THE LAW OF CIRCUMCISION FOR WOMEN ACCORDING TO THE SYAFI'I MAZHAB, MAQOSIDUS SHARIA, AND CONSTITUTION

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Abstract: The implementation of self-circumcision in Indonesia was sheltered by the government, in this case, the Ministry of Health, in 2010 with the issuance of Regulation of the Minister of Health of the Republic of Indonesia Number 1636/MENKES/PER/XI/2010 concerning Female Circumcision. Problems arose when the 2010 rule was repeated in 2014, resulting in discomfort among the people of Marbau District, North Labuhanbatu Regency. This study will analyze the enlightenment of the theory of legal certainty, maqashid asy-syar'i'ah, regarding Circumcision in the Regulation of the Minister of Health of the Republic of Indonesia Number 6 of 2014 in Marbau District, North Labuhanbatu Regency. The research method used the library (library research) and (empirical research). The Primary sources are observations, interviews, and Regulations of the Minister of Health in 2010 and 2014. The research results show that in terms of legal certainty theory, the Law is made so that it can be implemented by the community, while The 2014 repeal regulation is uncertain because it is difficult to implement. In the maqashid asy-shar'i'ah aspect, Circumcision is part of religious care (hifzud din), on the other hand, it does not mean that in the practice of Circumcision, harming girls or neglecting to protect oneself or one’s soul (hifzhun nafs), but for the sake of giving obedience, and it is useful to control the lust of a girl when she grows up.

Keywords: Female Circumcision; Shafi'i School; Theory of Legal Certainty; Maqashid Sharia


Kata Kunci: Khitan Perempuan; Mazhab Syafi'i; Teori Kepastian Hukum; Maqashid Syariah
Introduction

Regulation of the Minister of Health of the Republic of Indonesia Number 6 of 2014 caused anxiety and uproar, especially in the Marbau District Community, North Labuhanbatu Regency. Circumcision of girls is common in this sub-district with the Regulation of the Minister of Health of the Republic of Indonesia Number 1636 the year 2010 concerning Female Circumcision, the community is increasingly assisted by the facilities provided by the government through the Ministry of Health in every district/city and sub-district and even villages throughout Indonesia.1

The new regulation revokes the Regulation of the Minister of Health of the Republic of Indonesia Number 1636 the year 2010 concerning Female Circumcision, it turns out that it impacts conflicting thoughts and debates in society. In addition, there is a public perception that the government does not support religious activities which are an obligation for Muslims in Marbau District, North Labuhanbatu Regency regarding the obligation to perform female Circumcision.

Regulation of the Minister of Health of the Republic of Indonesia Number 6 of 2014 concerning Revocation of Regulation of the Minister of Health of the Republic of Indonesia Number 1636 the year 2010 concerning Female Circumcision, which was issued in 2014 clearly contradicts the principles contained in Articles 5 and 6 of Law Number 12 of 2011 concerning Formation of Legislation. This is because there are many principles that do not seem to be of concern to regulators, including the absence of legal certainty, the difficulty of implementing them, the lack of order, and the lack of clarity on the purpose of the formulation of existing regulations.2

Everything listed above is due to the fact that female Circumcision is a form of implementation of Islamic teachings and shari'ah according to the Shafii school of thought in Indonesia, especially in Marbau District, North Labuhanbatu Regency. The existence of a Minister of Health Regulation turns out to have a negative value and hurts its implementation in the field. It is very difficult for the people of Marbau Subdistrict, North Labuhanbatu Regency, to abandon religious teachings, which have also become customs and habits commonly carried out from generation to generation out female Circumcision.3

Based on the cultural aspects and beliefs of the Indonesian people, until now, there are still requests for female Circumcision to be carried out, the implementation of which must still pay attention to the safety and health of the circumcised woman and not to perform female genital mutilation (female genital mutilation).4 Female Circumcision is mandatory for the Marbau community in North Labuhanbatu Regency. Non-negotiable obligations must be applied and carried out; in addition to the community’s values of Islamic religious teachings in submission to carry out female Circumcision, the community has applied this rule from generation to generation in local customs.

Literature Review

In the Shafii school of thought, which obliges female Circumcision, this results from ijtihad from istinbat al-ahkam contained in the Koran and Sunnah of the Prophet SAW. Imam an-Nawawi, one of the scholars from the Shafii school of thought, has written in his book that Circumcision is obligatory for girls and boys.5 According to the Syafi school, the Law on female Circumcision is not

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3 Zainuddin Sinaga, “Personal Interview,” 2022.
4 Amirul Fajar Tanjung, “Personal Interview,” 2022.
only a form of honor for women but also obligatory. This obligation is the same as the obligation for a man to perform Circumcision, so it is doubtful that the slaughter will be done, and he cannot be made the priest of a man if he is still uncircumcised. This is the importance of carrying out Circumcision for men and women in the view of the Shafi’i school of thought.

Imam ad-Dimyathi explained that there is an obligation to circumcise girls by cutting off the parts that need to be circumcised, but the most important thing is to scratch. The case of Circumcision, which many priests refer to as a reference, is a hadith narrated by Abu Dawud from Umm ‘Athiyyah al-Ansari, which explains the Prophet's order not to overdo Circumcision. The benefits of Circumcision include being able to give joy to women and happiness to their future husbands.

Looking at the Fatwa of the Indonesian Ulema Council regarding Circumcision, it is only emphasized that male and female Circumcision is a form of fitrah (rules) and Islamic syi’ar, especially for women, so Circumcision carried out is worth makrumah, and is a recommended form of worship. It is very unfortunate; in the fatwa, there is no law regarding Circumcision, whether it is obligatory or Sunnah.

The final part of the recommendation given by the Indonesian Ulema Council in its fatwa stated:
1. We are asking the government cq., the Ministry of Health, to make this fatwa a reference in establishing rules/regulations on the issue of female Circumcision.

2. Advise the Government cq., Ministry of Health to provide counselling and training to medical staff to perform female Circumcision following the provisions of this fatwa.

3. The 1945 Constitution has guaranteed the implementation of religious teachings in Article 28 E, paragraph (1) and Article 29, paragraph (2), expressly stating that there is freedom for every believer of religion to worship according to the teachings he adheres. In addition, in Article 18 B, in paragraph (2), it is stated that the state, in this case, the government and its officials, have recognized and respected the existence of customary Law and its traditional rights to be implemented and implemented, even though it is closed with a sentence as long as it does not conflict with the principles country and applicable laws.

The theory in Islamic Law that there is worship that has a rational dimension is called ta’aqquli or ma’qulat al-ma’na, and there is a dogma that is ta’abbudi/ghair ma’qulat al-ma’na, Therefore, if the circumcision procession cannot be rationalized medically and logically, then it can be understood as dogmatic worship because Circumcision is part of Islamic religious identity.

Ni’am and Zahiroh commented on the comments that identified Circumcision as having benefited from a medical point of view. Even though Circumcision is a form of religious activity believed to be in Islamic
religious dogma, even though it has not been found medically useful, in this case, Circumcision for women. Circumcision does not necessarily negate it. If this is approved, then over time, it will extend to denying the benefits of male Circumcision, as happened in the United States with the pro-genital integration movement.

Methods
This type of research is normative-empirical. Namely, a study that departs from two things; the first is norms or laws, identical with laws and regulations 12, and the opinions of scholars based on logic and scientific and legal standards. 13 The normative type is Regulation of the Minister of Health of the Republic of Indonesia Number 6 of 2014 concerning Revocation of Regulation of the Minister of Health of the Republic of Indonesia Number 1636/MENKES/PER/XI/2010 concerning Female Circumcision, and Regulation of the Minister of Health of the Republic of Indonesia Number 1636/MENKES/PER/XI/2010 concerning Female Circumcision, as well as the opinion of the Shafi’i school of thought regarding Circumcision in his book al-Umm. The type of research from the empirical side is the application of female Circumcision carried out by the people of Marbau District, North Labuhanbatu Regency.

There are two research approaches, the case approach 14 and the comparative legal approach (comparative normative approach). 15 The sample of research subjects consisted of 12 (twelve) people, the sample of research subjects from medical staff consisted of 6 (six) people, and the sample of subjects from religious leaders consisted of 6 (six) people. It was listed below in the tabular form.

1) Community Informants
Table 1. Names of Community Informants, Age and Origin of Villages/Kelurahan in Marbau District, North Labuhanbatu Regency,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Origin of Village/Kelurahan</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Nurul Khairina Muhammad Ilham Nasution</td>
<td>35 years old 39 Years</td>
<td>Crooked</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Ahmad Jali</td>
<td>45 Years</td>
<td>South Marbau</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Zainuddin Sinaga</td>
<td>49 Years</td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>Linda</td>
<td>33 Years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>A. Insan Hasanuddin Ritonga Ahmad Munawir</td>
<td>48 Years 51 Years</td>
<td>Source Mulyo Aek Tapa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>M. Azhar</td>
<td>35 years old</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Sofiah</td>
<td>43 Years</td>
<td>4-way intersection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Agustiar Lokot Ahmad Munawir</td>
<td>49 Years 50 years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Mubarak Hamdan Pulungan</td>
<td>52 Years</td>
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</table>

b) Medical Informant
Table 2. Names of Medical Staff Informants in Marbau District, North Labuhanbatu Regency, Age and Origin of Village/Kelurahan

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<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Origin of Village/Kelurahan</th>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
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<td></td>
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</tbody>
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15 Soerjono Soekanto and Sri Mamudji, Normative Legal Research; a Brief Overview, (Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 1998), h. 50-52.
The Law of Circumcision for Women According to
The Syafi’i Mazhab, Maqosidus Sharia, and Constitution

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Origin of Village/Kelurahan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>H. Sahrul Ramadhani</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>Crooked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>H. Syawalul Fitra</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>South Marbau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>H. Khairil</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>Source Mulyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>HM Nasir</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>Aek Tapa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>H. Amirul Fajar Tanjung</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>4-way intersection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>H. Fikri</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>Bargot Island</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Result And Discussion

Law of Circumcision According to the Shafi’i School

Circumcision, in the opinion of various priests of the madhab, has different laws. As stated in the 2008 Fatwa of the Indonesian Ulema Council concerning the Law for the Prohibition of Circumcision of Women, it includes many opinions from scholars from various schools of thought. It is stated that, in the Hanafi, Maliki, and Hanbali schools, the Law on female Circumcision is Sunnah, while in the Shafi’i school, it is punished as an obligation that must be carried out. For example, Imam ibn Qudahmah, who is a scholar from the Hanbali school of thought, explains:

So the Law of Circumcision of men is obligatory, while the Law of Circumcision of women is a right that is part of the honour of these women and is not obligatory on them.  

The above quote is part of the opinion of the Hanbali school, which emphasizes that Circumcision is obligatory for boys but not for girls. Understandably, in the Syafi’i School, the opinion is used by the Indonesian people in general and by the Muslim community in Marbau District, North Labuhanbatu Regency, so it has consequences for the use of the results of ijtihad from scholars in the Syafi’i School.

According to the Syafi’i School, the Law of female Circumcision is a form of honour for women and is obligatory to implement. This obligation is the same as the obligation for a man to perform Circumcision, so it is doubtful that the slaughter will be done, and he cannot be made the priest of a man if he is still uncircumcised. This is the importance of carrying out Circumcision for men and women in the view of the Shafi’i school of thought.  

Below is stated the opinion of other scholars, still from the Shafi’i school of thought, namely Imam ad-Dimyathi, regarding the Law of female Circumcision and the implementation of Circumcision following the recommendations of the Prophet SAW, as follows:

“It is obligatory to carry out female Circumcision by cutting off the part that must be circumcised and prioritized in carrying out the female circumcision process with just a little scratch. This follows the hadith narrated by Abu Dawud and other hadith priests. Indeed, the Prophet SAW said, Circumcision...
is small and should not be excessive. Circumcision performed for women can please their husbands because it will increase the pleasure in intercourse. One history states that Circumcision of women can brighten the aura of the face due to the flow of facial expressions and blood.  

Imam ad-Dimasyqi explained in detail how circumcision of women is carried out, namely by cutting off some of it, but the most important thing is just a little bit (in the form of a scratch), as narrated by Abu Dawud in a hadith sourced from Umm `Athiyyah al-Ansari. The hadith from the history of Abu Dawud is listed below:

“Have told us Sulaiman ibn `Abdurrahman ad-Dimasyqi and `Abdul Wahhab ibn `Abdurrahim al-Asy'ari, Sahabah, said both of them, have told us Marwan, have told us Muhammad ibn Hassan, said he `Abdul Wahhab al-Kufi, from `Abdul Malik ibn `Umair, from Ummi `Athiyyah al-Ansari, a woman who will circumcise in Medina, so the Prophet SAW said to her, do not overdo it in Circumcision, then in fact (do not exaggerate in Circumcision) it can make women happy, and favoured by her husband. (Narrated by Abu Dawud)”

The hadith above relates to the warning of the Prophet SAW to female friends who want to perform Circumcision on women. While mentioning, so that you do not go too far in cutting, just light scratches. The pronunciation used is la tunhiki; do not overdo it in Circumcision. The meaning of not exaggerating is what the Syafi'i School further interprets as a small scratch.

There are suspicions or accusations that Circumcision of women can cause harm to circumcised women. In fact, the Apostle SAW had warned long ago about the procedure for performing Circumcision, and its purpose, besides giving glory to women, is also to avoid the harm that can be caused when Circumcision is not appropriate. With the guidance of the Prophet SAW. When Circumcision is done by ignoring the guidance of the Prophet SAW, which mentions not to overdo Circumcision by cutting it, the circumcised woman is certainly harmed.

Therefore, in the hadith narrated by Imam at-Thabrani, Abu Dawud from Umm `Athiyyah, which was previously listed, the Prophet SAW used the word la tanhaki, interpreted as not exaggerating, as a way to avoid harm when performing Circumcision on women. Circumcision is carried out apart from being part of worship because it carries out Islamic syl'ar; apart from that, it also benefits the woman who is circumcised and can please her husband when the woman gets married later. This is what Imam ad-Dimasyqi emphasized in the previous quote, because of the circumcision li ziyadatih fi lazazat al-jima’ wa, asra li al-wajh ai aktsar li ma’ihi wa dima’ihi, to add to the delicacy in having sexual intercourse between husband and wife, brightening the face, due to the large flow of water on the face and the flow of blood.

The concept of Circumcision in the Regulation of the Minister of Health of the Republic of Indonesia

The concept of Circumcision of girls in the

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21 Musda Asmara and Lils Sahara, “Problems with Choosing a Mate in Islam for People Who Choose a Mate through Social Media,” NUSANTARA: Journal Of Law Studies 1, no. 1 (December 16, 2022): 40–49.
24 Ad-Dimasyqi, Hasyiyah I`anah, h. 198.
perspective of Regulation of the Minister of Health of the Republic of Indonesia Number 6 of 2014 concerning Revocation of Regulation of the Minister of Health of the Republic of Indonesia Number 1636/MENKES/PER/XI/2010 concerning Female Circumcision, that female Circumcision is not a medical procedure, then it is stated that female Circumcision is seen as having no benefit at all that can be proven scientifically.²⁶

Female genital mutilation is not permissible, then the letter "d" states that female Circumcision is in the concept of Regulation of the Minister of Health of the Republic of Indonesia Number 6 of 2014 concerning Revocation Regulation of the Minister of Health of the Republic of Indonesia Number 1636/MENKES/PER/XI/2010 concerning Female Circumcision is no longer following global developments and policies. Some things need to be observed regarding the mandate given by the Ministry of Health, specifically to the Health Advisory Council and Shari'a, which orders to make a certain guidelines. The reason is that female Circumcision guarantees the safety and health of the circumcised woman. Despite the facts on the ground, there have been no cases where the Circumcision of girls has been found to affect or harm girls who are circumcised.²⁷

If indeed cases were found by the Ministry of Health, the number of cases and the negative impacts they had caused should have been listed.²⁸ Instead, in analyzing this problem, the Ministry of Health gave a mandate to the Health Advisory Council and Syara'ik to issue guidelines for female Circumcision,²⁹ which aims to protect the safety and health of circumcised girls.

I am impressed that the practice of female Circumcision that has been carried out by Muslim communities in Indonesia, especially in Marbau District, North Labuhanbatu Regency, has had cases of causing harm or negative impacts on girls after Circumcision was carried out. In essence, Circumcision of girls has been going on for a long time, and the genital mutilation (female genital mutilation) has never been performed at all by those who perform the Circumcision, so it is not acceptable in common sense to the information contained in the Regulation of the Minister of Health of the Republic of Indonesia Number 1636/MENKES /PER/XI/2010 concerning Female Circumcision.³⁰

Overview of Maqashid asy-Syari'ah regarding Circumcision in the Regulation of the Minister of Health

The case of Circumcision is a case in carrying out the teachings of the Islamic religion, apart from the existence of khilafiah in judging circumcision cases; in this case, it concerns the Circumcision of girls. The teachings regarding Circumcision are sourced from the Koran when Allah SWT explains Abraham. As contained in QS. An-Nahl/16:123, QS. Ar-Rum/30:30, QS. Al-Baqarah/2:124, and QS. An-Nisa'/4:125. There is a repetition of the words monotheism, millah, and the word hanif, in these verses, which reinforces the argument by Imam an-Nawawi in the Shafi'i

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School that Circumcision is obligatory on girls, just as it is obligatory to circumcise boys.\textsuperscript{31}

Previous studies have explained that there are differences of opinion among schools of thought about the legal status of the Circumcision of girls, but in the Syafi’i school, the Circumcision of girls is considered mandatory and must be carried out. Due to the understanding and istinbath al-ahkam from the Shafi’i School regarding the obligation of female Circumcision, it has causality towards its followers in Indonesia, specifically in Marbau District, North Labuhanbatu Regency.\textsuperscript{32}

For people who belong to the Shafi’i School, Circumcision is believed to be a form of obedience in carrying out religious orders. For this reason, the existence of the Regulation of the Minister of Health of the Republic of Indonesia Number 6 of 2014 concerning the Repeal of the Regulation of the Minister of Health of the Republic of Indonesia Number 1636/MENKES/PER/XI/2010 concerning Female Circumcision, is perceived as a rule that does not support the community in carrying out religious orders and teachings that are believed, especially in the understanding of the Shafi’i School.

Talking about maqashid asy-shari’ah, the highest hierarchically in the dharuriyah section is protecting religion (hifzud din); because of that, the practice of Circumcision for girls is something that must be carried out because leaving it is part of neglecting religion and syi’ care ar religion, and was punished for being negligent in carrying out female Circumcision.\textsuperscript{33} Review of the theory of legal certainty, maqashid asy-syar’i’ah regarding Circumcision in the Regulation of the Minister of Health of the Republic of Indonesia Number 6 of 2014 concerning the Repeal of the Regulation of the Minister of Health of the Republic of Indonesia Number 1636/MENKES/PER/XI/2010 concerning Female Circumcision which was implemented in Marbau District, Labuhanbatu Regency North. Regarding legal certainty, the legal regulations issued by the Ministry of Health are certain, but there is confusion in them.\textsuperscript{34}

Among them is the reason for repealing the 2010 rule, which seems to ignore the interests of the Muslim community who want to practice their religious beliefs, even though the state guarantees it in the 1945 Constitution. On the other hand, we still remind the public to practice midwives not to do female genital mutilation, even though in practice in the community, female genital mutilation has never been done but only applied by scratching the tip of the clitoris to peel off part of the skin. This follows the guidelines contained in the hadith of the Prophet SAW in the history of Abu Dawud and others.\textsuperscript{35}

In maqasid asy-shari’ah terms, the existence of a regulation from the Ministry of Health that repealed the 2010 rule is a case that is not good\textsuperscript{36} because it does not see the practices carried out by Muslim communities, which protect the rights of girls, not in order to hurt. Circumcision is part of religious care (hifzud din), on the other hand, it does not

\textsuperscript{31} Ainol Ainol Ainol, “Khitan Perempuan Dalam Hukum Islam; Kritik Hadits Dalam Sunah Abu Dawud Nomor 5271,” 
\textit{Istid’al: Jurnal Studi Hukum Islam} 2, no. 2 (June 19, 2015): 112–122.

\textsuperscript{32} Nurasiah Nurasiah, “Khitan Dalam Literatur Hadis Hukum,” 

\textsuperscript{33} Nurahmansyah Nurahmansyah, “Praktek Khitan Pada Perempuan Dalam Perspektif Hukum Islam Di Desa Rawakalong Kecamatan Gunung Sindur Kabupaten Bogor,” 

\textsuperscript{34} Fitri Kurniati, Fitri Fujiana, and Uray Fretty

Hayati, “Kajian Literatur: Sunat Perempuan Ditinjau Dari Aspek Umum Dan Kesehatan,” 

\textsuperscript{35} Mukhammad Zamzami, “Perempuan dan Narasi Kekerasan: Analisis Hukum dan Medis Sirkumssisi Perempuan,” 
\textit{Asy-Syir’i’ah Jurnal Ilmu Syari’ah dan Hukum} 51, no. 1 (April 5, 2017): 53–78.

\textsuperscript{36} Muhammad Fitri Adi, “Hadhonah Rights of Children (Not Mumayyis) Based on Compilation of Islamic Law and Child Protection Act,” 
mean that the practice of Circumcision harms girls or neglects to protect oneself or the soul (hifzhun nafs) but for the sake of giving honour, and it is beneficial to control the lust of the girl when she grows up.37

Conclusion
Circumcision of girls in the Shafi’i School is punished as a mandatory matter. There is no legal difference between Circumcision for girls and boys. It is just that in the technical implementation of Circumcision, there are differences if Circumcision for boys is done by cutting the tip of the pubic skin up to the hasyfah limit, while Circumcision for girls is done by scratching and slightly peeling off the tip of the skin from the clitoral sex organ.

In general, the rules of the Regulation of the Minister of Health of the Republic of Indonesia Number 6 of 2014 have several considerations made by the Ministry of Health in revoking the regulation on female Circumcision or Circumcision. Among the most important things explained in the 2014 regulations, it is stated that Circumcision is not a medical activity; it also states that until now, there has been no scientifically clear evidence about the benefits of it Circumcision for women. Then another consideration was mentioned, Circumcision of girls is seen as not following global developments. The regulation also states that as a cultural consideration and public belief, if the practice of female Circumcision persists, it cannot be done utilizing female genital mutilation, known as the medical term female genital mutilation.

Regulation of the Minister of Health of the Republic of Indonesia Number 6 of 2014 concerning Revocation of the Regulation of the Minister of Health of the Republic of Indonesia Number 1636/MENKES/PER/XI/2010 concerning Female Circumcision. Although several sections state that the community still desires Circumcision for reasons of faith and other reasons, the new regulations that repeal the old rules regarding Circumcision are still contrary to one of the parts of maqashid asy-shari’ah, namely protecting religion. Circumcision of girls is part of syi’ar Islam; therefore, the government must implement it as a form of obedience to the 1945 Constitution, which states that the state guarantees individual freedom in practising their religion and belief, including, in this case, carrying out Circumcision of girls.

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37 Jauharotul Farida et al., “SUNAT PADA ANAK PEREMPUAN (KHIFADZ) DAN PERLINDUNGAN ANAK PEREMPUAN DI

INDONESIA: Studi Kasus di Kabupaten Demak,” Sawwa: Jurnal Studi Gender 12, no. 3 (October 31, 2017): 371–396.
Sunah Abu Dawud Nomor 5271.”
Isti’dal: Jurnal Studi Hukum Islam 2, no. 2 (June 19, 2015): 112–122.


