Eritrea's Community Mapping of 2014

in three parts:

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Eritrea's FGC Community Mapping 1. The Data Collection

This paper renders an account of how the community mapping's data were arrived at.

The original plan – seen from the point of view of the international consultant (cf. the consultant's ToR & Technical Proposal) – was a three-pronged approach to the data collection, consisting of key informant interviews, focus group discussions and a sample household survey based on a standardised questionnaire. The international consultant was to be part and parcel of all three parts of the data collection.
For practical and other reasons – first and foremost the difficulty of travel because of questions of travel permits – almost all of the data collection took place before the international consultant's arrival in Asmara.
On top of this, there was not the foreseen national consultant – a statistician, it had been agreed – to work with on the Mapping during the international consultant's six week-stay in Eritrea.
Here is an attempt at reconstructing how the data collection had been done.

The first of the data collection components did not happen: no key informant interviews were conducted. I suppose because this was seen as the international consultant's job, and he or she was not around. I have during my six weeks in Eritrea seen and interviewed the most important national anti-FGC stakeholders, but I have only spent one and a half days outside of Asmara (namely the 31st of July and half of 1st of August in Barentu and Koferenko). Substantial zoba and sub-zoba-level expertise has thus not been tapped.

Focus group discussions were conducted on a sub-zoba level in all the zobas, three per zoba (four in Anseba, and four also in Gash Barka, where, in one of the sub-zobas, separate FGDs for women and men were organised). Four of the zobas had sent written summaries of the results to Asmara by end August 2014, three of these were translated into English in writing, one orally. For the focus group discussions, eight to ten community members were selected by the Ministry of Health at zoba level. According to the three reports from Anseba, Maekel and Northern Red Sea, the groups were composed of "representatives from local administration office, NUEW, NUEYS, MoE, MoH, Members of Parliament, representatives from PFDJ, Police, community elders (male, female), religious leaders, students (male, female), women and men from the community" (same wording in the three reports). According to a MoH HQ expert, the focus in select-

ing was to have important community members attend, not FGC experts, but people who are knowledgeable in matters of FGC, having participated actively in past sensitisation campaigns.

The discussion guidelines for the focus group discussions read as follows (oral translation from the written Tigrigna FGD guidelines):
       1) What do we mean by FGM-C?
       2) Is FGM-C practiced in your community?
              2a) Is it practiced in the village in secret?
              2b) Do people take their daughters to other villages to be cut?
       3) Do you think that FGM-C should be eliminated entirely?
       4) How do you think FGM-C could be eliminated entirely?
       5) Do you agree to a physical check-up of your girls?
The written reports give a slightly different order of the questions and different translations:
       "What does it mean by FGM/C
       How do you see the level of practice of FGM/C in your village?
       What relationship does FGM/C and religion have?
       What do you think of underground practice of FGM/C?
       What do you think of families sending their daughters to other villages to circumcise their daughters?
       How do you think the practice can completely be abolished?
       How do you see to undertake physical checkup of FGM/C in your community/villages? If agreeable at what age? By Whom?"

The FGDs have been summarised in such a short way that they in no way provide information that could feed into the rating. This shortness of the reports is a pity – it begs the reason for holding focus group discussions – excellent means of getting in-depth access to information because discussion inside the group of insiders reaches levels that questionnaire-based data collecting cannot even dream of. From the summaries it appears, despite their shortness, that the facilitators gained a clear insight as to how much doubt there is about (isolated) cases of FGC still being undertaken in the concerned sub-zobas.

It is for this reason that FGDs could and should play an important role in the public declaration process – see the later parts of the paper "*The Village Rating. Eritrea's Model for Determining Readiness for FGC Abandonment*", more specifically the chapter "*Post-model: focus group discussions? Surveillance mechanism!*"

So, with the qualitative part of the community mapping put aside for the time being, let us turn to the data and have a look how we came by them.

Purposive sampling for selecting the villages

Let us first recap the procedures. Purposive sampling provided the list of villages where the mapping was done.
Since no protocol was written for the selection of the villages nor for the focus group discussions, I have, with the help of MoH HQ experts, worked out a sort of ex-post protocol. The household sampling protocol is adapted from the presentation made by the MoH statistician in April 2014.

A series of preparatory workshops for the community mapping was held in 2012 in the six zobas – without anything further happening for over a year. The number of villages to be covered, originally 50, was increased to 150 after the workshops, then decreased to 120 for budgetary reasons.

Then another preparatory workshop was held in Asmara in April 2014. On the basis of the discussions at this workshop, each zoba Family and Community Health Division of MoH chose the villages for the mapping according to rather vague criteria ("readiness for abandonment"). Some corrections were made to avoid duplication with NUEW's (very much smaller) mapping that had taken place recently.

After a ToT – Training of Trainers – in Asmara in April 2014, data collectors were then trained in the six zobas.

The data collection and also the focus group discussions in the six zobas took place in May and June 2014.

The kebabi authorities were informed in advance by zoba MoH. The data collectors presented themselves to the administrative heads of the kebabis equipped with a letter from the zoba MoH. Then they went to the selected (see below for method of selection) households with their questionnaires – households which had at least one girl under age 15 living in it.

Questions were asked of whoever was available, with the first questionnaire question clarifying the relation of the respondent to the household head.

Simple random sampling for household selection

The method chosen for household selection was Simple Random Sampling. The number necessary for representativity was calculated with the formula:

$$(n_1*(N/N+ n_1))/r \quad \text{where} \quad n_1 = z^2*p*(1-p)/e^2$$

where z = critical value/parameter linked to the 95% confidence level (equal to 1.96),
p = expected prevalence of variable of interest (females $\leq$15 years circumcised 33.9% based on EPHS 2010),
N = number of targeted households in the community/villages,
e = expected margin of error of the estimate (10%),
r = non response rate.

S.No	Number of Villages with HH Ranges	Required Sampled HH
1	Less than 50	33
2	51 to 100	48
3	101 to 200	62
4	201 to 500	76
5	501 to 1000	82
6	1001 to 2000	86
7	2001 to 5000	87
8	Above 5000	89

For the selection of the concrete households to be interviewed, the instructions to the data collectors were the following:

1. Go to the central part of village.
2. Spin a pen and go where the pen points.
3. Find the first household where the pen directs.
4. Ask the household if they have a girl ≤15 living in the household.
5. If the answer is "Yes", start on the questionnaire with the house-hold.
6. If the answer is "No", go to the next household until you find one with at least one girl ≤15 years old and then start.
7. Every time you complete your task in a household, go to the next household, keeping to the initial direction.

Data entry was done progressively as data arrived from the zobas at MoH headquarters from mid-May onwards (data from Southern Red Sea only arrived on 30th of July) and entry of data was finished on 11th of August 2014.

Here is an extract from the ACCESS table containing the Mapping's raw data for zoba Anseba – the first 27 respondents from Akbr'aha of kebabi Adiberbere in sub-zoba Elabered for questions 201 through 206 (206 only partly):

FGM										
Subzoba	Hetabiadmin	Village	Quest	QP01	QP02	QP03	QP04	QP05	QP06	AFarmer
Elabered	Adiberbere	Akbraha	9	2	2	2	27	4	1	2	0
Elabered	Adiberbere	Akbraha	10	2	2	88	1	1	2	0
Elabered	Adiberbere	Akbraha	11	2	2	50	1	2	4	0
Elabered	Adiberbere	Akbraha	12	2	2	80	1	2	4	0
Elabered	Adiberbere	Akbraha	13	2	2	25	8	2	4	0
Elabered	Adiberbere	Akbraha	14	2	2	39	8	2	4	0
Elabered	Adiberbere	Akbraha	15	2	2	45	8	1	2	0
Elabered	Adiberbere	Akbraha	16	2	2	35	8	2	4	0
Elabered	Adiberbere	Akbraha	17	2	2	28	8	2	4	0
Elabered	Adiberbere	Akbraha	18	2	2	40	8	2	4	0
Elabered	Adiberbere	Akbraha	19	2	2	42	2	2	4	0
Elabered	Adiberbere	Akbraha	20	2	2	80	8	2	4	0
Elabered	Adiberbere	Akbraha	21	2	2	25	4	1	2	0
Elabered	Adiberbere	Akbraha	22	2	2	39	4	1	2	0
Elabered	Adiberbere	Akbraha	23	2	2	25	8	2	4	0
Elabered	Adiberbere	Akbraha	24	2	2	40	2	2	4	0
Elabered	Adiberbere	Akbraha	25	2	2	35	2	2	4	0
Elabered	Adiberbere	Akbraha	26	2	2	24	2	2	4	0
Elabered	Adiberbere	Akbraha	27	2	2	40	1	2	4	0
Elabered	Adiberbere	Akbraha	28	1	1	41	8	2	4	0
Elabered	Adiberbere	Akbraha	29	2	2	26	8	2	4	0
Elabered	Adiberbere	Akbraha	30	2	2	40	8	1	2	0
Elabered	Adiberbere	Akbraha	31	2	2	21	8	2	4	0
Elabered	Adiberbere	Akbraha	32	2	2	24	4	2	4	0
Elabered	Adiberbere	Akbraha	33	2	2	38	2	2	4	0
Elabered	Adiberbere	Akbraha	34	2	2	80	2	2	4	0
Elabered	Adiberbere	Balwa	1	2	2	85	8	2	4	0

Each line corresponds to one respondent/one questionnaire, each column corresponds to one answer to a questionnaire question (so, if the question were "Are you for or against FGC?" and the possible alternative answers are "For", "Against", "Don't know", then there would be three columns for this question).

Availability of a statistician was a problem. The statistician in charge of the data collection was busy with other projects in July-August. Finally, another MoH statistician was assigned to the Mapping – but had other priorities. Processing of the raw data into the excel tables required for the rating was finalised on the morning of Saturday, 23rd of August 2014.

Recap of the mapping procedures + the mapping in perspective

So the household sample consisted of households that had at least one girl under age 15 living in them. For the choice of the 110 communities/villages, **purposive sampling** was used. Those that were thought or known to be "ready for abandonment" were selected – our data collection look-ed, so to say, at **the best of the class**. And it did that in every one of the six zobas.
One hundred and ten – 4.3% of Eritrea's 2,564 villages – is almost exactly double the number of sub-zobas in Eritrea. Meaning that, on average, 2 villages were chosen per sub-zoba. However, no attempt was made to have the villages distributed equally across sub-zobas – on the contrary: the intention was to select the best, only that a certain equilibrium between zobas (except SRS) was respected, I suppose for political reasons.
Questionnaires were administered to 5,811 households chosen by **simple random sampling**.
0.17% of Eritrea's estimated population responded. With an average size of 4.8 per household (EPHS 2010), this means that 0.8% of Eritrean households were represented.
11,141 girls under 15 is the total number living in the households that participated in the data collection.
In every village, an average of 53 households participated in the survey.

Let us turn to the **villages selected**: 16 in Maekel, 21 in Debub, 22 in Anseba, 22 in Gash Barka, 19 in Northern Red Sea and 10 in Southern Red Sea.

Maekel: 16 villages

Sub-zoba	Kebabi	Village
Gala Nefhi	Hmbrti	Hmbrti
	Kutmowli e	Bardae
	Kutmowlie	Kutmowlie
SMA	Derfo	Arberebue
Berik	Ametsi	Mdri-zien
	Ametsi	Ametsi
	Tsaeda Emba	Tsaeda Emba
	Tsaeda-Emba	Adi-mussa
	Adi Kontsi	Adi yakob
	Adi-Kontsi	Adi-Kontsi
	Tsaeda-Kristian	Tsaeda-kristian
	Adigebru	Aditeklay
	Adigebru	Adigebru
Serejeka	Embaderho	Embaderho
	Shmangus Laelay	Shmangus Laelay
	Shmangus Tahtay	Mekerka

Debub: 21 villages

Sub-zoba	Kebabi	Village
Segeneyti	Brkito	Brkito
	Adi quita	N elto
	Adi quita	Adi quita
	Adi hadid	Adi kercha
	Adi-Hadid	Adebene
	Adi-quita	Endhish
Emni Haili	Adi Gebru	Adi Gebru
	Adi Gedena	Adi Gedena
	Adi Hirwa	Adi Hirwa
	Adi Merkeja	Adi Merkeja
	Adiyakulu	Adiyakulu
Debarwa	Gebrekelay	Gebrekelay
	Adi Guari	Adi Guari
	Temagela	Temagela
	Temagela	Adibaro
	Adi Egbay	Adi Egbay
Adi Quala	Ade ArbaA	Ade ArbaA
	Adelges	Adelges
	Adi Quala	Adi Akielo
	Adi bahro	Adi bahro
	Adi HiHi	Adi HiHi

Anseba: 22 villages

Sub-zoba	Kebabi	Village
Aditekelezan	Dekizeru	Dekizeru
	Deki Gebru	Deki Gebru
Asmat	Hawush	Hawush
	Asneda	Tiko
Elabered	Adiberbere	Akbr'aha
	Adiberbere	Balwa
Geleb	Zene	Zene
	Belta	Belta
Habero	Filfle	Filfle
	Aretai	Aretai
Hagaz	Adiomer	Adi Omer
	Badob	Badob
Halhal	Melebso	Gerbet
	Halhal	Ar'es
Hamelmalo	Libena	Libena
	Hamelmalo	Genfelom
Keren	1	Fafda
	5	Ttri
Kerkebet	Hinbol	Adi Shek
	Hamelayt	Adi seidna
Selea	Rkeb	Koko
	Rkeb	Ftuy

Gash Barka: 22 villages

Sub-zoba	Kebabi	Village
Dighe	Mogoraib	Shuq
		Adi ali
		Adi Ella
		Gultana
		Damet
		Adi Ejel
		Nablech
		Adi Amr
	Tekreret	Adi Shigli
		Masker
		Adi tewle
		Shek Humed
Mogolo	Tambara	Tambara
	Koferenko	Hamege
		Koferenko
	Shamba	Shamba
	Terkina	Terkina
Logo Anseba	TSELALE	Tselale
	Debri	Debri
	Adi Hans	Adi Hans
	Deqi Shhay	Deqi Shhay
	Mekerka	Mekerka

Northern Red Sea: 19 villages

Sub-zoba	Kebabi	Village
Ghindae	Nefasit	Nefasit
	Embatkala	Embatkala
	Gahthelay	Gahthelay
	Shebah	Shebah
	Dengolo Tahtay	Dengolo Tahtay
	Dengolo laelay	Dongolo Laelay
	01	Ghindae
Gelalo	Gelalo	Akelo
	Bardoli	Bardoli
	Bardoli	Menkaelile
	Gelaelo	Erura
	Gelaelo	Harena
	Engel	Adi Gufoito
	Duluh	Dekikai
Nakfa	Beyan	Beyan
	Moo	Moo
	02	Feleg
	Apolo	Apolo
	01	Nakfa

Southern Red Sea: 10 villages

Sub-zoba	Kebabi	Village
Assab	Bilen Koma	Assab
	Aleti	Ayutes
	Adal	Adaelo
	Bihita	Ra
	Shekayto	menka e ka e
Maekel Denkel	Bel ebuy	Bel ebuy
Debub Denkel	BerAsole	Bihta
		BerAsole
		Adi Ber
		Beilul

Eritrea's FGC Community Mapping 2. Data Interpretation

What follows is a short overview of the mapping's statistical "results". Note that our 110 villages are by no means representative – on the contrary, they were meant to be **extra-ordinary**: close to abandonment.

Our mapping's principal objective was to explore the data collected and to find a mechanism that would hoist our evaluation of a community's readiness for a public promise/a public declaration of FGC abandonment onto a "scientific" basis.
This is what **the third part of this paper "*Eritrea's FGC Community Mapping. The Village Rating. Eritrea's Model for Determining Readiness for FGC Abandonment*"** sets out to do – it **continues on the very basis of the raw data whose genesis we have just examined**.

Here follow some characteristics of the mapping's 5,811 respondents and a brief analysis of correlations between these characteristics and answers to the questionnaire questions, as well as general tendencies in these answers.

a) Demographics

Our mapping's respondents were dominantly female (85.4%) and almost three quarters of them were spouses of household heads (72.9%). Men represented only 14.6% and household heads 22.8% of respondents (Questions 201 and 202).
I was not given the processed results for age. If my calculations are correct, the respondents' average age was 34 years and 10 months, with the range reaching from 90 years of age down to 1 year of age (obviously, Eritreans are either very precocious or data were not cleaned: in all, 30 respondents have indicated between 1 and 5 years of age) (Question 203).
33.4% of respondents were illiterate, 8.2% could read or write, 29.2% had had primary, 16.9% middle, 10.5% secondary, and 1.9% tertiary education (Question 204).
45.9% of respondents were Tigrigna, 32.7% Tigre, 2.4% Saho, 3.9% Bilen, 9.3% Afar – for the remaining two categories (there should be four to complete the 9 ethnic groups of Eritrea), I suppose that they were Nara (2.1%) and Kunama (3.7%) and that the categories Hidarb and Rashaida have been skipped (Question 205).
In terms of religion, 43.6% of respondents declared themselves orthodox, 2.2% catholic and 0.3% protestant Christians, 53.8% Muslims, 0.1% of traditional beliefs and 0.1% of other religions (Question 206).
Animal husbandry was the occupation specified by 44.8% of respondents, trade by 33.4%, casual/wage labour by 15.5%, 4.9% declared themselves artisans and 0.9% salaried employees, with negligible 0.1% engaged in crop husbandry, 0.1% in other occupations and 0.0% with no occupation (Question 207).
Of the 11,141 girls under the age of 15 living in the 5,811 households covered by the mapping, 1,701 were less than one year old, 3,615 between one and five years old, 3,382 between six and ten and 2,442 between eleven and fifteen. With other words, 15.3% of these 11,141 girls were under one year old, cumulative 47.7% under five, and 78.1% under ten (Question 208).

Most of demographic information about our respondents is unsurprising. Ethnic and religious belonging and education roughly reflect national values. Occupation for some reason neglects crop farming; I do not suppose that there were really only 0.1% agriculturists amongst respondents.
Men are under-represented in the mapping. The reason being, I suppose, that they go out more than women, and people were interviewed in their houses – the questionnaire was administered to whoever was present.
11,141 girls in the 5,811 households of the mapping means 1.9 girls per household. This indicates a slightly bigger household size for our respondents than the national average of 4.8

(EPHS 201, see above): 1.9 girls + 1.9 boys (since numbers of girl and boy children are roughly equal) + 1 mother already gets us to the 4.8 without counting fathers, grandparents or other household members.

b) A short look at the data collected

The purpose of the mapping was to help us determine whether a community or village is ready for FGC abandonment. Conventional statistical analysis of data does not help much in this context (and MoH statisticians know well how to do it, should that be wanted). The following paragraphs try to see whether the mapping results – **un-representative by design** and bound to be better than the Eritrean average – produced anything surprising.

With all the reservations we must have about truthful answers in this respect, let us first of all look at the "**practice of cutting**"[1]. Questions 307, 325 and 247/328 dealt with this.

FGC Practice in the zobas

		Zoba						
		Anseba	Debub	Gash Barka	Maekel	NRS	SRS	Total
Q 307	0 girls cut in household	886	731	823	925	922	106	4393
		75,0%	**80,6%**	**82,1%**	**86,9%**	**71,9%**	**35,1%**	**76,5%**
Q 325	no cutting in community	910	817	662	821	609	97	3916
		77,7%	**90,7%**	**72,1%**	**77,5%**	**47,7%**	**32,4%**	**69,6%**
Q 247	yes, medical check-up ok	1070	564	578	453	735	215	3615
=Q 328		**90,7%**	**98,4%**	**82,2%**	**82,7%**	**85,1%**	**80,8%**	**87,4%**

The same data (the percentages of the above table) presented graphically show that there is quite some regional variation as to what our respondents said concerning the practice of cutting.
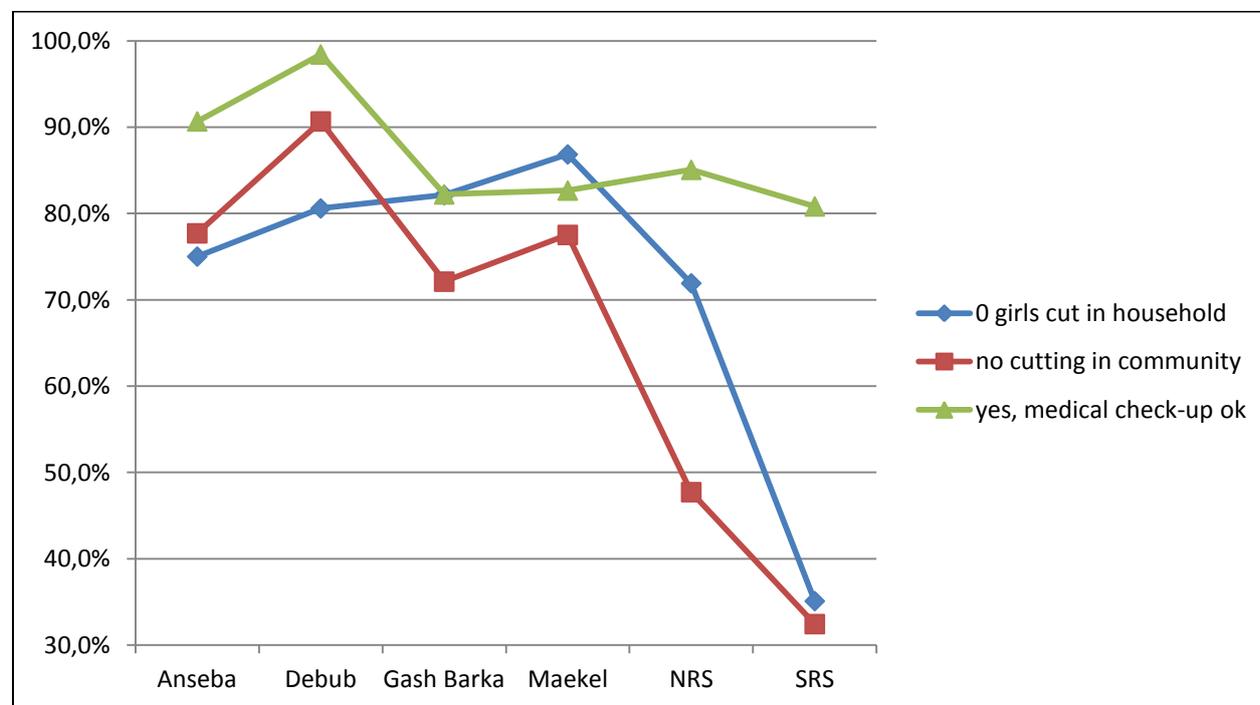
Surprisingly, the answers to the question whether a medical check-up would be ok – thought to be THE test question whether there is cutting going on or not, because if there is, would someone

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[1] I am using the categorisation of the mapping questions explained in the third part of the Community Mapping Paper. See there.

in her or his right mind agree to have her or his children checked? – registered much less variation than the two other questions.

When we briefly analyse sex vs. FGC practice, the differences are not big. Women respondents say slightly more often than men (77.4% vis-à-vis 71.6%) that there are no cut girls living in their households and they say a bit more often (70.6% vis-à-vis 64.0%) that their communities do not practice FGC.[2]

With regard to age, the younger the respondent, the greater the likelihood that there are no cut girls living in their households (under fifteen year old respondents are excluded – they show worse results, but they are unlikely to be the deciders in their households). 90.3% of 15-24 year old respondents live in households without a single cut girl, for the 45-54 year olds and the 55+ the corresponding figures are 69.2% respectively 69.0%.

Equally unsurprisingly, education correlates negatively with FGC. 64.1% of illiterates live in households without cut girls while the corresponding values for respondents with secondary and tertiary education are 90.1% and 93.6%. As to the answers regarding FGC practice in their communities, the results are less easy to interpret. 60% of the illiterate say that there is no more cutting in their communities, the subsequent four categories vary little between 73.3% and 75.2%, and only those with tertiary education are more sceptical (is that the reason?) or more realistic (?) and only 68.8% of them believe that there is no more FGC in their communities.

Cross-tabulating with religion, Muslims amongst our respondents less often live in households without cut girls (68.5% vis-à-vis 86.1% for Orthodox Christians) and are less likely to say that their communities no longer practice FGC (59.3% vis-à-vis 82.0% for Orthodox Christians). Finally ethnic groups: the Tigrigna, according to their answers, are most likely to live in households where no girl has undergone FGC (86.2%), with Tigre and Bilen fairly close behind (79.9% respectively 77.5%). The Afar[3] range far behind with just over a quarter (28.7%) saying that no girl living in their household has been cut. As for opinions about the continuation of the FGC practice in the community, the Afar, again, come last with only 41.8% saying that FGC is no longer practiced in the community, but the Nara[4] come close behind with 45.7% and the Saho are hardly better with 52.6%. The Tigrigna again come first (81.4%), with the Bilen close behind at 78.9%.

Let us next look at the sub-group "**collective abandonment**". Questions 317 through 319 dealt with this.
(NB: These questions will need to be changed from past-orientation to future orientations for future editions of data collection for the village rating.)

Declaration of FGC abandonment

		Anseba	Debub	Gash Barka	Maekel	NRS	SRS	Total
Q 317	collective abandonment declared	79,8%	74,6%	31,5%	51,2%	40,3%	42,8%	54,5%
Q 318	public ceremony attended	78,0%	93,9%	69,7%	72,6%	65,6%	69,6%	77,3%
Q 319	community interest in PD	89,9%	99,2%	92,5%	94,5%	84,6%	86,8%	92,5%

Overall, 54.5% of respondents in the 110 villages said that their community had taken a collective decision or made a public declaration of FGC abandonment in the past. I would suggest that the relatively high – at 27.0% – fraction of the "don't knows" is with great likelihood to be counted as "no" (Question 317).

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[2] For sex like for the other demographic variables, I have no cross tabulation for question 247 as the MoH statistician mixed up questions 327 and 328 to replace it.
[3] MoH please check this. It is the 5th category in the cross tabulation – but the tables contain only 7 instead of the appropriate 9 categories.
[4] MoH please check. This is the 6th category. See note above.

Between the zobas, the percentages range from 31.5% in Gash Barka to 79.8% in Anseba. Northern Red Sea comes last but one, although this zoba, together with Anseba, seems to have been the pioneer in matters of public declarations of FGC abandonment.

Participation in the public ceremonies of FGC abandonment has been most fervent in Debub (93.0%), while Northern Red Sea respondents have been least enthusiastic (65.6%), closely followed by Southern Red Sea (69.6%) and Gash Barka (69.7%) (Question 318).

As for the level of the community's interest in the abandonment declaration, Debub again comes first – with an almost unanimous 99.2% declaring that community interest was high, with Maekel and Gash Barka second and third, both also in the 90s range, and Northern Red Sea coming last – with still surprising 84.6% of the zoba's respondents estimating their communities' interest to be high (Question 319).

For a pictorial view of the same data look at the following graph.
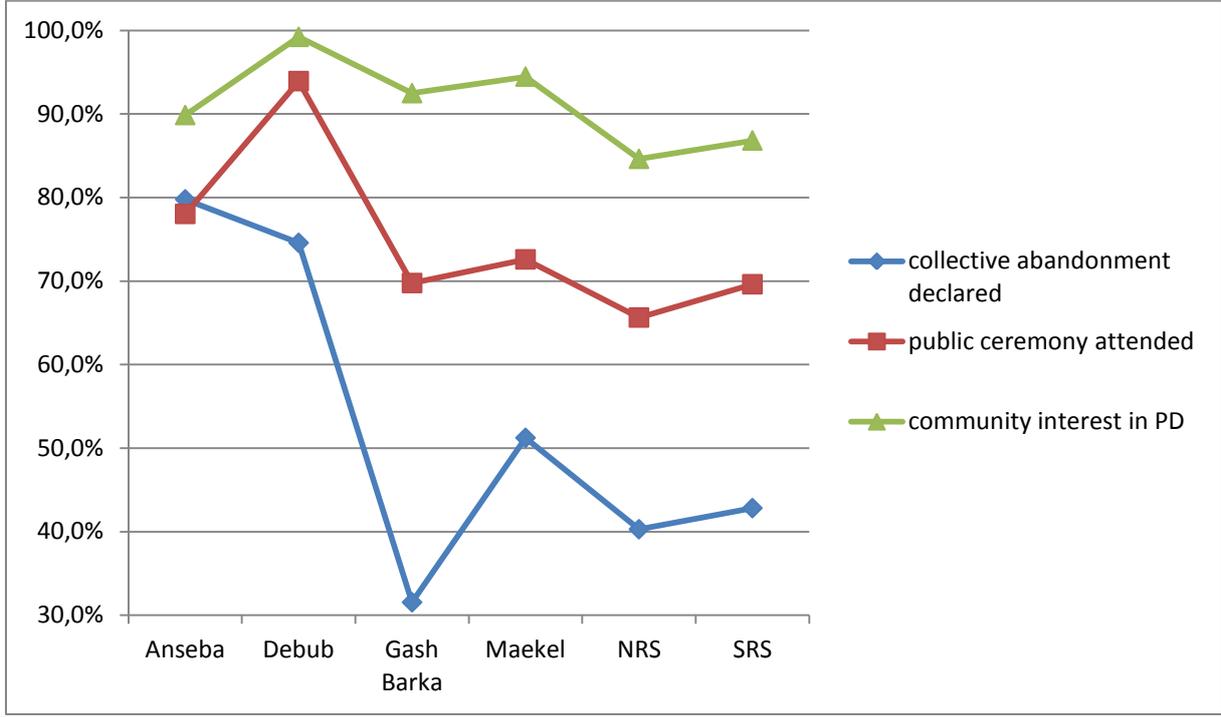
The differences between the zobas are considerable.

Cross-tabulating shows that sex, age, religion and education make little difference here (except that the older the respondent the more likely she or he was to participate in the public ceremony, while people with tertiary education were least likely to attend).

Variation was more significant for ethnic belonging. Bilen had a surprising advance on all others where past public decisions or declarations were concerned: 77.4%, while the second best (the Tigrigna) reached a mere 57.0%. For attendance of the public ceremonies Tigrigna and Saho came first, both topping 80%. And for the evaluation of the community's interest in the public declaration, again, Tigrigna were first, with 96.7% declaring that such interest was high community-wide.
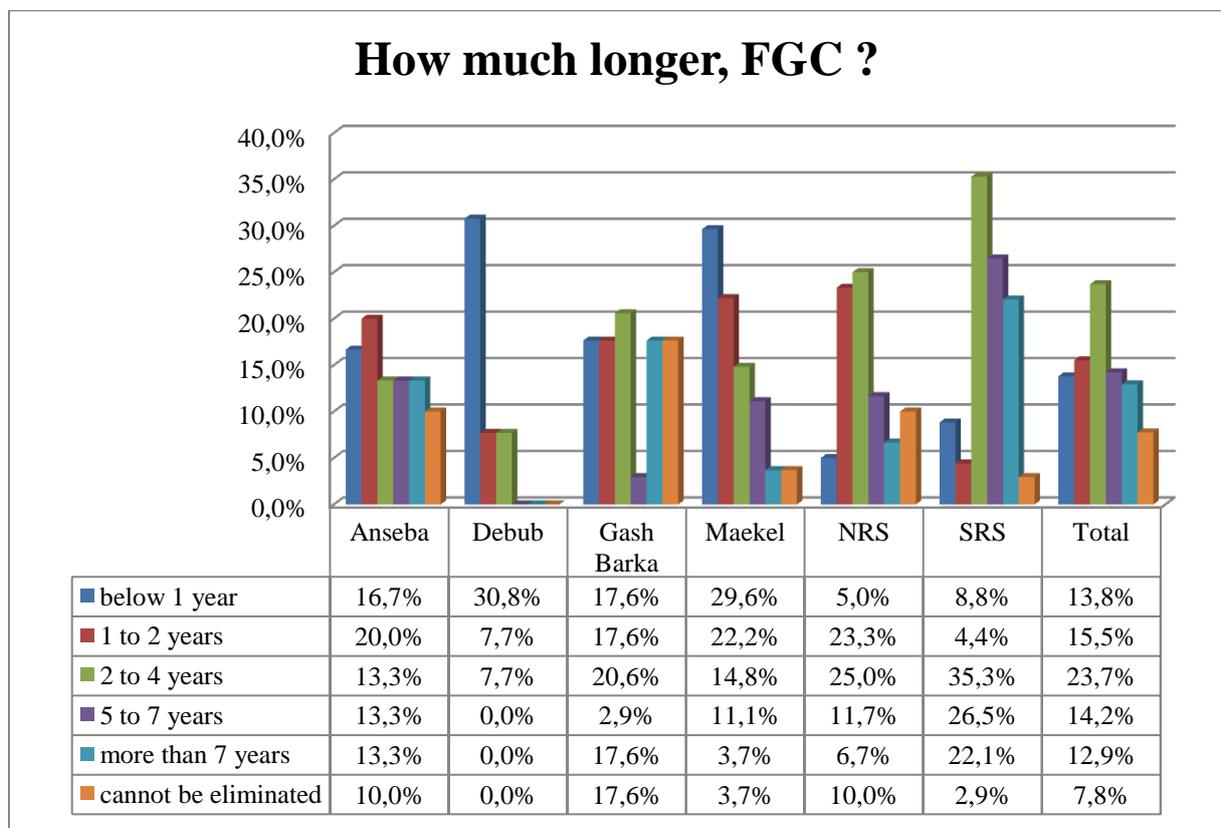
Let us next submit the group of questions "**attitudes and views of others**" to a short statistical analysis. Questions 305, 313, 321, 326 and 246/327 dealt with this.

"Do members of your community think that FGC should be continued or discontinued?" A sample average of 89.5% thought that their communities thought that it should be discontinued. Debub was highest at 97.1%, Northern Red Sea[5] lowest with 83.8% (Question 305).

Debub is again well ahead in terms of community members being thought to be aware of FGC's problems (99.7%) – this time it is Southern Red Sea that trails the others with only 83.7% of that opinion (Question 313).

Debub is again best as to the communities' level of commitment to FGC abandonment – which 99.5% think high, with Southern Red Sea not far behind in this respect (95.5%), and Northern Red Sea last amongst the zobas with only 80.4% thinking that the level of interest is high (Question 321).

To the question "How long will FGC survive in your community?", a sample average of 13.8% thought "less than one year", 15.5% "between one and two years", 23.7% "two to four years", 14.2% "five to seven years", and pessimist 12.9% thought eradication would take more than seven years and even more pessimist 7.8% thought it cannot be eliminated at all (Question 326)[6].

How much longer, FGC ?

	Anseba	Debub	Gash Barka	Maekel	NRS	SRS	Total
■ below 1 year	16,7%	30,8%	17,6%	29,6%	5,0%	8,8%	13,8%
■ 1 to 2 years	20,0%	7,7%	17,6%	22,2%	23,3%	4,4%	15,5%
■ 2 to 4 years	13,3%	7,7%	20,6%	14,8%	25,0%	35,3%	23,7%
■ 5 to 7 years	13,3%	0,0%	2,9%	11,1%	11,7%	26,5%	14,2%
■ more than 7 years	13,3%	0,0%	17,6%	3,7%	6,7%	22,1%	12,9%
■ cannot be eliminated	10,0%	0,0%	17,6%	3,7%	10,0%	2,9%	7,8%

A select circle of just 311 respondents gave their views on the reasons for the practice of FGC persisting – most of them (55.0%) thought it was due to "cultural background", with "mothers' low educational level" coming second at 37.9% (Question 246/327).

Looking at other cross-tabulations in matters of "Attitudes of Others", there is surprisingly little difference. Sex, age, education seem to hardly change responses. The Tigrigna are a bit better for two of the questions (313, 321) than other ethnic groups. And Muslims are a bit less optimistic as to how fast FGC can be eradicated (326) than Orthodox Christians. But that's it.

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[5] 7.0% of NRS and 1.4% of Maekel respondents (all others: 0.0%) chose answer alternative "4" to this question – in the English questionnaire, this alternative does not exist. MoH please verify.
[6] MoH please verify: there is a 7th answer category in the statistician's cross tabulation which isn't there in the English questionnaire.

Let us turn to the questions of the category "**attitudes and views of self**" next. Questions 304, 306, 308, 309, 312, 314, 315 and 320 are in this, our largest group.

Question 304 asked whether the respondent thought FGC should be continued or discontinued. 88.5% of the total sample's respondents opted for "discontinued". Note that this compares favourably with EPHS 2010, where a national average of 82.2% thought that FGC should be discontinued.
Amongst the zobas, Maekel came first in our mapping with 93.6% opting for discontinuation, and Southern Red Sea was last with 82.2%. The following graph shows the differences between our mapping and EPHS 2010 for women[7].
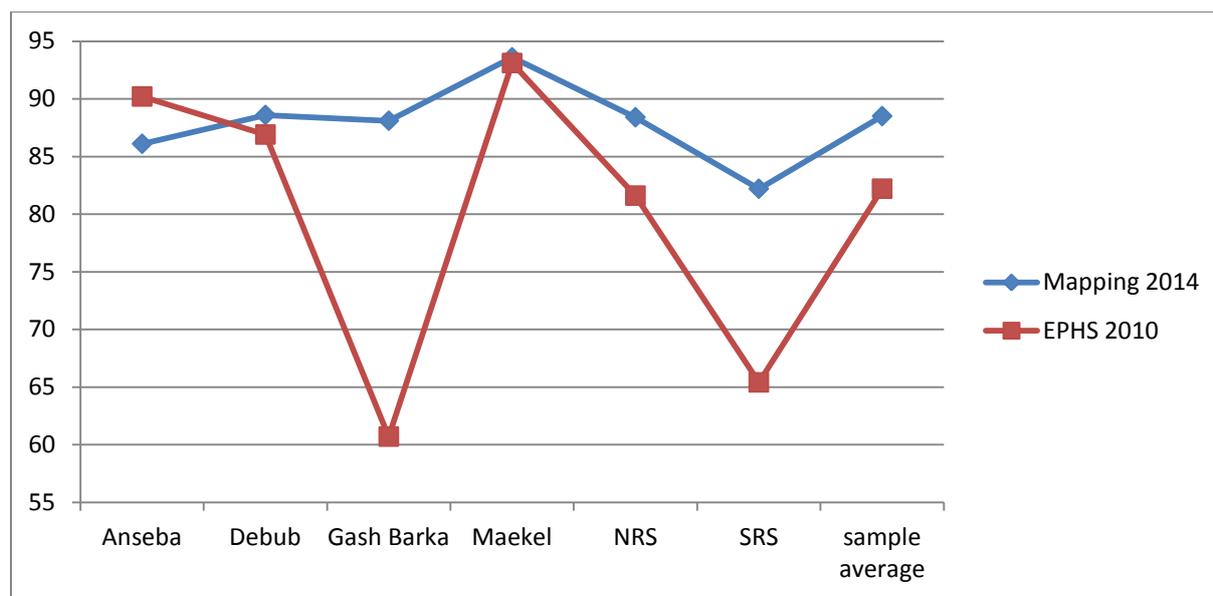
For Maekel, our mapping's respondents were equally inclined towards discontinuation of FGC as in the EPHS 2010. In Anseba a lower percentage of respondents of the mapping favoured discontinuation than in EPHS 2010 – a surprising result, as Anseba's 22 villages had been chosen because they were thought to be close to abandonment. For the remaining zobas, the differences between the two data collections go in the expected sense – the difference being big in Southern Red Sea and very big in Gash Barka.

	Anseba	Debub	Gash Barka	Maekel	NRS	SRS	sample average
Mapping 2014	86,1	88,6	88,1	93,6	88,4	82,2	88,5
EPHS 2010	90,2	86,9	60,7	93,1	81,6	65,4	82,2

Question 306 asked about the benefits of FGC for the cut girls themselves. A list of six alternative answers was offered plus the category "others" plus a category "no benefits"[8]. Multiple answers were possible.
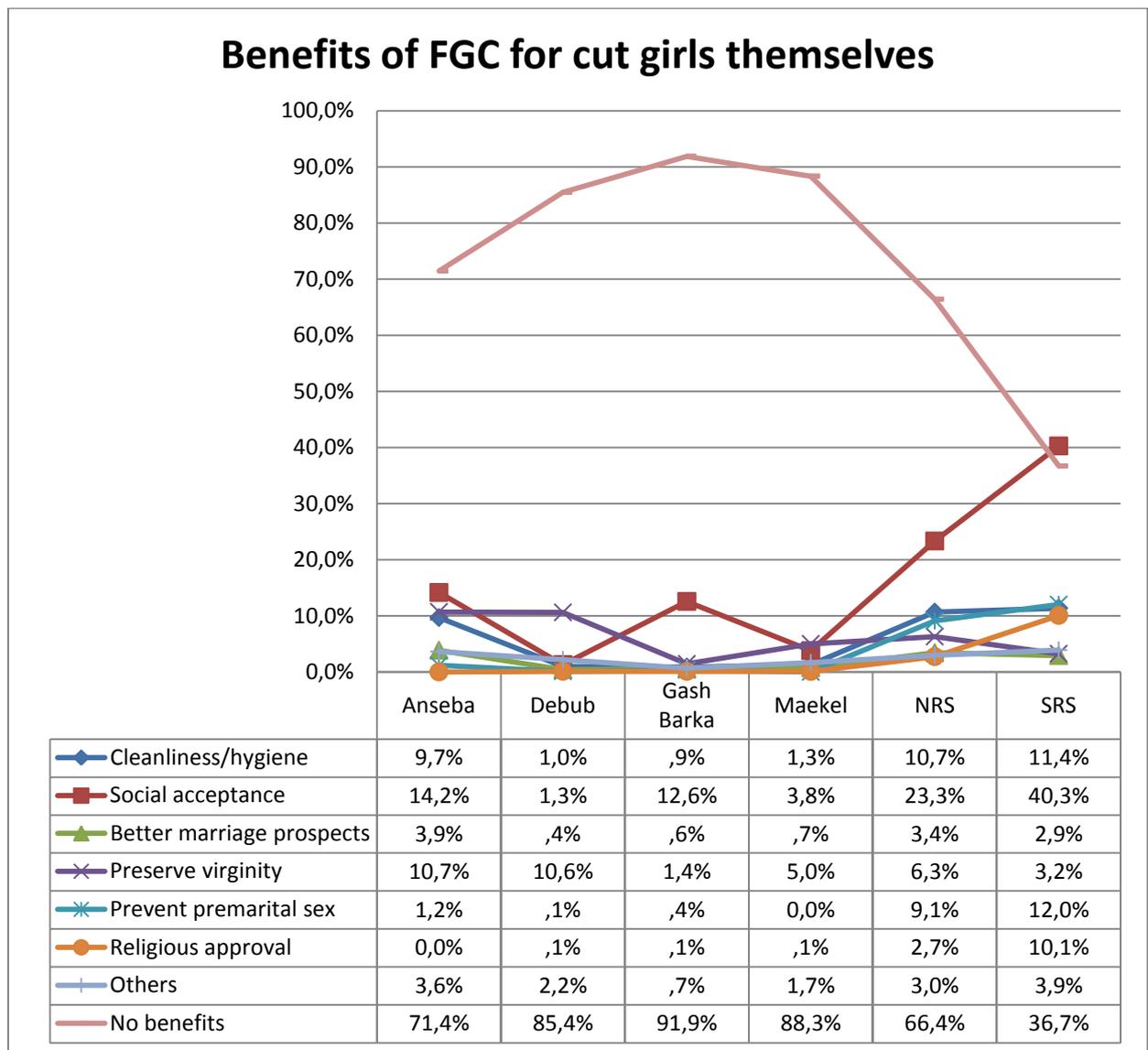77.5% of all respondents chose the alternative "no benefits". Southern Red Sea is the one negative outlier, with only 36.7% seeing no benefits. At the positive end, 91.9% of respondents in Gash Barka, 88.3% in Maekel and 85.4% in Debub saw "no benefits".

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[7] EPHS gives separate values for women and men as to their attitudes towards continuation/discontinuation. Since our sample is very much dominated by women, comparability seems better for EPHS data for women only.
[8] MoH please verify: the statistician's cross tabulation has the mentioned 8 categories – in the English version of the questionnaire, prevention of premarital sex and better marriage prospects together form one category (C)

The sample average percentage choosing "no benefits" is almost the same as the one for women in EPHS 2010 (77.2% – while 81.8% of men saw no benefits). That there is no difference is rather surprising, given that our purposive sampling has selected the communities most advanced towards FGC abandonment. But then knowledge and attitudes are not what matters – it is practice that counts.

Mention of actual benefits in most zobas remains underneath 10%, sometimes going a bit into double digits. The two notable exceptions are Northern and Southern Red Sea where 23.3 respectively 40.3 percent – that is a quarter respectively not far from half – of respondents saw social acceptance as a benefit to girls that undergo FGC.

Benefits of FGC for cut girls themselves

	Anseba	Debub	Gash Barka	Maekel	NRS	SRS
Cleanliness/hygiene	9,7%	1,0%	,9%	1,3%	10,7%	11,4%
Social acceptance	14,2%	1,3%	12,6%	3,8%	23,3%	40,3%
Better marriage prospects	3,9%	,4%	,6%	,7%	3,4%	2,9%
Preserve virginity	10,7%	10,6%	1,4%	5,0%	6,3%	3,2%
Prevent premarital sex	1,2%	,1%	,4%	0,0%	9,1%	12,0%
Religious approval	0,0%	,1%	,1%	,1%	2,7%	10,1%
Others	3,6%	2,2%	,7%	1,7%	3,0%	3,9%
No benefits	71,4%	85,4%	91,9%	88,3%	66,4%	36,7%

Question 308 of the mapping asked whether the respondent or a member of her/his household had opposed the cutting of a female household member. That is a bit of a tricky question, because opposing the practice assumes that someone else wants to perform it. So if nobody wants to cut a girl in the household, then you cannot oppose yourself.

Anyhow, a sample average of 12.7% indicated that they had opposed FGC in their households[9]. Northern Red Sea with 22.7% is the one positive outlier, with the other values ranging from 5.1% in Maekel to 12.5% in Anseba.

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[9] EPHS 2010 is not strictly comparable, question 733 asks of mothers who have at least one daughter cut "Did you or any one object to her being circumcised?" 1.8% of such mothers report having objected themselves, 2.8%

If the answer to question 308 was "no"[10], then question 309 asked "Why not?" and offered a series of alternative answers, similar to those of question 306:

> The culture of the community/nobody could dare say anything against the practice
> Cleanliness/hygiene
> Social acceptance
> Better marriage prospects
> Preserve virginity/prevent premarital sex
> Religious approval
> Other[11]

Multiple answers were, again, possible.

Though not too much should be made of the answers to this question[12], the favourite explanation for not-intervening against FGC clearly seems to be the first one: 13.1% of those that answered the question indicated that it was because of "the culture of the community/nobody could dare say anything against the practice", with the values ranging from 9.1% in Maekel to 16.6% in Southern Red Sea. The only two other two-digit values for this question were for Southern Red Sea also: 15.6% of respondents there cited religious approval and 26.6% social acceptance as reasons for their non-intervention.

Unsurprisingly, almost 100% of our respondents declared that their level of awareness about FGC had improved as a result of anti-FGC campaigns (question 312). The sample average was 98.5%, with a low of 96.5% in Gash Barka and a high of 99.7% in Maekel.

Questions 314 and 315 asked, whether respondents had ever discussed FGC with other household members (314) respectively with friends or relatives or at gatherings or meetings (315). A sample average of 77.7% declared that they had discussed the issue at home, and almost the same number – 76.8% – that they had discussed it elsewhere. The differences between the zobas are significant, ranging from 62.4% in Gash Barka to 89.4% in Debub for the discussions inside the household, and from 61.3% in Gash Barka respectively 62.8% in Southern Red Sea to 90.8% in Debub for discussions elsewhere.

The last question in this category asked about the respondent's level of commitment to FGC abandonment (question 320). Unsurprisingly, answers were very positive: A sample average of 95.3% declared themselves highly committed, with a range from a low of 90.2% in Northern Red Sea to a high of very near unanimous 99.8% in Debub.

Looking at other cross-tabulations in matters of "Attitudes of Self", answers are overall none too distinct for the different categories[13]. Discontinuation of FGC (question 304) is most favoured by Tigrigna (90.8%), Bilen (89.4%) and Tigre (89.1%) while Afar lag somewhat behind (81.3%). Around 90% of 15 to 55 year olds favour discontinuation, while the percentage drops to 80.2% for people aged 55 and above. Education plays some role, with the illiterate trailing a bit behind (84.5%), respondents between the categories "read or write" and "secondary education" all showing values of a bit more than 90% – while only 88.1% of the most educated (tertiary) want the practice to discontinue. Discussions within the household and outside about FGC (questions 314 and 315) have been most held by Bilen (90.8% respectively 90.3%), by men slightly more often than by women, and the more, the more educated (here, respondents with tertiary education thus come top) and by catholic Christians slightly more often than orthodox Christians and least

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report that their husband objected. Overall, 5.0% report that someone objected (though the figures of the different categories add up to 6.0%).

[10] It seems that this was not understood by data collectors. Number of respondents for question 309 is significantly higher than for question 308.

[11] This last category "other" is missing in the MoH statistician's table.

[12] As the question seems to have been administered wrongly. See footnote above respectively data.

[13] Note that I have not received any cross tabulation beyond the zobas for questions 306, 308, 309.

by Muslims at 71.4% respectively 68.5%, while the Christians reach values in the 80s. As to de-clared commitment in matters of FGC abandonment, the Tigrigna come top at 99.0%, women are slightly ahead of men, illiterate respondents are the least enthusiastic (90.2%), respondents with elementary, middle and secondary education declare themselves the most committed (high 90s), people with tertiary education a bit less at 95.2%. The orthodox Christians this time beat the Catholics, with the Muslims behind at still high 91.3%.

The category "**Exposure to anti-FGC activities and Knowledge**" assembles our questionnaires questions number 301, 302, 303, 310, 311, 316).[14]

A sample average of 96.3% has heard of harmful effects of FGC (question 301). Debub is ahead with 99.3%, Northern Red Sea lags somewhat with 93.4%.

Of respondents who had heard of harmful FGC effects, question 303 (though not in the right order) asked to mention these harmful effects, suggesting 6 alternatives[15] and "other", with multiple answers allowed.
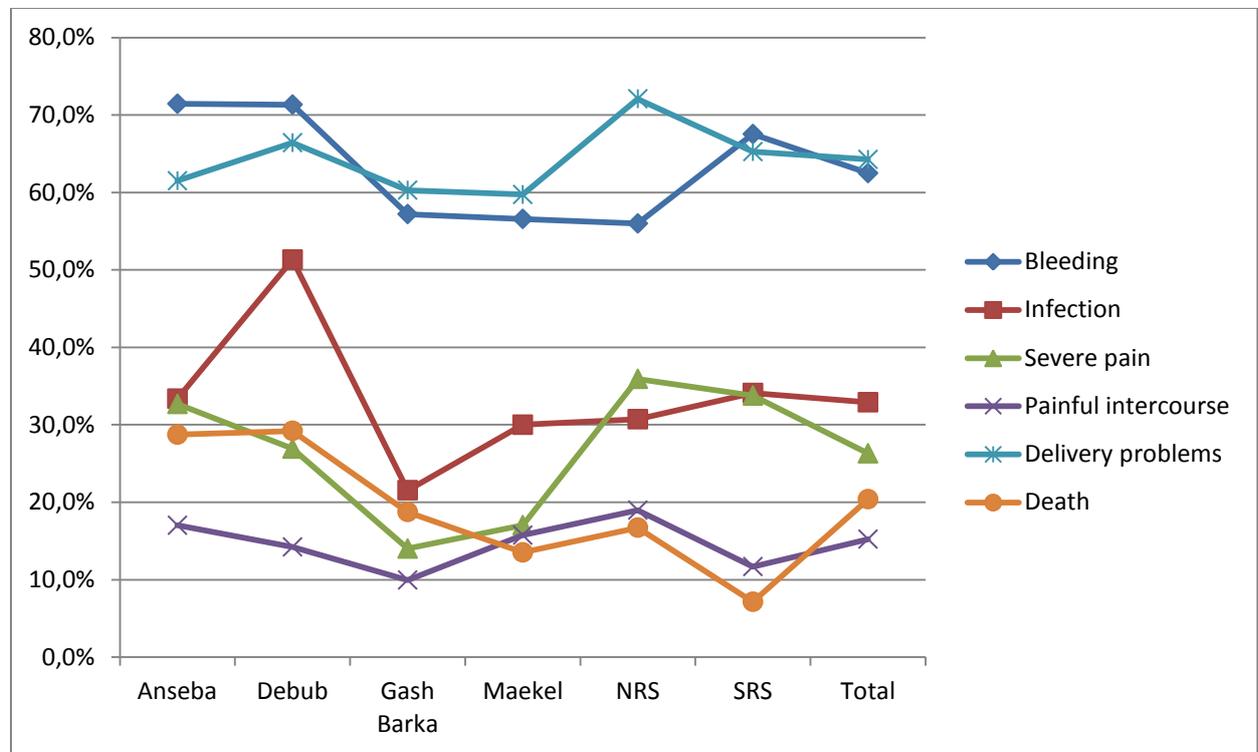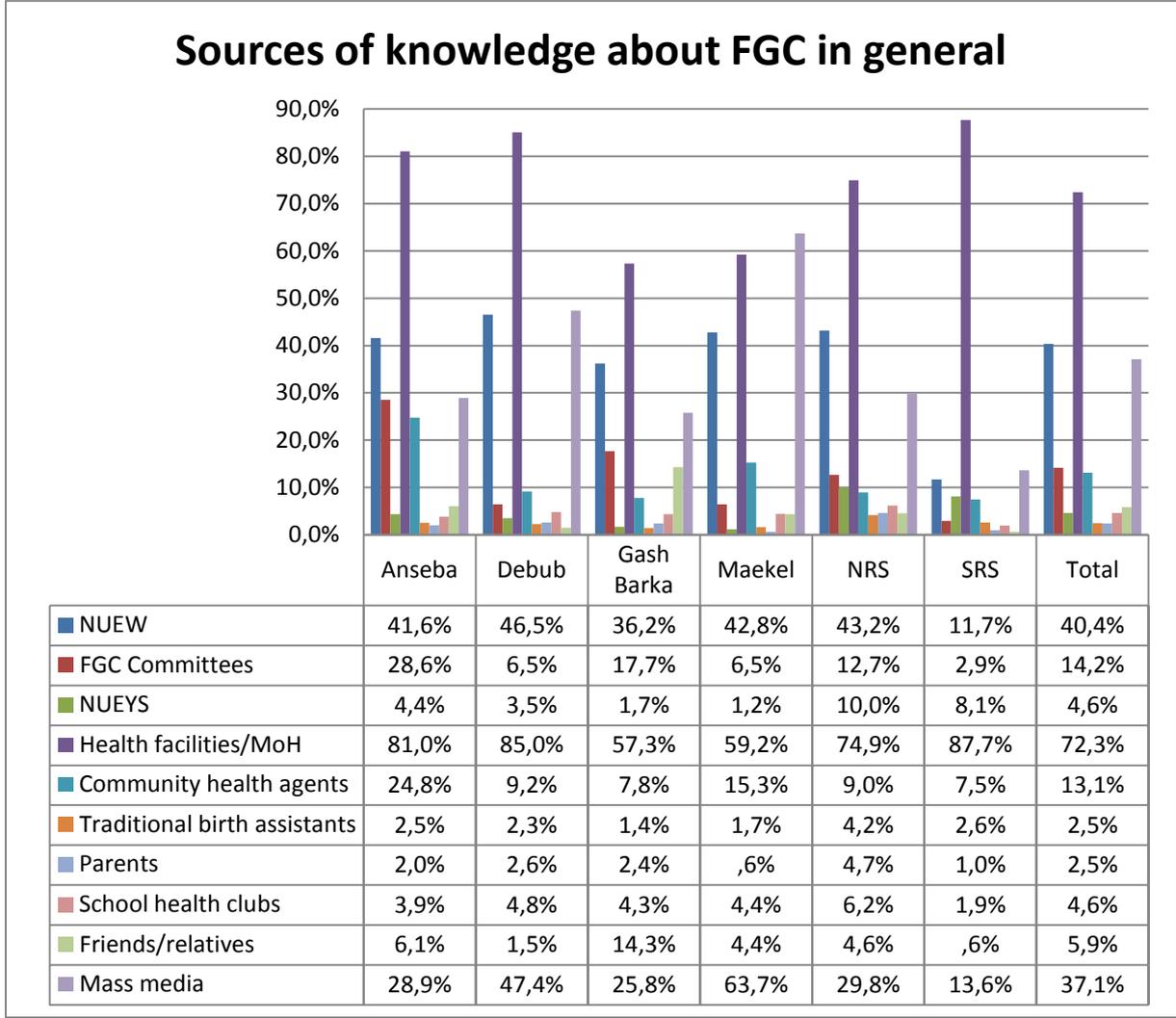

Differences between the zobas are not pronounced. Bleeding and Delivery problems clearly dominate in respondents' minds, while respondents cite painful intercourse, severe pain and death surprisingly seldom.

Question 302 asked after the sources of knowledge of FGC "in general" and gave 10 answer options plus "other", with multiple answers possible. Amongst these sources of knowledge, the health facilities of Eritrea's Ministry of Health clearly came first (72.3% of the sample average), NUEW second (40.4%) and mass media a close third (37.1%), none of the other alternatives top-ping 15%. Variations between zobas were sometimes considerable, with NUEW almost absent as a source of FGC knowledge from Southern Red Sea, the MoH's facilities less dominant in

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[14] The only cross tabulation I have received for this category of questions is the one for the zobas.
[15] MoH please check. In the English questionnaire, there are only 5 alternatives. Also the "shock" in parentheses behind "infection" seems to be mismatched.

Gash Barka (57.3%) and Maekel (59.2%) whilst most dominant in Southern Red Sea (87.7%). FGC committees and community health agents played an above average role in Anseba (28.6% respectively 24.8%). And mass media were the most important source of FGC knowledge in Maekel (63.7%), with Debub (47.4%) also above the national average in this category.

Sources of knowledge about FGC in general

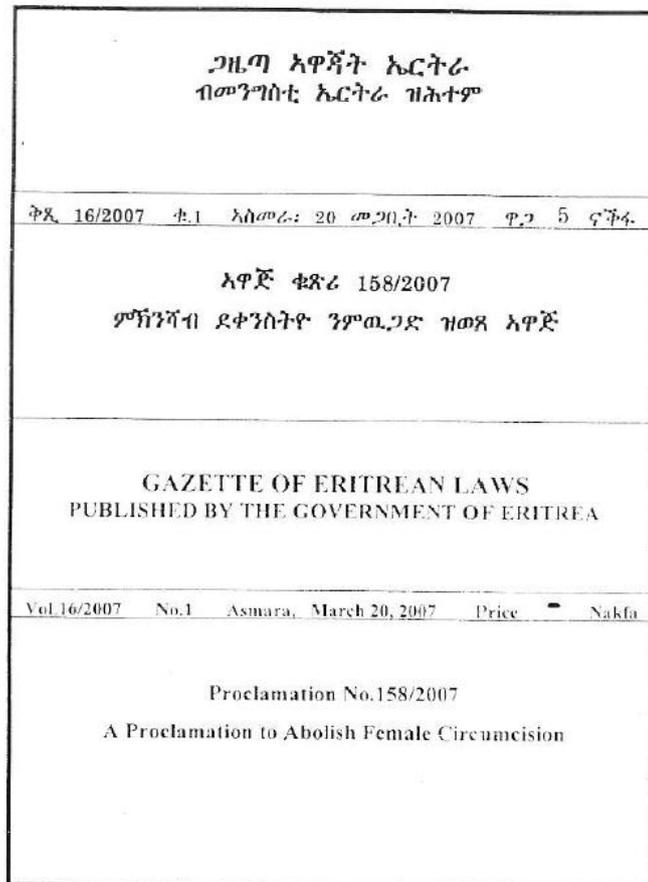|	Anseba	Debub	Gash Barka	Maekel	NRS	SRS	Total
NUEW	41,6%	46,5%	36,2%	42,8%	43,2%	11,7%	40,4%
FGC Committees	28,6%	6,5%	17,7%	6,5%	12,7%	2,9%	14,2%
NUEYS	4,4%	3,5%	1,7%	1,2%	10,0%	8,1%	4,6%
Health facilities/MoH	81,0%	85,0%	57,3%	59,2%	74,9%	87,7%	72,3%
Community health agents	24,8%	9,2%	7,8%	15,3%	9,0%	7,5%	13,1%
Traditional birth assistants	2,5%	2,3%	1,4%	1,7%	4,2%	2,6%	2,5%
Parents	2,0%	2,6%	2,4%	,6%	4,7%	1,0%	2,5%
School health clubs	3,9%	4,8%	4,3%	4,4%	6,2%	1,9%	4,6%
Friends/relatives	6,1%	1,5%	14,3%	4,4%	4,6%	,6%	5,9%
Mass media	28,9%	47,4%	25,8%	63,7%	29,8%	13,6%	37,1%

Question 310 asks whether there have been awareness raising campaigns in respondents' communities. A sample average of 82.8% answers yes, with Northern Red Sea trailing at 68.4%, before Maekel (77.8%) and Gash Barka (79.3%). Southern Red Sea tops all others at 96.6%, followed by Anseba (94.3%) and Debub (93.3%).

This is clearly superior to findings of EPHS 2010 where 58.9% of women aged 15-49 (60.4% in rural areas) reported activities[16] against FGC (no data for men provided), with Anseba clearly ranking first at 85.2% and Maekel last with 41.1%.

Of those who have answered yes to question 310, the following question 311 asks whether they or another member of their household has taken part in at least one of the campaigns. To this, a sample average of 76.9% answers in the affirmative, with Gash Barka recording the lowest value (65.4%) before Northern Red Sea (69.9%) and Maekel (72.1%). Debub here comes first, with 91.4% of attendees, Anseba second at 83.1%, Southern Red Sea third at 78.2%.

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[16] Question 745 of EPHS "Have there been any activities against female circumcision arranged in this area?" differs from the mapping's question that asks after "campaigns". I do not know whether the wording chosen was the same in local languages, it could have some impact on answers.

"Have you ever heard of any messages delinking FGC from your religion by your religious leaders/civil society?" asks question 316. A sample average of only 10.9% answers with "yes", with Southern Red Sea recording the highest value (22.3%) and Debub and Maekel the lowest (8.8% respectively 8.9%).

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GAZETTE OF ERITREAN LAWS
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Proclamation No.158/2007
A Proclamation to Abolish Female Circumcision

We now turn to the last group of questions, dealing with "**The Law/Proclamation and its Enforcement**" (questions 322 through 324).

A sample average of 90.2% knew that there was a Proclamation in Eritrea that bans FGC. Respondents in Debub at 97.1% were best informed about this anti-FGC law, while Gash Barka registered the lowest value with 82.0%.

At first look, the 90.2% does not compare favourably with EPHS 2010 – which found 90.9% of women aged 15-49[17] being aware of the Proclamation (and 83.1% of men aged 15-49). At second look, the mapping's findings are, after all, better than EPHS 2010 – our communities were chosen in rural areas, not towns. And EPHS 2010 indicates that 87.4% of rural women (and 78.9% of rural men) knew of the Proclamation. In EPHS 2010 also, Gash Barka ranked last – with only 75.4% of women interviewed there being aware of the law[18].

I have not received any information or cross tabulation for question 323 – which asked about the respondents' evaluation of the impact of that proclamation on the practice itself, the answer alternatives lying between "it has brought no change" and "it has eliminated the practice".

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[17] Comparability is not strict for this question of age brackets – the mapping's sample has no age limits either side.
[18] 75.6% of men in Gash Barka knew about the law in 2010 according to EPHS. Men in Debub there ranked last (74.1%) while Debub's women at 94.0% were above the national average. Anseba came first with 97.0% of women knowing about the law in EPHS 2010.

Level of enforcement of the Proclamation

	Anseba	Debub	Gash Barka	Maekel	NRS	SRS	Total
high	9,7%	,5%	3,5%	,6%	7,6%	15,7%	5,3%
medium	76,0%	96,0%	74,0%	90,9%	61,9%	8,5%	75,1%
low	1,0%	,5%	11,7%	,4%	8,1%	59,4%	7,3%
not yet enforced	13,3%	3,1%	10,7%	8,0%	22,4%	16,4%	12,3%

Question 324 asked the respondents for their evaluation of the level of enforcement of the proc-lamation in their communities. With four alternative answers being proposed: high – medium – low – not yet enforced. "Medium" very clearly dominates the answers here, with a sample average of 75.1% choosing this option.
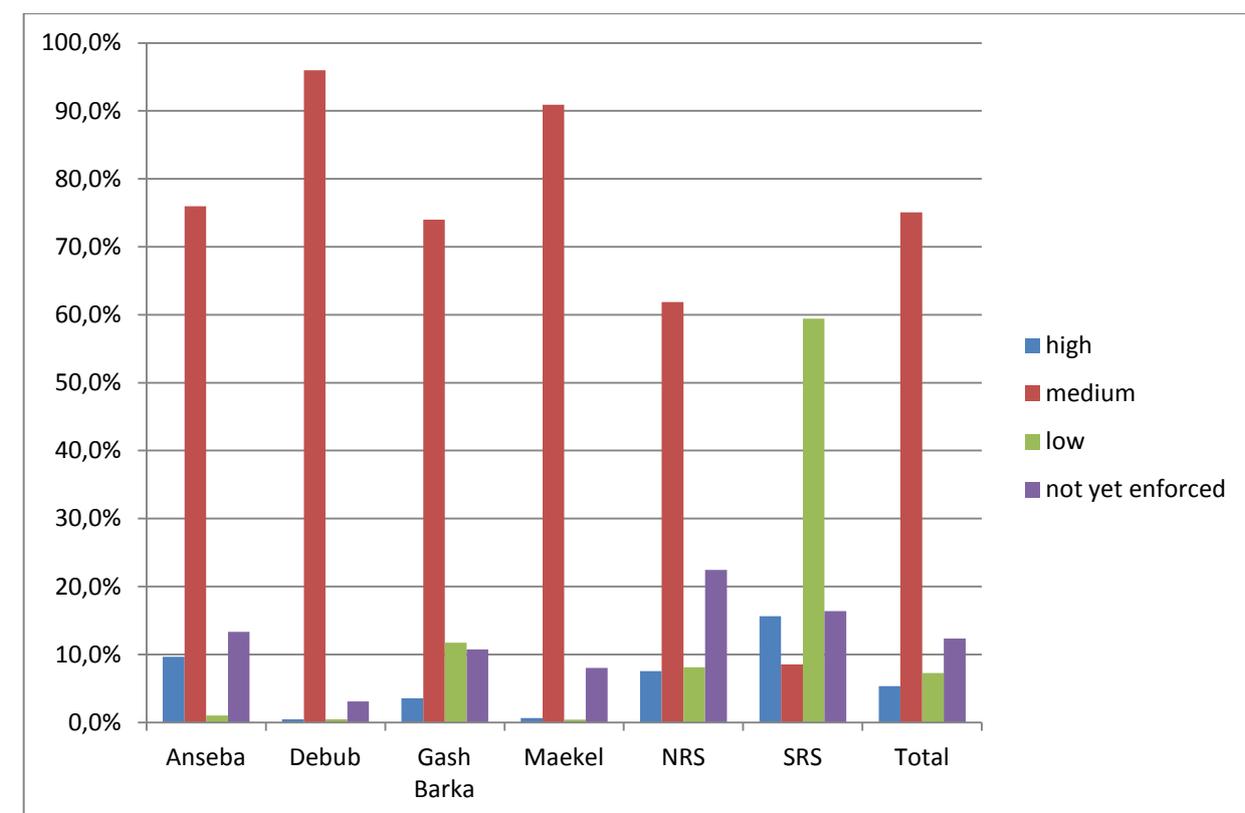
Variation between the zobas was, however considerable. Southern Red Sea opted for "low" (59.4%) and only 8.5% chose "medium". In Debub and Maekel, the medium option attracted 96.0% respectively 90.9% of respondents. Strangely, the clearly higher number of FGC court cases in zoba Anseba seems to not have played any role in respondents' views of the proclama-tion's enforcement level (9.7% high, 76.0% medium, 1.0% low, 13.3% not yet enforced).

Cross tabulation with ethnic belonging shows that 90.3% of Tigrigna evaluate the proclamation's enforcement as "medium", Tigre, Saho, and Bilen at 72.9%, 68.0% and 68.5% respectively – and the Afar at only 29.6%. Concerning knowledge of the proclamation's existence, ethnicity has a rather moderate influence, with Saho having best knowledge (93.8%), closely followed by Tigre (92.9%) and Tigrigna (92.2%). Then come the Afar (84.3%) and Bilen (83.7%).
Men (92.1%) have slightly better knowledge than women (89.9%) about the proclamation's existence, but are slightly more pessimistic as to the level of its enforcement (76.5% of women chose "medium" and only 6.1% "low" for the level of enforcement while it was 66.7% respec-tively 14.0% for the men).

Knowledge about proclamation 158/2007's existence decreases with age, but the differences are not big: 94.3% of under 15-year olds know – while it is only 86.8% for those older than 55. The influence of age on perception of the law's enforcement shows no clear pattern.

Awareness of the anti-FGC law correlates with education: "only" 84.4% of illiterates know, the corresponding percentage for respondents with tertiary education is 95.4%. As to the level of enforcement, education seems to play a secondary role – except that very few respondents with tertiary and secondary education – 1.0% respectively 2.9% – think that the level of enforcement is high; and that "only" 62.6% of illiterates believe that enforcement level is medium and relatively high 18.3% think that it is not yet enforced.

Influence of religion on awareness of the proclamation's existence is small. Christians (orthodox 92.6% and catholics 92.9%) are slightly more knowledgeable than Muslims (88.3%) in this respect. Opinions about the level of enforcement vary in a more complex way.
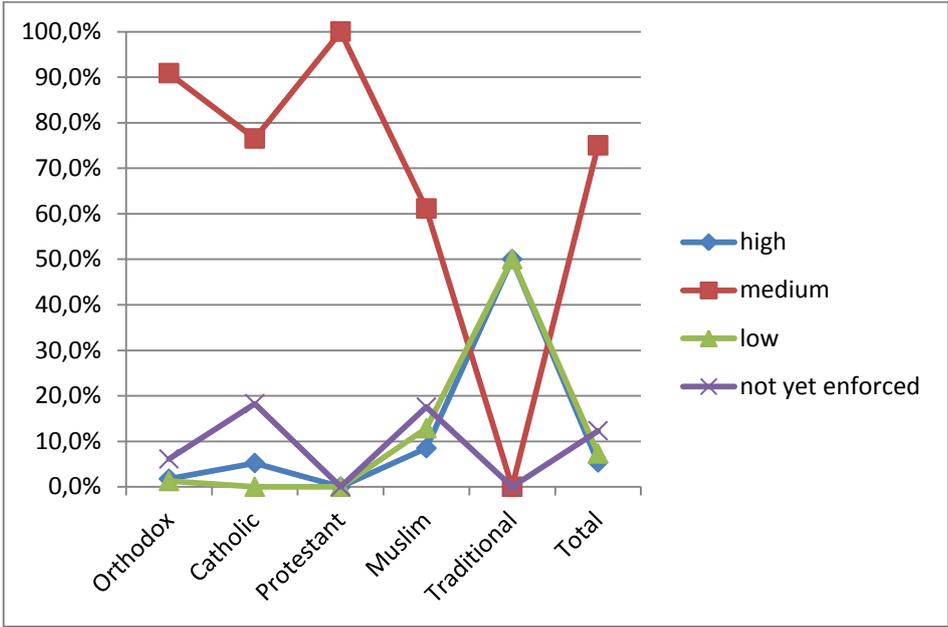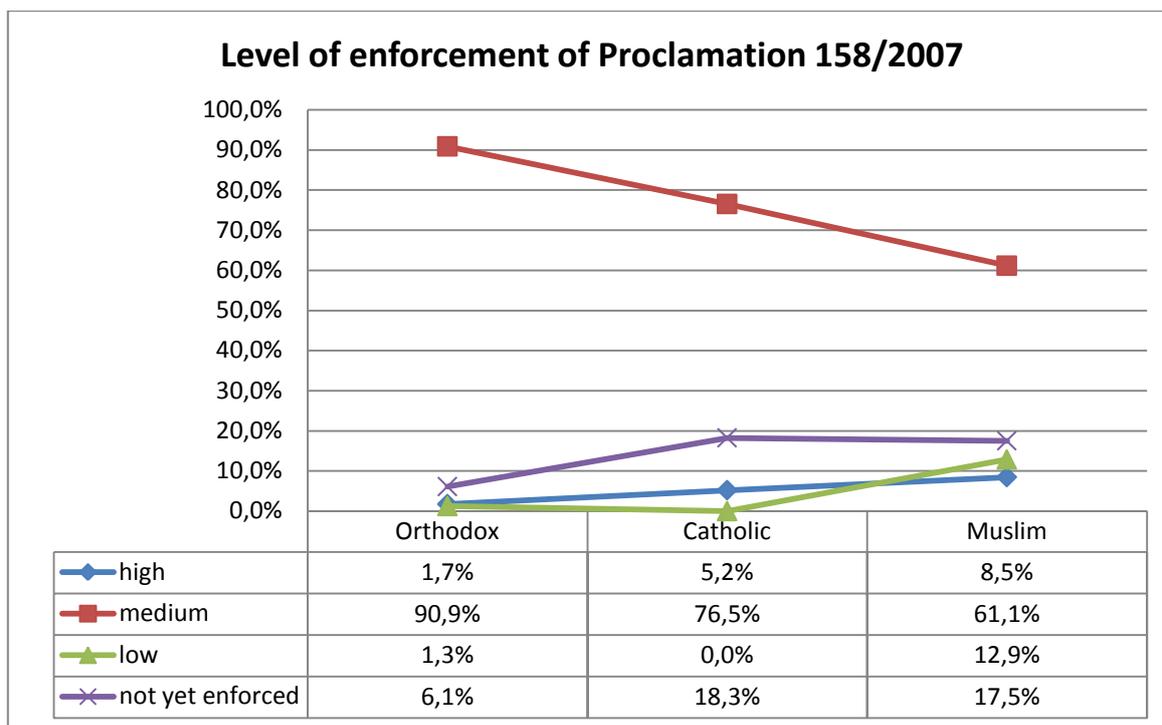

Christians have chosen the "medium" level of enforcement more than Muslims: 90.9% for the Orthodox and still 76.5% for the Catholics vis-à-vis 61.1% for the Muslims.

Look at the following table with the absolute numbers of the respondents in the different categories.

	Orthodox	Catholics	Protestants	Muslims	Traditional believers	Total
high – absolute number	**40**	**6**	**0**	**224**	**1**	271
high	1,7%	5,2%	0,0%	8,5%	50,0%	5,4%
medium – absolute number	**2081**	**88**	**14**	**1616**	**0**	3799
medium	90,9%	76,5%	100,0%	61,1%	0,0%	75,0%
low – absolute number	**29**	**0**	**0**	**340**	**1**	370
low	1,3%	0,0%	0,0%	12,9%	50,0%	7,3%
not yet enforced – absolute number	**140**	**21**	**0**	**463**	**0**	624
not yet enforced	6,1%	18,3%	0,0%	17,5%	0,0%	12,3%

It becomes evident that Protestants and Traditional believers are far too few to be statistically representative in any way (even the Catholics are not many). Which means that the above graph simplifies to the following.

Level of enforcement of Proclamation 158/2007

	Orthodox	Catholic	Muslim
high	1,7%	5,2%	8,5%
medium	90,9%	76,5%	61,1%
low	1,3%	0,0%	12,9%
not yet enforced	6,1%	18,3%	17,5%

This brings our short overview of the mapping's statistical findings to an end.

Concluding the second, statistical part

As a transition to the Village Rating part of this paper, part 3, let me conclude this second part with some remarks on the chosen parts of the answers to the questions of the community mapping selected for the Rating, stating the range of answers to each question, the sample average and the standard deviation (here, again, the skipped questions distort). As usual, I'll proceed by the six categories of questions.

Practice of cutting & clinical observation (307, 325, 247/328)

(307: How many girls members of the household under 15 years of age are cut?)

Question 307 Average number of cut girls under age 5 per household: villages range from 0.00 to 0.75, sample average: 0.17, standard deviation: 0.17.

(325: Do you believe that FGM is still practiced in your community in secret?)

Question 325 Percentage "yes": villages range from 0.0% to 69.0%, sample average: 5.0%, standard deviation: 9.05%.

(247/328: Do you agree to a physical check-up of your under five year old daughter by health personnel in a health facility as to whether she is cut or not?)

Question 247/328 Percentage "yes": villages range from 23.8% to 100.0%, sample average: 88.9%, standard deviation: 23.8%.

Attitude & Views of self (304, 306, 308, 309, 312, 314, 315, 320)

(304: Do you think that this practice should be continued, or should it be discontinued?)

Question 304 Percentage "continue": villages range from 0.0% to 63.2%, sample average 11.5%, standard deviation 12.05%.

(306: What benefits do you think girls themselves get if they undergo genital cutting?)

Question 306 Percentage "no benefit": villages range from 1.6% to 100.0%, sample average: 77.5%, standard deviation 27.26%.

(308: Have you or any household member opposed the cutting of a girl of your household?)

Question 308 Percentage "yes": villages range from 0.0% to 100.0%, sample average: 12.7%, standard deviation: 17.96%.

(309: Why not?)

Question 309 was not exploitable for the Rating.

(312: Do you think that your level of awareness about FGC has improved as a result of these campaigns against FGC?)

Question 312 Percentage "yes": villages range from 57.1% to 100.0%, sample average: 98.5%, standard deviation: 7.55%.

(314: Have you ever discussed the consequences of FGC with members of your household?)

Question 314 Percentage "yes": villages range from 14.3% to 100.0%, sample average: 77.7%, standard deviation: 23.96%.

(315: Have you ever discussed the consequences of FGC with friends/relatives or in gatherings/meetings?)

Question 315 Percentage "yes": villages range from 0.0% to 100.0%, sample average: 76.8%, standard deviation: 26.22%.

(320: How do you rate the level of your commitment to abandon FGC?)

Question 320 Percentage "low": villages range from 0.0% to 25.0%, sample average: 0.5%, standard deviation: 4.42%.

Attitude & Views of others (305, 313, 321, 326, 246)

(305: Do members of your community think FGC should be continued or discontinued?)

Question 305 Percentage "discontinued": villages range from 43.5% to 100.0%, sample average: 89.5%, standard deviation: 13.36%.

(313: Do you think people in your area are starting to be convinced about the health, physical, and psychological problems of FGC as a result of these awareness programs?)

Question 313 Percentage "yes": villages range from 42.9 to 100.0%, sample average 94.1%, standard deviation: 11.96%.

(321: How do you rate the level of commitment of your community to abandon FGC?)

Question 321 Percentage "low": villages range from 0.0% to 100.0%, sample average 1.0%, standard deviation: 11.64%.

(326a: How long do you think this practice will stay in your community?

Question 326a Percentage "less than 1 year": villages range from 0.0% to 100.0%, sample average: 13.8%, standard deviation: 30.27%.

(326b: How long do you think this practice will persist in your community?

Question 326b Percentage "cannot be eliminated"+"more than 7 years": villages range from 0.0% to 30.2%, sample average: 0.8%, standard deviation: 3.30%.

(246/327: What are the main factors that contribute to the persistence/non-eradication of the practice?)

Question 246/327 was not exploitable for the Rating.

Exposure to anti-FGM-C-activities (302, 310, 311, 316) and Knowledge (301, 303)

(301: Have you ever heard of any harmful effects of FGC in general?)

Question 301 Percentage "yes": villages range from 10.0% to 100.0%, sample average 96.3%, standard deviation: 10.06%

(302: How did you happen to know about FGC in general?)

Question 302 was not exploitable for the Rating.

(303: If yes (that you have heard of harmful effects), can you mention them?)

Question 303 Percentage of at least three harmful effects cited: villages range from 0.0% to 88.5%, sample average 31.1%, standard deviation: 23.31%.

(310: Have there been any awareness raising campaigns about FGC in your community?)

Question 310 Percentage "yes": villages range from 20.0% to 100.0%, sample average 82.8%, standard deviation: 19.23%.

(311: Have you or any household member participated in any of the campaigns against FGC in your community?)

Question 311 Percentage "yes": villages range from 29.4% to 100.0%, sample average 76.9%, standard deviation: 17.10%.

(316: Have you ever heard of a messages delinking FGC from your religion by your religious leaders/civil society?)

Question 316 Percentage "yes": villages range from 0.0% to 56.5%, sample average 10.9%, standard deviation: 10.18%.

The Law (Proclamation) and its enforcement (322-324)

(322: Do you know that there is proclamation in Eritrea that bans FGC?)

Question 322 Percentage "yes": villages range from 30.4% to 100.0%, sample average 90.2%, standard deviation: 13.10%.

(323: How do you see the impact of the proclamation on the practice of FGC in your community?)

Question 323 Percentage "It has reduced is somewhat"+"It has eliminated the practice" (A+B): villages range from 27.4% to 100.0%, sample average 83.9%, standard deviation: 17.06%.

(324: How do you rate the level of enforcement of the proclamation in your community?)

Question 324 Percentage "low"+"not yet enforced"+"I don't know" (3+4+X): villages range from 0.0% to 100.0%, sample average 19.6%, standard deviation: 31.40%.

Collective Abandonment (317-319)

(Has your community made a collective decision or declaration in a large public gathering to abandon FGC?)

Question 317 Percentage "yes": villages range from 0.0% to 100.0%, sample average 54.5%, standard deviation: 30.63%.

(Have you participated in this gathering?)

Question 318 Percentage "yes": villages range from 25.0% to 100.0%, sample average 77.3%, standard deviation: 20.25%.

(How do you rate the level of interest of the participants on the issue of the declaration?)

Question 319 Percentage "low": villages range from 0.0% to 25.0%, sample average 0.5%, standard deviation: 3.63%.

Eritrea's FGC Community Mapping 3. The Village Rating
Eritrea's Model for Determining Readiness for FGC Abandonment

NB: This model is an intermediary product – the village rating model – that needs a multi-pronged reality check plus fine-tuning before being ready for validation.

Günther Lanier, 7th September 2014

One Page Résumé

Résumé - Intro:

In 2014, Eritrea (its Ministry of Health) conducted a "Community Mapping" in 110 villages of its 6 zobas to advance its anti-FGC activities. The main objective of the exercise was to find "scientific" ways of deciding whether a village or community is ready for FGC abandonment.

Résumé - The proposed solution:

Based on the data collected, a **very simple model** is proposed:

$$RPD_{FGC} = \sum(SI_i * w_i),$$
$$\text{where } SI = \sum(a_j - b_j) * w_j$$

where RPD_{FGC} means Index of Readiness for Public Declaration of FGC abandonment
SI means Subindex
w means weight
with $1 \leq i \geq 6$ for our six categories
a = answer value (to be equipped with a negative sign if it is something to be avoided)
b = benchmark (to be equipped with a negative sign if it is something to be avoided)
With $1 \leq j \geq$ number of answers chosen in each of the six categories

An easy-to-handle one-page excel table has been created, based on this model. To decide whether a village/community is ready for abandonment, the user needs to feed the data collected in the targeted community into the framed boxes of the excel table – out comes the rating value: positive means "**ready for abandonment**", negative means "**not ready**" (with a large positive rating value meaning "very ready" and a large negative value meaning "far from ready").

Résumé – The Way Forward

This model now needs inputs/feedback from experts closer to Eritrean community reality than an international expert. **Its components (questions chosen, weights attached, basic assumptions) and its results need a rigorous reality check**. With other words: Does the construction of the model correspond to Eritrean real life? And secondly: Do the model's results reflect Eritrean FGC reality, i.e. are the 110 villages rated in a more or less correct order?
This multi-pronged reality check **can** lead to the realisation that the model is useless, does not yield useful results and needs simply to be discarded. **Or** that the idea is basically sound, but that various components need to be changed. **Or** (highly improbable) that it is perfect as it is.
For future use (if the decision is taken to continue with the proposed model), the questionnaire for data collection will need to be adapted. The model presented here has made do with available material, i.e. the data already collected before arrival of the international expert. Some questions can be improved by slight changes, others will need to be replaced (for example the one whether a public declaration has already been made).

IN SUM: Quite a lot of work remains to be done.

Eritrea's FGC Community Mapping 3.
The Village Rating/Long Version
Eritrea's Model for Determining Readiness for FGC Abandonment

NB: This model is an intermediary product, the village rating model, that needs a multi-pronged reality check plus fine-tuning before being ready for validation.

Günther Lanier, 4th September 2014

(This is the last part of a trilogy – titled "*Eritrea's FGC Community Mapping*". Parts 1 and 2, called "*The Data Collection*" and "*Data Interpretation*" – deal with how the data for the FGC abandonment rating were obtained and take a short interpretative look at these data.)

Contents

Introduction: the objective

Objective: The community mapping/data collection was first and foremost meant to help us explore the possibilities for a "scientific" foundation for knowing whether a community is ready for collective abandonment and whether it makes sense for this community to make a public declaration or a solemn collective promise of abandonment.
NB: Such a promise must be kept. If you can renege on it afterwards, if you can break the promise and get away with it, then such a public declaration, such a promise can do more harm than good.
So we need to be careful. Better too careful than too much in a hurry.
And one more warning before we start: Let us not forget that we are dealing with answers of community members to questions put by a stranger. The respondent may be trying to say what she or he thinks the data collector wants to hear, she or he may be trying to look as if she or he conformed to Eritrea's laws and proclamations – or to what all the others of his or her particular community think good and valid. So let us remain sceptical.

What's a model?

A model is like a machine, like a mill, like a mincer: you feed in the necessary ingredients – and, magically, at the other end, out comes the product you want. So the machine we want will feed on answers to questions put by our data collectors in the field. The machine/model processes these inputs. And gives us the results:

- **Village A is ready for abandonment;**
- **Village B is not ready;**
- **Village C is almost ready;**
- **Village D is far from ready.**

A model can also disguise itself as an Excel table – for this, see below.
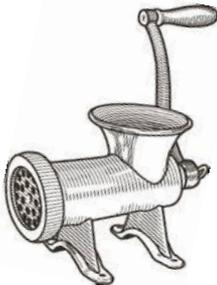
All you need to do is:

You put in the data …
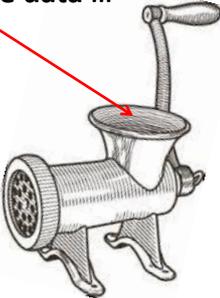
You turn the handle …
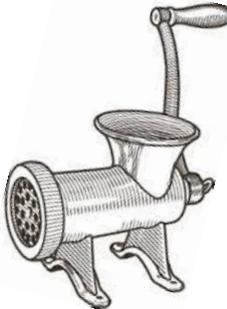
And out comes the verdict:

Or:
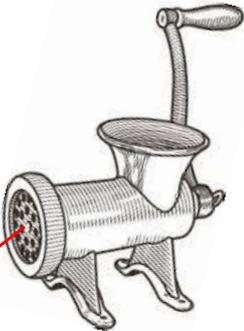
Yes, ready !
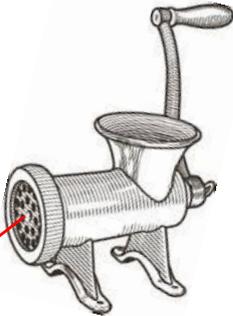
No, sorry ! Try again next year

Let us state a few obvious things about our machine:

- Our model is good and valid if the results it gives are good representations of reality.
- The less mistakes our model makes, the better.
- If the model discards villages that are in reality ready for promising to abandon FGC, then that is bad.
- If the model declares a village ready for abandonment and the village is not ready, then this is even worse. Because when it gets known that the promise has been broken, that people continue underground to cut their daughters, the credibility of those who promised takes a severe blow. And the method, the practice of promising such FGC abandonment will suffer, will lose its credibility.

*We have a problem: **there wasn't a control sample**.*
*With other words, **the mapping has only looked at the best villages**. And **we don't know how they differ from the average or the worst**.*

Can we get out of that conundrum?

We could try drawing from other sources, e.g. Eritrea's EPHS 2010. Unfortunately the questions were not exactly the same. And, more importantly, the EPHS data we have do not reach down below zoba level …

So unless we repeat the whole mapping exercise for the control sample, we'll have to make do with what we have.

But we need to be aware that this is a serious handicap (the reality checks should thus be all the more rigorous – see below).

Take a threshold…

For constructing our machine, the easiest is to take the questions and the respondents' answers to them and fix a threshold beyond which a community or village is declared "ready for abandonment".

Eritrean Airlines, to take an example from an entirely different field, decided to hire cabin personnel only if they are taller than 1.75 metres. The threshold is 1.75 metres – if you reach it or are taller, you are in; if you don't, you are out.

But size is, of course, not the only criterion that Eritrean uses for selecting its cabin personnel. Other criteria apply on top of that.

In the context of our FGC mapping, you can fix thresholds for all the questionnaire's questions, and then decide whether you want all of the thresholds fulfilled. Or a certain percentage. You can weight the questions according to their perceived importance …

Let us talk fundamentals first. Once that's done, then we can adjust the little levers and fiddle with the small cogs of the works.

Logical deduction?

The best machine would be **fuelled by logic and deduction**: From our data collection, we know x and y and z. And from x and y and z, we infer/we conclude logically that the village we are investigating is ready to abandon FGC.

If – just as a hypothetical example – 96% of the statistically relevant respondents in our village[19] say that, after plenty of discussions in the village community, they have decided to not cut any of their girls any longer, and that they have put in place a committee that is to watch over this not happening, and that everyone has been told that they would be denounced, ostracised and punished if they cut a girl – then we can say with a very high degree of certainty that the village is ready for abandonment.

Because the remaining 4% would not stand a chance, they'd have to follow suit.

We should now look at the questions and, more so, the answers in our mapping questionnaire (see the English version of the questionnaire) and determine which are necessary and sufficient conditions for a village/community to be ready for abandonment of FGC.

We need to discard knowledge, awareness, views, opinions. We know that they don't count[20], not "really": you can be absolutely against FGC – and still do it (e.g. because you don't want to diminish your daughter's marriage prospects in an environment where men want their wives to be virgins and they believe that infibulation is the only guarantee for this; or because you don't want to bring shame onto your family).

You can have participated in many sensitisation activities –you may even have become knowledgeable in matters of FGC – and still you may persevere.

Then there is the law (proclamation 158/2007). And there is fear of the law. Because it is not a dead letter. It is implemented. Contraveners are known to have been punished. But fear of the proclamation and the punishment it promises may not stop people from doing – it may only stop them from saying that they are doing.

What counts is practice.

There are questions 317 through 319 which beg our mapping's big question. Because if a community has already made a public declaration of FGC abandonment, then why try to find out if it is ready for one. If we were to find that it is not – the harm would already have been done.

Finally, there are questions 247, 307 and 325: How many girls below of the age of 15 living in your household have been cut (and the answers specify the age ranges of these cut girls)? Is FGC still practiced in your community in secret? Do you agree to have medical personnel check whether your under five year old girls have undergone FGC?

So can we feed our machine on answers to questions 247, 307 and 325? If no or almost no girls in the community have been cut in the – say – last five years. If FGC is not practiced underground. If all declare that the medical check is ok with them. Then can we not deduce logically that the village/community is ready for abandonment and a festive public promise to never do it again?

Well, in theory, yes – but …

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[19] I have chosen the value of 96% to be on the entirely safe side. In terms of the Social Norms Theory, at 96%, the tipping point has long been reached since the decision to abandon is out in the open.
[20] I do not at all mean to say that they are not important – quite the contrary. And the same holds for sensitisation. But all of them **don't prove** readiness for abandonment – they are **neither necessary nor sufficient conditions**.

There is a problem with the answers collected – as there frequently is when we collect data by means of questionnaires and data collectors. And the problem is a serious one: We know that people often do not tell the truth.

And we do not know how much "**lying**" there is: we know that quite a few respondents have not told the truth but rather what the law prescribes or what they believe that the data collector wants to hear. It will be difficult under these circumstances to decide the cut-off-line: What thresholds should we fix for a village to be certified ready for FGC abandonment?
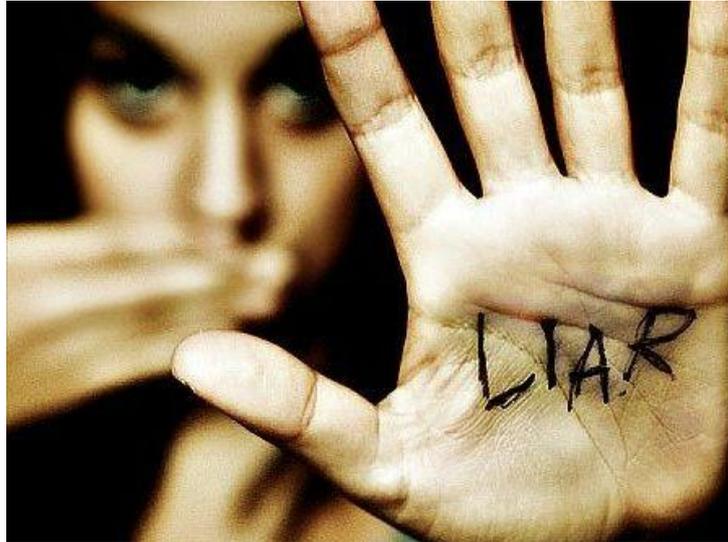
The ideal would be a model based on strict logic where data collected proved beyond any doubt or with a reasonably small margin of possible error that the village is ready for abandonment. Pity about the "lying".

… so let us turn the problem upside down

But maybe – as a second-best – we can turn the problem upside-down: if, for some village, we know that it is ready to abandon, then let us look at the data of that village and let us make that village the example to follow.

With other words: a village or community that is equal (or better) to that model village – model in the sense of being ready for abandonment –, then that village can also be considered ready for abandonment. Seen from this angle, all of a sudden we can take the answers **at face value**.

We are assuming, in doing so, that the **proportion of lies** is similar in different villages.

We need to ponder this. Will an Afar woman in a remote village of the Southern Red Sea be comparably likely to lie to a data collector as a Bilen man in Keren or a Tigrigna youth in a village a few km outside Asmara?

And there may also be other differences that could disturb this simple equation. For example: does religion or ethnic belonging influence the results/the data collected?

The rightness of our model will depend on the answers to these questions.

The big question is: What do we take as our standard?

We could take the average of all the mapping villages.

Or we could take a specific village or a group of villages for which we are reasonably certain that they are ready.

For the sub-zoba **Logo Anseba** in Gash Barka, the Eritrean Ministry of Health is planning a Public Declaration of FGC abandonment on 6th of February 2015. There are five villages from that sub-zoba in our mapping. Can we not take them for a model?

Exploiting our data: towards the model, step by step

Data collection in the 110 villages has yielded a substantial amount of information (see the separate paper "*Eritrea's FGC Community Mapping. The Data Collection*" for how this happened). We need to first structure these data to better be able to handle them.

The quantitative questionnaire contained 36 questions (see the questionnaire). Eight of these questions were demographic/established the respondents' background.

For the remaining 24 questions, to make them more manageable, let us assemble them:

The six categories of questions:
- Practice of cutting & clinical observation (307, 325, 247[21])
- Attitude & Views of self (304, 306, 308, 309, 312, 314, 315, 320)
- Attitude & Views of others (305, 313, 321, 326, 246)
- Exposure to anti-FGM-C-activities (302, 310, 311, 316) and Knowledge (301, 303)
- The Law (Proclamation) and its enforcement (322-324)
- Collective Abandonment (317-319)

(See the annex for the complete list of questions put into the six categories)

A schematic drawing of our query gives us the following (where "CP" at the centre stands for "Community Promise")
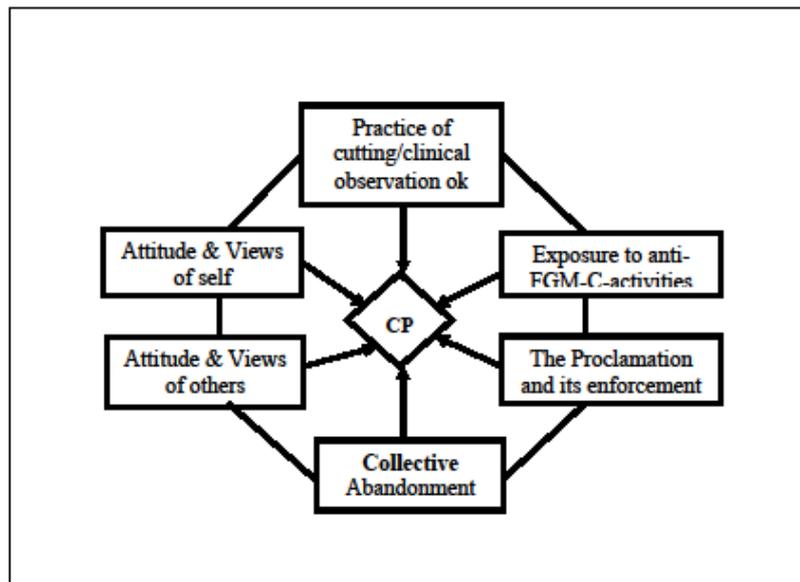
For a complete version of the same schema including all the questions assigned to the six categories, see the following page:

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[21] The numbering of the questions follows the English version of the questionnaire put at my disposal (see annexed document). Note that the Tigrigna version numbered question 247 as "328" and question 246 as "327". This is also the numbering used for the raw data Access-tables and the Excel tables processed by the MoH statistician.

307 How many female children members of the households age ≤15 years old are circumcised?
325 Do you believe that FGM/C is still practices in your community in secret manner ?
247 Do you agree for physical check-up of your under five daughter whether or not circumcised by health personnel in health facility settings?

304 Do you think that this practice should be continued, or should it be discontinued?
306 What benefits do you think girls themselves get if they undergo genital cutting?
308 Have you or any member of the HH opposed to the circumcision of any female member of your household?
309 Why not?
312 Do you think that your level of awareness about female circumcision has improved as a result of these campaigns against female circumcision?
314 Have you ever discussed the consequences of female circumcision with members of your household?
315 Have you ever discussed the consequences of female circumcision with friends/relatives or in any gatherings/meetings?
320 How do you rate the level of your commitment to abandon female circumcision?

301 Have you ever heard of any harmful effects of female circumcision in general?
302 How did you happen to know about Female Circumcision in general?
303 If yes (that you have heard of harmful effects), can you mention them?
310 Have there been any awareness raising campaigns about FGM/C arranged in your community?
311 Have you or any member of your household participated in any of the campaigns against female circumcision in your community?
316 Have you ever heard of any messages delinking FGM/C from your religion by your religious leaders /civil society?

Practice of cutting/clinical observation ok

Attitude & Views of self

Exposure to anti-FGM-C-activities

CP

Attitude & Views of others

The Proclamation and its enforcement

Collective Abandonment

305 Do members of your community think female circumcision should be continued or discontinued?
313 Do you think people in your area are starting to be convinced about the health, physical, and psychological problems of female circumcision as a result of these awareness programs?
321 How do you rate the level of commitment of your community to abandon female circumcision?
326 How long do you think this practice will stay in your community?
246 What are the main factors that contribute to the long stay or non-stop of the practice?

322 Do you know that there is proclamation in Eritrea that bans female circumcision?
323 How do you see the impact of the proclamation on the practice of Female Circumcision in your community?
324 How do you rate the level of enforcement of the proclamation in your community?

317 Has your community made any collective decision or declaration in a large public gathering to abandon female circumcision?
318 Have you participated in this gathering?
319 How do you rate the level of interest of the participants on the issue of the declaration?

Handout schema

Then comes the choice of those parts of the respondents' answers that are most pertinent for our question of "Ready vs. Not Ready for FGC abandonment"

We are now coming to the essential components of our machine/model: the **indicators**. They are sort of our detectors of readiness of FGC abandonment, devices that are to indicate the village's hidden qualities.

So, on the basis of the information the data collection has yielded, here is the list of indicators, put into the six categories, that I suggest for our model *(in brackets & italics the wording of the questions the answers refer to)*:

Practice of cutting & clinical observation (307, 325, 247)
307 Average number of cut girls under age 5 per household
(How many female children members of the households age ≤15 years old are circumcised?)
325 Percentage yes
(Do you believe that FGM is still practices in your community in secret manner?)
247 Percentage yes
(Do you agree for physical check-up of your under five daughter whether or not circumcised by health personnel in health facility settings?)

Attitude & Views of self (304, 306, 308, 309, 312, 314, 315, 320)
304 Percentage continue
(Do you think that this practice should be continued, or should it be discontinued?)
306 Percentage no benefits (Y)
(What benefits do you think girls themselves get if they undergo genital cutting?)
308 Percentage yes
(Have you or any member of the HH opposed to the circumcision of any female member of your household?)
312 Percentage yes
(Do you think that your level of awareness about female circumcision has improved as a result of these campaigns against female circumcision?)
314 Percentage yes
(Have you ever discussed the consequences of female circumcision with members of your household?)
315 Percentage yes
(Have you ever discussed the consequences of female circumcision with friends/relatives or in any gatherings/meetings?)
320 Percentage "low"
(How do you rate the level of your commitment to abandon female circumcision?)

Attitude & Views of others (305, 313, 321, 326, 246)
305 Percentage "discontinue"
(Do members of your community think female circumcision should be continued or discontinued?)
313 Percentage yes
(Do you think people in your area are starting to be convinced about the health, physical, and psychological problems of female circumcision as a result of these awareness programs?)
321 Percentage "low"
(How do you rate the level of commitment of your community to abandon female circumcision?)
326a Percentage <1 year
(How long do you think this practice will stay in your community?)
326b Percentage "cannot be eliminated" + ">7 years"
(How long do you think this practice will stay in your community?)

Exposure to anti-FGM-C-activities (302, 310, 311, 316) and Knowledge (301, 303)
301 Percentage yes
(Have you ever heard of any harmful effects of female circumcision in general?)
303 Percentage of at least three harmful effects cited
(If yes (that you have heard of harmful effects), can you mention them?)
310 Percentage yes
(Have there been any awareness raising campaigns about FGM/C arranged in your community?)
311 Percentage yes
(Have you or any member of your household participated in any of the campaigns against female circumcision in your community?)
316 Percentage yes

(Have you ever heard of any messages delinking FGM/C from your religion by your religious leaders /civil society?)

The Law (Proclamation) and its enforcement (322-324)
322 Percentage yes
(Do you know that there is proclamation in Eritrea that bans female circumcision?)
323 Percentage A+B (The practice has been reduced somewhat+The practice has been eliminated)
(How do you see the impact of the proclamation on the practice of Female Circumcision in your community?)
324 Percentage 3+4+X (low+not yet enforced+I don't know)
(How do you rate the level of enforcement of the proclamation in your community?)

Collective Abandonment (317-319)
317 Percentage yes
(Has your community made any collective decision or declaration in a large public gathering to abandon female circumcision?)
318 Percentage yes
(Have you participated in this gathering?)
319 Percentage low
(How do you rate the level of interest of the participants on the issue of the declaration?)[22]

The Ministry of Health statistician then treated the mapping's raw data to get me the values for these 26 indicators for the 110 villages. To continue work on the rating, I arranged all of them into one big Excel table, 26 rows by 110 columns.

Village results Mapping										
	Maekel					Debub et al …				
	village 1	village 2	village 3	village 4	…	…	…	…	village n	
Practice of cutting & clinical observation										
307 Average no of cut girls <5 per household										
325 Percentage yes										
247 Percentage yes										
Attitude & Views of self										
304 Percentage continue										
306 Percentage no benefits (Y)										
308 Percentage yes										
312 Percentage yes										
314 Percentage yes										
315 Percentage yes										
320 Percentage low										
Attitude & Views of others										
305 Percentage discontinue										
313 Percentage yes										
321 Percentage low										
326a Percentage <1 year										
326b Percentage cannot be eliminated + >7 years										
Exposure to anti-FGM-C-activities and Knowledge										
301 Percentage yes										
303 Percentage of at least three harmful effects cited										
310 Percentage yes										
311 Percentage yes										
316 Percentage yes										
The Law (Proclamation) and its enforcement										
322 Percentage yes										
323 Percentage A+B										
324 Percentage 3+4+X										
Collective Abandonment										
317 Percentage yes										
318 Percentage yes										
319 Percentage low										

The following page shows the first part of this table with the results for the first 14 villages (which have been put into alphabetical order).

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[22] Those who put together the questionnaire thought the included questions pertinent for our query. I have therefore tried to include the maximum of questions/answers in the rating. I have only discarded the following questions/ answers because they don't lend themselves to exploitation for our purposes: question 302 (How did you happen to know about FGC in general?), question 309 (Why have you not opposed cutting of a girl of your household?) and question 246 (What are the main factors that contribute to the persistence of the practice?)

Mapping Results by Village

	Adaelo	Ade ArbaA	Adebene	Adelges	Adi Akielo	Adi Ali	Adi Amr	Adi Bahro	Adi Baro	Adi Ber	Adi Egbay	Adi Ejel	Adi Ella	Adi Gebru Debub
	(Southern Red Sea)	(Debub)	(Debub)	(Debub)	(Debub)	(Gash Barka)	(Gash Barka)	(Debub)	(Debub)	(Southern Red Sea)	(Debub)	(Gash Barka)	(Gash Barka)	(Debub)

Practice of cutting and clinical obsrvation

	Adaelo	Ade ArbaA	Adebene	Adelges	Adi Akielo	Adi Ali	Adi Amr	Adi Bahro	Adi Baro	Adi Ber	Adi Egbay	Adi Ejel	Adi Ella	Adi Gebru Debub
Q307 Average number of cut girls under age 5 per house hold	0,00	0	0,00	0	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,05	0,37	0,06	0,00	0,00	0,00
Q325 FGC practiced in comm: % yes	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	3,3%	2,1%	8,0%	0,0%	3,2%	1,8%	21,2%	10,7%	4,8%	5,3%	0,0%
Q328 (247) medical observation ok: % yes	85,7%	97,9%	100,0%	93,4%	100,0%	77,3%	88,9%	100,0%	96,5%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	70,6%	100,0%

	Adaelo	Ade ArbaA	Adebene	Adelges	Adi Akielo	Adi Ali	Adi Amr	Adi Bahro	Adi Baro	Adi Ber	Adi Egbay	Adi Ejel	Adi Ella	Adi Gebru Debub

Attitude and views of self

	Adaelo	Ade ArbaA	Adebene	Adelges	Adi Akielo	Adi Ali	Adi Amr	Adi Bahro	Adi Baro	Adi Ber	Adi Egbay	Adi Ejel	Adi Ella	Adi Gebru Debub
Q304 FGC should continue - %	0,0%	4,2%	0,0%	1,6%	16,7%	36,4%	7,7%	16,1%	29,1%	15,6%	31,0%	6,1%	5,6%	2,0%
Q306 % girl has no benefits from FGC	93,3%	70,8%	100,0%	96,8%	100,0%	81,8%	96,2%	79,0%	68,4%	14,7%	41,4%	90,9%	100,0%	98,0%
Q308 have you opposed FGC: % yes	0,0%	x	33,3%	x	x	25,0%	0,0%	0,0%	13,3%	0,0%	0,0%	33,3%	x	x
Q312 campaigns have improved my awareness: % yes	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	93,8%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
Q314 discussion about FGC with hh members: % yes	100,0%	85,2%	89,5%	62,5%	97,8%	55,0%	50,0%	93,8%	93,2%	33,3%	86,4%	40,0%	14,3%	97,7%
Q315 dicussion about FGC with friends/relatives: % yes	100,0%	92,6%	95,0%	57,5%	97,8%	57,1%	56,3%	93,8%	95,5%	23,8%	81,8%	40,0%	7,1%	97,7%
Q320 % low level of my commitment to abandond FGC	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	x	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	x

	Adaelo	Ade ArbaA	Adebene	Adelges	Adi Akielo	Adi Ali	Adi Amr	Adi Bahro	Adi Baro	Adi Ber	Adi Egbay	Adi Ejel	Adi Ella	Adi Gebru Debub

Attitude and views of others

	Adaelo	Ade ArbaA	Adebene	Adelges	Adi Akielo	Adi Ali	Adi Amr	Adi Bahro	Adi Baro	Adi Ber	Adi Egbay	Adi Ejel	Adi Ella	Adi Gebru Debub
Q305 % community thinks FGC should be abandoned	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	93,5%	100,0%	74,2%	95,8%	98,4%	91,2%	87,1%	93,1%	97,0%	57,9%	98,0%
Q313 are people around convinced about FGC problems: % yes	100,0%	100,0%	95,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	61,9%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
Q321 % low community commitment to abandon FGC	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	x	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%
Q326a % who believe eradication will take <1 year	x	x	x	100,0%	x	0,0%	x	x	x	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%
Q326b % cannot be eliminated or takes >7years	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	3,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	x

	Adaelo	Ade ArbaA	Adebene	Adelges	Adi Akielo	Adi Ali	Adi Amr	Adi Bahro	Adi Baro	Adi Ber	Adi Egbay	Adi Ejel	Adi Ella	Adi Gebru Debub

Exposure to anti-FGM-C-activities and knowledge

	Adaelo	Ade ArbaA	Adebene	Adelges	Adi Akielo	Adi Ali	Adi Amr	Adi Bahro	Adi Baro	Adi Ber	Adi Egbay	Adi Ejel	Adi Ella	Adi Gebru Debub
Q301 % have heard of harmful effects of FGC	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	97,0%	100,0%	100,0%	96,4%	100,0%	96,6%	100,0%	89,5%	100,0%
Q303 % who cite at least three harmful effects	86,7%	62,5%	52,4%	53,2%	10,4%	9,1%	23,1%	35,5%	14,0%	20,6%	13,8%	9,1%	15,8%	69,4%
Q310 % yes, there have been anti-FGC campaigns in community	100,0%	72,9%	100,0%	80,3%	100,0%	93,9%	88,0%	82,3%	98,2%	100,0%	96,4%	96,8%	84,2%	91,7%
Q311 % who (or family member) have participated in campaigns	100,0%	77,1%	95,2%	81,6%	95,8%	75,0%	72,7%	94,1%	80,4%	80,8%	81,5%	58,3%	87,5%	97,7%
Q316 % heard message delinking religion and FGC	7,1%	6,3%	5,0%	3,4%	10,4%	6,3%	15,4%	4,8%	14,0%	36,0%	10,7%	6,5%	5,3%	0,0%

	Adaelo	Ade ArbaA	Adebene	Adelges	Adi Akielo	Adi Ali	Adi Amr	Adi Bahro	Adi Baro	Adi Ber	Adi Egbay	Adi Ejel	Adi Ella	Adi Gebru Debub

The Law (Proclamation) and its enforcement

	Adaelo	Ade ArbaA	Adebene	Adelges	Adi Akielo	Adi Ali	Adi Amr	Adi Bahro	Adi Baro	Adi Ber	Adi Egbay	Adi Ejel	Adi Ella	Adi Gebru Debub
Q322 % know that there is anti-FGC proclamation	100,0%	91,3%	100,0%	93,4%	100,0%	90,9%	80,8%	96,7%	98,2%	93,9%	92,9%	85,2%	68,4%	97,9%
Q323 % believe that proclamation has reduced or eliminated FGC	93,3%	91,7%	85,7%	85,5%	97,9%	78,8%	76,9%	95,2%	94,7%	85,3%	89,7%	75,8%	68,4%	95,9%
Q324 % low level of enforcement, not enforced, don't know	100,0%	0,0%	0,0%	1,8%	0,0%	17,2%	15,0%	0,0%	1,8%	100,0%	0,0%	7,4%	0,0%	0,0%

	Adaelo	Ade ArbaA	Adebene	Adelges	Adi Akielo	Adi Ali	Adi Amr	Adi Bahro	Adi Baro	Adi Ber	Adi Egbay	Adi Ejel	Adi Ella	Adi Gebru Debub

Collective abandonment

	Adaelo	Ade ArbaA	Adebene	Adelges	Adi Akielo	Adi Ali	Adi Amr	Adi Bahro	Adi Baro	Adi Ber	Adi Egbay	Adi Ejel	Adi Ella	Adi Gebru Debub
Q317 % community has decided or declared to abandon	100,0%	37,5%	95,2%	14,8%	100,0%	73,3%	75,0%	66,1%	94,7%	0,0%	89,3%	81,5%	52,6%	56,3%
Q318 % participated in that community meeting	100,0%	83,3%	100,0%	88,9%	97,9%	59,1%	77,8%	97,6%	84,9%		88,0%	90,9%	70,0%	96,3%
Q319 % little community interest in declaration of abandonment	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	x	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	x

Unfortunately, quite a few data collectors had **skipped questions**. You can see it in the table – where there is an "x", the question has not been put to the respondents. That is, of course, most unfortunate.

I was faced with a choice. Either I could eliminate all the questions that had been skipped in one village or more. Or I could replace an "x" by some kind of "neutral" value. The first option, certainly of superior scientific integrity, would have eliminated a lot of the questions. So I chose the second option. And I replaced each "x" by the benchmark value.

This of course "falsifies" results. And we need to keep it in mind – also for the reality check.

The model/rating that I am proposing is of the simplest kind[23]. It compares – for the 26 indicators, each village's result to the threshold set. The discrepancies are then added for each category/subindex. And the subindices are finally added – with different weights attached – to get the overall **Index of Readiness for Public Declaration of FGC abandonment**:

$$\textbf{RPD}_{\textbf{FGC}} = \sum(\textbf{SI}_{\textbf{i}}\textbf{*w}_{\textbf{i}}),$$

where $\textbf{SI} = \sum(\textbf{a}_{\textbf{j}}\textbf{-b}_{\textbf{j}})\textbf{*w}_{\textbf{j}}$

RPD_{FGC} means Index of Readiness for Public Declaration of FGC abandonment
SI means SubIndex
w means weight
with $1 \leq i \geq 6$ for the six categories and with $1 \leq j \geq$ number of answers chosen in each of the six categories
a = answer value (to be equipped with a negative sign if it is something to be avoided)
b= benchmark (to be equipped with a negative sign if it is something to be avoided)

Having calculated the five village-average for subzoba Logo Anseba in Gash Barka that serves as benchmark, and having replaced the missing village values ("x" in the Excel table) by the "neutral" benchmark value (creating, for each skipped question, an artificial discrepancy of 0), there was only the decision on the weights left.

I decided, for the time being, to not weight the questions within the subindices – but this can easily be changed in future if it is thought to be necessary (in fact, I assigned weights of indiscriminate 1s to all the indicators).

But I did feel the need to assign different weights to different subindices – they seemed too different in importance for the overall result.

Practice seems of overbearing importance. If it wasn't for the lying, this alone could be the foundation of our rating (see above). Weighing the one against the other, I suggest a double weight.

Attitude and Views of Self: this category of questions seems especially prone to sugarcoating: who does not want to present herself or himself in a better light than that of harsh reality? I propose a simple weight.

Attitude and Views of Others: I believe that when somebody is asked about other community members, she or he is less likely to lie or cheat. Since what others do and think is very important in social norm matters like FGC, I suggest a double weight.

Exposure to Anti-FGC activities: People may become knowledgeable without changing their practice. Simple weight.

The Law and its Enforcement: important as Proclamation 158/2007 is for anti-FGC activities in Eritrea, the law and fear of punishment are main culprits regarding respondents' lying: people may continue to practice but are unlikely to say that they do so. Simple weight.

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[23] Far away inspirations for this rating come from UNDP's yearly HDI (Human Development Index), from WEF's yearly Gender Gap Index and from GiroCredit's quarterly country risk rating that I put in place with colleagues at the beginning of the 1990s, all of which I have worked with a lot. An index, by definition, is an inadmissible simplification of reality – its only *raison d'être* is its usefulness.

Collective abandonment: these questions will need to be changed for future questionnaire use. For the time being, the fact that a PD has been made, is somewhat tautologically proof of readiness for a public declaration. Despite the absurdity of the matter: double weight.

Proposed weights for the groups:
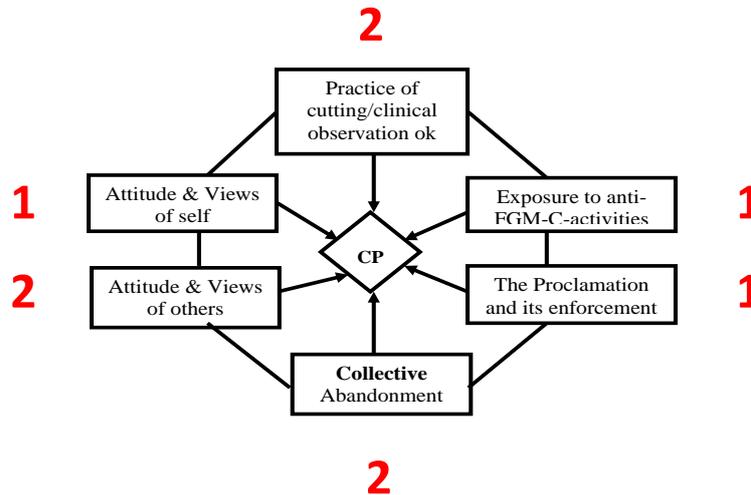
The rating I propose is provisional. Nothing will be easier than changing the weights attached to the indicators or the subindices.

Now everything is ready for the construction of the machine/model. All I need to do is feed the Excel table the formula. And out come the results (here for the twelve best villages - you'll have to look at the Excel table itself to be able to read):

Rating ordered from best to worst (corr. for skipped questions, subindices weighted - double weight for SI1, SI3, SI6)

	N elto	Tiko	Akbr'aha	Adebene	Brkito	Hawush	Adi Akielo	Genfelom	Ai'es	Adi quita	Adi Kercha	Adaelo
	(Debub)	(Anseba)	(Anseba)	(Debub)	(Debub)	(Anseba)	(Debub)	(Anseba)	(Anseba)	(Debub)	(Debub)	(Southern Red Sea)
Q307 % Δ average number of cut girls under 5/target value	-86%	-100%	-100%	-84%	-85%	-100%	-100%	-84%	-100%	-78%	-85%	-100%
Q325 FGC practiced in comm: % yes	-3%	-3%	-2%	-5%	-2%	-5%	-3%	-4%	-3%	-5%	-2%	-5%
Q328 (267) medical observation ok: % yes	3%	3%	3%	3%	1%	1%	3%	-4%	3%	3%	-1%	-12%
SI Practice + Clinical Observation	91%	106%	105%	108%	88%	106%	106%	84%	106%	86%	86%	94%
Q304 FGC should continue - %	-2%	-5%	22%	-5%	12%	14%	12%	18%	1%	4%	2%	-5%
Q306 % girl has no benefits from FGC	8%	11%	11%	11%	11%	11%	11%	-14%	5%	11%	11%	4%
Q308 have you opposed FGC: % yes	-11%	18%	4%	23%	-1%	-11%	0%	-3%	-11%	-4%	6%	-11%
Q312 campaigns have improved my awareness: % yes	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%
Q314 discussion about FGC with hh members: % yes	19%	16%	19%	8%	15%	19%	17%	14%	9%	17%	16%	19%
Q315 discussion about FGC with friends/relatives: % yes	19%	16%	19%	14%	17%	19%	17%	18%	13%	19%	16%	19%
Q320 % low level of my commitment to abandond FGC	-1%	-1%	-1%	-1%	-1%	-1%	-1%	4%	-1%	-1%	-1%	-1%
SI Attitude/Views of Self	40%	67%	32%	62%	34%	27%	34%	-5%	17%	41%	49%	38%
Q105 % community thinks FGC should be abandoned	3%	5%	-1%	5%	3%	5%	5%	4%	5%	1%	2%	5%
Q113 are people around convinced about FGC problems: % yes	3%	3%	3%	-2%	3%	3%	3%	2%	3%	3%	3%	3%
Q121 % low community commitment to abandon FGC	-1%	-1%	-1%	-1%	-1%	-1%	-1%	7%	-1%	-1%	-1%	-1%
Q126a % who believe eradication will take <1 year	72%	22%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	72%	-28%	0%	-28%	0%
Q126b % cannot be eliminated or takes >7years	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
SI Attitude/Views of Others	79%	32%	3%	4%	8%	9%	9%	71%	-18%	5%	-22%	9%
Q301 % have heard of harmful effects of FGC	23%	23%	23%	23%	23%	23%	23%	21%	23%	20%	23%	23%
Q103 % who cite at least three harmful effects	49%	57%	54%	33%	62%	53%	-9%	33%	69%	27%	58%	67%
Q310 % yes, there have been anti-FGC campaigns in community	19%	11%	19%	19%	19%	16%	19%	16%	19%	19%	19%	19%
Q111 % who (or family member) have participated in campaigns	14%	-8%	11%	10%	14%	4%	10%	5%	14%	12%	14%	14%
Q316 % heard message delinking religion and FGC	-11%	-12%	5%	-11%	2%	2%	-5%	0%	-14%	-3%	-3%	-9%
SI Exposure FGC activities + Knowledge	94%	70%	111%	73%	120%	97%	37%	76%	111%	76%	111%	114%
Q322 % know that there is anti-FGC proclamation	11%	11%	11%	11%	11%	11%	11%	6%	11%	11%	8%	11%
Q323 % believe that proclamation has reduced or eliminated FGC	22%	20%	14%	8%	21%	19%	20%	15%	19%	20%	22%	16%
Q324 % low level of enforcement, not enforced, don't know	-3%	-6%	1%	-6%	-6%	-1%	-6%	28%	-4%	11%	1%	94%
SI The Law + its Enforcement	36%	37%	24%	24%	37%	30%	37%	-8%	33%	20%	29%	-68%
Q317 % community has decided or declared to abandon	61%	64%	64%	59%	61%	64%	64%	60%	62%	64%	58%	64%
Q318 % participated in that community meeting	22%	0%	22%	25%	23%	8%	22%	12%	23%	20%	21%	25%
Q319 % little community interest in declaration of abandonment	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%
SI Collective Abandonment	84%	63%	85%	84%	83%	72%	86%	67%	84%	84%	79%	88%
	N elto	Tiko	Akbr'aha	Adebene	Brkito	Hawush	Adi Akielo	Genfelom	Ai'es	Adi quita	Adi Kercha	Adaelo
Index with weighted subindicators (2-1-2-1-1-2)	**678%**	**576%**	**555%**	**551%**	**550%**	**530%**	**510%**	**507%**	**505%**	**486%**	**476%**	**467%**

The rating table ranking the 110 villages

The following table gives us the results of the rating, ranked from best to the 110th (with the sample average also being rated).

Rank	Village	(zoba)	Index		Rank	Village	(zoba)	Index
1	N elto	(Debub)	678		Rank	Village	(zoba)	Index
2	Tiko	(Anseba)	576		57	Filfle	(Anseba)	161
3	Akbr'aha	(Anseba)	555		58	Dengolo Tahtay	Iorthern Red Se	147
4	Adebene	(Debub)	551		59	dekizeru	(Anseba)	138
5	Brkito	(Debub)	550		60	Badob	(Anseba)	122
6	Hawush	(Anseba)	530		61	Mekerka GashB	(Gash Barka)	86
7	Adi Akielo	(Debub)	510		62	Adi Yakob	(Maekel)	83
8	Genfelom	(Anseba)	507		63	Adi Teklay	(Maekel)	82
9	Ar'es	(Anseba)	505		64	Nakfa	Iorthern Red Se	51
10	Adi quita	(Debub)	486		65	Adi Gebru Maekel	(Maekel)	44
11	Adi Kercha	(Debub)	476			sample	average	28
12	Adaelo	outhern Red Se	467		66	Adi Ali	(Gash Barka)	21
13	Adi Gedena	(Debub)	464		67	Shmangus Laelay	(Maekel)	4
14	Endhish	(Debub)	453		68	Mekerka Maekel	(Maekel)	-2
15	Feleg	Iorthern Red Se	431		69	Shek Humed	(Gash Barka)	-6
16	Adi Hirwa	(Debub)	430		70	Damet	(Gash Barka)	-14
17	Adi Yakulu	(Debub)	427		71	Ftuy	(Anseba)	-49
18	Adi Gebru Debub	(Debub)	414		72	Debri	(Gash Barka)	-56
19	Deki Gebru	(Anseba)	394		73	Gahthelay	Iorthern Red Se	-68
20	Adi Bahro	(Debub)	385		74	Adi Tewle	(Gash Barka)	-87
21	Tsaeda-kristian	(Maekel)	365		75	Adi Ella	(Gash Barka)	-104
22	Dengolo Laelay	Iorthern Red Se	357		76	Ghindae	Iorthern Red Se	-128
23	Adelges	(Debub)	355		77	Nefasit	Iorthern Red Se	-145
24	Zene	(Anseba)	344		78	Bel ebuy	outhern Red Se	-177
25	Adi Mussa	(Maekel)	341		79	Ra	outhern Red Se	-226
26	Adi Baro	(Debub)	340		80	Koko	(Anseba)	-236
27	Adi Quntsi	(Maekel)	339		81	Adi Shigli	(Gash Barka)	-239
28	Balwa	(Anseba)	337		82	Ayutes	outhern Red Se	-243
29	Gebrekelay	(Debub)	329		83	Shuq	(Gash Barka)	-245
30	Ade ArbaA	(Debub)	309		84	Gultana	(Gash Barka)	-258
31	Adi Hihi	(Debub)	301		85	Apolo	Iorthern Red Se	-302
32	Ttri	(Anseba)	300		86	Masker	(Gash Barka)	-303
33	Embatkala	Iorthern Red Se	297		87	Ametsi	(Maekel)	-310
34	Shebah	Iorthern Red Se	295		88	Moo	Iorthern Red Se	-326
35	Adi Omer	(Anseba)	292		89	Harena	Iorthern Red Se	-343
36	Libena	(Anseba)	288		90	Nablech	(Gash Barka)	-371
37	Ktmowlie	(Maekel)	288		91	Bardoli	Iorthern Red Se	-371
38	Tsaeda Emba	(Maekel)	282		92	Erura	Iorthern Red Se	-382
39	Fafda	(Anseba)	269		93	Adi Shek	(Anseba)	-408
40	Menka e ka e	outhern Red Se	266		94	Embaderho	(Maekel)	-439
41	Mdri-zien	(Maekel)	253		95	Shamba	(Gash Barka)	-462
42	Aretai	(Anseba)	252		96	Tambara	(Gash Barka)	-467
43	Deqi Shhay	(Gash Barka)	246		97	Terkina	(Gash Barka)	-490
44	Tselale	(Gash Barka)	232		98	Hamege	(Gash Barka)	-496
45	Barda e	(Maekel)	230		99	Adi Hans	(Gash Barka)	-509
46	Adi Amr	(Gash Barka)	226		100	Adi Gufoito	Iorthern Red Se	-539
47	Temagela	(Debub)	223		101	BerAsole	outhern Red Se	-544
48	Adi Merkeja	(Debub)	223		102	Akelo	Iorthern Red Se	-552
49	Adi Guari	(Debub)	218		103	Dekikai	Iorthern Red Se	-553
50	Adi Ejel	(Gash Barka)	211		104	Assab	outhern Red Se	-566
51	Arberebue	(Maekel)	207		105	Adi Ber	outhern Red Se	-572
52	Adi Egbay	(Debub)	190		106	Menkaelile	Iorthern Red Se	-579
53	Beyan	Iorthern Red Se	181		107	Beilul	outhern Red Se	-635
54	Gerbet	(Anseba)	178		108	Bihta	outhern Red Se	-672
55	Hmbrti	(Maekel)	168		109	Adi seidna	(Anseba)	-775
56	Belta	(Anseba)	163		110	Koferenko	(Gash Barka)	-783

Let me make a few remarks. A positive rating result means that the village is "better" than the Logo Anseba average in the eyes of the rating, a negative value in the rating means that the village is "worse" than the Logo Anseba average. The more positive the rating value, the better the village concerned, the more negative, the worse.

But beyond that, there is no meaning whatsoever to the mathematical value of the results. To say it again: The only meaning the mathematical values carry is within the system we have constructed. Better than our threshold means ready for a communal promise of abandonment, ready for a public declaration of FGC abandonment. Worse than our threshold means not (yet) ready.

The order amongst the villages has meaning, and far from the threshold does mean something – it either means a lot better than needed for being thought ready (by us) for public declaration if the value is large and positive; or it means that the village is (still) far away from such readiness – if the value is large and negative.

Room for intuition?

Mathematical models, once put in place, are rigid. Maybe too rigid. Do we want to leave place for intuition? Do we want to integrate intuitive variables into the model? Or do we want to leave the possibility, after having fed the model all the values of all the villages concerned, to simply overrule the results?

The question is always: who is allowed to provide the intuitive inputs? Or who is allowed to overrule?

Such "power" could, for example, be given to the Director of Family and Community Health at the MoH in Asmara, or to an expert in FGC, or to a committee of people with local expertise. But if such room for "intuition" is wanted, it is important that the rules be laid down in advance.

The multi-pronged reality check that is now necessary

So we now have results for all of our mapping's 110 villages. We have had to cheat a bit (for the skipped questions). And, for want of a control sample that could show us the real differences between "good" and "bad" villages, we have included all the useable questions in the rating.

There are two levels on which the model needs now to be checked.

First there are the rating's components.

And second there are the rating's results.

As to the components, local experts need to judge:

> whether I have chosen a good threshold/benchmark – if not, what other village or sub-zoba is to replace it;
>
> whether we should discard some of the questions/indicators;
>
> whether we should replace some questions by better/more pertinent other questions;
>
> whether we can reformulate some questions to make them yield more significant answers;
>
> whether we want to add entirely new questions that have been forgotten;
>
> whether the questions in the six categories are of equal importance (for FGC abandonment readiness) or if they should carry different weights;
>
> whether the weighting of the six categories/subindices is correct.

As to the rating's **results**, they **are the lynchpin of the reality check**. Since we have been forced to discard the logical deduction model and replace it by one based on mimicry, we may have gone wrong. Our targets – village communities – may not be similar enough to allow such an approach. Before we validate the rating model, we need to determine whether its results make sense. Are the villages ranked in a meaningful order?

After we have fiddled with the components – after we have taken out questions that are of no importance, after we have changed the weights, after we have changed the benchmarks – **does the ranking yield meaningful results?**

If we have done our best to improve the model and it still does not do what it should, then we need to forget the proposed model and start from zero.

If, on the other hand, our appraisal is fundamentally positive, then we could start on the fine-tuning. Maybe use logarithms in the rating formula to reduce the discrepancies – they are a bit big. We'd have to see.

If the appraisal of the model is fundamentally positive, we could, maybe, do a small testing of an improved questionnaire in the field – and then this time 'round, we'd include some "bad" i.e. recalcitrant villages to have our control sample.

Post-model: Focus group discussions? Surveillance mechanism!

Once the index functions as we want it to function, then no expert is needed any more to use it. In you feed the data and out it spits the village's readiness for FGC abandonment – or not.

But hold on a second. The process is not finished. The village has been declared ready by our model. Maybe we have included an indicator that represents some expert committee's gut feelings whether the village is ready. Could we not provide an additional safety net before getting down to the public declaration?

We could, now, conduct a Focus Group Discussion amongst carefully selected community members to make sure that our model has not erred. To make sure that the village is ready, that they are serious, that they won't renege. A well-qualified facilitator of the target community's mother tongue will be needed for this exercise.

But even with a Focus Group Discussion having established the communities unfaltering will to abandon FGC – we have not finished. We need to make sure that, after the community's public and solemn promise that none of its girls will ever be cut again, there will be a mechanism of surveillance in place.

An intra-community surveillance mechanism needs to be institutionalised. This will – well before the day of the big ceremony – need community deliberations and a community decision.

We could, on top of that, fix as a condition for involvement of authorities and media, that medical observation becomes a routine – at the health facilities for young girls below school going age, and in primary schools as part of routine medical examinations (see the fifth of my recommendations to the Government of Eritrea in the paper "*Eritrea's Anti-FGC Strategy. Recommendations, Reflexions, Comments*").

The One-Page Excel Rating Machine & Concrete steps for moving on

I have put the village rating onto one Excel page.

NB: The table is "empty". The formulae in the column "Rating Results" react as if the village values entered into the framed boxes are all zero. Thus the strange numbers in the rating results column and the absurdly large negative figure as overall index.

Here you go.

Village Rating - ready for FGC abandonment or not

Directons for use

Intro: Please do not be confused: when **empty**, the below table calculates **as if** all values to be entered were **0**

1: framed boxes to be filled in by user. Fill in values as exactly as possible.

2: First enter the number of cut girls under 5 in the box to the right of "Village value for question 307"

3: Then enter the other data for village which you want to rate in the framed boxes of the column "Village to be rated"

Village value for question 307		-1,00	result will feed automatically into
			village value for question 307

Rating Results

	Village to be rated (to be completed by user)	target value (ø Logo Anseba)	weight of question	weight of SI
Q307 % Δ average number of cut girls under 5/target value	**-1**	1,24	0,2420	1	
Q325 FGC practiced in comm: % yes		5,26	5,2599	1	
Q328 (247) medical observation ok: % yes		-97,46	97,4635	1	
SI Practice + Clinical Observation		-90,96			2
Q304 FGC should continue - %		4,51	4,5101	1	
Q306 % girl has no benefits from FGC		-89,27	89,2686	1	
Q308 have you opposed FGC: % yes		-10,66	10,6600	1	
Q312 campaigns have improved my awareness: % yes		-98,44	98,4416	1	
Q314 discussion about FGC with hh members: % yes		-81,30	81,3014	1	
Q315 dicussion about FGC with friends/relatives: % yes		-80,94	80,9385	1	
Q320 % low level of my commitment to abandond FGC		0,71	0,7143	1	
SI Attitude/Views of Self		-355,39			1
Q305 % community thinks FGC should be abandoned		-95,01	95,0149	1	
Q313 are others convinced about FGC problems: % yes		-96,95	96,9482	1	
Q321 % low community commitment to abandon FGC		1,00	1,0000	1	
Q326a % who believe eradication will take <1 year		-27,78	27,7778	1	
Q326b % cannot be eliminated or takes >7years		0,31	0,3077	1	
SI Attitude/Views of Others		-218,43			2
Q301 % have heard of harmful effects of FGC		-77,41	77,4069	1	
Q303 % who cite at least three harmful effects		-19,86	19,8564	1	
Q310 % yes, community has had anti-FGC campaigns		-81,11	81,1073	1	
Q311 % who (or hh member) participated in campaigns		-85,63	85,6314	1	
Q316 % heard message delinking religion and FGC		-15,72	15,7235	1	
SI Exposure FGC activities + Knowledge		-279,73			1
Q322 % know that there is anti-FGC proclamation		-89,23	89,2313	1	
Q323 % believe proclamation reduced or eliminated FGC		-77,65	77,6456	1	
Q324 % low level of enforcemt/not enforced/don't know		5,56	5,5585	1	
SI The Law + its Enforcement		-161,32			1
Q317 % community has decided or declared to abandon		-36,17	36,1718	1	
Q318 % participated in that community meeting		-75,43	75,4267	1	
Q319 % low community interest in abandonmt declaratn		0,00	0,0000	1	
SI Collective Abandonment		-111,60			2

Index for village	**-1638,42**

So here you have your model, your tool, your machine. It is up to you to reject or accept it. If you believe in its pertinence, it is up to you to improve it, make it more efficient…

Because that is the **Concrete steps for moving on** that I recommend: the multi-pronged reality check.

Epilogue: I have finished my presentation at the Bloodbank on 26th of August 2014 with a warning. Let me reiterate it here.

The old woman of the picture has been trained for community dialogue in her village in Gash Barka recently.
In the short interview we conducted with her on 31st of July 2014, she showed herself a firm believer in FGC abandonment.
Only when one of my colleagues, a woman, asked her, what, for her own granddaughters, she would recommend, to cut or not to cut, was she – all of a sudden – less sure. "It depends".
On what? On what others in the community, and especially potential husbands, do and want.

Annex: Questionnaire questions in their six categories

Practice of cutting & clinical observation (307, 325, 247)

307 How many female children members of the households age ≤15 years old are circumcised?

325 Do you believe that FGM/C is still practices in your community in secret manner ?

247 Do you agree for physical check-up of your under five daughter whether or not circumcised by health personnel in health facility settings?

Attitude & Views of self (304, 306, 308, 309, 312, 314, 315, 320)

304 Do you think that this practice should be continued, or should it be discontinued?

306 What benefits do you think girls themselves get if they undergo genital cutting?

308 Have you or any member of the HH opposed to the circumcision of any female member of your household?

309 Why not?

312 Do you think that your level of awareness about female circumcision has improved as a result of these campaigns against female circumcision?

314 Have you ever discussed the consequences of female circumcision with members of your household?

315 Have you ever discussed the consequences of female circumcision with friends/relatives or in any gatherings/meetings?

320 How do you rate the level of your commitment to abandon female circumcision?

Attitude & Views of others (305, 313, 321, 326, 246)

305 Do members of your community think female circumcision should be continued or discontinued?

313 Do you think people in your area are starting to be convinced about the health, physical, and psychological problems of female circumcision as a result of these awareness programs?

321 How do you rate the level of commitment of your community to abandon female circumcision?

326 How long do you think this practice will stay in your community?

246 What are the main factors that contribute to the long stay or non-stop of the practice?

Exposure to anti-FGM-C-activities (302, 310, 311, 316) and Knowledge (301, 303)

301 Have you ever heard of any harmful effects of female circumcision in general?

302 How did you happen to know about Female Circumcision in general?

303 If yes (that you have heard of harmful effects), can you mention them?

310 Have there been any awareness raising campaigns about FGM/C arranged in your community?

311 Have you or any member of your household participated in any of the campaigns against female circumcision in your community?

316 Have you ever heard of any messages delinking FGM/C from your religion by your religious leaders /civil society?

The Law (Proclamation) and its enforcement (322-324)

322 Do you know that there is proclamation in Eritrea that bans female circumcision?

323 How do you see the impact of the proclamation on the practice of Female Circumcision in your community?

324 How do you rate the level of enforcement of the proclamation in your community?

Collective Abandonment (317-319)

317 Has your community made any collective decision or declaration in a large public gathering to abandon female circumcision?

318 Have you participated in this gathering?

319 How do you rate the level of interest of the participants on the issue of the declaration?