Female genital cutting (FGC), also known as female circumcision in Nigeria, is a common practice in many societies in the northern half of sub-Saharan Africa. Nearly universal in a few countries, it is practiced by various groups in at least 25 African countries, in Yemen, and in immigrant African populations in Europe and North America. In a few societies, the procedure is routinely carried out when a girl is a few weeks or a few months old (e.g. Eritrea, Yemen), while in most others, it occurs later in childhood or adolescence. In the case of the latter, FGC is typically part of a ritual initiation into womanhood that includes a period of seclusion and education about the rights and duties of a wife.

The 2003 Nigeria Demographic and Health Survey (2003 NDHS) collected data on the practice of female circumcision in Nigeria from all women age 15-49. The 1999 NDHS collected data on female circumcision only from currently married women. In this chapter, topics discussed include knowledge, prevalence, and type; age at circumcision; person who performed the circumcision; and attitudes towards the practice.

13.1 KNOWLEDGE AND PREVALENCE OF FEMALE CIRCUMCISION

Table 13.1 presents data on women’s knowledge of female circumcision. About half (53 percent) of Nigerian women age 15-49 have heard of the practice. There are marked variations in knowledge of female circumcision by residence, region, education, and ethnicity. About two-thirds of urban respondents have heard of female circumcision, compared with less than half of women in rural areas (69 versus 45 percent). In general, women in the south are more than twice as likely as women in the north to have heard of the practice. These variations by region and residence are a reflection of ethnic differentials. The Igbo and Yoruba, who are primarily resident in the South East and South West, respectively, have greater knowledge of female circumcision than the ethnic groups primarily resident in the north.

Table 13.1 also shows the prevalence of female circumcision by background characteristics, which follows the same patterns as knowledge of circumcision. The proportion of women who were circumcised at the time of the survey was greatest in the southern regions, among the Yoruba and Igbo, and among urban residents. The high prevalence of female circumcision among the Yoruba (61 percent) and Igbo (45 percent) helps to explain regional and urban-rural differentials, since the Yoruba and Igbo traditionally reside in the South West and South East, which are more urban than the north. More than twice as many of the oldest women as the youngest women are circumcised (28 versus 13 percent), suggesting that there has been a decline in the practice. Caldwell et al. (2000) have reported a decline in the prevalence of female circumcision among the Yoruba.

13.2 FLESH REMOVAL AND INFIBULATION

Questions directed at determining the type of female circumcision were asked of women who reported they had been circumcised. Table 13.1 indicates that the type of circumcision could not be determined for half of the women. However, among those women who could identify the type of procedure, circumcision that involved cutting and removal of flesh is most commonly reported (44 percent). Four percent of women reported that their vagina was sewn closed (infibulation) during their circumcision, which is the most radical procedure. It is worth noting that among the Yoruba, who have the largest proportion of women circumcised, less than 1 percent of women are infibulated. Infibulation is most prevalent in the South South region (8 percent).
The percent distribution of women by age at circumcision is presented in Table 13.2. Female circumcision in Nigeria occurs mostly in infancy (i.e., before the first birthday). Three-quarters of the women who underwent circumcision were circumcised by age one. Twenty-one percent, however, were circumcised at age five or older. There are marked variations in the proportions of women circumcised in infancy by residence and ethnicity. For instance, almost nine in ten Igbo and Yoruba were circumcised during infancy compared with less than half of those in other ethnic groups (45 percent).

Infibulation, the most severe form of circumcision, is more likely to be carried out on women circumcised at a later age than on the very young. The table shows that 37 percent of those cut before the age of one had been infibulated, while 49 percent of those circumcised after the age of four were infibulated. It should be noted that the total number of respondents infibulated was 57.
13.4 CIRCUMCISION OF DAUGHTERS

Women interviewed in the 2003 NDHS who had living daughters were asked if any of their daughters had been circumcised, and if not, whether they intended to have a daughter circumcised. Table 13.3 shows that, of women who have at least one daughter, 10 percent had circumcised a daughter, and an additional 3 percent intend to have a daughter circumcised. The proportion of women who have at least one circumcised daughter increases with age. Prevalence varies by residence and ethnicity, with women residing in urban areas, those in the south, and Yorubas and Igbos being the most likely to have circumcised daughters or intend to have their daughters circumcised.
Table 13.3 shows the percent distribution of most recently circumcised daughters by type of circumcision. The results show that circumcision involving the cutting and removal of flesh is the most common in Nigeria, accounting for two-thirds of all circumcisions. Five percent of circumcised daughters had no flesh removed, and 4 percent were infibulated.

Table 13.3  Daughter’s circumcision experience and type of circumcision

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Background characteristic</th>
<th>Percentage of women with at least one daughter circumcised</th>
<th>Percentage of women who intend to have daughter circumcised</th>
<th>Number of women with at least one daughter</th>
<th>Among circumcised daughters, type of circumcision</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Number of women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>*(1.5)</td>
<td>(63.7)</td>
<td>(2.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>538</td>
<td>*(1.5)</td>
<td>(63.7)</td>
<td>(2.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>898</td>
<td>*(1.5)</td>
<td>(63.7)</td>
<td>(2.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>715</td>
<td>*(1.5)</td>
<td>(63.7)</td>
<td>(2.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>707</td>
<td>*(1.5)</td>
<td>(63.7)</td>
<td>(2.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-44</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>582</td>
<td>*(1.5)</td>
<td>(63.7)</td>
<td>(2.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-49</td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>506</td>
<td>*(1.5)</td>
<td>(63.7)</td>
<td>(2.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>1,294</td>
<td>*(1.5)</td>
<td>(63.7)</td>
<td>(2.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>2,834</td>
<td>*(1.5)</td>
<td>(63.7)</td>
<td>(2.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Central</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>606</td>
<td>*(1.5)</td>
<td>(63.7)</td>
<td>(2.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North East</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>856</td>
<td>*(1.5)</td>
<td>(63.7)</td>
<td>(2.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North West</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>1,320</td>
<td>*(1.5)</td>
<td>(63.7)</td>
<td>(2.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South East</td>
<td>25.7</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>324</td>
<td>*(1.5)</td>
<td>(63.7)</td>
<td>(2.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South South</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>621</td>
<td>*(1.5)</td>
<td>(63.7)</td>
<td>(2.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South West</td>
<td>40.8</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>401</td>
<td>*(1.5)</td>
<td>(63.7)</td>
<td>(2.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No education</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>2,158</td>
<td>*(1.5)</td>
<td>(63.7)</td>
<td>(2.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>*(1.5)</td>
<td>(63.7)</td>
<td>(2.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>786</td>
<td>*(1.5)</td>
<td>(63.7)</td>
<td>(2.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>*(1.5)</td>
<td>(63.7)</td>
<td>(2.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic group</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Igbo</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>447</td>
<td>*(1.5)</td>
<td>(63.7)</td>
<td>(2.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yoruba</td>
<td>46.3</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>371</td>
<td>*(1.5)</td>
<td>(63.7)</td>
<td>(2.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>3,311</td>
<td>*(1.5)</td>
<td>(63.7)</td>
<td>(2.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wealth quintile</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lowest</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>903</td>
<td>*(1.5)</td>
<td>(63.7)</td>
<td>(2.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>874</td>
<td>*(1.5)</td>
<td>(63.7)</td>
<td>(2.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>822</td>
<td>*(1.5)</td>
<td>(63.7)</td>
<td>(2.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>770</td>
<td>*(1.5)</td>
<td>(63.7)</td>
<td>(2.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highest</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>759</td>
<td>*(1.5)</td>
<td>(63.7)</td>
<td>(2.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>4,129</td>
<td>*(1.5)</td>
<td>(63.7)</td>
<td>(2.5)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Figures in parentheses are based on 26-49 unweighted cases. An asterisk indicates that a figure is based on fewer than 25 unweighted cases and has been suppressed.
Table 13.4 indicates that almost all of the most recently circumcised daughters (85 percent) were circumcised before their first birthday, and 4 percent were circumcised between ages 1-4 years. Traditional circumcisers carried out 61 percent of the circumcisions. Circumcision is also commonly performed by nurses and midwives (24 percent) and traditional birth attendants (10 percent).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspects</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age of daughter when she was circumcised (in years)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>85.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-4</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-6</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-8</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-10</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-12</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13+</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know/missing</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person who performed the circumcision</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Traditional circumciser</td>
<td>60.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional birth attendant</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other traditional</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctor</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurse/midwife</td>
<td>24.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other health professional</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know/missing</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total** 100.0  
**Number** 407

13.5 ATTITUDES TOWARD FEMALE CIRCUMCISION

Women and men who had heard of female circumcision were asked if they thought the practice should be continued or discontinued. Table 13.5.1 indicates that among the Nigerian women who had heard of female circumcision, two-thirds believe that the practice should be discontinued, while 21 percent believe the practice should be continued. Approximately one in ten of this group of women expressed conditional approval or was unsure of her opinion. Continuation of female circumcision finds greater support among southerners than northerners and among those who are circumcised than those uncircumcised. Even so, less than half of circumcised women want the practice to be continued. Women were also asked about their perception of men’s attitudes toward female circumcision. Half of women believe that men want the practice discontinued. Nonetheless, one-fifth believe that men want female circumcision to continue.
Men who had heard of female circumcision were asked the same attitude questions. Table 13.5.2 shows that among men who had heard of the practice, almost two-thirds are against continuation of female circumcision, while about one-fifth favour continuation. Similar to women, men residing in urban areas and those in the south are the most likely to support the continuation of the practice. Once again, differentials by residence are largely due to ethnicity. Almost half of men believe women want the practice discontinued, while only 14 percent believe that women want female circumcision to continue.

### Table 13.5.1 Attitudes toward female circumcision: women

Percent distribution of all women who have heard of female circumcision by opinion on whether female circumcision should be continued and by opinion on whether men think female circumcision should be continued, according to background characteristics, Nigeria 2003

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Background characteristic</th>
<th>Should be continued</th>
<th>Should be discontinued</th>
<th>Depends/don't know</th>
<th>Missing</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Believes men think female circumcision should:</th>
<th>Depends/don't know</th>
<th>Missing</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Number of women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>23.4</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>42.7</td>
<td>35.5</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>66.2</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>49.1</td>
<td>29.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>70.1</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>51.5</td>
<td>32.8</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>73.7</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>53.1</td>
<td>30.6</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>51.2</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-44</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>64.9</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>51.5</td>
<td>29.6</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-49</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>62.9</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>49.4</td>
<td>30.1</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Residence</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>64.7</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>49.4</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>67.9</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>49.4</td>
<td>31.2</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Region</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Central</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>64.2</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>42.0</td>
<td>42.3</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North East</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>78.6</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>55.5</td>
<td>37.9</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North West</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>70.5</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>55.7</td>
<td>30.7</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South East</td>
<td>23.9</td>
<td>67.4</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>56.8</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South South</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>73.7</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>52.6</td>
<td>26.9</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South West</td>
<td>38.3</td>
<td>46.3</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>31.3</td>
<td>34.9</td>
<td>33.6</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No education</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>64.7</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>47.8</td>
<td>35.2</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>64.5</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>47.8</td>
<td>32.2</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>65.4</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>48.9</td>
<td>28.1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>79.7</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>59.3</td>
<td>30.6</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Circumcision status</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not circumcised</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>76.3</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>57.1</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circumcised</td>
<td>41.5</td>
<td>48.6</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td>35.7</td>
<td>27.1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>66.4</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>49.4</td>
<td>31.1</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
13.6 REASONS FOR SUPPORTING FEMALE CIRCUMCISION

In the 2003 NDHS, women and men who said they thought female circumcision should continue were asked about the benefits the girls themselves get if they undergo this procedure. Chastity before marriage is the reason most commonly cited by both women and men in Nigeria. More than one-third of the women (36 percent) and 45 percent of men cited the need to prevent premarital sex as their reason for supporting female circumcision (Table 13.6). Maintaining virginity before marriage has been given as a benefit of female circumcision in other African countries as well, but except for Niger, it has always been the third or fourth most frequently given reason (Yoder et al., 2004).

An additional 35 percent of women and 30 percent of men said that a circumcised female would have better marriage prospects. Whereas almost one-quarter of men cite greater sexual pleasure for men as a perceived benefit, this is the least commonly cited reason among women (5 percent). One-quarter of women and one-fifth of men support female circumcision due to a belief that it aids safe delivery. This misconception will require adequate public education to correct.
13.7 REASONS FOR NOT SUPPORTING FEMALE CIRCUMCISION

Women and men who said they thought female circumcision should be discontinued were asked about the benefits the girls themselves get if they do not become circumcised. Table 13.7 shows that sexual gratification was cited as a benefit by the majority of the women and men who do not support the continuation of female circumcision. One-third of the women cited more sexual pleasure for the woman and an additional one-fourth cited more sexual pleasure for the man. Among men, however, 48 percent cited more sexual pleasure for the man, and an additional 34 percent cited increased sexual pleasure for the woman. Religion is the reason least frequently cited by both women and men for not supporting female circumcision, suggesting that female circumcision is not perceived as a religious practice. It has been observed that female circumcision is a cultural rather than a religious practice (Toubia, 1995; Caldwell et al., 2000).

### Table 13.6 Perceived benefits of undergoing female circumcision

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason for supporting female circumcision</th>
<th>Women Residence</th>
<th>Men Residence</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cleanliness/hygiene</td>
<td>Urban 5.1</td>
<td>Rural 8.4</td>
<td>Total 6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social acceptance</td>
<td>Urban 34.0</td>
<td>Rural 21.9</td>
<td>Total 27.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better marriage prospects</td>
<td>Urban 26.8</td>
<td>Rural 42.0</td>
<td>Total 34.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preserve virginity/prevent premarital sex</td>
<td>Urban 49.0</td>
<td>Rural 23.4</td>
<td>Total 35.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More sexual pleasure for the man</td>
<td>Urban 7.1</td>
<td>Rural 3.5</td>
<td>Total 5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious approval</td>
<td>Urban 10.4</td>
<td>Rural 12.2</td>
<td>Total 11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helps delivery</td>
<td>Urban 24.6</td>
<td>Rural 25.8</td>
<td>Total 25.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>Urban 9.6</td>
<td>Rural 21.3</td>
<td>Total 15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Urban 407</td>
<td>Rural 436</td>
<td>Total 843</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 13.7 Reasons for not supporting female circumcision

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason for not supporting female circumcision</th>
<th>Women Residence</th>
<th>Men Residence</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fewer medical problems</td>
<td>Urban 33.0</td>
<td>Rural 34.2</td>
<td>Total 33.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avoiding pain</td>
<td>Urban 18.8</td>
<td>Rural 21.7</td>
<td>Total 20.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More sexual pleasure for her</td>
<td>Urban 38.9</td>
<td>Rural 32.5</td>
<td>Total 35.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More sexual pleasure for the man</td>
<td>Urban 25.1</td>
<td>Rural 24.0</td>
<td>Total 24.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Follows religion</td>
<td>Urban 2.3</td>
<td>Rural 3.1</td>
<td>Total 2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Urban 1,168</td>
<td>Rural 1,525</td>
<td>Total 2,693</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>