

INCEPTION REPORT
For UNICEF Abuja
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International consultant on FGC
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CONSULTANCY OBJECTIVES

I) major contributions (data analysis plus social norms component) to the baseline study for the Joint Programme;

II) contributions to Nigeria’s national anti-FGC strategy.

Nigeria has been brought on board of UNICEF’s and UNFPA’s “Joint Programme on the Abandonment of Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting: Accelerating Change” for the programme’s second phase that is to last from January 2014 through December 2017 (the first phase of the programme had begun in 2008).

Within the broader goal of the Joint Programme – to contribute to the acceleration of the total abandonment of FGM/C in the next generation (i.e. next 20 years)¹ –, Nigeria’s participation should reinvigorate the country’s anti-FGC activities, bring a breath of fresh air in terms of analysis, approaches and strategies and provide impetus for wider and more far-reaching cooperation between the various actors.

The baseline study, and with it the international consultant’s work, is to establish a sound and evidence-based foundation for the programme’s activities over the next few years. On top of that, the consultant’s presence in the country could act as a sort of catalyst for dormant energies to be freshly harnessed.

¹ “The Joint Programme is structured around three outcomes:

Strengthened commitment and resources for ending FGM/C at global, continental, regional and national levels in line with AU and UN Resolutions;

Increased engagement and capacity of Government and civil society actors at national, district and community levels in programmes for the abandonment of FGM/C;

Strengthened use of programmatic evidence base to address FGM/C and related adverse gender norms.”

p. 2 of UNFPA-UNICEF Joint Programme on the Abandonment of Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting: Accelerating Change, Funding Proposal. UNFPA-UNICEF Joint Programme for a Phase II, January 2014 – December 2017, New York (Unfpa-Unicef) January 2014



both maps from: National Population Commission, Nigeria. Demographic and Health Survey 2013, Abuja, June 2014, p.xxvi

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METHODOLOGY

The methodology chosen by UNICEF, UNFPA, the National Technical Working Group on FGM/C abandonment² put in place in 2014, and the experts around Chidimma Ezenwa Anyanwu recruited for the purpose of the baseline study, is a **mixed-method study** combining quantitative and qualitative methods.

Purposive sampling of six states to be researched

Six states have been selected for the study – four in the South-West (Ekiti, Lagos, Osun, Oyo) and two in the South-East (Ebonyi and Imo).

Five of these states will see anti-FGC programmes under the Joint Programme. These have been chosen because DHS 2013³ found the country's highest FGC-prevalence rates there.

Lagos, on the other hand, has a somewhat lower FGC prevalence rate (though still above the Nigerian overall average) – it was chosen to act as a sort of control sample.

Random sampling of six Local Government Areas per state

Within each of these six states, six (Lagos: seven) LGAs will be chosen at random to administer the data collection tools.

Random sampling will also be practiced for the selection of enumeration areas and households for the quantitative questionnaires⁴.

Quantitative and qualitative data to be collected

Quantitative data are to be collected by means of questionnaires, qualitative data by means of focus group discussions, key informant interviews and case study interviews.

Data collection tools for these four components were elaborated collectively by the research team put in place.

As discussed since August 2014, mostly via email, according to the international consultant the ideal order of things would have been: Qualitative data collection (FGD, KII, case studies) → analysis of qualitative data → on that basis: elaboration of the quantitative data collection tools → quantitative data collection → data analysis and report writing.

De facto, all data collection tools were elaborated as a first step – qualitative and quantitative data collections tools simultaneously → then research assistants were trained → then the whole process got held up a bit by problems with getting approval from Nigeria's ethics commission. Data will now be collected and the international expert will conduct interviews in three of the five intervention states with FGC experts.

After this, data will be analysed and reports written.

² see the list of members attending the inaugural meeting in the annex

³ National Population Commission, Nigeria. Demographic and Health Survey 2013, Abuja, June 2014, referred to as DHS 2013 in the rest of the document

⁴ see Chidimma Ezenwa Anyanwu's *Field Work Manual for Quantitative Survey* for details

INTRODUCTION

Reflecting on African Women and the upcoming 21st century, Patricia McFadden in 1997 wrote: “African women have no personhood or bodily integrity as an established and recognised norm in any of our societies. Women experience gender violence all the time, female children in particular. It seems so inexplicable. I suggest that the concepts of personhood and bodily integrity can help us understand gender violence in all its manifestations, sexual abuse as well as mutilation.”⁵

The United Nations, the “international community”, and many women and men active against Female Genital Cutting would agree with the terms and concepts used in this quote. FGC – for them, for us – is first and foremost a human rights issue and it has (potentially very serious) health implications.

How to deal with it? How to address it?

Elsewhere⁶, McFadden spoke of women’s bodies being “unownable”. Yes: whoever owns her own body will not agree to have her bodily integrity violated.

But we need to be careful: this may be a very “foreign” way of looking at things. Human rights and a concept of bodily integrity may not have anything at all to do with how Nigerian women and men approach the issue. We need to be careful not to impose “rights from above”⁷.

Adetoun Ilumoka et al, doing research in Nigeria from 1992 to 2002 in the area of reproductive and women’s health, found big conceptual differences between the women they studied and those pursuing a human rights approach. They had come to realise that low income urban and rural women “defined their priority reproductive health issues as access to food, clean water, shelter, work, education and health services, including antenatal and obstetric care and care of their children. They do not define contraception and abortion as rights or as priorities.”⁸ Very similar discrepancies exist in matters of FGC.

The Joint Programme is certainly human rights-based, but it also very much stresses a culturally sensitive approach. Appropriating Nigerian women’s and men’s voices in the name of some

⁵ Patricia McFadden, *The Challenges and Prospects for the African Women's Movement in the 21st Century*, *Women in Action*, issue 1, 1997

⁶ 1997, at a conference on sexual harassment in Gaborone, cited in: Jane Bennett, *Connections to Research. The Southern African Network of Higher Education Institutions Challenging Sexual Harassment/Sexual Violence, 1996-2001*, in: Akosua Adomako Ampofo, Signe Arnfred (eds.), *African Feminist Politics of Knowledge. Tensions, Challenges, Possibilities*, Uppsala (Nordiska Afrikainstitutet) 2009. p.66

⁷ Desiree Lewis, *Discursive Challenges for African Feminisms*, in: Akosua Adomako Ampofo, Signe Arnfred (eds.), *African Feminist Politics of Knowledge. Tensions, Challenges, Possibilities*, Uppsala (Nordiska Afrikainstitutet) 2009. p.219

⁸ Adetoun Ilumoka, *Advocacy for Women’s Reproductive and Sexual Health and Rights in Africa. Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea*, in: Akosua Adomako Ampofo, Signe Arnfred (eds.), *African Feminist Politics of Knowledge. Tensions, Challenges, Possibilities*, Uppsala (Nordiska Afrikainstitutet) 2009, p.129

elitist better understanding of their real interests is certainly out of the question – and be it in a human rights context.

“Human-rights and cultural-sensitivity principles will continue to guide all Phase II Joint Programme strategies, creating an environment where participation and empowerment, non-discrimination and equity, and accountability and rule of law, among other principles, are recognized as paramount in the movement to eliminate FGM/C. The empowerment of girls, adolescents and women will be specifically addressed.”⁹ (p.9) The evaluation report for the Joint Programme’s Phase I had also concluded that “issues of gender equality, human rights and cultural sensitivity were strongly reflected in the design and implementation of the joint programme.”¹⁰

Here again, though, “human rights” and “cultural sensitivity” stand next to each other as if there were no possibility of there ever being a contradiction or even friction.

We’ll need to address issues that matter to those we want to communicate with, those we want to persuade, when we go out to fight FGC – or we simply won’t matter. One of the important issues of the baseline study will be to find out how to best – or at least: how to better – do this.

P.S. For Yorùbá society, “the creation of ‘women’ as a category was one of the very first accomplishments of the colonial state.”¹¹ In her acclaimed and thought-provoking book, Oyèrónké Oyèwùmí argues that sex and gender were colonial introductions into the Yorùbá world. Without taking sides in this debate: we certainly need to be careful to distinguish between etic and emic perceptions and must not take our own/foreign concepts for universal currency ...

P.P.S. “Othering” can be a – highly efficient – defence strategy of perpetrators or of those whose prerogatives are under threat. In matters of FGC, many activists have been confronted with rebuke that they are doing other people’s bidding, that they have become traitors to “our” values, traditions, customs. In a somewhat different context – sexual harassment – Jane Bennett writes: «“othering” (...) positions resistance to violations of women’s bodily integrity as (literally) “other”: Western, foreign, overeducated, unpalatable, unAfrican, beyond culture, inhuman – “unfeminine”.»¹² Something is certainly not bad only because it is “other”.

⁹ p. 9 of UNFPA-UNICEF Joint Programme on the Abandonment of Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting: Accelerating Change, Funding Proposal. UNFPA-UNICEF Joint Programme for a Phase II, January 2014 – December 2017, New York (Unfpa-Unicef) January 2014

¹⁰ Final Evaluation Report Vol. I - Joint Evaluation Unfpa-Unicef Joint Programme On Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting: Accelerating Change 2008-2012 Vol. I, New York (Evaluation Office, Unfpa, Evaluation Office, Unicef) September, 2013, p.60 (<http://www.unfpa.org/public/home/about/Evaluation/EBIER/TE/pid/10103> or http://www.unicef.org/evaluation/index_70518.html)

¹¹ Oyèrónké Oyèwùmí, *The Invention of Women. Making an African Sense of Western Gender Discourses*, Minneapolis (University of Minnesota Press) 1997, p.124

¹² Jane Bennett, *Connections to Research. The Southern African Network of Higher Education Institutions Challenging Sexual Harassment/Sexual Violence, 1996-2001*, in: Akosua Adomako Ampofo, Signe Arnfred (eds.), *African Feminist Politics of Knowledge. Tensions, Challenges, Possibilities*, Uppsala (Nordiska Afrikainstitutet) 2009. p.67

CONTEXT

CONTEXT NIGERIA

Nigeria is a rich country while most of its inhabitants are very poor – two thirds¹³ live on less than 1.25 UDS a day. After statistical adjustments, Nigeria became, in 2014, Africa's biggest national economy – but this is mostly because of the size of its population, and because of the oil it produces.

Human Development and poverty

The Human Development Report 2014 (launched on 24/7/2014) ranks Nigeria 152nd of the 187 countries covered. If it wasn't for the oil¹⁴, it would be much lower-ranked. Life expectancy at birth remains at a mere 52.5 years.

71.0 million Nigerians (43.3% of the country's population) lived in multidimensional poverty in 2012 according to that same Human Development Report, with the intensity of deprivation high at 55.5% and with a quarter of Nigerians (25.7%) living in severe poverty. Another 17.0% live "near multidimensional poverty". The Gini coefficient is a staggering 48.8% (the highest value recorded in West Africa).

Nigeria's population is estimated at 173.6 million for 2013, with the average annual growth rate estimated at 2.8%. The average number of births per woman is presently 6.0 (very slightly down from 6.1 a decade earlier). 50.9% of Nigerians live in urban areas. Total population is forecast to rise to 273.1 million by 2030. Of the 173.6 million, 30.5 million were aged under 5 in 2013 and a mere 4.8 million over 65, with median age estimated at 17.7 years in 2015¹⁵.

Gender Gap and CEDAW

Nigeria ranks 118th of the 142 countries rated in the Global Gender Gap Index 2014 (published on 28/10/2014 by the World Economic Forum), with educational attainment the most negative subindex (rank 134!) and economic participation the least negative (rank 55), the other two sub-indices showing intermediate results: rank 109 for health & survival and rank 102 for political empowerment.

Women's literacy rate is only 68% of men's, women's primary, secondary and tertiary enrolment rates are 84%, 77% respectively 72% of men.

Nigeria is quite seriously behind with respect to its reporting obligations vis-à-vis CEDAW – the country's latest report is dated 6th of October 2006¹⁶.

In its 6th CEDAW report, the government of Nigeria cites as its most prominent achievement: "The formulation of a gender policy as a tool for mainstreaming gender is one of the concrete strategies Nigeria is employing to achieve the MDGs which by extension, encompass the

¹³ 67.98% according to the UNDP, Human Development Report 2014. Sustaining Human Progress: Reducing Vulnerabilities and Building Resilience, New York (UNDP) 2014 (cited as HDR 2014 henceforth)

¹⁴ Oil revenue pushes the average income (per capita GNI 2011) up to 5,353 PPP USD, over twice that of neighbouring Cameroon, three times that of Benin, and more than five times that of Niger – see HDR 2014

¹⁵ All data in this paragraph from HDR 2014

¹⁶ Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, Consideration of reports submitted by States parties under article 18 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, Sixth periodic report of States parties: Nigeria, 5 October 2006, CEDAW/C/NGA/6, p.38 (accessed at <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/reports.htm#n> on 11/11/2014)

principles of CEDAW. Consequently, a high level of understanding of the concept of gender has emerged and there is significant mobilization for its mainstreaming in policy frameworks and institutional mechanisms to guarantee the achievement and monitoring of gender equality. Specifically, the following indices support the incremental shift towards elimination of gender inequality in Nigeria:

- A significant level of knowledge and appreciation of the concept of gender mainstreaming.
- Concrete and measurable gender mainstreaming policies in programmes.
- The development and use of gender mainstreaming tools.
- A culture of gender training for staff and programme partners.
- An emerging partnership between government departments and agencies aimed at fostering platforms for dialogue to entrench appreciation of the concept, and the incorporation of gender mainstreaming principles, indices and tools in development programmes in Nigeria.”¹⁷

So far, so vague. But of course: much water has flowed down the river Niger in the meantime ...

Violence

FGC is violence against girls and women. In many respects, **Nigeria is a violent country.**

“Since the return to democratic rule in 1999, tensions over the division of political and financial powers between the different levels of the federal system, ethnic and regional grievances, and religious mobilization have all combined to fuel repeated cycles of violence across the country.”¹⁸ Religious violence makes world news almost daily, of late, with Boko Haram waging a bloody war against the Nigerian army, the state, Christians, Muslims The Niger Delta guerilleros have been fairly quiet of late, but fears are that they might not accept “their” candidate, Jonathan Goodluck, losing upcoming elections¹⁹. Ethnic violence is especially rife in the Middle Belt²⁰. Political violence – intra- and inter-party – is fuelled by the North-South divide that also has a religious component. It could increase in the run-up to the February 2015 elections, with the merger of the four largest opposition parties last year presenting a serious challenge to the dominance of the ruling party²¹. The Nigerian army, in all this, seems to be doing all it can to establish a reputation of not caring about the population it is meant to defend – and it is certainly not worried about respecting their (human) rights²².

Low oil prices and the resulting depreciation/devaluation²³ of the naira could further exacerbate competition for limited economic resources in Nigeria.

¹⁷ *ibid.*, pp.12f

¹⁸ Abdul Raufu Mustapha, *Waging Peace in West Africa: A Good Practices Guide to Democratic Governance of the Security Sector*. ALTUS & Ford Foundation Project on Conflict & Security Sector Governance in West Africa: Policy Brief, Lagos (CLEEN Foundation) February 2014, p.25

¹⁹ See International Crisis Group, *Nigeria’s Dangerous 2015 Elections: Limiting the Violence*. Africa Report N°220, Brussels 21 November 2014, pp.4f.

²⁰ See Human Rights Watch, “Leave Everything to God”. *Accountability for Inter-Communal Violence in Plateau and Kaduna States, Nigeria*, HRW December 2013

²¹ See International Crisis Group, *Nigeria’s Dangerous 2015 Elections: Limiting the Violence*. Africa Report N°220, Brussels 21 November 2014

²² In a workshop presenting the results of the above cited *Waging Peace in West Africa: A Good Practices Guide to Democratic Governance of the Security Sector*, Dr Hussaini Abdu of Action Aid Nigeria called his presentation “When Protectors Become Aggressors”. See Report of a Three-Day Regional Workshop on Conflicts and Security Governance in West Africa organised by Cleen Foundation in collaboration with Altus Global Alliance, held at Chelsea Hotels Ltd, Central Business District, Abuja on 14th to 16th January, 2014, p.21

²³ BBC, *Nigeria devalues naira and raises rates after oil price slide*, 25.11.2014, 17h28 GMT

With the exception of political violence (see the sub-chapters on the six states' context), none of the cited violence concerns the study's six states directly. On-going political violence is well-targeted against the political opponent/enemy, so it should not present a problem for conducting the consultancy *comme il faut*.

Violence on the micro-level

All of this is macro-violence. But, "closer to home", violence also happens on the micro level. Nigeria holds the world record in number of homicide victims under 19 years of age²⁴. As with Nigeria's being Africa's biggest economy, this is not a fair comparison: the record 13,000 under 19 year olds killed in 2012 are largely a result of Nigeria's population being much larger than many of its competitors'. But 14 homicide victims under 19 for 100,000 Nigerians is still the highest value in West and Central Africa – and the tenth highest in the world²⁵. And if you look at female homicide victims under 19 per 100,000 population, Nigeria comes second world-wide (Lesotho is first)²⁶.

More than 90% of Nigerian children between 2 and 14 years of age suffer corporal punishment and/or violent psychological discipline under the pretence of education – in this respect, Nigeria ranks 11th in the world²⁷. And Nigeria ranks 8th in the world where severe physical punishment of 2 to 14 year olds is concerned (defined as "hitting the child on the head, ears or face or hitting the child hard and repeatedly"), at about 34%²⁸. As to the belief that physical punishment is necessary to raise/educate children, Nigerians at more than 60% come second world-wide²⁹.

On a positive note, intimate partner violence against ever-married girls aged 15 to 19 is rather low in Nigeria - only about 15% have ever experienced physical, sexual or emotional violence by their partners³⁰.

Actors against Female Genital Cutting

Information on activities against Female Genital Cutting in Nigeria or underlying factors is not readily available, at least not on the net and not at UNICEF Abuja. This is surprising because it seems that activists (e.g. the now apparently defunct Federal Executive Council for the Elimination of FGM in Nigeria, and – still active – the IAC, the National Association of Nigerian Nurses and Midwives, the Nigerian Medical Women's Association, the Medical Association, etc.) have been fighting FGC for decades. Information about FGC in this inception report comes from DHS 2013 and other available sources.

The Women's Health and Action Research Centre (WHARC)³¹, the Women Aid Collective (WACOL)³² and the CWSI/Centre for Women's Studies and Intervention³³ are also reported³⁴ to

²⁴ United Nations Children's Fund, *Hidden in Plain Sight: A statistical analysis of violence against children*, UNICEF, New York, 2014, p.35

²⁵ *ibid.* p.37

²⁶ *ibid.* p.37

²⁷ *ibid.* p.96

²⁸ *ibid.* p.99 respectively p.97 for definition

²⁹ *ibid.* p.153

³⁰ *ibid.* p.133. Over 70% in Equatorial Guinea, 70% in RDC. See *ibid.* p.136 for physical violence only, p.138 for emotional violence and p.139 for sexual inter-partner violence.

³¹ this centre could be of import for our research as WHARC is located in Osun; <http://www.wharc-online.org/>; established in 1993 at the Obafemi Awolowo University (OAU), Ile Ife, at first called Women's Health and Action Research Unit (WHARU); furthermore, one of the centre's projects is a research network "to provide an opportunity for WHARC to mentor emerging leaders and researchers in sexual and reproductive health" and one of the five

be active against FGC, though their websites and, where available, latest annual reports³⁵ do not mention FGC as areas of their activities³⁶. WHARC only lists, as one of the past achievements of its Adolescent Sexual and Reproductive Health programme: “Active advocacy for the abolishment of female genital mutilation, which resulted in the first bill for the prevention of female genital mutilation to be passed in Nigeria – the Edo State Prevention of Female Genital Mutilation Bill, 2000”³⁷

Female Genital Cutting: rate and numbers

24.8% of Nigerian girls and women aged 15 to 49 have undergone FGC according to DHS 2013. Taking the DHS’s sex rate of 50.70%³⁸ and the above-cited estimate of Nigeria’s population of 173.6 million, and applying the FGC rate to the entire female population of Nigeria³⁹, this means that 21.83 million Nigeria girls and women living today have suffered FGC.

Thus about one in six girls and women who have undergone FGC worldwide⁴⁰ hails from Nigeria.

Though an FGC rate of 24.8% is rather low in comparison to quite a few other African countries, Nigeria is sometimes reported to have the highest absolute number of cut women and girls – due to its large population⁴¹. The sheer size of Nigeria’s population always makes for a seductive argument, but here it has fooled us: Egypt and Ethiopia, though they have significantly smaller populations, because of their significantly higher FGC rates both come clearly before Nigeria in numbers of cut girls and women⁴².

states covered is Imo (members of the network are obstetricians and gynecologists and researchers (see <http://www.wharc-online.org/programs/reproductive-health-research-network/>)

³² see <http://www.wacolnigeria.org/>; headquarters in Enugu and branch offices in Port Harcourt and Abuja

³³ <http://www.cwsinig.org/>; headquarters in Abuja, with structures in five states: Delta, Cross River, Adamawa, Akwa-Ibom, Niger, where Delta and Cross River seem to be the focus of activities

³⁴ IRB - Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada: Prevalence of FGM, incl. ethnic groups in which FGM is prevalent; available state protection [NGA103520.E], 27/07/2010 http://www.ecoi.net/local_link/144821/259833_de.html (accessed on 10/01/2015)

³⁵ accessible for WHARC (2011-12) and WACOL (2009-10)

³⁶ The CWSI website cites “To advocate for the elimination of harmful cultural practices that cripple the mind of the woman, abuse her dignity and threaten her integrity” as one of the centre’s objectives (accessed on 11/01/2015) http://www.cwsinig.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=54&Itemid=105

³⁷ <http://www.wharc-online.org/programs/adolescent-sexual-and-reproductive-health/>

³⁸ calculated from Table 2.7 on p.18

³⁹ i.e. applying it also to girls below 15 and women older than 49

⁴⁰ WHO is usually quoted as reference for worldwide figures: “More than 125 million girls and women alive today have been cut in the 29 countries in Africa and Middle East where FGM is concentrated”

(<http://www.who.int/mediacentre/factsheets/fs241/en/> - cites UNICEF as its source: UNICEF. Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting: a statistical overview and exploration of the dynamics of change, 2013.

A range of 100 to 140 million is also often given (for example:

<http://www.who.int/reproductivehealth/topics/fgm/prevalence/en/>) – we have only estimates, no exact figures

⁴¹ see for example Okeke TC, Anyaehie U, Ezenyeaku C. An Overview of Female Genital Mutilation in Nigeria. *Annals of Medical and Health Sciences Research* Vol. 2, Issue 1 (Jan-Jun 2012) pp.70-73 (<http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3507121/>) but also UNICEF’s 6-page document “Nigeria: Female genital Mutilation” (not dated) (http://www.unicef.org/nigeria/FGM_.pdf)

⁴² Ethiopia’s population is 94.1m, its FGC rate about 75%. Egypt’s population is 82.1m, its FGC rate somewhat above 90%. For both countries, this results in an absolute number above 30m for cut women and girls.

Types of FGC

All of the WHO's four types of FGC can be found in Nigeria: infibulation, excision, clitoridectomy and some variants of that catch-all type 4 "other forms": *angurya*, *gishiri*, introduction of herbs into the vagina.

Clitoridectomy and excision make up by far the largest part of girls and women who have undergone FGC in Nigeria: almost two thirds of the women respondents classify themselves under this category. Infibulation and other forms only register 5.3 respectively 5.8% of DHS female respondents between 15 and 49 years. "Don't know/missing" makes up the remaining 26.3%

Sewn closed (infibulation – WHO type 3): high above-average rates of infibulation are noted in Nasarawa (22.3%), Kaduna (21.1%), and Bayelsa (20.1%). Kebbi comes close, but total number of women that had undergone FGC is small at 35.

Cut, flesh removed (excision and clitoridectomy WHO types 1 & 2): high above-average rates are found in Ebonyi and Enugu (89.9%), Osun (85.2%) and Benue (84.7%). Oyo, Lagos and Imo also show rates above 70%. The only programme intervention state below average is Ekiti, at 44.1% – and that low rate may well be illusory: 49.0% of cut women in Ekiti come under the category "don't know/missing".

Very dominantly, Nigeria's Joint Programme intervention will thus be confronted with this type of FGC.

NB: The category "cut, flesh removed" is large – it reaches from removal of the prepuce of the clitoris to removal of the entire clitoris plus labia minora and even majora⁴³. Once the operation itself is over and if it has healed without problems, consequences for the concerned girls/women thus vary widely.

Cut, no flesh removed (other forms, WHO type 4, though this includes forms where no cutting is involved at all): high above-average rates of "other forms" are noted in Gombe (65.4% - but with the total of cut women very low at 16), Kaduna (36.2%), Ogun (19.6%) and Imo (16.4). Note that Imo is an intervention state.

Angurya

This is often defined as "scraping of tissue surrounding the opening of the vagina"⁴⁴ or the like⁴⁵. Mairo Usman Mandara⁴⁶, on the other hand, writes that *chire angurya* (or *chire haki* or *chire belun gaba*/excision of abnormal growth) is the Hausa term for hymenectomy. The hymen is excised when or because considered too thick for the consummation of marriage. Such hymenectomy is usually performed by traditional herbalists-barbers (*wanzami*) soon after a girl's birth.

There seems to be some confusion about this form of FGC. If Mairo Usman Mandara is right, then *angurya* needs to be classified somewhat apart. Hymenectomy can hardly be

⁴³ I.O. Orubuloye, Pat Caldwell, John Caldwell, Female, 'Circumcision' among the Yoruba of Southwestern Nigeria: The Beginning of Change, in: Bettina Shell-Duncan, Ylva Hernlund (ed.), Female "circumcision" in Africa: Culture, Controversy, and Change, Boulder (Lynne Rienner) 2001, p.80 have conducted research in urban and rural Ekiti in 1997/98 and reports that, there, "15 percent had little more than the prepuce removed, 50 percent had a nick in the clitoris aimed at its end, and 35 percent had more of the clitoris removed." Also note the remark that immediately follows: "These categories grade into each other both in physical fact and in diagnosis."

⁴⁴ DHS 2013, p.346, again *ibid.* P.351

⁴⁵ e.g. <http://www.fgmnetwork.org/eradication/state/who.html>

⁴⁶ Mairo Usman Mandara, Female Genital Cutting in Nigeria. Views of Nigerian Doctors on the Medicalization Debate, in: Bettina Shell-Duncan, Ylva Hernlund (ed.), Female "circumcision" in Africa: Culture, Controversy, and Change, Boulder (Lynne Rienner) 2001, p.98

considered “mutilation” even if it may cause (serious) health problems if it is improperly (unhygienically) performed.

Table 18.3 Unclassified types of female circumcision

Percentage of circumcised women age 15-49 who experienced any unclassified types of circumcision, according to background characteristics, Nigeria 2013

Background characteristic	Unclassified types of female circumcision			Number of circumcised women
	Angurya	Gishiri	Use of corrosive substance	
Religion				
Catholic	3.2	6.7	9.4	1,355
Other Christian	3.2	5.2	4.8	4,081
Islam	54.4	4.6	3.9	4,051
Traditionalist	13.5	1.7	8.1	125
Ethnic group				
Ekoi	*	*	*	13
Fulani	87.1	4.1	2.5	338
Hausa	86.5	6.3	4.0	2,074
Ibibio	3.9	13.1	7.5	108
Igala	*	*	*	2
Igbo	3.0	3.4	7.6	2,546
Ijaw/Izon	21.6	13.2	11.4	82
Kanuri/Berberi	*	*	*	18
Tiv	*	*	*	3
Yoruba	0.7	1.2	1.1	2,989
Other	12.9	13.7	10.2	1,470
Residence				
Urban	10.5	4.9	4.0	5,309
Rural	42.6	5.4	6.4	4,343
Zone				
North Central	13.9	6.0	11.3	554
North East	73.3	5.1	16.1	167
North West	84.2	10.2	4.3	2,463
South East	2.6	2.8	8.3	2,195
South South	4.3	8.9	7.6	1,275
South West	0.7	0.9	0.6	2,998
Education				
No education	69.8	6.8	5.6	2,540
Primary	15.7	5.2	6.9	2,068
Secondary	6.9	4.1	4.4	4,010
More than secondary	3.2	4.9	3.2	1,035
Wealth quintile				
Lowest	75.9	5.1	3.9	1,175
Second	49.8	5.3	7.6	1,509
Middle	23.2	6.5	7.3	1,759
Fourth	9.8	4.4	4.6	2,447
Highest	4.2	4.8	3.3	2,762
Total	24.9	5.1	5.1	9,652

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Gishiri or yankan gishiri

"Gishiri cuts" are incisions at the rear side of the vagina into the perineum – to remedy a vagina that is thought to be too narrow. Such cutting is meant to prevent or heal all sorts of gynaecological problems⁴⁸ – though it can in fact cause a number of gynaecological problems, for example dyspareunia (pain during intercourse) or recto-vaginal fistulae.

⁴⁷ DHS 2013, p.351

⁴⁸ ibid. mentions obstructed labour, amenorrhea, infertility, pruritus vulvae, etc.

The word "gishiri" is Hausa for "salt", one of the most precious products of traders in northern Nigeria in the old days. The knife used to cut off pieces of salt from larger blocks resembles the knife used for gishiri cuts⁴⁹.

Mairo Usman Mandara reports that gishiri cuts can also be in the anterior vaginal wall. In that case, vesico-vaginal fistula may result.

Mairo Usman Mandara further reports that the Kare-kare⁵⁰ perform a practice called *zur-zur* cuts, which is similar to gishiri cuts. With *zur-zur*, an incision is made during obstructed labour on the anterior or posterior lip of the undilated cervix so as to achieve vaginal delivery in the case of prolonged or obstructed labour. Apart from (severe) haemorrhage, cervical incompetence in subsequent pregnancies, recto-vaginal and vesico-vaginal fistulae can result⁵¹.

Introduction of herbs into vagina

This practice is undertaken in order to tighten or narrow the vagina and to reduce lubrication so as to increase friction and thus (?) male sexual pleasure during intercourse.

Beyond the DHS table reproduced above, I have not found more than mere mention of this practice – no further details on how it is performed, nothing much on where it is practiced or by who, except that it is in Nigeria's south that one finds this practice⁵² – which contradicts DHS where North East and to a lesser extent North Central zones range before South East and South South.

Female Genital Cutting, ethnicity, anti-FGC laws

FGC correlates with ethnicity. In Nigeria, the Yoruba have the highest FGC prevalence rate (54.5% according to DHS 2013), followed by the Igbo (45.2%) and the Hausa (19.2%). Among the Yoruba, the Ijebu and some Egba reputedly do not cut⁵³.

In terms of FGC type, the Igbo show the highest percentage of "cut, flesh removed" at 74.9%, ahead of the Yoruba at 67.4%⁵⁴. But this may once again be illusory: a more significant portion of Yoruba compared to Igbo respondents (26.4% vis-à-vis 14.0%) do not know their FGC type (or data are missing).

For the Yoruba, the main or even only reason for performing FGC is said to be the belief that if the tip of the clitoris touches a baby's head during birth, this would result in the baby's death⁵⁵.

⁴⁹ linguistics from Wikipedia (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gishiri_cutting accessed on 5/11/2015)

⁵⁰ an ethno-linguistic group in Bauchi and Yobe states of about 150,000 according to <https://www.ethnologue.com/country/NG/languages>, accessed on 12/1d/2015

⁵¹ Mairo Usman Mandara, Female Genital Cutting in Nigeria. Views of Nigerian Doctors on the Medicalization Debate, In: Bettina Shell-Duncan, Ylva Hernlund (ed.), Female "circumcision" in Africa: Culture, Controversy, and Change, Boulder (Lynne Rienner) 2001, p.98

⁵² Family Health Department of the Federal Ministry of Health, WHO, Elimination of Female Genital Circumcision in Nigeria, 2007, p.5 (http://www.afro.who.int/pt/downloads/doc_download/4959-elimination-of-female-genital-circumcision-in-nigeria.html)

⁵³ <http://www.fgmnetwork.org/gonews.php?subaction=showfull&id=1186520964&> (accessed 1/12/2105 cites Adeneye, 1995, Orubuloye and Caldwell, 2000 as sources (no further precisions given)

⁵⁴ The second highest value has actually been recorded for the Ibibio – but total number of cut women is fairly small at 108.

⁵⁵ I.O. Orubuloye, Pat Caldwell, John Caldwell, Female 'Circumcision' among the Yoruba of Southwestern Nigeria: The Beginning of Change, in: Bettina Shell-Duncan, Ylva Hernlund (ed.), Female "circumcision" in Africa: Culture, Controversy, and Change, Boulder (Lynne Rienner) 2001, p.74. Orubuloye et al., *ibid.* add that this should not be taken lightly as the Yoruba "have been willing to undergo the world's longest postpartum abstinence in order to preserve the lives of their infants".

Preserving the lives of the next generation thus requires removal of the tip of the clitoris only – “where more of the organ had been removed, this was not necessarily the aim of the circumciser. Rather, the cause was more often the speed at which the traditional circumciser was expected to operate and the tiny size of the clitoris when the Yoruba operation was usually carried out during the first days of life.”⁵⁶

Orubuloye et al. have done research amongst the Yoruba in 1994/95 and again in 1997/98. They report significantly higher FGC rates. The 1994/95 research – undertaken in Ondo, Oyo and Lagos states – found that only 2% of girls in rural areas and 6% in urban areas had not been cut. The 1997/97 research, undertaken in Ekiti (carved out of Ondo state in 1996), found rates of 3% in the study’s rural LGA and 13% in the state capital for girls not cut⁵⁷. The study makes much of the progress achieved vis-à-vis a past for which it assumes that FGC was absolutely universal. But if the data from the 1990s are correct and representative, then the reduction of FGC rates achieved since would have been phenomenal – all three of the states where Orubuloye et al conducted the 1994/95 part and the one state of the 1997/98 part of their research are intervention states for the Nigerian Joint Programme – maybe some comparisons can be drawn in the course of our baseline study.

Specific anti-FGC laws have been passed in Edo, Ogun, Osun, Cross River, Rivers, Bayelsa between 1999 and 2001, Abia and Delta are said to have done so since.⁵⁸ Only one of these states is a Joint Programme intervention state. Nigeria’s sixth CEDAW report, though an older source (October 2006) lists eleven states that have passed anti-FGC laws: “Edo, Delta, Ogun, Ondo, Ekiti, Osun, Cross Rivers, Bayelsa, Rivers, Ebonyi and Oyo”⁵⁹ – four of these are programme intervention states.

⁵⁶ *ibid.*, p.80

⁵⁷ *ibid.*, p.74 for 1994/95 and p.78 for 1997/98

⁵⁸ UN 2009, 21 May 2009. Berhane Ras-Work. Expert Group Meeting on Good Practices in Legislation to Address Harmful Practices Against Women. Legislation to Address the Issue of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM), p.13

⁵⁹ Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, Consideration of reports submitted by States parties under article 18 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, Sixth periodic report of States parties: Nigeria, 5 October 2006, CEDAW/C/NGA/6, p.38 (accessed at <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/reports.htm#n> on 11/11/2014)

DHS 2013, p.349f, extracts – **ethnic groups and states** – from table 18.2 “Prevalence of female circumcision”:

Table 18.2 Prevalence of female circumcision

Percentage of women age 15-49 who have been circumcised and percent distribution of circumcised women by type of circumcision, according to background characteristics, Nigeria 2013

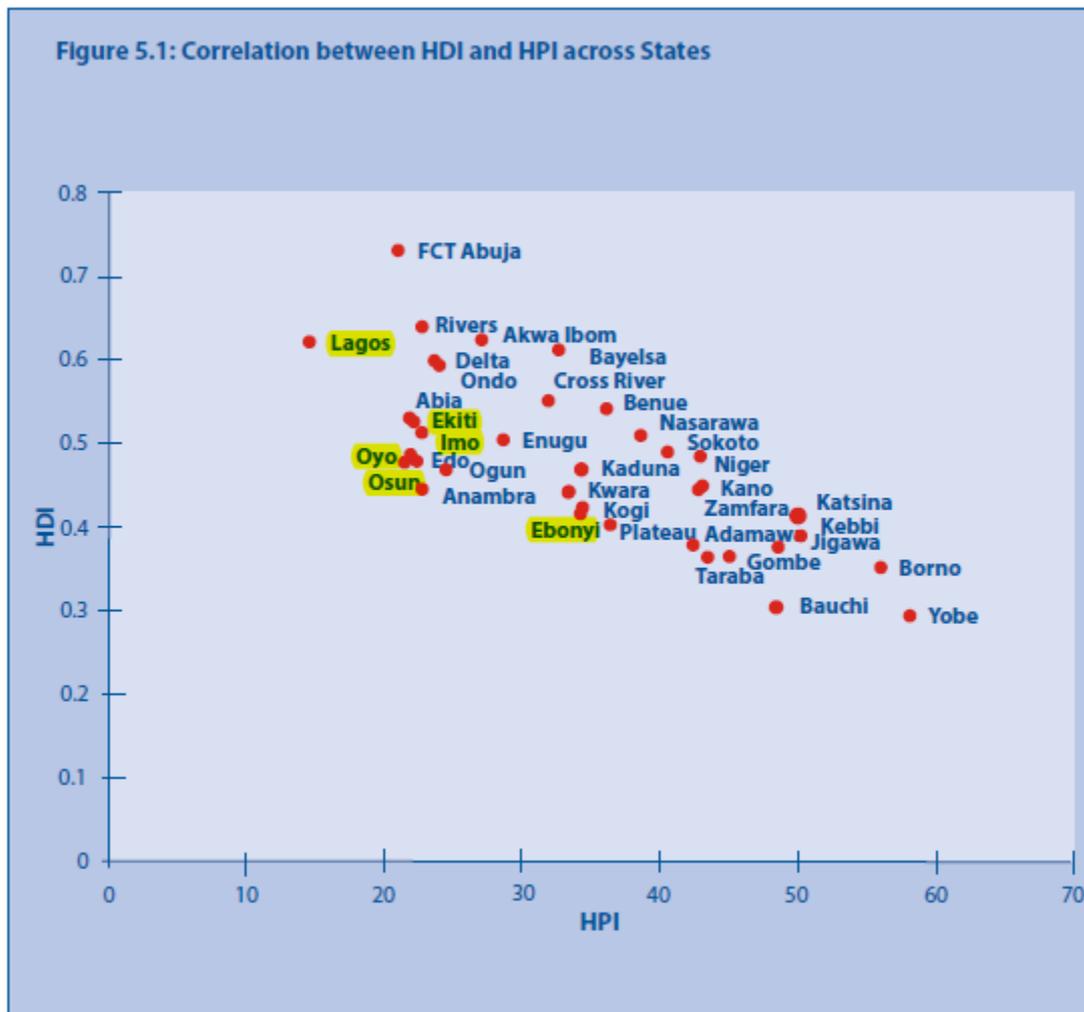
Background characteristic	Percentage of women circumcised	Number of women	Type of circumcision				Total	Number of circumcised women
			Cut, no flesh removed	Cut, flesh removed	Sewn closed	Don't know/missing		
Ethnic group								
Ekoi	(56.9)	22	*	*	*	*	100.0	13
Fulani	13.2	2,565	2.6	57.5	2.0	37.9	100.0	338
Hausa	19.4	10,699	11.9	38.4	3.6	46.2	100.0	2,074
Ibibio	12.8	841	2.1	71.4	9.4	17.2	100.0	108
Igala	0.5	371	*	*	*	*	100.0	2
Igbo	45.2	5,636	5.7	74.9	5.4	14.0	100.0	2,546
Ijaw/Izon	11.0	751	9.2	65.8	18.8	6.2	100.0	82
Kanuri/Berberi	2.6	680	*	*	*	*	100.0	18
Tiv	0.3	836	*	*	*	*	100.0	3
Yoruba	54.5	5,482	3.2	67.4	3.0	26.4	100.0	2,989
Others	13.4	11,002	3.8	66.0	12.2	18.1	100.0	1,470
Don't know/missing	14.8	64	*	*	*	*	100.0	9
State								
North Central								
FCT-Abuja	6.1	315	(2.2)	(69.4)	(3.4)	(25.0)	100.0	19
Benue	8.4	1,240	0.0	84.7	12.5	2.7	100.0	104
Kogi	1.7	704	*	*	*	*	100.0	12
Kwara	53.3	596	3.2	50.5	2.5	43.9	100.0	318
Nasarawa	9.0	594	3.5	61.2	22.3	13.0	100.0	53
Niger	2.5	1,462	(0.0)	(60.5)	(16.1)	(23.4)	100.0	37
Plateau	1.7	662	*	*	*	*	100.0	11
North East								
Adamawa	1.0	828	*	*	*	*	100.0	8
Bauchi	5.2	1,161	10.6	59.1	0.0	30.3	100.0	60
Borno	2.3	1,412	*	*	*	*	100.0	33
Gombe	2.9	550	(65.4)	(12.5)	(0.0)	(22.1)	100.0	16
Taraba	2.8	844	(13.2)	(42.9)	(6.5)	(37.4)	100.0	24
Yobe	2.6	971	(9.9)	(45.9)	(1.2)	(43.0)	100.0	26
North West								
Jigawa	39.4	1,353	5.7	74.8	3.3	16.2	100.0	534
Kaduna	25.1	2,136	36.2	37.1	21.1	5.5	100.0	536
Kano	40.9	3,189	1.9	27.0	3.1	67.9	100.0	1,303
Katsina	0.1	1,525	*	*	*	*	100.0	1
Kebbi	2.6	1,244	(10.7)	(14.8)	(19.3)	(55.2)	100.0	32
Sokoto	3.0	1,098	(3.5)	(2.7)	(0.0)	(93.8)	100.0	33
Zamfara	1.7	1,332	*	*	*	*	100.0	23
South East								
Abia	31.9	518	0.3	68.2	13.7	17.8	100.0	165
Anambra	23.4	1,052	6.6	47.6	5.4	40.5	100.0	246
Ebonyi	74.2	1,122	1.9	89.9	3.3	4.9	100.0	833
Enugu	40.3	951	1.1	89.9	5.7	3.3	100.0	384
Imo	68.0	833	16.4	70.2	5.1	8.3	100.0	567
South South								
Akwa Ibom	11.0	864	2.8	72.0	9.4	15.7	100.0	95
Bayelsa	16.2	364	12.7	63.6	20.1	3.7	100.0	59
Cross River	32.2	703	1.6	73.6	2.7	22.1	100.0	227
Delta	40.3	993	4.3	70.0	7.4	18.4	100.0	400
Edo	41.6	742	1.1	69.6	3.6	25.8	100.0	308
Rivers	14.6	1,276	5.5	45.4	8.2	41.0	100.0	186
South West								
Ekiti	72.3	326	4.9	44.1	2.0	49.0	100.0	236
Lagos	34.8	1,964	2.3	70.8	4.4	22.4	100.0	684
Ogun	11.2	883	19.6	68.8	1.2	10.3	100.0	99
Ondo	45.0	808	4.1	50.2	1.1	44.6	100.0	363
Osun	76.6	765	3.4	85.2	2.9	8.5	100.0	586
Oyo	65.6	1,568	1.2	73.7	2.8	22.3	100.0	1,030

CONTEXT FOR THE SIX STATES

Ethnicity and geography: Four of the states selected are in Nigeria’s south-west and are Yoruba-dominated, two are in the south-east and Igbo-dominated.

FGC: All six states have “cut, flesh removed” (this corresponds to types I and II of the WHO) as the dominant type of FGC. Imo (16.4%) has a higher level of “cut, no flesh removed” than the other five, and in Ekiti, one in two (49.0%) cut women did not or could not indicate what type of FGC she had undergone⁶⁰.

HDI and poverty: though this was by no means a criterion of selection, our six states are – in comparison with other Nigerian states – low in human poverty, with the exception of Ebonyi (average). HDI levels are average in the Nigerian context, with Lagos fairly high.



my highlighting; source: UNDP, Human Development Report Nigeria 2008-2009. Achieving growth with equity, Abuja (UNDP) Nov.2009, p.97

⁶⁰ DHS 2013, pp:349f

Ebonyi		
General context Ebonyi		
		<i>source</i>
2.18	state population, in millions	NBS
6,400	state territory, in square km	NBS
24,874.17	GDP/capita in naira (2008/09)	UNDP
197.68	GDP/capita in USD (2008/09)	UNDP
0.401	HDI index (1.0 best)	UNDP
1996	year of creation of state	NBS
Abakaliki	state capital	NBS
0.08	inhabitants of capital, in millions	Wiki
Chief Martin Elechi	state governor	NBS
PDP	PDP or APC or other party affiliation	Wiki
13	number of LGAs in state	NBS
34.3	human poverty index (100 worst)	UNDP
0.398	gender development index (1.0 best)	UNDP
0.284	gender empowerment index (1.0 best)	UNDP
0.40	inequality index (1.0 worst inequality)	UNDP
FGC in Ebonyi		
yes (not according to UN)	state law against FGC?	CEDAW
74.2	FGC rate (% of ♀♀ aged 15-49)	DHS
1.9	% of cut ♀♀ “cut, no flesh removed”	DHS
89.9	% of cut ♀♀ “cut, flesh removed”	DHS
3.3	% of cut ♀♀ “sewn closed”	DHS
4.9	% of cut ♀♀ “don’t know, missing”	DHS
	age at cutting of women 15-49	
78.1	% cut under age 5	DHS
6.4	% cut between ages 5 and 9	DHS
9.4	% cut between ages 10 and 14	DHS
5.5	% cut above age 15	DHS
26.2	% of daughters aged 0-14 cut	DHS
12.7	% of ♀♀ who believe that cutting is required by religion	DHS
23.5	% of ♀♀ believing cutting should continue	DHS
74.1	% of ♀♀ believing cutting should not continue	DHS
27.6	% of ♂♂ believing cutting should continue	DHS
67.3	% of ♂♂ believing cutting should not continue	DHS
Other socio-economic data for Ebonyi		
14.3	% of ♀♀ who completed secondary school or more	DHS
27.8	% of ♀♀ who have no education	DHS

46.4	% of ♀♀ employed in sales and services	DHS
34.9	% of ♀♀ employed in agriculture	DHS
15.2	% of ♂♂ employed as skilled manual	DHS
47.8	% of ♂♂ employed in agriculture	DHS
72.7	% of ♀♀ who have 0 co-wives	DHS
19.5	% of ♀♀ who have 1 co-wife	DHS
7.9	% of ♀♀ who have 2 co-wives or more	DHS
20.7	median age at first marriage of ♀♀ now 25-49	DHS
5.3	fertility rate	DHS
21.4	median age at first birth of ♀♀ now 25-49	DHS
16.2	% of children <5 who are stunted	DHS
6.1	% of children <5 who are severely stunted	DHS
12.8	% of ♀♀ who are undernourished (BMI <18.5)	DHS
77.5	% of ♀♀ who do not own land (ø Nigeria 85.3)	DHS
	% of ♀♀ participating in decisions	
42.1	regarding ♀'s own healthcare	DHS
52.3	regarding major household purchases	DHS
64.3	regarding visits to her family/relatives	DHS
33.5	all three decisions	DHS
24.2	none of the three decisions	DHS
	% of ♀♀ thinking husband is justified to beat ♀	
24.3	if she burns the food	DHS
51.3	if she argues with him	DHS
44.1	if she goes out without telling him	DHS
47.2	if she neglects the children	DHS
19.6	if she refuses sex with him	DHS
66.2	% of ♀♀ agreeing with at least one reason	DHS
22.7	% of ♂♂ agreeing with at least one reason	DHS
	% of ♀♀ who experienced physical violence	
42.4	since age 15	DHS
2.1	often in past 12 months	DHS
13.7	sometimes in past 12 months	DHS
	% of ♀♀ who experienced sexual violence	
11.5	ever	DHS
4.8	in the past 12 months	DHS

Ebonyi⁶¹ is the second poorest of the six intervention states in terms of GDP per head, the low-est-ranked in terms of DHI and HPI. Its economy is dominantly agricultural, with rice, yam,

⁶¹ Some information on <http://www.ebonyionline.com/>

potatoes, maize, beans, and cassava the main agricultural products. There are some food processing industries, and some lead, crude oil, natural gas, and salt (at Okposi and Uburu lakes) are found in the state.

There is a federal college of agriculture in Ishiagu.

The state was created in 1996 by the Abacha government from parts of Enugu and Abia.

In 2011, there were clashes between the Ezza and Ezillo people due to a land dispute, which left more than 50 dead.

CLEEN rates Ebonyi as mid-volatile for the 2015 elections⁶².

FGC: HCP (Health Communication Partnership) in 2003 conducted a baseline survey in Enugu with ethnically and socio-economically similar Ebonyi serving as control state (follow-up survey in 2004). My email to survey authors Anna Helland and Stella Babalola of Johns Hopkins Center for Communication Programs on 20/10/2014 to “let me have the Ndukaku pre- and postintervention surveys (...) conducted in 2003 and 2004” unfortunately produced absolutely no effect.

<http://www.comminit.com/global/content/impact-data-ndukaku-health-better-wealth> reports for the Ndukaku (Health is better than wealth) project⁶³ amongst others that “the attitudinal and behavioral indicators relevant to FGC either became worse or remained stagnant in Ebonyi”.

Pity - this could have provided interesting material for comparison with data collected by the Joint Programme baseline study⁶⁴.

⁶² International Crisis Group, Nigeria’s Dangerous 2015 Elections: Limiting the Violence. Africa Report N°220, Brussels 21 November 2014, p.17, fn.90

⁶³ The report on this website, dated 15/6/2005, says about the programme: “In 2002, Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health Center for Communication Programs (JHUCCP) and Save the Children developed a programme promoting public dialogue and action on eliminating female genital cutting (FGC) in Enugu State, Nigeria. Ndukaku (Igbo for 'health is better than wealth') is supported under the Health Communication Partnership (HCP), Nigeria.”

⁶⁴ <http://ccp.jhu.edu/documents/18.pdf> presents a 2 page-summary. As this focuses Enugu, information for Ebonyi is rather scarce but includes “Percent reporting the intention not to perform FGC on daughters” for men and women and “Percent that believing that most men and women in their community favour discontinuation of FG” for men and women.

Ekiti		
General context		
		<i>source</i>
2.40	state population, in millions	NBS
5,435	state territory, in square km	NBS
39,833.22	GDP/capita in naira (2008/09)	UNDP
316.56	GDP/capita in USD (2008/09)	UNDP
0.523	HDI index (1.0 best)	UNDP
1996	year of creation of state	NBS
Ado-Ekiti	state capital	NBS
0.4	inhabitants of capital, in millions	Wiki
Ayo Fayose	state governor	Wiki
PDP	PDP or APC or other party affiliation	Wiki
16	number of LGAs in state	NBS
22.1	human poverty index (100 worst)	UNDP
0.519	gender development index (1.0 best)	UNDP
0.380	gender empowerment index (1.0 best)	UNDP
0.40	inequality index (1.0 worst inequality)	UNDP
FGC in Ekiti		
yes (not according to UN)	state law against FGC?	CEDAW
72.3	FGC rate (% of ♀♀ aged 15-49)	DHS
4.9	% of cut ♀♀ “cut, no flesh removed”	DHS
44.1	% of cut ♀♀ “cut, flesh removed”	DHS
2.0	% of cut ♀♀ “sewn closed”	DHS
49.0	% of cut ♀♀ “don’t know, missing”	DHS
	age at cutting of women 15-49	
89.0	% cut under age 5	DHS
4.3	% cut between ages 5 and 9	DHS
2.0	% cut between ages 10 and 14	DHS
1.5	% cut above age 15	DHS
47.8	% of daughters cut	DHS
7.4	% of ♀♀ who believe that cutting is required by religion	DHS
40.7	% of ♀♀ believing cutting should continue	DHS
49.7	% of ♀♀ believing cutting should not continue	DHS
36.4	% of ♂♂ believing cutting should continue	DHS
57.7	% of ♂♂ believing cutting should not continue	DHS
Other socio-economic data for Ekiti		
41.2	% of ♀♀ who completed secondary school or more	DHS
9.0	% of ♀♀ who have no education	DHS

58.7	% of ♀♀ employed in sales and services	DHS
6.3	% of ♀♀ employed in agriculture	DHS
24.9	% of ♂♂ employed as skilled manual	DHS
21.8	% of ♂♂ employed in agriculture	DHS
75.4	% of ♀♀ who have 0 co-wives	DHS
16.2	% of ♀♀ who have 1 co-wife	DHS
7.2	% of ♀♀ who have 2 co-wives or more	DHS
22.2	median age at first marriage of ♀♀ now 25-49	DHS
4.3	fertility rate	DHS
22.8	median age at first birth of ♀♀ now 25-49	DHS
19.2	% of children <5 who are stunted	DHS
7.3	% of children <5 who are severely stunted	DHS
7.3	% of ♀♀ who are undernourished (BMI <18.5)	DHS
80.2	% of ♀♀ who do not own land (ø Nigeria 85.3)	DHS
	% of ♀♀ participating in decisions	
72.0	regarding ♀'s own healthcare	DHS
68.8	regarding major household purchases	DHS
86.0	regarding visits to her family/relatives	DHS
61.5	all three decisions	DHS
10.1	none of the three decisions	DHS
	% of ♀♀ thinking husband is justified to beat ♀	
4.7	if she burns the food	DHS
11.1	if she argues with him	DHS
13.1	if she goes out without telling him	DHS
19.6	if she neglects the children	DHS
5.1	if she refuses sex with him	DHS
23.1	% of ♀♀ agreeing with at least one reason	DHS
3.4	% of ♂♂ agreeing with at least one reason	DHS
	% of ♀♀ who experienced physical violence	
25.8	since age 15	DHS
2.9	often in past 12 months	DHS
9.7	sometimes in past 12 months	DHS
	% of ♀♀ who experienced sexual violence	
6.6	ever	DHS
0.9	in the past 12 months	DHS

The name “**Ekiti**” is said to be derived from “ile olokiti” which means “land of hills”. Ekiti was an independent state prior to British conquest. After independence, it took until 1996 – under Abacha – for it to be made into a Nigerian state, carved out of Ondo state.

Wikipedia reports that “(t)he Ekiti, whose ancestors migrated from Ile-Ife as a people, form one of the largest ethnic groups in Yorubaland. Ekitis are culturally homogeneous and they speak a dialect of Yoruba language known as Ekiti.”

Amongst Nigerian states, Ekiti ranks amongst the lowest in terms of the UNDP’s human poverty index though its GDP per head is somewhat below the national average.

Ekiti is rich in natural resources with cocoa as the leading cash crop and different kinds of timber (the state is covered in tropical forest in the south and in savannah in the north). Other important products of the land are yam, cassava, rice, maize, kola nuts, and fruits.

There is a tourist centre based on the warm springs in Ikogosi. The spring’s water is also bottled.

The state’s official website is <http://ekitistate.gov.ng>. The fourth of six items on the official agenda of Dr Ayodele Peter Fayose’s (of PDP) government presented there is “**Empowerment**” defined as: This Government seeks an egalitarian society for all Ekitis home and abroad. It shall rekindle hope and restore the self-confidence that we are known for. Every Ekiti Person shall be assisted to pursue and realize his or her aspiration(s) in the area of core ability or competence and encouraged to develop to the fullest without any form of inhibition or limitation. Government shall emplace an enabling environment and provide basic facilities for youths in the various professions, businesses, vocations, skills acquisition and other forms of human enterprise. It shall promote equal opportunities for women and support the physically challenged.”⁶⁵ Even if rather vague – this could serve as a point of reference for lobbying activities against FGC in the state.

Following a prolonged political crisis, a military administrator (General Tunji Olurin) was imposed by federal president Obasanjo in 2006. Elections marked by irregularities were held in 2007 and 2009. International Crisis Group certified improved gubernatorial polls on 21st of June 2014⁶⁶, though the same report mentions concerns about police and DSS⁶⁷ partisanship around these same gubernatorial elections⁶⁸.

On 19/6/2014 “soldiers and other federal government security agents prevented two opposition governors, Rotimi Amaechi (Rivers state) and Adams Oshiomhole (Edo state), from travelling to Ekiti state, where they had planned to attend an APC rally for Kayode Fayemi, who was seeking re-election.”⁶⁹

CLEEN rated Ebonyi as one of 14 states most likely to see electoral violence in 2015⁷⁰.

I.O. Orubuloye et al.’s 1994/95 study on “Circumcision among the Yoruba of Southwestern Nigeria”⁷¹ was undertaken partly in Ekiti (then Ondo) state, the related 1997/98 study entirely. Maybe comparisons can be made.

⁶⁵ <http://ekitistate.gov.ng/agenda/empowerment/>

⁶⁶ International Crisis Group, Nigeria’s Dangerous 2015 Elections: Limiting the Violence. Africa Report N°220, Brussels 21 November 2014, p.21

⁶⁷ Department of State Services (DSS); also known as the State Security Service (SSS), Nigeria’s domestic intelligence agency

⁶⁸ International Crisis Group, Nigeria’s Dangerous 2015 Elections: Limiting the Violence. Africa Report N°220, Brussels 21 November 2014, p.24

⁶⁹ International Crisis Group, Nigeria’s Dangerous 2015 Elections: Limiting the Violence. Africa Report N°220, Brussels 21 November 2014, p.7, fn. 34 quotes “Soldiers stop Oshiomhole, Amaechi from venturing into Ekiti”, Thisday, 20 June 2014

⁷⁰ International Crisis Group, Nigeria’s Dangerous 2015 Elections: Limiting the Violence. Africa Report N°220, Brussels 21 November 2014, p.17, fn.90

⁷¹ I.O. Orubuloye, Pat Caldwell, John Caldwell, Female, ‘Circumcision’ among the Yoruba of Southwestern Nigeria: The Beginning of Change, in: Bettina Shell-Duncan, Ylva Hernlund (ed.), Female “circumcision” in Africa: Culture, Controversy, and Change, Boulder (Lynne Rienner) 2001, pp.73ff

Imo		
General context		
		<i>source</i>
3.93	state population, in millions	NBS
5,288	state territory, in square km	NBS
51,881.69	GDP/capita in naira (2008/09)	UNDP
412.32	GDP/capita in USD (2008/09)	UNDP
0.510	HDI index (1.0 best)	UNDP
1976	year of creation of state	NBS
Owerri	state capital	NBS
0.4	inhabitants of capital, in millions	Wiki
Owelle Rochas Okorochoa	state governor	Wiki
APC	PDP or APC or other party affiliation	Wiki
27	number of LGAs in state	NBS
22.7	human poverty index (100 worst)	UNDP
0.418	gender development index (1.0 best)	UNDP
0.303	gender empowerment index (1.0 best)	UNDP
0.40	inequality index (1.0 worst inequality)	UNDP
FGC in Imo		
no	state law against FGC?	CEDAW
68.0	FGC rate (% of ♀♀ aged 15-49)	DHS
16.4	% of cut ♀♀ “cut, no flesh removed”	DHS
70.2	% of cut ♀♀ “cut, flesh removed”	DHS
5.1	% of cut ♀♀ “sewn closed”	DHS
8.3	% of cut ♀♀ “don’t know, missing”	DHS
	age at cutting of women 15-49	
99.1	% cut under age 5	DHS
0.0	% cut between ages 5 and 9	DHS
0.0	% cut between ages 10 and 14	DHS
0.1	% cut above age 15	DHS
32.3	% of daughters cut	DHS
40.6	% of ♀♀ who believe that cutting is required by religion	DHS
42.1	% of ♀♀ believing cutting should continue	DHS
54.9	% of ♀♀ believing cutting should not continue	DHS
68.9	% of ♂♂ believing cutting should continue	DHS
29.8	% of ♂♂ believing cutting should not continue	DHS
Other socio-economic data for Imo		
31.5	% of ♀♀ who completed secondary school or more	DHS
13.4	% of ♀♀ who have no education	DHS

54.7	% of ♀♀ employed in sales and services	DHS
16.1	% of ♀♀ employed in agriculture	DHS
40.0	% of ♂♂ employed as skilled manual	DHS
11.2	% of ♂♂ employed in agriculture	DHS
94.7	% of ♀♀ who have 0 co-wives	DHS
2.3	% of ♀♀ who have 1 co-wife	DHS
0.2	% of ♀♀ who have 2 co-wives or more	DHS
23.7	median age at first marriage of ♀♀ now 25-49	DHS
4.8	fertility rate	DHS
n.a.	median age at first birth of ♀♀ now 25-49	DHS
16.9	% of children <5 who are stunted	DHS
4.7	% of children <5 who are severely stunted	DHS
6.0	% of ♀♀ who are undernourished (BMI <18.5)	DHS
85.1	% of ♀♀ who do not own land (ø Nigeria 85.3)	DHS
	% of ♀♀ participating in decisions	
76.6	regarding ♀'s own healthcare	DHS
62.0	regarding major household purchases	DHS
78.6	regarding visits to her family/relatives	DHS
49.1	all three decisions	DHS
10.2	none of the three decisions	DHS
	% of ♀♀ thinking husband is justified to beat ♀	
6.4	if she burns the food	DHS
19.8	if she argues with him	DHS
15.7	if she goes out without telling him	DHS
18.8	if she neglects the children	DHS
8.6	if she refuses sex with him	DHS
29.0	% of ♀♀ agreeing with at least one reason	DHS
27.3	% of ♂♂ agreeing with at least one reason	DHS
	% of ♀♀ who experienced physical violence	
27.4	since age 15	DHS
1.5	often in past 12 months	DHS
11.8	sometimes in past 12 months	DHS
	% of ♀♀ who experienced sexual violence	
10.9	ever	DHS
4.4	in the past 12 months	DHS

Imo state – named after Imo River – was created in 1976 under military ruler Murtala Muham-mad. Part of it was split off in 1991 as Abia State (a part of which became Ebonyi State in 1996).

Imo is the richest of the five Joint Programme intervention states, with a GDP per head above the Nigerian national average. This is no doubt due to the state's mineral wealth (oil, gas, lead, zinc).

The state is small and densely inhabited (711 inhabitants per km²). Originally rich in timber (iroko, mahogany, etc.), the dense population and over farming have led to deforestation and soil erosion. Cash crops include oil palm, raffia palm, rice, groundnut, melon, cotton, cocoa, rubber, maize, etc. Yam, cassava, cocoyam and maize are the most important food crops⁷².

The 1953 census showed for 15 to 49 year olds a sex ratio of 79.1 men for 100 women for Imo. Many men had more or less temporarily migrated to Nigeria's South West and North for work. But this imbalance has come back to equilibrium since: while there were still only 86.4 men for every 100 women in Imo in 1991, 2006 saw a slightly higher number of men than women in the state⁷³

As to politics in the state, International Crisis Group reports that "(o)n 9 September (2014), suspected hired gunmen killed Kingsley Nkemka, a former Imo state lawmaker who was planning to contest for a seat in the House of Representatives"⁷⁴.

CLEEN rated Imo as one of 14 states most likely to see electoral violence in 2015⁷⁵.

As for FGC, remember that Imo stands out somewhat, type 4 (cut, no flesh removed) showing a share of 16.4% amongst cut women, though types 1 and 2 (cut, flesh removed) are still largely dominant (s. table above/DHS 2013).

Asides:

Flora Nwapa (Florence Nwanzuruahu Nkiru Nwapa) was born in Oguta, Imo on 13/1/1931 (educated at Ibadan University et al., she died on 16/10/1993 in Enugu).

The Women's War/Aba Women's Riot 1929-30 took place in Owerri and Calabar Provinces (though mainly concentrated in what is now Abia State). See, for example, Abena P.A. Busia, Diedre L. Badejo, *La guerre des femmes d'Aba: Le Témoignage de Nwanyeruwa devant la Commission d'enquête*, in: Esi Sutherland-Addy et Aminata Diaw (dir.), *Des femmes écrivent l'Afrique. L'Afrique de l'Ouest et le Sahel*, Paris (Karthala) 2007, pp.251-254 + extrait du témoignage de Nwanyeruwa, pp.254-258

⁷² <http://www.onlinenigeria.com/links/imoadv.asp?blurb=267>

⁷³ National Bureau of Statistics, Federal Republic of Nigeria, Annual Abstract of Statistics, 2012, pp.19f

⁷⁴ International Crisis Group, Nigeria's Dangerous 2015 Elections: Limiting the Violence. Africa Report N°220, Brussels 21 November 2014, p.8 cites "APC aspirant murdered in Imo", Daily Trust of 12/9/2014 as its source.

⁷⁵ International Crisis Group, Nigeria's Dangerous 2015 Elections: Limiting the Violence. Africa Report N°220, Brussels 21 November 2014, p.17, fn.90

Lagos		
General context		
		<i>source</i>
9.11	state population, in millions	NBS
3,671	state territory, in square km	NBS
321,493.52	GDP/capita in naira (2008/09)	UNDP
2,544.98	GDP/capita in USD (2008/09)	UNDP
0.607	HDI index (1.0 best)	UNDP
1967	year of creation of state	NBS
Lagos	state capital	NBS
(disputed)	inhabitants of capital, in millions	NBS
Babatunde Fashola	state governor	Wiki
APC	PDP or APC or other party affiliation	Wiki
20	number of LGAs in state	Wiki
14.5	human poverty index (100 worst)	UNDP
0.548	gender development index (1.0 best)	UNDP
0.357	gender empowerment index (1.0 best)	UNDP
0.48	inequality index (1.0 worst inequality)	UNDP
FGC in Lagos		
no	state law against FGC?	CEDAW
34.8	FGC rate (% of ♀♀ aged 15-49)	DHS
2.3	% of cut ♀♀ “cut, no flesh removed”	DHS
70.8	% of cut ♀♀ “cut, flesh removed”	DHS
4.4	% of cut ♀♀ “sewn closed”	DHS
22.4	% of cut ♀♀ “don’t know, missing”	DHS
	age at cutting of women 15-49	
83.5	% cut under age 5	DHS
3.8	% cut between ages 5 and 9	DHS
4.7	% cut between ages 10 and 14	DHS
3.7	% cut above age 15	DHS
9.9	% of daughters cut	DHS
7.3	% of ♀♀ who believe that cutting is required by religion	DHS
13.4	% of ♀♀ believing cutting should continue	DHS
71.9	% of ♀♀ believing cutting should not continue	DHS
34.6	% of ♂♂ believing cutting should continue	DHS
52.4	% of ♂♂ believing cutting should not continue	DHS
Other socio-economic data for Lagos		
41.2	% of ♀♀ who completed secondary school or more	DHS
9.0	% of ♀♀ who have no education	DHS

66.0	% of ♀♀ employed in sales and services	DHS
1.1	% of ♀♀ employed in agriculture	DHS
36.3	% of ♂♂ employed as skilled manual	DHS
3.2	% of ♂♂ employed in agriculture	DHS
85.1	% of ♀♀ who have 0 co-wives	DHS
10.0	% of ♀♀ who have 1 co-wife	DHS
3.0	% of ♀♀ who have 2 co-wives or more	DHS
23.8	median age at first marriage of ♀♀ now 25-49	DHS
4.1	fertility rate	DHS
24.5	median age at first birth of ♀♀ now 25-49	DHS
17.0	% of children <5 who are stunted	DHS
6.3	% of children <5 who are severely stunted	DHS
7.5	% of ♀♀ who are undernourished (BMI <18.5)	DHS
85.9	% of ♀♀ who do not own land (ø Nigeria 85.3)	DHS
	% of ♀♀ participating in decisions	
78.8	regarding ♀'s own healthcare	DHS
72.3	regarding major household purchases	DHS
90.1	regarding visits to her family/relatives	DHS
65.3	all three decisions	DHS
6.7	none of the three decisions	DHS
	% of ♀♀ thinking husband is justified to beat ♀	
1.2	if she burns the food	DHS
4.8	if she argues with him	DHS
3.9	if she goes out without telling him	DHS
8.1	if she neglects the children	DHS
1.1	if she refuses sex with him	DHS
11.4	% of ♀♀ agreeing with at least one reason	DHS
14.9	% of ♂♂ agreeing with at least one reason	DHS
	% of ♀♀ who experienced physical violence	
43.9	since age 15	DHS
2.9	often in past 12 months	DHS
12.1	sometimes in past 12 months	DHS
	% of ♀♀ who experienced sexual violence	
5.8	ever	DHS
0.8	in the past 12 months	DHS

Lagos – the name was given by the Portuguese, it means “lakes” – stands apart from the other five states of the baseline study. Its GDP per capita is six times higher than the richest of the intervention states, Imo. It is the country’s economic powerhouse. On its own, it produces 12%

of Nigeria's GDP. It is the best of our six states in terms of human poverty and human development, although not by much.

Beyond the port, Lagos' economy is largely based on industry, commerce and finance – “commercial and financial business is carried out in the central business district situated on the island. This is also where most of the country's commercial banks, financial institutions, and major corporations are headquartered.”⁷⁶

Lagos was Nigeria's capital from 1914 to 1991. On 14/11/1991, federal government functions were relocated to Abuja.

Figures for the city's population are disputed. The table above gives the official figure. But reality is thought to lie far beyond that – Lagos is thought to be Africa's biggest city at about 20 million⁷⁷, and one of the biggest cities in the world.



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A map showing the 16 LGAs making up Metropolitan Lagos. Note that Metropolitan Lagos is a statistical area and not an administrative entity unlike Lagos State. Lagos State is made up of these 16 LGAs and 4 other larger LGAs not shown on the map

Lagos is Yoruba-dominated but very multi-cultural. “The indigenous peoples of Lagos State are the Yoruba subgroups of the Aworis in Ikeja, the Eguns in Badagry area, the Ijebus in Ikorodu and Epe, while Lagos Island consists of an admixture of Benin and Eko Aworis as well as repatriated Yorubas and other immigrants.

However, the state in its modern form is a socio-cultural melting point which has attracted a cross section of Nigerians from all over the federation as well as non-Nigerians from other African countries and the rest of the world.”⁷⁹

Violence in politics: CLEEN in their latest Election Security Threat Assessment of 23/9/2014 rate Lagos as “red” – highly volatile with a view to upcoming elections⁸⁰.

⁷⁶ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lagos>, accessed on 16/1/2015

⁷⁷ 21 million according to <http://worldpopulationreview.com/world-cities/lagos-population/>, to take just one example

⁷⁸ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lagos>

⁷⁹ <http://www.onlinenigeria.com/links/lagosadv.asp?blurb=322>, accessed on 16/1/2015

⁸⁰ <http://www.cleen.org/2015%20Election%20Security%20Threat%20Assessment%20September%202014.pdf>

Then, on 23rd of November 2014:

“Operatives of the Department of State Service and soldiers attached to the security unit code-named Operation MESA on Saturday stormed the All Progressives Congress data centre in Lagos and arrested 25 data agents and three security guards.

(...) security agents also ransacked the duplex located on Ajibola Street, off Allen Avenue, Ikeja, and confiscated computer hardware, which contained the data of APC members in several parts of the country.

(...) all the rooms were turned inside out, while computer parts were scattered in the building.

It was learnt that the security operatives arrived at the centre as early as 6am and ransacked the building for about two hours before arresting those found on the premises.”⁸¹

FGC: I.O. Orubuloye et al.’s 1994/95 study was undertaken partly in Lagos state – maybe comparisons can be made.⁸²

⁸¹ Punch, DSS operatives, soldiers storm Lagos APC office, 23/11/2014, accessed on 16/1/2015 at <http://www.punchng.com/news/dss-operatives-soldiers-storm-lagos-apc-office/>

⁸² I.O. Orubuloye, Pat Caldwell, John Caldwell, Female ‘Circumcision’ among the Yoruba of Southwestern Nigeria: The Beginning of Change, in: Bettina Shell-Duncan, Ylva Hernlund (ed.), Female "circumcision" in Africa: Culture, Controversy, and Change, Boulder (Lynne Rienner) 2001, pp.73ff

Osun		
General context		
		<i>source</i>
3.42	state population, in millions	NBS
9,026	state territory, in square km	NBS
23,036.04	GDP/capita in naira (2008/09)	UNDP
183.07	GDP/capita in USD (2008/09)	UNDP
0.475	HDI index (1.0 best)	UNDP
1991	year of creation of state	NBS
Osogbo	state capital	NBS
0.16	inhabitants of capital, in millions	Wiki
Rauf Aregbesola	state governor	NBS
APC	PDP or APC or other party affiliation	Wiki
30	number of LGAs in state	Wiki
22.1	human poverty index (100 worst)	UNDP
0.475	gender development index (1.0 best)	UNDP
0.234	gender empowerment index (1.0 best)	UNDP
0.50	inequality index (1.0 worst inequality)	UNDP
FGC in Osun		
yes (also according to UN)	state law against FGC?	CEDAW
76.6	FGC rate (% of ♀♀ aged 15-49)	DHS
3.4	% of cut ♀♀ “cut, no flesh removed”	DHS
85.2	% of cut ♀♀ “cut, flesh removed”	DHS
2.9	% of cut ♀♀ “sewn closed”	DHS
8.5	% of cut ♀♀ “don’t know, missing”	DHS
	age at cutting of women 15-49	
86.2	% cut under age 5	DHS
8.5	% cut between ages 5 and 9	DHS
1.1	% cut between ages 10 and 14	DHS
1.5	% cut above age 15	DHS
35.3	% of daughters cut	DHS
10.7	% of ♀♀ who believe that cutting is required by religion	DHS
26.3	% of ♀♀ believing cutting should continue	DHS
69.2	% of ♀♀ believing cutting should not continue	DHS
14.0	% of ♂♂ believing cutting should continue	DHS
75.9	% of ♂♂ believing cutting should not continue	DHS
Other socio-economic data for Osun		
32.5	% of ♀♀ who completed secondary school or more	DHS
16.3	% of ♀♀ who have no education	DHS

68.1	% of ♀♀ employed in sales and services	DHS
5.3	% of ♀♀ employed in agriculture	DHS
32.6	% of ♂♂ employed as skilled manual	DHS
22.6	% of ♂♂ employed in agriculture	DHS
79.3	% of ♀♀ who have 0 co-wives	DHS
15.2	% of ♀♀ who have 1 co-wife	DHS
5.5	% of ♀♀ who have 2 co-wives or more	DHS
22.4	median age at first marriage of ♀♀ now 25-49	DHS
4.1	fertility rate	DHS
23.5	median age at first birth of ♀♀ now 25-49	DHS
20.5	% of children <5 who are stunted	DHS
7.9	% of children <5 who are severely stunted	DHS
9.2	% of ♀♀ who are undernourished (BMI <18.5)	DHS
86.8	% of ♀♀ who do not own land (ø Nigeria 85.3)	DHS
	% of ♀♀ participating in decisions	
53.0	regarding ♀'s own healthcare	DHS
53.5	regarding major household purchases	DHS
76.3	regarding visits to her family/relatives	DHS
47.9	all three decisions	DHS
22.1	none of the three decisions	DHS
	% of ♀♀ thinking husband is justified to beat ♀	
2.3	if she burns the food	DHS
10.4	if she argues with him	DHS
10.2	if she goes out without telling him	DHS
23.3	if she neglects the children	DHS
3.3	if she refuses sex with him	DHS
26.4	% of ♀♀ agreeing with at least one reason	DHS
7.4	% of ♂♂ agreeing with at least one reason	DHS
	% of ♀♀ who experienced physical violence	
12.8	since age 15	DHS
0.4	often in past 12 months	DHS
3.6	sometimes in past 12 months	DHS
	% of ♀♀ who experienced sexual violence	
2.2	ever	DHS
0.3	in the past 12 months	DHS

Osun is the poorest of our intervention states in terms of GDP per capita, and the fifth poorest amongst all Nigerian states. Its GDP per capita lies just above half the national average. The state's results for human development – around the median of Nigerian states – is slightly better

than Ebonyi's, and in terms of human poverty, Osun is just about the same as Ekiti, Imo and Oyo (only Lagos being lower amongst Nigerian states).

Osun, also a river, is the name of one of the Orisa, Yoruba deities. Osun is the goddess of water, love, beauty, fertility, art, diplomacy⁸³. An annual Osun-Osogbo festival is held in August. The Oṣun-Oṣogbo Grove, the shrine where the annual rites are held, was declared a World Heritage Site in 2005⁸⁴.

Ile-Ife is located in Osun, "an important early centre of political and religious development for Yoruba culture. Other important cities and towns include the ancient kingdom-capitals of Oke-Ila Orangun, Ila Orangun, Ijebu-Jesa, Ede, Iwo, Ejigbo, Modakeke, Ibokun, Ifetedo, Esa-Oke and Ilesa."⁸⁵ The major sub-ethnic groups in Osun are Ife, Ijesha, Oyo, Ibolu and Igbomina of the Yoruba people.⁸⁶

Osun is situated in the tropical rain forest zone. "(M)ain cash crops are cocoa, palm produce while food crops include yam, maize, cassava, millet, plantain and rice. Osun State apart from being rich in agricultural products is also endowed with a number of mineral resources such as gold, clay, limestone and granite."⁸⁷ Cottage industry in the state produces brass work, woven cloth, and wood carvings. The capital, Oshogbo, is home to some textile industry, food processing and a steel-rolling mill.

Osun was created in 1991 (under Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida) from part of Oyo State. It is presently ruled by Governor Rauf Aregbesola of the opposition APC who was "declared as the winner of 2007 election by Appeal Court in Ibadan on 26 November 2010. Ogbeni (Rauf Aregbesola) was also re-elected as Osun State Governor on August 9 2014"⁸⁸. CLEEN rated Osun as one of 14 states most likely to see electoral violence in 2015⁸⁹.

International Crisis Group certified improved gubernatorial polls on 9th of August 2014⁹⁰, though the same report mentions concerns about police and DSS⁹¹ partisanship around these same gubernatorial elections⁹². "In Osun state, just hours before the polls, hooded security operatives arrested the APC's national spokesman, Lai Mohammed; the media aide to the party's national leader, Sunday Dare; the deputy chief of staff to Osun state Governor Afolabi Salisu; Osun state's Agriculture Commissioner Wale Adedoyin; and 96 other party members. Most were freed without any charges once voting was concluded, but no PDP leaders or members were ever arrested."⁹³ "Osun state Governor Rauf Aregbesola (APC) reported that, in total, 150 APC mem-

⁸³ For state capital Osogbo and state-naming goddess Osun see also: Diedre L. Badejo, Poème à la louange d'Osun, in: Esi Sutherland-Ady et Aminata Diaw (dir.), *Des femmes écrivent l'Afrique. L'Afrique de l'Ouest et le Sahel*, Paris (Karthala) 2007, pp.146-149 incl. extrait du chant de louange Oriki Osun pp.148f

⁸⁴ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Osun_State, last accessed 17/1/2015

⁸⁵ *ibid.*

⁸⁶ *ibid.*

⁸⁷ <http://services.gov.ng/osun>, accessed 17/1/2015

⁸⁸ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Osun_State, last accessed 17/1/2015

⁸⁹ International Crisis Group, *Nigeria's Dangerous 2015 Elections: Limiting the Violence*. Africa Report N°220, Brussels 21 November 2014, p.17, fn.90

⁹⁰ International Crisis Group, *Nigeria's Dangerous 2015 Elections: Limiting the Violence*. Africa Report N°220, Brussels 21 November 2014, p.21

⁹¹ Department of State Services (DSS); also known as the State Security Service (SSS), Nigeria's domestic intelligence agency

⁹² International Crisis Group, *Nigeria's Dangerous 2015 Elections: Limiting the Violence*. Africa Report N°220, Brussels 21 November 2014, p.24

⁹³ International Crisis Group, *Nigeria's Dangerous 2015 Elections: Limiting the Violence*. Africa Report N°220, Brussels 21 November 2014, p.25 cites its sources "How we were arrested, detained, released by APC's Lai Mohammed", Sunday Trust, 10 August 2014; "Osun lawmaker, others lament detention on election eve", The Punch, 18 August 2014.

bers, including the state's commissioner for justice and attorney general, were "harassed, threatened, bastardized" by hooded security operatives."⁹⁴

FGC: The Women's Health and Action Research Centre (WHARC)⁹⁵, established in 1993 at the Obafemi Awolowo University (OAU), Ile Ife, at first called Women's Health and Action Research Unit (WHARU) is reportedly active against FGC (see the Context Nigeria subchapter "Actors against Female Genital Cutting" above).

The Centre for Gender and Policy Studies, Obafemi Awolowo University⁹⁶, Ile-Ife, is one of five gender/women's studies centres in Nigeria that are members of the Network for Women's Studies in Nigeria/NWSN. The Centre has "Sexual/Gender Based Violence as one of its five topics". On the centre's website, there is a recent link to a study by J Abdulcadir and MI Rodriguez, Research gaps in the care of women with female genital mutilation: an analysis, published by BJOG 19/12/2014. The paper's abstract reads: "In this paper, we review some key knowledge gaps in the clinical care of women with FGM, focusing on obstetric outcomes, surgical interventions (defibulation and clitoral reconstruction), and the skills and training of healthcare professionals involved in the prevention and management of FGM. We identify research priorities to improve the evidence necessary to establish guidelines for the best multidisciplinary care, communication, and prevention, and to improve health-promotion measures for women with FGM."⁹⁷

⁹⁴ International Crisis Group, Nigeria's Dangerous 2015 Elections: Limiting the Violence. Africa Report N°220, Brussels 21 November 2014, p.25 cites its source "APC members harassed, by Aregbesola", Sunday Trust, 10 August 2014.

⁹⁵ <http://www.wharc-online.org/>

⁹⁶ <http://www.mhtf.org/organization/obafemi-awolowo-university-centre-for-gender-and-social-policy-studies/>

⁹⁷ <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1471-0528.13217/abstract>, accessed 17/1/2015; article not accessible to non-members

Oyo		
General context		
		<i>source</i>
5.58	state population, in millions	NBS
26,500	state territory, in square km	NBS
35,268.56	GDP/capita in naira (2008/09)	UNDP
280.29	GDP/capita in USD (2008/09)	UNDP
0.478	HDI index (1.0 best)	UNDP
1976	year of creation of state	NBS
Ibadan	state capital	NBS
3.2	inhabitants of capital, in millions	Wiki
Isiaka Abiola Ajimobi	state governor	NBS
APC	PDP or APC or other party affiliation	Wiki
33	number of LGAs in state	NBS
21.9	human poverty index (100 worst)	UNDP
0.447	gender development index (1.0 best)	UNDP
0.311	gender empowerment index (1.0 best)	UNDP
0.50	inequality index (1.0 worst inequality)	UNDP
FGC in Oyo		
yes (not according to UN)	state law against FGC?	CEDAW
65.6	FGC rate (% of ♀♀ aged 15-49)	DHS
1.2	% of cut ♀♀ “cut, no flesh removed”	DHS
73.7	% of cut ♀♀ “cut, flesh removed”	DHS
2.8	% of cut ♀♀ “sewn closed”	DHS
22.3	% of cut ♀♀ “don’t know, missing”	DHS
	age at cutting of women 15-49	
90.2	% cut under age 5	DHS
5.1	% cut between ages 5 and 9	DHS
3.3	% cut between ages 10 and 14	DHS
0.2	% cut above age 15	DHS
38.4	% of daughters cut	DHS
9.3	% of ♀♀ who believe that cutting is required by religion	DHS
45.7	% of ♀♀ believing cutting should continue	DHS
43.8	% of ♀♀ believing cutting should not continue	DHS
35.6	% of ♂♂ believing cutting should continue	DHS
50.2	% of ♂♂ believing cutting should not continue	DHS
Other socio-economic data for Oyo		
23.9	% of ♀♀ who completed secondary school or more	DHS
24.9	% of ♀♀ who have no education	DHS

64.8	% of ♀♀ employed in sales and services	DHS
7.8	% of ♀♀ employed in agriculture	DHS
32.0	% of ♂♂ employed as skilled manual	DHS
26.3	% of ♂♂ employed in agriculture	DHS
69.5	% of ♀♀ who have 0 co-wives	DHS
23.2	% of ♀♀ who have 1 co-wife	DHS
7.3	% of ♀♀ who have 2 co-wives or more	DHS
20.3	median age at first marriage of ♀♀ now 25-49	DHS
4.5	fertility rate	DHS
21.4	median age at first birth of ♀♀ now 25-49	DHS
27.2	% of children <5 who are stunted	DHS
9.6	% of children <5 who are severely stunted	DHS
13.5	% of ♀♀ who are undernourished (BMI <18.5)	DHS
83.2	% of ♀♀ who do not own land (ø Nigeria 85.3)	DHS
	% of ♀♀ participating in decisions	
73.4	regarding ♀'s own healthcare	DHS
75.8	regarding major household purchases	DHS
85.7	regarding visits to her family/relatives	DHS
66.1	all three decisions	DHS
10.4	none of the three decisions	DHS
	% of ♀♀ thinking husband is justified to beat ♀	
4.7	if she burns the food	DHS
15.3	if she argues with him	DHS
14.5	if she goes out without telling him	DHS
15.7	if she neglects the children	DHS
7.8	if she refuses sex with him	DHS
20.8	% of ♀♀ agreeing with at least one reason	DHS
12.3	% of ♂♂ agreeing with at least one reason	DHS
	% of ♀♀ who experienced physical violence	
48.0	since age 15	DHS
4.0	often in past 12 months	DHS
12.1	sometimes in past 12 months	DHS
	% of ♀♀ who experienced sexual violence	
3.9	ever	DHS
1.9	in the past 12 months	DHS

Oyo is better off in terms of GDP per head than neighbouring Osun – but it remains below Nigeria’s average. Its values for human poverty are low in comparison to the other Nigerian states. For human development, it lies in the mid-range of Nigeria’s states.

Oyo has some remaining tropical forest in the south, but the state is mostly covered in derived savannah. Agriculture, the economy's mainstay, produces maize, yam, cassava, millet, rice, plantain, cacao tree, palm produce, cashew, etc. "There are a number of government farm settlements in Ipapo, Ilora, Eruwa, Ogbomosho, Iresaadu, Ijaiye, Akufo and Lalupon. There is abundance of clay, kaolin, aquamarine. There are also vast cattle ranches at Saki, Fasola and Ibadan, a dairy farm at Monatan in Ibadan and the state-wide Oyo State Agricultural Development Programme with headquarters at Saki. A number of international and federal agricultural establishments are located in the state."⁹⁸ Cottage industry activities include cotton spinning, weaving, dyeing, leatherworking, woodcarving, and mat making. Ibadan has some industry: "a cannery, a brewery, a publishing industry, a tobacco-processing factory, wood- and steel-furniture factory, and a motor-vehicle assembly plant. Ibadan is the site of the International Institute of Tropical Agriculture, the Cocoa Research Institute of Nigeria, and the Federal Agricultural Research Institute."⁹⁹

The Yoruba of Oyo "may be divided into five broad groups which are: Ibadans, Ibarapas, Oyos, Oke-Oguns and Ogbomosos"¹⁰⁰.

Oyo state was created in 1976. Its capital Ibadan, with more than 3 million inhabitants, is the third largest Nigerian city. Ibadan "had been the centre of administration of the old Western Region, Nigeria since the days of the British colonial rule."¹⁰¹

The state's Governor is Isiaka Abiola Ajimobi of opposition party APC. CLEEN rated Oyo as mid-volatile with respect to violence in the run-up to the 1915 elections¹⁰². International Crisis Group reports: "On 28 July (2014), Temitope Olatoye, an APC legislator in Oyo state, escaped an attack by gunmen in Ibadan, the state capital; he believed it was politically motivated."¹⁰³

Gender: The Women's Research and Documentation Centre/WORDOC at University of Ibadan is one of five Nigerian gender/women's studies centres that are members of the Network for Women's Studies in Nigeria/NWSN. The University of Ibadan, on its website, writes:

"Gender Mainstreaming Office (GMO) is a unit established under the Office of the Deputy Vice-Chancellor, (Academic), University of Ibadan. (...) The University of Ibadan has been in the forefront of gender research and advocacy in Nigerian and African Universities since the establishment of the **Women's Research and Documentation Centre (WORDOC)** in 1986. In September 2006, the Association of African Universities (AAU) chose the University of Ibadan as the trialling centre for its training modules on Gender Mainstreaming Project in African Higher Education. In January and March, 2007, the University, through WORDOC, held two down streaming workshops for the university community and surrounding tertiary institutions. As a result of the success of these programmes, the University management sought to sustain the programme by establishing the GMO. The unit is committed to promoting a gender-sensitive institutional culture and to widen the scope of gender mainstreaming in Nigeria. From 2007 to 2011, the GMP conducted research on the gender situation in the University, reviewed policies and regulations and the curricula for their gender sensitivity, conducted research on sexual harassment and analysed data on access, achievement, facilities, security and the environment. These provided input into the series of consensus building workshops for the University's Gender Policy and Sexual Harassment Policy."¹⁰⁴

FGC: I.O. Orubuloye et al.'s 1994/95 study was undertaken partly in Oyo state – maybe comparisons can be made.¹⁰⁵

⁹⁸ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oyo_State, accessed 17/1/2015

⁹⁹ Encyclopaedia Britannica, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/437046/Oyo>, accessed on 17/1/2015

¹⁰⁰ <http://www.oyostate.gov.ng/about-oyo-state/the-people/> accessed on 17/1/2015

¹⁰¹ <http://nigerianstat.gov.ng/information/details/Oyo>, accessed 17/1/2015

¹⁰² International Crisis Group, Nigeria's Dangerous 2015 Elections: Limiting the Violence. Africa Report N°220, Brussels 21 November 2014, p.17, fn.90

¹⁰³ *ibid.*, p.8 cites as its source: "Oyo lawmaker escapes assassination attempt", Leadership, 31/7/2014

¹⁰⁴ <http://ui.edu.ng/content/gender-mainstreaming-office-0>, accessed 17/1/2015; my highlighting

¹⁰⁵ I.O. Orubuloye, Pat Caldwell, John Caldwell, Female 'Circumcision' among the Yoruba of Southwestern Nigeria: The Beginning of Change, in: Bettina Shell-Duncan, Ylva Hernlund (ed.), Female "circumcision" in Africa: Culture, Controversy, and Change, Boulder (Lynne Rienner) 2001, pp.73ff

CONTRIBUTIONS TO DATA COLLECTION TOOLS

See appendices for finalised tools.

THE WAY AHEAD

International consultant's five weeks in Nigeria

The in-country phase of the consultancy is to finally happen from 23rd of January to 26th of February 2015.

Meetings and collecting information will be undertaken in Abuja (1st and 5th weeks), Oyo, Imo, and one other Yoruba or Igbo state (2nd through 4th weeks) to be selected by UNICEF Abuja.

Interviews conducted will focus entirely on collection of qualitative data. It would be important to meet the foremost experts – nationally and in the states visited – those who are most knowledgeable about FGC and what has been and is being done against it.

On the Nigerian side, selection of interview partners seems to be less obvious than assumed by the international expert all along until a telephone conversation on 5th of December. Together, the decision was taken to play the selection and sequence of interviews by ear, i.e. to go meet the obvious experts in Abuja and the three states and to try and get information from them on whom else it would be good and important to meet. And to hope that these recommended experts will be available for meetings with the international consultant without hardly any prior notice.

Hopefully, the stamp of approval of the Nigerian ethics commission has been obtained in the meantime so that collection of quantitative data is already going ahead or can go ahead without further delay.

Exploitation of the qualitative and quantitative data collected

A **template** (one and the same, if possible) for States and Local Government Areas will be presented by the international consultant after adaptation following comments by national and state level consultants and experts. This template could, in future, also serve for villages/communities. The template will be the heart-piece of presenting the baseline study's results and will aim to set standards for results-oriented presentation of FGC intervention zones of very different dimensions.

This template is to give a one page overview of the state of FGC affairs in the state respectively LGA. Information needs to be condensed. Clarity is quintessential. A simple but effective design will make the grasping of the essentials possible.

The template will consist of four parts:

1. Rating results: State/LGA results for an FGC index;
2. Information on public declarations;
3. Information about intra-couple/family/community communication about FGC;
4. A matrix willing practitioners to willing abandoners.

The rating will be an adaptation/development of the village/community rating that the international consultant has developed in Eritrea in 2014. Most probably, the composite index will be made up of four subindices: knowledge and experience of anti-FGC activities, attitude of self, attitude of others, practice.

For each state and to a lesser extent for each LGA, the template will be followed by statistical analysis, most pertinent data presented in tables and graphs, and verbal interpretation of qualitative and quantitative data.

Results will, of course, be put together and made operational for the Joint Programme intervention. Always keeping in mind how short the intervention timeframe is – with a lot of time already spent: The Joint Programme’s second phase will last only until December 2017, which is not even three years from now.

As for the international consultant’s **contributions to Nigeria’s national anti-FGC strategy**, these will take the draft of the National Policy and Plan of Action for the Elimination of FGM¹⁰⁶ as its starting point. Pertinence and richness of the international consultant’s contributions will depend most of all on the material collected during the five-week in-country phase as to what has been done in the past and is being done presently.

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ANNEX 1:

NATIONAL TECHNICAL WORKING GROUP ON FEMALE GENITAL MUTILATION/CUTTING (FGM/C) ABANDONMENT IN NIGERIA

ATTENDANCE LIST

s/n	Name	Designation & Organization		Email & Phone
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