

# External Evaluation: Education Centre for the Advancement of Women (ECAW), Kuria, Kenya

## Ending FGM/C in Kuria: Promoting a Culture of Change and Positive Choices

*In partnership with Feed the Minds (UK) and Orchid Project (UK), funded by Wallace Global Fund (USA) and the Obelske Familiefond (Denmark)*

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## Executive Summary

**Scope of Work** - Between November 2015 and January 2016, Feed the Minds and Orchid Project, with funding from The Wallace Global Fund commissioned a Final Evaluation of an FGM/C abandonment project in Kuria, Western Kenya. The main goal of the evaluation is to assess the extent to which the project has met its objectives, learn what has worked, and why, what can be enhanced and answer eight key learning questions. A key part of the evaluation is to assess the extent to which different community members' attitudes and behaviours have changed in relation to FGC abandonment, and to what extent this can be attributed to the project. A mixed method approach was used, this consisted of a quantitative staff survey, participatory Focus Group Discussions and Key Informant Interviews with 80 stakeholders. The evaluation was highly participatory and collaborative, involving participatory tools and a final validation workshop with the implementing agency - the Education Centre for the Advancement of Women.

**The main finding is that the service delivery model provides good value for money, is rooted in community networks, is adaptive to local needs and has the long-term potential to bring about a move towards abandonment of FGC.** Through this model over 25,000<sup>1</sup> conversations were initiated on FGC abandonment and girls and women's rights. However, a lack of M&E systems prevents the evaluation from finding out how many of these conversations were with different beneficiaries, and how many were repeat conversations with the same people. There were over 3,000 attendees at Project activities. Within this Paralegals said a (conservative) estimated was that at least 1,000 of these were distinct individuals. Thus, for example, in each community forum two-thirds of attendees were the same people (e.g. elders) while one-third of the people were new. Overall, it is very difficult to overcome double counting with the current lack of data. However, given the range of activities with multiple stakeholders across five villages the figure of 1,000 direct beneficiaries reached is likely to be an underestimate.

**The project goes too broad, and not deep enough into follow-up and sustained dialogue.** With current resources the model will not be able to affect behaviour change to bring about an abandonment of FGC among the high number of stakeholders groups (8) and large geographic area (5 villages) it covers. Achieving high-level impact to reduce prevalence rates could be achieved if the project activities are scaled-up across all areas, or the number of villages is scaled-down. The current budget is too lean to effect behaviour change given the large geographic distances involved and the wide group of target stakeholders.

**By focusing on the whole community, there is the potential to affect behaviour change through a team of 24 Paralegals that make up the heart and soul of the project.** The fact that the Paralegals are well respected community members, and most importantly come from the communities they seek to effect change in, means their message is heard in a way that would not be true of an outsider. Overwhelmingly, the Paralegal system works in delivery, though the wider team of Paralegals could be more engaged and responsible for other project activities such as delivery of training and M&E. Paralegals were not paid for their work, many had separate jobs that compete with their activities for ECAW. Paralegals requested professionalising their work on the project through further training and outward visibility (e.g. by creating Paralegal ID cards).

**The top three funding priorities, as deemed by key informants were: 1.) Training of Paralegals, 2.) Training parents (especially fathers) and 3.) Running Community Forums.** Putting money into working with law enforcers and the clan of elders were not seen as priorities to affect behaviour change.

**The project was successful at engaging a broad range of stakeholders from the whole community (objective 1) and at delivering the Girls Empowerment Programme (objective 4).** Making public declaration statements (objective 2) was said to be too ambitious an outcome for a 2-year project given the resources and the nature

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<sup>1</sup> See Annex 6: Number of beneficiaries for year 1 and 2 for a description of this breakdown.

of the topic. Working with law enforcement (objective 3) had also been re-worked as a key objective and was no longer a large focus of the project.

**The project has been able to react and adapt to local needs.** For example this has involved: bringing on board a senior male Paralegal to act as a 'bridge' between ECAW and the clan of elders; holding mini-forums to ensure a greater number of people can talk during community discussions; and including boys into the GEP to develop young male FGC community activists. The implementing agency had developed demand driven programmes that were of interest to the community (e.g. workshops on how to apply for educational bursaries, or where to get a National ID card for the purpose of work and voting).

**There was increased demand for reimbursed 'travel expenses' when trainings were of little interest to the community (e.g. a sole focus on FGC).'** Overall, there was FGC education fatigue. When community members saw value for money in attending the trainings, demand for reimbursements decreased.

**More work is needed with fathers, grandmothers, boys and cut girls.** It was suggested that boys could speak out against FGC and help make the decision not to cut their girls in the future. Cut girls could act as champions as they are said to be more respected and listened to by the community. Grandmothers could help reduce the stigma un-cut girls experience. Crucially, fathers were said to be in a key position to say no to their girls being cut.

**Girls and boys suggested that parents should have a 2-day seminar parallel to the GEP.<sup>2</sup>** The aim of this would be to engage parents (especially fathers) in discussions on FGC. This is a valid point raised by the girls, however there may be other ways to engage parents (especially fathers), for example through mini-community meetings with fathers.

**The use of role models was a very effective way of bringing about a change in attitudes.** Through girl champions, 250 additional direct beneficiaries were reached. Further, the role model of Dennitah Ghati MP and Women's Representative was frequently spoken about as a positive example of what girls can do when they are not cut. In Mabera and Masaba in particular, GEP girls and boys spoke about the importance of having role models who had not been cut. This reflects a real desire for change. However, rhetoric does not equal behaviour change. The project needs to be clear in differentiating between changes in rhetoric and changes in actual practices. There was a rhetoric that being un-cut was 'good', and led to economic empowerment, whilst being cut was linked to underdevelopment, lower attainment at school and led to fewer economic opportunities. Along this line, girls and boys frequently recounted aspirational stories of how uncut girls would study hard, graduate from university, get a good job, buy a car and come back to their village to show other girls what they can do when girls are not cut, and do not marry young. Whilst such a rhetoric reflects a positive view of uncut girls that is important to work towards, this link between economic empowerment for all and being un-cut is unrealistic as economic empowerment for women and girls is embedded within a wider social, economic and political context. The project should be careful not reinforce negative community attitudes towards cut girls. Linking these attributes to girls not being cut hides wider issues of poverty and economic deprivation.

**Attitudes among fathers and the clan of elders have been hard to change.** Both groups receive large amounts of money from girls being cut and married. The father and the family receive a minimum return of 100% on the money they spend cutting and marrying their daughter. However, financial incentives were different for fathers and the clan of elders. Fathers gained a one off lump sum when their daughter was married, while the clan of elder received regular money every two years when girls were cut during the season. There was not a direct incentive for fathers to cut, although the money received from the dowry was at least equal to that previously spent on the cut. Father's incentives were linked to marrying their daughter off, and having one

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<sup>2</sup> FGDs with GEP from Taranganya, Kehancha, Masaba 14.01.2016; KIIs with ECAW staff, 12.01.2016; KIIs with Paralegals from Taranganya and Kehancha, 14.01.2016.

less mouth to feed and one less person to financially take care of. Financial incentives for the clan of elders were high as they received cash and benefits (alcohol, meat) during the cutting season, which took place every other year.

Money received on marriage was the equivalent of five-month average salary in Kuria. In particular fathers should be engaged in discussions about what is covered during the GEP. Some fathers reacted with anger and sometimes violence on hearing what their daughters had learnt during the GEP. Others attended the final ceremony on face value, but intended to cut their girls. The father was said to be the HQ, all decisions first went through HQ.

**Each member of the clan of elders received around £68 (around one to two months' salary for the average agricultural labourer) every season that girls were cut.**<sup>3</sup> Fifty percent of the cutter's fee went to the clan of elders and fifty percent to the cutter.

**Importantly, money made from the cut cannot be used for investment purposes.** It is said that if money from the cut is used for investment a curse will fall on the investment, it will bring 'back luck, no good fortune and no money will be made from it.'

**Importantly, the age at which girls are cut has decreased from 17, 18 or 19 (in grandparents' generation) to as low as 6, 7 or 8 in 2016.** The tightening of loopholes in the 2011 Kenyan legislation, and the implementation of this legislation through high-profile arrest and prosecution of cutters and parents in 2013 led to very young girls of 7 and 8 being cut in the 2014 season among the Nyabasi and Bukria Clans. Grandmothers and health professionals said the type of cut was less extreme now than in their generation, having moved from a deeper cut and removal of more tissue to removing part of the clitoris, or making an incision.

**There was a strong discourse among stakeholder groups in general around not cutting girls, girls marrying later and finishing more years of education.** Stakeholders overwhelmingly felt they should say that un-cut girls were more likely to stay in school. However, in reality the number of girls being cut was still high, enrolment figures still show a sharp drop-off of girls from school after Class 6 (14 – 15 years old) and the majority of community members were not implementing these sentiments into action.

**Un-cut girls both those who took part in the programme and those who did not experienced considerable peer pressure to go for the cut.** Uncut girls who took part in the Girls Empowerment Programme were called childlike, dirty and 'omosagane' meaning not fully developed. Grandmothers, and to a lesser extent mothers, insulted their un-cut children, gave them fewer treats and rewards and less freedom and responsibility in the household.

**The clan of elders and grandparents were furthest away from abandoning FGC,** while health professionals, religious leaders then teachers showed the most readiness to change. In the middle sat boys then girls, who were most ready to change. Parents' attitudes remained mixed, some being for, and some being against the cut.

**There were some changes in behaviour around the cutting of girls.** The silence on the cut has been broken. Key informant interviews with community members and ECAW staff noted that women and men shared greater parity in voice and took up more equal amounts of space and time in community forums. The clan of elders (the most difficult group to access) has accepted a link person from the project through the recruitment of an elder male Paralegal. These changes cannot be solely attributed to the programme as the changing policy and legal environment and the presence of other NGOs (ADRA, Action Aid, and World Vision) are likely to have had an impact.

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<sup>3</sup> See Annex 5: Father, clan of Elders and family seek to gain financially after marry off their girls for a detailed breakdown of these cost.

**M&E capacity and activities could be easily enhanced.** The project met its activity targets; there were no clear targets or Key Performance Indicators for outcome and early signs of impact. Standard reporting systems could be enhanced (e.g. by developing an Excel sheet which ECAW staff can complete during weekly phone conversations with Paralegals).

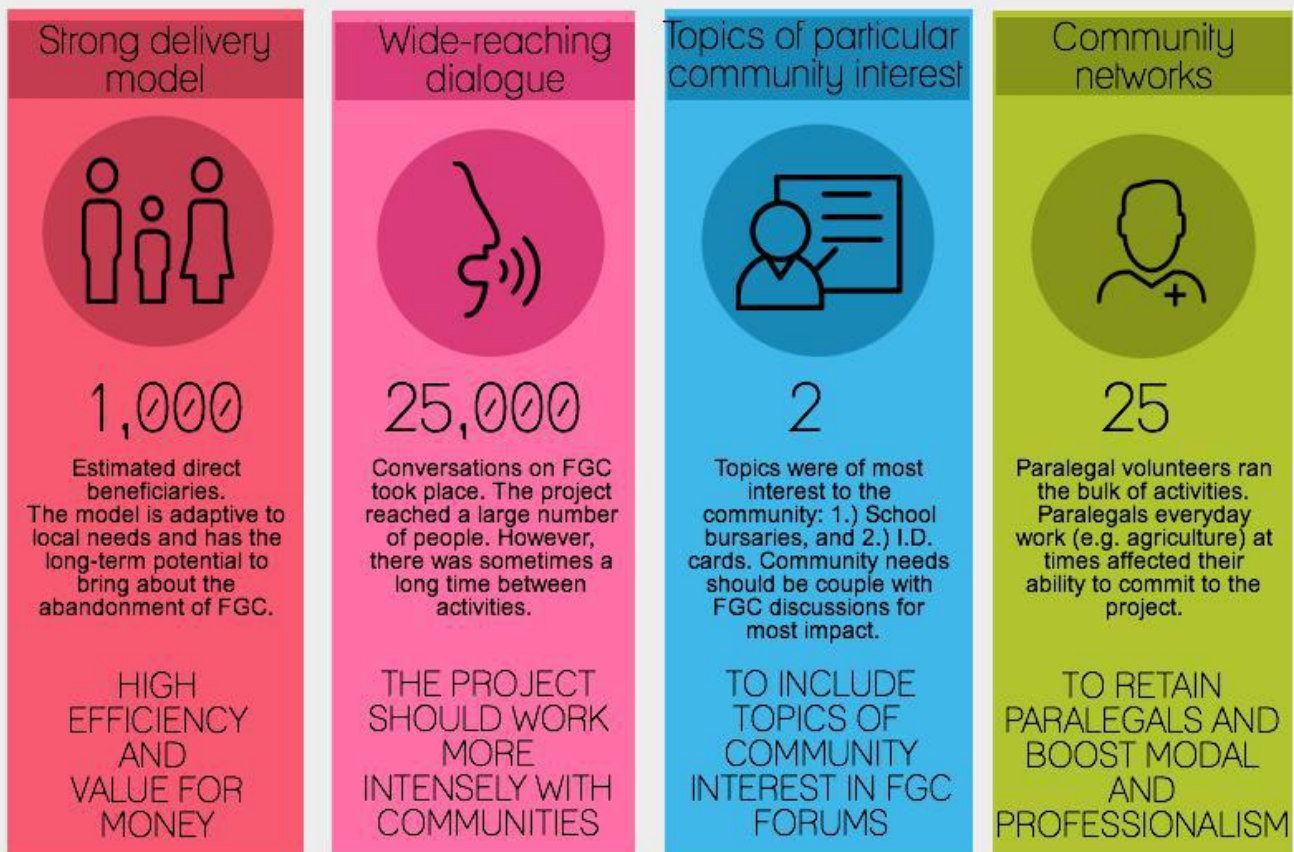
### Top line recommendations

- **Communications** To share the service delivery model as a solid model for moving towards an abandonment of FGC
- **Programming:** To more fully involve fathers, mothers and grandparents so that they do not attend GEP ceremonies on face value, do not stigmatise their girls, and so that father understand more about the project
- **Programming:** To develop additional role models for young men and fathers to stimulate behaviour change
- **Programming:** To couple FGC discussions with the needs of the community
- **Programming:** To go deeper rather than broader across villages
- **Programming:** To develop more intensive training with Paralegals on the importance of not ostracising cut girls
- **Programming:** To pay Paralegals Sh. 1,500 (£10)/ day for their work, number of days to be decided once activities are confirmed and villages are selected. This rate was suggested by Paralegals and ECAW through separate interviews
- **Programming:** To increase the capacity of Paralegals so they gradually take on more responsibilities for facilitating discussions and community forums and to retain high morals and professionalism
- **Programming:** To issue Paralegals with an ID for accountability and to build professionalism and morale
- **M&E:** To use Paralegals to collect M&E data more systematically
- **M&E** To develop M&E systems, including a set of Key Performance Indicators, to measure outcome and impact; build the capacity of ECAW and Paralegals to develop an Excel data storage sheet for KPIs; and train Paralegals in M&E
- **Resource mobilization:** To apply to the UN Women Trust Fund to End Violence Against Women and Girls for a joint grant with FTM and Orchid Project
- **Communications:** To publish methodological top tips in the Overseas Development Institute Humanitarian Practice Magazine to share best practice on doing whole community research and evaluations on FGC. This will provide opportunities to communicate best practice and learning from the project evaluation, will build global networks and will help in resource mobilisation.

# Final Evaluation Report Ending FGC in Kuria Promoting a Culture of Change and Positive Choices' Project

## - WHOLE COMMUNITY APPROACH -

All stakeholder groups were consulted including women, men, boys, girls, elders, teachers, parents, chiefs, Christian religious leaders and health professionals.



Focus on fewer areas to increase the frequency of activities

Develop work with fathers, cut girls and grandmothers



Develop easy to use M&E systems

Couple FGC discussions with the needs of the community

Apply for funding through UN Women Trust Fund

## **Acronyms**

CBO	Community Based Organization
ECAW	Education Centre for the Advancement of women
GEP	Girls Empowerment Programme
FGM/C	Female Genital Mutilation/ Cutting
FTM	Feed the Minds
KII	Key Informant Interview
KPI	Key Performance Indicators
FGD	Focus Group Discussions
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
ToC	Theory of Change
ToR	Terms of Reference
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation



## **Background, Purpose and methodology**

### **Background of the organizations**

The project is a partnership between two UK based NGOs – Feed the Minds and Orchid Project – and the Education Centre for the Advancement of Women (ECAW), a Nairobi based NGO with activities and a base in Kuria. Feed the Minds (FTM) is a UK based organization that works directly with NGO's in developing countries in five thematic areas: vocational training, health, civic education, peace building and theological education. A focus on gender equality and women's rights underlies all of Feed the Minds' programmes. Orchid Project is a UK based organization with a vision of a world free from female genital cutting. ECAW is a Community Based Organization that works solely in Kuria and aims to support women and girls to realise their full potential. The main focus of its work is on ending FGC and child marriage and supporting girls to complete primary and secondary education. This project was developed and implemented by ECAW, with support and input from Feed the Minds and Orchid Project, building capacity and sharing knowledge.

### **Background of the project**

Feed the Minds, ECAW and the Population Council received funding from Comic Relief to undertake research on FGC in 2010-2011. Based on the findings of this research, a new project was developed called: Combating FGC: Alternative Rites – Positive Choices, which was implemented from 2011 to 2012 in five villages in Kuria: Chinato, Kegonga, Kehancha, Ntimaru and Mabera. At the end of the project there was evidence that attitudes were beginning to change among some groups within the five communities however further work was needed.

### **The current project**

The current project in this Final Evaluation is largely a continuation of the project of 2011/2012 with the same core areas of activity. The current project being evaluated is also implemented in five villages.<sup>4</sup> Three of these villages (Chinato, Kegonga and Mabera) were involved in the first project. Ntimaru was omitted from the new project as it was found to be too remote and inaccessible for effective implementation. It was replaced by Maseba. Activities continued in Kehancha municipality but were focused on more rural parts of the municipality, in Taranganya, rather than around Kehancha town.

### **Main activities**

This project was called Ending FGM/C in Kuria: Promoting a Culture of Change and Positive Choices. The Project was implemented between 2013 – 2015 by an ECAW staff team of two (one Project Co-ordinator and one Finance Officer) and a large group of Paralegal Volunteers (25) and Champion girls (20, 1 of which was particularly active). There are two types of Paralegals – Lead Paralegals and regular Paralegals. All Paralegals mobilise for the Girls' Empowerment Programme (GEP), help facilitate community forums and support with training. Lead Paralegals have an additional responsibility for managing 4-5 Paralegals and reporting on results. The main activities of the project were:

### **Forums**

Community forums involved discussions with between 75 – 100 community members that were led by a community member and a Paralegal, or the Project Coordinator at ECAW. Mini-Forums were adapted from community forums and were a relatively new activity initiated in early 2015. Mini-forums were the same as community forums bar two factors. First, mini-forums involved a smaller number of around 25 stakeholders. Second, people often travelled shorter distances to these forums than the larger community forums.

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<sup>4</sup> It is worth noting that although the 5 project locations are referred to as villages in project documents in reality these are administrative divisions and of significant size.

### **Girls' Empowerment Programme (GEP)**

A two-day workshop for around 40 girls between the ages of around 11-18 years old who have not been cut. The training covers topics such as FGC, reproductive health, human rights and career choices with different specialist facilitators being brought to deliver specialist-training modules. Parents attend a graduation ceremony on the second half of day two.

### **Stakeholder training and influencing**

This involved group training of Paralegals, teachers, health professionals, religious leaders and the clan of elders.

## **Objectives of the project**

The objectives of the project are:

- 1. To engage the whole community in awareness raising and action in relation to FGM/C, early marriage and the rights of women and children in five rural villages (paralegals, health professionals, teachers, church leaders, girls, boys, parents, grandparents).**

Objective 1 is assessed throughout the report, as this is a cross-cutting activity from which other activities stem.

- 2. To develop public declaration statements by community and Clan of Elders and community leaders about their commitment to reduce/abandon FGM/C in five rural villages.**

Objective 2 is not the main focus of the Project, although stakeholder discussions did address objective 2. Early on in the project there was an acknowledgment that the objective was unlikely to be achieved within the lifetime of the project. As a result the project targeted more efforts at other activities such as community forums and the Girls Empowerment Programme.

- 3. To provide support and information to law enforcers to increase enforcement of law against FGM/C.**

Objective 3 has similarly not been the focus of activities in the last two years. Rather the Project has put emphasis on other activities (e.g. training Paralegals, running mini and larger community forums, creating FGC dialogue in the community, running the GEP). As a result, the Final Evaluation focuses on these implemented activities. The effectiveness, efficiency, impact and suitability of these key activities are answered through the eight learning questions (Annex 1: Key Learning Questions).

- 4. To implement 6 Girls' Empowerment Programmes for 240 girls.**

Objective 4, like objective 1 remains a key focus for the project and is assessed below.

## **Purpose of the final evaluation**

The main aim of this assignment is to assess the extent to which the FGC Project has achieved the four project objectives (Annex 7: Terms of Reference for Final Evaluation – FGC Project). The assignment aims to provide key learning on how the implementing agency (Education Centre for the Advancement of Women (ECAW), partners (Feed the Minds (FTM) and Orchid Project) and donor (Wallace Global Fund) can enhance FGC programming in the future. The evaluation will look at success stories of what has worked well and how this can be replicated. Additionally the evaluation will also consider how the programme and internal M&E systems can be enhanced. The report is organised under the eight key learning questions (Annex 1: Key Learning Questions).

### **Methodology**

Due to financial limitations three of the five villages were selected to take part in the evaluation. Three criteria were applied to select the villages. This was based on: the villages showing different levels of success in

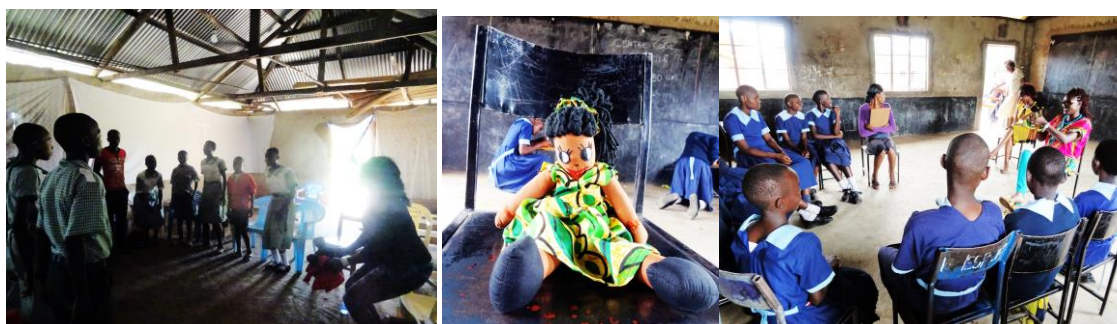
reaching their readiness to change, villages that had been engaged in the programme for varying lengths of time and a range of rural and urban villages. Three villages were selected for the evaluation, these were: Taranganya, Kegonga and Masaba. The assignment used a mixed method approach, consisting of three participatory Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) with 28 girls and 4 boys<sup>5</sup> who have participated in the GEPs, 9 parents and 6 grandparents and Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) with NGO staff from ADRA (1), Action Aid (2), Concern International (1), World Vision (2) and community stakeholders, including Lead Paralegals (4), Paralegals (2), Clan of Elders (3), Health Professionals (3), Teachers (3), Religious Leaders (3) and Chiefs (Law Enforcement Officers) (2), ECAW staff (3), Feed the Minds (2) and Orchid Staff (2). In total, 80 stakeholders were consulted (Annex 2: Overview of KIIs and FGDs by location and sex). Within the interview, 10 Key Informants took part in a mini survey. The survey asked informants to rank and prioritise the importance of working with different stakeholders in order to bring about behaviour change on FGC, with 10 being very critical and 1 being not important, or not likely to affect change. To leave the survey open, respondents were allowed to give different groups the same number. For example, a number said that community forums and the GEP were equally important and scored 10 for both.

### Ethics

All names have been changed to maintain confidentiality, anonymity and empower stakeholders to speak freely.

### Methodological approach

The methodology took a highly participatory approach, using a fictitious ‘doll character,’ and drawing exercises to engage young people as well as interactive energisers and warm-up games. All tools were pre-tested in Nairobi, and field tested on day one in Kuria. Tools were also reviewed with FTM, Orchid, ECAW and within the External Evaluation team and adaptations were made. The External Evaluation team consisted of one International Consultant from the U.K., living in Kenya, and two local Researchers who speak and come from Kuria. Early findings were validated with two ECAW staff, two Research Assistants and one Lead Paralegal during a validation workshop in Kuria. Findings were also shared with FTM and Orchid prior to finalization of the report.



Kamila Wasilkowska: Left to right: Picture 1: A facilitator from Kuria leads an energiser warm-up game for GEP girls and boys in Masaba Town 15.01.2016; Picture 2: Ghati the doll sits on a classroom chair. The doll was used to start discussions about the GEP. GEP participants were later asked to draw out the most significant experience, good or bad, from the GEP, 13.01.2016. Picture 3: A facilitator from Kuria introduces the ‘doll’ character at Igena Primary School in Kehancha, the girls named the doll Ghati, 13.01.2016.

### Separate Focus Group Discussions were held with the following groups:

1. Girls and boys	2. Parents	3. Grandparents
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<sup>5</sup> Boys were included in the GEP in Masaba. This occurred after there was a community demand for both girls and boys to be included together in the programme.

Individual or group (in the case of FTM and Orchid Project) semi-structured interviews were held with the following groups:

NGO staff from the project		Other NGOs	Volunteers		Community workers and elders			
1. FTM and Orchid	2. ECAW	3. NGO and CBO staff	4. Paralegals	5. Lead Paralegals	6. Health professionals	7. Teachers	8. Religious Leaders	9. Clan of elders

### Methodological limitations

**Constrained resources meant that the fieldwork took place with a lean Evaluation Team of one Consultant and two Researchers.** In an ideal situation the research team would include a representation of people of different ages and sexes. This would for example mean that a young man was interviewed by a young man, an older women by an older woman and so on.

**The External Evaluation team was introduced to the community by the implementing partner.** Although efforts were made to make clear confidentiality, anonymity and the important separation between the External Evaluation team and the implementing agency, the community may still have associated the team with ECAW.

**There was an expectation among some NGOs and CBOs that staff interviewed would be ‘reimbursed for their time.’** This meant that some interviews could not be secured with NGO and CBO staff. Arriving in a car, though be it a functional car (Toyota Probox) further promoted the view that the organization had money. Commuting via motorbike is not feasible due to the large distances covered and not safe due to increased risk of road traffic accidents on long journeys.

**Less information was available on certain training activities (especially the training of teachers, parents, religious leaders and health professionals).** A time lag existed between some activities taking place in 2014 and 2015 and the final evaluation in January 2016. For example, for some GEP girls the evaluation was their first meaningful contact with ECAW after the GEP. As a result, this time lag posed a significant barrier in asking participants to assess activities. There was little written data on the trainings that could be used as an additional resource. As a result, the findings for trainings have been based on interviews with those that attended, but also interviews with the Paralegals and ECAW staff who have a good understanding of the activities.



Kamila Wasilkowska: Two grandmothers from Maeta, Kegonga are engaged in an interview, 14.01.2016.

The findings are organised into three parts. Part one addresses the crosscutting findings across the project. This includes a look at the overall number of beneficiaries reached and the changes in the wider FGC context. Part two looks at the core activities (community forums, mini forums, GEPs and training). Part three looks at findings that relate to Monitoring and Evaluation and research. Finally, the recommendations from these three parts are included at the end of the report.

## **Part One: Findings that are Cross-cutting**

### **Overview of the project and the number of beneficiaries reached**

The project has taken on an extensive and highly ambitious approach to ending the cut in Kuria and targets five dispersed villages and nine stakeholder groups across Kuria with a limited budget. The Project provides a solid model, rooted in community networks and needs. This wide network and close links with the community makes the project responsive to community needs. Staff surveyed from all three organizations thought the project had achieved 'somewhat good' (50%), or 'good' (50%) results.

**There were some alternative approaches to FGC programming being implemented in Kuria. For example, traditional rescue centres** were accommodating girls during the cutting season in December. World Vision, ADRA and Action Aid International were involved in running camps for girls: 'ADRA and ActionAid have been sensitising girls by gathering them together at Komotobo in a girl's camp to protect them from the cut

especially in December during the season.<sup>6</sup> This approach goes against the project’s ToC and sits at Stage One of the ‘less ready to change’ spectrum.<sup>7</sup> The community had mixed opinions on the need for rescue centres. Some community members noted that ‘girls need a place to go when the season is taking place,’<sup>8</sup> while others noted that ‘it’s a complete waste of money,’<sup>9</sup> and that ‘they are not a good idea because they do not achieve what they intended to achieve,’<sup>10</sup> ‘girls go straight from the rescue centre to be cut, after so much peer pressure from their friends and families.’<sup>11</sup>

**Community members suggested that efforts should be stepped up in September - December** of the year girls will be circumcised in preparation for supporting communities to not cut their girls. ECAW should step up discussions with fathers and conduct mini-forums before the different cutting seasons for each of the four clans. The clan of elders decides on the cutting season through the following process. The clan of elders comes together before the season is due to start (e.g. in October or November) and consult with the spirits at the river to ask for permission to proceed with the cut. If the clan receives the right signs from the spirits then the cut proceeds. During interviews with the clan of elders it was not clear why the spirits would not agree, and this is something that can be explored in future discussions with senior male Paralegals who work directly with the clan.

**The clan of elders noted that not cutting girls could create a bad omen.** For example, KIIs with the clan of elders in Taranganya explained that the clan of elders would need to be consulted in any FGC discussion as they had a direct connection to the spirit world. One member of the clan of elders in Taranganya explained ‘the elders must go to the river and communicate with the spirits before the season. If the spirits agree for it not to happen then it will not take place. If we do not consult the spirits in this way it will bring a bad omen. You cannot by-pass them.’ Thus as well as economic incentives there were also spiritual beliefs around the need for girls to be cut.

The likely cutting seasons are listed in the table below.

Year	Clan			
	Nyabasi	Bwirege	Bukira	Bugumbe
2016	X		X	
2017				
2018		X		X

### Changes in the wider context

**Parents are cutting their girls at a younger age (between 7-13 years in 2015) than around ten to twenty years ago (between 17-20 years).**<sup>12</sup> Overall, paralegals, teachers, health professionals and parents noted that the age at which girls are being cut is getting younger. This was a response to a number of issues. First, mounting pressure from NGOs. Second, changes to the 2011 Kenyan legislation that criminalised FGC led to girls being cut at a younger age. In 2014, the year after the legislation was implemented, respondents reported

<sup>6</sup> FGDs with parents from Kehancha, 14.01.2016.

<sup>7</sup> The Orchid Project has developed a five-stage scale of readiness to change, with 1 representing no readiness to change, and five representing a high degree of community ownership and desire to change. Annex 9 details the spectrum more fully.

<sup>8</sup> KIIs with grandparents in Kehancha, 14.01.2016; KIIs with Health Professional from Kehancha, 14.01.2016.

<sup>9</sup> KIIs with Health Professional from Kehancha, 14.01.2016.

<sup>10</sup> KIIs with Health Professional from Taranganya, 12.01.2016.

<sup>11</sup> KIIs with Father from Taranganya, 16.01.2016.

<sup>12</sup> FGD with grandparents in Kegonga, 14.01.2016; KII with Cess and Josephine at ECAW in Kuria, 13.01.2016; KIIs with Teacher in Kehancha, 13.01.2016; KIIs with Health Professional in Kehancha, 13.01.2016.

that very young girls of 7-8 years old underwent the cut. One teacher noted that 'December 2014 was a black year for girls being cut.'<sup>13</sup> Third, the community saw older girls as more likely to know their own mind, speak out against FGC and resist being cut. The above factors were threatening a tradition that the community still values as key in turning girls into women, protecting girls from immoral behaviour and excessive sexual urges, decreasing immoral behaviours like prostitution, ensuring the marriageability of girls, maintaining a high bride price and providing the clan of elders with large amounts of cash and other fringe benefits (e.g. food and alcohol) every two year season. In summary, as girls have become more empowered, through an increased national discourse on the rights of the girl child, so too community members have taken this discourse and action as a threat to gender roles, community structures and economic pipelines. The reaction to this has been clear - cut girls earlier to protect traditional practices and economic incentives.

**Criminalising Cutters, parents or grandparents has not worked at changing mind-sets and behaviours.** The community reacts to such threats. For example, in response to a cutter being arrested and imprisoned, out of fear that other Kenyan cutters would be targeted, and that there would be no one to perform FGC, the clan of elders brought a Tanzanian women to Kuria to perform the cut. The border crossing from Maberera to the Serare border with Tanzania only takes 20 minutes, and costs Sh50 (£0.30) per bus ride, thus making it an affordable option. On the reverse side, girls have been said to also cross the border to be cut in Tanzania. This was linked to increased fear from parents and grandparents that they would be prosecuted under the new 2010 Female Genital Mutilation Bill which seeks to close loopholes in current legislation; the new law, for instance, removes the requirement for the police to obtain a warrant to enter premises where they suspect FGM/C is being carried out.<sup>14</sup>

**Various organizations have been running FGC abandonment projects in Kuria since around 2006.** Some of these continue (e.g. Action Aid International, ADRA, GTZ and World Vision) while other projects have come to completion and are no longer running (e.g. Little Cherubs Community Based Organizations, Child Fund, Soteni). For CBOs, funding has dried up and there are no local CBOs apart from ECAW that work on FGC in Kuria.

**NGOs that are larger do not have the extensive community network that ECAW has as a Community Based Organization (CBO).** ECAW has a well-established community network and as a result, has not faced some of the same challenges around being accepted by the community faced as many other NGOs. A Key Informant from ADRA noted the difficulties the organization faced in being accepted by the community 'we're not yet being accepted by the community, and experiencing resistance when working with the community.'<sup>15</sup>

**The type of cut performed is said to have become less extreme.**<sup>16</sup> 'Before they would chop off the whole clitoris which was the usual type of circumcision in Kuria. But in the last few years they only remove a bit of it.'<sup>17</sup> Reasons given for this included: a growing understanding of the health complications from the more extreme cut, more intermarrying between clans that cut and those that do not and a growing public discourse that speaks out against the cut.

**There is a reported reduction in the number of girls being cut;** 'The rates have gone down totally not like in 2001 when I came to this place. There is a lot of improvement.'<sup>18</sup> Additionally other stakeholders including

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<sup>13</sup> KII with teacher from Taranganya, 12.01.2016.

<sup>14</sup> IRIN (2016), Kenya: Legislation failing to curb FGM/C: <http://www.irinnews.org/report/92869/kenya-legislation-failing-to-curb-fgm-c>.

<sup>15</sup> KII with ADRA in Kuria, 14.01.2016.

<sup>16</sup> KII with Health Professional from Taranganya, 13.01.2016.

<sup>17</sup> KII with Health Professional from Taranganya, 13.01.2016; Discussion with Research Assistants from Kuria, 15.01.2016; KII with ECAW staff, FGDs with grandparents from Taranganya, 13.01.2016.

<sup>18</sup> KII with Health Professional from Taranganya, 13.01.2016.

teachers and religious leaders from Taranganya, noted a perceived decrease in the number of girls being cut. However, this is not borne out of baseline data but is based on community perceptions.

**There is a reported decrease in the rates of non-cut women from other ethnic groups (e.g. Kikuyu, Luo) being cut when they marry a Kuria man.** A KII with a male community member from Taranganya and KIIs with ECAW staff noted that twenty to thirty years ago more adult women would be forced to undergo FGC when they were giving birth. This rate is said to have dropped:

Back in the 70s if a woman from the Luo tribe, or other tribe (who do not cut) married a Kuria man the family would wait until she gave birth. When she went into labour they would make up excuses and say 'Oh the car is on its way' until it was too late and she should have to give birth at home. They'd then take the opportunity and as she pushed they would just do it. The first way the husband would notice is when his family started including her into all their activities that she use to be excluded from. That still happens in the more isolated, remote parts of Kuria, but the numbers have definitely reduced.

55-year-old Kuria man from Taranganya

Again, this is not borne out of baseline data but is based on community perceptions.

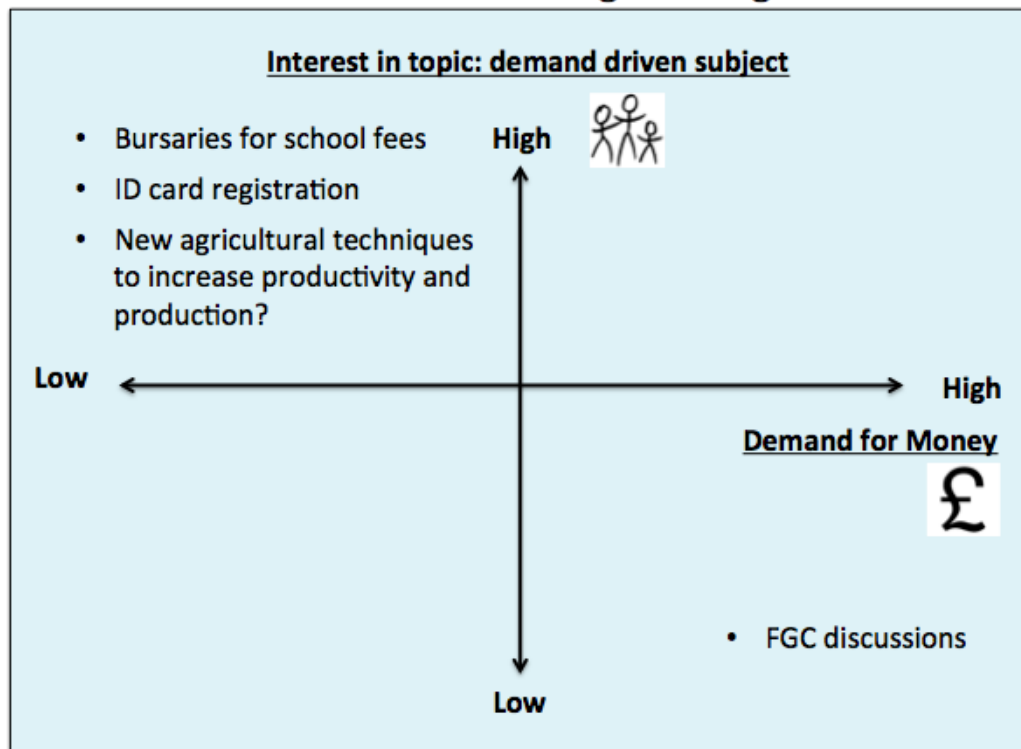
**Since the work of major NGOs in Kuria, there has been an expectation that NGOs will provide participants with cash, money for transport, airtime, and/ or lunch for attending trainings (Annex 4: Cash and Other Reimbursements Currently Paid by NGOs in Kuria in January 2016).** There was a high expectation that community members be recompensed for their travel expenses, and also with food (if meetings went over 3-4 hours).

Two main factors relating to logistics and topic decreased community expectation to be paid in some way for attending trainings. Demand for reimbursements decreased when:

1. Mini-forums were held within walking distance of participants' houses.
2. The topic covered was one for which there was a high level of community demand. This is shown in the diagram below.



## Demand Driven Programming



In Kuria there is an expectation that large NGOs that drive around in cars should give some share of their money directly to the community by paying for food, sodas or reimbursing for travel. These expectations and the money paid out can be reduced by providing demand driven training programmes. This would involve mapping the different training needs of the different stakeholders in the community and then developing training to address these needs, while incorporating FGC discussions.

**There is a saturation of knowledge about FGC.** The FGC abandonment arguments have been heard loud and clear by all community members engaged in this Final Evaluation. However, people were still not ready to abandon FGC. Work is needed to avoid ‘messaging saturation.’ Activities like FGC discussions should be merged with demand based topics decided by women, men, boys and girls from the communities.

**When community members ask for cash to reimburse travel this does not necessarily mean they are actually seeking money for their travel expenses, but rather that they are seeking compensation for lost or wasted time discussing subjects** (e.g. FGC discussions) that they are not interested in. These topics are not seen as good value for time spent. In 2015 there were two community meetings, one was an FGC community dialogue, the other was a community discussion on an area of interest to the community (e.g. cattle rustling). The ECAW FGC community forum received only 25 attendees (around a 75% reduction in average attendance), although the quality of the discussion (witnessed by OP and FTM staff) was of a high quality and people were very engaged. For the bulk of community members the cattle rustling discussion was more interesting and more valuable. Importantly, the lower numbers in attendance at the FGC forum enabled good-quality dialogue; discussion was incredibly rich and people were very engaged due to a small number of interested people, who knew previously that they would not be reimbursed, all getting the opportunity to voice their opinions. This highlights the need to both ensure ECAW is responding to the needs of the community and to focus on smaller mini forums.

As a result of this lack of interest from the community, on separate funded programmes, ECAW has initiated demand driven training on supporting community members to register for National ID cards, and, in cases where community members cannot afford it, paying the Sh. 300 (£2) it costs to apply for a National ID card from the government. Another example has been providing community members with information on how they can apply for the educational bursary for children's education. These activities are coupled with a discussion on FGC. ECAW registered that if these trainings are close to people's homes (satisfy the logistic barriers) and are demand driven (satisfy the interest barrier), then there is little request from the community to pay for transport (around Sh. 200/ £1.3 per person), or lunch (around Sh. 200/ £1.3 per person), and only an expectation to pay for sodas (Sh. 30/ £0.20 per person). In future projects, community forums or training on FGC alone should not be held.

## Economic incentives

**There is a high economic incentive for fathers to marry girls off young and for the clan of elders to continue with the cut. Fathers in particular gained financially when their daughters were cut and then married off.**

After paying for related costs (e.g. money to the cutter and buying food and alcohol to host the Clan of Elders) families still came out on top financially. On average, after outgoings the average family gained a minimum of Sh. 25,900 (£177) and a maximum of Sh. 363,800 (£2,490). Meaning the return on cutting and marrying your girl was between two to almost 30 times what you spent on outgoings (Annex 5: Father, clan of Elders and family seek to gain financially after marry off their girls). Research by Concern Worldwide in Turkana, Northern Kenya found that girls who were educated received a smaller bride price than girls who were uneducated. Educated girls were seen as more independent, to have a stronger mind and be better able to make their own decisions. Uneducated girls were more likely to go along with the drudgery of the status quo of collecting water and firewood, looking after the family and tending to the home.<sup>19</sup> There was no suggestion of this from evaluation participants in Kuria. However, it is important to note gender trends in other parts of rural Northern Kenya that could, potentially be replicated in Kuria.

**The Clan of Elders also saw significant financial incentives to maintain the cut.** In December 2015, Cutters charged between Sh. 500 – Sh. 1,000 (£3 - £6) to cut one girl, 50% goes to the Cutter, and 50% goes to the Clan of Elders. On average, the Clan of Elders<sup>20</sup> estimated that around 1,000 girls were cut each season from each of the four clans, and that there were between 20 – 30 members in the Clan of Elders within each Clan. This means that every season each member of the Clan of Elders seeks to gain between Sh. 8,000 (£53) – Sh. 25,000 (£166) from the cutting of girls. This is a considerable amount in Kuria. To put this into perspective, this represents 1.5 to 4 months average wage for a farmer.<sup>21</sup>

**Money made from the cut cannot be used for any investment purposes,** it is a 'silent rule'<sup>22</sup> that this money can only be spent on consumer goods such as food and alcohol. Money from the cut cannot be used to buy non-consumer items like cooking pots, mattresses or farm tools to increase agricultural productivity or enhance quality of life.

**The cost of cutting girls was high** as families needed to pay for the cutter, and additional food and alcohol for feasting. One girl noted 'a lot of food is wasted during the ceremony, afterwards the family is left to starve.'<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> KII with Deputy Director at Concern Worldwide, 21.01.2016.

<sup>20</sup> KII with the Clan of Elders in Kehancha, 13.01.2016.

<sup>21</sup> Discussion with Research Assistants from Kuria on the average monthly wage for farm workers in Kuria. The minimum wage for unskilled laborers in Kenyan in the agricultural industry is Sh 5,436 £37/ month, though this is not observed in Kuria where wages are on average much lower. Average salary for a farmer worker in Kuria is between Sh 3,000 to Sh 6,000 per month.

<sup>22</sup> Discussion with Research Assistant, 20.01.2016.

<sup>23</sup> FGDs with girls from Kegonga, 14.01.2016.

That money is just wasted. It can't be used for anything. Even if the husband gives some of that money to his wives they cannot use it to buy a cooking pot. It can only be used for food and drink. It's completely wasted.

Mwita, 45 year old from Taranganya

The fact that money from the cut cannot be used for productive assets is important. Ultimately money from the cut had limited use. The community disagreed with the fact that the money could not be spent on productive means and thought the money should be used for a broader range of activities (e.g. buying household equipment, investment).

**For the Clan of Elders from Kehancha, being engaged in Income Generation Activities to supplement income lost from not cutting girls was more work for the same or less money.**<sup>24</sup> They saw absolutely no financial incentive in changing. The group did not see the wider or long-term benefits of not cutting girls. It will be important to maintain dialogue with the Clan of Elders in order to know if their mind-sets are changing. That said this group has considerable control over community behaviours:

Working with other community members on FGM is like cutting the head off the Amaranths & Ivy weed that grows on sweet potatoes. You can cut the head off but the roots are still there, deeper underground. The weed grows right back. If you want to get rid of that weed you need to pull it out from its roots.

Secretary and member of the Clan of Elders in Kehancha

**ECAW staff were sceptical of whether the way to change behaviours was to work with the Clan of Elders.**<sup>25</sup> Rather they posed alternative approaches such as community forums, mini forums, and training that incorporated community needs with FGC discussions.

**Over the last ten years the community noted that the economic situation of households has become worse off with major employers and cash crop buyers leaving the county.** There has been a decrease in prices for cash crops such as maize and sugar cane and a closure of one of the major tobacco firms<sup>26</sup> in Migori County in June 2015. In recent years, British American Tobacco and Mastermind, major employers and buyers in the area, have also closed down. This may leave girls more vulnerable to be married off early as families struggle to cover basic living costs. At the same time this offers some opportunities for ECAW to develop Income Generation Activities. Rising poverty levels in Migori County have been noted as lowering the dowry price: previously six or seven cows were commonly given in dowry now this has reduced to two or three.<sup>27</sup> This has also helped to reduce the economic incentive to cut girls and marry them off. Families noted that now even if girls were cut and married off they would not receive a considerable dowry price. Parents noted that the figure of around Sh. 25,900 received for marrying one's daughter was considerably higher in the past. Some said that this reduction in dowry price was an incentive to not marry their daughters early. Others noted the importance of financial support to help girls stay in school:

I am an orphan, when I finished class 8 I had no money to go to secondary school. My brother had no money. I went to ECAW office and got help there (e.g. through grants) that has helped me continue with my education. Now I am in Form 4, 17 years old. If all goes well, I would love to help other girls change and make education a priority in their lives.

GEP participant at Maeta Secondary School, 17 years old

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<sup>24</sup> KII with the Clan of Elders in Kehancha, 13.01.2016.

<sup>25</sup> KII with ECAW in Kehancha, 13.01.2016.

<sup>26</sup> Christian families are unlikely to engage in tobacco farming in Kuria.

<sup>27</sup> KII with ECAW, 12.01.2016.

A number of factors pushed girls away from being cut. Reduced dowry size decreased the financial incentive of marrying girls off, free schooling enabled some poor parents to keep their girls in school, a mounting public discourse against the cut and more positive deviants and role models all helped to reduce the pressure to perform the cut.

That said, monetary gains still existed. Most importantly, these financial gains were enjoyed by male community members (fathers and the clan of elders). Future programmes need to consider how behaviour change can be stimulated amongst the community members that are most invested in maintaining the cut (e.g. fathers). Recommendations on how to achieve this are given in part two of this report.

**Overwhelmingly, stakeholders said that resources should not be invested in working with Law Enforcement Officers, as they were already fully conversant with FGC discourse.** Orchid Project staff suggested that working with certain early adopters (for example, health professionals and religious leaders) can be an important step in catalysing change within communities. Although law enforcement officers are early adopters they are also more likely to put forth a punitive discourse that is at odds with ECAW's Theory of Change (ToC).

### Attitude change

**Overall, the communities have shown some willingness to change. A disaggregation of how ready each village is to change is shown in the diagram 'Progress along the project's Theory of Change' on page 40. Different stakeholders within the community are at different points in terms of attitude change.** Community members made comments that speak to different levels of change.

Orchid Project, FTM and ECAW developed a scale of readiness to change from level 1 'not ready at all' to level 5 'ready and change is already seen in the community' (Annex 9: Readiness to change - discourse analysis). Some stakeholders spoke about attitudes being at level 1, calling for external factors to change that primarily involved unsustainable cash exchanges: 'We need rescue camps,<sup>28</sup>' 'We need to educate the cutters or give them alternative income,<sup>29</sup>' and 'We need to pay the Clan of Elders to stop organising the cut or give them money<sup>30</sup>' Overwhelmingly, the community said that educational scholarships and sponsorship for girls who had not been cut was needed.<sup>31</sup> This indicates a stage 1 level of readiness to change. The scholarships were aimed at delaying the marriage of girls and keeping girls in school for longer. However, this approach is unviable given the amount of funds required and also unsustainable in the long-term. It is unlikely to decrease rates of FGC; additionally girls may access the funds while continuing to be cut.

Teachers and Religious Leaders in Kegonga said that parents who had practiced FGC were banished from the church for 1 year, not allowed to be in choir and asked to pay a fine, representing stage 1 as churches are thereby stigmatising and ostracising cut girls Others made comments that represent stage two in Orchid Project/FTM/ECAW's readiness to change framework. In particular a number of girls made comments in reference to stage two, noticing the social reasons behind the cut 'Uncut girls are abused by their friends and so decide to be cut.' Overwhelming a greater number of stakeholders can be classified under stage three, recognising that change will come from within the community. This large group posed comments such as 'Organise continuous trainings as change is a slow process,' and develop 'role models in the community.' A number of stakeholders, made comments that related to stage four, recognising the holistic approach that is needed but not yet taking responsibility for change: 'most NGOs focus on girls, we should concentrate on training parents and follow up.' Importantly a number of teachers, Paralegals, parents, grandparents and girls

<sup>28</sup> KIIs with teacher and religious leader in Taranganya, 12.01.2016; FGDs with parents from Taranganya, 13.01.2016.

<sup>29</sup> KIIs with Clan of Elders in Taranganya, 12.01.2016.

<sup>30</sup> KIIs with Clan of Elders in Taranganya, 12.01.2016.

<sup>31</sup> KIIs with grandparents in Kehancha, 14.01.2016, KIIs with teacher in Kehancha, 14.01.2016, FGDs with girls in Kehancha, 14.01.2016, KIIs with teacher in Taranganya, 13.01.2016, FGDs with girls and boys in Mabera, 15.01.2016.

noted one specific sentiment from stage four that ‘FGM/C is not seen in isolation but linked to reducing early marriage and increasing girls’ education and women’s employment.’ Attitudes had changed the least among the clan of elders.

**There were some strong stage five discourses around girls not being cut, and remaining in school was strong:**

I am a father of 9 children, 6 girls and 3 boys. My oldest three girls have been cut. But since I’ve been involved in the parent trainings and community forums I’ve gained knowledge. This has really helped me make up my mind to stand firm and not cut my daughters in December 2014. I’m going to keep my three girls in school.

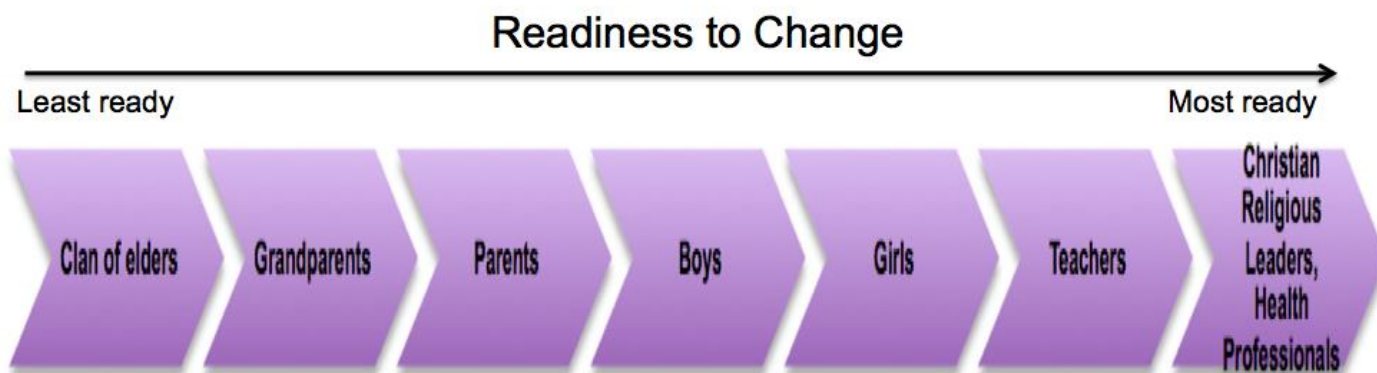
John, 59-year-old parent of nine children from Taranganya

Other community members, including teachers, the Clan of Elders, parents, grandparents, Paralegals, other NGO staff and girls and boys themselves associated not being cut with remaining in school, completing education and having the opportunity to earn more money. This is demonstrated in what a member of the Clan of Elders said:

My own family i.e. daughters is an example, one was cut and dropped out of school after being educated I refused to let the other get cut, she went through her education and now she is the one supporting the whole family.<sup>32</sup>

**Readiness to change**

**Attitudes of the community were changing faster in towns than in rural areas, particular remote areas in Rural North Eastern Kuria were said to be where the ‘real war’<sup>33</sup> on FGM was and the heartland of FGC where attitudes were slow to change.** Working with urban areas and rural areas that are further along the change spectrum may be the low hanging fruit and may accelerate change in these areas, leading to a knock on effect in other villages. However this may run the risk of increasing disparities between the communities.



”A neighbour of mine cut a girl of 6 years old, I felt like it was my daughter. She bled and fell ill in Mabera. The

<sup>32</sup> KIs with Clan of Elders in Maeta, 14.01.2016.  
<sup>33</sup> KIs with ECAW staff, 12.01.2016.

young girls have no say in the family. They cannot talk. In the past three seasons the age has really gone down because the government has intervened.<sup>34</sup> These little girls are not educated, they don't speak out, and they don't go for FGM training." – Parent in Mabera. This shows how much pressure the community places on girls who have very little power and agency.

**ECAW staff noted that attitudes towards FGC across the five villages might be due to differences in the length of their involvement in the project. However, ECAW staff and Paralegals were very cautious not to overemphasise this statement.** Project staff were asked to review the ToC and place a marker on where each village was to achieving the end goal of changing community attitudes and behaviours. The Project ToC developed by ECAW, Orchid Project and FTM and the ToC outlined in the 2014 joint evaluation of the UNFPA-UNICEF joint programme on FGC<sup>35</sup> was used and built on during the discussion.

**Findings showed that the extent of attitude change across the five villages was linked to a number of factors, namely:**

1. The extent to which the village was close to an urban or peri-urban trading area. These areas were said to 'develop faster' and already be closer to abandonment prior to the work of the project. These communities were more ready to change. Key informant interviews with teachers, health professionals and ECAW staff anecdotally noted that peri-urban areas were seeing fewer girls being cut in recent years.
2. Peri-urban centres also had other influences from NGOs working on the same issue. Rural communities had fewer transport links and mobilization of community members was more difficult. These villages were harder to reach; as a result they sometimes received fewer activities. This resulted in a slower attitude change.
3. The degree to which Paralegals and Champion Girls were active played a part in changing attitudes.

**There had also been a change in community attitudes around how un-cut girls were treated:** 'Before an un-cut girl could not ever open the door to the cow shed. She was considered dirty with that thing there. They used to say she will make the cows ill, and they will die. People don't say that anymore. Girls go about their normal duties and people are much less likely to say such things.'<sup>36</sup> Five GEP girls from Taranganya noted that Pastors had made the following comments:

Pastor John usually tells us: Those who are circumcised are like empty oil barrels. Those who are not cut are full oil barrels. The full oil barrels are admired. No one will go to the market to buy an empty oil barrel. They are not worth anything.

This stigmatises cut girls and echoes what some of the Paralegals sometime say and should be addressed through dialogue and more training of Paralegals and advocates.

## Geographic spread of the project

**Reaching the wide group of stakeholders over an extensive geographical area has meant that some activities have not received follow-up,** both in terms of implementation and in terms of monitoring of change. This has made it hard to maintain a consistent abandonment message. For example, a girl living in Masaba may take part in the GEP but this may be her first and only involvement with the project. From

<sup>34</sup> KII with Parent from Mabera, 14.01.2016.

<sup>35</sup> Joint Evaluation of the UNFPA- UNICEF Joint Programme on Female Genital  
*Joint Evaluation Lessons*

2014 UNEG EPE, Bangkok

<sup>36</sup> KIIs with Lead Paralegal from Kehancha, 14.01.2016; FGDs with grandparents from Taranganya, Masaba and Mabera, 13-15.01.2016.

Behaviour Change and FGC abandonment research we know that a whole-community approach can only work when projects reach breadth (i.e. a wide range of stakeholders) and depth (i.e. stakeholders are engaged through continued activities). For example, for Tostan in Senegal, the first community to declare abandonment of FGC had a paid staff member running community forms for 2-days per week for 30 months. The consistency of work with the range of stakeholders was attributed to this being the first community to declare an abandonment of FGC.<sup>37</sup>

### **Attitude change across the three villages**

It was challenging to capture the changes in attitudes in the three villages, given the relatively modest number of stakeholders spoken to in each village and only being based within each village for one day. Implementing project staff at ECAW and Paralegals said it was hard to gauge which villages are more ready to change as this continues to change. Historically it has been difficult for the project to accurately predict which villages are more, or less, ready to change. Implementing staff stated that it was easier to predict stakeholders' readiness to change, rather than villages'.

**It was not easy to predict villages' readiness to change.** In spite of Taranganya being noted as the village most ready to change, some girls experienced a backlash to attending the GEP. For example, some fathers got angry and violent when they realised what had been covered in the programme. ECAW and Lead Paralegals provided some evidence that Taranganya was the village closest to seeing a change in attitudes. This was attributed to the belief that fewer parents were now cutting their girls in Taranganya than in other villages.<sup>38</sup> ECAW and Paralegals were cautious of naming villages of most change after the 2014 season when villages that had declared abandonment went ahead with the cut. This significantly shook ECAW and Paralegals' belief in themselves to predict behaviour change. In short, the picture was mixed and hard to predict.

**Attributing change to one village was complicated especially around the GEP,** as the GEP was slightly different in all three areas. For example, in Taranganya girls were younger, around 11-13 years old, but in Mabera the group was very mixed ages from 14 – 22 years old. In Masaba the group was mixed sex, and again, like Mabera, very mixed in age from around 13 – 18 years old. Different age groups were engaged and this makes the issue of comparison and attribution difficult. For example, one's beliefs may be more linked to one's age than representative of changing attitudes between the three sites. Overall, predicting the behaviours of stakeholders was easier than predicting wider change of villages.

## **Education**

**Not cutting girls was closely linked to them having enhanced education.** 'People now know that un-cut girls go on to get a good education, and that they will come back and provide for their families,' as shown in the below picture. However, this discourse does not equal reality. In practice, many factors (resources, education level of parents – especially mothers, motivation, distance to school, and type of household) influence a girl's education in Kuria.

This is I. After the Programme my parents still insisted on my sister being cut, but I stood up to them. I helped argue for my sister not to be cut. It took a long time, but in the end my parents agreed and saw the light. Here you see my sister going on to get a good education, and get married. She stays at school, she goes to university and in the end she comes back and buys me a car to thank me for what I have done years ago.

<sup>37</sup> KII with Cess and Josephine at ECAW in Kuria, 13.01.2016.

<sup>38</sup> KIIs with Lead Paralegal and ECAW staff, 12.01.2016.

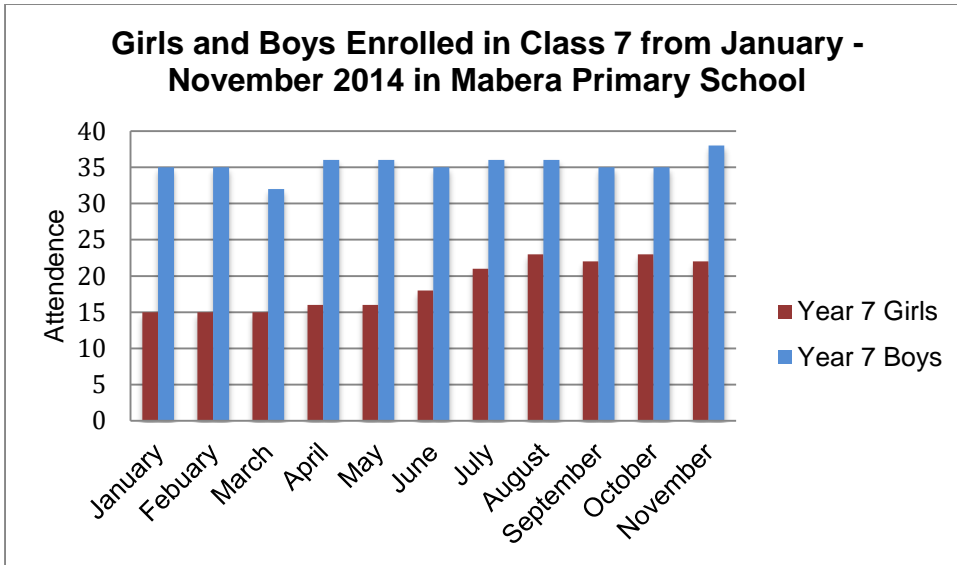
Zak, 14 year of boy engaged in the programme in Mabera (below picture)



**Many community members linked an increase in girls' education to decreasing rates of FGC, however school data did not back this up.** The statement was linked to the belief that if a girl stays in school she priorities her education over marriage, and is better able (when older) to resist FGC. However, the cause and effect relationship is not clear, as more educated families are also less likely to cut their girls and keep them in school.

**Kills with Teachers and analysis of enrolment data from 2013 – 2015 for class 4 to class 8 showed there to be a high drop out of girls after class 6 (around 14 years old).** The below graph shows a wide discrepancy in enrolment rates for girls and boys from class 7 (14 – 16 years old) onwards:





One Teacher put it like this ‘if girls are not cut they are more likely to remain in school, as in Kenya schooling is free, so it’s not costing the parents much to keep the girls there.’<sup>39</sup> Although attribution to the Programme alone is impossible, a number of parents said they were less likely to cut their younger girls as a result of being engaged in the Programme:

I have three daughters, two have been cut but for the third one, my last-born I’ve decided not to allow her to be cut. I’m encouraging her to remain in school until she has completed her studies. I also tell her to stand strong against peer pressure. I’m going to do all I can to make sure that Joyce remains uncut.

Mary, 38-year-old mother of three girls from Taranganya

### Information Communication Materials

**The Information Communication Materials (Annex 3: Communication Materials Produced by ECAW) have been well received by the community.** These resources have helped:

1. Teachers<sup>40</sup> and Health Professionals talk more to the community about FGM/C
2. Give the organization and the project a level of validity and authority by professionalising<sup>41</sup> outreach materials
3. Provide useful and context specific materials to Paralegals.<sup>42</sup>

Some community members returned to community forums with the printed IC materials, showing a level of interest and commitment to the topic.

<sup>39</sup> KII with Teacher from Maberu School, 15.01.2016.

<sup>40</sup> KII with Teacher from Kegonga on 14.01.2015.

<sup>41</sup> KII with Cess and Josephine at ECAW in Kuria, 13.01.2016.

<sup>42</sup> KII with Cess and Josephine at ECAW in Kuria, 13.01.2016.

## Part Two: Findings in relation to activities

### Activity 1: Community forums and mini-forums

**Core activities:** In total 461 community members attended community forums in 2014 and 932 in 2015. In addition 95 community members attended mini-forums in 2015. The community forums usually last for around 2-3 hours. There were some long time gaps of around 9 months between the first and the second forum taking place in a village. During the forum one male and one female community member are appointed by the community to act as facilitators. Additional to this, facilitation support is provided by one or two Paralegals and, at times, an ECAW staff member will join the discussion. Some Paralegals found challenges in facilitating community forums (e.g. lack of confidence challenging the opinions of senior community members).<sup>43</sup> Topics to be covered are chosen by the community and FGC discussions are interwoven into these topics.

ECAW favoured mini-forums, citing them as more constructive and creating more meaningful dialogue. However, ECAW was somewhat cautious of the mini-forums, as they required a larger budget to be given to Paralegals in order to cover their own transport costs. Although overall the mini forums are likely to be more efficient and cost effective, they require more Paralegals to spend more time commuting to more remote locations. This required ECAW to cover the transportation costs and potentially a daily wage cost for the Paralegals' time and work. This budget was not available and would need to be worked into a new programme.

**The GEP activities and deploying a whole community approach scored highest in the staff survey.** Engaging local administrators and developing public declaration statements fared worse off. Communities were not at the stage of developing public declaration statements. In 2014 the community and clan of elders appeared to make strides towards this, however when the season came they continued to cut their girls.<sup>44</sup> KII with ECAW staff and Paralegals<sup>45</sup> confirmed that more activities were needed before goals of public declaration statements could be set. At present such statements were said to be hollow and that the clan of elders would make verbal declarations of abandonment in order to appease NGOs and try and maintain what was thought to be a potentially lucrative revenue stream from NGOs.

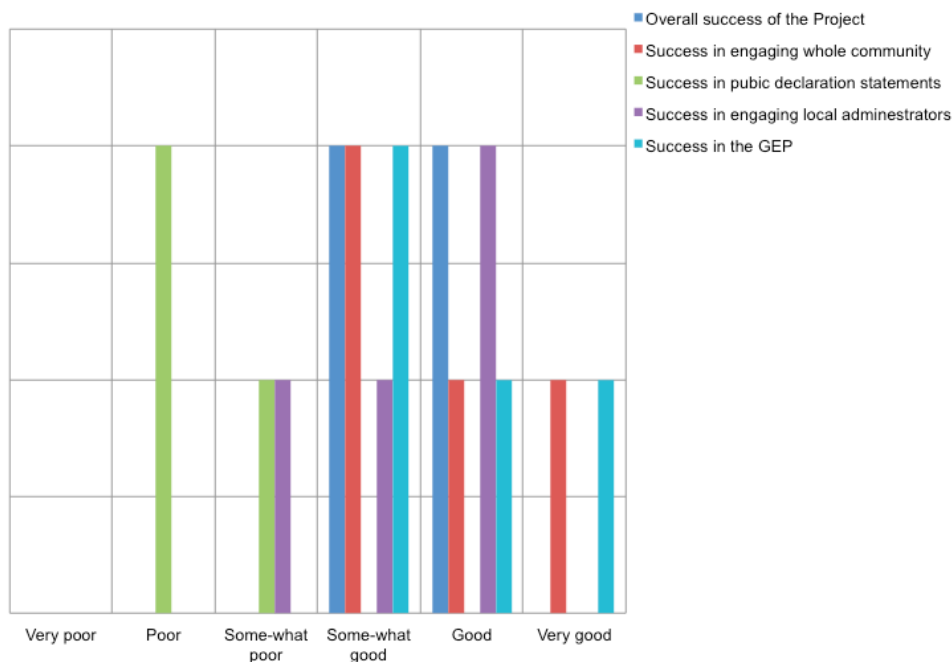
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<sup>43</sup> Feedback from staff during a monitoring visit in July 2016.

<sup>44</sup> KII with Cess and Josephine at ECAW in Kuria, 12.01.2016.

<sup>45</sup> KIIs with Paralegals in Taranganya and Masaba, 12.01.2016 and 15.01.2016.

## Staff Survey



### Factors of success:

- 1. The forums reached a large and varied number of stakeholders**, attracting around 75-100 community members at a time
- 2. The community forum model was easy to adapt.** Mini-forums were developed in 2015. This responded to the need to focus on quality rather than quantity and reduced the numbers of participants to c.25. They allowed for 'more dialogue, where all community members could join in the discussion.'<sup>46</sup> The smaller discussions enabled greater equality in discussions between the sexes and ages:

When you go out to the field (mini-forum) you reach out to many people (meaning that many more people actively participate)<sup>47</sup>

This resulted in a freer discussion that was less dominated by the village powerhouses (e.g. Clan of elders, men, senior community members).

- 3. The community decided what topics would be discussed.** However, it was equally important for the community to see these topics translated into actions.  
**Good example:** In community discussions members said they found it difficult to pay for school fees, and asked ECAW for help. ECAW responded by constructing training on how to apply for school bursaries. FGC discussions were slotted into the technical 'how-to' bursary application training.

Paralegals, ECAW employees, teachers and community members noted the success of the mini-forums as a model that should be replicated. Stakeholders noted that previously, women and men, old and young people could not talk about FGC in the same room; however, due to the community dialogues this had changed. For example, previously, mixed age discussions on FGC would lead to uncomfortable silences, people leaving the

<sup>46</sup> KIs with ECAW, 12.01.2016.

<sup>47</sup> KII with Paralegal in Taranganya, 13.01.2016.

room and fidgeting. This was said to no longer be commonplace. Stakeholders attending the forums expected to be reimbursed for their travel and ideally provided with lunch/phone credit. This is discussed in more detail on page 17 under demand driven programming. Overwhelmingly the community spoke highly of the forums and requested they continue.

### **Activity 2: Girls Empowerment Programme**

**Core activities:** In 2014 forty girls attended the GEP, and in 2015 178 girls and boys attended the GEP. The GEP involved a 1.5-day training programme that covered different topics from health and hygiene and FGC to career choices and human rights. For each topic, an expert facilitator was brought in and paid between Sh. 1,000 – Sh. 2,500 for their time. Girls noted that the facilitators were of good quality. By year two the GEP was more interactive and participatory with, for example, interactive energiser and learning games being led by the champion girl(s) or the facilitator. Girls noted the subjects were of interest to them, especially those about menstrual hygiene and career choices. Turnout at activities was high and staff often had to turn girls away as demand outstripped the number of places. GEPs are also well received by the teachers and parents.

Participants were recruited through school and church networks and the activities often happened in a church venue. This facilitated a good link between existing community networks and the GEP. In effect, this ensured that Teachers and Pastors could follow-up on girl's progress once the GEP was over. One case in particular highlights the potential of the GEP activities to further tap into these existing networks to enhance reach, sustainability and impact. For example, after one GEP, eight girls and boys went on to conduct outreach activities at their local church. This involved the groups initiating an FGC discussion with a further 250 young people through Sunday school and youth club discussions. ECAW staff and the teacher involved in supporting the activities put the successful outreach down to teachers being highly engaged in the GEP:

We were involved in everything, from the booking of rooms to helping organise guest speakers. During the GEP we were really involved. Once it was over (the GEP) we went on to work with the girls to bring the FGC discussion to the church. I think it's the fact that we were really engaged (in the GEP) from the very beginning that made us want to do this.<sup>48</sup>

**This above example shows the process of diffusion of FGC dialogue that can happen once the community starts to be more engaged and own the activities.**

**In 2015, following demand from the community in Masaba the GEP was extended to include boys.**

Opinions varied as to whether girls and boys should attend the same sex, or mixed sex (G)EPs. In Masaba in particular girls and boys noted the importance of a mixed sex group, and one female participant noted 'they (the GEPs) should be mixed with boys during workshop.' Another girl followed on from this saying 'we have no problem talking in the presence of boys. We are more than comfortable because we want them to know what we are going through and the pains.'

Some parents and GEP girls<sup>49</sup> noted that 'girls and boys should not be mixed together because the things that boys are taught are different from those that the girls are taught.'<sup>50</sup> Girls from Taranganya furthered this point 'they (girls and boys) should be put in different place(s) because our issues as girls are totally different to

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<sup>48</sup> KIIs with teacher; KIIs with ECAW staff, 12.01.2016.

<sup>49</sup> FGDs with girls from Kehancha, 14.01.2016.

<sup>50</sup> Consensus of FGDs with parents in Taranganya, 12.01.2016.

theirs. If boys were here, we would not share anything because it would be embarrassing and they would tease us a lot.’<sup>51</sup>

**Educating boys will be important<sup>52</sup> to changing attitudes long term.**<sup>53</sup> Boys were said to be the future decision-makers and by changing their opinions on FGM/C it was said that a critical mass of non-cut girls could be established within 15 years.<sup>54</sup> Female participants in the GEP noted that boys also need to be included in discussions, and the GEPs have included both sexes in Masaba since last year.



Above: Article about Dennitah Ghati, Director of ECAW. Ms. Ghati, the women’s representative for Kuria is seen as a leading role model for girls in Kuria

**GEP girls and boys and community stakeholders spoke about the importance of role models in effecting change,** as one girl noted ‘they see an uncut girl succeed in her life and become a big person that the society fears.’<sup>55</sup> Girls and community members often made reference to Dennitah Ghati, (the Director of ECAW) and her achievements in going on to become a women’s representative for Kuria. A number of boys and girls that participated in the Focus Group Discussion used the drawing exercise to communicate the opinion that GEP participants would become role models within their communities. The power of girl and boy role models cannot be understated in the Kuria context. Young people had strong aspirations to get good jobs (e.g. in the government, police force, or start their own business), own luxury goods (e.g. a car) and come back to their communities to develop them (e.g. build a brick house for their parents, become an MP and women’s representative). Below are drawings and stories from girls and boys who had taken part in the GEP. Overwhelmingly they told us that this programme would lead to them not being cut, and as a result of not being cut they would not be married off as soon as their peers. As a result of not being married off at a very young age they would finish their education, go on to get good jobs, build their families and be role models of what girls who are not cut can achieve. However, this is based on a number of assumptions. Additionally, unless parents and grandmothers believed the same, all these positive outcomes were unlikely to come true.

<sup>51</sup> FGDs with GEP girls from Igena Primary School, 13.01.2016.

<sup>52</sup> KII with Teacher from Taranganya, 12.01.2016; KIIs with grandparents in Kehancha, 14.01.2016.

<sup>53</sup> KII with Teacher from Taranganya, 12.01.2016.

<sup>54</sup> KIIs with Parent from Taranganya, 15.01.2016.

<sup>55</sup> FGDs with GEP girls from Igena Primary School, 13.01.2016; KIIs with Health Professional from Kehancha, 12.01.2016.



The GEP became a forum for girls and boys to talk about their aspirations, as one girl noted:

After the Programme Rhobi had supportive parents who ensured she went to school and later became a Women Rep. Here you see Rhobi talking to her constituents about women’s rights (above drawing).<sup>56</sup>



<sup>56</sup> Picture drawn by Mary, an 11-year-old girl from Igena Primary School in Taranganya who attended the Programme, 12.01.2016.

This is me. A day before circumcision I meet my friends on the road. They try and tell me to be cut and try all they can to persuade me. Because of the Programme I feel strong. I say no, and I go on to become a big person (above drawing).<sup>57</sup>

**It was unclear how these aspirations would be turned into a reality for girls.** A step to achieving this would be more intensive engagement with the key stakeholders (e.g. fathers and grandmothers) who hold a considerable amount of decision-making power.

The main issues raised by girls were:

1. **Two days was not sufficient and should be extended and coupled with outreach activities.** For many GEP participants their first and last experience with ECAW was the 2-day GEP training in 2014 or 2015. The GEPs are too short, and should be re-modelled into a more sustainable approach to include, for example, the GEP plus weekly meetings at school clubs. There should be follow up between holiday programmes, 'you people should hold our hands after the Programme.' 'The Programme just ended at giving us the certificate and that's it.'
2. **The curriculum should then be age specific and age groups should be divided** 'so that you don't lump an 8 year old and a 16 year old in the same group.'<sup>58</sup> They should be separated because of their ages. Currently they are all lumped together, taught the same thing and given the same certificates. This view was only shared by GEP girls in two sites – Masaba and Maberera.
3. **There should be a programme for girls who have been cut, so they can become champions.** 'It's bad to send girls who have undergone the cut away, as they too can become ambassadors. They are actually the ones who abuse us. The community has more confidence in them than in us. It will be easier for the community to trust them, than us.'<sup>59</sup>



<sup>57</sup> Picture drawn by Queen, a 12 year old girl from Igena Primary School in Taranganya who attended the Programme, 12.01.2016.

<sup>58</sup> FGDs with girls from Masaba and Maberera, 14.01.2016 and 15.01.2016.

<sup>59</sup> FGDs with girls from Maeta and Masaba, 14-15.01.2016.

After the Programme I was abused, people called me poo. But I pushed on, finished school and become a cop. I now work to protect other girls (above picture).<sup>60</sup>

**A number of girls in the Programme were teased and bullied about remaining uncut.** One girl explained 'joining GEP makes you isolated in the village and it gives you time to study because you lose a lot of friends'.<sup>61</sup> This shows that the culture around shaming girls who have not undergone the cut had not changed. However, the shaming, and calling these girls 'omosagane' would likely take place without the Programme being there and is not a result of the Programme but a result of attitudes and mind-sets still needing to change. There was 'still very high stigma against girls who had not been cut because of present cut peers.'<sup>62</sup> Girls who had not been cut were still experiencing high levels of exclusion in the household and the community, as one girl told us 'my mother side-lines me, she doesn't give me her attention or buy me stuff like my elder sisters who are cut.'<sup>63</sup> Two strong themes to come from Focus Group Discussions with GEP girls and boys were that uncut girls were insulted, called dirty, 'not whole women,' 'childlike,' and 'omosagane'<sup>64</sup> by their peers. Girls<sup>65</sup> said that families could warn their boys against marrying a girl who was uncut. Girls noted that being called 'omosagane' was a frequent occurrence and 'happens on daily basis whenever we are sent on house chores.'<sup>66</sup>

**In Taranganya some girls from the Programme noted that some fathers were violent to mothers, or girls, as a result of allowing their girls to attend the Programme.**<sup>67</sup>

After the Programme I went home where I found my father waiting. He asked where I had been and was angry at me having attended the group. That night he sent me away to stay somewhere else.

Ruth, 12-year-old girl who attended the Programme from Kehancha (below picture)



**Project staff at ECAW were highly in favour of continuing the forums, seeing them as integral to an FGC abandonment project. FTM staff welcomed the forums as an important way to engage directly with the people most affected by FGC – the girls themselves. Orchid staff also welcomed the GEP but questioned the**

<sup>60</sup> Picture drawn by Ghati, a 13-year-old girl from Maberera Town who attended the programme, 15.01.2016.

<sup>61</sup> FGDs with girls from Maeta 14.01.2016.

<sup>62</sup> KII with Health Professional from Taranganya, 13.01.2016.

<sup>63</sup> FGDs with girls from Kehancha, 14.01.2016.

<sup>64</sup> *Omosagane* (singular) or *Abasagane* (plural) A girls that has not been cut, she cannot handle anything. For example if you send a girl to find water and she cannot find it she will be called '*Omosagane*' as an insult, irrespective of if she has been cut or not. The word aims to insult and undermine the basic capabilities of a girl. The word aims to intimidate the girl and make her feel that she is not competent enough. It aims to shame, embarrass and control her.

<sup>65</sup> FGDs with GEP girls from Igena Primary School, 13.01.2016.

<sup>66</sup> FGDs with GEP girls from Igena Primary School, 13.01.2016.

<sup>67</sup> FGDs with GEP girls' drawings: picture 2 from Igena Primary School, Taranganya, 13.01.2016.



**ability of them to have an impact on the abandonment of FGC. For example, they stressed the importance of working with the whole community as young girls often lack the agency to resist FGC.**

**Parents attended a graduation and certificate ceremony that lasts for half a day.** In effect, this meant that the GEP training was restricted to 1.5 days minus time for lunch and breaks. Girls and boys suggested that parents should have a 2-day seminar parallel to the GEP.<sup>68</sup> The aim of this would be to engage parents (especially fathers) in discussions on FGC. This is a valid point raised by the girls, however there may be other ways to engage parents (especially fathers), for example through mini-community meetings with fathers.

**The fathers of GEP girls and boys should receive information prior to their children attending the Programme.** This will help limit potential backlash from fathers that was experienced by girls in the 2015 GEP from Taranganya.<sup>69</sup> For example, some girls reported that fathers were violent on hearing that their daughters had attended the GEP. Further engagement with fathers will help mitigate this in future years. One teacher illuminated the concept of the father being the head of the household and put it like this:

The husband and the father is like HQ. The woman must report to him on everything. Nothing can be done, no action can be taken without going first going through HQ.<sup>70</sup>

Health Professionals added the importance of involving men and boys in discussions:

Men should also be more involved in these matters because they are the key decision makers in families.<sup>71</sup>

**Dividing girls between cut and un-cut girls has proved to be challenge.** A teacher and religious leaders in Kegonga noted that in August 2015, 95 girls turned up for the GEP. Both cut and un-cut girls turned up, despite mobilization that stated the GEP was only for un-cut girls. In response to this, the organisers asked cut girls to leave. This request failed to move the girls who had been cut. In response, teachers said they would bring in a nurse who would check which girls had been cut. The teachers relaying this case feared that such practices of separating cut and un-cut girls and the threat of medical check-ups discriminated against cut girls (who are perhaps more likely to come from less educated and more economically disadvantaged households). If girls who have been cut attend, and are empowered in other ways by the GEP, that should be a positive outcome. They should not be ostracised. ECAW has done some good work at engaging this group outside of this project. For example, in December 2015 in Mabera, ECAW ran a one-off workshop with 25 cut girls and 15 boys. This aimed to address the lack of programmes for cut girls. ECAW has strong experience of engaging with cut girls as advocates for change. Their learning in this area should be including into new programmes.

### **Activity 3: Training Teachers**

**Between 2014 and 2015 120 teachers had been trained by ECAW.** Teachers want to 1) Receive certificates for their attendance, thus building their CVs and contributing to their personal development, and 2) See 'more IEC materials (developed by ECAW) that the teachers could use in teaching and mobilization in the community, and (for ECAW) to prepare materials and diagrams that can assist the teacher in passing the knowledge.'<sup>72</sup> These should be materials tailored to the needs of teachers and age appropriate to different age groups.

<sup>68</sup> FGDs with GEP from Kehancha, 14.01.2016.

<sup>69</sup> FGDs with GEP girls from Igena Primary School, 13.01.2016.

<sup>70</sup> KIs with Teacher from Kegonga 14.01.2016.

<sup>71</sup> KIs with Health Professional from Taranganya, 12.01.2016.

<sup>72</sup> KIs with Teacher from Kegonga 14.01.2016.

**Teachers noted that through the training their relationship with ‘other stakeholders in the programme like pastors and parents has been reinforced,’<sup>73</sup>** as they developed further skills in how to broach the issue of FGC. For example, a teacher from Taranganya noted: ‘The conversation on FGC does not end because they occur daily in classes and weekly during the club meetings, so it is an ongoing conversation.’<sup>74</sup> A number of teachers and community members noted that ‘teachers should be the point of contact between ECAW and the community,’ and that, second to parents, teachers had a great influence over young people.

**Teachers, like religious leaders, played an important role in mobilising girls for the GEP.** Teachers and Paralegals were said to have a good understanding of which girls had been cut and which had not, and as a result were said to be well placed to choose un-cut girls for the GEP.<sup>75</sup> Additionally, teachers played an important role in conducting follow-up activities by, for example, maintaining the FGC discussion during classes and school clubs.

**ECAW staff noted that some challenges existed in conducting the training, especially around teachers’ expectations.** A number of teachers expected to be reimbursed for their time and did not always see the intrinsic value of attending the training sessions.<sup>76</sup> ECAW staff noted that while some teachers were motivated to gain new skills, others were uninterested in that and expected monetary incentives to attend training.

**Teachers noted that girls’ clubs<sup>77</sup> were an effective space to discuss FGC.** Work with girls in school needs to be more continuous in order to stimulate action away from FGC.<sup>78</sup> There is an opportunity to explore more of a focus on girls’ clubs in the next programming cycle.

**Teachers are a group that could be greater accessed by the project.** They provide a good in-road to working with girls and parents and are often respected members of the community. Additionally, in Kuria some teachers had strong links to the church and had a double role as teacher and a religious leader. In particular, some teachers said their role in ECAW could be expanded on, for example teachers could ensure FGC discussions and activities were raised during school clubs. Other than certificates and money reimbursement teachers interviewed did not provide further suggestions on how the training could be enhanced.

#### **Activity 4: Training Parents**

120 parents had been trained in 2014 and eighty in 2015. Parents’ sessions were mixed sex and covered issues such as FGC and health issues, human rights and education. The format was similar to a community discussion but with a specific target group, and tailored around specific issues. In a separate activity, the parents of GEP girls and boys were engaged directly through Paralegals who would visit their house and inform them of the GEP activities and seek permission for children to attend. The least data could be located on the training of parents. For example, parents noted activities in general terms saying they had learnt about FGC education, offering limited explanation when probed. This may be linked to the fact that training of parents did not constitute a large part of ECAW’s activities. For example, five times as many community members were engaged through community forums (1,365) as through training of parents (240). Additionally, parents were more vocal when talking about community forums than parents’ training. A possible explanation could be that through the presence of different stakeholders the community forums are able to stimulate a broader and more exciting discussion. A significant theme to emerge from interviews with parents and ECAW staff was the

<sup>73</sup> KIs with Teacher from Kegonga 14.01.2016.

<sup>74</sup> KIs with Teacher from Taranganya and Masaba, 12.01.2016 and 15.01.2016.

<sup>75</sup> KIs with ECAW, 12.01.2016; KIs with Paralegals, 13.01.2016.

<sup>76</sup> KIs with Health Professional from Taranganya, 12.01.2016.

<sup>77</sup> Girls’ clubs take place in school and are usually weekly events with 10-30 girls attended. The clubs are run by a teacher and a lead girl and cover topics of interest that are decided by the girls.

<sup>78</sup> KIs with teacher from Taranganya, 13.01.2016.

high demand for knowledge on school bursaries. ECAW had successfully piloted parents' training that focused on how to access these local government bursaries.

### Activity 5: Training Religious Leaders

**Between 2014 and 2015, 75 religious leaders were trained by ECAW. All religious leaders were Christian, although early in the project a prominent female Muslim provided some volunteer support.** Unfortunately this was short-lived as the volunteer was reported to have experienced peer pressure and backlash from her neighbours for her involvement in an FGC abandonment project. Overall, religious leaders and teachers were viewed in the same light and as having a unique relationship with both parents and children. Churches were said to be a good way to access a larger number of people at one time and a good place to access the community as 'everyone goes to church.'<sup>79</sup> Girls said that 'Teachers and Pastors should be most involved in the Programme because they are respected here in the village.'<sup>80</sup> Overall religious leaders showed the most readiness to change. Training materials should be adapted to support religious leaders to advocate for change. As a result, training needs to focus on developing the skills needed to bring about change in religious leaders (e.g. facilitation, discussion, listening skills), rather than educating them on FGC. As many religious leaders noted there is already a saturation of FGC education.

### Activity 6: Training Health Professionals

**Between 2014 and 2015, 81 health professionals were trained by ECAW. Some community members suggested 'using community health workers as our mouthpieces and an effective way to change mind-sets.'**<sup>81</sup> Like Paralegals, teachers and religious leaders, Community Health Workers had a wide reach in the community, however before engaging this group the Project would need to address how to incentivise engagement. Although this is part of their current job there would need to be some additional incentive for this group to do more (e.g. trainings with certificates).

**Community health professionals said they had used information from their training with ECAW in their practice.** For example, one health worker from Taranganya noted:

Through the trainings (with ECAW) we got to know more about FGC, we also got to know about this organization and that it's fighting for the elimination of FGM. What we need now is more follow ups to encourage more health workers to speak out against FGM. When we have this we won't forget what we were trained on.

The same health professional went on to note that

FGC is raised daily during health talks<sup>82</sup> that are a combination of many topics where we always talk about FGC and its effects.

Another Health Professional from Taranganya noted that she speaks about FGC at her clinic:

When young women come for pre-natal check-ups or when they get immunizations for their children we talk to them about FGC and the health problems it causes. Through these group sessions we can reach many expectant and young mothers in the community.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> FGDs with parents from Kehancha, 14.01.2016.

<sup>80</sup> FGDs with girls from Kehancha, 14.01.2016.

<sup>81</sup> KILs with Health Professional from Taranganya, 12.01.2016.

<sup>82</sup> This refers to group health discussions that are led by the Health Professional and take place in a local health center, attended by a specific population (e.g. pregnant women, women with young children).

<sup>83</sup> KILs with Health Professional from Taranganya, 12.01.2016.

**Teachers, Paralegals and Religious Leaders said that working with Health Professionals was ‘less important’ to affect change,** as ‘they already know lots about FGC and are all against it, compared to teachers where you still have some that are for it.’ Health Professionals were described as ‘having a changed attitude and not condoning FGM at all,’<sup>84</sup> and as the group which was least likely to push for FGC after comprehensive training and legislation reform by the government. However, Orchid Project notes that this shift in attitudes puts health workers in a good position to conduct further awareness raising and act as a facilitator of change. There was one case of a doctor in Nyaore performing the cut to girls in health centres, as noted in an interview with a health professional in Kehancha, ‘I use to work in Nyaore and there was a doctor there who would circumcise the girls.’<sup>85</sup> Other than this there was no indication of increased medicalization in the cutting of girls.<sup>86</sup>

### Activity 7: Training Paralegals

**Between 2014 and 2015, 26 Paralegals had been trained by ECAW.** Currently 26 Paralegals work on the project, twenty are women and six are men. Each of the five districts has one Lead Paralegal, however the elder male Paralegal is also considered a senior Paralegal due to his status. All villages bar Kegonga have both male and female Paralegals. Further details of Paralegals by sex and village can be found in the service delivery diagram on page 42. ECAW presents good value for money in its model that deploys Paralegals only when they are needed. This enables them to continue with their normal day jobs (e.g. running a farm, a kiosk or small shop) while also committing a number of days per month to working for ECAW. Research tells us that part-time workers are more likely to class themselves as motivated than full-time workers, with 76% classing themselves as ‘highly’ or ‘fairly’ motivated at work, compared to 68% of full-time workers, despite being paid less than 50% of a full-time wage.<sup>87</sup> Research finds that part-time workers are less motivated by money in general, with enjoyment of the job and how well they get on with their colleagues more important motivators. It is important to note this research comes from the European Union, however, interviews with Paralegals (6) and ECAW staff (3) indicated the same – that paralegals were not motivated by money alone. However, not receiving payment for their work detracted from the work of some paralegals, especially male Paralegals.

**Lead Paralegals should attend capacity building training** and placements to other organizations where possible. This could include a one-week exchange placement between ECAW and other FGC (e.g. one of the organizations that attended the FGC knowledge sharing forum in Narok in February 2016) or women’s rights (e.g. Akili Dada) organizations in Kenya. The aim would be to keep up-to-date with the latest developments in FGC programming in Kenya, to learn from other projects what is working and what is not, and to enhance the motivation of Paralegals by providing on the job learning exchanges. This idea was suggested by Paralegals themselves.

**Mixed sex paralegals work well and men and women paralegals do not experience more or less challenges because of their gender.** All Paralegals that were consulted said that both male and female Paralegals experience similar challenges in working in the community. Paralegals also noted that they worked as a team and faced challenges from the community together.

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<sup>84</sup> KII with Health Professional from Taranganya, 12.01.2016.

<sup>85</sup> KII with Health Professional from Kehancha, 14.01.2016.

<sup>86</sup> KII with Health Professional from Kehancha, 14.01.2016.

<sup>87</sup> Institute of Leadership & Management (2012), Beyond the bonus: Driving employee performance: [https://www.i-lm.com/~media/ILM%20Website/Downloads/Insight/Reports\\_from\\_ILM\\_website/ILM-BeyondTheBonus-Oct13.ashx](https://www.i-lm.com/~media/ILM%20Website/Downloads/Insight/Reports_from_ILM_website/ILM-BeyondTheBonus-Oct13.ashx)

**Some community members said they would prefer to speak with a Paralegal of the same sex**, and that women were 'easier to speak to on matters of FGC' compared to a man.<sup>88</sup> Girls from two of three villages said they would prefer to be in a single sex group, with paralegals of the same sex. If work is to be done with boys and fathers, more male Paralegals will need to be recruited.

**Community members had different views about the preferred age of paralegals.** Some parents noted that a middle-aged paralegal would be better as they sit somewhere between the two age brackets. Others noted that young paralegals would be good at speaking with younger girls, and that girls would identify with them.

**Paralegals felt undervalued and that balancing their paid work** (e.g. farming, small businesses) with being a Paralegal was at times difficult. On many occasions their paid work took preference. This meant that it was not always possible to conduct activities at a given time and affected project planning and implementation. Paralegals were hard to retain, in particular KIIs with FTM, Orchid and ECAW staff noted that Paralegals had their main day job and that volunteering with ECAW was an extra. When their normal work (e.g. farming, running a small business) clashed with ECAW activities then their regular work took precedence. This meant that running activities had to be put on hold until the given Paralegal become available again.

**There has been a high turnover of new paralegals since the project started, although a core group of committed, longer-term volunteers remains.** Each time a Paralegal leaves a new one must be trained up. This cuts into resources and undercuts the quality of the activities provided.

**Paralegals, but not other stakeholders said there were some capacity gaps within the Paralegal team.** For example, some Paralegals were not confident facilitating community forums, while others said they needed more training to learn how to respond to difficult questions from the clan of elders.

**Paralegals are at the heart of the service delivery model** (see below diagram). They mobilise the community, maintain positive relationships, and implement activities.

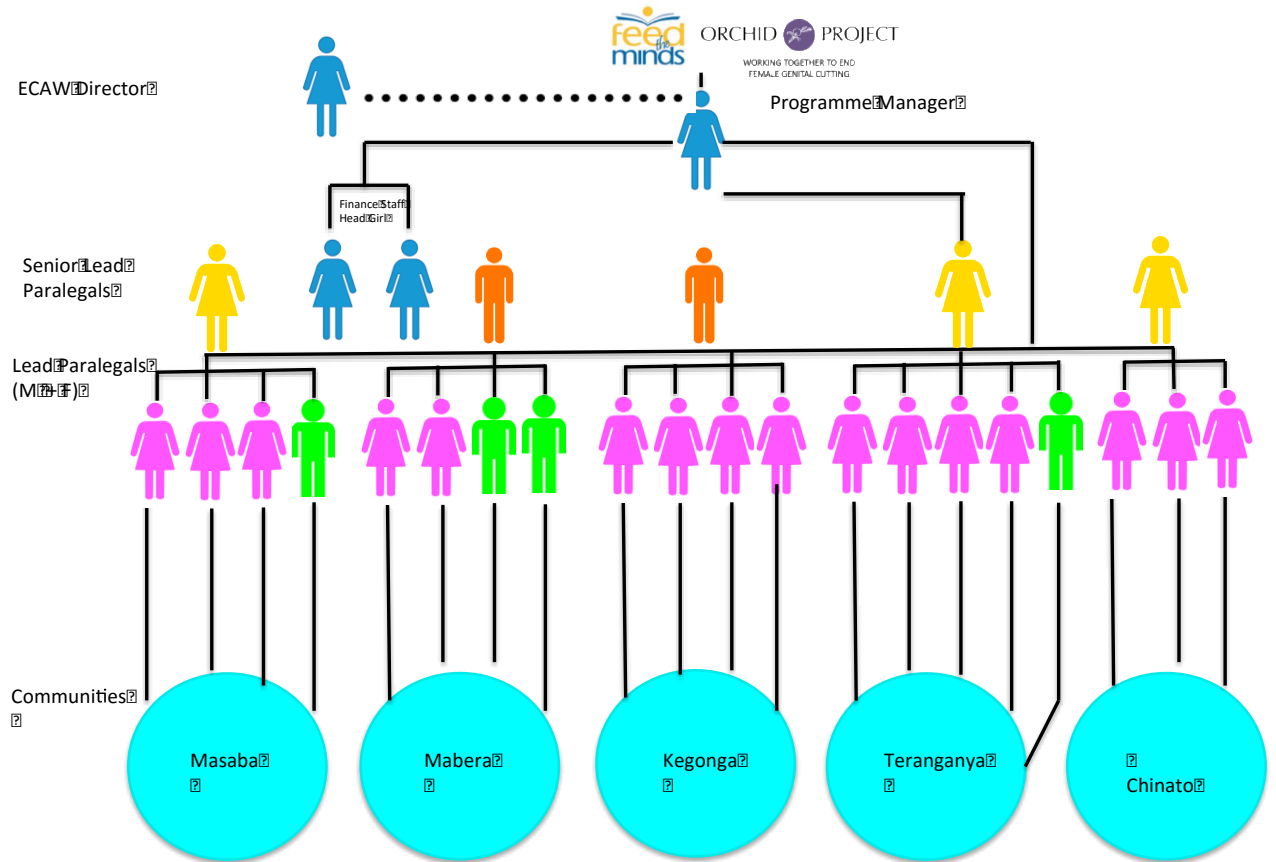
They do a good job and I would love to have my daughters be like her

Father of GEP girl, FGD in Taranganya

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<sup>88</sup> FGDs with parents from Taranganya, 13.01.2016.

## Service Delivery Model



**Investing time and resources in supporting Paralegals, Parents and running Community Forums were the top three ways that stakeholders said change could be influenced.** These findings are based on discussions with 10 key informants with extensive knowledge on the Programme. This ranged from Pastors and Teachers to Lead Paralegals and ECAW staff on the most important groups to engage and support with a limited budget. The higher the score, and closer it is to 100, the more important it is to work with this group. Results are shown in the table below:

Rank	Stakeholder Group	Score
1	Paralegals	82
2	Parents training	81
3	Community forums	79
4	Girls Empowerment Programme	76
5	Religious Leaders training	75
6	Teachers Training	72
7	Health professionals	64
8	Clan of Elder	64
9	Law enforcement	48

**Supporting Paralegals was said to be the number one priority as these were the ‘link’** between the community and the organization, without which the project would not function. Success depended on the ability of the Paralegals to influence change in the communities they worked in. The second most important

group was engaging parents as they were said to have ‘the final say’ on if their girls were cut or not and ‘were still mixed, some are for it, and some are against.’ This was followed by engaging the community in forums as this provided a place where ‘they engage the whole community.’

**The importance of engaging with the Clan of Elders was mixed.** On the one hand some respondents said it was ‘critical, as without them FGC cannot take place, they make all the decisions, they have a direct line to the spirit world and from this they announce when it will happen.’ While others said that the attitude of the Clan of Elders was unlikely to change anytime soon as they received a ‘direct benefit,’ and ‘economic incentive’ when girls were cut, and played NGOs flitting between declaring they would not cut their girls to then cutting them that season, in order to receive both the financial benefits from girls being cut, and the perceived financial benefits that NGOs/ CBOs could offer. This was also illustrated in what one parent said during a Focus Group Discussion:

At the end of the day money that is given (by NGOs) out to the elders doesn’t help them because it is pumped back into the same practice. They will pump it back for ceremonies to cut. Talking to these elders is just a waste of resource.<sup>89</sup>

**The Paralegal model is flexible and can be adapted.** For example, in 2015 a male Paralegal had been brought on as a response to not being able to access the clan of elders. The project now has a ‘bridge’ to the clan of elders through senior (elder) lead Paralegals. The Clan of Elders (the most difficult group to access) has accepted a link person from the project. This person now has open communication with the Clan of Elders, which is no easy feat. Future activities could involve retaining elder male Paralegals to measure attitude change within the Clan of Elders and maintain an FGC dialogue.

**ECAW has a developed network of highly respected<sup>90</sup> male and female Paralegals that only work within the communities that they live in, as the clan of elders in Kehancha noted** ‘The Paralegals are respected, I wish we could get more of her kind, we admire her spirit and feel free talking to her.’ In 2015 ECAW took on a male Paralegal to respond to challenges in communicating with the Clan of Elders. ECAW staff said the project should ‘recruit more Lead Paralegals, especially men’ as this was a particular underrepresented group.’ Fewer male Paralegals joined, and when they did join they were more likely to leave sooner.<sup>91</sup> This was linked to ECAW not being able to offer any financial compensation for time spent conducting ECAW activities.<sup>92</sup>

**Between 2014 and 2015 Paralegals and ECAW staff trained 19 Champion girls, and 1 head Champion girl.** This involved choosing confident, articulate girls from secondary schools in Kuria who were interested in being FGC advocates, and providing them with training. Champion girls have attended GEP training in the past as participants and choose not to be cut. The majority of the girls involved have not been active, however the Head Champion girl remains very active, running Sunday school sessions each week where she talks about FGC and supporting ECAW with project activities. Overall the lack of retention of Champion girls is likely linked to few resources to maintain contact, follow-up and mentoring with these girls. If this could be improved, retention would likely increase.

**Overall, paralegals are very well respected in the villages.<sup>93</sup> They are trusted members of the community and have the ear of different community members.**

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<sup>89</sup> FGDs with parents from Kegonga, 14.01.2016.

<sup>90</sup> KIs with the clan of elders in Kehancha, 14.01.2016; KIs with grandparents in Kehancha, 14.01.2016; FGDs with parents from Kehancha, 14.01.2016.

<sup>91</sup> KIs with ECAW staff, 12.01.2016.

<sup>92</sup> KIs with grandparents in Kehancha, 14.01.2016.

<sup>93</sup> FGDs with parents and grandparents in Taranganya, KIs with teachers, health professionals in Taranganya, 12.01.2016; KIs with chiefs, clan of elders in Kehancha, 14.01.2016; KIs with teacher and health professional in Masaba, 15.01.2016; KIs with ECAW, 12.01.2016.

## Part Three: Findings related to research and M&E

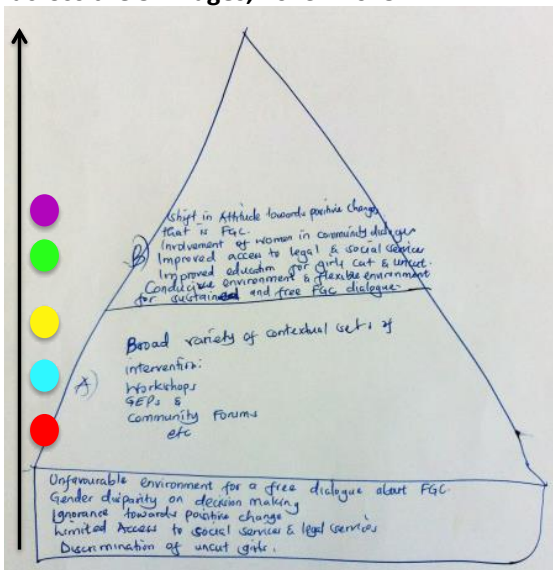
### Findings related to conducting future research and M&E of FGC projects in Kuria

Feedback from stakeholders is gathered and the programme demonstrates a demand driven service in a number of ways. For example, during the GEP in Mabera both boys and girls were asked to write sensitive questions on a piece of paper and post these into a confidential box. On another occasion during community forums women and men were asked what they had gained from the discussion and how it could be improved. This data is then recorded collectively e.g. the facilitator records that 5 women have gained confidence to speak out about FGC. This type of aggregation hides case studies and personal stories that may be of interest to donors in showing the impact the Programme is having.

The ToC developed by project staff was more comprehensive and nuanced than the UNFPA-UNICEF (2008-2012) FGC Theory of Change. For example, they noted that involvement of women in community dialogues was a key determinant of changing attitudes and this marked an increased empowerment of women that would lead to increased change in attitudes towards FGC. The Evaluation finds the whole community Theory of Change used by the Project and developed in the below exercise to go beyond and advance the UNFPA-UNICEF model.

## Progress along the Projects' ToC

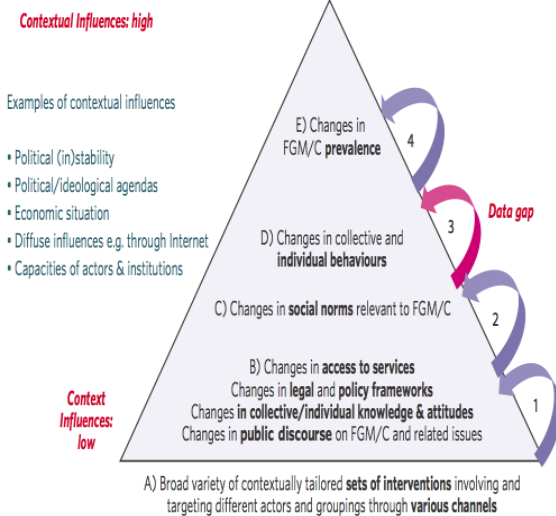
### Project Model ToC and Attitude Change across the 5 Villages, 2013-2015



- Teranganya
- Kegonga
- Chinato
- Masaba
- Mabera

### UNFPA-UNICEF Joint Program on FGC, 2008-2012


Diagram 5. Theory of change (simplified)



That said, the ToC is not used by ECAW for monitoring. For example there are no Key Performance Indicators. The project has a log frame; however, this has not been adapted as the project evolves.

M&E activities are currently focused on measuring changes at the level of activities; outcomes and impact are not being measured. The following table shows in green the level at which indicators are being measured and in red the gap in measuring change:



Ease of measure	Level	Example of indicator at different level	Captured in current project	Suggestions to enhance indicators
Hard  Easy	Outcome	# of fathers who report an attitude change in deciding not to cut their girls	No	Focus on achievable impact indicators. Reducing rates of FGC within 2 years may not be realistic. Only choose impact indicators that will show change within 2 years.
	Outputs	# of girls who report increased confidence	Somewhat	Develop easy-to-capture tools to use in forums and GEPs. E.g. Satisfaction voting by hands raised.
	Activities	# of girls and boys attending the Girls Empowerment Programme	Yes	Standardise reporting using Excel

**There was no systematic way of recording data from the field.** Although weekly check-ins took place with between Paralegal and ECAW staff, this data was captured in a notebook, rather than directly into a printed Excel/ word document. Direct verbatim quotes are collected from beneficiaries but are amalgamated together and usually not shared with FTM and Orchid and summaries of feedback are usually given.

## Recommendations

### Recommendations for resource mobilization

- **Expand resources.<sup>94</sup> Apply to the UN Women Trust Fund to End Violence against Women and Girls** for a joint grant with FTM and Orchid. ECAW will need to check if they are eligible to apply. Their Director, Ms. Dennitah Ghatai MP is current the women’s representative for Kuria and a Member of Parliament. To see an example of the 2015 call for proposals click [here](#), to see an example of 2015 grantees click [here](#).
- **Team up with Akili Dada to provide scholarship and mentoring opportunities to girls living in rural areas of Kuria** who come from disadvantaged backgrounds. Incorporate the communities’ interest in education, scholarship and mentoring opportunities with FGC discussions in line with demand driven programming diagram on page 17.<sup>95</sup>

### Recommendations for communicating results

- **Communicating results: Publish results in the Overseas Development Institute Humanitarian Practice Network.** Little information has been published on this subject, and other organizations leading large multi-country FGC abandonment projects (e.g. UNFPA, UNICEF) could benefit from this

<sup>94</sup> KIs and FGDs with teachers, religious leaders, Paralegals and GEP girls and boys from Taranganya, Masaba and Maberu, 12-15.01.2016. KIs with ECAW, 12.01.2016. These discussions highlighted the need for more frequent follow-up between activities.

<sup>95</sup> Akili Dada is a well-respected Kenyan based NGO that runs various programs to support future young female Kenyan girls to become the leaders of tomorrow. The NGO operates a range of initiatives from girls clubs to 1-2-1 mentoring and currently funds two scholars (in Narok and Maasai Land) to develop FGC abandonment project. Ms. Joyce Ngumba is the Director of Innovation in Leadership, and can be reached on E: [joyce@akiliidada.org](mailto:joyce@akiliidada.org)/ T: +254(0)714 747 291.

research. This provides an opportunity to publicise the work of ECAW, FTM, Orchid, and Wallace Global Fund and build the donor base.

### *Recommendations for activities*

- **The GEP is a popular programme among the attendees and their parents, however the programme lacks sufficient follow up.**<sup>96</sup> A health professional noted ‘if they don’t go back for long, it wears off after a while.’<sup>97</sup> As noted by the ECAW staff, GEP participants do receive follow up activities (e.g. Paralegals talk with the parents at community events). However the follow up was not systematic, and it was not clear if each Paralegal was doing this. This is mostly due to lean budget and no reimbursement for Paralegals time.
- **A more intensive Programme should be developed working closely with fathers and young boys.** Work with fathers was stressed by girls in Taranganya, while all FGDs with GEP girls and boys referenced the need to work with boys. Teachers were particularly keen on increased work with boys as a means to change behaviour.
- **Certificates should continue to be distributed on day 2 of the GEP.** This is a cost effective way to motivate and empower girls and an effective way of engaging the whole community in discussions on FGC. The length of the GEP should be increased.
- **At least some part of the GEPs should be single sex.** This will give an opportunity to discuss the different needs, experiences and challenges faced by girls and boys.
- **Paralegals and head girls/ boys at school should be supported to work with girls clubs (and other school clubs which boys attend).** This will make the approach more sustainable. This could include holding a capacity building workshop for head girls and boys on how to facilitate FGC discussions. This could also include some incentives and rewards for giving up their time (e.g. volunteering certificates, a small prize for the most active head girl and head boy). Selection criteria and a transparent and accountable selection process would be needed.
- **Fathers especially should be more intensively involved in the GEP as they often attend the graduation ceremony but still cut their daughters.**<sup>98</sup>

### *Recommendations for working with Paralegals:*

- **Reimburse Paralegals** with £10 per day, or Sh. 1,500 per day, for their work, inclusive of travel and airtime. Paralegals should be hired to implement activities. The number of days will depend on the range of activities, and which villages are selected.
- **Paralegal capacity could be increased so they gradually take on more responsibilities for facilitating discussions and community forums.** This would enhance the sustainability of the service delivery model.
- **Paralegals should have ID badges**<sup>99</sup> with their photograph and position to identify them. This will increase their accountability and sense of status and purpose among the community.
- **Recruit more young male and older male Paralegals** to work with boys and men.
- **Develop an Excel document to record feedback from Paralegals.** Provide Paralegals with a hard copy of this recording sheet. ECAW staff to input data directly into this excel sheet during weekly calls with Paralegals. This will save time, increase accountability and reporting to donors. This could also include direct verbatim quotes from beneficiaries separately.
- **There is no need to change the word Paralegal.** The title is mostly used internally, and community members know the Paralegals by their first name, rather than position.
- **Continue to refresh paralegals and provide training on areas identified by Paralegals, such as:**

<sup>96</sup> KIIs with Health Professional from Taranganya, 12.01.2016; FGDs with GEP girls from Igena Primary School, 13.01.2016; FGDs with GEP girls from Maeta, 14.01.2016; FGDs with GEP girls and boys from Mabera, 15.01.2016; FGDs with parents from Kehancha, 14.01.2016.

<sup>97</sup> KIIs with Health Professional from Kehancha, 14.01.2016.

<sup>98</sup> FGDs with GEP girls from Taranganya, 13.01.2016.

<sup>99</sup> Recommendation from Youth Paralegal, 15.01.2016.

- How to speak with the community and resolve issues e.g. over payment, reimbursements<sup>100</sup>
- How to approach different members of the community.<sup>101</sup>

### *Recommendations for working with the clan of elders*

- **Do not concentrate resources on working with the clan of elders**, retain a ‘bridge’ with this group, but do not pile resources into this area. This recommendation should be explored with similar projects working in Kenya within a similar societal structure to that of the clan of elders.

### *Recommendations to consider in future programming*

- **Continue to engage the whole community – the approach is the most effective and value for money strategy in the long term.** Focus on long-term goals and early signs of impact in the long term. There is no quick fix. Attitudes and behaviours take time to change.
- **Go deeper with more funds and not broader. Reduce the target number of villages. Engage men and boys. Focus on fewer villages; go deeper within these villages** in terms of more concentrated activities in these villages.
- **Acknowledge the economic incentives for fathers in marrying their daughters early and receiving a dowry** and respond to this head-on.
- **Acknowledge the economic incentives for the Clan of Elders to cut** and respond to this head-on.
- **Fathers should be engaged to bring about community behaviour change.** At the moment fathers do not receive any return or benefit from girls not being cut.
- **Monitor and react to changes in and implementation of legislation on FGC as this may likely create a backlash to FGC discourse, as was seen in 2014 when ‘many more girls, especially younger girls were cut.’<sup>102</sup>**
- **Supply need based trainings plus FGC education in the community forums and mini forums, not FGC education on its own.** Training needs to focus on developing the skills that community members need and then pairing this with FGC discussions.
- **Hold more mini-forums where the Paralegal travels to the community.** Use mini forums (up to 25 people in attendance) over community forums (75 – 100 people in attendance). This will ensure greater community dialogue, and that everyone gets a chance to speak.
- **Measure girls’ attendance at school as a new Key Performance Indicator for future projects.** Changes in girls’ attendance at school are possible if the project goes deeper, rather than broader.
- **Develop specific activities for cut girls**
- **Be careful not to victimise cut girls.** For example, paralegals should be trained on how to speak about cut girls in order that these girls are not victimised. Create an approach to turning away girls who have been cut, not using scare-mongering tactics that would taint girls’ perspective of ECAW, the project and ‘make them feel low.’
- **Focus on developing the capacity and incentives for Champion girls.** This could include both cut girls and un-cut girls, and would be powerful to have both young women taking against FGC, be it from different perspectives. This also helps show the community that ECAW is not against cut girls, but against the practice.

### *Recommendations for M&E*

- **M&E - Baseline and End-line data: Only collect baseline data that can be used and replicated throughout the project, or at the end line.** Not doing so provides interesting data in the baseline, for example on prevalence rates, but data that cannot be replicated. This will further cost save on

<sup>100</sup> KIIs with Paralegals in Taranganya, 12.01.2016.

<sup>101</sup> KIIs with youth male Paralegal in Masaba, 15.01.2016.

<sup>102</sup> KIIs with health professional from Kegonga, 14.01.2016.

resources and ensure more accurate measurements of change, leading to more quantitative baseline and final data that can be used to demonstrate early signs of impact.<sup>103</sup>

- **M&E – Baseline: A new project by ECAW should collect baseline data from schools in target communities** and track 100 GEP girls at baseline and final.
- **Communicating the Theory of Change: The Project’s Theory of Change should be shared with external stakeholders.** These stakeholders (e.g. UNFPA-UNICEF) may benefit from the detailed model put forward by the Project staff (see diagrams in learning objective 7 below).
- **Key Performance Indicators: The Project’s Theory of Change should be used to develop Key Performance Indicators** for the next project. These indicators should be at all levels – activities, outcomes and outputs.
- **Examples of Key Performance Indicators:**
  - **# of times women, men, girls and boys speak in community forums and mini forums - as a Key Performance Indicator to track empowerment**
  - **# of fathers who show an attitude change in FGC beliefs**
  - **# of girls and boys who say that their confidence and self-esteem to resist FGC has increased**
- **Log frame: Future projects should aim for the log frame to be a working document that is used by all partners,** including the implementing agency in the planning of activities. This will help maximise impact and ensure the project remains on track to achieve outcomes and impact.
- **Training: Build the M&E capacity of ECAW**

### *Recommendations related to conducting future research on FGC in Kuria*

A brief 2-page sheet on methodological top tips for conducting research on A) FGC generally and B) In Kuria specifically has been developed (Annex 8). Top tips for conducting research on FGC include:

1. To draw on a trusted member of the implementing agency to initiate discussions
2. To develop creative and engaging tools for working with very young girls and boys (e.g. between 8-11 years old). Dolls were used in the FGDs with boys and girls. This was done for a number of reasons:
  - a. To break down the barriers between researcher and researched and to create a non-threatening environment to talk about sensitive issues such as FGC and domestic violence.
  - b. To create an environment that was ‘less like school’ and to facilitate a more open and informal discussion.
  - c. To provide anonymity. For example, young people could talk about what the doll character experienced through the programme, rather than talking in the first person.
3. To use warm-up games before FGDs with girls and boys

Top tips for doing research on FGC in Kuria include:

1. To conduct separate Focus Group Discussions with parents and grandparents, as age was more important than sex when having group discussions on the cut

## **Conclusion**

Overall the programme shows a good model that is rooted in existing community networks, is cost effective and is responsive to local needs. There has been some attitude shift among certain beneficiaries, however harder to reach groups such as the clans of elder are not ready to change. Considerable economic and social incentives continue the practice. The clan of elders in particular benefits directly and frequently (every season, which is every 2 years). Fathers benefit less directly and less frequently than the clan of elders by receiving a dowry on the marriage of their daughters. Attitude change has been witnessed through increased joint

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<sup>103</sup> Baseline data was collected on prevalence rates in Kuria as Kuria was not included in the Demographic Health Survey. That said, data related to the KPIs could have been collected at the same time for the purpose of Baseline and Endline.

community dialogue on FGC and the community mobilising after Project activities. Overall, the project can maximise impact by increasing resources, or by increasing resources and decreasing the number of villages. It is a challenge to stimulate a critical mass of behaviour with the current budget, given the high number of stakeholder groups that need to be engaged (8), the large number of villages (5) targeted and the type of behaviour change required. Encouragingly, a large number of beneficiaries showed some self-commitment to change, with most being at stage 3 of Orchid's readiness to change. That said, some used dialogue that would be best placed in stage 5 of Orchid's readiness to change scale, for example religious leaders and teachers in particular linked girls being cut to the wider disempowerment of girls and women, early marriage and high drop out from education. There is potential to support abandonment; to achieve this fathers and boys will need to be more engaged in the whole community approach to abandonment

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## **Annexes**

Please see attached document