

LESSONS LEARNED

Setting Up and Running Peace Clubs



Learning from the NSRP Experience

Introduction and Background

The DFID-funded Nigeria Stability and Reconciliation Programme (NSRP) delivered interventions aimed at preventing violent conflict, promoting appropriate responses to violent conflict, and supporting reconciliation processes in the aftermath of conflict. As part of this, it sought to increase the participation of, and reduce the impact of violence on, women and girls.

The peace club intervention aimed to improve the prevention of and response to violence against women and girls (VAWG) by creating safe spaces for women, girls and boys. It also aimed to build a constituency of support for non-violent conflict resolution and countering VAWG, through training participants to become 'peer leaders' in their community, and creating a critical mass of support amongst the wider community.

Conflict, Insecurity and Gender Inequality in Nigeria

Nigeria is currently facing significant levels of instability, the worst the country has experienced since the 1967-70 civil war. Poor governance, systematic and geographical inequalities, structural and cultural violence, unequal representation among decision makers, and violent resolution of conflict due to poor conflict management mechanisms, have all contributed to Nigeria's current ranking as Africa's most violent country not at war.

Conflict and insecurity has left women and girls increasingly vulnerable to violence, and exacerbated the harmful traditional and cultural practices that perpetuate gender inequality. Nigeria is a deeply patriarchal society in which women and girls struggle to access social, economic and political power that is equal to their male counterparts. This entrenched inequality, combined with a culture of silence around VAWG, inadequate prevention and response mechanisms, and subsequent widespread impunity for perpetrators, means that VAWG is endemic across Nigeria.

Evidence shows that during conflict, women and girls' overall exposure to violence increases, both within and outside of the home. The increased risk of physical and sexual violence in public commonly results in further restrictions on women and girls' access to public spaces; it can also lead to gender norms becoming more polarised, which in turn can perpetuate VAWG at the household level. The emergence of Jama'atu Ahli Sunnah Lidda'awati Wal-Jihad¹ (JAS) has given rise to new forms of VAWG, including abductions, and the use of women and girls as suicide bombers and human shields. After years of conflict and displacement, formal prevention and response mechanisms have been further weakened, and informal support networks for victims of violence disrupted.

In spite of the disproportionate impact of conflict on women and girls, there is typically little to no female representation in formal conflict management and peacebuilding processes. This is in spite of the fact that women in Nigeria often play an informal role in resolving conflicts at the household and family level. Girls in particular are consistently excluded from public life and decision making.

Key Objectives of Peace Clubs

¹ Commonly known as Boko Haram, a term not used by NSRP due to reasons of conflict sensitivity.

The objective of the peace clubs was to create a critical mass of young people with improved self-esteem and confidence, who are equipped to deal non-violently with conflict and conflict related issues; have a greater understanding of the causes and consequences of VAWG; and are able to act as advocates against VAWG and for non-violent conflict resolution. Critical to achieving this were the following two components:

- **Establish 'safe spaces' to break the culture of silence** around VAWG by creating an environment in which victims felt safe to speak out without fear of stigmatisation, and in which boys and young men were able to examine their potential for combatting VAWG.
- **Engage adolescent girls**, who are at particular risk of VAWG due to risks associated with puberty, early sexual debut, increased sexual violence, and forced and child marriage. In Nigeria the concept of adolescence is often ignored, with girls considered to be women once they start menstruating.

Setting Up and Running the Peace Clubs

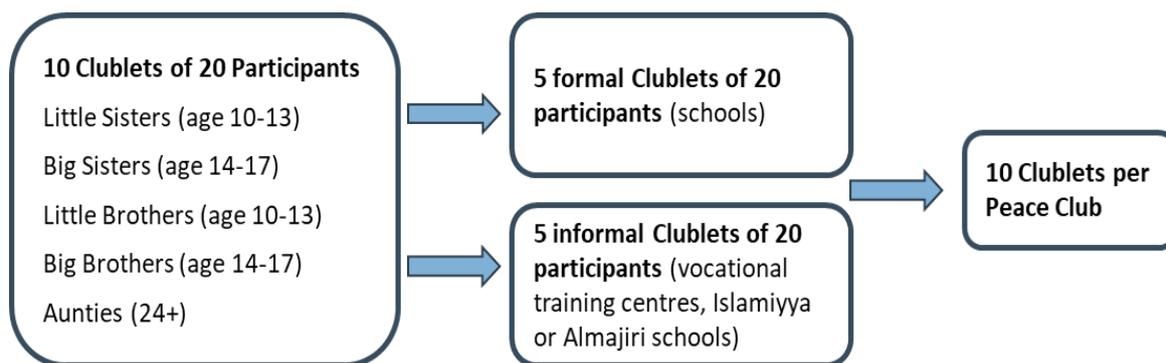
The clubs were established following a process of consultation with donors and other development actors working on VAWG, to identify strategic partners and inform the clubs' structure and management. A manual was developed following a desk-based review and extensive consultation to ensure its relevance and appropriateness to each focus state. Each of the 20 modules addresses a different theme through games, exercises and discussion, and can be adapted to the age and ability of the group. Modules include: Assertiveness; Self-Awareness; VAWG; Civic Education; Advocacy for Youth Development.

Coordinating civil society organisations (CSOs) were selected based on their relationships with target communities and the relevance of previous work. CSOs conducted community outreach to sensitise communities to the club initiative and advertised for club facilitators. Club attendees were registered following this outreach process.

Communities were responsible for selecting facilitators, of which there were two per clublet (see diagram below that explains the structure of Peace Clubs), male for the boys' clubs and female for the girls'. Criteria for facilitators included: trusted in the community; higher secondary school education to read and translate the manual; and no record of child abuse. They were asked to identify spaces in which clubs could operate. For the formal clubs, spaces were identified in schools or other public buildings; informal spaces included vocational schools for people living with disabilities, and known gathering areas such as those used by street hawkers. Communities also determined when clubs would meet, to avoid clashes with participants' commitments such as farming season or festivals.

Within each peace club there were 10 clublets, each with two facilitators (one primary and one backup, male for male clublets and female for female). Meetings were held on a weekly basis, with the aim of holding 40 meetings annually to avoid public holidays. In 2015, registered participants totalled 11,709 (7,405 female and 4,304 male), its highest point.

Peace Club Structure



The clubs used the manual as a guiding curriculum through which participants would learn and engage in discussion around issues such as VAWG, conflict prevention, and advocacy. Clubs conducted advocacy activities within their communities – for example, meeting with traditional leaders to raise the club’s profile and discuss issues of concern. Clubs reported to NSRP on a quarterly basis, describing both activities as well as recording any behavioural change amongst participants. Participants and facilitators also fed into NSRP’s Observatory, a ‘virtual safe space’ consisting of an online platform for reporting incidences of VAWG.

Lessons and Recommendations

The following lessons were recorded based on interviews with club representatives (convening CSOs, facilitators and attendees) from Borno, Kano and Rivers states, and with the NSRP lead on Women and Girls. These interviews were supplemented by a desk-based review of quarterly narratives, M&E logs, activity reports and cohort studies submitted by peace clubs from all target states. They also draw on previous internal reviews of the peace clubs².

Establishing the peace clubs is a lengthy process, including gaining community buy-in and adapting to the local context. Under-estimating the timeframe required creates perverse incentives to rush a delicate process.

The overall process for getting the peace clubs up and running took approximately one year, exceeding the timeframe originally set out in the programme logframe. This delay was noted in the 2013 Annual Review, which was critical of the slow progress in getting clubs up and running. There were then further delays in establishing a regular meeting pattern amongst certain clubs, particularly in the conflict-affected states in the north east.

The need to adhere to agreed implementation timelines is clearly important from an overall project management perspective. Timeframes should therefore be realistic, taking into account the significant amount of groundwork required to establish peace clubs that are accepted by communities and administered by suitable, trained facilitators. NSRP’s original timeframe was not realistic. The recruitment of convening CSOs, for example, involved a number of stages: initial stakeholder mapping in each focus state; calls for/assessments of Expressions of Interest (EOI); organisational capacity assessment; call for full proposals; delivery of multiple training courses (including on gender and conflict sensitive programming, financial and activity management and reporting, and training on the use of the peace club manual); overseeing CSO delivery of training to club facilitators on the club manual. CSOs then embarked on their own process of community consultation and member recruitment.

² Including the Lessons Learnt draft paper prepared by Output 3 Manager, Eleanor Nwadinobi, and Programme Officer Uchenna Nwokedi; and the Review of Output 3 produced by Social Development Direct in March 2016.

Programmes in FCAS must have ability to adapt and change to context in order to maximise impact and do no harm. This takes extra time. Piloting can help reduce transaction costs of adjusting mid-way.

Time and care were also required to identify and meaningfully respond to community concerns around the peace clubs during the design and outreach phase, and laid important foundations for implementation. NSRP responded to research findings and community feedback by adapting the format and messaging around the clubs in a number of ways:

- *Evolution of club model.* The club initiative was originally intended to target only girls aged 10 to 17, as a group particularly at risk of experiencing VAWG. However, as NSRP staff conducted initial state-level outreach, the culture of silence around VAWG in Nigeria was identified as a critical issue, and one on which boys also needed to be engaged. This led to a four-clublet model of younger and older boys and girls, segregated by sex. During later community-level consultations in the North, it became apparent across target states that parents and guardians were hesitant to enroll children due to concerns over safety and security, particularly for 10-13 year olds. NSRP responded by establishing Aunties Clublets, which allowed female chaperones (typically 18-24 years) to accompany younger participants to and from meetings and also to engage in club activities.
- *Adaptation of language used to promote peace clubs.* In Rivers state, club enrollment was initially low. Through community consultation, partners identified the use of the word 'club' as a barrier to enrollment, as parents associated 'clubs' with Niger Delta's vibrant and often seedy nightlife scene. CSOs were therefore required to conduct additional outreach in order to sensitise communities as to the peace club meaning of 'club'. They were also able to advertise the recent addition of auntie's clublets as further assurance.

Case Study: Developing the Peace Club Manual

The peace club manual was the core learning tool for all peace clubs, and thus was central to their overall uptake and impact. The curriculum needed to be adaptable according to the age, location, sex, and ability of individual club members. It also needed to be culturally appropriate to communities across NSRP's focus states. This took multiple adaptations to achieve. For example, the basic illustrations featured throughout the manual were repeatedly redesigned, as community-level consultations highlighted concerns around the skin colour and dress of illustrations, the activities they were depicted carrying out, and their proximity to one another (particularly where male and female cartoons were featured).

Once printed, the manual provided the basis for peace club learning throughout implementation, with only one major update being made to incorporate a module on female participation in peace keeping and alignment with existing community initiatives. The manual has subsequently been requested by numerous Nigerian and international stakeholders.

Clubs were encouraged to meet on a weekly basis from the start of implementation. While there were initial concerns that this target was over-ambitious, the regularity of meetings proved useful as a means of ongoing sensitisation and building momentum around the clubs' activities and objectives. Certain clubs nevertheless struggled to meet on a weekly basis. Challenges included delays caused by schools requiring Ministry of Education sign off before granting use of their facilities, and schools requesting payment for use of space, prompting clubs to either find alternative venues or justify additional NSRP grants. In such cases, meetings and activities were often halted, happened less frequently, or attracted fewer participants, until the issue was resolved. In an innovative, learning programme, these initial

teething problems should be expected and built into the design and timeframe, giving a preparatory period before clubs start reporting on activities and outputs.

Safety of programme participants in fragile and conflict-affected contexts can be enhanced by working flexibly and in close consultation with communities.

JAS violence and threats have resulted in increasing conflict and fragility across the north east of Nigeria. NSRP did not initially launch peace clubs in Borno, due to its inaccessibility and instability. However, following DFID's recommendation in the 2013 Annual Review, NSRP established a hybrid peace club model that was designed to be flexible in response to the instability of the Borno context. NSRP learnt that it is possible to facilitate peace clubs in this highly challenging context – but that certain additional measures or tailored approaches need to be adopted to navigate the risks. Some of these are highlighted in the case study below.

Case Study – developing a hybrid peace club model in Borno State

With women and girls routinely attacked and killed in public spaces, regular kidnappings, and the targeting of girls attending school, it was critical to establish clubs that upheld Do No Harm principles and did not put participants at risk. The hybrid model differed from the standard peace club model in a number of ways:

- *Physical location of safe spaces.* Rather than there being set formal and informal meeting spaces, Borno members themselves would determine if and where it was safe to meet and would then be joined by the facilitating CSO. Club locations frequently changed as a result of community-identified threats.
- *Meeting regularity.* The hybrid clubs met on a monthly rather than weekly basis for the first six months of running, due to the difficulty of organising the meetings and the slower pace at which communities bought in to the club initiative.
- *Club structure.* The hybrid clubs did not follow the model of there being 5 clublets per club, as fluctuation in attendance was far greater depending on what members were able to attend meetings. While clubs were typically segregated by sex, the age of participants was much more mixed.

A total of 30 hybrid-model clubs were formed in Borno state, targeting approximately 540 adults (380 women, 160 men). These clubs specifically targeted women and child brides who had been widowed, along with other marginalised women and girls such as street hawkers and commercial sex workers, adapting support to the needs of participants. The National Council for Women's Societies worked exclusively with 200 widows and Internally Displaced Persons (120 female, 80 male) in Maiduguri Municipal Council, primarily targeting individuals affected by the JAS insurgency. The Health Care Development Focus Initiative (HECADF) provided monthly food distribution to its most vulnerable club members in internally displaced persons camps, in light of the increasing food insecurity affecting communities across the north east.

Club activities were also adapted in response to the changes in gender roles brought about by the conflict. Reflecting the growing trend of women taking on breadwinning activities in the absence of husbands or male family members, CSOs provided older participants with a range of livelihoods skills training. In Maiduguri Municipal Council, HECADF delivered training on personal savings and liquid soap making, and provided small start-up grants to trainees. The University of Maiduguri Muslim Women Association (UMMWA) organised for CSO members and facilitators to receive training from the university's Entrepreneurship Development Centre, which they could then cascade to participants. UMMWA also formed 22 cooperatives amongst its 280 participants, each registered with the state government, and supported cooperatives to apply for interest-free loans from the Bank of Industry.

Reaching marginalised groups may require partnering with small, dedicated or specialised organisations who represent or support particular sectors - even if their capacity limitations require additional time and effort to address.

CSO partners were the primary means by which communities learnt about and became engaged with the peace clubs. One of the criteria for selecting partner CSOs was the extent to which they were embedded within target communities. Having strong existing relationships with target communities was central in gaining community buy-in for the initiative, and unblocking challenges (such as identifying meeting venues). A second criteria for selection was CSOs' organisational and technical capacity, as higher capacity CSOs required less central support and were able to mobilise more quickly.

However, in order to fulfil its aim of promoting inclusivity and 'leaving no one behind', NSRP realised that it would need to select CSOs with more limited capacity and less broad community-level reach as a means of reaching the more marginalised groups with which they worked. This was most evident in Kaduna, where NSRP selected the Women with Disability Self-Reliance Centre (WWDSRC) as one of the state's 3 convening CSOs. WWDSRC convened 3 clubs, which worked with over 200 disabled boys and girls and 38 disabled women. NSRP recognised WWDSRC's capacity gaps, and provided additional training and ad hoc support, particularly around financial management and reporting, and activity planning and reporting.

WWDSRC led the Kaduna peace clubs in conducting advocacy and sensitisation activities with a number of relevant local stakeholders, to gather support for an inclusive development agenda that recognised the needs and rights of disabled citizens. Targeted stakeholders included the Ministry of Women Affairs and Rehabilitation Centre; the traditional leader (Zazzau) of Tundun Wada LGA; the state Ministry of Education and Education Secretary; and various formal and religious schools.

Promoting participation of disabled women in Kaduna

Of the 38 disabled peace club aunties who were members of WWDSRC clubs, 2 went on to pursue electoral positions in Kaduna state: the Vice President for the Blind Welfare Association, and the Financial Secretary of the Joint National Association of People with Disabilities. The Vice President had previously dropped out of school, but re-enrolled as a communication student at Kaduna Polytechnic during her time with the peace club. She was also one of the people with disabilities who was represented during the drafting of the Kaduna State Action Plan on UN Security Council Resolution 1325.

The peace clubs served as spaces for participants to build their self-confidence and rights awareness, which they were then able to apply within their communities.

Interviews with peace club facilitators, members and convening CSOs consistently emphasised the extent to which participants – particularly girls – gained in confidence through regularly attending the peace clubs. This was also reflected in testimonies recorded in the quarterly club logbooks. As a representative of the Kano state convening CSO noted during an interview:

'You cannot imagine how the girls gained self-confidence, the strength to speak up, how this grew week by week through attending the peace clubs. You cannot imagine.'



Collated word cloud of participant responses to 2015 cohort study question: ‘what benefits have you gained from the peace clubs?’, MTE

Peace clubs also served as an effective platform for advocacy activities and increasing reporting of VAWG cases. (The challenges of capturing the impact of these activities is covered in the lesson on Monitoring and Evaluation below.)

Promoting women’s rights and resolving conflict in Rivers and Delta States

In 2015, club members worked with the Centre for Environment, Human Rights and Development (CEHRD) to establish a Community Mediation Centre in Bokana, Degema LGA. The Centre typically deals with 1 to 2 cases a week, and is run by club facilitators and older peace club members who have been trained by CEHRD as mediators. 26 participants were trained as mediators from 2015 to 2016. Cases are restricted to domestic disputes, in order to safeguard club participants, however the Centre has established a relationship with local police stations so that more serious or complex cases can be referred effectively. Cases from the mediation centre also contributed to cases referred to the NSRP observatories; from 2015 to 2016, a total of 191 cases were reported to the Rivers Observatory.

The Delta peace clubs also played an active role in promoting women’s involvement in local government. With club support, 4 women were successfully elected to the previously male-dominated Community Development Committee in Agbarha-Otor community. The clubs also worked with local authorities to secure an allocation of 2-3 female seats in the Agbassa CDC.

Through the club model, it would be valuable to provide practical training and support to complement softer life skills.

During the interview process, club stakeholders repeatedly emphasised how the club model could be made more impactful through including a focus on practical skills development. It was argued that the club model did not take full advantage of the increased confidence and motivation of participants, and that the economic drivers of violence and conflict needed to be addressed in parallel with the attitudinal and socio-cultural drivers. A Kano CSO representative noted this would be particularly useful as a means of sustaining the participation of ex-gang members and other individuals previously prone to violent behaviour.

‘If you’re going to open the floodgates, you need to have somewhere to keep the water.’ Rivers State CSO representative, on the need to combine life skills development with income generation.

The majority of convening CSOs made an effort to provide basic education and informal training on income generation skills. However, such training was ad hoc and reliant on the internal skills of the convening CSO, as opposed to being linked to formal education or apprenticeship opportunities. The initiatives developed within individual clubs could be used to inform an expanded club model. Income could be used to support members’ ideas for income generating activities, in the form of small grants or loans. Activities within the clubs could also be linked to education and training activities; for example, financial management of an income generation activity could be linked to an accredited finance course.

Case Study: Income Generation and Entrepreneurship in Kano

In Kano, the Society for Women Development and Empowerment Nigeria (SWODEN) used a portion of their NSRP grant to purchase a vegetable processing machine for the female clubs, and a grain grinding machine for the male clubs. The clubs advertised the processing as a service they could offer their communities, with facilitators and older club members in charge of managing both the provision of services and the income generated. This income was then saved with the objective of buying a welding machine (to serve a similar purpose), while older club members could also apply to borrow a portion of the earnings in order to set up their own income generating activity.

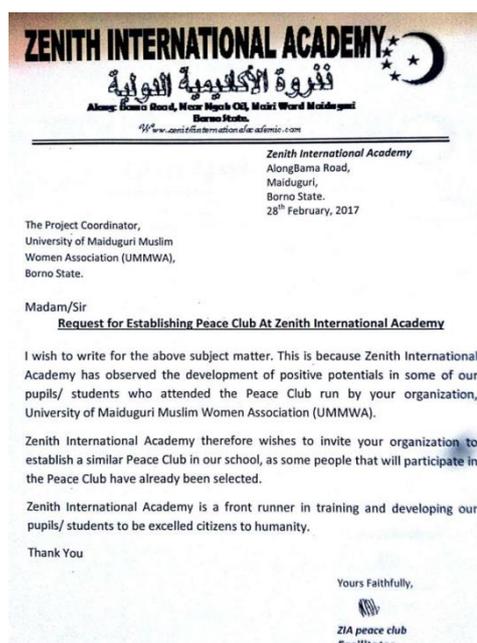
Referral pathways for survivors of violence need careful and consideration before programming begins, so that reports are handled responsibly and systematically.

Interviewees emphasised the need to link the safe space model – actual, in the peace clubs, and virtual, in the observatories – with practical support for at risk individuals or victims of violence. CSO representatives and facilitators gave multiple examples of being unable to find shelter for participants who came to them as a result of violence, of being ostracised by their families or communities, or in a vulnerable state such as during pregnancy. A number of CSO workers had provided shelter in their own homes in the absence of any alternative. Future club initiatives should consider conducting a comprehensive and regularly updated mapping of referral pathways for victims or at-risk individuals. If resources are available, the club model could be expanded to include establishing safe houses, in recognition of the ethical obligation to provide practical support to at-risk individuals.

The seeds of sustainability are evident across a number of peace clubs, albeit not in the form that NSRP had predicted

NSRP's strategy for the sustainability of the peace club initiative hinged on the assumption that communities, community-based organisations, and schools, would move to adopt the clubs once they had demonstrated their utility in contributing to peacebuilding and reduced levels of violence. However, no formal takeover of individual clubs has taken place. Rather, potential for sustaining the initiative appears to sit with the efforts of non-focus communities to replicate the club model, and with participant-driven initiatives to make individual clubs self-sustainable. Real impact – and appetite to continue - drive these requests. Examples of this include:

- In Rivers, the principles of 5 schools have requested support from CEHRD to establish their own school-based peace clubs. Participants at the Marine Base club have established a popcorn making business, with a view to using proceeds to keep their club running after NSRP closes.
- In Kano, CSO SWODEN provided training to 42 individuals on peace club facilitation, after being approached by numerous schools who were looking to replicate the formal peace club model. SWODEN now has plans to deliver training to 40 would-be facilitators of informal peace clubs in 2017.
- In Kaduna, both the Kafanchan and Baptist High School have established their own



peace clubs, which are now running as an approved extra-curricular activity for secondary school students.

- In Borno, UMMWA has received a number of informal requests for facilitator training in 2017. UMMWA has requested that these be submitted formally at the end of the rainy season, after which they will devise a plan for training delivery.

The sustainability of the clubs could be further strengthened by developing strategies to sustain the engagement of club facilitators.

The sustainability of the clubs hinges significantly on the long term engagement of club facilitators. The burden placed on facilitators – essentially a voluntary role, paid a weekly stipend of N1000 – was considerable. They were the mouthpiece for translating the club curriculum into something directly relevant to participants and their communities. They

were also expected to build open and trusting relationships through which participants would feel comfortable discussing highly sensitive topics and their own related experiences, and to maintain club momentum.

‘We told NSRP what we wanted to do and how we will do it. We were saving some of the money they were bringing for our meeting snacks and we used what we saved to start up a small popcorn making business in the community. It is growing small small, maybe we will use what we make, to ensure that the children keep coming.’ – Club facilitator, Marine Base

One particular challenge the NSRP peace clubs encountered in fact came as a result of the clubs’ popularity. As the clubs became more popular and attendance swelled, the responsibilities of the facilitators grew as they had more participants to oversee, and activities to report on. While this growth in popularity demonstrated the increasing value of the clubs from the perspective of community members, the sustainability of the clubs was threatened in the absence of increased support to facilitators.

Future peace club initiatives could promote both the stability of clubs during implementation and their sustainability after by carefully considering the level of responsibility and commitment required from facilitators and allocating sufficient inputs (technical and financial) accordingly. This could involve finding a way to reduce the burden on facilitators, to a level that reflects the voluntary nature of the role and can thus be sustained after a programme’s closure. Alternatively, higher remuneration could be provided alongside efforts to identify post-closure funding sources (for example, from the state Ministry of Women and Social Development Affairs, or through income generating activity run by the clubs).

The M&E framework did not do justice to the peace club impacts, and was not able to successfully accommodate the programme adaptations as the conceptual framing of the work evolved.

The programme’s M&E framework was inadequate to capture outcome-level benefits of the peace clubs. The objectives of the peace clubs were in fact twofold. The first was primarily focused on developing life skills of individual participants, to ‘create a critical mass of young people with ‘greater self-esteem and confidence, able to deal positively with conflict and conflict related issues and SGBV’. The second was more outward facing, aiming for participants to ‘be more effective advocates’ for reduced violence and increased participation of women and girls in peace building. This dual objective meant that monitoring needed to capture both the personal development of individuals, and how this development was reflected through club activities in the wider community. However, as there was no mechanism for linking the numbers of participants in peace club sessions (ie activity-level data) with qualitative statements capturing real examples of how the club members were able to resolve conflicts peacefully (outcome level), the latter evidence remained rather anecdotal.

A second problem was related to the fact that the NSRP logframe changed its focus a number of times during the programme's lifespan, and the original peace clubs baseline was not fit-for-purpose once the outcomes had been re-articulated. Initially, focus was on reducing the 'experiences of VAWG' amongst club participants. This was recognised as being unrealistic, and so in 2014 was changed to the 'number of boys and girls participating' in peace clubs. In 2016, this attendance target was expanded, to also include the 'number of individual or group initiatives by peace club members that contribute to community peacebuilding or addressing VAWG'. This shifting of focus multiple times during implementation created measurement challenges, and the targets towards which clubs were working were disrupted. It also caused delays and quality issues regarding reporting, as convening CSOs and facilitators needed bringing up to speed on new monitoring focus areas and tools.

The cohort studies have the potential to serve as a useful means of understanding the perceptions and behaviours of participants, but would need to be adapted to allow for more rigorous tracking of attitudinal change over the course of implementation.

The cohort studies were intended to track the development of a cross-section of peace club members, in order to gain qualitative insight into the impact of the clubs on individual attitudinal change across focus states. They were not intended to monitor activities (in part because this was not a focus of the logframe when the studies were developed). The studies began when the first clubs started running in 2014, and covered 20 participants from each peace club in Kano, Kaduna, Plateau and Rivers states. (Cohort groups were identified in Borno and Delta in 2015 and 2016 respectively, but were analysed separately due to the timing lag.) Participants were selected to represent diverse age, gender, tribal and ethnic backgrounds.

Cohort studies were conducted on a yearly basis. Through facilitators, participants responded to a series of questions, relating to their perceptions of the forms and prevalence of violence in their community; their perceptions of the extent to which women are included in decision-making processes; and how they rated different peace club activities and focus areas. Approximately 120 club members participated in the studies per state. Analysis of the data was fed back to convening CSOs and facilitators, to inform the focus of club discussions and activities.

However, some design and implementation challenges reduced the real utility of the data, and should be taken into account for any future exercise of this nature. First, the cohort studies struggled to reach the same individuals year on year, due to participant drop out, movement to another peace club, or non-availability during the data gathering period (often due to farming activities or because of security risks). This was in spite of efforts to guard against attrition, through selecting school-age individual and those with high attendance record. Cohort members were therefore frequently replaced, which was particularly problematic given the relatively small sample size taken from each club. Second, given the varied capacity of CSOs and facilitators in data collection, the cohort studies would have benefitted from using clearer and more succinct language in the questionnaires.