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THE TRADITION OF FEMALE CIRCUMCISION (THE INTEGRATION OF RELIGION AND CULTURE)

Nurlaelah Abbas¹, St. Rahmatiah²

State Islamic University Alauddin Makassar, Indonesia^{1,2}

Correspondence Email: <u>nurlaelah.abbas@uin-alauddin.ac.id</u>1

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Abstract

The aims of this research are: the first, to describe the implementation of the female circumcision tradition in Jeneponto society, the second to describe the Islamic values contained in the female circumcision tradition and the third to acquire a clear picture of the attitude and understanding of the people of Jeneponto about the tradition of female circumcision. This research is descriptive qualitative. This research was conducted in two ways, namely: library research and field research. The results of this study indicate that the tradition of female circumcision in Jeneponto society is carried out very lively as is the case with marriage traditions, starting with the preparation process such as deliberation, Korontigi events, to the circumcision reception. Various kinds of traditional rituals that have been carried out so far still reflect Islamic values that are described in the form of religious understanding, solidarity and mutual cooperation as well as the value of beauty that is reflected in the entire series of traditional rituals. The attitude and understanding of Jeneponto society regarding the tradition of female circumcision which is an obligation for Muslims, and ancestral traditions that must be preserved. In addition, there is a social construction in the implementation of female circumcision, and the circumcision event is one of the gathering places.

Keywords: Tradition; Female Circumcision; Religion and Culture

الملخص

أهداف هذه الدراسة هي: أولا: وصف تنفيذ ختان الإناث في مجتمع جينيبونتو ، وثانيا: وصف القيم الإسلامية المتضمنة في ختان الإناث في جينيبونتو ، و ثالثا: الحصول على المواقف مفاهيم مجتمع جينيبونتو عن ختان الإناث في صورة واضحة. أما نوع البحث فهو نوعي وصفي. وأجريت الدراسة على طريقتين هما: البحث المكتبي والبحث الميداني. تظهر نتائج هذه الدراسة أن ختان الإناث في مجتمع جينيبونتو تم تنفيذه بشكل حفلات كبيرة كما هو الحال في احتفال وليمة العرس ، بدءا من عملية تحضيرية مثل المداولات ، وبرنامج الكورونتية korontigi حتى حفلات الختان. هناك مجموعة من الطقوس



والتقاليد التى لا تخالف القيم الإسلامية مازالت تنفذ حتى الآن في شكل المفاهيم الدينية وتضامن عال والتعاون بين المجتمع وقيم الجمال المصور من طقوسها المعتادة. يعتبر ختان الإناث عند مجتمع جينيبونتو إلزاما للمسلمات، وتقاليد الأجداد التي يجب الحفاظ عليها. بالإضافة إلى ذلك ، هناك بناء اجتماعي في تنفيذ ختان الإناث حيث أنه وسيلة لصلة الأرحام بين المجتمع. الكلمات الملفتاحية: تقاليد; ختان الإناث; الدين; الثقافة

Abstrak

Tujuan penelitian ini adalah : pertama, mendeskripsikan pelaksanaan tradisi khitan perempuan pada masyarakat Jeneponto kedua, mendeskripsikan nilai-nilai Islam yang terkandung dalam tradisi khitan perempuan dan ketiga, memperoleh gambaran yang jelas seperti apa sikap dan pemahaman masyarkat Jeneponto tentang tradisi khitan perempuan. Jenis penelitian ini adalah deskriptif kualitatif. Penelitian ini dilakukan dengan dua cara yaitu: penelitian kepustakaan dan penelitian lapangan. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa tradisi khitan perempuan pada masyarakat Jeneponto dilaksanakan dengan sangat meriah seperti halnya tradisi perkawinan, dimulai dengan proses persiapan seperti musyawarah, acara Korontigi, sampai pada acara resepsi khitanan. Berbagai macam ritual tradisi yang dilakukan selama ini masih mencerminkan nilai-nilai Islam yang terjabarkan dalam bentuk pemahaman religious, tingginya solidaritas dan gotong royong serta nilai keindahan yang tergambar dari seluruh rangkaian ritual adatnya. Sikap dan pemahaman masyarakat Jeneponto tentang tradisi khitan perempuan yang merupakan kewajiban bagi umat Islam, dan tradisi leluhur yang harus dilestarikan. Selain itu adanya konstruksi sosial dalam pelaksanaan khitan perempuan, serta acara khitan merupakan salah satu ajang silaturahmi.

Kata Kunci: Tradisi; Khitan Perempuan; Agama dan Budaya

A. Introduction

Circumcision is an ancient practice carried out by various groups of people for religious and socio-cultural reasons, before the three Samawi religions were revealed; Judaism, Christianity and Islam.¹ According to Muhammad Serour circumcision is not practiced by the majority of Muslims around the world, but the religious basis is often cited as a justification for performing circumcision. Christians, Jews and Muslims believe that this tradition was ordered by God to Abraham as a sign of the "eternal covenant" between Abraham and his descendants.² This has become a cultural root in

¹ M. Ali Hasan, Masail Fiqhiyah Al-Haditsah (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 1996), 179.

² Jurnalis Uddin dkk, *Khitan Perempuan Dari Sudut Pandang Sosial, Budaya, Kesehatan Dan Agama* (Jakarta: Deputi Bidang Partisipasi Masyrakat Kementerian Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak RI, Advokasi dan Sosialisasi Pencegahan Sunat Perempuan Bagi Tokoh Agama, 2018), 13.

the practice of female circumcision in a number of countries, at least 29 countries in the world still practice female circumcision, including Indonesia.³

In the issue of female circumcision, there is no postulate that shows legal certainty, so that there are differences of opinion among ulamas. However, according to Imam Shafi'i that circumcision for men and women must be based on the hadith narrated by al-Zuhri: it means "Whoever converts to Islam, then circumcise even though he is big".⁴

It seems that there are a lot of Muslims who do not understand about the law and the benefits of female circumcision.⁵ There are many propaganda issues from parties who continue to have ambitions to keep Muslims away from the doctrine of their own religion, so previously, there was a ban on female circumcision in various countries including Indonesia.

The issue of female circumcision has emerged as a public issue which is closely related to at least two things. First, a systemic campaign from doctors related to efforts protection for human rights and children's rights including women's rights to reproduce. Second, the presentation of the abuse of the practice of female circumcision which has an impact on the emergence of various harmful negative excesses (as is the case in various African countries).⁶

Female circumcision in Indonesia was once prohibited by the Government through the Circular Letter of the Director General of Public Health, Ministry of Health of the Republic of Indonesia Number HK 00.07.1.31047a, dated April 20, 2006 concerning the Prohibition of Health Officers for the Medicalization of Female Circumcision. Regarding the prohibition of female circumcision, it attracted attention among Indonesian Ulama, so that in 2008 the Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI) specifically studied female circumcision. In this study, the MUI finally issued a fatwa No. 9A of 2008, dated May 7, 2008 concerning the Law on the Prohibition of Female Circumcision. The fatwa emphasized that female circumcision is permissible as long as it complies with health and medical standards. Of course, this is contrary to the circular letter from the Ministry of Health which actually prohibits the practice of female circumcision. Therefore, there seems to be overlapping regulations in Indonesia regarding the policies taken by the government. And not long after, in 2010, the Ministry of Health issued a regulation, namely PERMENKES Number 1636 of 2010 concerning Female Circumcision, which contained instructions from medical experts to perform female circumcision when requested by the patient (parents for children who want to be circumcised). This has provoked the controversy over the issue of female circumcision because it views the Permenkes as a policy that opens up opportunities and authorities for medical personnel to perform female circumcision services and as a form of legality of female circumcision in Indonesia.

14.

³ Uddin dkk, Khitan Perempuan Dari Sudut Pandang Sosial, Budaya, Kesehatan Dan Agama,

⁴ HR. Harb bin Ismail.

⁵ Ibrahim Hindi Maryam, *Misteri Di Balik Khitan Wanita*, trans. Abu Nabil (Solo: Zam-zam, 2008), 5.

⁶ M. Asrorun Ni'am Sholeh, "Fatwa MUI Tentang Khitan Perempuan," *AHKAM : Jurnal Ilmu Syariah* 12, no. 2 (August 7, 2012): 3, accessed January 2, 2023, https://journal.uinjkt.ac.id/index.php/ahkam/article/view/964.

People of Jeneponto Regency, the locus of this study, still carry out the tradition of female circumcision. The Jeneponto people carry out this tradition very lively. Various kinds of traditional rituals that accompany it as a wedding party. The tradition calls them the *appassunna* tradition or the Islamization of women. The Jeneponto people are very enthusiastic about the traditional female circumcision event, and it is one of several traditions that must be carried out, even being *Siri'* if there are people who cannot do it. Regardless of whether they know the implementation law or just follow the existing tradition. This causes women and their families to be under pressure to perform the circumcision. Due to the pressure that require women to be circumcised, parents will feel worried if their daughters are not accepted in society or feel alienated because they are not circumcised.

Research on the issue of male or female circumcision in Indonesia has been numerous and continues to be updated in various forms of work. For example, Imam Zamroni's research result describes circumcision as a local tradition, religious norm and human rights in Madura. From the MUI side, M. Asrorun Ni'am Sholeh found that the MUI fatwa and the views of the scholars of the Ulama of fikh affirmed the protection of children in the practice of circumcision so that the impact was dangerous. Jauharatul Farida et al expressed that female circumcision in Demak was carried out in two ways, namely symbolic and actual. The series of researchers above have their own focus of study, with different discussions from one another. If you look closely, the research that the author will do is almost the same as Imam Zamroni's research. But here, the author takes a different research location, namely the object of research in Jeneponto Regency which still carries out the tradition of female circumcision. It is hoped that this research can be scientifically useful ('*Ilmiyyah*) which is educative and constructive towards the attitudes and understanding of the Jeneponto community.

B. Literature Review

1. General Review about Tradition and Culture

a. Definition of Tradition and Culture

The definition of culture comes from the Sanskrit word "*buddayah*" which means mind or reason or it can be said that culture is the result of the creation of taste and intention.⁷ Tradition is etymologically a word that refers to customs or habits that are passed down from generation to generation, or regulations that were held by the community. Tradition is a synonym for the word 'culture', both of which are creation. These two words are the personification of an unwritten law, which becomes the standard of norms in society that are considered good and right.⁸

According to Bronislow Malinowski, culture and society cannot be separated because culture is a habit that has been ingrained for a long time and is formed from values and norms that had been adopted and passed down from generation to generation in a community group since the birth of their ancestors. Traditions that have been entrenched will become a source in one's character. The most basic thing about tradition

⁷ Darsono, *Budaya Organisasi: Kajian Organisasi Bisnis, Ekonomi, Sosial, Pendidikan, Dan Politik* (Jakarta: Nusantara Consulting, 2009), 31–34.

⁸ Kementrian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan RI, *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia' Ed. V, Jakarta: Balai Pustaka* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 2016), 1208.

is the existence of information that is passed on from generation to generation, both written and oral, because without this a tradition can become extinct. In addition, tradition is also a shared habit in society, which will automatically affect the actions and reactions in everyday life of members of that community.⁹

However, in its journey, the tradition is not pure, meaning that it has undergone changes from time to time, because not all traditions bring progress, sometimes certain traditions bring setbacks. For example, traditions that are coercive and binding.¹⁰

b. Harmony of Islamic Values and Traditions in Society

Islam is present in Indonesia not in a society devoid of tradition and culture, but instead it is accommodated, adopted, then Islamized. Islam does not displace the culture that lives in the society where Islam came to enlighten the creed of the ummah. Islam straightens, gives value, meaning and strengthens the culture that has lived for a long time in the society it preaches.¹¹

Tradition and religion in society must go hand in hand so that in tradition there is no inequality that causes the tradition to conflict with religious rules and even come closer to major sins such as *shirk* to Allah swt. When a tradition and culture do not conflict with religion, Islam will recognize and preserve it, but when a tradition is contrary to religion, Islam will provide several solutions such as erasing the culture. Allah swt says in a fragment of a verse in QS al-A'raf (7):199 that meaning: "Take what is given freely, enjoin what is good, and turn away from the ignorant."¹²

All of rituals, traditions or beliefs always contain value in them. These values will be bond of existence in a community or society so that these cultural products can be maintained from generation to generation. In a traditional ritual, it often displays the sacred ritual of a sacred custom for the community which has a social function to intensify social solidarity among community members to realize a ceremony in earnest, because this is a logical consequence of a culture they adhere to.

In general, value is something precious, a belief held in such a way by a person according to his conscience. Value is a set of beliefs and personal attitudes of a person about the truth, beauty, and appreciation of a thought, object or behavior that is oriented towards action and giving direction and meaning to one's life. Essentially, religious values are values that have the strongest truth compared to other values. Value comes from the highest truth that comes from God. Therefore, the highest value that must be achieved is the harmony of all elements of life. Between human will and God's command, between speech and action or between *i'tiqad* and deed.¹³

Islam as a religion is a treatise that was conveyed by Allah to His Apostle (Muhammad saw) as a guide for humans to be used by humans in carrying out life

⁹ Zuhairi Misrawi, *Menggugat Tradisi Pergulatan Pemikiran Anak Muda NU Dalam Nurkholis Madjid Kata Pengantar* (Jakarta: Kompas Media Nusantara, 2004), 17.

¹⁰ Piotr Sztompka, *Sosiologi Perubahan Sosial* (Jakarta: Pernada Media Grup, 2007), 71.

¹¹ Abidin Nurdin, "Integrasi Agama dan Budaya: Kajian Tentang Tradisi Maulod dalam Masyarakat Aceh," *el Harakah: Jurnal Budaya Islam* 18, no. 1 (June 10, 2016): 46.

¹² Kementerian Agama RI, *Al-Qur'an Dan Terjemahnya* (Jakarta: Sinergi Pustaka Indonesia, 2012), 255.

¹³ Risieri Frondizi, *What Is Value' Translated by Cuk Ananta Wijaya Entitled Pengantar Filsafat Nilai* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Belajar, 2007), 9.

procedures and relationships with God (*hablu minallah*), fellow humans (*hablu minannas*) and the natural surroundings. Thus, Islamic values can be defined as concepts and beliefs that are upheld by humans regarding several main issues related to Islam to be used as guidelines for behavior, both values originating from God and from the results of human interaction without conflicting with the Shari'a.

In Islam, there are several main teachings that can guarantee the realization of human life, both physically and mentally, in the hereafter. Therefore, religious values in Islam are based on the principles of these teachings, namely the value of monotheism, the value of sharia and the value of morality.

2. Islam and The Female Circumcision Tradition

a. The Definition of Female Circumcision

Linguistically, the word circumcision in Arabic comes from the word *khatana-yakhtinu-khatnan* which means to circumcise or cut.¹⁴

In the terminology of Islamic fiqh experts, circumcision is cutting the skin covering the head of the penis (*hasyafah*) for men, and cutting the flesh at the end of the female clitoris. Al Mawardi as quoted by Ibn Hajar al-Asqallani, defines female circumcision as the cutting of the skin on the top of the female genitalia, above the entrance of the penis, a kind of seed or the comb of a rooster.¹⁵

In fiqh, there is actually a separate term for female circumcision, namely "*khafdh*" or "*khifadh*" which is the original word for female circumcision in Islam. Ibn Abidin, an expert on fiqh of the Hanafi *madzhab*, said that women should not be called circumcision but khifadh.¹⁶

In this way, the mention of female circumcision is not actually a literal meaning, but a metaphorical language (majaz) because it is already popular.

The naming of *khifadh* for female circumcision is interesting and important to mention, because it shows a different meaning from what is often suggested or imagined by many people about circumcision (cutting). *Khifadh* literally means to reduce (to reduce), simplify (minimize) take a little (*akhdz al yasir* / take easy) and slowly (lower). In this case it is more accurately translated "scratch". This meaning is certainly far from what is called cutting. The term *khifadh* (female circumcision) is not a clitoridectomy, genital mutilation, or genital circumcision.¹⁷

The practice of circumcision with this meaning shows the will of Islam to criticize, improve and transform Islam on the excessive cultural practice of female circumcision (genital clitoridectomy) to a lighter and more refined form.

b. The Law and The Postulate of Female Circumcision

In summary, the controversy surrounding the law of female circumcision arises in three opinions. Dr. Wahbah al Zuhaili, the leading contemporary jurisprudence (*faqih*) from Syria, by referring to a number of classical references, or the Yellow Book,

¹⁴ Mahmud Yunus, *Kamus Arab-Indonesia* (Jakarta: Yayasan Penyelenggara Penerjemah, 1973), 114.

¹⁵ Ibnu Hajar Al-atsqalani, Fath Al-Bari Fi Syarh al-Bukhari (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 1933), 530.

¹⁶ Ibnu Abidin, Hasyiyah Radd Al-Muhtar (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 1979), 751.

¹⁷ Muhammad Husein, *Khitan Perempuan* (Jakarta: Media Islam untuk hak-Hak Perempuan, 2009), 39.

summarizes these three views: "Circumcision for men, namely cutting the skin covering the tip of the penis, according to the view of the majority of the Hanafi and Maliki *madzhab* is *Sunnah Muakkadah*. (highly recommended), and khifadh is *Makrumah* (an honor). That is, scratching a little of the upper skin on a woman's vagina and it is recommended not to overdo it, in order to keep feeling the pleasure of sexual intercourse. The Shafi'i *madzhab* believes that circumcision is obligatory for both men and women. Meanwhile, Imam Ahmad believes that circumcision is obligatory for men and an honor for women. This practice generally applies in tropical countries".¹⁸

Ibn Abidin in *al-Durr al-Mukhtar* said: "Know that circumcision is a sunnah for both men and women".¹⁹

Contrary to what Imam al-Nawawi informed in *al-Majmu* that Ahmad bin Hanbal also required it, Ibn Qudamah al-Hanbali, actually said the opposite, that the majority of the Hambali *madzhab* did not require female circumcision. In *al-Mughni* he said: "Circumcision is obligatory for men and honor for women, not obligatory. This is the opinion of the majority of *ulama*."²⁰

Sheikh Yusuf al Qardhawi's interpretation of the meaning of *makrumah* is: "What is meant by *makrumah* (honor for women) is that it is something (practice) that is considered good according to community tradition. Indeed, there is no religious text, which obliges or recommends (*sunnah*). This is a subject that can change. Traditions that are considered honorable in one time or place, are not always honorable for another time or place. Therefore, we can see (understand) a number of areas where Muslims do not circumcise their women, such as countries in the Arabian Gulf and all northern African countries."²¹

Sheikh al Qardhawi's view is increasingly clear that female circumcision is not part of a religious decision, but a decision of tradition, customs or culture. That way, it applies conditionally and contextually. So it is not a fixed practice and in all ages.

The Qur'an as the main source of Islam, does not mention the issue of circumcision, both for men and women. A number of scholars reject this statement, saying that circumcision is mentioned implicitly in QS an-Nahl/16:123: "Then We revealed to you, [O Muhammad], to follow the *millah* of Abraham, inclining toward truth; and he was not of those who associate with Allah."²²

According to them, among Abraham's "millah" is "circumcision". This refers to the Sahih Bukhari-Muslim *hadith* from Abu Hurairah, that Prophet Ibrahim was circumcised at the age of 80 years.²³

As far as can be read in many *tafsir* book, the *mufassirin* did not discuss, parse or even not mention at all about circumcision which is understood from this verse. This

¹⁸ Wahbah al Zuhaili, *Al-Fiqh al Islamy Wa Adillatuhu* (Beirut: Dar al Fikr al Mu'ashir, 2004), 2751–2752. Baca: Ibnu Qudamah, Al-Mughni, Dar al Hadits, Kairo, 2004, Vol. I, h. 107. Al-Nawawi, Syarh Majmu', Juz I, 367-368.

¹⁹ Ibnu Abidin, *Radd al Muhtar 'ala al Durr al Mukhtar: Syarh Tanwir al Abshar* (Beirut: Dar al Fikr, 1966), 571.

²⁰ Ibnu Qudamah, *Al Mughni* (Jakarta: Pustaka Azzam, 2012), 63.

²¹Yusuf al Qaradhawi, www.qaradawi.net/

²² Kementerian Agama RI, *Al-Qur'an Dan Terjemahnya*, 420.

²³ Al Syaukani, Nail al Awthar (Beirut: Dar al Fikr, 1983), 139.

verse is actually talking about fundamental and basic matters in religious doctrine, such as the belief in monotheism or the way of Prophet Ibrahim's Hajj rituals. Al-Qurtubi (d. 671 H) explained: "Ibn Umar said, through this verse the Prophet Muhammad was ordered to follow the pilgrimage rituals of Prophet Ibrahim. Al-Tabari (d. 923 AD) said this verse commands the Prophet Muhammad to free himself from idol worship, and submission to God. The *shahih* opinion is that this verse indicates God's command to Muhammad to follow Abraham's beliefs and not particulars (*furu'*)".²⁴

Fakhr al-Din Al-Razi (1150-1210 H), the great *mufassirin*, said that the meaning of this verse is that God ordered Prophet Muhammad to follow the method of Prophet Abraham in conveying his message of the Oneness of God (*Tauhid*), namely by in a subtle, gentle, easy way and with various rational arguments as far as can be done, as the Qur'an shows in another verse.²⁵ Ibn Kathir (d.1343 AD), another great *mufassirin* said that "among the perfection, majesty, sincerity of Abraham in uniting God and the way he did it, We have revealed to you (Muhammad), to follow him".²⁶

On that basis, Sheikh Yusuf al-Qardhawi, a prominent *ulama*, said: "referring to this verse as the legal basis for circumcision is a fabricated reason (*takalluf*, imposing). The verse actually talks more broadly and is more principal than just talking about circumcision. The invitation or command to follow the Abraham's religion is an invitation to the belief in monotheism and to stay away from disbelief or polytheism to God through rational and scientific arguments (*al-hikmah wal-hujjah*).²⁷

It is clear that circumcision does not receive important attention from the Qur'an. Because there is not a single verse that mentions it for both men and women. Of a number of hadiths used to justify circumcision, there are two that explicitly mention female circumcision. Other hadiths do not clearly refer to female circumcision, but rather to male circumcision, although a number of scholars, especially those who are pro-female circumcision, use it as a basis for legitimacy.

The first hadith from Ummi 'Athiyyah al Ansariya: "That there was a female circumciser for women in Medina. The Prophet said to him: "Do not overdo it, because it (the part that is cut) is pleasing to the woman (wife) and the husband likes the most. In another narration the Prophet said: "Just cut off the ends and do not overdo it, because it is very pleasant and the part that is liked by the husband." husband." (Narrated by Abu Dawud).

Apart from being narrated by Abu Dawud, this hadith was also narrated by Imam Ahmad and Imam al-Baihaqi. The leading Hadith expert Zain al-Din al-Iraqi in a footnote to Imam al-Ghazali's *Ihya Ulum al-Din*, stated that all the narrators of this hadith were weak (*dha'if*). Abu Daud himself considered this hadith "*laisa bi al-qawiy*" (not strong, weak), because Muhammad bin Hassan, one of the narrators of the "*majhul*" (unknown) hadith.²⁸

²⁴ Al Qurthubi, *Al Jami' Li Ahkam al Qur'an* (Beirut: Dar al Kutub al Ilmiyyah, 1993), 130.

²⁵ Fakhr al Din al-Razi, *Al Tafsir al Kabir* (Beirut: Dar al Kutub al Ilmiyyah, 2000), 109.

²⁶ Ibnu Katsir, *Tafsir al Qur'an al 'Azhim* (Juz IV: Penerbit tidak teridentifikasi, Tahun tidak teridentifikasi), 524.

²⁷Yusuf al Qaradhawi, www. Qaradawi.net/

²⁸ Al Sunan Abu Daud, *Kitab al Adab* (Beirut: Dar al Fikr, 1994), 368.

The second hadith was conveyed by Abu Hurairah: "The Prophet said: "Circumcision is a sunnah for men and an honor for women". This hadith was narrated by Imam Ahmad and Baihaqi.²⁹

Imam al-Syaukani (d. 1255 H) stated that this hadith was weak (weak, invalid), because Hajjaj bin Artha'ah, the narrator, was a *Mudallas*, i.e. he often confused the hadith history. Hadith experts and fiqh experts say that the hadith conveyed by a *mudallas* cannot be accepted at all (*la tuqbal historicuhu bi Haal*). That is, it cannot be used as a legal argument.

Ibn Mundzir (d. 309 H/221 AD), a prominent *al-hafizh* and expert on Shafi'i fiqh, conveyed the final words that: "there is not a single hadith that can be used as a reference to justify circumcision and there is not a single hadith chain that can be followed."³⁰

Sayed Sabiq shared the same opinion: "All hadiths related to female circumcision are weak, none of them are authentic."³¹

Today, the opinion of Ibn Mundzir and Sayed Sabiq is supported and voiced by a number of prominent *ulama*, including Muhammad Sayed Thantawi, Grand Sheikh of Al-Azhar University, Cairo; Dr. Ali Gom'ah, Chair of the Egyptian Fatwa Council; Sheikh Yusuf al-Qaradawi, Chairman of International Islamic *Ulama* and others.

Up to this point, female circumcision, if we follow the view of the majority of ulama, is in a free position (mubah). The texts about it are not enough to solve the problem. Text is always possible to be interpreted in various ways, not singly. In that condition (*mubah*) good or bad, and useful or not, need to be viewed from other aspects. First, is to look at the practice of female circumcision according to its empirical reality on the one hand and the experience of women on the other. Empirical reality is decisive. Imam al-Shaf'i is actually the figure who started the tradition of research to determine the law on a number of reproductive problems which is popularly called "*istigra*". Imam Fakhr al-Din al-Razi, defender of the Shafi'i madzhab, in his famous book "Al Mahshul fi 'Ilm Usul al-Fiqh" said: "Know that there is no other way to obtain a belief in a certain meaning from the arguments language arguments, unless supported by other evidence that provides confidence, either in the form of empirical evidence (musyahadah) or in the form of 'mutawatir' information (recurrence)".³² Listening to a woman's voice (experience) is also significant, because she is the one who experiences and feels it. The second aspect, is that a legal decision must understand its purpose and it can only be accepted if it gives birth to benefits for humans.³³

²⁹ Ahmad bin Hanbal, *Al Musnad* (Mesir: Dar Al-Hadits, 2015), 324–325.

³⁰ Al Syaukani, Nail al Awthar, 139.

³¹ Sayyid Sabiq, *Fiqh al Sunnah* (Beirut: Dar al Kitab al Arabi, 1987), 36.

³² Al Razi, Al Mahshul Fi 'Ilm al Ushul Ed. Adil Ahmad Abd al Mawujud Dan Ali Mushafa al Mu'Awwadh (Makkah: Maktabah Nizar Mushafa al Baz, Vol, 1), 237.

³³ Al Amidi, *Al Ihkam Fi Ushul al Ahkam* (Beirut: Dar Al-Fikr, 1996). said: "*Anna Aimmah al Fiqh Mujma'ah 'ala Anna Ahkam Allah la Takhlu min Hikmah wa Maqshud*" (The Fiqh Imams agree that Allah's laws are not devoid of wisdom and purpose).

3. Female Circumcision Tradition in Indonesia

In Nusantara, circumcision was known before the entry of Islam. It had been known since the Majapahit era. It is evident from the findings at the Batavia museum, Jakarta, showing the original circumcised Bedouin men's testicles.³⁴

The implementation of female circumcision is not determined by medic, every community has different habits from one place to another. Usually depends on the customs and culture of the local community. In Indonesia, female circumcision is generally performed when a girl is still a baby, namely on the seventh day after birth, and is usually performed by traditional birth attendants and medical personnel, such as midwives and doctors. Based on research conducted by the Population Council in 2001-2003 in six provinces in Indonesia, in six districts and cities, namely: Padang, Padang Pariaman, Serang, Kutai Kertanagara, Sumenep, Makassar, Bone, and Gorontalo, it was concluded that the majority of Muslim women were circumcised.³⁵

For the people of South Sulawesi, especially the Bugis and Makassar tribes, the circumcision tradition is still considered a hereditary ritual that must be carried out, this tradition becomes the cultural identity and expression of the religiosity of the community. The tradition of *makkatte* (circumcision for girls) in the Bugis tribe and *appassunnah* for the Makassar tribe is also called the Islamic tradition. Children who are circumcised are considered to have perfected their Islam and have to fulfill their obligations like other adult Muslims.

Because female circumcision has been carried out for generations, the internalization process is carried out from generation to generation. This process causes the tradition of female circumcision to be considered natural and not to be questioned. In fact, it is strange and problematic if female circumcision is not performed.³⁶

The practice of female circumcision in Indonesia is often minimized to only a symbolic act, without any actual cutting of the genitals. Although there are also traditional birth attendants who argue that even if it is a little, there must still be blood from the clitoris or labia minora. There is also a female circumcision which is performed by a shaman by sticking/rubbing turmeric on the clitoris, then cutting off the tip of the turmeric, and throwing the pieces into the sea or buried in the ground. Sometimes also just by rubbing or cleaning the clitoris and its surroundings.³⁷

a. Indonesian Government Policy on Female Circumcision

The debate over female circumcision was raised in the 1960s by activists and medical professionals in Africa.³⁸ According to Amnesty International data, it is estimated that 2 million women and girls are circumcised every year. The World Health Organization estimates that around 140 million girls and women worldwide experience

³⁴ Setiawan Budi Utomo, *Fikih Aktual* (Jakarta: Gema Insani, 2003), 303.

³⁵ Ahmad Lutfi Fathullah, *Fiqh Khitan Perempuan* (Jakarta: al-Mughni Press dan Mitra Inti Foundation, 2006), 57.

³⁶ Ristiani Musyarofah dkk, *Khitan Perempuan: Tradisi Dan Ajaran Agama Yang Menindas* (Yogyakarta: Pusat Studi Kependudukan dan Kebijakan UGM dan Ford Foundation, 2003), 18–20.

³⁷ Muhammad Mustaqim, "Konstruksi Dan Reproduksi Budaya Khitan Perempuan : Pergulatan Antara Tradisi, Keberagamaan Dan Kekerasan Seksual Di Jawa," *PALASTREN: Jurnal Studi Gender* 6, no. 1 (March 31, 2016): 95.

³⁸ Ristiani Musyarofah dkk, Khitan Perempuan: Tradisi Dan Ajaran Agama Yang Menindas.

genital mutilation.³⁹ Based on data from UNICEF, one of the UN agencies that cares about child health and protection, currently as many as 30 million girls under the age of 15 are still at risk of experiencing the practice of female circumcision.

The high risk posed by female circumcision has led several countries to prohibit the practice, for example the Egyptian parliament which passed the Law on the Prohibition of Female Circumcision. Those who violate will be sentenced to prison. Likewise, the intense debate that continues to occur regarding the issue of female circumcision in Egypt, because the prohibition of the practice of female circumcision is allegedly an act of the secularists. Moreover, the decision was assisted by the fatwa of Shaykh Azhar, namely Shaykh Muhammad Sayyid Tantawi and his followers. However, Islamic scholars continue to preach to the entire community that performing female circumcision is a commandment of the Shari'a and a guide that is loved by the Prophet Muhammad SAW.⁴⁰

The following is a brief explanation from al-Azhar clerics as well as the Egyptian Daar al-Iftah fatwa: in recent years Azhar University has issued fatwas for Muslims in the hope that these fatwas will be able to differentiate between the true and false.

After mentioning the arguments and opinions of the fiqh *ulama*, the mufti answered the question by saying that the fiqh *ulama* had agreed that circumcision for men and women is one of the nature of Islam and also one of the symbols of Islam and is a commendable act.

These fatwas were issued by the *ulama* of al-Azhar Shaykh Jadul Haq and also Daar al-Iftah under the leadership of Shaykh Jadul Haq, namely on January 29, 1981 AD. The problem of female circumcision in official forums is documented in the book of a collection of Islamic fatwas in the 21st volume published in 1994 AD, which is listed on page 7864.⁴¹

Another fatwa after the leadership of Muhammad Sayyid Tantawi Daar al-Iftah was led by Nasr Farid Washil, the mufti of the Republic of Egypt said as also stated by Shaykh Muhammad as-Sayyid ash-Syinawi that Islamic law has never forced female circumcision, but also has never gave an ultimatum in the form of a prohibition to perform female circumcision. The case goes back to the *sahib al-maslahah* (the person concerned, his parents and daughter) using the opinions of doctors who have been proven to have a commendable and fair character.⁴²

WHO said that Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting (FGM) in any form should not be carried out by health workers anywhere. WHO, based on basic health ethics, says that unnecessary mutilation of body parts should not be carried out by health workers.⁴³

Controversy about female circumcision does not only occur in other countries but also in Indonesia. The problem of female circumcision has become a dilemma for the Indonesian government because there are many people who are pro and contra on

³⁹ Tim Redaksi, "Khitan Perempuan: Praktik Purba Yang Harus Dihapuskan," *Perempuan Bergerak*, 2013, 27.

⁴⁰ Syaikh Muhammad As-Sayyid Asy-Syinnawi, *Bahaya Tidak Mengkhitankan Wanita*, trans. Nashirul Haq (Jakarta: Penerbit Mustaqim, 2003), 10.

⁴¹ Syaikh Muhammad As-Sayyid Asy-Syinnawi, Bahaya Tidak Mengkhitankan Wanita, 75–76.

⁴² Syaikh Muhammad As-Sayyid Asy-Syinnawi, *Bahaya Tidak Mengkhitankan Wanita*, 78.

⁴³ Syaikh Muhammad As-Sayyid Asy-Syinnawi, Bahaya Tidak Mengkhitankan Wanita, 78.

the issue of female circumcision. Both from religious leaders, medical and mass organizations protecting women's rights. This was triggered after the United Nations in the General Assembly had agreed to issue a resolution prohibiting female circumcision. The basis of the prohibition was because female circumcision was considered to be harmful to women's reproductive and psychological health. As a realization of the resolution, the UN general assembly asked its 193 member states to condemn and prohibit the practice of female circumcision.

As a member of the United Nations, Indonesia responded positively to the resolutions issued by the United Nations. One of Indonesia's responses was the issuance of a Circular Letter of the Director General of Public Health Development at the Ministry of Health of the Republic of Indonesia (HK 00.07.1.31047 Year 2006) dated April 20, 2006 regarding the prohibition of medicalization of female circumcision for health workers. Unfortunately, the ban did not last long because in 2010 through the Minister of Health Regulation No. 1636 it legalized and allowed female circumcision. In fact, the Minister of Health Regulation was regulated in detail how to administer female circumcision while at the same time giving authority to medical workers.⁴⁴ After the issuance of the Regulation, the controversy about female circumcision in Indonesia has again become a debate by various parties, both the health sector, religious organizations and mass organizations that advocate women's rights.

- b. The Legitimacy of the Implementation of Female Circumcision in Indonesia
- 1. Minister of Health Regulation (Permenkes) No. 1636/MENKES/PER/XI/2010 concerning Female Circumcision.

According to the Ministry of Health, the reason for the issuance of the Regulation was because the practice of female circumcision cannot be abolished. In fact, this practice is still common in Indonesia for cultural/traditional reasons. According to the Ministry of Health, the practice of female circumcision carried out in Indonesia is not as described by the United Nations. There is no practice of cutting the clitoris as is the case in African countries. Based on research according to Nafsiah Mboi, (the Minister of Health in the year) female circumcision in Indonesia does not cause harm and negative impacts on the girls themselves. In addition, female circumcision in Indonesia is believed to be a culture that is in accordance with the provisions of the Islamic religion. Meanwhile in Africa, FGM is a gross violation of women's human rights and is medically very bad.

The belief in the selection of traditional birth attendants or elders in society is related to cultural practices. It is because of this culture that the shaman is considered the person who knows best to carry out the practice. The dukun was also chosen because since 2006 through the Circular Letter of the Director General of Public Health, the Ministry of RI, it had prohibited health workers from conducting medicalization of female circumcision. Even though there was a ban, there was still many people who practice female circumcision, because they thought it was related to women's reproductive health. Because there was still many people who practice female circumcision, in 2010 the Ministry of Health issued Regulation of the Minister of Health No. 1636 regarding female circumcision, which through this Minister of Health

⁴⁴ Tim Redaksi, "Khitan Perempuan: Praktik Purba Yang Harus Dihapuskan," 10–11.

regulates in detail how to administer female circumcision which at the same time gives authority to medical workers.⁴⁵

2. Decision of the Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI) Fatwa No. 9A of 2008.⁴⁶

The Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) and a number of Islamic organizations have rejected efforts to ban female circumcision by any party. That Islam has also regulated the procedure for female circumcision, which is in accordance with the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad. in the hadith narrated by Umm 'Atiyah.

According to the MUI, circumcision is part of Islamic teachings that are highly recommended to be carried out by both men and women. MUI issued a fatwa that essentially female circumcision is a recommended worship.

C. Research Method

The research employed qualitative descriptive research, namely the data obtained in the form of words, pictures, behavior, not stated in the form of numbers or statistics but still in qualitative form which means more than just numbers or frequencies and collects information of a symptom by describing a situation according to "what is" about a symptom or situation.⁴⁷ This type of research is descriptive-qualitative, namely research that is intended to understand phenomena or events concerning traditions carried out by research subjects or produce or descriptions in the form of oral information and some people who are considered more knowledgeable, and observed behaviors and objects. Theoretically, descriptive research aims to identify and describe the tradition of female circumcision in the community of Jeneponto Regency which is still preserved and analyzed based on Islamic values, so that it can be seen the purpose of implementing the tradition of female circumcision in Jeneponto Regency.

To obtain a research data that can truly be accounted for in this study, the researchers used three approaches, namely: a normative approach, an anthropological approach, and a sociological approach. Sources of data used in this study, in the form of; Primary Data Sources (Literature Study and Deep Interviews) and Secondary Data Sources. The data sources were obtained through interviews, observations and documentation. The data were processed and analyzed by going through the stages of data reduction, data presentation, conclusion and verification.

D. Results and Discussion

1. Socio-Cultural Conditions of the People of Jeneponto Regency

Jeneponto is one of the regencies in South Sulawesi Province known as *Bumi Turatea*. The distance from Makassar to Jeneponto is 95 km or 2 hours on trip. The social system of the community reflects the culture of the area. Jeneponto community members belong to the Makassar ethnic group, with the Makassar language as the language of instruction in family and daily life. The Jeneponto people still reserve their

⁴⁵ Kementerian Kesehatan RI, Peraturan Menteri Kesehatan Republik Indonesia Nomor 1636/Menkes/Per/Xi/2010 Tentang Sunat Perempuan, 2010.

⁴⁶ Keputusan Fatwa MUI No.9A, *Tentang Hukum Pelarangan Khitan Terhadap Perempuan* (Jakarta: Erlangga, 2008), 229–237.

⁴⁷ Suharsimi Arikunto, *Manajemen Penelitian* (Jakarta: Rineka Cipta, 1998), 99.

culture and customs that have been passed down from generation to generation. The social strata that still apply in the Jeneponto community where there are three social strata that are carried out, namely: karaeng, daeng and ordinary people.⁴⁸

The condition of the population of Jeneponto Regency is almost 100 percent embracing Islam. However, even though they are Muslim, the old beliefs still color their minds, so that various traditional ceremonies related to safety, rejecting reinforcements and so on are still often performed.⁴⁹ The Jeneponto community adheres to a bilateral kinship system, in which everyone's kinship can be traced through two paths, namely kinship from the father and mother. Kinship groups are also formed in two ways, namely birth and marriage. In the Makassar language the term kinship is called *bija*. *Bija* is divided into two, namely *bija pammanakang* and *bija pasaribattangang*. *Bija pammanakang* is a kinship group formed through birth, while *bija pasaribattangan* is formed through marriage. The kinship group in the smallest social unit is called *bija pammanakang sibatu ballak* (household). This definition includes the inner family and all family members who live together in one household. This concept has social consequences, that every individual, every person in a household is a social, cultural, economic, and religious unit.⁵⁰

One form of socialization that is still known by the Jeneponto community is a custom ceremony. The function of traditional events is to reinforce cultural norms and values. In general, traditional events or rituals of the cultural traditions of the people who inhabit the South Sulawesi region show a religious-magical mentality, which is expressed collectively. This traditional ritual strengthens the sense of togetherness and unity of the people who support it. This traditional ritual has been carried out for generations by the people in Jeneponto Regency. The implementation was packaged very attractively and got the attention of the community, both people in the Jeneponto area and those outside Jeneponto. Because the procession of the event is quite long and also has certain meanings that can be used as guidelines for human life.

2. The Tradition of Female Circumcision of the Jeneponto Regency Community

a. Preparation Phase

The preparation stage for the circumcision event is also carried out by deliberation for family members to discuss the phases of implementing the event, materials for the completeness of the event, who will play a role in the event, who will be invited to attend the event and various matters related to the implementation of the event. Circumcision. In the preparation phase of the event, all relatives and close neighbors have actively participated, both physically and morally, in the success of the smooth implementation of the event. When the timing of the circumcision event is determined by deliberation from family and relatives who will conduct the event. This is done to determine a good day according to the beliefs of the local community.

According to Syafaruddin Dg. Ngampo, every celebration here is always looking for a good day, whether it's Marriage, Circumcision or Entering the house. Because according to the beliefs of the Jeneponto people, if we choose the wrong time, usually

⁴⁸ Muh. Irfan Dg. Sali' (Teacher & Public Figure), *Interview*, in Makassar, on 30 May 2020.

⁴⁹ Ismail Dg. Situru (Teacher & Public Figure), *Interview*, at Maccini Baji village Batang District, on 28 June 2020.

⁵⁰ Indahari Dg. Nurung, *Interview, in Makassar, on* 14 June 2020.

many unwanted events will occur, even though we know that everything has been determined by Allah Ta'ala, but we humans still have to try to find ways so that what is not good does not happen.⁵¹

The implementation of the circumcision event carried out by the people in Jeneponto has a difference between people from the aristocratic stratum (*karaeng*) and ordinary people or commoner. A very striking difference in the implementation of the event can be found in the relatively long (several days) and festive procession. When the event takes place like that, the organizers of the activity come from the aristocratic layer. On the other hand, if the implementation of the event is relatively simple and the time is also relatively short (one or two days), and is not accompanied by *Akkorongtigi* activities for three nights in a row, then the organizers of the event come from the ordinary society.⁵²

The venue for the circumcision ceremony carried out by the community in Jeneponto, whether it is carried out by the noble community or the common people, the implementation of the event always takes place at the residence of each event owner. This is because most of the event processions or series of events from the beginning to the end of the event are all carried out in the house of the event owner. A house with a large yard is given a tent to receive guests. Under the house (*Rumah Panggung*) it is used as a place to carry out various activities, especially women in processing consumption prepared for event participants and invitees. The initial implementation of the activity implementation plan was a deliberation marked by the gathering of close family members to discuss matters related to the implementation of circumcision. The stages of these activities are carried out in the house of the event owner, regardless of the size of the house's capacity. This shows a great sense of responsibility as the organizer of the event.⁵³

Everyone who attends the circumcision event has their own role. There were those present who were actively involved directly in the various process activities of the event, those who were involved in consumption activities and there were those who were present as invited guests. Their presence, both actively involved and passively in the event, contributed and gave spirit to the smoothness and success of the event. They provided moral support, contributed thoughts, energy and materials for the success of the event. It is a clear fact that the Jeneponto people have strong empathy and solidarity among others, especially those who need help.⁵⁴

Circumcision is a familiar event for Makassar people in general and especially Jeneponto people. The attention of the local community to the implementation of the circumcision event is highly appreciated and respected, especially if the organizers are from the nobility, community leaders or government officials. However, for ordinary people, the implementation of the circumcision event also has a special place in the hearts of the community, especially for equal groups of people. Circumcision events receive special attention as well as *appabbuntingang* (marriage) events. This is because

⁵¹ H. Syafaruddin Dg.Ngampo (*Teacher*), *Interview*, at Paitana village Turatea District, on 10 May 2020.

⁵² Ismail Dg. Situru (Teacher & Public Figure), *Interview*, at Maccini Baji village Batang District, on 28 June 2020.

⁵³ Indahari Dg. Nurung, *Interview*, in Makassar on 14 June 2020.

⁵⁴ Indahari Dg. Nurung, *Interview*, in Makassar, on 14 June 2020.

the two events are a process of transition from the life stage of a child or single to an adult or married stage. The transition of this life stage is very decisive for the next step in life.⁵⁵

In the preparation stage, it is no less important to take the bamboo sticks used for *Panca* (woven bamboo) which is used to decorate the house which is located on the terrace, on the left and right side of the stairs on the stilt house, *Panca* is also found in the yard that resembles a entering door with on it put three flags and yellow leaves. The yellow leaves are symbolic of high hopes and ideals and as a sign that a big celebration is being held which of course is accompanied by high expectations from those who own the house.⁵⁶

Panca is also used to make a room that will be used for the *korontigi* (purification ceremony) called the *bili' Ratu* (queen's room) which is placed in front of the room *lappa patola* (new sarongs folded in a row) in the lappa patola can also be seen the difference between Karaeng (nobles) consisting of 12 sarongs and Ata (common people) consisting of 9 sarongs.⁵⁷

Another thing that takes a long time in the process is the construction of the *Baruga* (small house) for the circumcision ceremony. *Baruga* can only be built by *Karaeng* (nobles) and *Daeng* (noble families) while *Ata* (common people) are not allowed to make *Baruga*. However, because making *Baruga* takes a long time and is expensive, *Baruga* is rarely built and is starting to be abandoned.

b. Pre-Circumcision Phase

1. Akkorongtigi

Akkorongtigi is an event ritual that aims to purify oneself, this ritual is carried out in various ways, some are five nights in a row, there are three nights and some are only one night, which is carried out after the Isha prayer until late at night before the main event the next day. Akkorongtigi is the highlight of the evening. This event begins with the children being escorted by their ladies-in-waiting into a room that has been prepared, namely the *bili queen* (queen's room). The child is wearing traditional clothes in the style of Bugis-Makassar wedding clothes. They sit with their hands on the pillow, then incense for seven times around the child and the ladies-in-waiting then incense from the opposite direction seven times as well or *nibalasa'* (reply). After everything is ready, some people are welcome to put korongtigi leaves on the head starting from right to left and the child's palm. The first people to be invited to akkorongtigi are usually the main family. Distant families and also the public who were specially invited for the korongtigi event. Korongtigi leaves are grown by taking a pick of the mashed korongtigi leaves, then putting them on the child's head and palms. It is intended that children have a pure heart to navigate a better life in the future.

On the night of *korongtigi*, relatives and neighbors usually give money to the child called *anynyori* to the child, this is intended so that the child will get a lot of

⁵⁵ Ismail Dg. Situru (Teacher & Public Figure), *Interview*, Maccini Baji village Batang District, on 28 June 2020.

⁵⁶ Hj. Junaedah Dg. Songki (*Bridal Makeup & Circumciser*), Interview, at Maccini Baji Village Batang District, on 6 July 2020.

⁵⁷ Hj. Junaedah Dg. Songki (*Bridal Makeup and Circumciser*), *Interview*, at Maccini Baji Village Batang District, tanggal 6 July 2020.

fortune in the future. In the *korontigi* for girls, there are several things that are prepared as *sara'* which have certain meanings and expectations for the Jeneponto community, such as:

- a) *Kanjoli* (Pecan Candle). *Kanjoli* are placed on top of the lighting Baku' Karaeng (bakul nobility) to give light to the path to be taken by the child, it is hoped that the child will have a bright life.
- b) Frankincense. Frankincense or incense to taste means a fragrance that symbolizes so that children have a good name in their daily lives. The burning of frankincense is meant to attract the attention of spirits from the Upper World.
- c) Areca Nut. Areca nut as a symbol of ideals and hopes. They expect success and success in business. Besides hoping for help in the four winds, it is symbolized by the number of betel nuts.
- d) Betel Leaf. *Leko'* or symbolized as *siri'* which is expected that the child will maintain his good name and the good name of his family and in ancient times betel was chewed with areca nut or given to guests as a symbol of honor.⁵⁸
- 2. Anggallara'

Anggallara' is a musical accompaniment that accompanies korongtigi where the Agallara' consists of 6 people, namely Paganrang and Padea-Dea for the Karaeng but for Ata' it is enough with ganrang (drums) and gong.

a) Pagganrang

Pagganrang in mean is not only a drummer but all music players who are not only drums including:

- 1) *Ganrang* is a drum made of wood with buffalo or cow skin at both ends. The way to connect the skin is to use fine ropes that tie the edges of the two skins to the drum
- 2) Gong is a tool made of brass
- 3) Anak Bancing, namely two iron rods that are similar to (spoon)
- 4) *Parappasa'* is a bamboo stick of bamboo sticks in small blades in the middle of the bamboo which is used by banging it against the hand.
- 5) Flute.
- b) Padea-dea

Padea-dea are people who sing songs to the accompaniment of Pagganrang. Dea-dea is almost the same as A'royong (a song to put children to sleep) both in terms of the singing tone and the song sung, namely a tone that contains certain advice or hopes for the child to be circumcised, the difference is only that A'royong is sung continuously continuously until the child falls asleep but in the dea-dea is to sing occasionally depending on the musical accompaniment. A'royong with Islamic nuances has been carried out since the 14th King of Gowa, Sultan Alauddin, and a'royong is

⁵⁸ Hj. Junaedah Dg. Songki (*Bridal Makeup and Circumciser*), *Interview*, at Maccini Baji Village Batang District, on 6 July 2020.

usually performed at other life circle ceremonies. *a'royong* is a symbol of hope for the child to become a pious and obedient child in the future.⁵⁹

Anggallara' has three types of strokes, each of which has its own levels, namely Ordinary *Tunrun*: intended for ordinary people, *Tunrun Tallu*: intended for *Karaeng* and *Daeng* in *Tunrun Tallu* are welcome for guests to put *korongtigi* on child and *Tunrun Pakanjarra'* (hitting fast). *Tunrun Pakanjarra'* is not intended for social level but is intended as a sign of the end of the *anggallara'* event so that no more families perform *korongtigi*. This is marked by the rhythm of the music getting faster.

The *Angallara' Karaeng* event, namely *Tunrun Tallu*, is held three times a night, namely after Isha, midnight, and dawn before Fajr prayer. The *anggallara' Karaeng* event is very rarely carried out, even from the *karaeng* themselves.⁶⁰

3. A'barazanji

Usually, *a'barazanji* is done in groups. The group made a circular formation while reciting (aloud) the reading of salawat to the Prophet. At certain readings (core sentences) in *barazanji*, members (readers of salawat) must stand up, as a tribute to the struggle of the Prophet. At the end of this procession, a prayer is held so that the circumcised child will become a good and religious child.

c. Circumcision Phase

The implementation of circumcision for girls in Jeneponto is not the same as circumcision for boys, namely cutting or removing a small amount of genital skin.

In Jeneponto for female circumcision rituals, the people still rely on *sanro pamana*' and *anrong bunting* to do it. It is still very rare to ask medical personnel to perform female circumcision, except for boys, so medical personnel are more dominant.

The procession for female circumcision is that the child to be circumcised is first brought by *sanro* and his parents to be bathed. After this bathing activity, it is continued by guiding the child to take ablution water. Wudhu is a way to get rid of *hadas*, namely *small hadas* recommended by *sanro* to guide children to always be in a holy state. The implementation of ablution is also carried out by children with the assistance of their parents to guide children how to perform ablution properly and correctly and teach children to pray before and after ablution. The ritual of taking a clean bath and performing ablution is intended so that all dirt and things that are considered bad that are contained in the child can be removed.⁶¹

This circumcision event is usually held at 09.00 am, at which time the sun is moving upwards which is expected from a movement of the circumcision event to run smoothly or successfully and at the same time the hopes or aspirations of the child in his life are increasingly moving upwards to get a position that is good.⁶²

⁵⁹ Syafaruddin Dg.Ngampo (Guru), *Interview,* at Paitana Village Turatea District, on 10 May 2020.

⁶⁰ Indahari Dg. Nurung, *Interview*, in Makassar, on 14 June 2020.

⁶¹ Hj. Junaedah Dg. Songki (Anrong Bunting& Pappasunna), Interview, at Maccini Baji Village Batang District, on 6 July 2020.

⁶² Hj. Junaedah Dg. Songki (*Anrong Bunting & Pappasunna*), *Interview*, at Maccini Baji Village Batang District, on 6 July 2020.

The event begins with preparing all the ritual equipment, such as a knife (which is not sharp) or *lontara'* leaves, a rooster, *songkolo*, *karakeh* and rice. After that, the child was escorted by his family to enter the room that had been prepared in advance. When the child is in the room, the child is *ri paccidong* (seated) on the lap of his mother or other family who has a high status in society, the hope is that the child will follow in the footsteps of the kindness of the person who holds him. Before starting the circumcision, the girl is told to pray and pray if the child is smart, but if not, then *sanro* will guide her up to 3 times and then read some short *surahs*.

After being circumcised, the girl is then clothed (clothed) with 9 layers of *bodo* (traditional clothes) or *lipa sabbe* (silk gloves). After being clothed, then paraded and lifted to the ceiling of the house, the goal is that the circumcised child will have honor, dignity and a high position in society. ⁶³

d. Reception Event

The reception is the closing ceremony of the traditional female circumcision ritual procession, the family organizes a banquet. In the event, children who have been circumcised sit on the aisle like a bride. The time for the banquet is from noon to late afternoon. However, if the number of guests is relatively large, the event can take place from the day before the preparation of the event until the evening of the D day.

Invitations that attended is not only from family members, but also neighbors, friends and other community members. The presence of members of relatives, neighbors and friends in an event shows the high value of solidarity based on the values of kinship and neighborhood. In addition, Robertson Smith stated that the implementation of the ceremony could intensify the unity of the people present in the form of mutual solidarity. In the implementation of the banquet, all participants who are invited are present to give their blessing to the child who has been circumcised. All the invites mingle with the other participants, sit together, watch and enjoy the food presented by the family of the event organizer. An interesting thing in the dish that is served is the culinary of horse meat (*gantala*). It is considered less than perfect a traditional event is *gantala* rarely. All the invitees who attended, apart from giving their blessing, also gave donations in the form of money, gloves or other basic materials such as rice, sugar, flour and so on. The value of the contribution is relatively large depending on the ability of a person.⁶⁴

For the people of Jeneponto, the provision of assistance or donations that they can make is not as important as the moral effect it produces and its function is to create a feeling of solidarity between two or more people. Providing assistance from the closest family when the deliberation for the preparation of the event takes place. This is a symbol of intimacy and harmony in the relationship between one family and another.

⁶³ The meaning of the number 9 symbol for the Jeneponto community has an important meaning, *salapang* means *mallapang-lapang* (suitable in any case and situation). According to the myth of Karaeng Rumbia (*Tumanurung* Rumbia) the number nine is also included in the number of perfection, namely nine parts of the body contained in the human body, namely two eyes, two noses, two ears, one mouth and two dumps. Humans are only said to be perfect humans if they have these nine things. Ramli Dg. Sila (Imam Desa Maccini Baji), *Interview*, di Makassar, on 3 July 2020.

⁶⁴ Anwar Thalib dg. Naba, *Interview, di* Kelurahan Togo-togo Kecamatan Batang, on 10 Mei 2020.

Offerings or gifts, either in the form of staple food or in the form of money, have a very important meaning in this event, there is even a reciprocal relationship between one family and another. This happens when other families are going to have a celebration.

According to Malinowski, that the system of exchanging obligations and objects in many people's lives, both the exchange of energy and goods in the production and economic fields, both the system of exchanging obligations during religious ceremonies, is the binding force and the driving force of the community. The system of donating to create an obligation to reciprocate is a principle of rural community life, which he calls the principle of reciprocity.⁶⁵

3. Islamic Values in the Circumcision Tradition in Jeneponto

The tradition of female circumcision illustrates the harmonization between ancestral traditions and the teachings of Islam, although these two things are often considered contradictory.

a. Religious Values (Aqeedah, Moral and Sharia values)

Human belief as a creation of God who inhabits this earth, with his five senses and reason can see and feel how complex life in this universe is. The diversity of life in this world that is seen happens by itself. This human's first impression gave him an answer, there is someone who regulates (controls) the earth on which he stands. Based on this doctrine, humans are looking for ways to make contact with the substance (power) that rules themselves and this world. The implementation of the doctrine creates a sense of wanting to give the highest respect to the value of belief in the substance. By giving awards to supernatural powers, humans expect a reward in the form of protection from various disasters in the mini world. Reply is a religious value, every action that brings a reward contains value and every value becomes a religious commandment, therefore the implementation of the circumcision event is a religious order that must be carried out in the context of converting someone. The value of religion/belief in the implementation of this circumcision is still evident when the *imam*/shaman performs a prayer reading when the child is about to be circumcised, as well as after being circumcised.

Circumcision is one of the religious expressions of the Jeneponto community. Therefore, circumcision is not just the cutting of the male foreskin and the reduction of the clitoral tissue in women, but a sacred event that is a manifestation of submission and obedience to God. The religious values of this circumcision event are reinforced by the events carried out. The existence of a rudimentary feeling of one's Islam without circumcision clearly shows how this ritual has religious values related to one's belief and faith in a sacred essence. ⁶⁶ The value contained in the circumcision event is to formalize a child's Islam with a series of reading rituals ranging from the creed to the recitation of certain *surahs*. ⁶⁷

⁶⁵ <u>Https://teoriantropologi.blogspot.com</u> accessed on 12 June 2020.

⁶⁶ Anwar Thalib Dg. Naba, *Interview, at* Togo-togo Batang District, on 10 May 2020.

⁶⁷ Bahaking Rama (Academician and Public Figure), *Interview by phone*, in Makassar on 24 June 2020.

b. Social Value

The implementation of circumcision is also an effort to preserve ancestral traditions. In addition to the religious value of circumcision, it also contains social values. This influence can be seen from the holding of a thanksgiving party that invites families and the surrounding community to eat together with various dishes. The thanksgiving party also illustrates the attitude of being happy to share. the attitude of sharing, giving help to others is a must, because humans cannot live without the help of others.

The invitees who attended the circumcision invitation is also asked to pray for the circumcised child, so that in the future he would become a child who believes and fears God Almighty and becomes a child who is devoted to both parents and is beneficial to the homeland. If you look at the circumcision tradition, there are mutually beneficial values that can be obtained from both parties, both from the family who did the circumcision or from the invitees who attended the circumcision. This can strengthen the relationship between the community.

c. Solidarity Value

The value of solidarity at the circumcision ceremony can be seen in the form of interaction and mutual cooperation in the Jeneponto community. *Gotong royong* is the working nature of social unity. The nature of this work is a must in the association of modest life. For them there is a saying: *ringan sama dijinjing, berat sama dipikul*, as a continuation of the attitude of being sick and being sick, happy and happy.

The development of the times today tends to make people prioritize personal interests or seem individualistic. However, the Jeneponto people are able to maintain and preserve a sense of unity. Mutual cooperation at the circumcision ceremony is very clear, we can see from the beginning of the event until the end of the ceremony, namely in taking firewood, making home decorations on woven bamboo, and each stage of the ceremony requires cooperation. And mutual cooperation is not only in the form of work. Assistance in the form of money given by family members is very helpful for people who carry out the event.

The implementation of circumcision is important for local community members for socio-cultural development. Because the event is a social activity that involves most of the community members to make the event a success. The involvement of community members, especially relatives, friends, neighbors and so on is an embodiment of the value of solidarity to help each other among fellow citizens. The existence of mutual assistance in organizing traditional events can strengthen the sense of solidarity of the local community. Traditional rituals carried out by members of the community contain values that must be obeyed by every member of the community. These values grow and develop automatically and are passed down from generation to generation, from one generation to the next.

d. Cultural and Beauty Values (Harmonization of Ancestral Traditions with Islamic Teachings)

Beauty is something considered fun or giving happiness in the form of clothes or musical instruments and objects that are around. Islam itself is a beautiful religion that means Allah likes what is said to be a beauty. In the process of the circumcision ceremony (*sunna*) there is a lot of beauty, both directly and indirectly. What does not appear to be the value of togetherness between the community at each stage of the ceremony, while what appears indirectly is the home decorations, *Panca* (woven bamboo) decorations from the front of the house to the *korongtigi*, and at the center of the house. there is also a *Lompoa* flower decorated with colorful cloth. In addition, *Lamming* (aisle) is also very beautiful with various accessories and beautiful colors and charming shapes. Likewise for children who are dressed in wedding-style clothes that have attractive colors and shapes. Apart from what we can see, we can also feel the beauty from hearing where there is an *Anggallara'* event which has a beautiful melody accompanied by songs.

Humans who have a soft heart can easily understand and appreciate what is contained in each meaning of beauty and give high appreciation for what makes them happy and happy.

4. People's Attitudes and Understanding of the Tradition of Female Circumcision

The action of members of the Jeneponto community to carry out the habit of female circumcision is a social action that is controlled by social mechanisms. Thus, the actions of the Jeneponto community are based on consideration of the meaning system and value system that motivates them to act and gives birth to a series of behaviors or actions. Then the meaning system of the shared values is communicated through a symbolic system. And it should be noted that female circumcision is a symbolic form and behind the practice there are meanings that are understood by the Jeneponto community.

a. Circumcision is an obligation for Muslims

Most of the people of Jeneponto follow Islam. They are also known as people who are obedient and obedient to the teachings of the Islamic religion. One of the religious teachings that are obeyed and obeyed is the command to carry out circumcision. Circumcision carried out by the Jeneponto community is not only done on men but also on women. Although the law for circumcision is not mandatory as for male circumcision, the Jeneponto community has constructed that circumcision orders are obligatory. Even today, people still carry out the tradition of female circumcision and admit that they will continue to carry out female circumcision at any time. As expressed by religious leaders AG. H.M Yahya Ahmad:

"Actually according to Islamic law it is not obligatory for women to be circumcised, but the people here have been doing it for generations, there is a good side actually if circumcision is only natural and does not hurt, that the child who is circumcised will realize that he is already a teenager and the obligation to carry out circumcision. Prayers and others cannot be neglected." 68

This is linear with what was conveyed by H. Hayyong dg. Tumpu that in the view of Islamic law, circumcision is seen as *fitrah* (holiness), as has been explained in the words of the Prophet Muhammad, which means: There are five *fitrah*, namely circumcision, shave, cut nails, pluck armpit hair and shave mustache. Circumcision is a habit carried out by Muslims, therefore boys and girls who will step on puberty are always circumcised. According to him circumcision for men is obligatory, but for

⁶⁸ M. Yahya Ahmad Dg. Situru The Head of Pondok Pesantren An-Nuriyah Bontocini Jeneponto, *Interview*, Maccini Baji Village Batang District on 28 June 2020.

women it is *sunnah* or *makrumah*. Although female circumcision should also be carried out, like male circumcision. ⁶⁹

The Jeneponto community's understanding of the reasons for circumcising their daughters generally assumes that carrying out circumcision is an order from Allah and the Sunnah of the Prophet. Salehuddin Mattawang said that *assunna* is one part of the life cycle ceremony for the Jeneponto community, its implementation is very lively equivalent to a wedding party. This is intended, because *assunna* is a very basic Islamic process for every Jeneponto person to enter the age of puberty.⁷⁰

According to Bahaking Rama, a child who is circumcised, as if it was announced to the community that the child is a teenager, has already applied *syar'i* law to him. The child is obliged to carry out religious orders, prayer, fasting and others.⁷¹

Female circumcision is also intended so that girls' lives can remain in the corridor of Islam, become obedient and submissive to religion and maintain the behavior of circumcised girls so that they do not become flirtatious women because female circumcision can reduce their sex drive. According to Ismail Dg. Situru that female circumcision is obligatory. He said "I once read a book that if a woman is not circumcised, I was afraid that it would affect her sexual activity, she was afraid that her lust would be too high, and that if it could not be controlled, it could be bad, that's why my daughter was circumcised." ⁷²

Another reason that emerged in the practice of female circumcision is to build the "existence of women" to be more Islamic. Generally, the Jeneponto community considers that female circumcision is a way of glorifying and elevating the dignity of women.

Salehuddin Mattawang quoted Imam Syafi'i's opinion said that female circumcision glorifies women, so why don't we carry it out, while it is clear that it elevates women's dignity, and has also never heard and received news in Jeneponto that women who are circumcised are in pain even to the point of barren.⁷³

Furthermore, Indrayani is of the opinion that female circumcision is obligatory because there are benefits for women, namely; First, for health, for the sake of worship, then we should clean our limbs, because that guarantees whether our worship is accepted or not. Second, believe in the hadith of the apostle which says that circumcision brightens the face and pleases the husband, if we believe that, why don't we do it even though it is very good for women, and pleases the husband.⁷⁴

⁶⁹ Hayyong Dg.Tumpu (Public Figure and Religion Instructor) *Interview*, in Makassar, on 20 June 2020.

⁷⁰ Salehuddin Mattawang (Lecturer at STAI Al-Amanah Jeneponto), *Interview, at* Empoang Selatan Village Binamu District on 7 June 2020.

⁷¹ Bahaking Rama (Academician and Public Figure), *Interview*, in Makassar on 24 June 2020.

⁷² Ismail Dg. Situru (Teacher and Public Figure), *Interview, at* Maccini Baji Village Batang District, on 28 June 2020.

⁷³ Salehuddin Mattawang, (Lecturer at STAI Al-Amanah Jeneponto), *Interview, at* Empoang Selatan Village Binamu District on 7 June 2020.

⁷⁴ Indrayani, *Interview*, *at* Balang Village Binamu District, on 3 June 2020.

b. A Belief that Female Circumcision is an Ancestral Tradition that Must Be Preserved

In addition to religion, the implementation of the female circumcision event in Jeneponto is also motivated by traditions or customs that have been carried out from generation to generation. The tradition that has been carried out from generation to generation until now continues to be carried out as part of the life of the Jeneponto community. Several informants admitted that they carried out female circumcision because it had been passed down from generation to generation from their ancestors to their parents. They also admitted that parents play an important role in the implementation of female circumcision.

St. Suruga Dg. Sunggu said the reason why he circumcised his daughter was because he followed the tradition in Jeneponto, the tradition of his parents from the past, and if he didn't do it, he would feel guilty.⁷⁵

Although most Jeneponto people also believe that female circumcision is not obligatory as male circumcision, they still carry out this traditional ritual for reasons of helping preserve the traditions in Jeneponto.

As stated by Hasni that female circumcision from a religious perspective is not obligatory, but the Jeneponto community still carries out female circumcision and considers female circumcision to be obligatory. Although it does not violate religious rules in circumcising girls, it must still be carried out and preserved because it involves tradition in society.⁷⁶

c. There is a Social Construction in the Implementation of Female Circumcision

The implementation of female circumcision in Jeneponto is a form of social solidarity. One of the characteristics of social solidarity is that the community has a common belief in female circumcision. Most people in Jeneponto still carry out female circumcision and this will result in strict social control, namely if someone does not carry out female circumcision, they will usually receive social sanctions. As stated by Bahaking Rama that the negative impact if a child is not circumcised is that the child's parents will receive an assessment from the community that he does not pay attention to his child's Islam and the child will become inferior in his association because he has not been circumcised as an adult, while his other friends have all been circumcised.⁷⁷

The form of social solidarity depends on shared uniformity, where female circumcision has been constructed by society if it is obligatory by law. From this sociocultural construction, most people in Jeneponto continue to carry out female circumcision at any time. Several informants admitted that they would continue to carry out female circumcision at any time as stated by Jahma with Dg Sopeeng, because Circumcision has become a tradition that cannot be abandoned.⁷⁸

Another social form that can be seen is the participation of the community in the circumcision tradition. Participation referred to here is in the form of community participation in various activities that exist within the community, by having a common

⁷⁵ St. Suruga Dg. Sunggu, *Interview*, at Palajau Village Arungkeke District, on 24 May 2020.

⁷⁶ Hasni (Religion Instructor), *Interview*, at Bontorappo Village Tarowang District, on 7 May 2020.

⁷⁷ H. Kasim Rajab Dg Sitaba (Public Figure), *Interview*, in Makassar on 25 June 2020.

⁷⁸ Jahma Dg. Soppeng, *Interview, at* Pao Village Tarowang District, on 16 May 2020.

goal that must be achieved. The Jeneponto people are aware of the principle of living in a community that helps each other, whether in sorrow or joy. Relations between community members will be well established by itself, if community members have an awareness of living together in the same environment. People's lives will be better if they have the same life goals in the community, then community members will work hand in hand to achieve a common goal in order to carry out a better life in the future. This is the principle of life for the Jeneponto people. This is also upheld by the people of Jeneponto.

d. Circumcision Event is one of the Silaturrahmi Events

One of the most important reasons in perpetuating a tradition in Jeneponto is because it wants to maintain the relationship between close and distant relatives and the surrounding community. Abd. Karim Dg Siama said that why *sunna* (circumcision) should be celebrated, because we want to invite relatives, who are close, especially those who are far away, neighbors too, that's where we gather, strengthen relationships.⁷⁹

The participation of the Jeneponto community in various activities in the community that is more active shows that among community members there is a close kinship bond and concern for the surrounding environment. The community is able to create brotherhood among community members, thus the Jeneponto community has a better relationship without any conflicts between community members. The brotherhood is seen in various activities and events in the community and looks very enthusiastic in attending the traditional girl circumcision ceremony.⁸⁰

The implementation of female circumcision which is celebrated on a large scale (reception) in the form of a banquet actually depends on one's abilities, but because of the attitude of helping each other to help the Jeneponto community, it is very rare for families not to carry it out festively.⁸¹

The conclusion is that the tradition of circumcision for women is an absolute must for the Jeneponto community because in addition to the necessity of religion, it is also because it has become a hereditary tradition, and there are negative effects if circumcision is not carried out. Besides that, there are also values of solidarity in it and it is a gathering place for the Jeneponto community.

E. Conclusion

Based on the data analysis carried out and referring to the problems raised in this study, the following conclusions can be drawn:

1. The celebration of the tradition of female circumcision in the Jeneponto community is a traditional ritual that is carried out in the life cycle for generations such as marriage, birth and death and entering the house. The circumcision tradition is still maintained even though the ritual process of its implementation has undergone many changes along with the times, even though it does not reduce the sacredness of

⁷⁹ H. Abdul Karim Dg. Siama, *Interview*, at Makassar, on 14 May 2020.

⁸⁰ H. Abdul Karim Dg. Siama, *Interview*, at Makassar, on 14 May 2020.

⁸¹ Zaenab Dg. Bollo (Public Figure and Bridal Makeup), *Interview*, at Pallantikang Village Bangkala District, on 23 June 2020.

the celebration of the tradition. A series of implementations of the circumcision tradition, starting from the deliberation process to the reception, involving all family members, neighbors and the community as a form of solidarity that has been embedded from the past.

- 2. The celebration of the tradition of female circumcision is full of Islamic values, namely; religious values, social values, solidarity values and beauty values that are upheld by the Jeneponto community.
- 3. The attitude and understanding of the Jeneponto community regarding the implementation of the female circumcision tradition is quite diverse. Some of them think that female circumcision is an obligation for Muslims, and there is also a belief that female circumcision is an ancestral tradition that must be preserved, besides that there is a social construction in the implementation of female circumcision, and the circumcision event is one of the gathering places.

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- Zaenab Dg. Bollo (Public Figure and Bridal Makeup), *Interview*, at Pallantikang Village Bangkala District, on 23 June 2020.

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Example in footnotes:

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9. Article in mass media

¹Masdar F. Mas'udi, "Hubungan Agama dan Negara", Kompas, 7 Agustus 2002.

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