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Evidence Synthesis Review of The Grandmother Project's "Girls' Holistic Development" Programme

Dr Anneke Newman, University of Sussex

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This evidence review was commissioned by the USAID-funded Passages project, which aims to transform social norms to improve adolescent sexual and reproductive health (SRH). Passages uses a realist evaluation framework to direct technical assistance towards interventions which show normative change relating to SRH, and which can be scaled up. Realist evaluation involves developing a program Theory of Change and reviewing evidence to prove or disprove the theory. This report reviews studies conducted on behalf of the Grandmother Project - Change Through Culture (GMP) to evaluate the Girls' Holistic Development (GHD) Programme Theory of Change and assess its impact on community-level norms.

Eight evaluation and research reports were reviewed representing extensive qualitative data and some quantitative data on GHD programme implementation in 40 villages in southern Senegal between 2008 and 2015. The GHD Theory of Change was developed by GMP with support of Passages in August 2016. The analysis identified where data existed to support the Theory of Change, and where evidence was weak or unavailable. The review concluded that there is robust empirical support for the GHD Theory of Change. Strong evidence (from different studies, over several years, and corroborated through various data collection methods) demonstrates that the programme contributed to:

Social cohesion: Increased respect for elders, especially grandmothers; increased intergenerational communication and relationships; increased confidence among grandmothers in their role as promoters of girls' health and well-being; increased appreciation of local culture among adults and youth; increased social cohesion and community mobilisation resulting from increased intergenerational solidarity.

Girls' health and well-being: Significant reduction in extra-marital teenage pregnancies due to intergenerational communication where youth learn about responsible sexual relationships; declines in early/forced marriage due to the reduction in extra-marital teenage pregnancies; increases in the ideal age of marriage for girls from 15.5 to 17.5 years; preference to marry girls once they are physically mature and have completed school; reduced practice of FGM due to greater acceptance of uncircumcised girls, increased awareness of the negative effects of FGM and that it is not religiously mandated.

Education: Improved school-community relationships and collaboration; higher pupil enrolment, school engagement, and attendance (especially among girls) due to increased relevance and quality of formal schooling following the inclusion of cultural content in schools.

Despite strong evidence that the GHD intervention has contributed to changing norms, the analysis identified gaps regarding how change occurred. There has been limited comparison of the groups of villages integrated into the programme in 2008, 2011 and 2013, which would provide insights into norm change over time. Differing aims and data collection methods made it difficult to compare findings across studies. Some studies focused more on positive outcomes instead of evaluating both the positive and the negative effects. With the available data it is difficult to decipher which activities contributed most to norm change, which is useful for designing a simpler intervention to go to scale. The analysis identified additional areas that could be explored including: when and how girls communicate with grandmothers; how youth communicate with their families and communities to express their interests; and how grandmothers negotiate within families and communities on behalf of girls. More quantitative data could be collected on school enrolment, adolescent pregnancy, child

marriage, and community participation in the GHD programme to assess who does not participate and why.

Finally, the evidence shows that a large majority of community members support the GHD programme. This corroborates GMP's theory that in order to change norms, an intervention needs to be compatible with community priorities, cultural values, and social roles. Such approaches tend to be more gradual but change is more likely to be sustainable. Culturally-inappropriate interventions risk creating backlash and undermining the potential for long-term sustainable norm change.

INTRODUCTION

This document was commissioned by the USAID-funded Passages Project (2015-2020) based at the Institute of Reproductive Health, Georgetown University. Passages aims to document and disseminate the findings of community-based programmes which have successfully shifted norms to improve adolescent reproductive and sexual health. It uses a Realist Evaluation approach to support the development of programme Theories of Change, to provide the backbone for eventual scale-up of such programmes. This report provides a review of qualitative research conducted in Senegal (2008 – present) and conceived by The Grandmother Project/Change Through Culture (GMP), an American and Senegalese NGO to explore community-level changes due the 'Girls' Holistic Development' (GHD) Programme. Support for the Girls' Holistic Development Programme between 2006 and 2017 came from: World Vision, Nando Peretti Foundation, Tavola Valdese Foundation, British Embassy, Dutch Embassy and Canadian Embassy in Senegal, Dining for Women, Rockdale Foundation and Grandmother Project private resources.

This report was commissioned by IRH following the initial 4-day, realist evaluation workshop held in Vélingara, Senegal, in August 2016. Staff from GMP and Passages Project, stakeholders from the Ministries of Education and Health, and an independent consultant (Anneke Newman) convened to elaborate a Theory of Change for GMP's GHD programme. The workshop participants acknowledged the need to explore the body of qualitative evidence compiled by GMP throughout the course of the programme's implementation, to assess the empirical support for the Theory of Change and its success in changing social norms. This report represents this evidence.

In December 2016, Susan Igras of IRH, GMP CEO Judi Aubel, and Anneke Newman met by Skype to set selection criteria for the reports to be covered in the evaluation, and to identify reports that met these criteria. As the duration of the evaluation was relatively short, it was decided to include only reports that synthesised and analysed large bodies of data – rather than directly analyse raw data. Eight reports were identified, produced by GMP since 2009. They included analysis of data collected specifically for the purposes of the reports, and/or analysed raw data collected over the course of the programme by GMP staff. These reports covered villages involved in all three phases of the GHD programme (see Ndione, Faye and Nagnonhou, 2011, p19; Diallo, 2015, p7):

TABLE 1. THE THREE GROUPS OF VILLAGES INVOLVED IN THE GHD PROGRAMME.

GROUP	START OF INVOLVEMENT
Group 1 (n=12)	September 2008
Group 2 (n=8)	October 2009
Group 3 (n=20)	2013

The table below summarises the eight reports used to compile this review. More specific information on the samples and data collection methods used within these reports is presented in the Appendix.

TABLE 2. REPORTS USED IN THE EVIDENCE SYNTHESIS REVIEW OF GIRLS' HOLISTIC DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME.

TITLE OF REPORT	PUBLICATION DATE	AUTHOR(S)	GROUP OF VILLAGES
Rapport Evaluation Mi-Parcours: Projet Action Communautaire pour promouvoir la sante et le bien-être des filles et éradiquer la mutilation génitale féminine	November 2009	World Vision Senegal	Group 1
Les mariages et les grossesses précoces diminuent grâce aux efforts conjoints des enseignants et des grand-mères	February 2011	F. Lulli	Group 1
Investigation sur les opinions des jeunes concernant leur culture et les valeurs "traditionnelles" et "modernes"	April 2011	F. Lulli	Group 1
Evaluation finale du projet "Projet Action Communautaire pour promouvoir la sante et le bien-être des filles et éradiquer la mutilation génitale féminine"	June 2011	M.S. Ndione, M.M. Faye & M. Naghonhou	Groups 1 and 2
Increased communication between generations enables communities to take action to better educate and protect girls	October 2011	A. Newman	Group 1
Investigation sur: Le leadership des grands-mères dans les villages impliques dans le Projet de développement holistique des filles	August 2012	F. Lulli	Not stated
La rencontre des deux savoirs: Revue de la stratégie d'intégration des valeurs culturelles a l'école	January 2015	H. Soukouna & A. Newman	Not stated
Rapport Provisoire Evaluation Finale "Projet développement holistique des filles phase 2"	October 2015	K. Diallo	Groups 1, 2 and 3

This report is concerned primarily with synthesising the existing *evidence* which supports GMP's work. It does not include several other bodies of information essential for understanding the GHD programme's success. This information is described in the Appendix for readers interested in learning more. The most thorough source of information is Musoko et al., 2012, *Girls and Grandmothers Hand-in-Hand: Dialogue between generations for community change*. Commissioned by World Vision International, it is a synthesis of several reports written on the GHD programme, including qualitative and quantitative evaluations.

FIG. 1. DIAGRAM OF GIRLS' HOLISTIC DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME THEORY OF CHANGE
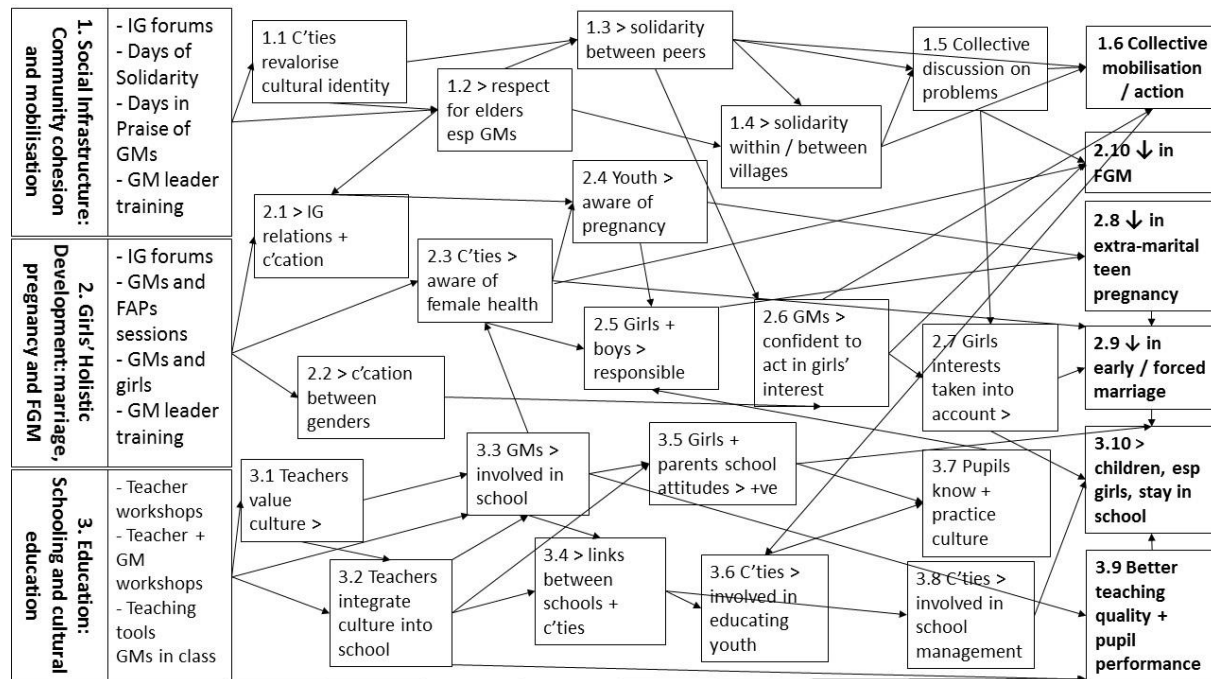
FINDINGS: PART 1. SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURE

1.1   COMMUNITY RE-VALORISES CULTURAL IDENTITY

In 2011, Lulli (2011b) conducted an in-depth study of the attitudes of young people from Group 1 project villages towards their culture. She concluded that young people consider their culture in very positive terms, for learning useful social and practical skills essential for living productively and cohesively in the family and community. They also identified harmful cultural practices like FGM, early and forced marriage, and dangerous or exhausting forms of work (p8-9). Young people had also observed the harmful influence of 'modern' or 'western' values, largely diffused through television or sometimes migrants who returned to the villages. Negative influences cited were violence including towards women, immodest styles of dress, consumerism and love of money, individualism, tobacco, decreased respect for elders, overt sexuality and reduced sense of modesty in relations between young men and women (p10-11).

Later in 2011, Newman (2011, p16) also found that both young and old inhabitants of Group 1 villages reported that young people valued cultural identity and knowledge more:

"Before we didn't know the value of their knowledge. […] Now we understand that it's important to have both sorts of knowledge. The knowledge of school isn't enough, it would be to live in a fiction, which is what we did before. Now everyone gets together to talk about cultural knowledge as well. […] Before, we thought that the elders only had useless cultural knowledge, because they hadn't been to school. Now because of the project, we see its use." – Adolescent boy, Dialakegné

1.2 INCREASED RESPECT FOR ELDERS, ESPECIALLY GRANDMOTHERS

In 2009, World Vision (2009, p10) recorded many quotes from teachers and young people in Group 1 villages that grandmothers were much more respected since the project began. Two years later, Lulli also documented increased valorisation of elders and their knowledge (2011a, p24), in particular of grandmothers (2011a, p37).

In a detailed report on young people's attitudes towards their culture, Lulli concluded that young people valued elders' knowledge and wanted to learn from them (2011b). They wished to counter the current gap between generations. They also acknowledged that elders had decision-making authority within the household and played an important role in conflict resolution. They felt that elders' decisions should be respected, while at the same time young people's views should be taken into account by elders when making decisions that affected them (2011b, p11-13). All the youth interviewed felt that school gave only a partial and largely theoretical education, while cultural and moral education from elders was needed for full development of the individual. Young people hoped for a collaboration between teachers and parents in children's education (p13-15). This report also presents several quotes from young people who applaud the valorisation of grandmothers' knowledge and role in children's and young people's education.

Similarly, Ndione, Faye and Nagnonhou documented in 2011 that since the project began, grandmothers in Group 1 and Group 2 villages were solicited by community members for advice relating to female and child health – a role which had been in decline. They were very involved in cultural activities such as conducting *tindis*[1] and *dipis*[2] with children both in school and within the family/community setting. Women of reproductive age also reported that they respected grandmothers (their mothers-in-law) more than before; 80 per cent stating that they respected their mother-in-law's advice, compared to 88 per cent saying in the baseline survey prior to the programme's implementation that they did not follow this advice (2011, p27). In focus groups, these women explained that they used to consider older women to be witches, but now understood them better and allowed them to care for and educate their children (2011, p28). Lulli also documented greater understanding between women and their mothers-in-law, with the former bringing their children to the grandmothers to look after (2011a, p39-40).

Later in 2011, Newman conducted surveys with young people from Group 1 villages, 100 per cent of whom stated that they valued elders' knowledge, with 64 per cent of girls and 59 per cent of boys saying they felt this way since the project began (2011, p7). 100 per cent of young people felt that it was important to learn cultural traditions, with 60 per cent of girls and 64 per cent of boys feeling

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[1] Folktales.
[2] Initiation dances.

that way since the project began (2011, p8). 100 per cent of grandmothers and 89 per cent of male elders stated that young people respected their elders. 100 per cent of grandmothers felt at ease in the company of adolescent girls, with 73 per cent saying this was the case since the project began. 89 per cent of male elders felt at ease with young men, and 50 per cent felt this way only since the project began. Focus groups with youth and elders (2011, p13) showed that it was the intergenerational forums which helped inculcate values of respect for elders among youth:

> "We teach [the young girls] respect. [...] The project has shown the girls that we have value, they know that now. Now they come when we call them." – Laloje Balde, grandmother, Sare Boulel

In 2015, Soukouna and Newman (2015, p23) corroborated these findings, showing that all social groups interviewed (young people, elders, women of reproductive age) agreed that the project had sparked the return of respect for elders. Pupils also reported having greater respect for elders, which they largely attributed to the valorisation of grandmothers in the school setting (2015, p28):

> "Our perception of the grandmothers has changed a lot. Before we used to think that they were just there to eat, sleep and grumble. Since our teacher showed us the grandmother booklet, we've realised their importance and now I spend evenings with them to learn from them."[3] – Woude, 12-year-old girl

Diallo (2015, p9, 44) also confirmed these findings across villages in Groups 1, 2 and 3, particularly that grandmothers were more respected.

1.3 INCREASED SOLIDARITY BETWEEN PEER GROUPS

In 2011, Lulli noted that the intergenerational forums were culturally appropriate as they reinforced three essential values, namely respect for the role of elders, support for relationships between peer groups, and social cohesion across the community (2011a, p22-23). Increased pride in, and knowledge of, their culture provided a common link between youth peer groups (2011, p38). Youth also reported being closer, and have resurrected traditional practices to help each other, as the following quote by a young man demonstrates (2011a, p42):

> "In the forums, I'm always with the group of youth. One time one said 'Before the project, when a man married, his in-laws would ask him to undertake the work in the fields for all the family, or to do all the work required to build the huts. It took a lot of time and it was the newly-wed who would do it all alone. Since the project, the youth discuss and in a supportive way take charge of all the work demanded of the young man in this situation. Now the newly-wed doesn't have to work anymore, as it's his classmates or age mates who do it in his place. And it's due to communication that this has changed.'"

Also in 2011, Newman (2011, p27) found from focus groups in Group 1 villages, that the GHD programme had increased solidarity between peer groups of common age and gender. 100 per cent of adolescent girls stated that they saw each other more since the project began, and that they were closer emotionally. They explained that this was as a result of grandmothers' action to unite them:

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[3] Translation from French.

> "We are closer than before, the ties between us are stronger. [...] The GMs caused that. Because they bring us all together to teach us things, it has brought us all closer together." – Adolescent girl, Sare Kouna

100 per cent of grandmothers stated that they were closer to each other and saw each other more since the project began (2011, p28):

> "Before, we knew each other and there was peace between us, but we weren't close to each other. We used to see each other at big meetings, from time to time. In the evenings we went home, to our family. But the project reinforced the links between us that existed before. Because we see each other more often, we now speak more too." – Grandmother, Medina Samba Diallo

1.4 INCREASED DIALOGUE AND SOLIDARITY WITHIN/ACROSS COMMUNITIES

In 2009, World Vision (2009, p12) noted that in Group 1 villages the intergenerational forums permitted the establishment of dialogue between generations, within and between villages. According to all those interviewed in the study, communication had improved between adults and youth. Testimonies repeated often that links within and between villages were also stronger:

> "The project has helped us unite the village, people have become more united." – village chief of Samba Demba Mary[4]

> "The forums have contributed to reinforcing understanding and solidarity between members of the community. Now, people of Mountoumba and Dialekegne get along better than before."[5] – Fali, imam of Mountoumba

In 2011, Lulli also reported that in Group 1 villages the intergenerational forms gave all groups in the community the right to participate and speak, which contributed to dialogue and understanding, and broke down mutual prejudices (2011a, p22-23). Later in 2011, Newman (2011, p28) found that people of all ages and genders interviewed in Group 1 villages mentioned that solidarity had increased across the community as a whole:

> "There is an understanding now which reinforces the cohesion and peace. The project has re-established cohesion and stability, everyone now trusts each other, so we have become closer. Even the people who didn't get along with each other before, do now." – Grandmother, Medina Samba Diallo

Diallo (2015, p10) also corroborated the findings that tolerance, communication, understanding and solidarity had increased within project villages in Groups 1, 2 and 3, due largely to the project's valorisation of grandmothers' role in the family and community (p11).

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[4] Translation from French.
[5] Translation from French.

1.5 COLLECTIVE DISCUSSION ON PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS

In 2011, Newman (2011, p29) found that adults of all ages interviewed from Group 1 villages described how the discussion of problems had become more collective and community-based, as a result of the increased solidarity within and between communities:

> "Before, if we talked to each other, it was to discuss a personal or individual problem. Now, one person's problem is a problem for the whole community. Now we meet regularly to talk about subjects and problems of general concern. […] The project showed us how to do this, so has reinforced the solidarity between us, which had disappeared." - Hawa Mballo, grandmother, Sare Demba Mari

> "The project brought back the good things that existed before but which had been forgotten, like closeness between people, and the fact that everyone communicates. If one person has a problem, then everyone has a problem, we share everything, the good and the bad." – Grandmother, Sare Demba Mari

Importantly, these discussions involved members of society who would previously not have been included in decisions which affected them, such as youth and women:

> "Now the situation is the opposite to what it was before. If there is a meeting in the village about education, everyone talks. We have made communication systematic. Before we didn't used to go to meetings, it was just the male elders. The project made us understand that each person has important information to contribute, whether grandmothers, male elders, young girls. Everyone should be able to contribute their ideas." – Grandmother, Sare Kouna

> "We talk about everything. When the village has to discuss a problem, we bang on the *tamtam* and everyone comes, the young as well as old, men and women, and children. Before, it was left to the male elders to discuss and execute a decision. Now, everyone is listened to. Everyone attends because it is the order of the village chief." – Village chief of Medina Samba Diallo

1.6 COLLECTIVE ACTION/MOBILISATION ON COMMON GOALS

In 2011, Newman (2011, p30) documented how communities of Group 1 mobilised much more around the common goal of children's education (see 2.4). Some people interviewed made it explicit that collective mobilisation came about as a result of greater intergenerational solidarity:

> "Because it is through union that you find strength, we meet to discuss how we can be united, so we can mobilise around common problems. Old and young need to be united for that. The elders have the wisdom and the experience, but they are weak, the youth have the strength to do the work necessary." – Male elder, Dialakegné

Later in 2015, Soukouna and Newman (2015, p24) observed that one impact of increased intergenerational communication and cohesion was that communities collaborated more in ways not

directly linked to the GHD programme's aims, for instance in creating savings accounts. They had also resurrected traditional forms of collective labour which had been abandoned. Musoko, et al. (2012, p51) also describe the way in which members of several villages involved in the project used the problem-solving tools they had learned with GMP to resolve the issue of a large hole rending the road to the town of Velingara impassable each rainy season. Diallo also documented that greater community solidarity had enabled the resolution of community problems in villages of Groups 1, 2 and 3 (2015, p58).

FINDINGS: PART 2. GIRLS' HOLISTIC DEVELOPMENT

2.1 REINFORCEMENT OF INTERGENERATIONAL COMMUNICATION AND RELATIONSHIPS

In 2009, World Vision (2009, p11) noted that in Group 1 villages, due to the intergenerational forums, there was more frank dialogue between generations, which reinforced a climate of trust. In 2011 Lulli reported that girls and boys now considered grandmothers' advice to be useful (2011a, p25, 35, 37) and recorded a grandmother stating (p3):

> "Now, there is understanding and closeness between young girls and grandmothers. The communication between is has really changed. You know, when you're not close to someone, you can't communicate with them. But now with any problem, they can share it with us."[6] – Diabou Diamanka, grandmother, Sare Faramba

Later in 2011, Ndione, Faye & Nagnonhou noted that in villages from Group 1 and 2 communication between grandmothers and their grandchildren had greatly increased since the project. In the baseline survey of 2008, only 18 per cent of grandmothers said that 'many' grandmothers told folktales to children, compared to 62-68 per cent of grandmothers in project villages after three years of the programme's implementation (2011, p30). In addition, 85-87 per cent of grandmothers, and 70-95 per cent of women of reproductive age, said that women respected their mothers-in-law. 87-90 per cent of grandmothers said that young girls respected them (2011, p31).

Also in 2011, Newman found that in Group 1 villages 100 per cent of young women and men surveyed felt at ease when spending time with grandmothers and male elders, and 40 per cent and 64 per cent respectively said that this was only since the project began (2011, p8). 100 per cent of girls reported that they spent more time with grandmothers since the project began. In focus groups, girls explained that before the project it was 'rare' that they saw the grandmothers, but since the project they saw them from every two days to once a week, depending on how busy they were with other things. Grandmothers reported similar findings, and that girls were much more affectionate

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[6] Translation from French.

and attentive than before (2011, p9). 100 per cent of adolescent boys surveyed also reported that they spent more time with male elders since the project started, and saw them at least once a week:

> "Before the project it was rubbish! We couldn't count how often we saw them because it was so seldom. Now we can't count how often we see them because it's so often!" - Dulde Sabali, adolescent boy, Sare Ceerno Demba

Male elders also corroborated these statements, with 100 per cent stating they spent more time with boys than before (2011, p10). 100 per cent of boys also reported being closer to the grandmothers (2011, p10-11):

> "If we chatted with the GMs before it wasn't well seen by our peers. Now we ourselves organise these get-togethers. We speak together more as well at the cultural evenings. We also speak more to our own GMs more within the family setting." – adolescent boy, Dialakegné

When asked specifically in surveys to whom they go to ask advice about problems, 100 per cent of girls stated their grandmother, with 52 per cent saying that this relationship developed after the project (2011, p14). Young people explained that the intergenerational forums played a significant role in breaking down misconceptions and improving intergenerational relationships (2011, p16-17):

> "The crucial element was the forums. We spoke about the distance between old and young, about the distrust, about the chasm between us, and we talked about the reasons. After the forums, those people went back and shared it in the village." – Alfa Sabali, adolescent boy, Sare Kouna

In 2015, Soukouna and Newman (2015, p24) also observed closer relationships between youth and elders, and that elders took the views of youth on board when planning development activities. Diallo (2015, p9) also confirmed the fact that grandmothers and adolescent girls were closer in villages of Groups 1, 2 and 3, and that grandmothers gave girls advice (p43).

2.2 REINFORCEMENT OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN

In 2011, Newman (2011, p24) found from focus groups in Group 1 villages that 86 per cent of grandmothers stated that their relationship with male elders had changed, and that they communicated more since the project. When asked in what contexts they communicated more, grandmothers stated at community level meetings, and at family level:

> "Before, grandmothers weren't invited to meetings, but now their opinions are valued. We are united in the village, the grandmothers and male elders. We had always lived alongside each other, we lived together, there was always a good relationship between us, but now there is more communication at family level. It's not just at the level of meetings that there have been changes, it's also at family level." - Grandmother, Dialakegne

Male elders corroborated this change, with 53 per cent saying that their relationship with grandmothers had changed and that they saw them more. They emphasised that they asked their opinion more on issues relating to family and community (2011, p25):

"Before the project, for us the grandmothers had no use in a household – none whatsoever. That was the general perception. But the project has opened everyone's eyes to the importance, the role, and the crucial support that grandmothers provide within the family as well as in the community. Knowing that, it is impossible that such a person be ignored in discussions. That is what has promoted and reinforced that we spend more time together with them." – Grandfather, Medina Samba Diallo

In 2015, Diallo (2015, p45) also reported that relationships between different family members had improved, including between spouses, in villages of Groups 1, 2 and 3.

2.3 COMMUNITY MEMBERS HAVE INCREASED UNDERSTANDING OF ADOLESCENT HEALTH INCLUDING FGM

In 2009, World Vision (2009, p15) stated that although it had not quantified the proportion of community members opposed to FGM in Group 1 villages, nonetheless:

"The subject of FGM is discussed in intergenerational forums, and in discussion sessions with grandmothers and women of reproductive age around the Stories Without An Ending. Different participants voice positions both in favour of, and against, the practice. It is important to note that reflection has already been sparked among peer groups of age and gender, but at the level of plenary it is still a sensitive subject to address. However, community trust has been established which will enable a more in-depth discussion of harmful cultural practices during the following steps of the project."[7]

The communities also appreciated the flexibility of the project and its focus on 'Girls' Holistic Development', rather than a narrow focus on FGM typical of most other projects (World Vision 2009, p15, 17).

Similarly, in 2011, Lulli (2011b, p15-16) noted that young people in Group 1 villages appreciated how the reinforcement of intergenerational dialogue via the forums had started discussion around formerly taboo topics related to sexuality, and a community reflection process around harmful cultural practices such as FGM:

"We never used to discuss intimate problems with our elders. Our customs did not permit us to speak about sexuality with our elders, it's embarrassing. We could only do it with friends of the same generation. [...] It is important to have discussions in the community on these practices because it enables you to understand each person's position and to explain yourself. That way, everyone can see whether you should conserve a particular practice or abandon it."[8] – Sadio Balde, 20, Dialakegne

"Now there has been a change, now I can talk about sexuality with my elders."[9] – Demba Mballo, 23, Mountoumba

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[7] Translation from French.
[8] Translation from French.
[9] Translation from French.

Later in 2011, Ndione, Faye & Nagnonhou demonstrated that almost all the women from Group 1 and 2 project villages surveyed knew most of the harmful long and short term effects of FGM. Only 4 per cent replied that there was 'no risk'. In contrast, 10 per cent of women of reproductive age and 30 per cent of grandmothers in control villages believed there was 'no risk' (2011, p32). Similarly, in the baseline study before the programme began, 32 per cent of 47 per cent of women argued that there were 'more advantages to disadvantages' of FGM, while 90 per cent of women in Group 1 and 2 villages replied that there were 'more disadvantages than advantages' (2011, p34). The report goes on to demonstrate statistically how knowledge of long-term risks (difficulties during labour; infertility; loss of libido; cysts; chronical genital infections; infant mortality; scarring) and short-term risks (haemorrhage; pain; weakness; death; illness; tetanus; vulnerability to attacks from spirits; infection) has increased significantly among women in Group 1 and 2 project villages (2011, p33-34). All people questioned in interviews and focus groups stated that they were opposed to FGM, as they had learned about the risks from intergenerational forums and discussions.

Diallo repeated this survey in 2015 with villages of Groups 1, 2 and 3. In this study, 5.5 per cent of informants were of the opinion that there was 'no risk' associated with FGM – slightly higher than the 4 per cent recorded in 2011. Diallo however notes that these findings are skewed by two villages in particular, only involved in the programme since 2013 (2015, p55).

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Ndione, Faye and Naghonhou also reported that community members from project villages were more aware of the risks posed by early pregnancy and early/forced marriage. This was evident among grandmothers (2011, p43):

> "Early marriage and pregnancy are bad because they can have negative consequences and can create problems. If the girl miscarries, she could die, and if she carries the pregnancy to term, she could also die or have complications."[10] – Grandmother focus group, Darou-Kandia

> "These are not good practices because at that age, girls don't have the ability to give birth, their muscles aren't well-developed, and she cannot manage a household or cook."[11] – Grandmother focus group, Darou-Kandia

Adolescent girls were also more aware of the physical risks of early pregnancy and marriage (2011, p43):

> "Early marriage is a bad practice because girls can have problems during labour. She can also age quickly as she is not well-equipped to do certain domestic tasks as her body isn't fully physically developed."[12] – Adolescent girls focus group, Darou-Kandia

Girls also mentioned the psychological disadvantages of forced marriage (2011, p43):

> "Forced marriage isn't a good practice because if the girl is frustrated, she won't get along with her husband."[13] – Adolescent girls focus group, Sare Faramba-Kael Bessel

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[10] Translation from French.
[11] Translation from French.
[12] Translation from French.
[13] Translation from French.

2.4 YOUNG PEOPLE ARE MORE AWARE OF RISKS OF, AND HOW TO AVOID, ADOLESCENT PREGNANCY

In 2011, Lulli found that girls and grandmothers in Group 1 villages spent much more time together, and the grandmothers taught the girls about sexuality and cultural values through folktales, songs, stories, dances and riddles (2011a, p35). Thus, girls learned how to avoid getting pregnant. One grandmother explained:

> "Before the project it hurt us to know that the advice we were giving the girls was good, but they just laughed and made fun of us. We could see our values being destroyed but we weren't able to do anything about it. But this is no longer the case. Now they come to us to listen. It's as if they felt afraid, threatened, and were looking for a refuge."[14] – Hoppa Mballo, grandmother

Also in 2011, Newman (2011, p13) found that in focus groups in Group 1 villages, when asked how relationships had changed between them and young girls, grandmothers stressed that a large part of the content of their activities since the project began was to pass on advice to protect young girls from extra-marital pregnancies:

> "We talk together a lot more now, how they can protect themselves, we bring them together to talk about that, we meet 3 times a month. [...] Everything to do with relationships is discreet, so we might call two girls to us to explain that such or such behaviour is good or bad, from time to time." – Grandmother, Kayel Bessel

Focus groups with girls corroborated this finding. When asked about activities or themes of discussion with grandmothers since the project began, advice about protecting themselves was cited (2011, p14):

> "We also learned [from the grandmothers] how to behave around boys in a way that will avoid bringing shame to the family and [adolescent/extra-marital] pregnancies, which could compromise our future. We've learned that such pregnancies can lead to death or complications during pregnancy, and permanent health problems. It can ruin your future." – Adolescent girl, Dialakegné

Women of reproductive age also explained that they gave more advice to their daughters, in relation to adolescent pregnancies:

> "The themes of discussion are around daily life, and the dangers of relationships outside of the home. For instance, from 6pm onwards we start telling the girls about the risks of going out at night, and the consequences. We talk to the girls about their future, about things that could harm their health, their development, what aspects of their behaviour have risks. Before, girls left the house without asking their mothers' permission. Now they ask. If they want to leave to watch television, they ask, and obey us. [...] The girls also come to us to ask for advice if they have problems, and how to protect themselves from young men." – Woman of reproductive age, Dialakegné

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[14] Translation from French.

Mothers were also explicit about the fact that it was due to girls' improved relationships with grandmothers that they were learning greater respect for their parents, and were therefore also getting closer to them (2011, p14-15):

> "Now the girls spend much more time with the GMs, and they've learned respect, and they listen to us. This education wasn't being done before. Before, if we spoke to them, they threw up their hands and said 'You talk too much.'" – Woman of reproductive age, Sare Kouna

Some boys also mentioned how they received advice from grandmothers, although to a lesser extent that girls. 40 per cent would go to their grandmother if they had a problem (2011, p15):

> "On problems like avoiding extra-marital adolescent pregnancies, we go to our grandmothers to talk about that sort of thing, rather than our mother. Grandmothers give advice like how boys and girls should behave to increase prudence. Before the project we didn't used to go to the grandmothers to talk about that." – Adolescent boy, Dialakegné

2.5 GIRLS AND BOYS HAVE MORE RESPONSIBLE ATTITUDES TOWARDS EACH OTHER

In 2011, Lulli documented that in Group 1 villages, girls behaved in a more modest way, and were more wary of boys. They admitted themselves that they were more aware and 'mature', and no longer attended dances (2011a, p39-40):

> "Before the grandmothers didn't tell us any stories, and didn't give us any advice, and they let us do whatever we wanted. But that was because we didn't pay them any attention and we didn't respect them. But now, it's different. They love us, approach us, give us advice and contribute to the management of the household. We have become more careful." – Adolescent girls' focus group, Mountoumba

This change was due to girls' being taught these values and practices by grandmothers, valorisation of elders and reinforcement of intergenerational communication, the greater involvement of parents in children's education, and the reinforcement of collaboration between teachers and communities (2011a, p32). Male elders also reported that adolescent boys had more responsible attitudes towards girls, as they had spent more time with male elders who told them about sexuality. They were more aware, but there were also far fewer opportunities for girls and boys to meet unsupervised at night (2011a, p41).

Also in 2011, Newman (2011, p18) found that 100 per cent of girls interviewed from Group 1 villages stated that they saw boys less than before the project, because they spent more time with grandmothers instead. 84 per cent of girls did not attend dances, because of the advice grandmothers had given them about the risks:

> "We have a good relationship with the boys, but there is now more distance between us, after the advice the grandmothers gave us. Before, during the summer we always went to the *soirées* with the boys, and we didn't listen to the grandmothers. Now we listen to them, and we know the dangers, so we don't go anymore." – Adolescent girl, Dialakegné

Similarly, 62 per cent of boys reported no longer attending dances. 91 per cent said they saw the girls less since the project began. Some explained that they were more aware of the fact that attending dances posed the risk of pregnancies for girls:

> "Before we saw them a lot [the girls] at the *soirées*. It's because we don't go anymore that there's no more pregnancies! We don't want to cause problems." Adolescent boys focus group, Sare Kouna

> "Before we used to watch TV and we learned things there that we wanted to do ourselves but which aren't part of our traditions, our culture, our religion. We know now that it's not good. But before we spent all our time with the girls." – Adolescent boy, Dialakegné

Some also reported taking a more responsible and supportive role towards girls of their age (2011, p19-20):

> "We spend more time with the girls, now we help them with their studies, and we give them advice like how to have a good marriage, and how to avoid getting pregnant. We tell them that they shouldn't have lots of boyfriends. We talk to them more now."– Saayo, adolescent boy, Mountoumba

However, in some focus groups the boys were not so aware of the risks posed from unsupervised association with girls, and did not understand the benefits in the changes in girls' behaviour (2011, p19). This suggests that the GHD programme could be enhanced by engaging more with adolescent boys as much as girls, to support changes in their attitudes and behaviour:

> "We have lost the girls. Before we used to go out together, to the *soirées*, now they do *dipis* instead. Before, we used to think that this change was due to an outside influence, because the girls always used to like spending time with us. But now we've noticed that there is definitely a strong link between the fact that they spend more time with the grandmothers, and less with us." – Adolescent boy, Sare Ceerno Demba

The report also includes many quotes from grandmothers who explained that the change in gender relations was due to their efforts to distract the girls from spending time with boys; their warning them about the risks of associating with young men in dark places unsupervised such as the dances; and to a lesser extent their communicating with boys about the need to be responsible and protect girls from the risks of pregnancies (2011, p20-21). Again, the GHD programme could support more interactions between grandmothers and adolescent boys to reinforce positive behaviours among boys.

2.6 GRANDMOTHERS HAVE MORE CONFIDENCE AND AUTHORITY TO ACT IN GIRLS' INTERESTS

In 2009, World Vision (2009, p10) documented how grandmothers in Group 1 villages felt more confident expressing their opinions in public, as a result of their being valued by the project.

"Before I didn't dare speak in public, but my involvement in the different meetings has enabled me to overcome my complex, and now I speak easily in public."[15] – Yoba, grandmother from Sare Boulel

In 2011, Ndione, Faye & Nagnonhou found that the project had given grandmothers in villages of Group 1 and 2 a social motivation that they had lost. 92 per cent of grandmothers were part of a women's association, and 90 per cent had participated in activities with an NGO (including GMP). Between 98 and 100 per cent had participated in workshops organised with the schools (2011, p27).

Later in 2011, Newman (2011) found that grandmothers' authority in family decision-making contexts had increased in Group 1 villages, in particular relating to marriage of girls. To measure this, elder men and women were asked to consider the following scenario:

"If in your family, there was girl of 15, who is a good student at school, and her father wants her to get married, and the grandmother refuses, what will happen?"

In surveys, 100 per cent of grandmothers said that they would refuse, and that they would talk to the father. 91 per cent stated that the father would listen categorically to her opinion, and 54 per cent stated that is was since the project that they would be listened to. When asked if they would listen to the grandmother's opinion, 100 per cent of men replied that they would, and 55 per cent said that they listened since the project began (2011, p25). Grandmothers in focus groups agreed that they were now listened to more than before on the subject of girls' marriage:

"Before, no one could oppose [the marriage], now that communication across the village has been introduced, we try to find a solution within the family." – Grandmother, Medina Samba Diallo

 Grandmothers also reported that they would collaborate with others in the community to persuade the father to abandon the marriage:

"We will also tell the father that the girl is a good student in school. If he persists, I'll involve other people from the community, to arrive at a consensus. It wasn't at all like that before, before no one would have said anything." – Dusu, grandmother, Sare Demba Mari

In 2015, Soukouna and Newman observed that grandmothers mobilised collectively within their families, wider community and the school to promote local development including girls' education (2015, p23, 28). This was due to the fact that the project valued their role and their knowledge:

"Before, the grandmother was considered to be a witch; now she is at the heart of education, health and child protection."[16] – Diabou Diamanka, grandmother from Sare Boulel village during a broadcast on radio Bamtaare

2.7 GIRLS' VIEWS ARE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT MORE IN FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DECISIONS

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[15] Translation from French.
[16] Translation from French.

In 2011, Newman (2011, p25-26) analysed the changes in family and community decision-making relating to marriage in Group 1 villages. She found that girls' views were represented more within these discussions, usually by the grandmother who would negotiate on their behalf. If a father or grandfather saw aspects of a girl's behaviour which he feared could lead her to fall pregnant, instead of independently taking the decision to marry her off, he would discuss it with the grandmother, who would then raise the issue with the girl. This dynamic came out in focus groups, particularly with men:

> "Now, we speak with the grandmothers about other things than we did before. Before, the girls had escaped us, we couldn't control them, now they are being guided again. If we notice that a particular girl's behaviour poses problems, we will tell her grandmother, and because she now has a good relationship with the girl, she will now talk to her about it. We talk to the grandmothers about girls' education, before that didn't happen. Now, communication is lively. Before, we didn't look out for the girls. So, if we saw something bad, we didn't say anything, but now we tell the grandmothers."– Male elder, Dialakegné

Their testimonies showed that before the project, male elders would make unilateral decisions without considering the grandmothers' or girls' views:

> "All that [the decision about the marriage] will happen after we have discussed the girl's behaviour with her grandmother. Since the project has been here, we talk more about that sort of thing than we did before. Before, each person did what he thought was for the best, but there was no discussion." – Male elder, Dialakegné

> "Before the project, what the father or head of the family decided, no one had the right to debate. Now, it's the opposite, if the grandmother disagrees, she will be listened to, people talk with her and with the girl, we take into consideration the girl's life and future. Otherwise, it would be a forced marriage. Rather, the girl should like him and give her consent. Everything now is based on discussion." – Diao, male elder, Medina Samba Diallo

Newman (2011, p26) also showed that there is evidence that girls' views are being taken into account more directly by male elders (instead of grandmothers representing them), although this was not a majority situation. For instance, in one focus group, men stated that they listened more to girls' views:

> "The best is that if we older men inform all the others if someone wants to get married. We call the girl to us to ask if she accepts. It is now no longer the case that the father alone decides, instead it's the committee of elders."– Male elder, Medina Samba Diallo

2.8 DECREASE IN ADOLESCENT PREGNANCY

In 2011, Lulli documented the decline of extra-marital adolescent pregnancy in Group 1 villages. A survey showed that 95-100 per cent of informants agreed that extra-marital teenage pregnancies had declined since the project began (2011a, p29). That this decline was due to grandmothers' advice to young girls is illustrated through the following quotes from matrons in Kandia, Fatoumata Balde (2011a, p24-25) and Binta Sabaly (p28-29):

> "In the same way as early marriages, teenage pregnancies have almost disappeared. The only case we have recorded in two years was of a girl [in the fourth grade of primary school] who

was tricked by one of her classmates who wasn't from Kandia. If I say that teenage pregnancies have declined, I speak from experience as I'm a matron at the village health centre. I conduct ante-natal visits and I keep up to date with the register of ante-natal visits. I can say that the teenage pregnancies haven't just declined in Kandia, but in all the villages where the project intervenes. The grandmothers have made sure that everyone knows their role in the education of young people. They are best placed to speak about teenage pregnancies to the young girls. They give them advice and warn them about teenage pregnancy and early marriage."[17]

"There has been a change since the project came to the rural community. [...] Before we saw problems during labour due to underage pregnancies. We were sent girls of 12, 13 years of age who needed to be evacuated to Velingara, sometimes Tambacounda. But since the project has been there for the past two years, we no longer have these cases. Now we only take girls of 18-20 years, or older. We evacuate less and less to Velingara. We only have women of reproductive age. Girls fall pregnant at the right time. It needs to be known that the ideal age of marriage is 18-20 years, so as not to cause major difficulties. The cause of the underage pregnancies was that the girls weren't close to the grandmothers."[18]

Also in 2011, Ndione, Faye and Naghonhou (2011, p42) found that in Group 1 and 2 project villages 100 per cent of grandmothers, and 94-100 per cent of women of reproductive age, felt that extra-marital adolescent pregnancy had declined since the project began. In contrast, 55 per cent of grandmothers and 50 per cent of women of reproductive age in control villages felt that such pregnancies had increased over the past three years. The authors of the report attribute this reduction to the closer relationships and communication between girls and grandmothers with the latter taking on a new role as a responsible educator (2011, p43).

Later in 2011, Newman recorded the following quote which supports the notion that intergenerational discussions have contributed to the reduction in early pregnancy (2011, p30):

"We (grandmothers and male elders) talk about children's education. Before there were a lot of extra-marital pregnancies, but now there are none. It was a cause of shame for all the villages. That decline is the fruit of our discussions" - Mariama Sabali, grandmother, Sare Demba Mari

Diallo also confirms that in villages of Groups 1, 2 and 3, extra-marital adolescent pregnancy had declined due to the increased proximity between grandmothers and young girls (2015, p43). 83 per cent of informants stated that the phenomenon had declined, while 93 per cent felt that the risk of girls under the age of 18 falling pregnant had declined (2015, p57).

2.9 DECREASE IN CHILD MARRIAGE

In 2011, Lulli reported that the baseline study of 2008 found that on average communities felt that the ideal marriage age for girls was 15.6 years, but in August 2010 after two years of programme implementation this had risen to 17.6 years. This came about as a result of community members being less concerned of the risks of adolescent girls falling pregnant (2011a, p6, 29-30). According to

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[17] Translation from French.
[18] Translation from French.

interviews in Group 1 villages, extra-marital adolescent pregnancy had declined since the programme began due to increased intergenerational communication on topics relating to sexuality especially between young girls and grandmothers, but also between young girls and their mothers. This was in turn due to grandmothers valorising their own role and knowledge, and increased respect among young girls for grandmothers (2011a, p7). Lulli recorded a grandmother stating (2011a, p3):

> "We no longer marry our girls at 14 or 15 because we are more convinced that it is better for them that they continue their studies. Before, we gave girls in marriage because we were afraid that they would fall pregnant. But now were are reassured because we have prepared them."[19] – Grandmothers focus group, Sare Faramba

Similarly, in 2011 Ndione, Faye and Naghonhou recorded the following quote from a focus group with fathers (2011, p42):

> "Before, we gave girls in marriage at 14 or even 13 years of age, although they wouldn't yet be women and didn't know what love was. But now, we consider that even 16 is too young. For instance, I was married at 19 but I have children who are that age and older who aren't yet married. Now we no longer give girls in marriage before the age of 16, and all that is thanks to the project which has opened our eyes to the dangers of early marriage and pregnancy."[20] – Fathers focus group, Darou-Kandia

Later in 2011, Newman conducted an in-depth study in Group 1 villages into the multiple reasons for the increase in average marriage age in the zone touched by the GHD programme. Male and female elders in surveys and focus groups were asked to reflect upon the following scenario (2011, p22):

> "If in your family, there was girl of 15, who is a good student at school, and her father wants her to get married, and the grandmother refuses, what will happen?"

When asked this question in surveys, 100 per cent of grandmothers and 67 per cent of male elders stated that they would categorically refuse that the girl be married. In focus groups, people of both genders (although more grandmothers) stated that it was now forbidden in their village to marry girls before they had finished studying, or before they reached the age of physical maturity. However, others in surveys and focus groups gave more nuanced answers, for instance, that they would oppose the marriage on certain conditions (2011, p23). In surveys, 33 per cent of men stated that they would refuse the marriage only if the girl was a good student and/or 'behaved well'. These conditions were also mentioned in focus groups:

> "If a girl is a good student, we will intervene if her father wants her to be married, to allow her to continue at school. But if she's a bad student, then there's not much that we can do." – Grandmother, Mountoumba

The second condition, mentioned more often by men than women, was that the girl behaves well in terms of modesty and restricted relationships with boys, to avoid the shame of extra-marital pregnancies:

> "It's possible that a grandmother will refuse the marriage, and in that case I'll look at the girl's behaviour, to see if she can continue to be unmarried without it posing a problem. But if

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[19] Translation from French.
[20] Translation from French.

she behaves badly, I would be obliged to give her in marriage, to save the family honour." – Male elder, Dialakegné

This change in attitudes can be attributed to the increase in intergenerational communication between grandmothers and girls which in turn is linked to changes in girls' behaviour which reduces the likelihood of their falling pregnant outside of marriage; increased communication between older men and grandmothers, as the latter are advocates for girls' development and well-being; and a small increase in direct communication between older men and girls on the latter's views about marriage (2011, p23-24).

Diallo also found that in villages of Groups 1, 2 and 3, 94 per cent of informants stated that early marriage had declined (2015, p56). 63 per cent stated that girls married over the age of 18, with 35 per cent answering between 14 and 18 years of age (2015, p57).

2.10 DECREASE IN FGM

Ndione, Faye and Nagnonhou (2011, p10) state that prior to the GHD programme, 90 per cent of girls and women in the intervention zone were circumcised. In the baseline survey of 2008, 40 per cent of community members were opposed to the practice, compared to 90 per cent in intervention villages from Groups 1 and 2 in 2011 (2011, p38). Indeed, a great deal of qualitative data collected during the implementation of the GHD programme suggests that FGM has declined, and in some cases has been abandoned entirely. Lulli (2011b, p17) documented a focus group of girls aged 16-19 in Sare Faramba stating that "We have noticed that FGM is no longer practised in the village".

To explain the decline in FGM, Ndione, Faye and Nagnonhou report how attitudes towards uncircumcised women have become more sympathetic in Group 1 and 2 villages. In the baseline study, 88 per cent of women of reproductive age and 86 per cent of grandmothers declared that FGM was a cultural duty. In the intervention villages, these statistics were 10 and 4 per cent respectively (2011, p34). Similarly, in control villages 50 per cent of women surveyed felt that uncircumcised women were less faithful to their husbands, while only 3-5 per cent of women believed this in intervention villages. Furthermore, in control villages 42 per cent of women of reproductive age agreed with the statement that "a circumcised woman is purer is than a non-circumcised woman" compared to 3-9 per cent of women in intervention villages. In the baseline study, 45 of women of reproductive age and 47 per cent of grandmothers reported being ashamed of having an uncircumcised granddaughter, with only 3 and 4 per cent respectively feeling this way in intervention villages (2011, p35). In the baseline study, 51 per cent of women of reproductive age and 63 per cent of grandmothers believed that uncircumcised women smelled unpleasant, compared to only 3-6 per cent of women in intervention villages (2011, p37). Thus, these findings show much more acceptance of uncircumcised girls and women in project villages.

"Before, all uncircumcised girls were rejected, but since the programme began this is no longer the case or it's even the opposite, we no longer differentiate between a girl who is circumcised and one who is not."[21] – Grandmothers focus group, Sare Adja

The report also shows that community members no longer believe that FGM is required within Islam. In the baseline survey, 75-76 per cent of women felt that to be a good Muslim, a woman had to

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[21] Translation from French.

be circumcised, compared to 3-8 per cent in project villages. Similarly, in the baseline survey, 48 per cent of women of reproductive age and 56 per cent of grandmothers believed that Allah did not listen to the prayers of uncircumcised women, compared to 5 and 3 per cent respectively in project villages (Ndione, Faye and Nagnonhou 2011, p36). The imams interviewed stated that the forums had "enabled the communities to understand that FGM is not required within Islam, even if it does not explicitly prohibit it" (2011, p37).

Findings also showed that community members no longer considered it necessary for a woman to be circumcised in order to get married. Ndione, Faye and Nagnonhou stated that all adolescent boys interviewed in the study said that being circumcised was no longer a criterion they would take into account when choosing a wife (2011, p29). 87 per cent of women declared that no man would refuse to marry an uncircumcised woman, and 89 per cent of women stated that no mother would refuse her son from marrying an uncircumcised woman. When asked about the characteristics a woman should have, being circumcised was not mentioned. Young and old men stated that they would consider marrying a woman who wasn't circumcised without feeling embarrassed. One man explained why they had changed their minds about the practice (2011, p39):

> "FGM was a custom that we followed in order to conform to tradition, especially as we thought it was recommended in Islam, but now we know the risks we have abandoned it without needing to be forced."[22] – Men's focus group, Darou-Kandia

In contrast, in control villages, 39 per cent of women of reproductive age felt that many grandmothers would refuse to allow their grandson to marry an uncircumcised woman, and 35 per cent felt that many women would refuse to allow their son to marry an uncircumcised woman (2011, 39).

In addition, interviews demonstrated that community members had uncoupled the cutting aspect of FGM from the educational aspect (2011, p37):

> "We used to do it to conform to tradition, and to avoid that our daughters would be badly perceived, and to give them a good education. But now that we know the disadvantages, we no longer practice it."[23] – Fathers focus group, Kandia

Musoko, et al. (2012, p51-52) also mention several quotes from community members, triangulated with quantitative data, which demonstrate that FGM is being abandoned:

> "Our ancestors taught us that girls should be cut so that they will be more faithful to their husbands, but we no longer believe that. We now know that nowhere in Islam is FGM recommended. There are at least 30 little girls in the community who were born in the last two years who have not been cut." - Dinde, grandmother, Saré Faramba

Similarly, Diallo repeated the same survey with informants from villages of Group 1, 2 and 3 in 2015. She found that 77 per cent of informants agreed that a girl could be well-educated without being circumcised, compared to 11 per cent who felt the opposite (2015, p53). She records a grandmother, Coumba Balde, stating that:

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[22] Translation from French.
[23] Translation from French.

"Before we practised FGM, but now this is no longer the case. We teach our children positive cultural values, and we have abandoned all harmful practices."[24]

Nevertheless, she also records that FGM has not been totally abandoned in two villages surveyed from Group 1 and 3, as the practice is so entrenched (2015, p61).

FINDINGS: PART 3. EDUCATION

3.1 TEACHERS VALUE CULTURE MORE AND ITS RELEVANCE TO EDUCATION

In 2015, Soukouna and Newman conducted a comprehensive analysis of the school dimension of the GHD programme. They found that teachers explained that the training sessions with the inspection enabled them to reflect upon their behaviour in relation to communities and local culture, and learn new knowledge. In particular, the workshops made them aware of the importance of cultural knowledge in children's education, and to reinforce the links between the school and communities (2015, p17):

"During the training sessions, we were asked to reflect upon the importance of transmitting cultural values and traditions to children. We realised that for children's education, it was essential that they learn their own cultural values and traditions. We also realised that we cannot achieve success in this domain without a strong collaboration with parents and grandparents."[25] – Modou Diama Seck, teacher in Medina Mary Cisse

Teachers also commended the training sessions that they had attended with grandmothers, for creating a synergy between their two bodies of knowledge, and for reinforcing their common goal of keeping girls in school (2015, p18):

"How can a person play so many roles, yet be excluded from the planning and implementation of school programmes? I have realised that grandmothers play the same role as teachers, and even go beyond. They are involved in all these domains and play an essential role. I ask myself why they were never involved before."[26] – Bouraima Balde, vice-principal, Kerewane (2015, p28)

3.2 TEACHERS INTEGRATE CULTURE INTO LESSONS

In 2009, World Vision (2009, p13) reported that school personnel from Group 1 villages appreciated the booklet on the role of grandmothers for reinforcing the role of grandmothers and the teaching of various school subjects:

"The introduction of this booklet is relevant as it can be used to facilitate the learning of several disciplines. For instance, maths, oral and written expression, family management (ceremonies like baptisms and marriages), moral education (respect for elders) and history.

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[24] Translation from French.
[25] Translation from French.
[26] Translation from French.

The booklet allows one to start from the child's perspective so that they have a solid foundation. It enables the reinforcement of several cultural practices like the use of folktales, which in turn reinforce and valorise the role of grandmothers. The use of folktales and riddles with children, on a given subject, helps them organise their ideas."[27] – Malang Sagna, Directeur Conseil, Kael Bessel

In 2015, Soukouna and Newman documented that, based on data derived from lesson plans from the 32 village schools involved in the GHD programme, 40-60 percent of teachers used the booklets designed by GMP (2015, p31). The teachers who used these resources reported that they did so as they were more aware of the importance of cultural values (2015, p25).

3.3 GRANDMOTHERS HAVE INCREASED UNDERSTANDING OF AND INVOLVEMENT IN SCHOOLS

In 2011, Lulli documented how grandmothers from Group 1 villages were invited by teachers into the classrooms, and taught on subjects including folklore, moral and hygiene education, and adolescent pregnancy and early marriage (2011a, p27). Also in 2011, Ndione, Faye and Nagnonhou found that 82-90 per cent of grandmothers surveyed from villages in Groups 1 and 2 stated that 'many' grandmothers participated in activities organised with the schools (2011, p45). In 2015, Soukouna and Newman (2015, p25) found that the grandmothers interviewed were no longer embarrassed by or scared of teachers, and that teachers often invited them to teach in the classrooms:

> "The project valued us, there is solidarity between us now. We now dare to come to the school to share our knowledge. We didn't have that right before. Now when we arrive, the children run to greet us. We are engaged in sharing our values which makes us very happy."[28] – grandmother, Sare Adja

Based on data derived from lesson plans from the 32 village schools involved in the GHD programme, 40 per cent of teachers invited grandmothers into the classrooms (2015, p31).

3.4 LINKS BETWEEN SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITIES STRENGTHENED

In 2009, World Vision (2009, p12) noted from Group 1 villages that the factor which strengthened the links between teachers and elders, including grandmothers, was the intergenerational forums which enabled/obliged teachers to listen to community views regarding the school, and to increase their respect for the elders. The other factor was the meetings and workshops organised by the inspection encouraging teachers to integrate local knowledge into schooling, and to use the booklet on grandmothers. The report showed that teachers were more integrated into their communities and participated in meetings in their host villages. Lulli corroborated this finding, stating that in Group 1 villages, it is due to the tireless work of grandmothers in particular that schools and communities have become closer as they bridge the two spaces and forms of knowledge (2011a, p8). Since the project, teachers behaved more respectfully towards community members and visited them

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[27] Translation from French.
[28] Translation from French.

informally, while community members were more involved with the school and appreciated that cultural knowledge was being taught (2011a, p43):

> "We have become closer to the school, and we have good relationships [with the teachers]. They are modest in their behaviour and they don't consider themselves superior to us. They visit us, we pass the evening together, we discuss. Discussion is useful because it fosters understanding." – Moullaye Balde, village chief, Mountoumba

In 2015, Soukouna and Newman (2015, p24) found that teachers reported that relationships between them and their host communities had greatly improved, and that they frequently paid courtesy visits to families and attended social events.

> "Before we taught and then went home. We never thought to participate in events in the village. Now all that has changed! A teacher can go into the village to ask after a sick child, and to give advice. We can make jokes! Now we attend baptisms and marriages. We see and discuss with the grandmothers in the village. We have become closer, there is a sense of kinship between teachers and the communities."[29] – Ibrahima Diao, kindergarten director, Sare Faramba

Diallo (2015, p45) also corroborated the finding that schools and communities had become closer, which increased community engagement with the institution across villages from Groups 1, 2 and 3.

3.5 GIRLS AND PARENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS SCHOOL ARE MORE POSITIVE

Soukouna and Newman (2015, p25) found that parents had a more positive view of their children's schooling, due to the integration of cultural values and traditions into teaching. Teachers reported that pupils were more interested in school, due to the closer relationships they enjoyed with teachers, the integration of cultural values into teaching, and involvement of elders in the classroom (2015, p26). Grandmothers also reported that girls had a more positive attitude towards school, and were more motivated (2015, p26). Diallo (2015, p43-44) corroborated these findings across villages from Groups 1, 2 and 3, stating that girls were more enthusiastic about school and that their parents were more supportive of their studies:

> "We encourage the enrolment and attendance of girls in school because we now understand that girls can do anything boys can do." – Mothers focus group, Medina Mari Cisse

3.6 COMMUNITIES MORE INVOLVED IN EDUCATING AND SUPERVISING YOUNG PEOPLE

In 2011, Lulli reported that before the programme, parents and grandparents from Group 1 villages had felt that the school alone was responsible for the education of young people. Interviewees said that GHD was the first development project that they had encountered in which communities' role in education was raised for discussion, which led them to re-consider their roles. They realised that parents and grandparents needed to be more involved in the education and surveillance of children

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[29] Translation from French.

and young people, both male and female (2011a, p7, 42-3). This is reflected in the following quote (2011a, p34):

> "Before we let children do want they wanted. No one was interested in what they did. But a child is a child. They have to be taught what is good and what is bad. Since the grandmothers started the children have become educated and know what to do and what not to do."[30] – Mamadou Balde, Sare Faramba

Later in 2011, Newman (2011, p30) documented how communities of Group 1 mobilised much more around the common goal of children's education. The education of children was mentioned by many as a key subject of discussion in community meetings:

> "Each week we talk (grandmothers and male elders), about how we can guide the children. The village chief organises a meeting about that. We talk about the future of our village. The key to that is the children's education. If they escape us, it will be a catastrophe." - Sira Balde, grandmother, Sare Boulel

These community-level discussions on topics of shared concern were attributed by informants to the influence of the project (2011, p24):

> "The education of children is now the subject of discussions within the family. Before, we used to see bad things happening and we knew that it wasn't normal, but we didn't discuss it, we never had the opportunity. The project has created the opportunity for that." – Grandmother, Mountoumba

In addition, adults also mentioned the fact that since the project, community education had been taking place, so that all adults educated all young people, a practice which had started to disappear:

> "Before, we had education at the level of the community, so that each child was everyone's child, and each parent, everyone's parent. That was starting to disappear, but has come back thanks to the project. The whole village is like that now." - Woman of reproductive age, Sare Ceerno Demba

Diallo also corroborated that communities across Groups 1, 2 and 3 played a more active role in the education of young people (2015, p9).

3.7 YOUNG PEOPLE KNOW AND PRACTICE CULTURAL VALUES

In 2009, World Vision (2009, p11) noted that the behaviour of young people from Group 1 villages had changed in line with cultural values and norms of politeness, due to increased respect for elders:

> "Since the project began, we have seen a change among the youth. Young girls go down on one knee to offer elders a drink. They curtsy to greet elders as a sign of respect. Boys take off their hats when greeting, and tighten their belt in the presence of elders, as they have learned that trousers below your bottom is not part of our culture. Young girls no longer wear indecent clothing (mini-skirts, transparent clothes). The grandmothers have taught us lots of

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[30] Translation from French.

things which they didn't before, they are reviving our cultural values."[31] – two adolescent girls

Later in 2011, Ndione, Faye & Nagnonhou recorded that adults from Group 1 and 2 villages interviewed in their study all agreed that adolescent girls' behaviour had improved. They were more disciplined, respectful, aware, and listened more to advice given by adults. They were less interested in television and dances than before, and since the project had embraced cultural and moral values (2011, p28).

Lulli also found that in Group 1 villages, the presence of grandmothers in the classrooms increased children's knowledge of their culture (2011a, p27), and that girls were better behaved and more respectful towards their elders, including asking permission before going out (2011a, p39). Also in 2011, Newman (2011) found that young people in Group 1 villages felt that they had more opportunities to learn cultural knowledge since the project began. 100 per cent of young men and women stated that they had the opportunity to learn from elders and that 77 and 52 per cent respectively stated that this was only since the project began. 100 per cent of girls reported that they knew *dipis*, and had been taught them by grandmothers, and that 46 per cent only learned since the project began. Boys mentioned learning more traditional customs and local history from male elders (2011, p11). Elders also corroborated these findings. 100 per cent of grandmothers said that they taught cultural knowledge to youth, compared to 89 per cent of male elders, and 50 per cent and 62 per cent respectively said this was only since the project began (2011, p12).

In 2015, Soukouna and Newman observed a revalorisation of cultural values and traditions, and use of customary education methods such as riddles, folktales, songs and dances in the community and school (2015, p24). Adult community members mentioned that children now valued and practised cultural values and traditions, and approached the elders to learn from them both at school and at home – which had resulted in an improvement in their behaviour. Diallo also corroborated that across villages in Groups 1, 2 and 3, young people behaved better as a result of lessons taught by grandmothers through folktales (2015, p45).

3.8 PARENTS MORE INVOLVED IN SCHOOL MANAGEMENT

Soukouna and Newman (2015, p25) found that parents were more actively engaged in school management than before. They supported the school in ways such as organising the preparation of school meals, creating groups to sweep the classrooms, and working in collective fields or gardens managed by both the school and the community. Parents also participated in a more equitable fashion within formal management structures such as the Pupils' Parents Associations and the School Management Committees. This community members attributed directly to GMP's approach which had increased cohesion between different groups of the society.

3.9 IMPROVEMENT IN TEACHING QUALITY AND PUPIL PERFORMANCE

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[31] Translation from French.

In 2015, Soukouna and Newman (2015, p25-26) documented how the production of pedagogical tools, the training of teachers in their use, and workshops on the integration of cultural values and knowledge into teaching, had made schooling more relevant and engaging for teachers, communities and pupils. Many school and inspection personnel interviewed stated that GMP's pedagogical tools had broken the monotony and improved the quality of teaching. The booklets also addressed a lack of reading materials:

> "Pedagogical methods are now more varied, which breaks the monotony. Teachers use participatory methods, the elders are invited, and they go beyond the classical model. The reality is that the quality of teaching has improved."[32] – Diane, Inspector of IEF in Velingara

Due to improved relationships between the schools and communities, and the integration of cultural values and traditions into teaching, several teachers also reported preference for working in Kandia than elsewhere. Hence the project had the unintended outcome of reducing teacher mobility in the zone, which had negatively affected teaching quality (2011, p26).

In 2011, Lulli noted that in Group 1 villages the involvement of grandmothers in classes had improved pupils' oral skills and public speaking; made them more confident; enabled them to bridge local and school knowledge, and increased their critical thinking skills (2011a, p27-28). Similarly, in 2011, Ndione, Faye & Nagnonhou reported that pupil performance had improved in Group 1 and 2 villages, as the booklets and game "Who Are We?" encouraged oral expression (2011, p46). Later in 2015, Soukouna and Newman also documented that teachers had noticed an improvement in pupil performance. They paid more attention in class, understood more due to explanations given in Pulaar (the local language) by grandmothers, and the booklets which enabled them to translate between French and Pulaar. Pupil ability in reading and writing had increased. The closer relationships between pupils and teachers also meant that pupils felt more confident, and their oral expression therefore improved. The game "Who Are We?" also enhanced pupils' oral expression and debating skills (2015, p27).

3.10 MORE CHILDREN, ESPECIALLY GIRLS, STAY IN SCHOOL

In 2011, Lulli reported that the closer relationships between schools and communities in Group 1 villages had contributed to making the school a safer place for girls. It was harder for girls and boys to have relationships, and it limited the potential abuse of girls by teachers. Teachers and grandmothers were the actors most engaged in acting to prevent early pregnancy and marriage (2011a, p8-9, 28, 44). One teacher reported (2011a, p28):

> "Through the activities with grandmothers the project has contributed to keeping children, especially girls, in school. Very recently the grandmothers helped us to bring back five children who had dropped out a year ago. […] One of these girls […] is now doing [the first year of *college*] in Velingara. It's a source of pride for us teachers, and a battle won by the grandmothers."[33]

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[32] Translation from French.
[33] Translation from French.

The teachers also reported that given the decline in teenage pregnancies, the practice of giving them in marriage had declined, and that community members were more inclined to allow girls to finish their primary schooling first. However, the situation varied between villages with some teachers noting that if female pupils got engaged they would only marry after they finished school, with others stating that despite the disappearance of teenage pregnancy, some girls were still married off before they finished school (Lulli 2011a, p31). In addition, one teacher suggested that early marriage had only declined among school pupils, with girls who had already dropped out still being married off at a young age (2011a, p32).

Also in 2011, Ndione, Faye & Nagnonhou (2011, p46) found that teachers from villages in Group 1 and 2 reported that overall, FGM, adolescent pregnancy and early marriage were disappearing, which resulted in a reduction in female drop-out (although they note that there were no statistics to support this observation). One teacher stated (2011, p43):

> "Girls now remain longer in school, and it's no longer rare to see old girls still attending whereas before they would have been given in marriage and taken out of school a long time ago."[34]

Similarly, in 2015 Soukouna and Newman found that in all villages visited during the programme evaluation, teachers and parents agreed that all children of primary school age now attended school until the end of primary. The project had facilitated a massive enrolment of children. This was due to the improved relations with teachers and communities, and involvement of grandmothers in teaching. Teachers and parents also cooperated more to follow and support children's schooling. Due to the increased cultural relevance of school content, pupils were more interested and there had been a reduction in drop-out rates (2015, p26):

> "My son is too young to attend school, but he is so motivated that I enrolled him in [the first year of primary] anyway, and the teachers did all they could to help, by buying the exercise books. These days if you wish to punish a child, you say 'you won't go to school tomorrow, you'll stay at home!' and they cry!"[35] – Moussa Mballo, notable from Sare Yero Meta

In particular, girls attended school more than before, which teachers attributed to the reduction in adolescent pregnancy and early marriage (see 3.8 and 3.9), due to intergenerational forums where these harmful cultural practices were discussed (2015, p26):

> "Before, even young girls would drop out of school. Today, a girl prefers to be at school, and she refuses to be married. They have seen the advantages, and they are motivated to succeed rather than getting pregnant! To avoid that, we educate the girls, we show them a good example, we repeat to them each day the dangers. Now, the pupils use lamps to study at night."[36] – Yoba, grandmother from Sare Boulel.

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[34] Translation from French.
[35] Translation from French.
[36] Translation from French.

CONCLUSIONS

This review of GMP's Girls Holistic Development (GHD) programme set out to examine the existing evidence to determine whether the programme has contributed to changing norms and behaviours. The norms in question relate to reducing FGM, extra-marital teenage pregnancy, and early or forced marriage, and increasing female school enrollment and attendance. Evidence was sought in relation to the various steps detailed in the Theory of Change developed by GMP staff at the Passages workshop in August 2016.

This review concludes that there is **strong empirical support for all steps described in the Theory of Change**. Areas in which there is a particularly strong body of evidence include:

- The program has led to increased respect for elders, especially grandmothers (1.2);
- The program has fostered increased intergenerational communication and relationships (2.1);
- Grandmothers are now more appreciated and confident in their role as promoters of girls' health and well-being within the family and community (2.6);
- Culture is now valued more, and young people learn cultural values more within their families, communities and schools (1.1, 3.1, 3.2, 3.3, 3.7);
- Increased intergenerational solidarity has led to greater social cohesion and community mobilisation (1.4, 1.5, 1.6);
- Increased intergenerational communication and relationships through which young people learn about responsible sexual relationships have led to a significant decline in extra-marital teenage pregnancies in programme villages (2.4, 2.5, 2.8);
- The reduction of extra-marital teenage pregnancies has led to a decline in the practice of early and forced marriage (2.9);
- The ideal average age of marriage for girls has increased from 15.5 to 17.5 years in project communities, and 63 per cent of community members state that now marriages only take place once girls are 18. Communities now prefer to marry girls after they have completed primary school and once they are physically mature (2.9);
- The practice of FGM has declined due to increased knowledge of its negative effects and the fact that it is not religiously mandated, and greater social acceptance of uncircumcised girls (2.3, 2.10);
- The teaching of cultural knowledge and values (inclusion of culture) in schools has increased. This has improved the relevance and quality of formal schooling (3.6, 3.9);
- School-community relationships and collaboration have increased (3.4, 3.8);
- Pupil enrolment, engagement and attendance have greatly improved (3.5, 3.10).

The findings demonstrate that **the following beliefs and attitudes are no longer widely upheld by the communities** involved in the programme:

- 'Girls' education is not as valuable as boys' education';
- 'Early marriage protects girls and families from the shame of illegitimate pregnancies';
- 'Grandmothers can only make limited contributions to community life';
- 'Collective action is not practiced within or between communities'.

There remain some **gaps in the current state of knowledge about the intervention** and its

capacity to change norms:

- Overall, there has been a great deal of analysis of Group 1 villages first involved in the project, with **less research on Group 2 and Group 3 villages** added subsequently.
- With the exception of Diallo's evaluation of the second phase of the GHD programme (2015), there has been **little systematic comparison of Group 1, 2 and 3 villages** which could measure to what extent norms have changed in different villages depending on how long they have been involved in the intervention.
- There is some **inconsistency in the kinds of data collected in different reports**. Not all reports systematically stated a) how many informants of each type were interviewed or surveyed, and b) which villages (from which Groups) were targeted. The collection of such data, and presentation in reports, should ideally be streamlined across all documents to facilitate future reviews of evidence, and comparisons between villages.
- In some cases, such as the report conducted by Soukouna and Newman (2015), **there has been a tendency to focus on examples of best practice** and to analyse why things have 'worked', with less attention paid to those individuals who are less engaged in the programme. This is highly relevant within a Realist Evaluation approach which seeks to understand not only *what works* but also *what works for whom and why* – and indeed *what doesn't work with whom, and why not?* Investigating these gaps more explicitly could help GMP to understand and address low levels of engagement among some actors.
- From the existing data **it is difficult to conclude which programme activities contributed the most to normative change** at individual and at community levels. This is for two reasons. First, not all data collection methods included in the reports asked informants specifically which activities made the biggest difference. Second, while questions on the effects of specific activities may have been asked, this information was not necessarily presented systematically in the reports analysed. Understanding the role played by different activities is highly relevant to design of programme scale-up. We therefore recommend a more systematic review with GMP staff and communities of the effects of different programme activities to assess their relative importance, to inform a 'lite' package for scale-up.

The evidence presented shows that **shifts in beliefs and behaviours are gradual and cumulative. Multiple factors appear to be necessary for change to take place**. This finding is predictable given the complex nature of social life, but it does make it difficult to untangle the multiple influences on behaviour and investigate them in isolation from each other. While it would be useful to understand exactly which factors, alone or in combination, cause which changes and how, it is our opinion that this may not always be possible.

Nonetheless, there are some **areas of the programme which should be further explored**, in order to complement the evidence presented above:

- How girls approach grandmothers in order to negotiate or express their interests within their families;
- How young people more generally express their needs and interests, whether in forums, the family or community;
- The processes of decision-making surrounding FGM, or negotiations by grandmothers to prevent FGM from happening;

- Quantitative data on school enrollment, pupil performance, rates of extra-marital teenage pregnancy, and numbers of community members regularly actively involved in programme activities.

Finally, this review of the evidence suggests that there are **elements of the GHD programme which could be strengthened**:

- The programme could engage more with adolescent boys, and foster stronger relationships between adolescent boys and elders, so that they learn more about responsible behaviour towards young girls (see 2.5).
- There appear to be limits to the reduction of early and forced marriage in some cases. The fact that many older men only agree not to marry off girls under the age of 18 as long as they are good students or demonstrate socially responsible behaviour (see 2.7 and 3.10) shows that there are still conditions on girls' right to avoid a forced or early marriage.

Therefore, on the one hand, the GHD programme has proven successful in promoting change in community-wide norms in a relatively short space of time because its goals align with community priorities, and its means are compatible with cultural values and social roles. On the other hand, the downside of this approach is that in some areas the outcomes are restricted in the short term to culturally compatible scenarios which may fall short of ideals defined by the international community in conformity with human rights agendas. Nonetheless, our conclusion from this evidence is that **GMP's culturally-grounded approach is still the most desirable** for the pragmatic reason that culturally insensitive interventions create community backlash which undermines possibilities for future engagement and positive change. In contrast, small shifts in line with cultural priorities are a success in themselves, but also provide the foundation for more progressive changes further down the line.

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APPENDICES

TABLE 3. METHODS USED AND SAMPLE SIZES OF INTERVIEWEES IN DHF REPORTS REVIEWED.

REPORT TITLE	SAMPLE/RESEARCH METHODS	CONDUCTED
Rapport Evaluation Mi-Parcours: Projet Action Communautaire pour promouvoir la sante et le bien-être des filles et éradiquer la mutilation génitale féminine	Focus groups with grandmothers, women of reproductive age, male elders and youth from the 12 villages of Group 1 (exact numbers not given). Interviews with GMP and World Vision staff, pupils and children not in school, village chiefs and imams, local and district-level health personnel, inspectors, teachers and locally elected officials (exact numbers not given).	September-October 2009
Les mariages et les grossesses précoces diminuent grâce aux efforts conjoints des enseignants et des grand-mères	Focus groups with 451 community members from the 12 villages of Group 1, namely male elders (63), grandmothers (83), mothers (94), adolescent girls (104) and boys (84), teachers (21) and matrons (2) on early marriage and extra-marital pregnancy. Analysis of secondary data collected during the project's implementation from 2009-2010, in particular transcripts of discussions from intergenerational forums.	August 2011
Investigation sur les opinions des jeunes concernant leur culture et les valeurs "traditionnelles" et "modernes"	A survey with 34 young people aged 15-25 (26 female, 13 male) from 7 villages of Group 1 , on their views of 'traditional' and 'modern/western' cultural values and practices.	Late 2009/early 2010
Evaluation finale du projet "Projet Action Communautaire pour promouvoir la sante et le bien-être des filles et éradiquer la mutilation génitale féminine"	A survey of 340 community members, across 12 villages from Group 1 (110 grandmothers and 110 women of reproductive age); 8 villages from Group 2 (40 grandmothers and 40 women of reproductive age); and 2 control villages (20 grandmothers and 20 women of reproductive age). 24 focus groups of 6-10 participants with grandmothers, male heads of households, women of reproductive age, adolescent girls and boys (exact numbers not given). Interviews with 24 individuals involved in the project including primary school teachers and directors, inspectors, matrons, elected officials, religious leaders, village chiefs and notables, individuals involved in developing programme resources and training materials, World Vision and GMP staff. Analysis of secondary data namely the log frame, baseline study, mid-term evaluation, and other reports and information collected during project implementation.	June 2011
Increased communication between generations enables communities to take action to better educate and protect girls	Focus groups of 6-10 participants with 207 community members, namely male elders (17), grandmothers (73), women of reproductive age (45), adolescent girls (37) and adolescent boys (35) in 7 villages of Group 1. Surveys with 101 community members, namely male elders (9), grandmothers (22), women of reproductive age (23), adolescent girls (25) and adolescent boys (22) in 5 villages of Group 1. Questions asked on the changes in intergenerational relationships, early marriage and extra-marital teenage pregnancy.	July 2011
Investigation sur: Le leadership des grands-mères dans les villages impliques dans le Projet de développement holistique des filles	Focus groups of 3-8 participants with 76 grandmother leaders in 19 villages (selection criteria for identifying 'leaders' not elaborated).	June-August 2012
La rencontre des deux savoirs: Revue de la stratégie d'intégration des valeurs culturelles a l'école	Focus groups with teachers and directors, grandmothers, and women of reproductive age (exact numbers not given). Interviews with GMP personnel, inspectors, pupils, village chiefs and religious leaders, artists and journalists (exact numbers not given). Analysis of secondary data namely testimonies recorded during programme activities. Participant observation of programme activities in villages namely an intergenerational forum, a day of solidarity and a 'nuit de contes'. Classroom observations in 6 village schools. Notes taken during a presentation of preliminary results with stakeholders.	January 2015
Rapport Provisoire Evaluation Finale "Projet développement holistique des filles phase 2"	A survey of 199 community members, namely grandmothers (53), male heads of households (44), women of reproductive age (79), and adolescent girls (51) from 5 households in 15 villages (7 from Group 1; 5 from Group 2; 3 from Group 3). Focus groups of 6-12 participants with 341 community members, namely grandmothers (111), male heads of households (5), women of reproductive age (79), adolescent girls (98), and adolescent boys (48). Interviews with 43 individuals involved in the project including the leaders of women's associations, primary school teachers and directors, matrons, elected officials, religious leaders, village chiefs and notables, World Vision and GMP staff. Analysis of secondary data namely the log frame, baseline study, mid-term and end-line evaluation from 2011, other reports and information collected during project implementation.	July 2015

TABLE 4. SOURCES OF ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ON GMP'S APPROACH AND THE DHF PROGRAMME.

TOPIC	SUB THEME	RELEVANT REPORTS/ARTICLES
Social Infrastructure situation of departure: lack of respect for cultural/elders' knowledge and roles; lack of social cohesion/ mobilisation	Globalisation has resulted in the replacement of local cultural values and practices in favour of western cultural values, diffused through television and returning migrants	Lulli, 2011a, p17-18; Lulli, 2011b, p3, 10-11
	Decline of respect for elders and intergenerational communication, including due to influence of school and attitudes of development projects	Lulli, 2011a, p19, 38
	The traditional role of the grandmother was to educate young children and adolescent girls, but this had started to decline	Lulli, 2011a, p37
	Culturally, communicating about sexuality is easier between elders and adolescents than between adolescents and their parents	Lulli 2011a, p7, 36
	Grandmothers want support for their roles in community health, education and conflict management but their role is declining / neglected by development projects	Ndione, Faye & Nagnonhou 2011, p27; Lulli, 2012
Education situation of departure: low engagement with schooling	Low school enrolment rates in Velingara	Musoko et al., 2012, p9; Soukouna & Newman 2015, p11
	A gulf exists between schools and communities	Soukouna & Newman 2015, p12
	Contribution of teachers to pregnancies of pupils in some cases	Lulli, 2011a, p8
	Communities often value schooling but see schools as risky places for girls	Lulli, 2011a, p20-21
DHF situation of departure: high rates of FGM, extra-marital teenage pregnancy and early/forced marriage	Baseline rates of FGM in Velingara/Kolda	Ndione, Faye & Nagnonhou, 2011, p8-9; Musoko, et al., 2012, p 10; Diallo, 2015, p20
	Since the state ban on FGM in 1999 the practice has been forced underground and associated cultural education has been lost; cultural reasons for practising FGM	Ndione, Faye & Nagnonhou, 2011, p7
	Rates of adolescent pregnancy and under-age marriage in Velingara/Kolda	Lulli, 2011a, p10-11; Musoko, et al., 2012, p10
	Early and forced marriage as engrained cultural practices in southern Senegal	Lulli, 2011a, p5, 11
	Communities acknowledge the risks of pregnancy and labour on underage girls but marry them early, and remove them from school, as a way of preventing the shame of extra-marital pregnancy, and in some cases due to poverty	Lulli, 2011a, p6, 11, 14-15, 21
	Communities have ceased to educate their youth in cultural values and responsible behaviours which facilitates extra-marital pregnancies	Lulli, 2011a, p20
	When faced with a forced marriage, girls seek allies within their family and community to negotiate on their behalf, especially their paternal grandmother	Lulli, 2011a, p21
Research and design phase	Process of problem diagnosis with stakeholder communities (FGM, adolescent pregnancy, early marriage)	Ndione, Faye & Nagnonhou 2011, p7-8; Musoko, et al., 2012, p12-14
	Process of problem diagnosis with stakeholder communities (education)	Musoko, et al., 2012, p12-14; Soukouna & Newman, 2015, p14-16
Programme activities and partners	Activities relating to DHF (intergenerational forums including with religious leaders speaking about FGM, discussions between grandmothers and adolescent girls, sessions on Stories Without an Ending, discussions facilitated by matrons)	Lulli, 2011a, p22-24; Ndione, Faye & Nagnonhou, 2011, p20, 24-25; Musoko, et al., 2012, p33-43
	School-related activities (workshops with teachers and grandmothers; pedagogical supports; involvement of grandmothers in classrooms; educational activities in villages)	Aubel et al., 2008; Lulli, 2011a, p26-7; Guiliano Sarr, 2012; Musoko, et al., 2012, p33-43; Soukouna & Newman, 2015, p17-19
	Partners and collaborators	Ndione, Faye & Nagnonhou, 2011, p19-26; Musoko, et al., 2012, p16-18
Intervention approaches	Change Through Culture approach	Musoko, et al., 2012, p11-12, 14-15, 28-29, 56-58; Soukouna & Newman, 2015, p13-14
	Non-directional approach of community dialogue and collective mobilisation	World Vision, 2009, p7, 13; Musoko, et al., 2012, p19, 23-24, 25-27, 29-30; Soukouna & Newman, 2015, p29-30
	Grandmother inclusive approach	World Vision, 2009, p8; Aubel, 2014
	Theoretical underpinnings of GMP's approaches	Aubel & Sihalathavong, 2001; Musoko, et al., 2012, p31-32; Newman, 2015