

A photograph of a man in a striped shirt holding a baby in a patterned outfit. The man is looking at the baby with a gentle expression. The background shows an outdoor setting with a fence and some greenery.

VOICES4CHANGE

EMPOWERING ADOLESCENT GIRLS AND WOMEN IN NIGERIA

NIGERIA MEN AND GENDER EQUALITY SURVEY (NiMAGES)

Nigeria Country Report 2015



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Patience Ekeoba

*Lead, Research and Evidence Output
Voices for Change programme.*

ACRONYMS

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
CAPI	Computer Aided Personal Interviews
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women
CSW	Commission on the Status of Women
DFID	Department for International Development
GBV	Gender Based Violence
GEM	Gender Equitable Men (Scale)
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ICRW	International Center for Research on Women
NiMAGES	Nigeria Men and Gender Equality Survey
IOM	International Office for Migration
IPV	Intimate Partner Violence
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NCPP	The National Cancer Prevention Programme
NDHS	National Demographic and Health Survey
PSU	Primary Sampling Unit
STI	Sexually Transmitted Infections
UNSN	United Nations System in Nigeria
VAW	Violence Against Women
V4C	Voices For Change
WHO	World Health Organisation

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

There is precious little reliable research that documents gender dynamics from men's perspectives in Nigerian society. The Nigeria Men and Gender Equality Survey (NiMAGES) was conducted in six diverse sites across the country to fill this gap in understanding. NiMAGES aims to provide credible information on the realities of gender relations in Nigeria in order to stimulate debate and provide a platform on which to advocate for gender equality. Voices for Change hopes that the results will provide an important source of evidence which Nigerian activists, policymakers, researchers and others can use as they adapt and expand their work with men and boys, women and girls, and Nigerian communities as a whole to advance a thriving, equitable, gender-just future.

Who participated in the study?

A total of 1532 men and 504 women between the ages of 18 and 65 took part in the NiMAGES study as respondents to its quantitative questionnaire. Respondents came from all six geopolitical regions in the country (study sites included Bauchi, Benue, Enugu, Kano, Lagos, and Rivers). In each location, qualitative data collection in the form of focus group discussions and in-depth interviews took place to illuminate and enrich survey results. Study participants represented a cross-section of their respective sites, reflecting noteworthy characteristics of Nigerian society. Study participants were notably young, in line with countrywide trends, with three quarters of the sample under age 35. Men in the sample reported higher levels of educational attainment than women, with rural women particularly likely to report never having attended school. Women in the sample were about twice as likely as men to report being married and/or having children. Men were more likely than women to report being employed, with particularly high rates of unemployment and underemployment reported by rural women. At the same time, a significant proportion of men in study sites reported stress due to insufficient income or work.

What did the study investigate, and what did it find?

This study investigated gender-related perceptions and behaviours, focusing largely on the relevant views and behaviour of men. Themes of particular priority for Voices for Change included: domestic violence, women as leaders, and women's decision-making roles. For the sake of clarity, the headline findings of the study are presented here under the four categories of gender attitudes, household gender dynamics, violence, and health.

Gender Attitudes

Agreement with restrictive norms about gender roles in the household was almost universal, with 94% of men and 91% of women agreeing that 'a woman's most important role is to take care of her home and cook for her family.' Violence against women was also widely tolerated by study participants. Toughness, sexual performance, and income were central to notions of masculinity in study sites. Very few men or women respondents were found to hold highly gender-equitable views, though there were some notable associations between these views and respondents' location, age, educational level, and marital status. Women who had completed secondary or higher education had notably more equitable gender attitudes, for instance, illustrating that access to education can help advance positive gender norms.

Both men and women respondents overwhelmingly rejected many traditional practices, including female genital mutilation, harmful widowhood practices, and wife hospitality.¹ Likewise, 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. Bride price, however, enjoyed almost universal popular support amongst the study population. In addition to supporting the practice, some 42% of men and 38% of women also agreed that paying bride price 'gives the husband the right to do whatever he wants with his wife.'

Focus group and in-depth interview participants displayed consistently discriminatory views about women as leaders. Findings indicate that the limited place of women in leadership rests upon entrenched socio-cultural and religious norms. Many men who respect women in public leadership positions also expressed anxiety about the consequences for these women's families and households.

Household Gender Dynamics

Participants' reflections on their childhood homes reveal a highly gendered division of decision-making authority, with the majority of respondents – 74% of men and 72% of women – recalling that their fathers 'had the final word' about decisions related to large investments. Respondents' mothers, on the other hand, tended to wield the most influence over decisions related to food and clothing. Most respondents recall their fathers playing a role in certain domestic work and childcare, but only at low to moderate levels. More than half of respondents reported that their fathers 'never' or 'hardly ever' prepared food, washed clothes, cleaned the house, or fetched water.

Men and women also reported on the division between domestic work and childcare in their current households. The elements of domestic work that men reported participating in most were those traditionally associated with men: paying bills and repairing the house. Men's reports of participation were low for work not traditionally associated with their gender – washing clothes, cleaning the house, cleaning the bathroom/toilet, and preparing food (and women's reports of their partner's participation were even lower). However, younger men, men with higher educational levels, and men who hold more gender-equitable attitudes were all more likely to report participating in domestic work.

Men and women had differing recollections of men's attendance at prenatal care visits but, according to their own reports, the majority of surveyed men were not present in the hospital for the birth of their last child. Eighty per cent of fathers in the study took no leave following the birth of their last child.

With regard to regular, equal-or-greater participation in childcare, women and men in the study agreed that most men tend to play with their children or discipline them, but not contribute much else. However, by and large, the men with the highest levels of education and the most equitable gender attitudes were also the men most likely to play an equal or greater role in childcare. Across all study sites, however, the vast majority of both men and women reported feeling satisfied with the current –highly unequal – division of household work and childcare.

Violence

Participants in NiMAGES study sites reported very high levels of violent experiences as children. This violence took place in various sites and took multiple forms:

- In the home: Three quarters of men and Two thirds of women reported having been spanked or slapped by parents or adults in their childhood home. About three in four respondents reported being threatened with physical punishment in their childhood homes. About a quarter of respondents, both men and women, witnessed their mother being beaten by their father or another man in their childhood home.
- At school: Corporal punishment in schools was widely reported; 80% of men and 71% of women reported that they had been beaten or physically punished in school by a teacher.
- Sexual violence: About one in five respondents, including both men and women, reported being sexually assaulted as children.

Economic, emotional, and physical intimate partner violence in study sites is very common, according to responses from both women and men. Across the sites, 40% of men reported perpetrating one or more of these forms of violence during their lives, while 42% of women reported experiencing one or more of

these forms of violence in their lifetimes. Men were significantly more likely to report perpetrating IPV if they experienced work-related stress, witnessed their mothers experiencing IPV, or held gender-inequitable views.

Eleven per cent of men in the study reported perpetrating rape at some point and six per cent reported perpetrating rape against a current or former partner or girlfriend. Women themselves are frequently accused of inciting the violence committed against them, with victim blaming notions – which place the fault with the woman – emerging as the ‘cause’ of violence most commonly cited by qualitative data collection participants. Women and men both acknowledged that women faced significant barriers, including social pressures and distrust of law enforcement, when seeking help after experiences of violence.

Health

In general, men in the NiMAGES sample were reluctant to seek routine health care, prostate cancer screenings, or HIV tests, with rates of men seeking such services never exceeding 35%. In all sites, women were more likely to have been tested for HIV than men – very probably because of routine testing conducted as part of antenatal care.

Sixty per cent of men in the sample reported regularly feeling stressed, and about one third of male respondents reported feeling regularly depressed. While they are reluctant to access health care they are more likely to report seeking some sort of mental health support – though usually from personal, informal sources – when they feel sad, disappointed, or frustrated.

Men reported abusing alcohol at significantly higher rates than women, with 32% of men and 4% of women reporting having five or more drinks on a single occasion at least once a month. Many men also acknowledged negative consequences for themselves and their families resulting from alcohol abuse and 12% of them reported that, as a result of drinking alcohol, they had failed to do something that was normally expected of them.

What conclusions can we draw?

NiMAGES data demonstrates that certain elements of the traditional gender order in Nigeria may be slowly changing. Men and women roundly reject many traditional practices, including FGM and harmful widowhood practices, for instance. But, by and large, across the breadth of topics included in the study, it is clear that a preponderance of rigid, patriarchal gender norms, and accompanying practices, still hold sway in study sites in Nigeria. At the broadest level, however, NiMAGES findings clearly demonstrate the benefits that gender equitable, nonviolent families and societies can bring to men and women alike. The men in this study who held more gender equitable attitudes were also more likely to participate in childcare and domestic work, for instance, and were also less likely to perpetrate violence against their partners. At the same time, NiMAGES data shows that boys raised in nonviolent homes where their fathers frequently participated in a wide range of household chores are more likely to grow up to become involved fathers and partners who choose not to use violence themselves. These findings, and other glimpses of positive gender behaviour, show how the benefits of gender equality span whole families and generations. In doing so, they provide instructive lessons for better engaging men and women together in efforts to improve Nigerian society.

1. INTRODUCTION

What is IMAGES?

Why conduct this research
in Nigeria?



Policymakers, programmers, researchers and activists around the world agree that men must play a significant role if societies are to achieve gender equality. The goals of changing men's practices in relation to violence, health, and family life – and efforts to dismantle the underlying factors that prompt and support these practices – have become well-established in the global gender equality agenda. Failure to involve men in delivering solutions which contribute to gender equality means we might unfairly burden women and girls with the task of ending global injustices and inequalities that result primarily from men's actions (Barker et al. 2011, Heilman et al. 2014).

However, there are very few rigorous research studies, either globally or in Nigeria, which seek to thoroughly document men's perceptions of these issues. The Nigeria Men and Gender Equality Study (NiMAGES), recently completed in Nigeria, and IMAGES studies in more than ten other countries, seek to fill this gap. This section presents a brief introduction to the study, both as it has been applied around the globe and in the particular case of Nigeria.

1.1 IMAGES AROUND THE WORLD

The International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES) is a household questionnaire covering a broad range of topics related to gender and gender equality. The survey investigates men's attitudes and practices, side-by-side with women's reports of men's practices. It covers topics such as: gender-based violence; health and health-related practices; household division of labour; men's/fathers' involvement in caregiving; the attitudes of men and women towards gender and gender-related policies; transactional sex; men's reports of criminal behaviour; and quality of life (Barker et al. 2011). The overarching goal of IMAGES is to build understanding of men's practices and attitudes related to gender equality in order to inform, drive and monitor policy development to promote gender equality by engaging men and women in such policies. The IMAGES questionnaire incorporates items from the most recent survey instruments on gender, quality of life, childhood antecedents of violence (including gender-based violence), health, sexuality, family gender dynamics, and fatherhood.

IMAGES was co-created in 2008 by international coordinators Promundo and the International Centre for Research on Women. The study continues to be implemented in collaboration with partner countries around the globe. To date, IMAGES studies have been conducted in twelve countries, including Nigeria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Brazil, Chile, Croatia, Democratic Republic of Congo, India, Malawi, Mali, Mexico, Mozambique, Nigeria, and Rwanda. At the time of writing this report, additional studies are also underway in Russia and Lebanon. The IMAGES questionnaire also influenced and contributed several items to a recent six-country study on men and gender-based violence in Asia and the Pacific, coordinated by Partners for Prevention (Fulu et al. 2013). Wherever quantitative data collection and analysis occurred using the IMAGES survey, research partners also conducted complementary qualitative investigations in the same settings, seeking to document the in-depth lived realities of gender inequalities, notions of masculinity and femininity, and participants' perspectives on efforts to promote gender equality.

IMAGES has received recognition, support, and funding from numerous international organisations such as the World Bank, CARE, UN Women, UNFPA, UNDP, the Ford Foundation, International Development Research Centre, DFID, SIDA, and NORAD. IMAGES data and conclusions have been presented at seminars and events in more than 20 countries, and findings have been widely disseminated to promote policy changes to engage men and boys in gender equality. To date, IMAGES data has:

- Inspired new men's health initiatives in Brazil;
- Prompted discussions within the Ministry of Health in Chile around engaging men in childbirth;
- Promoted new and progressive sexuality education policies in Croatia; and
- Initiated sexual and gender-based violence prevention activities with men in eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo.

1.2 NIMAGES IN NIGERIA

Information regarding women and girls' realities in Nigeria is largely unavailable and there has been virtually no research on men's ideas about gender, masculinities, and gender equality in the country. This information is essential for informing public debate and developing programmes and policies to address inequality and violence. This subsection briefly overviews the context, rationale, and objectives of the NiMAGES study in Nigeria.

Gender Relations in Nigeria

Women and girls in Nigeria fare worse than men on many indicators. The 2014 Global Gender Gap Report (GGGR) finds, among other discrepancies, that, in Nigeria:

- Men have higher labour force participation than women (64% and 48% respectively);
- Men have higher literacy rates than women (61% and 41% respectively); and
- Only 9% of women enrol in tertiary education as compared to 12% of men.

The institution of early marriage and small number of girls across the country being sent to school also leads to low literacy and skills, thus limiting the economic attainment of girls and women. The list of inequalities goes on. Women's inheritance rights vary by geography but are generally poor, leading to lack of ownership of assets, restricted access to finance and curtailed ability to grow businesses. Violence against women is common and widely tolerated. Women are dramatically under-represented in the workplace. Women and girls commit substantially more time to unpaid care work than men and boys (see GGGR 2014, British Council 2012, UNGA 2013, Olukayode 2013).

Women in Nigeria have been traditionally and historically disempowered in such broad ways for a complex variety of reasons. This disempowerment is rooted partly in patriarchal cultural beliefs and practices that subordinate women's position in society and sets forth a series of social expectations dictating the qualities, behaviours, characteristics, needs, and roles for women in relation to men (Nmadi 2001, Olukayode 2013). In simpler terms, the roles of men and women are not biologically determined; rather, they are constructed and learned through socialisation (UNSN, 2013). Societies tell men and women what is typical ('descriptive norms') and desirable ('prescriptive norms') for their sex in particular contexts and situations. Violations of these expectations in any given society are often criticised and penalised harshly. Also, crucially, these sets of expectations/norms are built upon unequal power, since the status of women and men, and the values attached to their respective roles in society, are not equal. These unequal power relations between men and women are characteristic of Nigerian society as well (Osemene and Udeke 2012).

These inequitable, power-imbalanced norms have very real lived consequences for women and men alike. Research shows consistently that men's practices in such wide domains as HIV and STI prevention, contraceptive use, physical violence, domestic work, caregiving, and health-seeking behaviours, amongst others, tend to be influenced by their conformity with rigid and/or inequitable gender norms (Marsiglio 1988; Kaufman 1993; Rivers and Aggleton 1998; Kimmel 2000; Barker 2000a; Barker and Ricardo 2005; Barker et al. 2011). Therefore, a major challenge facing Nigeria, Africa, and the global community as a whole is to dismantle these imbalanced, inequitable gender role expectations as well as the injustices that spring from them.

Progress towards gender equality demands sustained, long-term actions and messages that will replace these harmful norms with positive, equitable ones. Achieving gender equality will be a powerful step toward the improved economic and social welfare, not just of Nigeria's women and girls, but of boys, men, and whole communities alike.

Applying IMAGES in Nigeria

Getting a better understanding on the context for change is crucial before such actions and campaigns can begin. We need to know how men and women in Nigeria feel about gender relations and gender equality today and really understand their beliefs, perspectives, and behaviours related to these topics.

There is currently precious little research in the country that explores these issues (though the 2012 Gender in Nigeria Report by the British Council helpfully aggregated any data that is available). Where information is available, it rarely reaches the individuals who can drive change, especially those in the higher echelons of the Federal and State Governments. Progress is also limited by a lack of comprehension amongst media and other opinion leaders, leading to a lack of public discussion and debate.

As such, a primary aim of the NiMAGES study was to provide highly credible information on the realities of gender relations in Nigeria so we can stimulate debate and establish a basis for advocacy on these issues. The authors hope that the results will provide an important source of information which Voices for Change and other organisations can use as they adapt and expand their work with men and boys towards gender equity and social justice.

NiMAGES findings help substantiate the way in which notions of manhood and masculinity influence men's perceptions and highlight behaviours related to violence against women and a wide range of other gender equity issues. The findings in this report also:

- Explore factors that explain variations in men's behaviour in their family lives, in their intimate and sexual relationships, and their sexual and reproductive health;
- Assess men's knowledge of, and attitudes about, policies that have sought to promote gender equity in their country (e.g. employment and political quotas for women, criminalisation of gender-based violence), as well as men's ideas about policies that could help them become more gender equitable;
- Compare men's and women's attitudes and behaviours on all of the above topics;
- Compare and contrast regional variations in gender-related attitudes and practices of men and boys while also identifying 'positive deviants' (persons who act differently from entrenched norms);
- Explore opportunities for change, as well as barriers to change, in various formal and informal institutions (e.g. family, schools, media, religion); and
- Make programmatic and policy recommendations to challenge hegemonic masculinity and promote partnership between men and women and gender equity.

The report is structured as follows: The next section presents the methodology of the study. Thereafter, the report presents findings in relation to six themes in turn: (1) Sample Characteristics; (2) Attitudes Related to Gender; (3) Gender Dynamics in Childhood; (4) Gender Dynamics in the Current Household; (5) Violence; and (6) Health. The report ends with conclusions, a reference list and annexes.

2. METHODOLOGY

What is the nature, scope, and ethics of the study



2. METHODOLOGY

The NiMAGES study depends on a strategic balance of standardised, internationally comparable measures which can contribute to the growing multi-country dataset, with country-by-country methodological adaptations to ensure contextual appropriateness and relevance. This section presents the step-by-step details of the NiMAGES methodology, including Research Sites and Sample, Research Methods, Ethical Considerations, Data Analysis, and Scope and Limitations.

2.1 Research Sites and Sample

NiMAGES data collection was carried out with women and men age 18-65 years in the six geopolitical regions in Nigeria. One state was selected to represent each geopolitical region based on considerations of security and regional representation. The selected study sites were: Bauchi (North East), Benue (North Central), Enugu (South East), Kano (North West), Lagos (South West), and Rivers (South South).

Quantitative Sample and Sampling Methodology

As Table 1 shows, below, a total of 1532 men and 504 women were selected for the quantitative study sample. As shown, the sample was further split between urban and rural settings.

Table 1: NiMAGES Nigeria quantitative sample details

	Total	Bauchi	Benue	Enugu	Kano	Lagos	Rivers
Sample size: men	1532	146	159	159	356	463	249
Sample size: women	504	38	50	51	125	155	85
Men from urban settings	1073	85	114	53	184	463	174
Men from rural settings	459	61	45	106	172	-	75
Women from urban settings	358	23	35	18	68	155	59
Women from rural settings	146	15	15	33	57	-	26

Nigerian official population figures were used as the sampling frame and the sample was drawn to represent the six geopolitical regions in the country. Men and women participants were identified via a randomised selection process based on their neighbourhoods and households. Interviews were conducted in respondents' homes with the use of handheld devices. Subsection 3.1 of this report presents in-depth characteristics of the quantitative sample; step-by-step details of the quantitative sampling process appear in Annex I.

Qualitative Sample and Sampling Methodology

Researchers led four focus group discussions (FGDs) in each region, with an average of 8 participants in each discussion, for a total sample of approximately 192 focus group participants including both men and women. These focus group discussions were complemented by a total of 17 in-depth interviews (IDIs), with between two and five interviews occurring in each region.

Qualitative data collection participants were recruited to meet certain demographic requirements. All focus groups were single sex. The following three demographic groups convened for a focus group discussion 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. 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. Details on qualitative data collection are presented in Table 2 below.

Table 2: NiMAGES Nigeria qualitative study details: focus group discussions and in-depth interviews

Region	State	Characteristic	Location
South West	Lagos FGD	Male Students and Single Aged 18-25 Female Students and Single Aged 18-25 Male Young Adult Single and Married Aged 26-39 Female Mature Adult Married, Widowed /Divorced Aged 40-60	Urban Urban Rural Urban
	Lagos IDI	Female Political Party Leader Male Religious Leader Male Positive Deviant (2 IDIs)	Urban Rural Urban
South South	Rivers FGD	Female Students and Single Aged 18-25 Male Students and Single Aged 18-25 Male Young Adult Single and Married Aged 26-39 Female Mature Adult Married, Widowed /Divorced Aged 40-60	Urban Rural Urban Rural
	Rivers IDI	Male Traditional Ruler Male Law Enforcement Agent	Rural Urban
South East	Enugu FGD	Male Students and Single Aged 18-25 Female Students and Single Aged 18-25 Female Young Adult Single and Married aged 26-39 Male Mature Adult Married, Widowed /Divorced Aged 40-60	Urban Rural Urban Rural
	Enugu IDI	Female officer (Ministry of Women Affairs) Female – Women Leader	Urban Rural
North West	Kano FGD	Female Students and Single Aged 18-25 Male Young Adult Single and Married Aged 26-39 Male Young Adult Single and Married Aged 26-39 Female Matured Adult Married, Widowed /Divorced Aged 40-60	Urban Rural Urban Rural
	Kano IDI	Male Political Leader Male Traditional Leader Male Religion Leader Male Positive Deviants (2 IDIs)	Urban Rural Urban Rural
North East	Bauchi FGD	Female Students and Single Aged 18-25 Male Students and Single Aged 18-25 Female Young Adult Single and Married Aged 26-39 Male Matured Adult Married, Widowed /Divorced Aged 40-60	Urban Rural Rural Urban
	Bauchi IDI	Male Traditional Leader Male Religious Leader	Rural Rural
North Central	Benue FGD	Female Students and Single Aged 18-25 Male Students and Single Aged 18-25 Female Young Adult Single and Married Aged 26-39 Male Matured Adult Married, Widowed /Divorced Aged 40-60	Rural Urban Urban Rural
	Benue IDI	Female Political Leader Male Traditional Leader	Rural Urban

2.2 Research Methods

Details about the survey questionnaire, focus group guide, and interview instrument follow below.

Survey

The NiMAGES men's questionnaire has approximately 250 items and takes approximately an hour to apply. The questionnaire for women is slightly shorter. The survey instrument was designed to be relevant for adult men and women in stable, cohabitating relationships as well as those not in a stable relationship; women and men who define themselves as heterosexual as well as people of diverse sexual orientations and gender identities; and women and men who have children in the household and those who do not.

In order to be suitable for use in Nigeria, the standard global questionnaires were first translated into the relevant local languages² and back translated into English as a quality assurance measure. Certain survey items were added, removed, or adjusted based on local contextual considerations, but at least 80% of the questionnaire remained identical/comparable to the standard international version. Both surveys were pre-tested among a sample of respondents similar to the ones in the main sample using both English and local languages. Topic areas in the questionnaire include: Childhood and Adolescence; Education; Employment; Family Life; Partner Relations; Decision-Making; Leadership; Partner Violence; Parenting; Gender Equality; Health; and Quality of Life.

The questionnaires were administered using hand-held devices, with the interviewer asking all the questions. A total of 60 interviewers and 12 supervisors were employed in the survey. The NiMAGES questionnaire is available for public download.³



Focus Group Discussions and In-Depth Interviews

Focus group discussion guides and in-depth interview instruments were crafted by V4C in collaboration with TNS- RMS, to reflect local settings and to ensure relevance to the quantitative survey findings. Discussion guides and interview instruments were pre-tested prior to study application. Conversations took place in local languages, lasting approximately one to one and a half hours each. There was not sufficient time to cover the breadth of topics included in the survey questionnaire so the qualitative methods prioritised the following research themes:

- Exploration of ideas of **masculinity and femininity** in order to understand definitions, imagery, roles and responsibilities associated with men and women in Nigerian society;
- Examination of social norms, attitudes and behaviour towards **women in leadership** and the barriers which inhibited them from playing greater leadership roles in the society;
- Examination of the social norms influencing attitudes and behaviour towards **women's decision-making roles** at home and in the public sphere; and
- Exploring the different **forms of violence against women and girls** in intimate partnerships as well as participants' attitudes about this violence.

2.3 Ethical Considerations

The study followed standard ethical procedures for research, with the following measures taken to reflect the sensitive nature of the study:

- The study obtained a written ethical approval from the Nigeria Health Research Committee (NHREC). The global IMAGES survey and methodology has been approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) of the International Centre for Research on Women (ICRW).
- All participants were informed that their participation in the survey was voluntary and that they had the right to terminate the survey at any point. No incentives were given to participants.
- Through the use of a standard informed consent form and process (translated into the same local languages as the questionnaires), all participants were educated on the purpose, procedure, benefits and risks of participating in the study. Participants gave written and/or verbal consent to participate in the study before the interview/discussion commenced.
- All relevant actions were taken to protect the anonymity of respondents and interviews were conducted in private locations. No identification details were collected for any respondent, and, as part of the informed consent process, respondents were assured of the confidentiality of their responses.
- Respondents were free to refuse to answer any questions they were not comfortable with.
- Given the sensitive nature of the questions, male interviewers were assigned to male participants and female interviewers interviewed female participants.

2.4 Data Analysis

Data analysis for this report was based on the aforementioned objectives, with the aim of presenting actionable evidence on masculinities and gender norms in Nigeria. For the quantitative data, the SPSS software package was used to generate the descriptive and bivariate analyses presented throughout this report. Discussion and interview transcripts were translated and transcribed by a third party consultant to avoid bias and ensure high quality. Using Atlas-ti software for qualitative data, researchers generated content themes, word clouds, and verbatim quotations aligned with the specific objectives and themes of the study.

2.5 Scope and Limitations

Nigeria is hugely diverse in terms of size, language, religion and ethnicity. To capture this diversity, the study was conducted in all six geo-political zones of the country. The map in Figure 1 below illustrates the diverse locations where the study was undertaken.



Figure 1: NiMAGES study sites



Because data collection took place in randomised sites within all six geopolitical regions in the country, the dataset meets a modest standard of national representativeness. All study results should be interpreted with caution, however.

For any analyses in this report related to respondents' intimate relationships, the sample has been restricted to only those respondents who are currently married, in a civil union, or cohabitating with their partner. This restriction is significant, owing to the relative youth of the sample population, and the higher rates of marriage among women than men. A total of 480 men and 304 women meet these criteria and have been included in these analyses. This restricted sample size limits the predictive power of the sample for these analyses. Further details about this restriction appear in the relevant subsections of the report.



Furthermore, the current report presents primarily descriptive and bivariate analyses. Bivariate analyses highlight the extent to which two different pieces of data are associated with one another. For example, this type of analysis can calculate whether men with a certain level of educational attainment are statistically significantly more likely to report perpetrating intimate partner violence than men with a different level of educational achievement. It is very useful to know whether these different results are significantly associated with one another. The analysis cannot tell us with certainty, however, that men are more or less likely to report perpetrating violence because of their educational level, or vice versa. In order to establish causality, it is necessary to conduct additional, multivariate analyses, ideally with multiple datasets over a longer period of time. The authors hope to continue deeper analyses of this dataset in the months to come. The purpose of this report is to present a broad selection of the initial, primarily descriptive and bivariate findings coming from this study.

3. FINDINGS

What did we learn?

Categories of Findings:

- 3.1 Sample Characteristics
- 3.2 Attitudes Related to Gender
- 3.3 Gender Dynamics in Childhood
- 3.4 Gender Dynamics in the Current Household
- 3.5 Violence: Experiences and Practices
- 3.6 Health: Experiences and Practices

This section comprises the majority of the report, and presents NiMAGES findings under the following six thematic categories: Sample Characteristics, Attitudes Related to Gender, Gender Dynamics in Childhood, Gender Dynamics in the Current Household, Violence, and Health. Priority in all six categories is given to the results from the NiMAGES quantitative survey questionnaire. Qualitative findings will be used occasionally, not exhaustively, to bolster or illuminate findings from the survey. Each sub-section concludes with a concise, overview of the headline findings related to that theme, presented in a box titled *Headlines At-A-Glance*. For the page numbers of these *Headlines At-A-Glance* boxes, please consult the Table of Contents.



3.1 SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

Table 3 shows the demographic characteristics of the sample, with details broken out for women and men as well as urban and rural settings.

Table 3: Demographic characteristics of the sample (% by category)

Characteristics	Total		Urban		Rural	
	Men N=1532	Women N=504	Men N=1073	Women N=358	Men N=459	Women N=146
Age						
18-24	37	35	37	34	38	38
25-34	39	36	39	34	39	39
35-49	17	23	18	25	16	16
49-59	5	5	5	5	5	6
60-65	2	1	2	1	2	1
Educational level						
No formal	3	17	2	9	7	37
Primary	5	17	9	16	19	20
Secondary	66	45	58	49	56	34
Higher	26	21	31	26	17	9
Marital Status						
Legally married	30	60	30	56	31	67
Widowed/Separated/Divorced	1	7	1	7	2	6
Never married, without stable partner	29	12	31	1	26	1
Never married, with stable partner	21	12	21	13	21	10
Single and Never partnered	19	10	18	13	21	8
Children						
Has biological children	29	64	28	60	31	74
Has no biological children	71	36	72	41	69	26
Income per month						
Less than 20,000	30	36	25	31	43	47
20,000- 40,000	23	16	24	19	22	7
40,001- 75,000	15	15	19	20	8	5
75,001-100,000	5	8	6	11	2	-
Above 100,000	2	2	3	2	1	1
Don't know	25	24	25	17	26	41
Employment Status						
Unemployed	13	40	13	33	13	55
Formally employed/Skilled	28	17	29	20	27	7
Informally employed/Unskilled	26	23	26	23	28	21
Students	32	21	32	23	33	17
Source of Household income						
Self	51	13	53	14	48	12
Partner	2	50	2	46	2	61
Both	4	7	4	10	4	1
Others	42	29	41	30	46	26

Demographic trends

The sample characteristics display important trends relating to age, educational level, marital status, parenthood, employment and income. Headlines show:

- **The study population is young.** Seventy six per cent of participating men and 71% of participating women are under 35 years of age.
- **In line with the expected trends of a society which privileges men over women, men reported higher levels of educational attainment than women, with rural women particularly likely to report never having attended school.** Ninety two per cent of male respondents reported attending secondary school or beyond, compared to only 66% of female respondents. Furthermore, one in three rural women in the sample had never attended any school (37%), compared to only 7% of urban women and even lower proportions of men across the sample.
- **Women in the sample are about twice as likely as men to report being married and/or having children.** The discrepancy in marriage rates is starkest in rural areas, where 67% of female respondents report being married compared to 31% of male respondents. Reported discrepancies in rates of parenthood are even larger. This observed trend amplifies the findings of the 2012 British Council study that women marry and begin raising children at very young ages. According to that study, for instance, the majority of women in the North marry by 16 and give birth within their first year of marriage. In the NiMAGES female sample, 82% of Bauchi respondents, 71% of Kano respondents, and 69% of Enugu respondents reported being married. Reported rates of parenthood in the same three sites all exceeded 73%.
- **Men are more likely to report being employed than women, with particularly high rates of unemployment reported by rural women.** Some 86% of the male sample reported either studying or being employed (whether formally or informally). This rate was only 61% for women, though the preponderance of working women comes from the urban sample: 55% of rural women reported being unemployed. This does not account for women's unpaid contributions to domestic work, however.
- **Reported monthly incomes are low across the sample.** While about a quarter of the sample did not state their income, the majority of those who did report an income, earn less than N40,000 per month.
- **According to responses from both men and women, men are far more likely to be primary income earners in their families.** About half of men identified themselves as the primary source of household income, while a similar percentage of women identified their male partner as the primary source of income.

A further breakdown of the sample's demographic characteristics by study site appears in Annex II on page 76.

Impact of Poverty and Lack of Work

Employment status and household income are among the most common indicators used to assess socio-economic status. The demographic data above shows a confluence of three trends in this regard: (1) a great number of men in the sample are working or studying, but (2) their incomes are relatively low, even as (3) they are often the primary financial providers for their families.

The NiMAGES study extends this socio-economic analysis by asking men to report on their levels of stress caused by lack of work or income. This line of questioning acknowledges the widely-held social expectation that men provide financially for their families, and the hypothesised pressures that may result from this social norm.

Although men's reported unemployment is less than 15%, only about half of men in the study report that their employment situation is stable. Fifty-one per cent of men indicated that they are the main income providers for their household; a similar proportion (54%) reported that their employment situation is mostly stable. Against the backdrop of these figures, as Figure 2 shows below, a significant proportion of male respondents report experiencing one or more forms of stress related to work or income.

Figure 2: Men's reports of work-related stress in all sites (% who report 'yes' or 'partly', N=1532)



A significant proportion of men in study sites report experiencing stress due to insufficient income or work. More than half of the men in the NiMAGES sample – 57% per cent – report experiencing stress as a result of lack of income. Nearly half – 44% per cent – report experiencing stress due to lack of work.

HEADLINES AT-A-GLANCE: SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

- **The study population is young:** approximately three quarters of the sample is under 35.
- Men report higher levels of educational attainment than women, with rural women particularly likely to report never having attended school.
- Women in the sample are about twice as likely as men to report **being married and/or having children of their own.**
- Men are more likely to report being employed than women, with particularly high rates of unemployment reported by rural women.
- Men are far more likely than women to be **financial providers** for their families, but reported monthly incomes are low across the sample and only about half of men in the sample report that their **employment** situation is stable.
- A significant proportion of men in study sites report **stress due to insufficient income or work.**

The following section presents findings on a wide range of attitudes related to gender.

3.2 ATTITUDES RELATED TO GENDER

This sub-section shows the extent to which NiMAGES participants' agree or disagree 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. The sub-section then gives particular attention to respondents' attitudes towards four focus areas: (1) violence against women, (2) traditional practices, (3) women in leadership, and (4) gender equity laws and policies. Primary attention is given to survey responses, with valuable insights drawn from qualitative research as well.

Gender Attitudes Overall: The GEM Scale

Table 4 presents the full list of 24 items included in the adapted Nigerian version of the GEM Scale, organised 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 4: Percentage 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 very similar to the above 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 IMAGES study sites. A few items were added specifically for the NiMAGES, 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.'

Item-by-item responses indicate that restrictive gender norms are very prevalent in Nigerian study sites:

- **Agreement with restrictive norms about gender roles in the household is nearly universal among both male and female respondents.** Approximately nine out of ten respondents agree or partially agree with the set of five inequitable attitudes related to gender roles in the household, when taken as a whole. There are no meaningful differences between men's and women's responses, indicating that both groups contribute to the promulgation of rigid gender roles in families and societies.
- **At the same time, most respondents support equal access to education for boys and girls, and the belief that men and women should share household work equally.** Respondents overwhelmingly agree that childcare is primarily the mother's responsibility, however.
- **Violence against women is widely tolerated.** At least two thirds of respondents – both male and female – agree that: 'A woman should tolerate violence in order to keep her family together.' Respondents were less likely to agree that a woman deserves to be beaten, but nonetheless 43% of male participants and 28% of female participants agreed that: 'Sometimes a woman deserves to be beaten.'
- **Toughness, sexual performance, and income are linked to notions of masculinity in study sites.** The majority of respondents agree that: 'To be a man, you need to be tough;' 'Men should be embarrassed if they are unable to get an erection during sex;' and 'A man who does not have an income is of no value.' Respondents were much less likely to associate fathering a male child or having many wives as indicators of 'a real man.'
- **Respondents hold contradictory opinions about reproductive health.** Respondents almost universally agree that 'A man and woman should decide together what type of contraceptive to use,' but the majority also subscribed to the view that 'It is a woman's responsibility to avoid getting pregnant.'

Analysis of the GEM Scale as a whole shows that very few respondents in the Nigerian sample hold highly gender-equitable views. Respondents were sorted into three categories – low, moderate, and high levels of gender equitable views – in an analysis of the GEM Scale as a whole. This was achieved by adding up respondents' scores on the entire scale, whereby a respondent received one point for either agreeing with an equitable statement or disagreeing with an

'An appendage'

"The wife is more like an appendage, just like an extension, let her just be there... let's ask ourselves why did God not make Eve before Adam? It is because God knew that the utmost important person is Adam and Eve can be like an appendage."

Male focus group participant, age 18-25, Lagos

inequitable statement. The range of possible scores – from 0 (indicating universal agreement with gender inequitable views) to 24 (indicating universal agreement with gender equitable views)– was then divided into equal thirds to demarcate the low, moderate, and high gender equity categories. The results of this scale analysis are presented in Table 5 below, alongside bivariate tests of association between GEM Scale category and various socio-demographic characteristics.

While gender inequitable attitudes are common across all socio-demographic categories, there are some notable associations between these attitudes and respondents’ location, age, educational level, and marital status. The results of the socio-demographic factors examined on GEM Scale scores are as follows:

- Urban men hold more equitable views than rural men.
- Men aged 29-39 hold more equitable views than younger or older men.
- Men and women with the lowest levels of educational achievement also hold the most inequitable views. Conversely, women with secondary or higher education held particularly equitable views.

Table 5: Bivariate association of socio-demographic characteristics and gender equity attitude
% of respondents in each category

Characteristics	MEN (N=1532)				WOMEN (N=504)			
	Low	Moderate	High	p-value	Low	Moderate	High	p-value
Total	42	55	3	-	41	58	2	-
Residence				0.022*				0.327
Urban	40	57	3		39	59	2	
Rural	47	51	2		45	55	1	
Age group				0.001*				0.218
18-28	44	54	2		40	58	2	
29-39	35	60	5		36	62	2	
40-65	46	52	2		50	50	-	
Educational level				0.010*				0.000*
None	63	38	-					
	47	53	-					
Primary	47	51	2		26	70	4	
Secondary and above	41	57	3		16	77	8	
Marital Status				0.003*				0.004*
Legally married	43	54	3		43	57	1	
Widowed/Separated/ Divorced	31	69	-		49	51	-	
Never married, without stable partner	43	55	3		75	25	-	
Never married, with stable partner	33	65	2		35	60	5	
Single and never partnered	51	47	3		25	74	2	

* The “p score” is a common statistical test to determine that the relationship between two variables is not coincidental. If the “p score” is more than .05, then generally a piece of research won’t be able to confidently declare that there is a meaningful relationship between those variables. When the p score is less than .05, there is good reason to believe that those two variables are NOT related just by chance or by coincidence.

Analyses later in the report explores links between the level of respondents' gender equitable attitudes and related behaviours. This sub section now explores four specific focus areas relating to respondents' gender attitudes: Violence Against Women, Traditional Practices, Women in Leadership, and Gender Equity Laws and Policies.

Focus Area: Attitudes on Violence Against Women

As presented in Table 4 above, the majority of both male and female respondents agreed with the statements, 'A woman should tolerate violence in order to keep her family together' and 'A woman cannot refuse to have sex with her husband.' These response rates suggest a widespread acceptability of violence against women in study sites, and results from qualitative data collection support this finding. Certain focus group participants promoted victim-blaming causes, as in this quote from Rivers:

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

Male focus group participant, age 18-25, Rivers

Some participants shared the belief that women enjoy violence. This quote from Enugu illustrates the view:

"Some girls like it when you hit them, when you hit a girl she would know how manly enough you are and that day she might show you much love, she would fear you and she would never answer any call in your presence..."

Male focus group participant, age 18-25, Enugu

Additional investigation of trends and experiences related to violence against women in Nigeria follows in subsection 3.5.



Focus Area: Attitudes on Traditional Practices

The NiMAGES questionnaire included a new module assessing respondents' attitudes about a set of six traditional practices: bride price, early marriage, wife hospitality,⁴ forceful collection of properties, wife inheritance, and female genital mutilation/circumcision. Table 6 presents respondents' reported attitudes related to these practices.

Table 6: Percentage of respondents who agree or partially agree with statements about traditional practices

Attitudes on Traditional Practices	Male (N=1532)	Female (N=504)
Bride price		
Bride price is important and should remain	98	99
Paying dowry makes husband more responsible for his wife & children	90	96
Paying dowry gives husband the right to do whatever he wants with his wife	42	38
Early marriage		
Early marriage is important and should remain	31	38
Wife hospitality		
Wife hospitality is important and should remain	4	5
Wife hospitality takes away a woman's dignity and increases her vulnerability	86	70
Harmful widowhood practices		
Force collection of property from widow is important and should remain	2	1
Wife inheritance		
Wife inheritance is important and should remain	5	3
Female genital mutilation (FGM)		
FGM is important and should remain	9	5

Respondents overwhelmingly reject FGM, harmful widowhood practices, and wife hospitality. At least nine in ten respondents disagreed with statements suggesting that these practices 'are important and should remain.' This finding suggests that these traditional practices lack any meaningful level of popular support in study areas.

About one third of respondents believe that early marriage is 'important and should remain', with women more likely to hold this view than men. Approximately 51% of men and 41% of women reported that they had been married early themselves. These findings echo other evidence demonstrating that this practice is still prevalent, with more popular support than the previously mentioned practices.

Bride price, however, has almost universal popular support among the study population. Many respondents also agree that paying bride price 'gives the husband the right to do whatever he wants with his wife'. In line with the attitudes tolerating violence against women presented earlier, 38% of women and 42% of men agreed with this statement. Almost the entire sample agreed that 'bride price is important and should remain.' Some 90% of married women and 83% of married men reported that bride price was paid in their wedding.

Focus Area: Attitudes on Women in Leadership

Previous research shows a significant absence of women from governance and decision-making in Nigeria (Ayeni, 2013) so it is crucial to understand what men think about women in leadership positions. To expand upon the existing evidence, the NiMAGES survey investigated the views of men on various statements related to women and leadership, as well as their possible reactions to situations in which they would encounter women in leadership. The findings from this module of questions, which was a new adaptation to the questionnaire particularly for Nigeria, appear in Figure 3 below.

Male survey respondents report contradictory views about women in leadership. While 77% of men agreed that both men and women make equally good leaders, and 72% agreed that it is right for women to aspire to and occupy top positions in government/society, more than half of respondents also held negative sentiments about women in leadership. For example, 60% agreed that 'women should focus their time and energy taking care of their children and husband and not get involved (in leadership).' Some 57% of men sampled agreed that 'women are too emotional to be leaders.'

Figure 3: Percentage of men (n=1532) who agreed with statements on women's leadership



Focus group and in-depth interview participants display more consistently discriminatory views about women as leaders. Most qualitative data collection participants across all sites stated that men generally come to mind when the word ‘leader’ is mentioned. Participants considered men to be more suited to leadership because, in their minds, men are more disciplined and focused than women. Male participants described women as emotional, unthoughtful, vulnerable, and weak. Some participants’ comments were extremely dismissive of women’s leadership abilities:

“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 focus group participant, age 18-25, Lagos

Another quote demonstrates that discrimination against women as leaders may have as much to do with notions of masculinity as it does with degrading views of women’s abilities. Participants widely agreed with the survey statement that ‘to be a man, you need to be tough,’ with one participant suggesting that that outsiders would perceive men in his community to be weak if women held leadership roles:

“If women lead our community, they will say we men that are there are not capable to lead the community, they will be saying rubbish that is women that is ruling your community, you men there are useless, that’s why they don’t allow those women, Even God has said that we men are going to be the leader while women are inferior.”

Male focus group participant, age 40-60, Lagos

Findings indicate that the limited place of women in leadership rests on entrenched socio-cultural and religious norms. Some participants, however, disagreed with the views expressed in the above quotations. The following quote is a good example of this variance of views:

“Women... are setting the pace all over the world; Angela Merkel of Germany she is one of the best leaders in the world. Come to Africa you have Sirleaf Johnson of Liberia, the President of Malawi, even the Vice Chancellor of Benue State university is Charity Angya.”

Male focus group participant, age 40-60, Benue

Even those who respect women in public leadership positions express anxiety about the consequences for these women’s families and households. Discussing perceptions of women leaders in the public sphere, some participants displayed views similar to the following:

“... I respect such women because they are real women who can fight. But most times, such women do have problems in their families. There is always a problem. Their kids might not be good children because they are not nurtured. Their husbands might be a different person all together since the wife is not always around. She is not always there to do some things that she is supposed to do as a wife.”

Female focus group participant, age 18-25, Bauchi

These qualitative insights suggest that male survey respondents may be exhibiting some social desirability bias when they agree that both men and women make equally good leaders. The simultaneous traditional viewpoints, such as those which state that women’s place is ‘in the home’, are better substantiated by the qualitative findings.

Focus Area: Attitudes on Gender Equity Laws, Policies, and Campaigns

NiMAGES questions also investigated respondents' views about various public approaches and campaigns to advance gender equity. This included modules of questions on (1) men's support for policies guaranteeing women a certain proportion/quota of places in government, university, and business; (2) men's knowledge of campaigns to prevent violence against women; (3) their opinions of violence against women legislation in Nigeria; and (4) their knowledge of campaigns to promote fathers' involvement in childcare. The results of all three of these modules are presented in Table 7.

Men express moderate levels of support for quota policies for women in various public spaces and roles, though these ideas contrast with the qualitative responses presented above. When asked about policies guaranteeing quotas for women in executive positions, university enrollment or government, men expressed reasonably high levels of support, with 68- 80% of men supporting such quotas. These responses contrast notably with the qualitative findings on women in leadership positions presented above. IMAGES country reports in other settings have also often uncovered similar discrepancies: men support gender equality in the abstract, but resist it at a personal level (as expressed, in the case of Nigeria, in GEM Scale responses and qualitative results presented above) (see Barker et al. 2011). Because such quota policies are currently limited in Nigeria, and Nigerian women remain grossly under-represented in elective and appointed public positions, there are few consequences for men supporting these policies in the abstract.

About one in ten male respondents report taking part in an activity questioning use of violence against women by other men. Male respondents in Lagos, Enugu, and Rivers are more likely to have encountered campaigns against violence against women than respondents from other study sites. At least half of men in these three sites reported encountering an advertisement or campaign against violence against women, whereas less than a third of men in Bauchi, Benue, and Kano had encountered such advertisements or campaigns.

Gender equality as un-African

"Here, there is no equality of gender in African setting. Men are more superior... and there is nothing like gender equality... For me, man first before a woman... we don't support it." **Male FGD participant, age 40-60, Enugu**

"So there is no way you can make them equal... but if you say you would make them equal, then you are joining the western world perception."

Male FGD participant, age 18-25, Bauchi



Table 7: Male respondents’ reported rates of affirmative responses related to gender equality policies, campaigns, and laws

Policy/Campaign/Law item	Total %	Bauchi %	Benue %	Kano %	Enugu %	Lagos %	Rivers %
N	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
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
Attitudes about law criminalizing violence against women							
Law makes it too easy to charge men	70	71	54	64	71	74	71
Law is too harsh	51	38	21	49	49	53	65
Law is not harsh enough	64	60	91	56	56	73	44
Law does not offer enough protection for victims	63	62	82	52	52	63	77
Law exposed the woman to even more stigmatization	54	82	82	60	60	49	54
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

Men in the study hold contradictory views about criminalisation of violence against women in Nigeria. Nearly half of men in the sample (48%) said they were aware of laws criminalising violence against women in Nigeria. Men seem unsure of what to think about these laws, however, expressing conflicting views about them. Some 70% of men in the study agreed that the law ‘makes it too easy to bring charges against men,’ but a similar proportion also agreed that the law ‘does not offer enough protection for victims.’

Very few men in study sites have encountered campaigns or activities promoting fathers’ involvement in childcare. An exception was Enugu, where 39% of men had encountered such a campaign and 25% reported participating in an activity promoting the same.

All in all, NiMAGES participants hold complex and contradictory attitudes towards gender. Rigid, traditional views are still pervasive, with almost universal support for traditional gender roles in the household and high tolerance for violence against women. At the same time, respondents, by and large, do not support the majority of harmful traditional practices referenced in the study, with the notable exception of the widely popular bride price. Alongside mixed survey results, qualitative research participants expressed staunch resistance to women taking on leadership roles. And finally, male respondents seem conflicted in their approach to various laws, campaigns, and policies to promote gender equity, with limited numbers of men actually taking part in such campaigns at present.

HEADLINES AT-A-GLANCE: ATTITUDES RELATED TO GENDER

“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 focus group participant, age 18-25, Lagos**

- Agreement with restrictive norms about **gender roles in the household (for example, the belief that the man should have the final word about decisions in the home)** is almost universal among both male and female survey respondents. But at the same time, respondents support equal access to education for boys and girls, as well as equal division of household work between men and women.
- **Violence against women** is widely tolerated. Qualitative data collection pointed to widespread notions of victim-blaming in cases of violence as well as the belief that some women enjoy violence.
- Toughness, sexual performance, and income are central to notions of **masculinity** in study sites.
- Analysis of the GEM Scale as a whole shows that very few respondents in the Nigerian sample hold highly **gender-equitable views**, though there are some notable associations between these attitudes and respondents' location, age, educational level, and marital status. Women who had completed secondary or higher education had notably more equitable gender attitudes, for instance, showing that **education systems** have a role to play in reversing harmful gender norms.
- Respondents overwhelmingly reject many **harmful traditional practices**, including: FGM, wife inheritance, harmful widowhood practices, and wife hospitality. Only about one third of respondents believe that early marriage 'is important and should remain;' women are more likely to hold this view than men.
- **Bride price**, however, has nearly universal popular support amongst the study population; many respondents also agree that paying bride price 'gives the husband the right to do whatever he wants with his wife.
- Focus group and in-depth interview participants display consistently **discriminatory views about women as leaders**. Findings indicate that the limited place of women in leadership rests upon entrenched socio-cultural and religious norms. Many who respect women in public leadership positions also express anxiety about the consequences for these women's families and households.
- Men express moderate levels of **support for policies** guaranteeing quotas for women in various public spaces and roles, though reality lags behind.
- About one in ten male respondents report taking part in in an **activity questioning other men's use of violence against women**. Male respondents in Lagos, Enugu, and Rivers are more likely to have encountered campaigns against violence against women than respondents from other study sites.
- Very few men in study sites have encountered campaigns or **activities promoting fathers' involvement in childcare**.

The following subsection explores survey respondents' reported experiences of key study topics in their childhood homes.

3.3 GENDER DYNAMICS IN CHILDHOOD

The NiMAGES questionnaire explored the influence of childhood experiences on gender-related behavior of men and women through a range of questions. This subsection presents the most compelling findings in relation to (1) decision-making dynamics in respondents' childhood homes; (2) division of domestic work and childcare in respondents' childhood homes; and (3) men's own reported participation (as children) in domestic work and childcare responsibilities. Presentation of findings related to men's witnessing and experiencing violence as children appear in subsection 3.5 on Violence.

Decision-Making Dynamics in Respondents' Childhood Homes

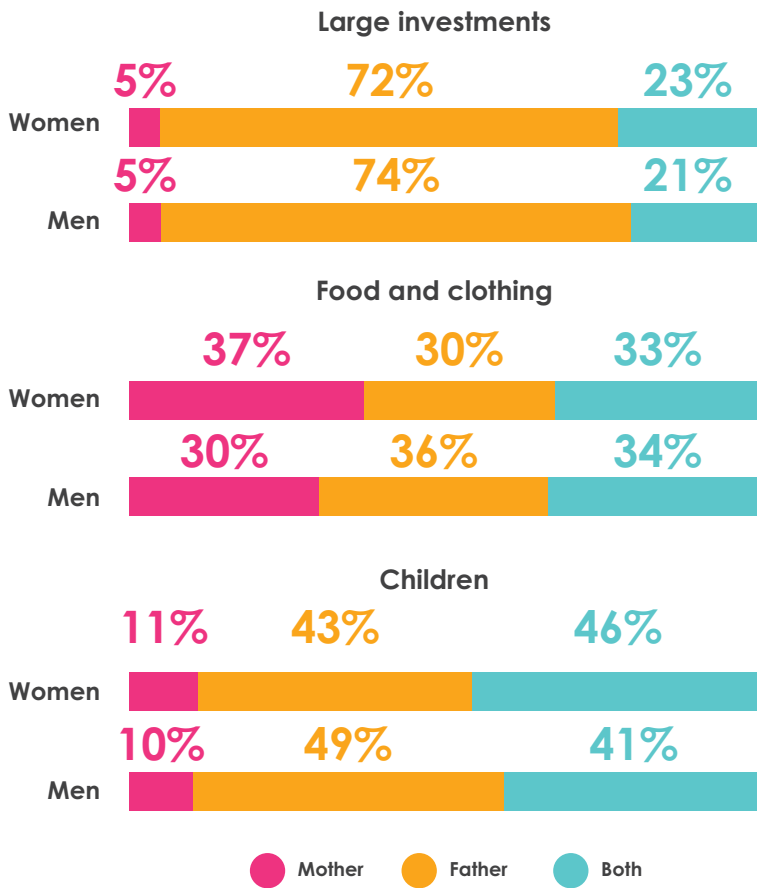
The NiMAGES study explored the question of who had the final word on decisions in the childhood homes of study participants. As Figure 4 shows, both female and male respondents recalled similar decision-making dynamics:

- **The majority of respondents – 72% of women and 74% of men – said that their fathers 'had the final word' about decisions related to large investments** (defined as 'buying a car, house, or major household appliance').
- **Respondents were most likely to report their mothers having sole influence over food and clothing**, though even in this domain only 37% of women and 30% of men recall their mother 'having the final word' on her own. This finding harmonises with respondents' near universal agreement that 'A woman's most important role is to take care of her home and cook for her family,' and the traditional expectation in many societies that women are responsible for these matters.
- **Respondents' parents were most likely to collaborate on decision-making when it came to children's affairs, such as their health, schooling, or marriage.** Though even in this domain, respondents recall that fathers were far more likely than mothers to wield individual influence.



Figure 4: 'Who had the final word in your household?'

Respondents' recollections (Men N=1532, Women N=504) of who was the primary household decision-maker related to three domains

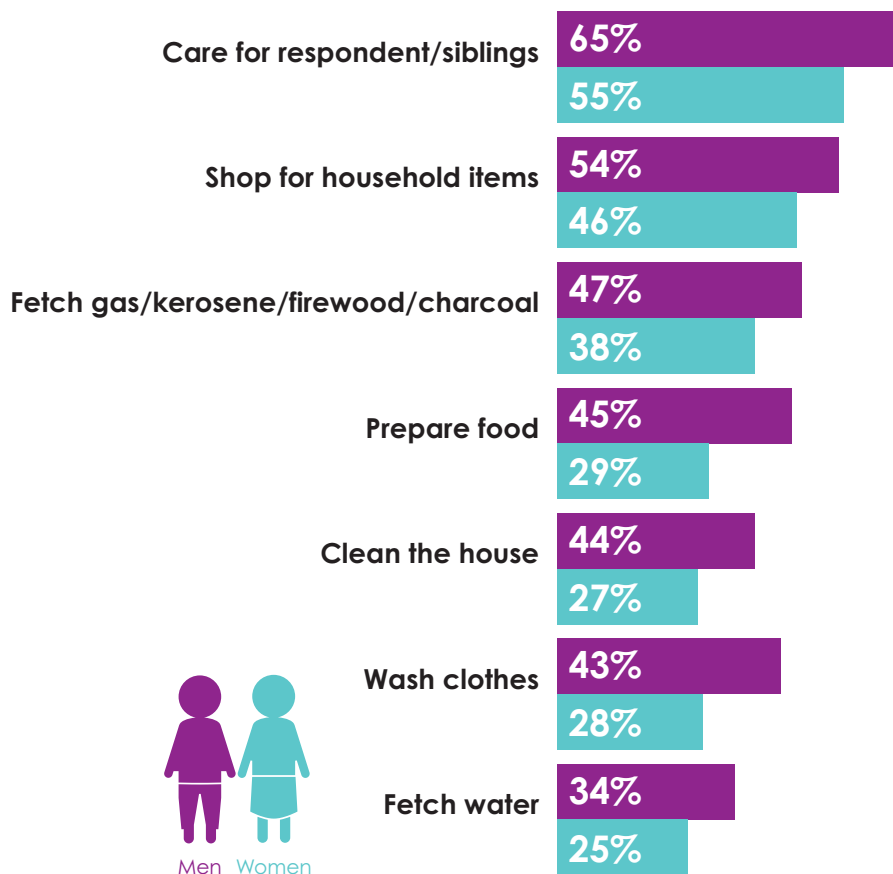


Division of Domestic Work and Childcare in Respondents' Childhood Homes

NiMAGES also asked survey participants to recall whether their fathers participated in domestic work and childcare 'sometimes' or 'frequently,' with particular attention to activities that traditional norms would identify as women's responsibility. As presented in Figure 5, findings indicate that:

- **Respondents recall their fathers playing a role in many elements of domestic work and childcare, but only at low to moderate levels.** 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. Presenting the findings in the inverse way, more than half of respondents reported that their father 'never' or 'hardly ever' prepared food, washed clothes, cleaned the house, fetched water, or fetched gas/kerosene/firewood/charcoal.
- **Across the board, men were more likely to report their fathers' involvement in domestic work and childcare than women.** This is a puzzling finding that may indicate some bias on the part of male respondents, seeking to shine a more positive light on their fathers' involvement. It is also worth noting that women – who as girls would have been likely to be given domestic and childcare responsibilities themselves – may have a more accurate perspective of the actual amount of domestic and childcare work that went on in the childhood home. That said, the dataset cannot confirm nor deny these hypotheses; additional investigation and follow-up studies will be necessary to adequately explain this discrepancy.

Figure 5: When you were a child or teenager, did your father or another man in the home participate in this work? (Percentage who reported 'frequently' or 'sometimes', Men N=1532, Women N=504)



NiMAGES data shows important lifelong influences of fathers' participation in domestic work, however. Although only a minority of respondents recalled their fathers participating regularly in traditionally feminine domestic work, those who did recall this are more likely to report participating in these same tasks as adults themselves – and for that reporting to be at a statistically significant level. Those whose fathers participated in these tasks are also statistically significantly more likely to agree with the attitude statement, 'Men should share the work around the house with women, such as washing dishes, cleaning or cooking.' See Figure 6 on the following page for more details.

Figure 6: Lifetime influence of witnessing father participating in domestic work



**Both relationships are statistically significant at the $p < .05$ level. The tasks included in this analysis were: washing clothes, buying food, cleaning the house, cleaning the bathroom/toilet, preparing food, fetching water, and fetching kerosene/firewood.*

Respondents' Participation in Domestic Work and Childcare as Children

The respondents were also asked if they were taught certain household tasks as children. The findings in Table 8 indicate that:

- **Nearly all of the respondents – both men and women – say they were taught to participate in the entire range of domestic tasks included in the survey as children.** Women were significantly more likely to have been taught how to cook food, and were slightly more likely to have been taught the remainder of the tasks. But upwards of 77% of men reported being taught these household tasks.

NiMAGES survey findings related to gender dynamics in respondents' childhood homes paint an unclear picture. On the one hand, respondents report alignment to a traditional division of decision-making roles whereby their fathers were likely to have the 'final word' on large household investments, while their mothers had more frequent influence over the food and clothing needs in the home. Respondents also reported limited – but not insignificant – rates of their fathers' participation in various household work and childcare activities that are traditionally more associated with women.

On the other hand, responses suggest very little traditional gender role differentiation related to the types of tasks that male and female children were taught to do (with the possible exception of preparing food, where women were significantly more likely than men to report being taught this task as children).

Table 8: Percent of respondents who were taught household tasks during childhood

Household task	Women N=504	Men N=1532
Prepare food	97%	77%
Shop for household items	93%	85%
Clean the house	96%	85%
Care for respondent or siblings	95%	86%
Fetch water	90%	89%
Fetch gas, kerosene, firewood or charcoal	89%	89%
Wash clothes	95%	90%

HEADLINES AT-A-GLANCE: GENDER DYNAMICS IN CHILDHOOD

- Reflecting traditionally gendered spheres of influence for men and women, the majority of respondents – 72% of women and 74% of men – say that their fathers **'had the final word'** about decisions on large investments in their childhood homes, while respondents' mothers wielded the most influence over decisions related to food and clothing.
- Respondents' parents were most likely to collaborate on decision-making when it came to **children's affairs**, such as children's health, schooling, or marriage. Still, fathers were more likely than mothers, in respondents' recollections, to have sole decision-making authority on this topic as well.
- Respondents recall their **fathers playing a role** in many elements of domestic work and childcare, but only at low to moderate levels. More than half of respondents reported that their father 'never' or 'hardly ever' prepared food, washed clothes, cleaned the house, or fetched water.
- Nearly all of the respondents – both men and women – report that they were taught to **participate in the entire range of domestic work** included in the survey. Food preparation is a notable exception, with women respondents much more likely than men to report being taught relevant skills in the childhood home.

The following subsection clearly illuminates the picture of household gender dynamics in study sites by presenting findings related to the division of these same – and additional – elements of domestic work and childcare in respondents' adult households, with further insights from qualitative data collection as well.



3.4 GENDER DYNAMICS IN THE CURRENT HOUSEHOLD

This subsection focuses on gender dynamics in the current households and relationships of NiMAGES respondents and explores:

- The views of men and women on relationships and domestic chores
- The gender division on delivering care work in the home
- Different perceptions of men and women about who actually does the work, and
- Respondents' satisfaction with the current division of care work, including care of children

Because the majority of items included in this subsection refer directly to respondents' experiences in intimate relationships, these analyses are restricted to the sample of respondents who are currently married, in a civil union, or cohabitating with their partner. This restriction is significant, owing to the relative youth of the sample overall, and the higher rates of marriage among women than men. A total of 480 men and 304 women meet these criteria and have been included in these analyses. Sample size figures are included in all tables, to avoid any confusion.

This subsection first explores gender dynamics in relation to respondents' current **relationships**, exploring three themes: (1) household work, (2) household decision-making authority, and (3) spousal communication. It then investigates gender dynamics related to **parenting**, looking at three themes: (1) prenatal care and childbirth, (2) parental/paternity leave, and (3) childcare. Finally, it presents respondents' levels of **satisfaction with their family lives and relationships**.

Relationship: Household Work

The last subsection showed that almost all men were taught how to complete a wide range of domestic work when they were children. It also revealed that men were more likely than women to recall that their fathers had participated in this work as well. But, now that they're in adult relationships, how much are they actually performing this work themselves? Table 9 presents both men's reports (on their own behaviour) and women's reports on whether their partners 'play an equal or greater role' in a broad list of elements of household work. The table presents the activities in decreasing order of men's involvement.

Table 9: Men's and women's reports that the man 'plays an equal or greater role' in various elements of domestic work

Domestic Work	Men	Women
N	480	304
	%	%
Paying bills	91	94
Repairing damage in the house	76	85
Fetching firewood, gas, or kerosene	52	48
Buying food	48	55
Fetching water	45	32
Washing clothes	25	9
Cleaning the house	25	12
Cleaning the bathroom or toilet	21	10
Preparing food	16	9

Findings show that:

- **The tasks that men report participating in most are those traditionally associated with men: paying bills (91% of men reporting, 94% of women), and repairing the house (76% of men reporting, 85% of women).** This finding mirrors outcomes on the same survey item in many IMAGES countries, and reveals that household labour is more divided on gendered lines than the previous subsection suggested (see Barker et al. 2011).
- **Men also report playing an equal or greater role, at more modest levels, in certain less traditionally masculine work.** This includes fetching firewood/gas/kerosene (52% of men reporting, 48% of women), buying food (48% of men reporting, 55% of women), and fetching water (45% of men reporting, 32% of women).
- **For elements of domestic work which are not traditionally associated with men – washing clothes, cleaning the house, cleaning the bathroom/toilet, and preparing food – not only are men’s reports of participation low, but the proportion of women who report that their male partner played a greater or equal role is also consistently lower than men’s own reports.** Some 25% of men reported playing an equal or greater role in washing clothes, for instance, while only 9% of women validated this claim (with reference to their partners, who were different from the men in the sample). This discrepancy echoes the similar variance in the recollections of men and women when asked to consider the role their own fathers played in the same tasks. It is likely that the gendered division of labour means that women have a more accurate perspective on the full amount of household work happening in the house, that a man perceives his occasional contributions to be more substantial than his female partner knows them to be.

The proportion of men who acknowledge that the distribution of domestic work is inequitable varies by study site.

Approximately 45% of all surveyed men responded that their partner ‘does a lot more’ domestic work than they do. This response varied across the sites from 28% in Kano to 67% in Enugu.

Bivariate analyses also reveal certain compelling associations between men’s participation in domestic work and their age, education level, and gender attitudes:

- Younger men, men with higher educational levels, and men who hold more gender-equitable attitudes are all more likely to report participating in domestic work. Similar trends were observed for men who are aware of the gender policies and laws and men with a positive disposition towards women in leadership, though these relationships vary by study site and are limited by the restrictions in the sample size.



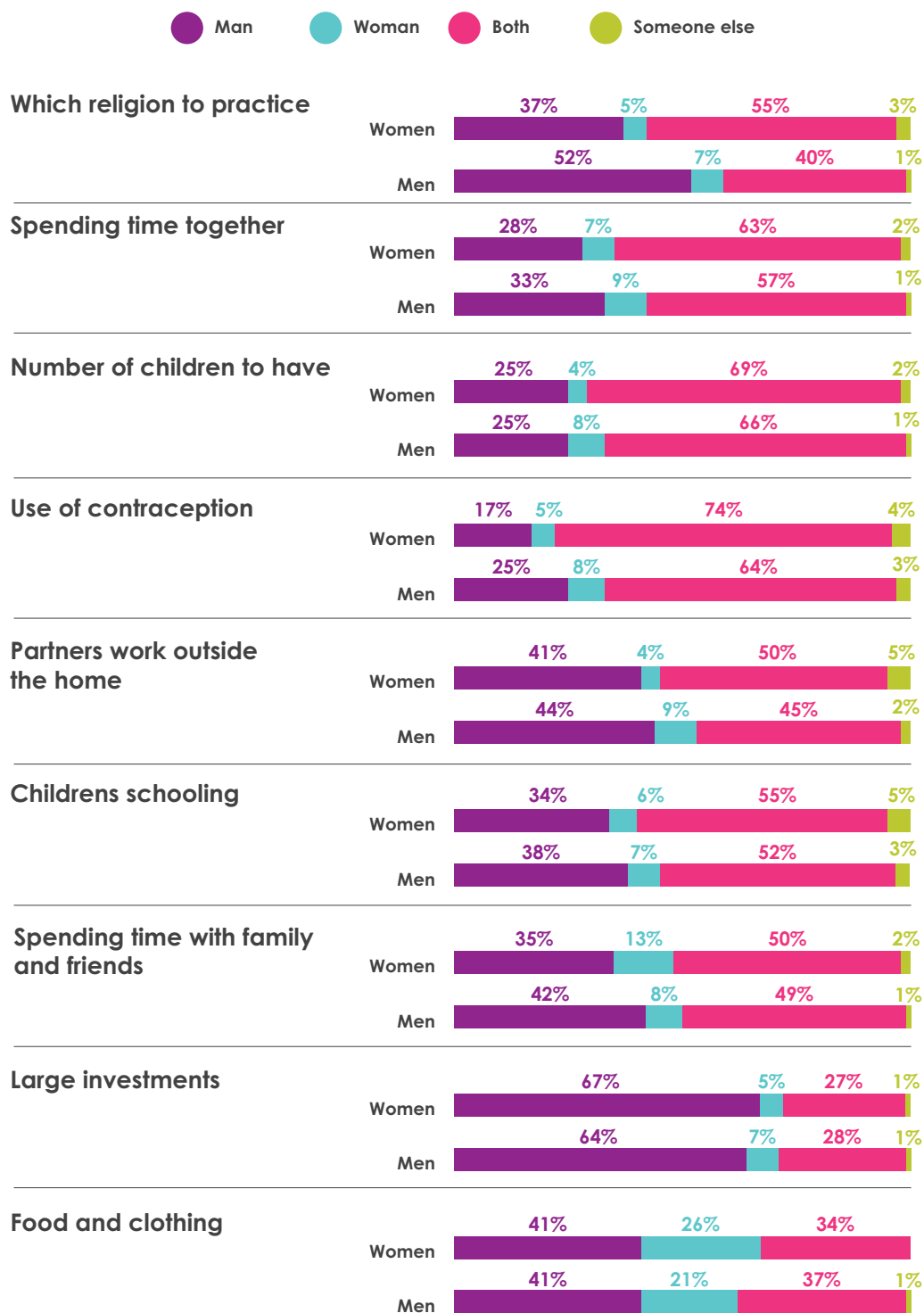
Relationship: Household Decision-Making Authority

How do respondents make decisions in their current households, and do these dynamics mirror those from their childhood homes? Do men have 'the final word' on large investments, as in childhood homes, leaving women to have greater responsibility for the family's food and clothing? The NiMAGES survey asked respondents to report on decision-making dynamics related to these and many other topics in their current homes. Figure 7 presents an overview of the responses. Findings show that:



- **Just as in their childhood homes, both male and female respondents report that men have the greatest sole authority to make decisions related to large investments, while women's limited sole authority is often relegated to decisions on food and clothing.** That said, only 26% of women and 21% of men stated that women have sole decision-making authority related to food and clothing. These low rates were nonetheless the highest observed rates of women's sole decision-making authority.
- **However, responses suggest encouraging trends showing that women and men make many important decisions together.** Without a doubt, men are far more likely than women to have sole decision-making authority on every topic included in the study, according to respondents' reports of their households. But at the same time, women and men in 52% or more of respondents' homes say they share the 'final say' on: spending time together, the number of children to have, use of contraception, and children's schooling. Indeed, large investments are the only topics over which men have sole decision-making authority in the majority of both male and female respondents' homes.

Figure 7: 'Who in your relationship usually has the final say about...'
Men (N=408) and Women (N=304) respondents report on decision-making authority on various topics.



*In the case of men's reports in this table, the category 'man' in this table refers to himself, while 'woman' refers to his partner. Vice-versa for women's reports.

These findings point to diverging trends. In households where one partner wields particular decision-making influence, that partner is almost certain to be the man. But simultaneously, a greater number of respondents' households seem to reflect the belief that many decisions should be taken together. Qualitative data collection participants voiced both of these perspectives, although the voices trumpeting traditional, patriarchal divisions of decision-making authority were loudest and most plural. On the side of mutual decision-making, this young man from Lagos spoke convincingly:

"You will share everything with whoever you are dating... You share your thought, money and everything you have, then the lady, as she is coming, she has that idea in her head that she is coming into a relationship to share things. Now sharing things means when you have an idea or you have something to share, share it together and not above the other person so when you are making decision it should be equal." **Male focus group participant, age 18-25, Lagos**

These sorts of sentiments were present in the qualitative research, but were certainly outnumbered by those upholding a more traditional, patriarchal gender order, as exemplified below:

"In our own African way we look at man as someone that takes care of the family. Someone that makes the name of the family [and] that would retain the name of the family. We look at man as the head of the country, as the head of African culture itself, we just look at man as the head." **Male focus group participant, age 40-60, Lagos**

"I don't need a woman to be involved in my... projects. What I normally ask her is what we would eat for the day.... She only sees me carrying out something. I make the decision and also carry them out but her role is to cook." **Male focus group participant, age 40-60, Bauchi**

"Also, since the man normally pays a woman's bride price, and in most cases owns the house where the couple live, he is entitled to make final decisions... that's what I normally tell my wife, I am the one that married you, so any decision I make is final.... if the husband is dead then she can make the decision but as far as the husband is alive she can't make any decision." **Male focus group participant, age 18-25, Lagos**

Relationship: Spousal Communication

But are men and women, especially those in intimate relationships, really so at odds with one another? Does the trend toward joint decision-making imply that survey participants' relationships are based on strong mutual trust and emotional connections? To address these questions, the NiMAGES survey asked both men and women when they last talked to their partner/husband/wife about problems they are facing in their lives.

Across all sites, the vast majority of both women and men reported that they had talked about a problem with their partner within the last month. 77% of both the women's and men's sample reported speaking with their partner about a problem they've faced within the last month. In the men's sample this ranged from 65% in Benue to 92% in Rivers.

Having observed trends around domestic work, decision-making, and spousal communication in respondents' relationships, we now explore gendered dynamics in relation to parenting.

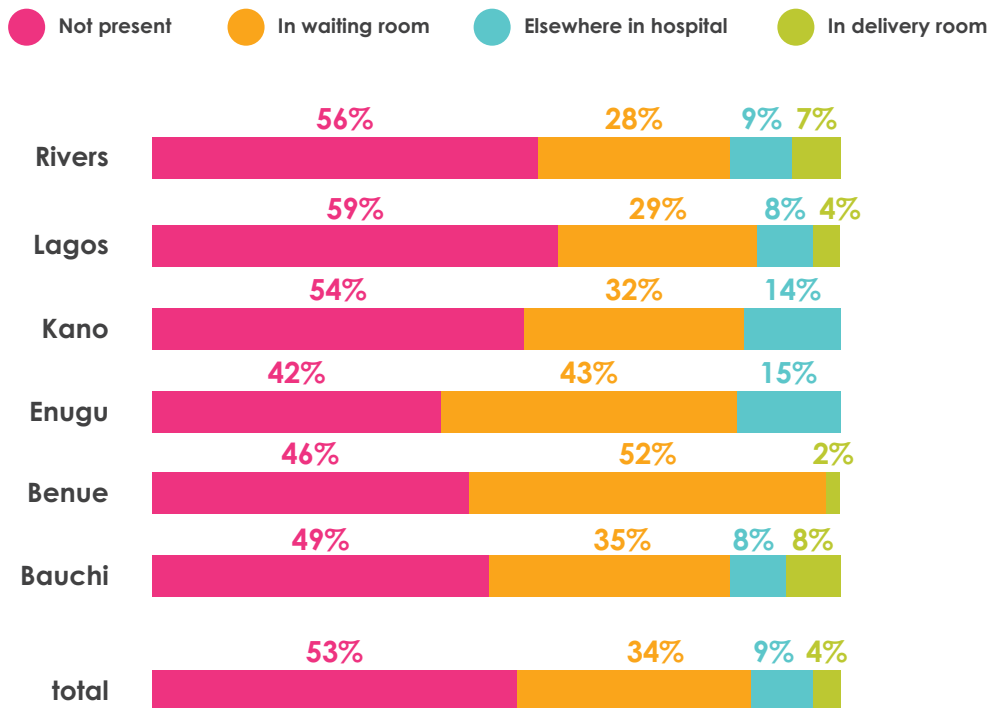
Parenting: Prenatal Care and Childbirth

By and large, pregnancy and childbirth continue to be regarded as exclusively women's affairs in Nigeria. Formal health systems in the country contribute to this. For instance, hospital policies do not require men to attend antenatal care with their wives, though it is encouraged. Public hospitals nationwide prohibit fathers from being present in the labour room during delivery. As such, men in Nigeria are generally not known to accompany their wives for antenatal care; neither are they expected to be in the labour room during delivery. Past studies in Nigeria have revealed that the level of men's awareness about maternal health is high, but their involvement in giving care to pregnant women is poor (Olugbenga-Bello et al. 2013). NiMAGES data can help further elucidate and explore these trends and consider the involvement of fathers in attending antenatal care visits with their partners or the birth of their last child.

Men and women have differing recollections of men's attendance at prenatal care visits. Whereas 49% of fathers (409 fathers) in the sample report attending such a visit during their partner's last pregnancy, only 35% of mothers (N=315) report having a male partner accompany them to such a visit.

According to their own reports, slightly more than half of surveyed fathers were not present in the hospital for the birth of their last child. Amongst all the fathers in the sample, only 4% were present in the delivery room during the birth of their last child. Approximately 47% of fathers, combining all sites, were present somewhere in the hospital for the birth of their last child. Figure 8 presents these reports in detail by study site.

Figure 8: 'Where were you at the birth of your last child?'
Men's (N=409) reports of attending childbirth



Parenting: Parental/Paternity Leave

There have been loud international calls for improved paternity leave policies, inspired by evidence linking men's early involvement in the life of a child with the strength and health of that relationship. However, like many countries, Nigeria still does not have a law to provide men with paid paternity leave (CSW 2004, Barker et al. 2010). Recently, in an encouraging step, the Lagos State Government approved a 10-day paternity leave for male civil servants. Some other private institutions in the country offer only a limited number of days of paid or unpaid paternity leave.

Against this backdrop, **it is not surprising that 72% of men in the NiMAGES study report being unaware of any paternity leave laws in their states.** The majority of those who do express awareness of the existence of laws on paternity report that men are entitled to one to two weeks of paternity leave. In reality, men would currently have to arrange paternity leave directly with individual employers since – apart from the notable example of the Lagos State Government – no such legislation exists.

Eighty per cent of fathers in the study took no leave after the birth of their last child. What's more, those who took leave were likely to have taken unpaid leave. Only 4% of fathers in study sites were able to take paid paternity leave of any length of time after the birth of their last child. See Table 10 for details.

Table 10: Men's reported rates of paternity leave after birth of most recent child (N=409)

	Type of Leave Taken After Birth of Last Child			
	No Leave (%)	Unpaid Leave (%)	Paid Leave (%)	Unemployed at the time (%)
TOTAL	80	5	4	11
Site				
Bauchi	83	2	2	13
Benue	48	3	2	47
Enugu	85	6	7	2
Kano	84	7	6	3
Lagos	88	5	3	4
Rivers	70	7	3	20
Age group*				
25-34	82	5	3	11
35-49	78	5	6	10
49-59	81	6	3	10
60-65	88	0	3	9

*18-24 age category left out due to very low number of fathers

The average length of paid leave was 13 days amongst the low numbers of men in the study who took paternity leave. The average length of unpaid leave was six days. This low involvement of men in the earliest stages of parenting is likely to contribute to unequal childcare work patterns, and may also discourage men from getting more involved in their children's lives as the months and years go on (Barker et al. 2010).

Parenting: Childcare

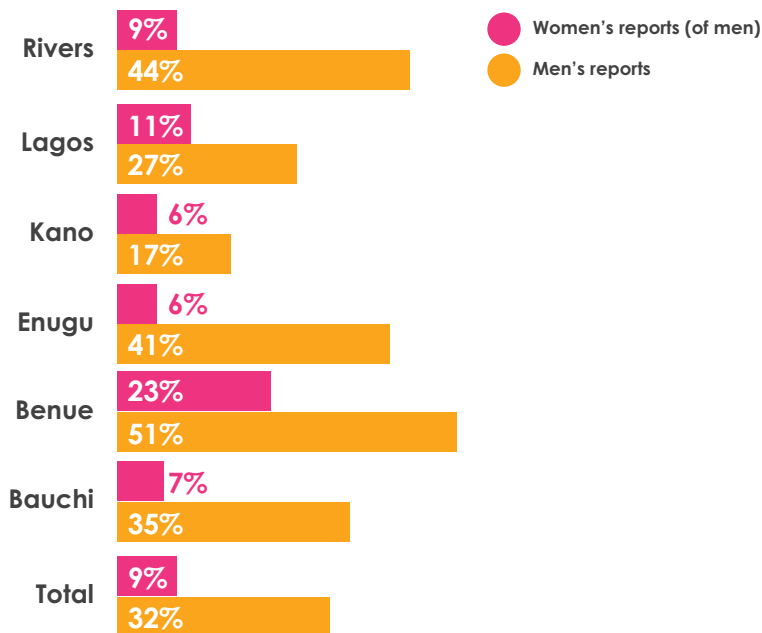
Just how involved are men in the lives of their children? Does the level of men's involvement mirror the very low rates of attendance at childbirth and taking leave after a child is born? NiMAGES investigated men's participation in childcare through various measures, in both the men's and women's questionnaires.

When asked an overall question on the topic, men and women disagree about the extent to which men participate in the daily care of children. Whilst 32% of men overall (and as many as 51% in Benue) report equal or greater participation in daily care of children, only 9% of women (23% in Benue) report the same level of participation by their partners. Figure 9 presents these results in detail. As with domestic work, this discrepancy may relate to women's more accurate perspective of the true full amount of childcare work happening on a daily basis.

When asked about various specific childcare tasks or activities, women and men agree: men play with their children or discipline them, but rarely do much more. As Table 11 presents in detail below, both women and men reported (at rates of 60% and 65%, respectively) that men regularly play with their children. But when it comes to cooking for children, changing their diapers, or giving the children a bath, both women and men reported very low rates of men's involvement.

Figure 9: Discrepancies in reports of men's participation in daily care of a child

% of men (N=409) who report equal or greater participation in the daily care of a child vis-à-vis women's reports (N=315) of the same participation by their male partners



By and large, women are significantly less likely to report that their male partners participate in certain elements of childcare than men are to report this participation themselves. This implies that, either men are overstating their involvement in childcare, or, that women and men have different views on what constitutes 'equal or greater' participation in such activities.

Table 11: Percentage of respondents reporting that they (for men, N=310) or their male partner (for women, N=211) participate regularly in childcare (for children age 4 or younger)

	Play with children		Cook for child		Change diapers		Give a bath	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Total	65	60	25	14	18	10	28	18
Bauchi	74	54	36	13	28	4	31	8
Benue	37	76	10	62	7	50	27	75
Enugu	60	90	14	30	17	25	28	45
Kano	64	70	14	7	19	7	23	12
Lagos	76	48	36	14	16	3	34	15
Rivers	54	43	23	7	12	18	20	11

These findings resonate with widely held attitudes, presented in section 3.2, that place domestic and childcare responsibilities firmly as a social expectation upon women. NiMAGES data can substantiate these links by testing whether men who hold the most inequitable gender attitudes are the least likely to participate in tasks which are deemed to fall into the women's domain, or vice versa. Table 12 presents these associations, investigating whether there is any link between men's active roles as fathers and their **residence, education level, or GEM Scale level**.

By and large, the men with the highest levels of education and the most equitable gender attitudes are also the men most likely to play an equal or greater role in childcare. The very low number of men scoring in the highest category on the GEM scale show considerably higher levels of participating in childcare, while men who have attended secondary school or higher also show somewhat higher levels of equal participation in childcare.

Table 12: Testing some associations between certain child care tasks and men's residence, education level, and GEM Scale level

% of fathers (N=409) in each category who report participating in this task at an 'equal or greater' level as compared with their female partner

	Daily care of children	Staying with sick child	Picking children from school or day care	Taking child to leisure time activities	Correcting child's misbehaviour
Residence					
Urban	31	22	38	64	82
Rural	34	30	53	61	81
Education					
None	30	18	47	48	81
Primary	27	19	46	58	85
Secondary and above	33	26	41	66	82
GEM Scale level					
Low	32	24	43	53	75
Moderate	31	23	40	68	86
High	50	57	84	92	100

Table 12 also highlights the sole childcare task men are more likely to undertake than playing with their children: **correcting their children’s misbehaviour**. Four out of five fathers in the sample reported playing an equal or greater role in correcting their child’s misbehaviour, a rate which dwarfs their reported rates of nearly every other childcare task.

Satisfaction with Family Lives and Relationships

So far, this subsection has highlighted gender dynamics and disparities related to household tasks and decision-making, as well as antenatal care, childbirth, parental leave, and childcare. Overall, findings demonstrate traditionally gendered patterns of responsibility for domestic work and caring for young children. But how did NIMAGES respondents actually feel about these gendered patterns? Do these dynamics make men more satisfied with their family lives or relationships than women are, or even vice versa?

Not surprisingly, across all the states, the vast majority of men are satisfied with the current – and highly unequal – division of household work. Men’s reports of satisfaction with the division of household work ranged from 90% in Rivers to fully 100 % in Bauchi, Enugu and Kano. Nearly all men (97%) also believed that their wives or partners were satisfied or very satisfied with the division of tasks.

Women also report being highly satisfied with the current division of household work, despite the fact that they are responsible for the major share of domestic work and childcare. Some 91% of women respondents also reported satisfaction with the current division of domestic work.

Likewise, participating women and men both report very high levels of satisfaction with their current relationships. Ninety nine per cent of men characterised their relationship with their partners as very good or fairly good. This figure was 97% in the women’s sample.

These findings, together with women participants’ agreement with many restrictive, traditional gender attitudes outlined in subsection 3.2, help highlight the fact that gender inequality is socially constructed by whole societies, involving women and men in different ways. This gender inequality is reinforced and perpetuated by forms of hegemonic masculinity that adapt to changing circumstances. Its persistence for centuries is due, partly, to the ‘willing’ participation of the majority of people, even those who experience its injustices directly. This is not to disregard or undermine the autonomy, self-efficacy, and bravery of women living in inequitable homes and communities, but to reaffirm that widespread social change related to

gender will require massive popular reappraisal of deeply entrenched norms and behaviour by both women and men. One woman focus group participant even spoke in admiring terms about the definition of a woman who adheres to these strict gendered codes:



“A woman is someone that is obedient. She looks after the younger ones and cleans the house. Women bring up advice and possess good moral standards while knowing the right thing to do. She does not wear dirty clothes. She is responsible and respects people. She is a mother, caring and always there for the family.” **Female focus group participant, age 18-25, Enugu**

The following subsection explores the violent realities that lie behind the concept of female ‘obedience’.

HEADLINES AT-A-GLANCE: GENDER DYNAMICS IN THE CURRENT HOUSEHOLD

"A woman is someone that is obedient... She is a mother, caring and always there for the family."
Female focus group participant, age 18-25, Enugu

- **Domestic work.** The domestic tasks that men report taking part in most are those traditionally associated with their gender: paying bills (91% of men reporting, 94% of women), and repairing the house (76% of men reporting, 85% of women). For work which is not traditionally associated with men – washing clothes, cleaning the house, cleaning the bathroom/toilet, and preparing food – not only were men's reports of participation low, but the proportion of women who report that their male partner played a greater or equal role was also consistently lower than men's own reports.
- Younger men, men with higher educational levels, and men who hold more gender-equitable attitudes were all **more likely to report participating** in domestic work.
- NiMAGES responses show that men are far more likely than women to have **sole decision-making authority** over a preponderance of topics in the household, particularly those related to large investments. The findings do also point to encouraging trends about women and men **making many important decisions together**, however. And across all sites, the vast majority of both women and men reported that they had talked about a personal problem with their partner within the last month.
- Men and women have differing recollections of men's attendance at prenatal care visits, but according to their own reports, the majority of surveyed men were **not present in the hospital for the birth of their last child**. Thereafter, 80% of fathers in the study took no leave after the birth of their last child.
- With regard to regular, equal or greater participation in childcare, women and men in the study agree that men **play with their children** and **discipline them**, but rarely do much else. Apart from a negligible number of site-by-site variations, women are significantly less likely to report that their male partners participate in various other elements of childcare than men are to report this participation themselves. However, by and large, the men with the highest levels of education and the most equitable gender attitudes are also the men most likely to play an equal or greater role in childcare.
- Not surprisingly, across all the states, the vast majority of men are **satisfied with the current – and highly unequal – division of household work**. But women also report being highly satisfied, despite the fact that they are responsible for the major share of domestic work and childcare. Likewise, participating women and men both report very high levels of satisfaction with their current relationships.



3.5 VIOLENCE: EXPERIENCES AND PRACTICES

Earlier subsections provide a helpful platform for considering the following statistics on NiMAGES participants' experience of various forms of violence – either as perpetrators or victims. NiMAGES data from study sites around the country has already shown that violence against women is widely tolerated by women and men alike, that respondents almost universally agree with traditional gender roles in the home, and that men wield disproportionate decision-making authority in respondents' homes. Now, how do the trends of experiences and practices of violence relate to these factors?

This subsection presents findings from NiMAGES study sites in relation to participants' experiences and practices of violence and selected criminal behaviours. It explores four categories of such experiences and practices: (1) Childhood Experiences of Violence; (2) Intimate Partner Violence; (3) Sexual Violence; and (4) Other Criminal Activities.

Childhood Experiences of Violence

The 1989 United Nations' Convention on the Rights of the Child, which has been signed and ratified by most countries in the world (including Nigeria), insists that nations take appropriate measures to protect children from violence. Nonetheless, violence against children is still an enormous worldwide problem, leaving a devastating impact on children that can affect the quality of the rest of their lives. In particular, there is abundant evidence connecting children's experience of violence (as victims or witnesses) with their propensity to perpetrate or experience intimate partner violence as adults. A 2012 study on the lifetime influence of childhood experiences of violence (Contreras et al. 2012) drew on IMAGES data from six countries and concluded that:

- Childhood experiences of violence are associated with later adoption of inequitable gender attitudes around decision-making, violence against women, and notions of masculinity.
- Childhood experiences of violence can significantly influence the way in which adult men interact with their partners and children even beyond the domain of violence.
- Patterns of intimate partner violence are transmitted from one generation to another and childhood experiences of violence influence other criminal activities as well as males' use of prostitution in later life.
- Violent events occurring during childhood have significant repercussions on the mental health of men as adults.

The NiMAGES study asked both male and female respondents to report any experience of various forms of violence during their own childhood. A comprehensive presentation of participants' reported rates of witnessing or experiencing violence, both at home and in the community, follows in Table 13.

NiMAGES study participants report very high levels of violent experiences as children within the home. Amongst other findings, two thirds of women and three quarters of men said they were spanked or slapped by parents or adults in their childhood home. About three in four respondents reported being threatened with physical punishment in their childhood homes.

About a quarter of respondents, both men and women, report seeing their mother being beaten by their father or another man in their childhood home. Twenty three per cent of women and 24% of men reported witnessing physical intimate partner violence against their mother.

Corporal punishment in schools was widely reported. Seventy one per cent of women and 80% of men say that they were beaten or physically punished in school by a teacher.

About one in five respondents, including both men and women, say they were sexually assaulted as children. Nine per cent of both male and female respondents report being raped as children, answering 'yes' to the question, 'Before you turned 18, did you ever have sex with someone because you were threatened or

frightened or forced?’ Even more respondents – 22% of women and 19% of men – say that, before they turned 18, ‘Someone touched [their] buttocks or genitals or made [them] touch them on the genitals when [they] did not want to.’

Table 13: NiMAGES participants’ reported rates of experiencing violence in the home, violence in the school/ neighborhood, and/or sexual violence as children

	Men N =1532	Women N = 504
	%	%
Violence in the childhood home		
Saw or heard mother being beaten by her husband or boyfriend	24	23
Was insulted or humiliated by someone in the family in front of other people	47	45
Spanked or slapped by parents or adults in the home	76	67
One or both of parents were too drunk or high on drugs to care of me	14	11
Threatened with physical punishment in your home	77	73
Scolded or punished for getting into fights	66	57
Violence at school during childhood		
Beaten or physically punished at school by a teacher	80	71
Experienced being harassed in school or neighbourhood	62	54
Sexual violence		
Had sex with someone because you were threatened or frightened or forced	9	9
Someone touched your buttocks or genitals or made you touch them on the genitals when you did not want to	19	22
Given the well-established lifelong influence of such childhood violent experiences, the rates of physical violence, corporal punishment, and sexual violence experienced by respondents as children in study sites is an urgent and alarming issue.		

Intimate Partner Violence

Violence against women is an urgent global crisis, with the latest statistics indicating that one in three women around the world will experience some form of physical or sexual violence during their lives (see García-Moreno et al. 2013). Women of all ages, social classes, races, ethnic groups, sexual orientations and religions can experience this violence, at home, in public, and in the workplace (Ayeni 2013; UNSN 2013; Barkindo et al. 2013). Intimate partner violence is a subset of this category and refers to physical, sexual, psychological, economic, or other abuses carried out by a woman’s husband, boyfriend or partner.

We already know these forms of violence are widespread in Nigeria. The latest Demographic and Health Survey in Nigeria (NDHS 2013) used a nationally representative sample and reported that 25% of Nigerian women have experienced emotional, physical, or sexual violence at the hand of their partner at least once in their lives. Some 19% of Nigerian women reported these experiences within the last year, suggesting that such violence occurs regularly.

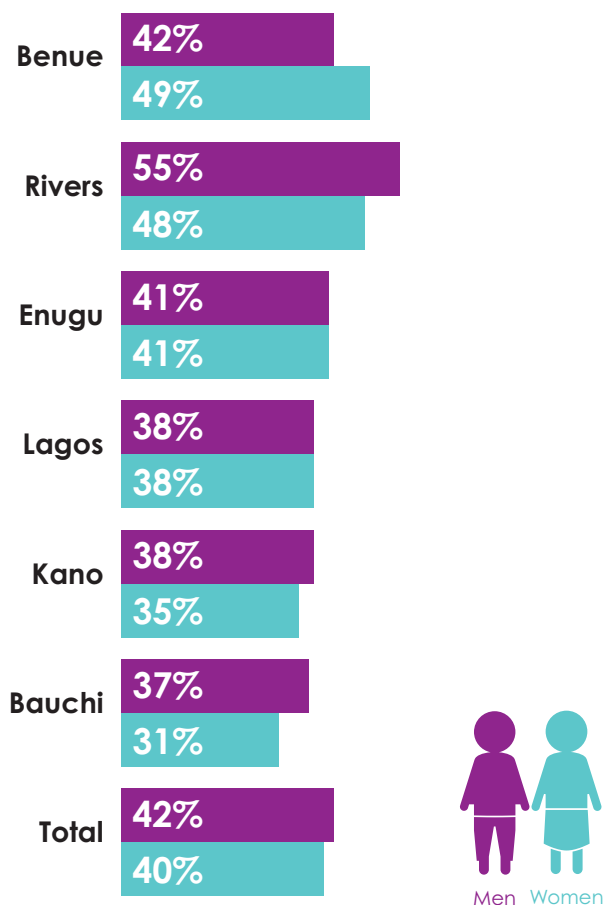
NiMAGES also provides population-based data on the rates of different acts of violence in study sites and explores the factors associated with violence against women from both men’s and women’s perspectives

in greater depth. First, Figure 10 shows respondents' reports of perpetrating (in the case of the male sample) or experiencing (in the case of the female sample) any form of economic, emotional, or physical intimate partner violence in their lifetimes.

According to the responses of both men and women, economic, emotional, and physical intimate partner violence in study sites is a common occurrence. Across the sites, 40% of men who had had a partner reported perpetrating one or more of these forms of violence; 42% of women who had had a partner reported experiencing one or more of these forms of violence in their lifetimes. These figures are higher than NDHS figures for a similar question, though, unlike the NiMAGES survey, the NDHS did not include economic violence in their analysis.

Figure 10: Economic, emotional, or physical IPV against a female partner

% who report ever perpetrating (ever-partnered men, N=1532) or experiencing (ever-partnered women, N=504) one or more forms of this violence



Rates of emotional, economic, and physical IPV reported by men and women are similar. The fact that 40% of men admitted perpetrating one or more of these acts demonstrates how this violence is widely accepted in Nigerian society (see 'Have you ever...' table overleaf for specific definitions of these categories of violence as applied in the NiMAGES survey).

Have you ever...
(Definitions of emotional, economic, and physical IPV in NiMAGES)

Emotional Violence	... insulted a partner or deliberately made her feel bad about herself?
	... belittled or humiliated a partner in front of other people?
	... done things to scare or intimidate a partner on purpose, for example by the way you looked at her, by yelling and smashing things?
	... threatened to hurt a partner?
	... hurt people your partner cares about as a way of hurting her, or damaged things of importance to her?
Economic Violence	... prohibited a partner from getting a job, going to work, trading or earning money?
	... taken a partner's money against her will?
	... thrown a partner out of a house?
	... spent money from your earnings on alcohol, tobacco, or other things for yourself when you knew your partner was finding it hard to afford the household expenses?
Physical Violence	... slapped a partner or thrown something at her that could hurt her?
	... pushed or shoved a partner?
	... hit a partner with a fist or with something else that could hurt her?
	... kicked, dragged, beaten, choked or burned a partner?
	... threatened to use, or actually used, a gun, knife or other weapon against a partner?

Bivariate tests of the link between experience of violence (as perpetrators or victims) and various demographic and other characteristics display some important trends as well. Certain men and women in the samples appear significantly more or less likely to report violence than others. See Table 14 for a detailed presentation of these results. Headlines include:

Men are significantly more likely to report perpetrating emotional, economic, or physical IPV if they are:

- Older
- Less educated
- Informally employed
- Less gender-equitable

Men are also significantly more likely to acknowledge perpetrating these forms of IPV if they have either experienced work-related stress or witnessed their mothers experiencing IPV. This demonstrates links between childhood experiences, masculinity, and violence.

Table 14: Associations between IPV and various demographic and other characteristics

	% of men (N=1532) who report perpetrating IPV ever	p-value	% of women (N=504) who report experiencing IPV ever	p-value
Residence				
Urban	40	0.888	41	0.928
Rural	40		42	
Age group				
18-24	26	0.000*	31	0.000*
25-34	46		51	
35-49	47		48	
49-59	59		20	
60-65	53		43	
Educational level				
None	58	0.000*	46	0.607
Primary	39		48	
Secondary	36		40	
Tertiary	44		39	
Employment status				
Unemployed	38	0.000*	45	0.001*
Formally employed	40		48	
Informally employed	48		47	
Students	34		25	
GEM Scale score				
Low	43	0.032*	49	0.030*
Moderate	38		37	
High	30		38	
Work related stress				
No	31	0.000*	37	0.001*
Yes	47		52	
Childhood exp of violence				
No	27	0.000*	29	0.000*
Yes	45		49	

Age, employment status, level of gender equity, work related stress and experience of childhood violence are significantly ($p < 0.05$)⁵ associated with experience of IPV among the women in the study. In the case of women, the age category most likely to have experienced violence was age 25-34: over half of women in this age group reported experiencing IPV. This finding demonstrates that partner violence is occurring at high levels, even among younger couples.



Sexual Violence

The NiMAGES questionnaire also featured multiple modules of questions on experiences and practices of sexual violence. This included a set of questions related to men's reported harmful sexual practices as children as well as their reported perpetration of rape and sexual violence as adults. The NiMAGES study defined rape as a 'yes' answer to any one or more of the questions listed in the box titled 'Adult Sexual Violence Module' later in this sub section.

Overall, 11% of men in the study reported perpetrating rape. Six per cent of men reported perpetrating rape against a partner or girlfriend. This figure actually exceeds NDHS figures of nationwide prevalence of sexual violence; the NDHS found that 7% of women reported experiencing sexual violence (NDHS 2013). The fact that one in

ten men in the study admit perpetrating some form of rape in their lifetimes testifies to men's widespread sense of sexual entitlement in Nigeria.

One third of male respondents say that, before they were 18, they or their friends had 'touched girls or said sexual things to them to tease them.' This finding demonstrates that men develop a sense of sexual entitlement over women at an early age, with physical and verbal sexual harassment a commonly reported childhood activity among men.

Violence against women and girls was a major issue discussed in the qualitative study that accompanied the survey. Discussants and interviewees were asked to provide insights on the subject of violence against women and girls as it relates to their own contexts. In the conversations, participants were able to share their perceptions of the most common forms and causes of violence against women. The results are presented in Table 15.

Participants roundly affirmed that physical abuse, sexual harassment, and rape are common in study locations. These topics came up in discussions in all six study sites. Discussions of early marriage as a form of violence emerged in all three study sites in the North, while mention of forced marriage as a form of violence came up in both Lagos and Enugu as well.

Participants' universally blamed women for causing or inspiring the violence they experienced. Participants in all six study sites blamed women for the violence they suffer, due to their style of dress or things

Adult Sexual Violence Module

1. How many times have you had sex with a woman or girl when she didn't consent to sex or after you forced her?
2. How many times have you had sex with a woman or girl when she was too drunk to say whether she wanted it or not?
3. Did you ever force a girlfriend or your wife into having sex with you?
4. Was there ever a time when you forced an ex-girlfriend or ex-wife into having sex?
5. Did you ever force a woman who was not your wife or girlfriend at the time to have sex with you?
6. How many times have you and other men had sex with a woman at the same time when she didn't consent to sex or you forced her?
7. How many times have you and other men had sex with a woman at the same time when she was too drunk to stop you?



they say. Other victim-blaming notions cited include: disloyalty to one's husband, not preparing food on time, refusing to have sex, and women's hygiene.

At the same time, discussions also often acknowledged the fault of male perpetrators of violence. In certain sites, participants identified that men who perpetrate violence are irresponsible, lack self-control, and/or are greedy and distrustful. Alcohol and drug use was also mentioned as a critical causal factor of violence against women. However, it should be noted that discussants did not, of their own accord, connect men's violence against women with their disproportionate power over women in a patriarchal society.

Participants also spoke about the different ways in which different communities respond to gender-related violence. In Benue State, it was reported that churches scold men who hit their wives and church elders normally embarrass the husband(s) involved. In Rivers State, a boy who slaps his girlfriend risks being beaten in public, unless such violence was committed at home. Rather than detain abusers, however, police sometimes dismiss violent acts against women as a 'family matter,' something meant to be resolved in the home itself.

Women and men both acknowledge that women experiencing violence face significant barriers in accessing help. Participants identified several obstacles and reasons why women do not seek help when they are experiencing violence. These included: stigma/shame (mentioned in five sites), a desire to maintain privacy (mentioned in three sites), distrust of law enforcement, poor implementation of existing laws, fear of losing the marriage, guilt (all mentioned in two sites), love for their partner, and illiteracy (both mentioned in one site).

Table 15: Forms and causes of violence against women that emerged in qualitative data collection

FORMS of violence identified	North			South		
	Bauchi	Benue	Kano	Enugu	Lagos	Rivers
(Wife) battery, sexual harassment and assault	√	√	√	√	√	√
Rape	√	√		√	√	√
Verbal abuse	√	√	√		√	√
Early marriage	√	√	√			
Child rape		√		√		√
Forced marriage				√	√	
Widowhood practice		√	√			
Intimidation			√			√
Refusal to take responsibility for pregnancy		√				
Bullying						√
Starving of wives			√			
CAUSES of violence identified	North			South		
	Bauchi	Benue	Kano	Enugu	Lagos	Rivers
Men asserting masculinity/reaffirming virility						
Predation on weakness of women by men					√	√
Denial of sex to the man in relationship					√	
Low self-esteem of the man						√
Refusal to date a man					√	
Men's intolerance			√			
Women transgressing traditional roles and norms						
Indecent dressing by females	√	√	√	√	√	√
Careless talk, nagging, provocation by women	√	√	√	√	√	√
Disloyalty to husband	√		√			
Not preparing meal at appropriate time		√				
Overdependence on men		√				
Poor upbringing	√	√				
Dirtiness/poor hygiene			√			
Socioeconomic factors						
Poverty/lack of money		√	√	√	√	√
Lack of education		√		√		
Unemployment		√		√		
Women's mismanagement of household funds	√	√				
Deviant Behaviour						
Alcoholism and drug use	√	√		√		√
Irresponsibility on the part of man	√	√	√		√	
Lack of self-control	√	√				√
Greed		√				

Table continues overleaf

Distrust		√				
Night-crawling by women		√		√		
Keeping bad company, especially by women		√				
Relationship Dynamics						
Lack of compatibility between couples/no love/ lack of understanding	√	√	√		√	√
Disagreement between couples		√		√		
Unwanted pregnancy				√		
Non-involvement of women in decision making		√				
Seeing pornography together	√					
Cultural practices						
Poor knowledge about VAWG in the society			√	√		
Spiritual attack/possession						√
√- mentioned among the participants						

Other Criminal Activities

As well as exploring the range of violent experiences outlined above, NiMAGES examined respondents' involvement in other criminal activities. Men's reported rates of participating in thefts, fights, and/or gangs, as well as their reported rates of gun ownership, arrest, and imprisonment appear in Table 16 below.

Table 16: Men's reports of criminal activity, gun ownership and imprisonment (percentage who report this act/experience among all male respondents)

N	Total	Bauchi	Benue	Enugu	Kano	Lagos	Rivers
	1532	146	159	159	356	463	249
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Theft	32	21	22	40	26	44	26
Fights	10	10	15	15	5	10	13
Gang/cult	2	1	5	0	1	3	3
Own Firearm	3	6	12	1	6	1	0
Arrested	12	11	13	25	7	12	9
Prison	1	2	3	0	0	0	0

Significant percentages of men say they have participated in criminal or delinquent acts, particularly theft and fights (32% and 10% respectively). Twelve per cent of men report having been arrested at least once in their lives. The highest rate of reported participation in theft was in Lagos (44%) and the lowest in Bauchi (21%). Participation in fights with weapons was reported most regularly in Benue and Enugu (15% each), followed closely by Rivers (13%). There was little reported participation in gangs/cults in general, while the highest rate of reported gun ownership was in Benue (no men in Rivers reported owning guns). Enugu shows the highest level of men who report having been arrested, with the lowest level found in Kano.



All in all, NiMAGES findings demonstrate worrying trends in Nigerian study sites related to physical and sexual violence against women and children alike. Large numbers of men report having perpetrated emotional, economic, or physical violence against partners, and one in ten men in the sample report having committed rape. At the same time, the vast majority of men in the sample say they endured one or more influential experience of violence as children.

These linked crises – violence against children and violence against women – dramatically alter the lives of many people: the victims, those who witnessed the violence, and, in later years, the entire families of childhood victims and witnesses. Those working to promote the rights of women and children, and to engage men in violence prevention, must work urgently and cooperatively to break these cycles of devastation.

After the Headlines At-A-Glance on the following page, the next subsection presents respondents' health-related experiences and practices.

HEADLINES AT-A-GLANCE: VIOLENCE: EXPERIENCES AND PRACTICES

“Some girls like it when you hit them, when you hit a girl she would know how manly enough you are and that day she might show you much love, she would fear you and she would never answer any call in your presence...” **Male focus group participant, age 18-25, Enugu**

Violence in Childhood

- Nigerian study participants report staggering levels of **violent experiences as children**. Among other findings, two thirds of women and three quarters of men report being spanked or slapped by parents or adults in their childhood home. About three in four respondents report being threatened with physical punishment in their childhood homes.
- **Corporal punishment** in schools was widely reported. 71% of women and 80% of men say they were beaten or physically punished in school by a teacher.
- About one in five respondents, including both men and women, report being **sexually assaulted as children**.
- About a quarter of respondents, both men and women, report seeing **their mother being beaten** by their father or another man in their childhood home.
- One third of male respondents in the survey report that before age 18, they and their friends would **‘touch girls or say sexual things to them to tease them.’**

Adult Intimate Partner Violence and Sexual Violence

- According to responses of both men and women, **economic, emotional, and physical intimate partner violence is a common occurrence in study sites**. Across the sites, 40% of men say they have perpetrated one or more of these forms of violence at least once; 42% of women report experiencing one or more of these forms of violence in their lifetimes. Overall, rates of emotional, economic, and physical IPV reported by men are similar.
- Men are significantly more likely to report perpetrating IPV if they have **experienced work-related stress, witnessed their mothers experiencing IPV, or hold gender-inequitable views**. Men are also more likely to report perpetrating emotional, economic, or physical IPV if they are: older, less educated, and/or informally employed.
- Eleven per cent of men in the study report committing rape at least once in their lives. Six per cent of men report perpetrating rape against a partner or girlfriend. at some time.
- Qualitative data collection participants demonstrate that **physical abuse, sexual harassment, and rape are common in study locations. They also suggest that women themselves are regarded as the most common** cause of the violence inflicted on them.
- Women and men both acknowledge that women face significant barriers in accessing help after experiencing violence.

Other Criminal Activities

- Significant percentages of men report involvement in criminal or delinquent acts, particularly **theft and fights** (32% and 10% respectively).

3.6 HEALTH: EXPERIENCES AND PRACTICES

Scholars have expressed a growing concern about the way in which gender norms and restrictive notions of masculinity can lead to specific gendered vulnerabilities for men's health and wellbeing (Bannon and Correia 2006; Courtenay 2000 in Barker et al. 2011). The question has been raised: 'Does adherence to culturally dominant forms of masculinity – which often urge men to practice strict emotional control and cultivate a sense of invulnerability – adversely affect the health-seeking behaviour of men?' The NiMAGES questionnaire explored the following areas to explore this question: (1) Use of Health Services; (2) Mental Health; (3) Alcohol Abuse; and (4) Transactional Sex.

Use of Health Services

NiMAGES data shows the percentages of women and men participants who report seeking routine health care, prostate cancer screening, and HIV testing.

Routine health care: Only one third of men have accessed health services at a clinic or private hospital in the past year. Site-by-site ranges for this help-seeking behaviour ranged from 29% in Lagos to 37% in Kano. Such rare use of health services indicates that men are not pursuing preventative care via regular check-ups and health maintenance. This can mean men may live with chronic but treatable health conditions and never be aware of it. It can also exacerbate the long term effects of men's illnesses. Given the preponderance of men who are primarily financial providers for their families, any illnesses preventing men from working can have particularly wide-ranging effects on all members of their family.

Prostate cancer screening: Prostate cancer screening is a particularly important indicator of good health-seeking behaviour of men age 40 and above. As such, the Nigerian government and other stakeholders regularly promote prostate cancer awareness. Most recently, the National Cancer Prevention Programme (NCP) marked 2014's Prostate Cancer Awareness Month (September) by offering free prostate cancer screenings at their centre in Lagos.

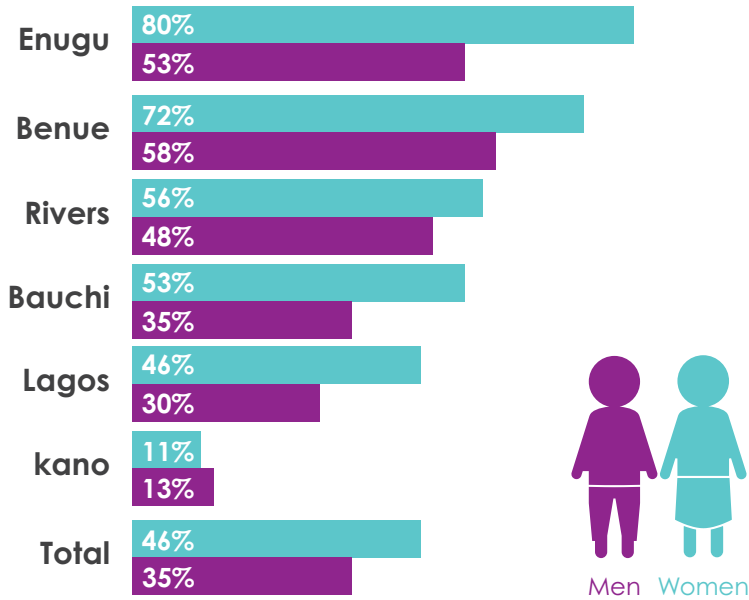
Men seem reluctant to seek regular prostate examination, however, in spite of campaigns encouraging them to do so. Only 11% of men over age 40 in the sample have ever sought a prostate check. Site-by-site rates ranged from just 4% of men over 40 in Benue up to 18% of men in same age group in Lagos (where the previously mentioned NCP centre is located). Only 16% of men in the 50-59 and 60-65 age groups had sought a prostate examination, even though men in these age categories are even more susceptible to prostate cancer, one of the most lethal forms of cancer.

HIV testing: Likewise, HIV testing is an important health-seeking behaviour for both men and women. This is especially true in Nigeria, which has more people living with HIV than any other country in the world, except for South Africa .

HIV testing rates vary widely over study locations; while 53% of men and 80% of women respondents in Enugu report having been tested, only 13% of men and 11% of women in the Kano study site report the same. Overall, only 35% of men and 46% of women in the sample report having been tested for HIV. Site-by-site rates of HIV testing reports are presented below in Figure 11.

In all sites, women are more likely to have been tested for HIV at some point than men. This difference is possibly a result of routine testing which takes place during antenatal care. This evidence shows the immediate influence of health system policies in boosting people's rates of accessing this particularly important health care service in Nigeria.

Figure 11: Men’s (N=1532) and women’s (N=504) reports of having HIV tests



Mental Health

The NiMAGES survey also asked men about their mental health, looking at how often they feel stressed, depressed or suicidal or experience low self-esteem or negative feelings of overall wellbeing. Table 17 presents men’s mental health issues by socio-demographic characteristics.

Some 62% of men in the sample report feeling stressed sometimes or often. About one third of male respondents report feeling depressed with the same frequency. Fewer men – 5% overall – report having suicidal thoughts sometimes or often. About 29% of men across the sample report a regular state of low self-esteem. Men with no formal education are the most likely in the sample to report suicidal thoughts, low self-esteem, and/or negative feelings of wellbeing.

Men who report work-related stress are statistically significantly more likely to also report depression ($p < 0.05$). Respondents in the qualitative study 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 and unhappiness, which sometimes leads to violence as well. As one male interviewee said:

“Yes, there was a period my business wasn’t booming, that was when we were second (year) in 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 and I felt I wasn’t comfortable and I started bursting out, she was at the kitchen and I went and slapped the kitchen door shut and walked out but later I regretted what I was doing, it’s not good to beat your wife” IDI/Male/Positive Deviant/Lagos State

Table 17: Men's (N=1532) reports of mental health

% who reported feeling or experiencing these health states 'sometimes' or 'often' in the last month

	Stress	Depressed	Suicidal thoughts	Low self esteem	Negative feeling of wellbeing
Total	62	32	5	29	23
Residence					
Urban	62	32	4	28	21
Rural	58	31	6	31	29
State					
Bauchi	55	31	13	34	44
Benue	38	34	11	40	45
Enugu	67	32	2	14	3
Kano	60	28	5	40	33
Lagos	70	32	2	24	19
Rivers	61	35	2	19	5
Age group					
Below 40 yrs	60	31	5	29	24
40 and above	65	34	3	27	22
Marital Status					
Married	66	35	5	30	25
Otherwise	59	30	4	28	23
Education					
None	58	35	10	44	56
Primary	62	42	3	34	30
Secondary	59	31	4	28	21
Tertiary	64	31	5	28	24
Employment status					
Employed	60	38	6	32	28
Unemployed	61	31	4	28	23
Work related Stress					
Yes	68	39	5	34	26
No	54	23	5	22	21

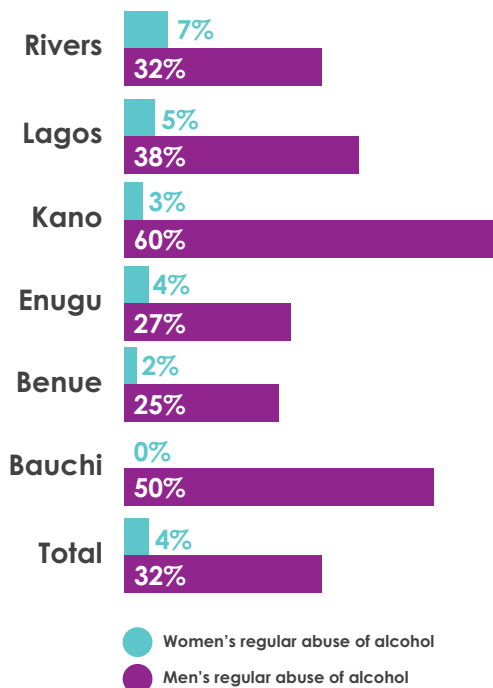
In contrast to the health services mentioned above, men are more likely to seek some sort of help – though usually from personal, informal sources – when they feel sad, disappointed, or frustrated. Seventy three per cent of men and 77% of women in the sample reported seeking help from others when they feel sad, disappointed, or frustrated. Across sites in the men's sample, at least 62% of men reported seeking help in these cases. Men mainly sought help from their relatives (23%), partner/girlfriend (21%), or male friends (21%).

Alcohol Abuse

Men report abusing alcohol at significantly higher rates than women, with the majority of men in Bauchi and Kano reporting that they frequently had five or more drinks on one occasion. Over the entire sample, 32% of men and 4% of women reported regularly (once per month or more frequently) having five or more drinks on one occasion.

Many men report negative consequences from alcohol abuse, however. Twelve per cent of men reported that, as a result of alcohol abuse, they had failed to do something that was normally expected of them. Furthermore, one in five men report having had a feeling of guilt or remorse after drinking.

Figure 12: Men’s and women’s reports of regular alcohol abuse
(defined as having five or more drinks on one occasion on a monthly or greater basis)



Transactional Sex

Several studies have demonstrated how gender-related norms and social expectations about men's sexuality encourage men to engage in transactional sex (Jõe-Cannon 2006; Ricardo and Barker 2008 in ICRW 2011). While the global estimates of men who purchased sex in the last twelve months is about 10%, variation exists across countries and cultures (Jõe-Cannon 2006; IOM 2003 in ICRW 2011). NiMAGES questions looked at men's lifetime reports of paying for sex, the age of sex workers with whom they had sex, whether they thought the sex worker might have been coerced or trafficked, and men's attitudes about transactional sex or sex work (and sex workers). Tables 18 and 19 present these figures.

Table 18: Men's reports of transactional sex

	Total %	Bauchi %	Benue %	Enugu %	Kano %	Lagos %	Rivers %
Ever had sex with a female sex worker(N=1532)	11	6	11	7	3	18	13
Ever had sex with a female sex worker under 18 years of age(% among those who have ever paid for sex, N=163)	10	22	11	0	11	7	15
Ever had sex with a female sex worker whom you suspect had been forced or sold into sex work(% among those who have ever paid for sex, N=163)	4	0	11	0	11	5	0



Table 19: Men’s opinions of sex work, sex workers, and men who purchase sex

Attitudes...	Total %	Bauchi %	Benue %	Enugu %	Kano %	Lagos %	Rivers %
N	1532	146	159	159	356	463	249
...on adult female sex workers							
Think it is wrong morally	95	95	93	96	96	96	92
Think it violates her rights	80	83	75	64	79	89	88
Think it is her own choice	54	62	77	62	51	34	63
Think it is wrong but nothing can be done about it	31	23	53	53	11	16	34
See nothing wrong with it	15	12	26	25	8	10	11
'It's a job like any other'	11	10	21	16	6	5	12
...on female sex workers < 18 years							
Think it is wrong morally	96	96	94	95	97	98	95
Think it violates her rights	87	88	83	75	84	96	92
Think it is her own choice	35	44	57	47	27	15	44
Think it is wrong but nothing can be done about it	25	21	52	46	6	10	20
See nothing wrong with it	11	8	25	20	1	5	8
'It's a job like any other'	8	7	19	13	4	3	7
...on men who purchase sex							
It is a natural thing for men to do	32	35	47	18	20	33	46
It is morally wrong	84	76	84	80	87	88	83
It is okay as long as he is not married or in a relationship	25	29	40	15	16	24	37
It is something most men do at least once in their lifetime	39	33	51	29	36	38	55
It is something only sick men do	32	28	36	52	29	22	24
It is a service that can be bought like any other services	14	18	20	16	8	7	18

Eleven per cent of men in the sample have paid for sex with a female sex worker. Ten per cent of men who reported that they had paid for sex with a female sex worker also acknowledged that they suspected that the sex worker was under the age of 18. Four per cent acknowledged that they suspected that the sex worker had been forced or sold into sex work. Both of these are criminal acts in Nigeria. Site-by-site, rates of men having paid for sex with a female sex worker ranged from 3% in Kano to 18% in Lagos.

Men who reported being unsatisfied with their current sexual relationship with their stable partners were more likely to report having had sex with a sex worker than men who reported being sexually satisfied with their current stable partner. Work-related stress was also found to have an inverse association with paid sex in all sites: the more work-related stress men suffered, the less likely they were to pay for sex. This relationship was statistically significant at the $p < .05$ level in Benue and Kano.

Men have contradictory attitudes about sex work: many think it is both morally wrong and violates the rights of women involved... but many think it is also a woman's choice to be a sex worker, even if she is under 18 years. On the one hand, 54% of men believe that it is a woman's choice to be a sex worker. At the same time, more than 80% think that sex work is morally wrong and violates a woman's rights. Also, 65% of male respondents believe that working as a commercial sex worker should be prohibited by law.

HEADLINES AT-A-GLANCE: HEALTH: EXPERIENCES AND PRACTICES

- Men in the NiMAGES sample seem **reluctant to seek routine health care, prostate cancer screenings, or HIV tests**. Only one third of men ever sought help for health services at a clinic or private hospital over the past year. Only 11% of sampled men over the age of 40 have ever sought a prostate exam. While 53% of men and 80% of women respondents in Enugu report having been tested for HIV, only 13% of men and 11% of women in the Kano study site report the same. Overall, only 35% of men and 46% of women in the sample report having been tested for HIV.
- In all sites, women are **more likely to have ever been tested for HIV** than men. This is probably due to the fact that HIV tests are a routine part of antenatal care. Rates of induced abortion reported **directly by women** respondents themselves or by male respondents' partners ranged from 3% to 17% across sites.
- Sixty per cent of men in the sample **report feeling** stressed sometimes or often. About one third of male respondents report feeling depressed just as often. Unlike with the health services mentioned above, however, men were likely to **seek some sort of help** – though usually from personal, informal sources – when they feel sad, disappointed, or frustrated.
- Men report **abusing alcohol** at drastically higher rates than women, with the majority of men in Bauchi and Kano reporting frequently having five or more drinks on one occasion. Over the entire sample, 32% of men and 4% of women reported regularly (once a month or more frequently) having five or more drinks on one occasion.
- Many men report negative consequences from alcohol abuse. Twelve per cent of men reported that, as a result of alcohol abuse, they had failed to do something that was normally expected of them.
- Eleven per cent of men in the sample have paid for sex. Certain men in the sample admitted that they have **paid for sex** with someone they suspect was either under age 18 or forced or sold into sex work, both of which are **criminal acts**. Men who reported being unsatisfied with their current sexual relationship with their stable partners were more likely to report having had sex with a sex worker. Men have contradictory attitudes about sex work: many think it is both morally wrong and violates the rights of those involved... but the majority also believe that it is a woman's choice to be a sex worker, even if she is under 18 years.

4. CONCLUSIONS

What can we take away from the study?



NiMAGES findings paint a rich, varied picture of gender dynamics in Nigerian study sites. The reported attitudes, behaviours, and reflections of study participants demonstrate various ways in which the traditional gender order may be changing in Nigeria, even while many findings also clearly show that rigid, patriarchal gender norms and dynamics still hold sway. At the broadest level, however, NiMAGES findings clearly demonstrate the benefits that gender equitable, non-violent families and societies can bring to men and women alike. Amongst many other examples, NiMAGES data show that boys raised in homes where their fathers frequently participate in a wide range of domestic work and do not use violence are more likely to grow up to become nonviolent, involved fathers and partners themselves, with benefits spreading across families and generations.

Findings like these provide valuable lessons, showing how we can get more men and women engaged and working together in efforts to inspire true equity and gender justice across Nigeria. This final section of the report will briefly review the major conclusions of the study under four condensed categories – Gender Attitudes, Household Gender Dynamics, Violence, and Health – with action-oriented recommendations based on NiMAGES findings where appropriate.

Gender Attitudes

In an encouraging finding, NiMAGES respondents overwhelmingly rejected many traditional practices, including FGM, harmful widowhood practices, and wife hospitality. Likewise, 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. These findings should lend significant support to advocacy campaigns to eradicate these harmful practices by undermining any suggestions that these practices are deemed acceptable or 'culturally relevant' in Nigerian society.

Agreement with inequitable norms about roles in the household was nearly universal amongst study participants, however, and violence against women was widely tolerated. Some 91% of women and 94% of men agreed that 'a woman's most important role is to take care of her home and cook for her family.' Over two thirds of all respondents agreed that 'a woman should tolerate violence to keep her family together.' These widely held attitudes lead to women's subjugation by men and contribute significantly to gender inequality and gender-based violence in society. These findings call for widespread community-level awareness, education, and mobilisation programmes and campaigns that focus on changing gender inequitable attitudes, practices and relationships. Multiple findings in this report demonstrate that women and men who have attained higher levels of education also embody more gender-equitable attitudes and practices. As such it is clear that the education system can be particularly influential by advancing more equitable gender-related perspectives in curricula at all levels.

Focus group and in-depth interview participants displayed consistently discriminatory attitudes towards women as leaders. Findings indicate that the limited place of women in leadership rests upon entrenched socio-cultural and religious norms that view women as inferior and limit their roles to the private, reproductive sphere of life. Even those respondents who respect women in public leadership positions expressed anxiety about the consequences for these women's families and households. As with the previous conclusion, it is crucial to dismantle these underlying attitudes. The public sector can lead by example in transforming these attitudes, particularly by giving more women a platform for meaningful policy influence.

Household Gender Dynamics

Household decision-making dynamics are still often highly gendered, but may gradually be changing. Participants' reflections on their childhood homes displayed a highly gendered division of decision-making authority, with the majority of respondents – 72% of women and 74% of men – recalling that their fathers 'had the final word' about decisions related to large investments. Respondents recall their fathers playing only very limited roles in domestic work and childcare; more than half of respondents report that their father 'never' or 'hardly ever' prepared food, washed clothes, cleaned the house, or fetched water. Whilst many of these dynamics persist in participants' adult households, respondents report making decisions together with their partners on most important household topics included in the study. Data also shows that younger men, men with higher educational levels, and men who hold more gender-equitable attitudes are all more likely to report participating in domestic work, further emphasising the benefits of equitable attitudes and educational attainment for families and society at large.

Men's involvement in childbirth and parenting is still limited, but men with the most gender equitable attitudes reported contributing more consistently. Due partially to hospital policy as well as prevailing social norms, the majority of surveyed men were not present in the hospital for the birth of their last child. And thereafter, 80% of fathers in the study took no leave after the birth of their last child. Similarly, women and men in the study agreed that most men tend to play with their children or discipline them on a regular basis, but do consistently contribute to childcare in other ways. However, again, men with the highest levels of education and the most equitable gender attitudes were also the men most likely to play an equal or greater role in childcare. For the good of children and families, this data suggests that it is time to abolish certain common policies. Restrictions on men's attendance at prenatal visits or in the delivery room during childbirth do more harm than good, for instance, contributing to the notion that childcare is the sole domain of women. Conversely, improved paternity leave policies have enormous potential to unravel widely held views that men have little to no role to play in childcare. More Nigerian institutions should follow the lead of the Lagos State Government, which recently approved a ten-day paternity leave for male civil servants. Additional research is also needed to investigate the differing perspectives of men and women on men's participation in childcare.



Violence

A particularly alarming study finding reveals very high levels of violence reportedly experienced by respondents during childhood. This violence took place in various sites and took multiple forms:

- **In the home:** Two thirds of women and three quarters of men reported being spanked or slapped by parents or adults in their childhood home. About three in four respondents reported being threatened with physical punishment in their childhood homes.
- **At school:** Corporal punishment in schools was widely reported; 71% of women and 80% of men reported that they had been beaten or physically punished in school by a teacher.
- **Sexual violence:** About one in five respondents, men and women, reported being sexually assaulted as children.

These findings call for urgent attention and additional research on the dynamics of physical and sexual child abuse in Nigeria. As NiMAGES shows, those who experience violence as children are significantly more likely to also perpetrate and/or experience violence as adults.

The responses of both men and women show that economic, emotional, and physical intimate partner violence is a common occurrence in Nigerian study sites. Across the sites, 40% of men reported perpetrating one or more of these forms of violence during their lives while 42% of women reported experiencing one or more of these forms of violence in their lifetimes. In line with earlier conclusions, data shows that men with the least gender-equitable attitudes were also more likely to report perpetrating violence against a partner. Levels of reported sexual violence were also notable: 11% of men in the study said they had committed rape, with 6% of men admitting they had raped a current or former partner or girlfriend. This violence thrives in an atmosphere of silence, and NiMAGES' complementary qualitative data shows that stigma and shame, distrust of law enforcement institutions, fear, security, and social pressure to 'keep the family together', are responsible for this silence. Additional research is also needed to better understand men's contradictory responses around laws criminalising violence against women in Nigeria.

Health

Men in the NiMAGES sample were reluctant to seek routine health care, prostate cancer screenings, or HIV tests, with rates of seeking such services never exceeding 35%. In all sites, women were more likely to have ever been tested for HIV than men. Women's higher rates of HIV testing hold an important lesson for men's health: make testing a routine part of any other men's health visit. Just as they have done with women's prenatal visits, health systems and hospitals can make an HIV test a routine – though not compulsory – element of men's other health visits (whether these are regular check-ups, prostate exams, other STI tests, or otherwise). However, the challenge still remains to get men into hospitals and clinics in the first place and this needs sustained community mobilisation campaigns to shift gender norms about masculinity and health.

By contrast, however, many men reported seeking some sort of help – though usually from personal, informal sources – when they feel sad, disappointed, or frustrated. Sixty per cent of men in the sample reported regularly feeling stressed, and about one third of male respondents reported feeling regularly depressed.

Men reported abusing alcohol at significantly higher rates than women, and also admitted experiencing negative consequences of alcohol use. Some 32% of men, compared to only 4% of women, report having five or more drinks on one occasion on a monthly-or-greater basis. Twelve per cent of men said that, as a result of their drinking, they had failed to do something that was normally expected of them. Additional research and programming to understand and dismantle links between norms of masculinity and alcohol abuse in Nigeria would be beneficial.

This report – and the NiMAGES study in Nigeria as a whole – has sought to provide Nigerian citizens, activists, researchers, ministers, policymakers, teachers, and programmers alike with a richer, more reliable set of findings related to gender dynamics than was previously available in the country. The findings presented here are intended to prompt increased, better-informed public debates and policies to advance true gender justice in the country. Voices for Change and the authors sincerely hope that these results will provide an important source of information that a broad group of organisations and individuals can use as they adapt and expand their work with men and boys, women and girls, and Nigerian communities as a whole to create a thriving, equitable, gender-just future.

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- ¹ The term 'wife hospitality' refers to a practice of sexual violence whereby a host 'allows' a male visitor to his home to have physical relations with his wife.
- ² Yoruba, Igbo, Hausa, Pidgin
- ³ <http://promundoglobal.org/resources/international-men-and-gender-equality-survey-NiMAGES-survey-questionnaires/>
- ⁴ The term 'wife hospitality' refers to a practice of sexual violence whereby a host 'allows' a male visitor to his home to have physical relations with his wife.
- ⁵ The 'p score' is a common statistical test to that the link between two variables is not coincidental. If the 'p score' is more than .05, the research won't generally be able to confidently confirm the link. When it is less than .05, there is good reason to believe that those two variables are NOT related just by chance or by coincidence.

Annex I. Sampling Approach Details

The NiMAGES sampling approach involved the following steps:

Step 1: Selection of Primary Sampling Units (PSUs): To achieve a natural sample, PSUs were drawn from each state by applying Probability Proportional to Size methodology. This methodology ensures that the probability of any location being selected is proportional to its size in the state (thereby giving larger municipalities a greater probability of selection and smaller ones a lower probability of selection).

Step 2: Selection of Starting Points: The required number of starting points were drawn from a comprehensive list of sectors. The list itself was validated and updated before the start of survey fieldwork. The sectors to be sampled were picked using the simple ballot system where the youngest member of the team made a blind, random selection.

Step 3: Selection of Dwelling Structures/Households: Dwelling structures were selected from each sector using the random route walk. This method involves the supervisor placing the interviewer on a particular side of the street (left or right) and the interviewer maintaining his or her side of the street till the sector was completely combed. The first dwelling structure was selected using the day's code method (summing the digits of the day's date to get a single digit). The corresponding house was the first dwelling structure that work began from. On entering a selected dwelling structure, the interviewer counted the number of households in the dwelling structure, starting from the left. He/she then traced the total number of households counted against the alphabet pre-coded on his/her selection sheet. The household where the qualified respondent was selected is where the household number and alphabet code intersected. For rural communities where houses are usually not numbered, physical counting of structures was done.

Step 4: Selection of Individuals: The final stage in the selection process was the identification of the individual respondent within the selected household. This was done using the Kish Grid. All eligible respondents (male and female aged 18 to 65 years) were listed from the youngest to the oldest and the interviewee was selected by tracing his/her name against the total number of eligible respondents in the household. Certain considerations were necessarily built into this final selection stage in order to achieve the intended ratio of male to female interviewees. Male and female sample totals were tracked on a daily basis to ensure that the sample was adhering to the quotas.

Safety considerations required one substitution of data collection locations. There were outbursts of violence and bomb blasts in the North at the time when data collection was supposed to get underway in this region. The start of fieldwork had to be delayed for a number of days, and some PSUs had to be substituted as they were deemed unstable/insecure.

Annex II: Sample Demographic Characteristics By Site

	Bauchi		Benue		Kano		Enugu		Lagos		Rivers	
	Men N=146	Women N=38	Men N=159	Women N=50	Men N=356	Women N=125	Men N=159	Women N=51	Men N=463	Women N=155	Men N=249	Women N=85
Age												
18-24	38	34	31	54	45	31	38	29	30	30	41	45
25-34	39	37	48	34	37	37	31	43	38	33	40	34
35-49	19	21	13	12	14	25	20	20	21	29	15	18
49-59	3	8	7	-	4	6	7	6	6	7	2	2
60-65	1	-	1	-	1	2	5	2	4	2	1	1
Educational level												
No formal	17	61	3	8	6	46	1	-	1	1	1	-
Primary	22	13	10	42	8	19	31	20	7	11	9	9
Secondary	44	18	55	32	59	27	52	47	59	52	67	75
Higher	17	8	33	18	27	8	16	33	34	36	23	15
Marital Status												
Legally married	43	82	26	32	27	71	35	69	34	63	20	38
Widowed/separated/divorced	1	5	2	2	1	11	1	4	1	5	1	9
Never married, w/o stable partner	27	-	38	2	22	-	23	-	31	-	35	4
Never married, w stable partner	15	3	11	56	21	12	24	18	23	19	25	26
Single and never partnered	13	11	23	8	30	6	18	10	10	14	19	24
Children												
Has biological children	41	79	24	28	23	78	33	73	34	65	22	51
Has no biological children	59	21	76	72	77	22	67	28	66	36	78	49
Income per month												
Less than 20,000	61	68	22	58	48	50	32	31	9	16	30	25
20,000 - 40,000	21	8	15	4	31	18	12	8	29	21	16	18
40,001 - 75,000	4	3	8	12	14	10	9	8	27	29	10	9
75,001 - 100,000	-	-	7	-	3	2	3	2	8	17	4	8
Above 100,000	-	-	2	2	0	1	2	-	3	3	4	2
Don't know	14	21	47	24	4	18	43	51	24	14	36	38
Employment Status												
Unemployed	20	61	29	26	7	78	9	18	9	22	18	26
Formally employed/Skilled	37	11	17	12	21	2	32	24	38	30	22	15
Informally employed/Unskilled	19	18	10	4	32	12	26	37	28	25	31	38
Students	25	11	44	58	41	8	32	22	26	23	29	21
Source of household income												
Self	58	-	54	22	35	3	49	16	64	12	47	31
Partner	1	76	1	32	4	66	3	49	2	50	2	27
Both	2	5	5	8	1	-	4	14	5	11	8	8
Others	38	18	40	38	60	30	44	22	30	28	43	34

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NIGERIA MEN AND GENDER EQUALITY SURVEY (NiMAGES)

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