

Inception Study Two Report

Opinion Leaders and Gender Champions:
what do we know?

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The opinions expressed in this report are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the Department for International Development.

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Abbreviations and acronyms

AGW	Adolescent girls and women
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
FBO	Faith Based Organisation
FIDA	Federation of Female Lawyers
NCWS	National Council for Women Society (NCWS)
SBMC	School-Based Management Committees
NLC	Nigerian Labour Congress
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
V4C	Voices for Change
VAWG	Violence against Women and Girls
WACOL	Women Aid Collective Nigeria

Introduction

Background to the study

Voices for Change (V4C) seeks to improve the lives and life chances of adolescent girls and women (AGW) in Nigeria by strengthening the enabling environment to overcome gender inequality. This study is one of five scoping studies undertaken during the V4C Inception Phase around key programme themes, to inform the Business Case and programme design. This study's purpose was to identify the champions of women's rights and the opinion leaders in 5 states in Nigeria, with a view to better understanding the ways in which social influence works to maintain or oppose gender inequality in those states. The study aimed to identify core formal and informal actors promoting gender equality in Nigeria, which V4C could make the most of.

Methodology

This study was conducted in five states, Kano, Zamfara, Niger, Lagos and Enugu, and the capital, Abuja. It included a desk review, 74 key informant interviews, and pilot research using social media.

Key terms

Opinion leaders: individuals and groups who can influence views, attitudes, behaviours, opinions, beliefs, motivations, and inspire others. This may not necessarily be adults influencing young people; it may be young persons who can wield influence on peers.

Champions of AGW rights: people or groups committed to the cause of changing the situation of AGW in Nigeria (hereafter referred to as Champions).

Key Informant Interviews

This study relied primarily on Key Informant Interviews (KIIs), which were conducted by the V4C team, led by Omowumi Asubiaro-Dada and Abiola Akiyode Afolabi. To generate the list of key informants, the V4C team contracted state-level facilitators to compile lists of informants from a range of sectors in each illustrative state, and then arrange, attend and transcribe KIIs between those informants and the V4C team members. These key informants included: celebrities who are known to support AGW rights; media personnel; women's rights activists; members of youth organisations and other CSOs; members of ministries; members of labour unions; teachers; academics and religious and community leaders. The team developed KII guides to facilitate the process of identifying the Opinion Leaders and Champions, their characteristics, and the priority issues for AGW. A total of 74 KIIs were carried out, in Abuja, and Lagos, Enugu, Niger, Zamfara, and Kano states. While most of these were done in person, at least five were not done in person, i.e. done by phone or email. Sections 2 and 3 below discuss the key findings.

Literature review

The V4C team also employed the use of a desk review to use existing data to reveal opportunities for linking champions with young people. The literature review highlighted key issues around Opinion Leaders and Champions, which are discussed in sections 2 and 3 below. It is important to note that there was limited recent literature available on this topic.

Piloting of social media

The team also engaged online personalities with strong followership on social media platforms (Twitter and Facebook) to use these social media to collect additional information on Opinion Leaders and Champions, and on youth aspirations and expectations. Four individuals (two politicians/activists, a development worker turned public office holder, and an 'ordinary citizen') committed to post questions on their social media pages, allowing the V4C team to monitor and analyse responses. However, only one person posted on Twitter

and two on Facebook, eliciting 16 Twitter responses and 70 Facebook responses. Thus there was a small response pool, but still showed some relevant findings (see section 2 below).

Limitations

This was an initial scoping exercise. While this study aimed to map the Opinion Leaders and Champions, it did not endeavour to identify possible aspects of the programme where each Opinion Leader or Champion could be utilised. A further limitation was the lack of KIs with a substantial number of young people. While the study sought to understand in particular the Opinion Leaders for young people, the KIs were primarily done with older people: 67% of KIs were with people over 40, 30% were with people in their thirties, and only three were done with someone under 30. However, for information on the views of young people in particular, Inception Study 1 analyses young people's views on aspirations. The Social Media research also provides insights into young people's aspirations. However, the social media data is based on a small sample size, so should only be considered a test to show areas for future social media research.

Section 1: Who are the Opinion Leaders?

What is an Opinion Leader?

The literature review shows that the concept of an ‘Opinion Leader’ has played an important role in a variety of disciplines, including marketing, sociology, economics, communications theory, and social psychology. It implies someone who goes beyond informal advice-seeking from peers, to suggest *influence*. Characteristics of an Opinion Leader can include: being brokers between different groups; being at the forefront of new trends; being early adopters of innovation; high self-confidence and self-esteem; ability to withstand criticism and rejection; consistency and independence in their views; and willingness to differentiate themselves in public. That said, and especially for youth, peers and family members can be highly influential as well. The literature review also notes that Opinion Leaders are likely to have high media consumption, and to use the media—both traditional and social—both to inform themselves and as a platform from which to share their opinion.¹

The literature review shows the breadth of Opinion Leaders in Nigeria, including²:

- Traditional Opinion Leaders, such as *Traditional and Religious Leaders*, local *Political Leaders*, *School Teachers* and *Community Leaders*. These are the custodians of traditional values and institutions and are critical in shaping social norms.
- *Faith-based Organisations (FBOs) and Institutions* influence not only their congregations, but are also visible in the media and at state functions.
- *Social Movements* and traditional groups such as *Market Women Associations*, *Cooperative Societies*, *Age Grade Associations* and *Labour Unions*.
- *Godfathers*, in some political parties, influence politics—not only who is nominated, who wins, but also what happens after elections.
- *Celebrities*, such as Nollywood actors and sports personalities, wield influence—especially among young people.

Bearing this all in mind, the definition of Opinion Leader that is used here is: *individuals and groups who can influence views, attitudes, behaviours, opinions, beliefs, motivations, and inspire others. This may not necessarily be adults influencing young people; it may be young persons who can wield influence on peers.*

What do the KIs tell us about Opinion Leaders?

Who do informants believe are the leaders of opinion?

The KIs show that Opinion Leaders come from a variety of sectors, ranging from *Politicians*, *Religious and Traditional Leaders* and *Celebrities*, to *Peers*, *Activists* and *NGOs*. That said, the categories with the highest volume of responses were: *Religious Leaders*, *Traditional Leaders*, and *Politicians*. While respondents from every state, and both genders, agreed that *Religious Leaders* were opinion leaders, the responses to *Traditional Leaders* and *Politicians* were less robust: while *Traditional Leaders* were mentioned in every state, only one person in Lagos (a male private business owner) considered *Traditional Leaders* to be Opinion Leaders. In Niger, one respondent (male CSO member) noted that *Religious Leaders* are more influential than *Traditional Leaders* because of their independence:

¹ See Black (1982); Chan and Misra (1990); Scheufele and Shah (2000). See full Literature Review for full bibliography.

² See Aina and Olayode (2010); Chukwuma (2008). See full Literature Review for full bibliography.

Religious leaders are stronger than the traditional rulers. Once traditional rulers are taken care of by the government, they buy into all and any government policy. –Male CSO member, Niger

It is important to note that *Women Elders* were perceived to be Opinion Leaders only in Niger, but even there only two of ten respondents noted this, both of whom were female. These indicative quotes show both the strength of religious opinion leaders and the emerging new influences for young people:

People that I think can lead their opinions are their local pastors, Imams: a lot of people at the rural rely on the credibility of what those people tell them. – Public Servant, Abuja

Religious leaders are influential because we are religious, no matter what, an average dan iska (rascal), will come to pray. Even politicians defer to religious leaders. –Male CSO Member, Niger

Although religious leaders have direct influence on young adults, social media, films and the internet control youth opinion directly and indirectly – Young Man, Zamfara

The perception of the influence of *Civil Society*, *NGOs* and *Human Rights Activists* varies regionally. While *NGOs* were considered to be Champions of AGWs in every state (see section 3 below), Enugu is the only state in which *NGOs* were noted as Opinion Leaders; 23% of respondents in Enugu, both male and female, and from public, private, and media sectors, agreed that *NGOs* are Opinion Leaders. Lagos was the only state that noted *CSOs* (11%) and *Human Rights Activists* (22%) as Opinion Leaders. Both of the people in Lagos state who noted *CSOs* as Opinion Leaders were female *CSO* members, whereas the response to *Human Rights Activists* was more varied—both males and females, and including a religious leader, journalist, a politician and a *CSO* member. It is important to note, as the quote below shows, that these *CSOs* are seen to be ‘opinion brokers’, bridging the gap between politicians and other formal public figures and the masses.

NGOs are intermediary between the politicians, community leaders and others. Their influence is local, communal and state wide. –Radio/TV Journalist, Zamfara

The perception of the influence of *Entertainers* and *Celebrities* also varied. No one mentioned these in Kano or Zamfara. In Lagos, Enugu, Niger and Abuja, the response rate varied between 10-16% of respondents noting *Entertainers* or *Celebrities* as Opinion Leaders. Respondents from several states noted that there are Opinion Leaders in Nollywood who are not yet championing AGW issues, but should be brought on board to do so, for example:

There are some icons. Those who champion the cause of adolescent girls and young women have done a lot but they have not been able to use one of the biggest tools that Nollywood provides. There are many young actresses that are ready to champion these cause. E.g. Segun Adeniyi, Okonjo Iweala. –Male Politician and Businessman, Abuja

Another respondent noted the influence of *Celebrities* on youth more generally:

When you see these young people like Big Brother celebrity or Chimanda Adichie [author], they [young people] admire them and are ready to listen to them. They follow them so when we organise our programme we call them because they listen to them. –Male Youth Leader, Enugu

In terms of broader *Media*, in Lagos, one male respondent noted too the influence of films and satellite television stations. While all states except for Zamfara noted the influence of the *Media*, only 7-20% of total respondents mentioned the *Media*, a quarter of whom were media personnel themselves. The influence of *Social Media* was mentioned in Lagos, Niger, and Abuja, though again with low response rates: between 10-16% of respondents in these states noted *Social Media* as an Opinion Leader. Surprisingly, only one of these respondents (20%) was media personnel; the others included CSO members, a female former youth corps member, and a politician. So, while media personnel in Abuja noted the influence of both the *Media* and *Social Media*, the media personnel in Enugu only mentioned the influence of the non-social *Media*.

There were also varied responses regarding the influence of *Peers*, *Teachers*, *Role Models* and *Mentors*. The influence of *Peers* was noted in four states: Lagos, Kano, Zamfara, and Niger, with between 9-30% of respondents noting their influence. These respondents were both male and female and came from a range of sectors. However, the responses around the influence of *Role Models*, *Mentors* and *Teachers* were much more state-specific. Kano was the only state to mention the influence of *Role Models*, where one civil servant noted them. Lagos was the only state that mentioned either *Mentors* or *Teachers*, where nearly 40% of respondents noted the influence of *Mentors*, and 22% noted the influence of *Teachers*.

There were also a few other state-specific Opinion Leaders mentioned:

- 38% of respondents in Enugu noted *Age Grade Groups* as highly influential, with one CSO leader noting that they are also “a strong force for AGW rights”. Thus they are both Opinion Leaders, and Champions.
- In Enugu, the *Catholic Church* is a particularly influential Religious Institution
- In Niger, *Labour Organisations* were mentioned as having particular influence, as evidenced in the fuel subsidy protests.

How do they operate?

Opinion Leaders operate through a variety of platforms, and have different ranges of influence. Abuja respondents were more likely to mention Opinion Leaders with wider influence, as opposed to state-level influence in other states. While not all states noted the *Media* as Opinion Leaders, all states did mention the *Media* as a key platform—including radio, broadcast, print, and sometimes social media. All states except for Kano and Zamfara mentioned the use of *Social Media*. Kano and Zamfara both noted radio as the most important form of media. One respondent on *Social Media*:

I may be a leading person in politics with that much followers on twitter... the absolutely most influential on social media is Pastor Chris Oyakhilome with over a million followers and that shows you the relative capacity to influence. –Male Politician/Activist

Every state noted the use of places of worship as platforms, with respondents in Niger noting that this can also happen through religious organisations or associations, and respondents in Abuja noted religious festivals in particular. All states (except Lagos) mentioned political

space, or political parties, as platforms, and all states except for Kano mentioned community spaces (including community theatre, community meetings, town hall meetings, etc.). Abuja and Enugu mentioned adolescent clinics as a platform. Lagos was the only state to mention 'streets' as a platform.

What are the issues they are passionate about?

The KILs show that these Opinion Leaders are passionate about a range of issues, some of which overlap with the important issues facing AGW. Even for those Opinion Leaders who do not engage in AGW issues, past experience shows that Opinion Leaders can be convinced to lend their influence to AGW issues, which was seen when the Sultan of Sokoto championed girls' education as part of an ActionAid Nigeria programme in 2007.

The KILs suggest that there are Opinion Leaders engaging with AGW issues in every state. However, we did not get information on this from Lagos. These issues include: physical and domestic violence; maternal mortality; prostitution; women's political participation; access to health services; harmful traditional practices; early marriage; inheritance issues; and economic empowerment. In Niger and Enugu, widows' rights were specifically mentioned as well.

Many Opinion Leaders also engage on broader children's and youth issues, which include both young men and women. These issues include: employment, education and school dropout, issues around delinquency, and child mortality.

Finally, Opinion Leaders were also noted for engaging with broader political and economic issues, both local and national, in Enugu, Lagos and Niger. Lagos respondents noted a particularly wide range of these issues: state of the nation, governance, environment, traffic law, human rights, and security issues.

What does the social media piloting tell us about Opinion Leaders?

The responses regarding Opinion Leaders were limited. Several respondents noted that they did not have Opinion Leaders, and one noted that Opinion Leaders are changing, as corrupt leaders are exposed. Several people specifically noted Opinion Leaders within the social media world, referring to them by their Twitter usernames. Two people noted specific non-Twitter names, which included a family member (1), scholars (3), activists (3), a politician (1), and a writer (1).

Section 2: Who are the Champions of AGW rights?

What is a Champion?

The literature review tells us that there are many definitions of ‘Champions’, noting that they are people who are skilled at “initiating, facilitating and implementing change,” and need not be individuals, but can also include groups or organisations. Organisations and programmes can be champions of AGW rights both through their own advocacy activities, and also through training new generations of change agents. The literature review shows that Champions of AGW rights might have the following characteristics: *understanding* of relevant issues; *motivated* by a value system; and the *ability* to be a change agent.

Bearing this in mind, the definition of a Champion that is used here is: *people or groups committed to the cause of changing the situation of AGW in Nigeria.*

What do the KIs tell us about Champions of AGW rights?

Who do informants believe are the champions of AGW’s rights?

There is some variation between states on the perception of who champions AGW’s rights. The most agreement was reached around *Religious Leaders*, *Politicians*, and *NGOs*. *Religious Leaders* were mentioned as Champions in every state, with particularly high responses in Enugu and Kano, where 38% and 45% (respectively) of the respondents noted *Religious Leaders* as Champions. While *Religious Leaders* were mentioned in Lagos and Abuja, it was only by 11% and 8% (respectively) of respondents. It is important to note that over 40% of overall respondents who identified *Religious Leaders* as Champions were *Religious Leaders* or *Traditional Leaders* themselves.

Politicians were mentioned as Champions in all states. Seven to 16% of respondents in Lagos, Abuja and Enugu noted *Politicians* as Champions, and 40% of respondents in both Zamfara and Niger noted *Politicians* as Champions.

NGOs were seen as Champions in all states, though with varied levels of response. While there were high rates of response in Zamfara (60%), Lagos (55%), and Enugu (38%), only one respondent in Kano and one respondent in Abuja noted this (less than 10% for each). However, it is clear that these Champions often come from the women’s movements—which includes members of *NGOs*, *CSOs*, *FBOs*, government, and activists.

The response was less consistent for *Faith-based Organisations (FBOs)*, *Traditional Leaders*, *Human Rights Activists* and *CSOs*. While *FBOs* were not mentioned in Lagos, Enugu or Kano, they were mentioned by 80% of respondents in Zamfara, 30% of respondents in Niger, and 16% of respondents in Abuja. And while *Traditional Leaders* were not mentioned in Lagos, Kano, Niger or Abuja, they were mentioned by 23% of respondents in Enugu and 60% of respondents in Zamfara. Like *FBOs*, *CSOs* were also seen as Champions only in Zamfara, Niger and Abuja, with the same percentage (80%) in Zamfara, and slightly lower responses in Niger and Abuja. *Human Right Activists* were mentioned by a low percentage of respondents, and only in Lagos, Enugu and Abuja. It is important to note that nearly 50% of respondents who noted *NGOs* as Champions work in *NGOs* themselves, and over half of respondents who noted *Human Rights Activists* as Champions work either in *NGOs* or as activists. These quotes indicate some of the responses around *NGO* as champions:

One of the champions of girls and young women is WACOL [Women Aid Collective Nigeria], because they have been in the gender mainstreaming matters in the state. They defended young women in my community, majority of them widows. They brought a man one day from the village to answer questions on this. Others are FIDA, NAWOJ, NLC Women Committee, WIN, Citizens Rights, CIRRDOD—Labour Union Leader

In defending their [AGW] rights I think it's the non-governmental organizations that help mostly. I don't think adolescent girls have a lot of support from the government neither do they have a lot of support from their families because people expect so much from them and little have been given to them. –Female CSO Expert

While no one mentioned Champions within *Social Media*, five respondents mentioned Champions within the non-social *Media*. These respondents came from Lagos, Abuja, Niger and Kano, and were all male. It is important to note that the social media testing suggests that there are indeed Opinion leaders and Champions within *Social Media*, but that their sphere of influence (i.e. whether it reaches beyond cyberspace) must be further tested. Only one respondent, a male Traditional Leader in Enugu, mentioned *Celebrities* as Champions. As noted in section 2 above, though, several respondents noted *Celebrities* as Opinion Leaders who might be able to be brought on board as Champions.

What are the characteristics of a Champion?

The KIIs show that Champions are often connected to an NGO, CSO or government (including as politicians' wives). Most states mentioned women's organisations and women's movements as the key Champions, noting though that these are primarily composed of older, privileged, well-educated women. Two respondents in Abuja and one respondent in Kano also noted that Imams are mandated by the Quran to champion AGW issues; however, both of these respondents in Abuja were associated with the National Mosque, and the respondent in Kano was an Imam.

The KIIs also show that Champions are motivated by a range of factors. Personal experience was mentioned as a motivating factor in all states, as was passion for and awareness of AGW issues. Zamfara is the only state that noted 'religious inclination' as a motivating factor, and Niger is the only state that noted 'recognition and awards', which could include titles awarded to recognise champions.

How do Champions operate?

The KIIs show that Champions operate through a variety of platforms, though primarily through NGOs, FBOs, CSOs, women's rights coalitions and movements, and government platforms. Specific organisations and coalitions were mentioned, as were individuals from these organisations and coalitions. A respondent in Niger noted that one way in which the government and individual philanthropists (noted that these are mostly male donors) champion AGW issues is through funding these women's rights organisations.

It is important to note that while Religious Leaders were identified as Champions in every state, religious platforms were not suggested by informants in every state. Thus, more investigation into how Religious Leaders use secular platforms is needed.

Several other platforms were also mentioned in Kano: Girls' and Students' Associations, School-Based Management Committees (SBMCs), Parent Teachers Associations, Youth Council of Nigeria, and interactive media platforms that allow younger and older people to contribute their views on AGW issues via SMS or phone. Kano also noted platforms that are used to specifically reach young people: media programmes; the marketplace, religious gatherings, vocational centres, political party activities, and community meetings. And

Abuja, more than any of the states, noted the importance of media—both traditional and social—as a platform for Champions.

What and whose rights are they championing?

The issues with which these Champions engage vary between states, and cover not only adolescent girls and women, but also youth more generally (i.e. also boys and young men). Most states (all but Lagos) noted the issue of girls' education, often discussed alongside early marriage. In Niger, it was mentioned that Champions are focusing on advocating for legislation around these issues. Violence against Women and Girls (VAWG) was mentioned as a key issue in all states but Kano. Broader youth issues, especially around education for both boys and girls, were mentioned in Enugu and Kano.

Other issues mentioned include: women's rights, women's reproductive health rights, employment, economic empowerment, teenage pregnancy and sexuality education, establishing rehabilitation centres for victims of violence and trafficking, providing legal aid, women's political participation and appointment to public office, and advocacy around specific legislation, including the Child Rights Bill and the Domestic Violence Bill.

However, it is also important to note that respondents in Niger mentioned that even established women's rights organisations, in this case referring to the National Council for Women Society (NCWS), do not champion all important AGW issues:

NCWS is in the forefront of women's right in the state. They do very little though on the issue of AGW. Maybe they do not even know that it is part of their mandate. They emphasize largely on their political rights. Maternal mortality is very silent on their agenda. –Respondent, Niger

It was noted that this has resulted in some women's movements' tarnished reputations in Niger.

Section 3: Conclusions

Who are the Opinion Leader and Champions?

While Opinion Leaders come from a variety of sectors, only *Religious Leaders* and *Traditional Leaders* were mentioned in all states. It was agreed that most Champions are *Religious Leaders*, or come from *Women's Organisations, Coalitions, or Movements*, or are associated with *Government*. The differences highlighted between the two categories show us that while *NGOs* and other organisations are one of the key sources for Champions, they are not seen as nearly as influential as *Religious and Traditional Leaders*. This shows that there is a need for further investigation into how influential some existing Champions are, and into which non-Champion Opinion Leaders can be brought on board as Champions through V4C. Moreover, given that *Religious Leaders* were identified as both Opinion Leaders and Champions in all states, more research is needed to see to what extent other—and especially young—people find them influential, and, secondly, what secular platforms they use to influence.

Where are they and how do they operate?

Both Opinion Leaders and Champions were identified in every state and in Abuja. Both Opinion Leaders and Champions operate through a variety of platforms. For Opinion Leaders, the key platforms mentioned were: the media (print, broadcast, and radio were mentioned in all states, and social media was mentioned in three states), places of worship and through religious organisations, political spaces and political parties, and community spaces. Other state-specific platforms were also mentioned, such as 'streets' in Lagos, and adolescent clinics in Abuja and Enugu. For Champions, the key platforms noted were NGOs, women's rights coalitions and movements, and government platforms. Other platforms mentioned include: Girls' and Students' Associations, Youth Councils, and interactive media platforms.

What are the gaps?

There are some gaps between what these Champions lead on, and what are the key issues facing AGW in Nigeria. For example, in Enugu these include early marriage, social justice and human rights, economic empowerment and skills acquisition. In Lagos these include: employment, self esteem, sexual harassment at school and at work, and drug abuse. In Kano, it was noted that more work is needed to overcome 'cultural prejudices' (i.e. social norms), e.g. through providing more gender sensitive religious perspectives, and to address new emerging issues, such as AGWs' drug use. Interestingly, in Niger, it was noted that, due to 'politicisation', women's movements do not champion the most important issues, for example being 'silent' on maternal mortality issues. However more detailed work is needed to understand whether these are truly gaps, or if indeed these issues are being championed, but were not mentioned in these KIs.

Would Opinion Leaders or Champions work with V4C on AGW rights?

While AGW issues do not appear to be the most pressing issues for most Opinion Leaders, the KIs show both that there is already some overlap between Opinion Leaders and Champions, and that there is precedent to suggest that Opinion Leaders who are not currently AGW Champions could be brought on board. However, more research is needed to unpack which Opinion Leaders (both which kind of person, and which individuals) would be most open to becoming a Champion, and which issues in particular they could be brought on board to engage with. Celebrities—actors, musicians, others in Nollywood, and the media—were mentioned in several states as a potential Champions resource.

How useful are social media ‘Opinion Leaders’?

The initial Social Media testing has provided some initial insights into both how to use social media as a research tool, and into who social media ‘personalities’ view as Opinion Leaders. It is interesting to know that several were named as influencers within the Twitter world. However, more research is needed to both understand what and how these online Opinion Leaders engage with, and whether their influence reaches beyond cyberspace. Given the KII feedback that Social Media acts as an Opinion Leader in four states, more research on this is clearly needed.

Section 4: Implications

The following are some implications for V4C programme design, and some suggested ways forward:

- **State-level engagement strategies:** As most Opinion Leaders and Champions appear to work at the local or state level, V4C will need to develop state-specific engagement strategies. While there appear to be some trends in common between the northern states, more research is needed before developing any 'regional' plan.
- **Working with Religious and Traditional Leaders, and with Celebrities:** the KIs show that V4C will need to have a diverse engagement strategy, that engages Religious and Traditional Leaders in all states, Celebrities and Entertainers in the relevant states, as well as state-specific Opinion Leaders and Champions—e.g. Age Grade Groups in Enugu.
- **Working with the women's movements:** It is clear—both from these KIs and from the V4C e-Discussion in September 2012—that women's movements are active in Nigeria, and are a key constituency championing AGW issues. However, several issues have been raised around the women's movements that V4C will need to bear in mind. First, while these movements do come together around some issues, better coordination is needed. Second, there is a need to recruit younger generations into the women's movements. It was also mentioned in several states that AGW Champions are primarily well educated and from the middle class or the elite; thus, V4C will need to make sure to not only engage with these visible, privileged Champions, but also to dig deeper and work with more marginalised, smaller-scale Champions. And, third, in some states (Niger and Enugu), the women's movements' reputations have been tarnished through either ignoring key issues, or focusing more on their own self advancement than the issues. Thus, V4C will need to make sure to work with women's movements on issues with local traction.
- **Using social media:** The social media testing showed that social media personalities receive more responses for posts that are more broadly 'political' than for this post specifically regarding AGW. Thus, V4C should make sure its social media messaging is presented in ways that appeal to more general politically-engaged audiences, and are able to generate broader discourse.
- **More research is needed:** this research gives a good initial indication of who are the Opinion Leaders, who is already championing AGW issues, and which kinds of Opinion Leaders might be amenable to becoming Champions. However, more research is needed to understand: the complex process of influence; which AGW issues will have traction with potential new Champions; whether there are smaller-scale (community-level rather than state-level) Champions who were not mentioned here; and how influence works within social media.