gone on to speak out to their followers on positive practices.

Work with the media has shown a real appetite for opportunities to explore masculinity and the male side of the gender 'coin' and to apply this in the media. Work with established and new networks of young men to incorporate gender equitable values and practices has exhibited a high level of enthusiasm for such reflection and for taking action.

Many young men in post-secondary institutions have actively supported young women to pursue leadership positions (with some examples of success already). Use is made of social and traditional media and campaigns to spread positive gender messages. Other interventions focus on legal and policy change; and (as with this report) on generation and dissemination of information on gendered social norms and realities to increase public knowledge and society-wide momentum for change.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS



CONCLUSIONS

The five studies on men and masculinities paint a rich, varied picture of gender dynamics in Nigeria. The attitudes, behaviours, and reflections of respondents demonstrate a multitude of ways in which the traditional gender order may be changing. Other findings also clearly show that rigid, patriarchal gender norms and dynamics still hold sway across the six states.

- At the broadest level, widely held ideas about masculinity and femininity are powerful “root causes” of gender inequality and violence against women in all its forms.
- Gender equitable and non-violent masculinities can bring important benefits to men and women alike, for example; better relationships, less stress, happier children, and future generations who reject violence against women and children in all forms.
- Positive non-violent role models and education for men and boys (as well as women and girls) help ensure better gender equitable attitudes *and* behaviours. If these behaviours are inculcated in childhood and young adulthood, they last into adult life with family and possibly community-wide benefits.

The summarised findings and recommendations below provide instructive lessons and opportunities to better engage men and women in efforts to bring about gender equity across Nigeria.

Perceptions of how men and women should behave:

- **Nearly 7 in 10 men and over 5 in 10 women believe men should be tough, intelligent, fearless and responsible.** Women are largely perceived by men and women as being led by their emotions, making them weaker and more vulnerable than men. These ideas about men and women underpin stereotypical ideas about men and women’s roles in the home and community. However, nearly 5 in 10 women do not agree that men need to be tough to be a real man and a significant minority of men also disagree.
- **Women, however, should be ‘educated’, ‘advisors’, ‘independent’ and ‘behave maturely and responsibly’** and men should be ‘peaceful’, ‘gentle’, ‘loyal’, ‘honest’ and ‘caring’.
- **Men living in urban areas, men aged 29-39 and women and men with at least primary education hold the most gender equitable views.** Young men (aged 18-28) are more likely to support men sharing domestic tasks.

Roles of men and women in the household:

- **Household decision-making dynamics are still often highly unequal, but may gradually be changing.** A significant number of respondents make decisions with their partners, for example 6 in 10 men and 7 in 10 women decide together about the use of contraception, and almost 7 in 10 do the same when planning the number of children to have.
- **How men value women’s opinions in the household differs across regions,** with men still dominating in decision-making that significantly impacts upon women’s lives, such as working outside the home - 7 in 10 men in Enugu and Lagos, 3 in 10 in Kaduna and over 2 in 10 in Kano say that women’s opinions in the home matter.
- **Most still believe it is a man’s role to provide economically for the family.** However, women’s increasing presence in the labour market is recognised as important for them to support their families and men in their role as providers. The statistics for women’s labour participation in Nigeria - 48% as opposed to a men’s rate of 64%⁵⁵- do not support beliefs that women are advantaged in the labour market. There is some evidence to suggest that the increased involvement of women is changing family dynamics. Although some men worried their position in the family was being usurped, others recognised the important contribution women who work outside the home make to the family.

- **Many men participate in household work which seems largely supported by participants and religious authorities** - almost 8 in 10 men and women support men contributing to household work such as dishes, cleaning or cooking. Younger men, men with higher educational levels, and men who hold more gender-equitable views were all more likely to report participating in domestic duties, emphasising the family-wide benefits of equitable attitudes and educational attainment.
- **Men's involvement in parenting is still limited** - less than 10% of women believe men participate equally in childcare - but men with the most gender equitable views and highest levels of education were most likely to play an equal or greater role in childcare duties.

Traditional practices and violence against women:

- **Respondents overwhelmingly reject many traditional practices**, including FGM, wife inheritance, harmful widowhood practices, and wife hospitality. Likewise, only about one third of respondents agreed that early marriage "is important and should continue."
- Although violence against women and girls is widely tolerated and many blame women for it, **almost 6 in 10 men and 7 in 10 women do not think that physical violence against women is justified under any circumstances.**
- **The prevalence of economic, sexual, emotional, and physical intimate partner violence among research participants is high** - over 4 in 10 men, but only just under 3 in 10 women, believe that there are times when a woman deserves to be beaten. Men with the most gender-inequitable views - older, informally employed and less educated - were more likely to report perpetrating violence against a partner. Witnessing their mother experiencing IPV and work-related stress were also significantly associated with perpetration of IPV.
- **VAWG thrives in an atmosphere of silence.** Drivers of this silence include stigma and shame, distrust of law enforcement institutions, fear, security, and social pressures to "keep the family together."

Leadership:

- **Although most men and women** - believe that women can be equally good leaders and there are those who wish to play such a role in their communities, participants displayed largely discriminatory views regarding women's ability to lead.
- **Exposure to role models is important in transforming men's acceptability of women leaders.** This exposure is effective when it comes from personal experience, but also from the media.

Factors influencing masculinities:

- **Both Islam and Christianity practiced in Nigeria largely uphold gender inequitable ideas about men and women.** However, a number of religious leaders support greater equality in relationships, women's leadership roles in society, and oppose VAWG using religious texts to justify their views.
- **Violent conflict can exacerbate dominant negative masculinities by undermining socially assigned roles in the community and family.** Due to conflict and insecurity, many men, particularly young men in all regions, engage in violent and risky activities in order to provide security, gain resources and power or out of sheer frustration and lack of options. However, a number of men engage in peace promotion activities at home and in communities, and are seen as role models in the community.

- **The media in Nigeria tends to portray men as strong, successful, resourceful, violent or promiscuous, while women are shown as beautiful, submissive, sexually available, jealous and overly image conscious.** Gender equality programmes and regulation of the media industry are mostly focused on and aimed at women, and so actively exclude men as agents for social change. However, role models who embody gender equitable ideas and behaviours are present in the media and inspire audiences in their lives.
- **Children witness and experience high levels of physical, emotional and sexual violence in their homes and schools, with girls three times more likely to report experiences of sexual violence than boys.** Physical and emotional violence are believed to be acceptable in bringing up children alongside corporal punishment in schools. Boys raised in non-violent homes where their fathers frequently participate in a wide range of household chores, are more likely to grow up to become peaceful, involved fathers and partners themselves, with benefits spreading across families and generations.

Impacts of masculinities:

- **Almost 3 in 10 men report high rates of low self-esteem and stress particularly related to work.** Social norms that view men as being the sole breadwinner engender feelings of failure when this is not possible particularly in contexts of unemployment, poverty, insecurity and inequality. Conversely, men spoke about the important role women played in alleviating their stress through their contributions to household economies and decision-making.
- **Widely held ideas about masculinity and femininity are powerful “root causes” of gender inequality and violence against women** and wider violence in the community.

Promoting gender equitable attitudes and behaviours:

- There exist concrete examples of individuals and community groups practising and promoting more equitable masculinities, and improving relationships between women and men in the household and the community.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations aim to guide Nigerian activists, policymakers, researchers and others in expanding their work with men and boys, women and girls, and Nigerian communities as a whole to advance a thriving, equitable and gender-just future.

They are deliberately broad, rather than overly prescriptive to enable a wide variety of stakeholders to take part in the change process, as attitudinal and behaviour change requires collective efforts. The recommendations illustrate how addressing gender inequitable attitudes and behaviours can contribute to progressive development and ultimately to gender equality.

Programme design

In order to address these high levels of gender inequitable attitudes and behaviours, we need to facilitate widespread community-level awareness, education, and mobilisation campaigns.

Recommendations for advocacy efforts, communication strategies and key messaging in a selection of critical areas are outlined below:

Publicly condemn violence against women and girls (VAWG) and advance messaging around its unacceptability, as well as awareness of male dominance over women as a key component of VAWG: most people in Nigeria do not support VAWG in any context and this message should form the basis of prevention and awareness campaigns at all levels. There should be further efforts to expand understanding of what constitutes VAWG to include male domination of women – a factor that underpins women's low levels of development in comparison to men.

Promote the eradication of harmful traditional practices: findings show that these practices are unacceptable in Nigerian society. This should lend significant leverage to advocacy campaigns aimed at eradicating these harmful practices.

Support opportunities to promote women's leadership, including role-modelling, work with early adopters and developing case studies. Most people support women's leadership and role models can be an important way to extend that support, especially for many young women who want to play a greater leadership role. Strong cultural barriers in the community need to be addressed to shift the social norm against women playing leadership roles. A combined approach using role models and case studies, arguments on the rational benefits of women's greater involvement, and emotional appeals around the potential positive impact on men could work.

The public sector can lead by example in transforming these attitudes, particularly by giving more women a platform for meaningful policy influence. Women achievers in the country must be decidedly celebrated as Icons of Progress and best practice, mentors and change agents. This must not be celebrated as tokenism, rather these figures should be positioned as positive agents of progress.

Emphasise positive impact of men's involvement in domestic chores. Most people support the idea of men helping out with domestic work, and many men are already participating in related activity. Campaigns can emphasise the positive impact this can have on sustaining healthier relationships.

Address the negative health implications of social expectation on men. Men's health campaigns should also address the negative health implications of social expectations on men, women and the nation.

Emphasise the importance of fathers' involvement in parenting. Men are already involved in many aspects of childcare. Campaigns can emphasise the importance of fathers' involvement for the development of children.

Publicise positive benefits of sharing decision-making in the home. A majority of men do value women's views and many important decisions are made collaboratively in relationships. Campaigns can emphasise the positive impacts on relationships where decisions are shared and publicise the benefits of joint decision-making.

Work through role models and early adopters. Findings suggest that identifying influential and connected figures may be a particularly effective way of addressing norm perceptions as a vehicle for social change.

Refine messages on social norms to explicitly focus on norm perception. This can help avoid reinforcing negative behaviours.

Regionally differentiate and resource campaigns appropriately. Acknowledge regional variation and context-specificity in light of the fact that greater resources would be required to make progress in the North than the South, for example.

Recommendations on engaging communities and institutions:

- **Increase capacity of educational institutions, the media, independent CSOs (for youth, women, peace), and traditional and religious institutions to understand, address and promote gender equitable masculinities and femininities.** These bodies should be supported to present informed and balanced viewpoints to their constituencies and create an alternative culture that favours women's participation in decision-making and leadership and takes a stance against any form of violence against women.

For example:

Support current efforts by religious and traditional leaders (RTLs) and institutions, the media, CSOs and the education system to promote equitable masculinity and gender equality.

Review educational materials in secular and religious institutions to reflect gender equitable masculine and feminine values and images.

- **Support education systems to advance and integrate equitable masculinities in curricula at all levels.** Education systems can be particularly influential by advancing more equitable masculinities. Education for boys (as well as girls) is important for ensuring not only improved gender equitable attitudes but behaviours as well. However it is important to address gender inequality, tolerance and perpetration of violence against children within the school system.

- **Encourage development partners to collaborate with media regulators to sanction negative portrayals of femininity and masculinity.** Efforts should focus on enhancing capacity to ensure strict guidelines and regulations to sanction negative portrayals of femininity and masculinity, as well as focusing on widening the scope for female journalists to move out of reporting exclusively on gender, family and 'women's issues', and cover across other areas.

- **Prioritise work with men and promoting alternative concepts of masculinity, which address barriers to social norm change.** This should involve engaging with young men, activists and RTLs, in the community who promote and model gender equitable masculinities. Social and economic activities for young people should be explored, promoted and supported.

- **Lobby for targeted and dedicated donor funding streams focused on addressing underlying discriminatory gender norms.** In order to evolve new programmes and sustain existing ones targeting men and boys, there is a need for more targeted funding streams. This will create a more level playing field for men and women and boys and girls to benefit from opportunities that programmes and society in general brings.

Policies

Support reforms in the policies and practices of informal and formal institutions to promote and enforce desired equitable behaviour.

For example:

Engender an enabling environment in the private and public sector for working women and those aspiring to join the formal sector by way of paid maternity leave, paid paternity leave, flexible working time for both fathers and mothers, etc.

Address corporal punishment against children in the home and schools in recognition of the negative impact it could have on children, not only in their early years but later in life. Provide services and programmes that support young victims of violence – boys and girls.

Develop policies that recognise the connections between conflict, masculinities, gender inequality and violence against women, children and within communities: activities around these policies should be developed and implemented as required.

Create awareness on existing laws that prohibit violence against women: these should be continuously promoted through appropriate channels and mechanisms.

Promote collaborative policy development efforts within institutions: this could include publicising the recent success of the VAPP Bill, highlight any institutional changes in political parties, and point to universities or colleges who are changing their policies to prevent discrimination. This would ensure that our successes in these areas have a real impact on social norms perceptions in the community, reinforce our other messages and activities, and contribute to a wider momentum for change.



Research

This research commissioned by V4C has highlighted a number of critical areas that require further exploration.

Incorporate gender analysis and gendered approaches that include men and boys as well as women and girls: data should be disaggregated to unpack what gender norms mean in the context of different ethnicities, religions and regions.

Explore links between gender equitable attitudes and behaviours, and stress, relationship satisfaction and community violence.

Better understand men's contradictory responses in discussions of women's leadership and decision-making.

Determine links between norms of masculinity and alcohol abuse in Nigeria.

Map, and respond to changes in trends on issues relating to masculinity and gender inequity in the next few years.

ANNEX 1

STUDY AIMS AND METHODOLOGIES

The Landmark Research Report pulls together key findings from the following studies:

Quantitative and qualitative studies of the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (NiMAGES) (conducted by TNS RMS) aim to provide credible information on the realities of gender relations in Nigeria. The studies focus on key issues: ideas about masculinity and femininity, gender inequality, women in leadership, women in decision-making and violence against women and girls. Study participants represented a cross-section of the societies in their respective sites, reflecting noteworthy characteristics of Nigerian society.

NiMAGES largely followed an international survey format using the GEM scale (tailored to Nigeria) that allowed for cross country comparison. It was carried out with a total of 1532 men and 504 women between the ages of 18 and 65. Nigerian official population figures were used as the sampling frame and the sample was drawn to represent the six geopolitical regions in Nigeria - Bauchi, Benué, Enugu, Kano, Lagos, and Rivers. Researchers led four focus group discussions (FGDs) in each region, with an average of eight participants in each discussion, for a total sample of approximately 192 focus group participants including both men and women.

Participants were recruited to meet certain demographic requirements. All focus groups were single-sex and were convened across three demographic groups in all six geopolitical zones: (i) Students aged 18-25, (ii) Young Adults aged 26-39, and (iii) Mature Adults aged 40-60. Additional focus group discussions also took place in every region. Focus group discussions were complemented by a total of 17 in-depth interviews (IDIs), with between two and five interviews occurring in each region in order to illuminate and enrich survey results. In-depth interviews were carried out with a mix of political leaders, positive deviants (men who embody progressive, equitable gender attitudes), traditional/religious leaders, women leaders, ministry of women affairs personnel, and law enforcement officers.

Religion qualitative study (Christian Aid, in partnership with Islamic Relief World Wide) - aimed at gaining more understanding on the relationship between Masculinity and Religion in Nigeria in Enugu, Kaduna, Edo, Lagos and FCT. The study approach included a desk review of relevant documents and materials, focus group discussions and key informant interviews (KIIs)/In-depth interviews (IDIs). A total of 226 respondents participated in discussions. Participants were purposively selected and known to be keen, knowledgeable and active adherents of their specific religions. Influencers (both peer and religious gate keepers) were utilised in order to mobilise already selected participants for FGDs in adherence to distinctive selection criteria. FGDs were conducted amongst Christian and Muslim older men (above 26 years), older women (above 26 years), younger men (between ages 16 – 25 years) and younger women (between ages 16 – 25 years). FGD groups were comprised of 7-11 discussants.

KII tools were tailored to specifically apply to religious or faith-based leaders' respondents, institutions and others as appropriate. Interviews were conducted for both male and female informants. One key consideration was the availability of the informant at the time of research, extent of authority of informant to provide valid and authentic information, spread of denomination or religious sect and value of the anticipated information which may be used to triangulate what was received at FGD.

The Federal Capital Territory (FCT) in particular was chosen because some of the key informants based there, such as the Cardinal of Catholic Church, Primate of Anglican Church, Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) president, CAN secretary/treasurer, as well as Secretary General of National Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs. The study was conducted only in the Capital Cities of Kaduna, Kano and Enugu states, however in Lagos, given its unique nature, the study covered beyond the city capital of Lagos state. In Lagos and Kaduna, participants were from both Christian and Islamic faith, while in Kano and Enugu it was only Muslims and Christians respectively that participated.

Conflict qualitative study – (conducted by Nigeria Stability and Reconciliation Programme (NSRP) Social Development Direct (SDD)) examines connections between masculinities, conflict and violence in four states in Nigeria: Borno in the North East, Kaduna in the Middle Belt, Lagos in the South West and Rivers in the South. This was a qualitative study, with Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), key informant interviews (KIIs) and life narrative interviews conducted in each location. In each state, 48 participants took part in FGDs and ten participants were interviewed one-to-one. Overall, in the four states, 231 people took part in the study. Researchers conducted six FGDs of eight participants in each state; three in the rural local government area (LGA) and three in the urban LGA.

Participants were selected to ensure a spread of income levels, occupations, areas in which they live and levels of education. FGDs were further segmented by age across the following demographics: (i) 18-25 who were unmarried and without children, (ii) older men aged over 35 who were married, (iii) younger women aged 18 to 25; (iv) older women aged over 35. Key informant interviews were conducted with (i) government representatives, (ii) traditional or religious leaders, (iii) youth group representatives, (iv) women's group representatives, (v) persons with disability, (vi) peacebuilding organisation representatives, (vii) representatives from security agencies, and (viii) representatives from vigilante/ community security groups. In addition, two life narrative interviews in each state were conducted with a young man and a young woman who had either been involved in or had experienced trauma as a result of violence.

Media study – (conducted by independent consultants Lanre Arogundade and Sofia Santos) examines how mass media information and content promotes stereotypical roles and ideas about men and its impact on male dominant expression, vulnerability and relationship with women and girls. The study also examined the factors that enable or constrain media practitioners from promoting equitable masculine characters in the media, as well as the promotion of positive male images and their acceptance and impact on the audiences. The researchers examined a range of mass media content - films, news, cartoons and advertisements featuring in the January 2015 editions of The Guardian, The Punch, Daily Sun, Daily Trust, Vanguard and This Day newspapers. Field activities involving in-depth interviews (IDIs) with media professionals and community stakeholders as well as Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) with media professionals and media audiences were also undertaken in the three cities of Lagos, the commercial capital of Nigeria; Kaduna, the political capital of northern Nigeria and Abuja, the Federal Capital territory.

A total of 70 men and women (34 in Lagos and 36 in Kaduna) took part in 8 FGDs held with student and adult media users. The adult FGD media user participants, aged 26 and above, were drawn from diverse ethnic, religion, social and professional backgrounds and were randomly selected. The young people, conversely, were purposively selected from university students in the 16 to 26 age-bracket, since they were likely to be major media users. The media user FGDs were organised on a single sex basis to ensure free and unbiased expression of opinions and to prevent unproductive discussions from occurring. FGDs were further conducted with a total of 21 media professionals (11 men and 10 women), consisting of newsroom managers, editors, producers, presenters and reporters, in four broadcast media outlets in Abuja. The participants were purposively selected to meet the established criteria that included different types of ownership, running of gender or male focussed programs and wide audience base, as required by the focus of the study. In order to explore the effectiveness and challenges of regulating the gender related focus and content of films and videos, a FGD was held with the National Films and Videos Censors Board (NFVCB) in Abuja. The Head of the Censors and Classification Committee and four other Board staff members took part in the FGD. IDIs were carried out with key editors and the National Secretary of the Nigeria Union of Journalists (NUJ) in Abuja. Two key gender stakeholders were purposively selected for IDIs: a Nigerian member of the United Nations Network of Men Leaders⁵⁶ and the President of the Nigerian Association of Women Journalists (NAWOJ)⁵⁷, along with three movie, drama and arts experts were selected for Individual In-depth Interviews.

ANNEX 2

GENDER EQUALITY IN NIGERIA

Full descriptions of methodologies can be found in individual reports at <http://www.v4c-nigeria.com>.

This section outlines data comparing men and women's progress against key social development outcomes, alongside respective participation in key areas of life fundamental in representing a country's progress on equality between, and progress for, women and men. Here we present data on women and men's participation in political processes and the workforce, and their relative access to healthcare and educational opportunity. In addition, the status of some harmful traditional practices and the prevalence of violence is highlighted, with an overarching understanding of the geographical disparities across and within this context.

Contextual snapshot	
LEGISLATION, COMMITMENTS	<p>Nigeria has a selection of legislative commitments in place that look to protect and support women's rights and participation.</p> <p>For example, a National Gender Policy has been developed, which pledges to promote women's empowerment and eliminate harmful and discriminatory practices.</p> <p>In addition, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) has been ratified (1985) along with the Optional Protocol (2004) and the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (2005)⁵⁸.</p> <p>In May 2015 Nigeria's Senate passed a Violence against Persons (Prohibition) Bill, aiming to prohibit female circumcision or genital mutilation, and all other forms of GBV.</p> <p>Challenges remain in the implementation of these commitments. Moreover, whilst the 1999 Constitution of Nigeria prohibits discrimination on the grounds of sex, as a federal republic with a tripartite system of civil, customary and religious law, complications arise around the harmonisation and coordination of legislation, which protects against harmful practice⁵⁹. This can undermine women's rights to seek out legal redress in many cases, and is particularly pertinent in relation to land ownership rights, for example.</p>
POLITICAL PARTICIPATION	<p>Women are largely under-represented in political spheres and have limited opportunity to participate. The number of women in the Nigeria National Assembly has fallen to 5%.</p> <p>Within Nigeria's House of Representatives 21 out of 360 members are women while in the Senate only 8 out of 109 members are women⁶⁰.</p>
MATERNAL HEALTH	<p>Recent evidence has shown that only 36% of women deliver in a health facility or in the presence of a qualified birth attendant⁶¹.</p> <p>At the national level maternal mortality rates come in at 545 deaths per 100,000 live births. In the rural North-East region this reaches 1,549⁶².</p>

EDUCATION	Education parity between boys and girls has improved since 1990. However, girls still fall behind in terms of enrolment and completion of primary education: ⁶³				
		1990	2000	2010	2011-13
	Ratio of female to male primary enrolment (%)	76.6	81.5	92	x
	Ratio of female to male secondary enrolment in Nigeria (%)	x	84.7	88.1	x
	Primary completion rate, female (% of relevant age group)	x	x	72	x
Primary completion rate, male (% of relevant age group)	x	x	80	x	
<p>Of those interviewed for the 2008 DHS, 30% of women aged 20-24 had received no education, compared to 13.7% of men in the same age bracket⁶⁴.</p> <p>Illiteracy is widespread and women are shown to be disproportionately affected. 70.8% of young women aged 20-29 in the North-West are illiterate. Geographical disparity is a key factor with contrasting rates of 9.7% in the South-East⁶⁵. Evidence has shown that in eight Northern states over 80% of women were illiterate compared to only 54% of men⁶⁶.</p>					
WORKFORCE	A major barrier constraining women's business activity is a lack of access to land . Recent statistics evidence that only 7.2% of women own the land they farm, despite the fact they represent 60-79% of the rural workforce, and men are five times more likely to own land ⁶⁷ .				
	Women lag behind men in all areas of labour force participation. However, there has been little improvement for either sex in the last few years: ⁶⁸				
		2010	2011	2012	2013
Labour force participation rate, female (% of female population ages 15+)	48	48	48	48	
Labour force participation rate, male (% of male population ages 15+)	63	63	64	64	

<p style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);">HARMFUL TRADITIONAL PRACTICES</p>	<p>27% of women aged between 15-49 years have reported undergoing some form of female genital mutilation/cutting (FGM/C)⁶⁹. The practice of FGM/C is less pronounced in the Northern zones - NBS (2009) data evidenced that the South-East and South-West of Nigeria are the 'epicentre' of FGM, and that in these two regions 50.4% and 60.7% respectively have experienced FGM⁷⁰.</p> <p>In Nigeria, 43% of girls are married before the age of 18. 17% are married before they turn 15. Prevalence of child marriage is shown to vary across regions with rates as high as 76% in the North West region⁷¹. The Nigerian Constitution does not establish a minimum age of marriage. The Child Rights Act (2003) positions the age of marriage at 18 years, but only 23 of the country's 36 states have taken 'concrete steps' to implement the minimum age of marriage⁷².</p> <p>'Bride price' payments are commonly practised, but there remains a lack of regularity around laws concerning agreed costs. Some efforts have been made to 'harmonise' bride prices, with reportedly 'mixed results'⁷³.</p> <p>The mistreatment of widows (and their children) is prevalent, and most pronounced among women aged between 25-29 years⁷⁴. Women who are widowed (or divorced or separated) have more commonly reported experiencing violence in their marital relationships⁷⁵. Evidence has shown that 42% of widows have been dispossessed of their property⁷⁶.</p> <p>Recent survey results have shown that 67% of married women reported husbands or partners not having any additional wives. The proportion of women who report having no co-wives was highest in the South East at 87%.⁷⁷ The proportion of co-wives has been shown to increase with age, and the percentage of women with co-wives is highest in Zamfara state (53%) and lowest in Imo (3%)⁷⁸.</p>
<p style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);">VIOLENCE</p>	<p>Up to one third of Nigerian women have been subjected to some form of violence⁷⁹.</p> <p>State security forces deployed in the Delta region of Nigeria have allegedly used rape as an intimidation tool amongst the local population⁸⁰.</p> <p>Intensified violence committed by Boko Haram, including the killing of civilians and the abduction of women and girls and forced conscription of young men and boys, has scaled up in 2014-2015⁸¹.</p>

ANNEX 3

GENDER EQUITABLE MEN (GEM) SCALE

This Annex presents findings related to NiMAGES participants' agreement or disagreement with various social norms and expectations related to gender. It first presents the respondents' overall gender attitudes by using an internationally validated measure called the Gender-Equitable Men (GEM) Scale. Table 3 presents the full list of 24 items included in the adapted Nigerian version of the GEM Scale, organized into four conceptual domains: Gender Roles, Violence, Masculinities/Femininities, and Sexuality and Reproductive Health. The table presents the percentage of male and female survey respondents who either agreed or partially agreed with each gender attitude statement.

Table 3: Percent of men and women who “agree” or “partially agree” with GEM Scale items

GEM Scale Items by Domain	Men N=1532	Women N=504
Gender Roles		
A woman's most important role is to take care of her home and cook for her family	94	91
Changing diapers, giving kids a bath, and feeding the kids are the mother's responsibility	89	94
Men should share the work around the house with women, such as doing dishes, cleaning or cooking	77	79
A man should have the final word about decisions in his home	92	90
A woman should obey her husband in all things	84	83
The husband should decide to buy the major household items	90	89
Girls have the same rights as boys to go to secondary school and university	96	96
Violence		
A woman should tolerate violence in order to keep her family together	66	71
There are times when a woman deserves to be beaten	43	28
A woman cannot refuse to have sex with her husband	79	77
Masculinities/Femininities		
To be a man, you need to be tough	69	53
Men should be embarrassed if they are unable to get an erection during sex	61	62
If someone insults me, I will defend my reputation, with force if I have to	70	79
A real man in Nigeria is the one with many wives	29	25
A real man produces a male child	34	22
A man who does not have an income is of no value	59	53
A divorced woman has no value	51	38
Only when a woman has a child is she a real woman	43	36
Sexuality and Reproductive Health		
Men need sex more than women do	66	94
Men don't talk about sex, you just do it	54	77
Men are always ready to have sex	72	90
It is a woman's responsibility to avoid getting pregnant	60	68
I would be outraged if my wife/husband asked me to use a condom	62	60
A man and a woman should decide together what type of contraceptive to use	91	94

Versions of the GEM Scale similar to this one have been widely used in diverse settings and have consistently shown high rates of internal reliability (Pulerwitz and Barker, 2008). The list of 24 items above consists primarily of attitude items included in the international version of the GEM Scale, including those applied in other NiMAGES study sites. A few items were included particularly for the Nigerian study, including “A real man in Nigeria is one with many wives,” “A man who does not have an income is of no value,” “A divorced woman has no value,” and “Only when a woman has a child is she a real woman.”

ANNEX 4

REGIONAL STATISTICS FROM THE NiMAGES QUANTITATIVE STUDY

	Bauchi	Benué	Enugu	Kano	Lagos	Rivers
Support for equal salaries	73	81	78	66	67	91
Support for quotas in government	63	85	59	50	85	61
VAWG law not harsh enough	60	91	56	56	73	44
Experience of IPV (physical, emotional, sexual and economic)	37	42	41	38	38	55
Men’s participation in childcare (men’s reports)	35	51	41	17	27	44
Men’s participation in childcare (women’s reports)	7	23	6	6	11	9
Participation in activity questioning VAWG	6	7	18	13	13	8
Participation in activity to promote fathers involvement in childcare	7	7	25	19	11	9
Alcohol abuse	50	25	27	60	38	32
Stress	55	38	67	60	70	61
Theft	21	22	40	26	44	26

Colour code:

Dark red – more gender equitable (or less likely to be stressed, abuse alcohol and report engaging in theft)

Light red – less gender equitable (or more likely to be stressed, abuse alcohol and report engaging in theft)

Please note - it is not possible to draw conclusions regarding the relationship between the factors featured in this table.

REFERENCES

¹UNHCR, 2000

²The Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (1993)

³NiMAGES was conducted in Kano, Lagos, Bauchi, Benue, Enugu and Rivers States

⁴Masculinity and Conflict study conducted in Lagos, Borno, Kano and Rivers States

⁵Masculinity and Religion study conducted in Federal Capital Territory (Abuja), Lagos, Kaduna, Kano and Enugu States

⁶Masculinity and Media study conducted in Federal Capital Territory (Abuja), Lagos, Kaduna States

⁷Ibid

⁸Ibid

⁹Ibid

¹⁰Ibid

¹¹Ibid

¹²UNHCR, 2000

¹³The Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (1993)

¹⁴<http://genderindex.org/ranking>

¹⁵See annex 2 for more information

¹⁶Olukayode L. J. (2013) Women and the Leadership Paradigm: Bridging the Workplace Gender-Gap in Nigeria;

Okolie-Osemene J. and Udeke, U. (2012) Perceptions on Gender Equity: Measuring the Security & Political Implications for Nigeria . University of Ibadan and Imo State University Owerri, Nigeria

¹⁷Marsiglio W. (1988) Adolescent male sexuality and heterosexual masculinity: a conceptual model and review. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 3:285–303; Kaufman M. (1993) *Cracking the armour: power, pain and the lives of men*. Toronto, Viking; Rivers K, Aggleton P. (1998) *Men and the HIV epidemic, gender and the HIV epidemic*. New York, HIV and Development Programme, United Nations Development Programme; Kimmel M. (2000) *The gendered society*. Oxford, Oxford University Press; Barker G, Ricardo C. (2005) *Young men and the construction of masculinity in Sub-Saharan Africa: implications for HIV/AIDS, conflict and violence*. Washington, DC, World Bank; Barker, G., Contreras, J.M., Heilman, B., Singh, A.K., Verma, R.K., and Nascimento, M. (2011) *Evolving Men: Initial Results from the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (NiMAGES)*. Washington, D.C.: International Center for Research on Women (ICRW) and Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Promundo

¹⁸NiMAGES was conducted in Kano, Lagos, Bauchi, Benue, Enugu and Rivers States

¹⁹Masculinity and Conflict study conducted in Lagos, Borno, Kano and Rivers States

²⁰Masculinity and Religion study conducted in Federal Capital Territory (Abuja), Lagos, Kaduna, Kano and Enugu States

²¹Masculinity and Media study conducted in Federal Capital Territory (Abuja), Lagos, Kaduna States

²²We recognise that focusing on 9 states has limitations in terms of representativeness of the situation in Nigeria as a whole. However, all geo-political zones are represented. The information about each State was taken from Wikipedia and Conflict study except where indicated.

²³Unless otherwise stated statistics refer to data collected for the NiMAGES quantitative study

²⁴These findings were not explored further in the studies

²⁵For example, the non-use of Hijab in the North or wearing skimpy dresses in the South

²⁶Nigeria's criminal code does not recognise rape in marriage

²⁷The recent V4C KAP and Social Norms baseline survey (2015) also found high levels of disapproval of physical violence against women among young men and women (age 16-25) with large regional differences – 94.8% of men in Lagos, 71.4% in Kaduna, 70.6% in Kano and 64% in Enugu

²⁸<http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.TLF.CACT.FE.ZS>

²⁹Barker et al. 2011 Ibid

³⁰Interestingly the KAP and Social Norms Survey found high levels of support from men and women for women leaders when they were known, respected and trusted, illustrating the importance of role models in encouraging women's leadership

³¹The KAP and Social Norms baseline survey found stark regional differences regarding the value of women's opinions - 78.3% of men in Enugu, 74.1% in Lagos, 35.1% in Kaduna and 25.6% in Kano say that in their households women's opinions do matter

³²Detailed questions were asked of men and women's experiences of VAW. However perceptions of VAW can vary greatly between individuals. It is possible that more women have not experienced more violence in Rivers as opposed to Bauchi

³³Seven percent (DHS, 2008; DHS, 2013) of women age 15-49 reported that they had experienced sexual violence at some time

³⁴The KAP and Social Norms Survey found that women are far less likely to seek justice from informal and formal courts, than men even though actually experiences of courts were similar between the sexes

³⁵Perhaps in Benue and Enugu men were reluctant to admit contributing to household work. However, sample sizes for each state were small

³⁶Other studies point to the significant exclusion of women from governance and decision-making in Nigeria. See for example, Ayeni, M. A., and Ajibogun A. G. (2013) Gender Issues and Democracy: The Nigeria Experience. International Journal of Academic Research in Progressive Education and Development January 2013, Vol. 2

³⁷The KAP and Social Norms Survey (2015) found that men were more supportive of women leaders than women believed them to be

³⁸How masculinities drive conflict is further explored in section 4

³⁹This ranking (146 in 2012 and 148 in 2013) has been getting progressively higher: Institute for Economics and Peace, Global Peace Index 2014, (Institute for Economics and Peace, 2014)

⁴⁰These findings are collaborated by the following qualitative study: Partners for Peace (P4P) (2013) Qualitative Research Report on Nigeria Drivers/Impacts of Conflict in the Niger Delta. Abuja: Foundation for Partnership Initiatives in the Niger Delta (PIND)

⁴¹P4P (Ibid) and Human Rights Watch have raised similar concerns – HRW (2007) report Criminal Politics: Violence, 'Godfathers,' and Corruption in Nigeria, vol. 19, no. 16

⁴²https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Religion_in_Nigeria

⁴³<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ni.html>

For example, experiences of violence / maltreatment in childhood is a risk factor for perpetration and experiences of IPV in later life as well as a range of physical and mental health and economic impacts (www.who.int; UNICEF, 2014. Ibid).

⁴⁴In total: six movies, twenty-two cartoons, and one hundred and ninety five advertisements

⁴⁵On news reporting on leadership in the Punch, Guardian, Vanguard, Daily Trust, Thisday during January 2015

⁴⁶THISDAY, 26/1/2015, p. 47

⁴⁷The relationship is statistically significant. This positive relationship was also found in other NiMAGES studies conducted in Brazil, Chile, Croatia, India, Mexico, Rwanda and South Africa. (Barker et al, 2011, Ibid)

⁴⁸Note: the relationship is statistically significant

⁴⁹This relationship between childhood experiences of domestic violence and adult experiences was also found in other NiMAGES studies (Barker et al, 2011, Ibid)

⁵⁰Levtov R, van der Gaag N, Greene M, Kaufman M, and Barker G (2015) State of the World's Fathers: A MenCare Advocacy Publication. Washington, DC: Promundo, Rutgers, Save the Children, Sonke Gender Justice, and the MenEngage Alliance

⁵¹The 2014 UNICEF study, Hidden in Plain Sight, estimates that globally around 120 million girls under the age of 20 (about 1 in 10) have been subjected to forced sexual intercourse or other forced sexual acts at some point of their lives. Globally girls are three time more likely to report experiences of sexual violence than boys

⁵²For example, experiences of violence / maltreatment in childhood is a risk factor for perpetration and experiences of IPV in later life as well as a range of physical and mental health and economic impacts (www.who.int; UNICEF, 2014. Ibid)

⁵³NiMAGES studies in other countries found that in all the countries except India, men who reported more gender-equitable attitudes were more likely to report being sexually satisfied with their current female partner. In India, Brazil and Croatia, women who reported that their male partner plays an equal or greater role in one or more domestic duties also reported higher levels of overall relationship satisfaction and sexual satisfaction. (Barker et al, 2011, Ibid)

⁵⁴The Punch Newspaper (3/1/2015, p.48-49)

⁵⁵<http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.TLF.CACT.FE.ZS>

⁵⁶Members of the UN Network of Men Leaders work to promote positive gender behaviour among men and women. They are therefore regarded as gender ambassadors. The researchers felt that the experience of the Nigerian member especially in relating with the media would be important in understanding the challenges of promoting gender equitable masculinities and the role of the media

⁵⁷NAWOJ is the umbrella body for women journalists in Nigeria whose membership, like that of the parent body – the NUJ – also spreads across all the states of the country and the federal capital territory. NAWOJ acts as a gender-watchdog. It defends the professional rights of female journalists and advocates that media professionals should shun stereotypes and biases while reporting women issues. The President of the body is a gender expert who regularly undertakes trainings on gender reporting

⁵⁸As outlined in the OECD Development Centre's Social Institutions and Gender Index (SIGI):<http://genderindex.org/country/nigeria>

⁵⁹<http://genderindex.org/country/nigeria>

- ⁶⁰https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/67333/Gender-Nigeria2012.pdf
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- ⁷⁹https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/67333/Gender-Nigeria2012.pdf
- ⁸⁰<http://www.stoprapenow.org/uploads/advocacyresources/1282163655.pdf>
- ⁸¹<https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2015/country-chapters/nigeria>



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