

THE TRADITION OF WOMAN'S CIRCUMCISION (A CASE STUDY IN OSING SOCIETY BANYUWANGI, EAST JAVA, INDONESIA)

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Abstract: In Islam, a man is required to do the circumcision. Yet, in some areas, the circumcision is not only applied to the man, but also to woman. However, the practice of woman circumcision cannot be separated from tradition and religious influences. One of the portraits of community traditions that reflect the relationship between tradition and religious understanding in the *Osing* society, Banyuwangi, is a tradition of woman circumcision which is held as a manifestation of their religious understanding. This research is a qualitative research, so the main data source are words and actions. In collecting the data, it used participant observation, in-depth interviews) and document review. The results of this research are: Woman's circumcision activities in *Osing society, Banyuwangi* is still perpetuate the tradition of the practice of woman circumcision. Most of people have circumcised their daughters after birth. This activity is carried out before they are puberty, since when they grow up, they will be afraid, embarrassed and did not want to be circumcised. In addition, since, the circumcion is conducted by the midwives, there are two processes of circumcision for woman in this tribe; first is they just scratch the clitoris without cutting it, and the second is they cut the clitoris itself as man circumcision. The reason why this tradition is still exist is to perpetuate patriarchal culture for the benefit and pleasure of men. Moreover, this action to build the existence of women to be more Islamic.

Keywords: Local Tradition, Woman, Circumcision, Osing Society

Introduction

In Islamic religion, circumcision is a must for the man. Yet, in another area, circumcision is not only for man, but also for woman. It is controversial in many countries, thus it has different views among others. In addition, it could be counter due to the lack of information about Islamic teachings, misrepresentation of circumcision which is *syar'i* for women, and maybe it is also because there is antipathy towards Islam. In practice, circumcision for woman is not separated from religious influence. There are three religions which apply woman circumcision, they are Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.¹ In Judaism, circumcision for woman is conducted to realize the sacred covenant bond between God and humans. This religion obligates its adherents to practice circumcision regardless of gender, since this religious was passed down without seeing any kind of differentiations.

Related to the explanation above, Christianity also teaches woman circumcision to its adherents, because this religion adopted it from Judaism. Unlike the Jews, the practice of woman circumcision in Christianity is a form of the sacred covenant bond between God and humans. However, there is a differentiation of views about legal practice of woman circumcision between Jews and Christianity. In Judaism, it obliges all adherents of both men and women for conducting the circumcision. Yet, in Christianity, it does not oblige it for women. For Islamic religion, the practice of woman circumcision is a glory based on the hadith of the Prophet. In its practice, circumcision for women is on the principle of benefit, so the law becomes *sunnah*. On the other hand, if woman circumcision causes negative effects, for example it takes away a woman's sexual pleasure, so the law of woman circumcision becomes *haram*.² According to Izzuddin bin Abd al-Salam that is said by Ahmad Imam Mawardi, "whoever believes that the purpose of *syara'* is to bring the benefits

¹ Muhammad Sauki, "Khitan Perempuan Perspektif Hadis Dan Sirkumsisi Perempuan Menurut WHO," *Skripsi*, 2010, 80.

² Setiawan Budi Utomo, *Fiqih Aktual: Jawaban Tuntas Masalah Kontemporer / Setiawan Budi Utomo; Penyunting, Abu Hanifah* (Jakarta: Gema Insani Press, 2003, 2003).

and reject *mafsada*, it means that he has deep belief and knowledge that *maslahah* in a problem should not be wasted as the *mafsadat* in it. Furthermore, it also should not be approached even though in that problem there is no *ijma'*, *nash*, and *qiyas*.³

Many people do not understand about the law and the benefits of circumcision for woman. For woman, circumcision is conducted in a different way from circumcision that is conducted by man. Usually, circumcision for woman is conducted symbolically by traditional birth attendants, for example by polishing a piece of turmeric that has had its skin removed on the clitoris (the genital area).⁴ The procedure for conducting woman circumcision that is desired by Islam is remove the clitoral hood as the words of the Prophet which is narrated by Umm Athiyah, circumcisers do not too over in circumcising the girls in order to get the expected benefits and avoid the disadvantages.⁵

In addition, the circumcision embodies bodily purity which has a positive impact in health. In Arabia, there is a tradition called Female Genital Mutilation (FGM), it means that the implementation of circumcision is by not torturing women. It is conducted in the context of greater benefit by giving glory to women.⁶ Based on the studies which are conducted in many areas in Indonesia, there are various procedures for woman circumcision that are not harmful, including by scratching and scraping, piercing, pinching, and piercing incisions and excisions. Those procedures are done based on each region which has differences culture. The traditions and culture of the tribes in the archipelago are manifestations of an understanding of religious spiritual values which are manifested in the forms of society. Thus the customs or traditions of a society cannot be separated from

³ and Tutik Hamidah Irzak Yuliardy Nugroho, "KONSEP MASLAHAH PERSPEKTIF IZZUDIN IBN ABD. SALAM (Telaah Dalam Kitab Qawaid Al-Ahkam Fi Masalih Al-Anam)." 21, no. 1 (2020): 1–9.

⁴ Musdah Mulia, *Mengupas Seksualitas." Mengerti Arti, Fungsi Dan Problematika* (Opus Press, 2015, 2015).

⁵ Lilian Passmore Sanderson, *Against the Mutilation of Women: The Struggle to End Unnecessary Suffering*. (Ithaca Press, 1981).

⁶ Nasaruddin Umar, *Fikih Wanita Untuk Semua* (Serambi Ilmu Semesta, 2010, 2010).

the understanding and beliefs that people follow. The Traditions and local culture can be found at the first days of the spread of Islam in Java. So, based on the studies conducted by experts who see religion as part of a cultural system, it appears that there is a typology of Islamic studies in the local context, which is categorized as a study of the relationship between Islamic and local traditions as syncretic and acculturative.⁷

On the other hand, there are various procedures for performing circumcision for women which often have implications for the existence of danger for them. In the research which is conducted in some areas in Indonesia, there are many several practices of woman circumcision: they are by scraping, pricking, pinching and piercing incisions and excisions. Meanwhile, in fiqh literature, no single scholar of fiqh who is *mu'tabar* (famous) forbids the practice of woman circumcision. Even, there is an agreement that woman circumcision is a form of virtue. It just has differences in fiqh law between *sunnah* and obligatory. The practice of woman circumcision causes the position of women to tend to be subordinated.

One portrait of community tradition that reflects the link between tradition and religious understanding is that the Osing society in Banyuwangi. Osing is the original tribe from Banyuwangi. They have their own language and traditions. There are many traditions which are still exist in Osing society, such as Tari Gandrung, Perang Bangkat, Geredhoan, Petik Laut/Larung Sesaji, Tari Seblang, include woman coircumcision, etc. In addition, Osing people has many rituals and traditions. Moreover, the traditions of Osing cannot be separated from the mysitical influence. According to the Head of the Culture Division of the Tourism Office, Setiyu Puguh, in Banyuwangi Regency,⁸ the Osing society is spread over several sub-districts such as Glagah, Giri, Kabat, Rogojampi,

⁷ Nur Syam, *Islam Pesisir* (LKis Pelangi Aksara, 2005).

⁸ Anastasia Murdyastuti,dkk .2013 .Kebijakan Akselerasi Pengembangan Kawasan Wisata Using Berbasis Democratic Governance .Penelitian Unggulan Universitas Jember

Songgon, Singojuruh, Cluring, Licin and Genteng. From the various sub-districts above, there is sub-district that has a thick population who adhere a distinctive customs and culture as a tribe, namely Kemiren village in the sub-district Glagah. Kemiren is known as the traditional village of the Osing tribe which is the destination the main tourist attraction in Banyuwangi. So, based on this reason, this study is conducted in Kemiren.

This society has woman circumcision tradition which is held as a manifestation of their religious understanding. In past time, this tradition was held on the seventh day when a baby girl was born. This tradition is led by a senior female figure who is usually called “*embab*” who also acts as *tukang calak*. Therefore, based on that case, this research wants to describe the perception of Osing society toward woman Circumcision tradition in the Osing society, Banyuwangi.

This research is qualitative research, so the data sources are words and actions, also documents and others.⁹ These data are obtained from research informants. The determination of research informants conducted by using purposive sampling technique, which is selected based on the key informants and snow balling to form complete the information.

In collecting the data, this study used participant observation, in depth interview and document review.¹⁰ This technique is used by researchers, since this phenomenon is able to be understood when the researcher interacts with the research subjects where the phenomenon takes place. The technique used in this research is in-depth interview, it means that the researcher asks several questions in depth to dig up as much information as possible about the absolute concept. So, by this depth interview, the data can be collected as much as possible. The people who were used as informants in this study were local figure, and the Osing society who were taken purposively, they are the elder, traditional midwives or quack, actor,

⁹ J.P Spradley, *The Ethnographic Interview* (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers, 1979).

¹⁰ Lyn H. Lofland John Lofland, *Analyzing Social Settings: A Guide to Qualitative Observation and Analysis* (Belmont California: Wadsworth, 1984, 1984).

and *Kiai*, and government in those village. After collecting data, the researcher conducted cross-referencing information from those informants to verify its accuracy and credibility using source triangulation.

Result and Discussion

Woman Circumcision

Etymologically, the term circumcision comes from Arabic language, it is from the word *kbatana* - *yakbtinu* - *kbatnan* which literally means circumcision/cutting. In addition, There is a special term for circumcision, the term *khatan* for men and the term *khifadh* for women.¹¹ The term *khatan* (circumcision) is usually called *sunat* or *sunatan*, since it follows the *sunnah* of the Prophet SAW in accordance with the *sunnah of fitrah*, as is the case with the terms which is commonly used in Indonesia. There are many literatures of classic fiqh explains that what is meant by circumcision is cutting the *kuluf* (removing part of the skin) that covers the *kasyafah* or the tip of the head of the penis. As for woman circumcision in Arabic it is called *khifadh* which comes from the word *khafdh*, which means cutting off the tip of the clitoris in the vagina.

In terms of terminology, circumcision in terms of *fiqh* is distinguished between men and women. The term of woman circumcision is a translation from Arabic (*khatan al-untsa*) or (*khatan al-banat*). Furthermore, it is also said (*khafdh al-banat*) to reduce the sensitivity of girls' genitals, because by circumcising girls, it means that the sensitivity of their genitals is not too high, so that the libido (sexual power) in adolescence can be controlled. According to Imam Al-Mawardi, a circumcision for woman is the removal of the uppermost part of the vagina, namely the tip of the clitoris or a small lump of tissue found at the end of the vulva (clitoris) hole at the top of the female genitalia which is shaped like a palm fruit seed or cock's

¹¹ Abi Husain Ahmad bin Faris Zakaria, *Mu'jam Maqayis Al Lughah Abi Husain Ahmad Bin Faris Bin Zakaria* (Syirkah Maktabah Musthafa al Babi, 1972).

comb.¹² The best cutting is just on the top and not cutting the entire clitoris.

Khitan in medical terms is called Circumcision. According to the Dorland Pocket Medical Dictionary,¹³ circumcision is the cutting of the praeputium or clitoris in front, either cutting of the external female genitalia or infibulation. A type of circumcision in women consists of two ways, namely the radical method in which the clitoris, labia minor, and labia majora are removed and the remaining tissue is estimated, and the modified form, in which the foreskin and glans clitoris and the area adjacent to the labia minora are removed

The term *Sunat* comes from the Javanese language, while in Sundanese it is called *sudat*. In fact, it is easy for Sundanese to add the letters *nun* or *mim*, it is easy to transfer the meaning of the origin of the word, hence the terms *disunatan* and *disundatan*. The term *disepitan* comes from *sebitan*, the best term is cleaned.¹⁴ *Khitan* which is often also called "*sunat*" is a practice in society that has been recognized by the world's religions. Circumcision is not only applied to men, but also to women. In various cultures, it is often seen as a sacred event like marriage. Its sacredness is seen in the things that are done (organized) for it. However, the phenomenon of the sacredness of the ceremony seems to only apply to male circumcision. For woman circumcision, it is rarely seen that there is such a sacred nuance.¹⁵

The implementation of male circumcision is almost the same in every place, namely by cutting part of the skin that covers the head of the penis (*kasyafah*).¹⁶ Meanwhile, the implementation of woman circumcision is different in every place. Some are done only symbolically or remove part of the clitoris and some are cutting the

¹² An-Nawawi, *Shabih Muslim Bi Syarah An-Nawawi Jilid 3* (Dar al-Hadis, 2016).

¹³ Dorland, *Kamus Saku Kedokteran Dorland* (Elsevier, 2020).

¹⁴ Hasan Mustapa and M. Maryati Sastrawijaya, *Adat Istiadat Sunda / Hasan Mustafa ; Penerjemah, M. Maryati Sastrawijaya* (Bandung : Alumni, 2010).

¹⁵ Husein Muhammad, *Fikih Perempuan* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2007).

¹⁶ Ibnu Hajar Al-Atsqalani, *Fath Al-Bari Fi Syarh Al-Bukhari*, juz ke 11 (Beirut: Dar al- Fikr, 1993).

lips of the vagina (labia minora).¹⁷ Some are done by slicing the topmost skin on the genitals which is shaped like a grain, or like a rooster's comb. In addition, the obligation is to slice the top skin of the tool without letting go of the piece.¹⁸ In addition, Osing society circumcised their children by scratching the part at the tip of the clitoris without cutting it, as what researcher got when doing the interview with the responden that when he when he circumcised his daughter to the midwife, his daughter's genitals were only scratched without being cut.

History of Woman Circumcision

The person who conducted *khitān* for the first time was Prophet Ibrahim, AS. In al-Baihaqi's history, it is added that the two sons of the prophet Ibrahim were also circumcised, the prophet Isma'il was circumcised when he was 13 years old, while the prophet Ishaq was circumcised at the age of 7 days.¹⁹ *Khitān* has become a tradition among Arabs since Prophet Ibrahim AS and Prophet Ismail AS. After Islam spread throughout the world, this custom was also confirmed by Islamic teachings and was quickly followed by other Islamic nations.²⁰ The tradition of the Meccan Arabs before Islam came was probably not circumcised, moreover the women. However, in Medina apart from men, circumcision was also performed on women. This can be seen from the Prophet's warning to Umm 'Atiyyah who works as a circumciser not to circumcise excessively.²¹

The concept of *khitān* is usually carried out on the basis of religious teachings, it happens not only for the Islamic religion but also for several other religions. Yet, the dominant in Islamic and Jewish about the circumcision is a religious order that must be

¹⁷ Dkk Elga Sarapung, *Agama Dan Kesehatan Reproduksi* (Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 1999).

¹⁸ Husain Muhammad Makkhluf, *Fatāwa Syar'iyah Wa Bubūl Al-Islāmiyyah* (Kairo: al-Madani, 1971).

¹⁹ Baihaqi, *Al-Hafiz Al-Jalil Ibn Baker Ahmad Ibn Al-Husain Ibn Ali*, Juz VII (Beirut: Dar al- Fikr, n.d.).

²⁰ M. Ali Hasan, *Masail Fiqhiyah Al-Haditsab* (Jakarta: PT. Raja Grafindo Persada, 1996).

²¹ Ahmad Lutfi Fathullah, *Fiqh Khitān Perempuan*, n.d.

conducted. *Khitan* is a traditional religious rituals that existed before Islam with various forms, it starts from just a symbols, cleaning, poking, cleaning dirt to destroying female genitalia. Yet, it is different in Islam, the condition for *khitan* in Islam philosophically teaches the principles of cleanliness, purity and health by following the *sunnah* of the Prophet Muhammad SAW. Related to the explanation above, the implementation of woman circumcision could not be determined, every community has different tradition from one place to another. Usually it depends on the tradition and culture of the local community. In Indonesia, woman circumcision is generally performed when the girl is still a baby, it is on the seventh day after birth, and it is usually performed by traditional birth attendants and medical personnel, such as midwives and doctors. However, in many areas, woman circumcision is performed without cutting the clitoris at all, only polishing the clitoris with turmeric where the skin has been removed.

Based on the description above, there are several laws about woman circumcision. One of the scholars who obliges the circumcision for both men and women is Imam Ash-Shafi'i. Meanwhile, the strong opinion comes from contemporary scholars, he is Saleh al-Fauzan, a fiqh expert from Saudi Arabia, stated that woman circumcision is mandatory and must be performed since childhood.²² Imam Yahya, *Itrah* scholars, Al-Shafi'i and a group of scholars stipulate that circumcision is obligatory for men and women. Mansur bin Yusuf al-Buhuti said, "*Khitan* is obligated for human when entering puberty, while not worrying about his own safety, whether for men, sissy or women."²³ Meanwhile, Ibrahim bin Dhawayan said, "Circumcision is obligatory for both men and women."²⁴

²² Luthfi Assyaukani, *Politik, HAM, Dan Isu-Isu Teknologi Dalam Fikih Kontemporer* (Bandung: Pustaka Hidayah, 1998).

²³ Syaikh Manshur bin Yusuf, *Al-Raudul Murbi* (Beirû: Dâr al-Fikr, 1985).

²⁴ Ibrahim bin Sâlim Dhawayan, *Mânar Al-Sabîl Fi Syarh Al-Dalîl I* (Riyadh: Maktabah Al- Ma'arif, n.d.).

According to WHO (World Health Organization) observations in 2014, there are 6 methods of circumcision for women that are still being carried out by the community, they are:

1. Removal of the clitoral surface with or without removal of part or all of the clitoris.
2. Removal of the clitoris followed by removal of part or all of the labia minora.
3. Removal of part or all of the external genital organs followed by sewing or narrowing the vaginal opening
4. Piercing or perforating the clitoris and labia or tightening the clitoris and labia, followed by stretching by burning the clitoris or the surrounding tissue.
5. Damaging the tissue around the tissue around the vagina or cutting the vagina.
6. Inserting harmful substances or plants into the vagina with the aim of causing bleeding by narrowing the vagina.

The Objective of Woman Circumcision

In essence, circumcision implies purity and cleanliness from dirt and disease. Circumcision is one of the most important education health in Islam, especially the genitals in order that they are always maintained from uncleanness and dirt. In summary, Musdah Mulia²⁵ defines the purpose of female circumcision as: first, circumcision for woman is conducted to keep the continuity of cultural identity. In society, there is an opinion that carrying out traditional or cultural rituals is an important initiation stage for a woman to enter the maturity stage and it become an official part of a community group. Second, to keep the continuity of gender relations which are unequal and unfair. Clitoris removal is considered as the process of removing male organs from a woman's body so that a woman's femininity will be perfect. Furthermore, circumcision practice is also intended to form women's obedience and weaknesses with the trauma they get, so that women receive education about their role in society. Circumcision makes the role of women believe that they are inferior

²⁵ Musdah Mulia, *Mengupas Seksualitas* (Jakarta : Opus Press, 2015).

and subordinate to men. In this case, sociological reasons are stronger, it is for the identification of cultural heritage, the initiation of girls into adulthood, social integration, and maintenance of social cohesion.

Third, to keep and control women's sexuality and reproductive function. The purpose of woman circumcision is to control her lust. If a woman is left uncircumcised then she will have a very big desire. However, if circumcision is done excessively, the lust will weaken, so that the husband's desire (in intercourse) cannot be perfect. However, if it is cut in moderation, then the husband's wish will be achieved in full balance.²⁶ Fourth, to maintain the cleanliness, health and beauty of women's bodies. Community circumcision is usually associated with self-purification for women. In addition, people believe that women will become more fertile and give birth easily. The reason for cleanliness and beauty becomes clear because of the public opinion that parts of the female body, especially the protruding part of the clitoris, are considered dirty and unsightly, so they must be removed for cleanliness and to make it look more attractive.

Fifth, for religious reasons. In general, the Islamic society who conducts woman circumcision because of religious reasons. They mistakenly believe that circumcision is an obligation in Islam. Historically, circumcision is not introduced by Islam, because it is practiced long before Islam comes. Society considers circumcision for men and women as a symbol of Islam. Performing circumcision is considered an Islamic process. If not, it is not permissible to read the *Qur'an* and perform the five daily prayers. In Musdah Mulia's view, the purpose of such woman circumcision is a wrong understanding, because a person's Islam and faith cannot be seen whether he is circumcised or not. Even circumcision does not include discussion in Islam and the pillars of faith.

²⁶ Ibnu Taimiyah, *Al-Fatwa Al-Kubra I* (Beirût: Dâr al-Kutub Al-Ilmiyyah, 1987).

Woman Circumcision in Osing Society

In Indonesia, woman circumcision is a custom that emerged with the existing of Islam. In the Archipelago, circumcision is known before Islam came, it has been known since the Majapahit era. It is evidenced by the discovery at the Batavia Museum, Jakarta which shows the original testicles of Bedouin men who had been circumcised.²⁷ In Indonesia, based on research that is conducted by the Population Council in 2001-2003 there are six provinces and cities in Indonesia which performs woman circumcision, they are: Padang, Padang Pariaman, Serang, Kutai Kartanegara, Sumenep, Makasar, Bone and Gorontalo, it was concluded that the majority of Muslim women circumcised.²⁸

From the explanation above, the researcher stated that woman circumcision which is conducted in several regions in Indonesia is based on the traditions and religious teachings to carry out the *Sunnah* of the Prophet. It is understandable when the basis of religion/*fiqh* is the guide of society, because the majority of the Indonesian population adheres to the *Syafi'i* and this opinion strongly influences the ritual issues, including circumcision obligation.²⁹ Related to the explanation above, the action of Osing society in conducting woman circumcision is social action that is controlled by social mechanisms. Thus, the action of Osing society member is the action which is based on the considerations of meaning and value system that motivate them to act and birth a series of behaviors or actions which create a culture. As stated by a quack with the initials S below,

“Woman circumcision is a culture and tradition passed down from generation to generation in this village, Licin. Up to now, I often called upon to perform woman circumcision” (a statement from quack in Kemiren, one of the Osing society in Banyuwangi)

²⁷ Setiawan Budi Utomo, *Fiqh Aktual* (Jakarta: Gema Insani, 2003).

²⁸ Ahmad Luthfi Fathullah, *Fiqh Khitan Perempuan* (Jakarta: Al- Mughni Press, 2006).

²⁹ Fathullah.

That statement is emphasized by the elder in Kemiren, with the initial T in that village which is stated that:

“In this village, many people still do woman circumcision. This practice is carried out by traditional midwives, and it has been passed down from generation to generation from parents”

In addition, a village chief also added the information that:

“the goal is tradition. So whether there are benefits or not, we prefer to preserve the tradition.”

From those statements, it can be said that practice of woman circumcision in Osing society is still conducted from generation to generation. They still perpetuates the tradition of practicing woman circumcision. It is shown from the answers of the participants in the interview which shown that almost all of them had their daughters circumcised. The society want to preserve their ancestral culture by conducting it. Furthermore, based on the data, the age of children who are circumcised is at the age 35 days after birth. As when the researcher asked to the respondent about the age of his child was circumcised, the respondent said that:

“my daughter was circumcised at the age of a month. It is the ideal age because I'm afraid when she grows up, she will be embarrassed.”

The data is gotten from the society who circumcised her daughter. In the interview, he stated that he circumcised his child when she was 35 days. He is afraid to circumcise her daughter at old age, she will be ashamed. As the parents, who circumcise, are also ashamed. The ideal age for circumcision for a girl is supposed to be circumcised, because "this" still looks white, so it's easy to pick up like a bean seed. From the data obtained, parents in Osing society circumcises their daughters before the age of puberty, it is because of woman circumcision is something that is taboo and its implementation is not celebrated as well as man circumcision. Based

on the interview, it can be mentioned that the practice of circumcision is carried out by quacks, because it is safer.

There are some factors why Osing people still conserve woman circumcision, they are belief, tradition, and religion factors. In the interview that was conducted, it can be gotten that many Osing people believe that in the genitals of women store a dirt. They circumcise their daughter to clean the dirt which is stored in the vagina. This is one of the factors that makes woman circumcision continue to be carried out. Such as in this interview with the religious leader (*Kiai*) with the initial H in Kemiren, Banyuwangi stated:

“The implementation of this tradition apart from preserving ancestral culture, also follows the sunnah of the Prophet with the aim of cleaning dirt in the female genitalia. In addition, circumcision for women is important to do for the good of women. The practice of circumcision for women comes from the *sunnah* of the Prophet Ibrahim, so the law is *sunnah muakkad*”

Furthermore, the perception of Osing people when they birth a daughter, they must be circumcised as a form of purification and cleansing process as an order from Islamic religious law to be able to perform worship. They think that this method as Islamizing their daughter by performing circumcision. In addition, woman circumcision is conducted to perpetuate patriarchal culture for the benefit and pleasure of men.

For them, woman circumcision is a good tradition, especially for woman circumcision. As the elder from Kemiren thinks that this activity is a symbol of islamic religion. In addition, the perception of Osing society is if they birth a girl, they must be circumcised as a form of purification and cleansing process as an order from Islamic religious law to be able to perform worship. As stated by the elder of Kemiren, Banyuwangi, with the initial AH, he stated:

“In Islam, the requirement to carry out worship is to be holy. Both men and women in order for their worship to be accepted must be pure, one of which is circumcision. Because circumcision is a condition of the sanctity of a worship”

From the data above, it can be seen that the thought of the Osing society still believe that everyone must do the circumcision. Both men and women, they have to do it in order that their worship are accepted by the God, moreover, it can make their faith more perfect. They believe when they do not do the circumcision, their worship will be in vain.

Practically, Osing people circumcise their daughter by poked the tip of the clitoris, but there are a few informant who had circumcised their children by cutting a small part of the clitoris. Informant from the midwife with an initial S, from Kemiren, Osing society, stated:

“circumcision in woman is different with the man. In woman, it is done by scratching the white part like the seed of a bean at the tip of the clitoris, without cutting the clitoris itself”.

Yet, another midwife said that when she did woman circumcision, she really cuts the part of the female clitoris. She think that, if only doing circumcision symbolically (not cutting), she worried about being thought a lie. As the following interview with a quack with the initial D:

“If I'm circumcised, it's really me scratch a little on the inside of the female genitalia shaped like a cock's comb (clitoris), until the blood comes out, because that's the way it is. The procedures of circumcising women was done by the *kyai*, he said that circumcision of the woman is cutting a little on the inside of the vaginal part on it (the clitoris) even though it's only a little the size of sugar, bleeding. If girls are not circumcised, they worry that they will become hypersexual. So, when some parents ask me to do the ccircumcision, I do as *Kiai* said to me”

Different from her, another quack with the initial S in Kemiren said that if her parents ask cut off the clitoris, she cuts it according to the request of his parents. The scissors were from his parents, then she cleaned them up by using alcohol for sterilization. As in the following interview:

“If the parents ask me to cut the clitoris, I’ll do it. Yet, when they ask me just to scratch the clitoris, I’ll do it. So, I do the circumcision based on their parents order. For the equipment, they usually bring by their self, and I just clean it by alcohol”

Another quack in Kemiren with the initial SI said:

“I do the circumsice by cutting turmeric as the substitute of clitoris. I dont want to cut the clitoris, because I’m afraid that it will make the baby got problem. What I do is just cut the turmeric, then it is attached to the clitoris. It is considered as circumcision. Since, woman circumcision is obligated to be conducted as the order of older people”

Based on the interview above, it can be stated that the practice of circumcision in Osing society is conducted in two ways, they are by symbolic and truely circumcised. In symbolic, it is done by using a substitute medium in the form of turmeric attached to the female clitoris. Unlike circumcision actually, this symbolic circumcision that is cut the saffron, not part of the female clitoris. While, in true circumsice, it is conducted by cutting the clitoris. Before the process of circumcision is conducted, the inside of the baby's vagina women are cleaned by using gauze and alcohol. It is done to clean from the remnants of powder which usually sticks to the baby's vagina.

In addition, the process of circumcision for women in the Osing society in Banyuwangi can be seen from an interview with one of the elders in Kemiren village, Banyuwangi. He said that there are two reasons why woman circumcision is still conducted, they are tradition and religion. The tradition is a process where they live, they understand about the practice of woman circumcision from their parents. The next process is religion, it is a step where they do the circumcision that is influenced by *Kiai*. According to *Kiai*, the practice of woman circumcision must be done, since it is good of women. Furthermore, the practice of circumcision for women comes from the *sunab* of prophet Ibrahim. So that the law of the practice of circumcision for women is *sunnah muakkad*, which is highly recommended to be done.

Nowadays the circumcisers are reduced. Hence, the Osing people in Licin and Kemiren use the services of a quack even though many midwives disagree with this circumcision for woman. Furthermore, the rejection by several midwives made the Osing people think again about the purpose of woman circumcision. Yet, for some people thinks there are still quack attendants who also play an important role in woman circumcision. At the end, many Osing people who were previously rejected by midwives turned to quack (traditional birth) attendants, because they think that the practice of woman circumcision is a tradition of their ancestors which is still obligatory to be conducted.

Based on the interview that has been conducted in two villages of Osing society, it can be found that Osing people considered that woman circumcision to perpetuate the tradition of practicing woman circumcision. Several studies reveal that there are theological reasons why parents circumcise their daughters. It is caused by parents' belief about the duty of every *Muslim* and *Muslimah* to conduct the circumcision. It is not only men who are circumcised, but it is also required for women to perform circumcision for perfect their faith. Furthermore, several sources stated that the factors behind the circumcision tradition which is still exist in Osing society, Banyuwangi because of their tradition and religion.

In addition, the perception of Osing society is if they birth a girl, they must be circumcised as a form of purification and cleansing process as an order from Islamic religious law to be able to perform worship. There are two method in circumcising their child. First, the quack do the circumcise by scratch the clitoris without cutting it. It is caused that the quack do not want to take the risk. She is afraid when she cuts the clitoris, the child will get the problem for her future. The second method is, in Osing there is midwife who do the circumcise directly cuts the clitoris. Since, she believes that what she does is for the best future of that baby girl. In addition, by cutting their clitoris, they believe that being circumcised makes them less hypersexual.

Furthermore, they see this method as converting girls to Islam by performing circumcision; it is conducted to clarify their child

identity as a Muslim. Even, the circumcision is not an absolute requirement to make someone more Islam. Since, in Islam, male circumcision is a *sunnah muakkad* (*sunnah* that is highly recommended) even mandatory, because it has clear benefits for male reproductive health, while for woman circumcision is not prohibited by a certain law. The circumcision is one of the problems that bring perfection to the religion which is prescribed by Allah SWT. Since, the circumcision is the base of holy, *syi'ar*, and *shari'ah*. As Prophet Ibrahim as in the Al-Qur'an letter *An-Nabl* verse 123, Circumcision is also a statement of *Ubudiyyah* towards Allah SWT, obedience to carry out orders, laws and authority.³⁰ So, it is not a form of one's Islamic identity as perceived by the Osing society in Banyuwangi.

The majority of scholars other than the *Shafi'i madzab* state it is an honor implies permissible, not required or *sunnah*. Even in the opinion of the *Shafi'i madzab*, they actually disagree, some scholars who follow this *madzab* do not make it obligatory. Hence, for Osing society's perception of the practice of circumcision for women as a symbol of preserving tradition and religion. Even, some of them are still belief that woman circumcision for reduce sexual satisfaction. It means that women do not need to be stimulated or do not need to be excited to enjoy an orgasm. For this reason, the practice of circumcision by cutting or scratching the clitoris as the female sex organ is the most sensitive of stimulation become culturally justified. Yet, for boys, circumcision is a good things, such as cleanliness and sexual pleasure. So, it is unfair for woman. According to National Commission for the Protection of Indonesian Women, the circumcision for woman is one tradition that violence against women, therefore it is contrary to the protection of women. In addition, one of the reason of Osing society do the circumcision for woman is to perfect their faith. Basically, all human beings have essentially believed (Muslims) since they birth. So, it does not any relation between being the circumcision with the faith.

³⁰ Hasan, *Masail Fiqhiyah Al-Haditsah*.

Conclusion

Based on the results above, it can be concluded that practice of woman circumcision in Java still commonly found, such as in Osing society. In addition, the practice of woman circumcision in Osing can be summed up as two, they are symbolically and reality. Symbolically means that the practice of woman circumcision is conducted without cutting part of the female genitals, it is clitoris, but using replacement media, namely turmeric. In practice, the turmeric is the one cut. Then, in reality, the woman circumcision is done by cutting off some of the ends clitoris, even if it's a little bit. The implemenetation of woman circumcision is usually conducted at the age of 35 days. Since, it is still baby. The purpose of woman circumcision in this society is to make them more perfect in their faith and can be controlled her desires from hypersex. Carrying out the tradition of woman circumcision that has been passed down from generation to generation and perform the religion order. In addition, the traditional circumcisions are reduced, so the Osing people prefer quacks, even though many midwives disagree with this tradition. In addition, the factors that makes woman circumcision is still preserved by Osing people are to perpetuate the patriarchal culture for the benefit and pleasure of men. Furthermore, it is conducted to build the existence of woman, so that they are more Islamic, which means that women who have been circumcised are purification and cleansing as an order from Islamic religious law to be able to perform their worship. There are two suggestions for the next research, first is this research needs for further research, and the second is the preservation of the culture for woman circumcision by all parties.

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