



The Role of UK Communities and Leadership in Tackling Female Genital Mutilation

Arofah Minasari¹⁾, Patricia Gita Pusparini²⁾

Universitas Sebelas Maret, Indonesia

arofah.minasari@gmail.com¹⁾

patriciaqita20@gmail.com²⁾

Abstract

Female Genital Mutilation is the act of removing part or all of a woman's external genitalia, including the act of injuring a woman's genitals without medical reasons. It is estimated that more than 200 million women have undergone Female Genital Mutilation procedures. This is an international problem and concern. The practice of Female Genital Mutilation in England emerged due to the arrival of immigrants who brought this culture. The efforts made by the British government in dealing with Female Genital Mutilation are by enforcing the law in the form of creating anti-Female Genital Mutilation laws and educating the public through campaigns and community empowerment. This research was created to try to see the role of British communities and leadership in dealing with Female Genital Mutilation using comparative feminist political theory and the concept of women's rights. This research will use a qualitative descriptive research methodology. The results of this research are in the form of political policy analysis using four approaches, namely gender; policy; and welfare states, state feminism, policy implementation and making, women's movements. As well as the emergence of obstacles in handling efforts which are influenced by various factors.

Keywords: Female Genital Mutilation, England, women's rights

Abstrak

Female Genital Mutilation merupakan sebuah prosedur tindakan menghilangkan baik sebagian maupun keseluruhan bagian organ kelamin eksternal perempuan, termasuk tindakan melukai organ kelamin perempuan tanpa dasar alasan medis. Diperkirakan telah lebih dari 200 juta perempuan pernah melakukan prosedur tindakan Female Genital Mutilation. Hal inilah yang menjadi permasalahan dan perhatian bagi dunia internasional. Praktik Female Genital Mutilation di Inggris muncul akibat datangnya imigran yang membawa budaya tersebut masuk. Pemerintah Inggris telah mengupayakan penanganan Female Genital Mutilation dengan melakukan penegakan hukum berupa pembuatan undang – undang anti Female Genital Mutilation dan upaya edukasi kepada masyarakat melalui kampanye dan pemberdayaan masyarakat. Penelitian ini dibuat untuk mencoba melihat peranan komunitas dan kepemimpinan Inggris dalam menangani Mutilasi Alat Kelamin Perempuan menggunakan teori perbandingan politik feminisme dan konsep hak perempuan. Penelitian ini akan menggunakan metodologi penelitian kualitatif deskriptif. Hasil dari penelitian ini adalah analisis kebijakan politik dengan menggunakan empat pendekatan yaitu gender; kebijakan; dan negara sejahtera, feminisme negara, implementasi dan pembuatan kebijakan, gerakan wanita. Serta munculnya hambatan dalam upaya penanganan yang dipengaruhi oleh berbagai faktor.

Kata Kunci: Female Genital Mutilation, Inggris, hak perempuan



INTRODUCTION

Female Genital Mutilation is a procedure for removing part or all of the external female genital organs, including the act of injuring the female genital organs without any medical reason (World Health Organization n.d.). This is included in one form of gender-based violence that is often experienced by women. The practice of Female Genital Mutilation that is found is generally used as a ritual to signify changes in women facing puberty from childhood to maturity. In addition, this practice is also closely related to social views regarding forms of femininity and responses to female sexuality (World Health Organization n.d.). Even though there is no medical justification that allows this practice, in reality many people have been doing it for a long time. Until now, this practice is still difficult to completely eliminate because it has taken root as a culture and a binding norm in society for women.

It is estimated that more than 200 million women have had the Female Genital Mutilation procedure (UNICEF 2022). Data on the prevalence of Female Genital Mutilation in 2004-2015 shows that the practice of Female Genital Mutilation is mostly done in the age group of 15-49 years and is also found in the ages of 0-14 years (UNICEF 2016). Africa is the main point where the practice of Female Genital Mutilation is carried out with a total of 29 countries with the largest distribution concentrated on the African peninsula (UNICEF 2016). The spread of Female Genital Mutilation then also extended to the European region brought by immigrants from countries that performed the Female Genital Mutilation procedure. According to the Resolution of the European Parliament it is stated that around 500,000 women living in the European Union are estimated to have become victims of Female Genital Mutilation (Tull 2010). Thus Female Genital Mutilation becomes a threat that will get bigger if it is not treated immediately.

This is why Female Genital Mutilation has long been a human rights issue highlighted by the international community. In the CEDAW article No. 14 of 1990 specifically sees Female Genital Mutilation as a problem that has a serious impact on women (United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) 1990). In 1997 WHO, UNICEF, and UNFPA issued a joint statement to raise the issue of Female Genital Mutilation and define it as an action that needs to be abolished because of the implications it has for public health and human rights (WHO 1997). In 2008 Female Genital Mutilation was categorized as a form of gender violence and included as a violation of Human Rights including the Rights of Women and Children. Female Genital Mutilation has also been included in one of WHO's main focuses in the Sustainable Development Goals 2030 point 5.3.2 concerning eliminating the practice of Female Genital Mutilation as a form of violence against women.

England is one of the countries with the largest distribution of Female Genital Mutilation in the European region. The arrival of immigrants from the African region which is the center of Female Genital Mutilation has caused England to be affected by a spike in cases. It is estimated that at least 137,000 women in the UK have been affected by Female Genital Mutilation and up to 60,000 girls under the age of 15 are at risk of being affected by Female Genital Mutilation in the future (FORWARD n.d.). The NHS compiles that from 2016 to 2022 there have been 30,335 women who reported to the British authorities regarding the Female Genital Mutilation they received (NHS Digital 2020). This figure is predicted to continue to increase because it is estimated that not all women affected by Female Genital Mutilation report it. Even though this practice is illegal in the UK, you can still find clinics and health workers who secretly offer services to perform Female Genital Mutilation (OHCHR n.d.). On the other hand, victims of Female Genital Mutilation in England stated that because of pressure from their families, they were forced to carry out this action even though they had arrived in England. The victims also voiced their anxiety regarding the phenomenon of Female Genital Mutilation which continues to grow in England. They stated that a community-based approach alone was not effective enough to stop this action from being stopped. The government needed to make efforts to intervene in cases, especially for women in the community who were still unable to escape the snares of Female Genital Mutilation (RCM, RCN, RCOG, Equality Now 2013).

The practice of Female Genital Mutilation which has existed for generations violates the rights of women as individuals. This is then debated in the international world where the existing culture is demanded to be abolished. Women's rights recognize the right to have control and freedom to determine and be responsible for their sexuality, including the right to be free from all forms of violence, discrimination and coercion against sexuality and reproductive health (OHCHR n.d.). Female Genital Mutilation has clearly violated a woman's right to be free from violence and violated her right to be free from all forms of discrimination and torture or other forms of degrading and inhumane punishment. Even in the right of individuals to get health and access to proper health, Female Genital Mutilation has also been violated. This right because the pain, impact, and also health complications caused by the practice of Female Genital Mutilation are very dangerous and can threaten the survival of women in the future.



The state certainly has a big and main role in fulfilling, respecting and protecting women's rights. The state as an authorized institution is not only limited to paying respect in the form of certainty or mere declarations, but state protection must also be present in the form of forming a constitution that can legally protect and fight for women's rights within the state. This happens because in essence the state is the main actor responsible for achieving the human rights of every citizen, including the rights of women themselves. The state is responsible for safeguarding that no culture, norms, or customary beliefs develop in the community harm and reduce the rights of these women. Law enforcement through investigations and punishment of perpetrators of violence against women is considered to be the right path because violence against women has damaged the course of human rights norms maintained by the state.

According to Amy G. Mazur (2002) *Feminist Comparative Policy* is a study that is used to look at the dynamics of feminist policies made by looking through a special approach that distinguishes gender studies. This research will use the theme of bringing patriarchal state back as a research question which uses the state as the main focus in the study. In the state approach as an object of feminist comparative policy study, there are four main aspects that can be analyzed further, namely the first regarding the relationship between gender, policy, and the welfare state, the second regarding state feminism, the third regarding the formation and implementation of policies related to women's issues, the fourth regarding activism women's movement. The four aspects in this gender comparative study are used as a reference for further research on gender-related phenomena that occur. The first aspect, namely gender, policy, and the welfare state, talks about the existence of a regime that appears as a major obstacle or promoter of gender discrimination or equality. The second aspect, namely state feminism, looks at how the state and government actors can promote feminism by focusing on the role of women actors in government as policy makers and implementers in various sectors or events. The third point describes policies related to women's issues that are made by analyzing political formation processes such as actors, content, and policy-making processes and seeing whether these policies can improve aspects of women's status or not. The last aspect talks about the women's movement associated with the state and political policies. This aspect looks at how ideas or actions carried out by women's or feminist movements can be translated into political policies by the government. The existence of the growing phenomenon of Female Genital Mutilation and the various kinds of reactions it causes in England will then be seen in this study. With an effort to look at the policies that the British government has taken in dealing with the Female Genital Mutilation phenomenon, it is hoped that it can provide an overview of the points that will be discussed from this research, namely looking at the government's efforts to fulfill women's rights and countermeasures related to Female Genital Mutilation through law enforcement efforts, and education efforts for the community that have been carried out as well as seeing a movement that has emerged in the community regarding Female Genital Mutilation. This research will look at the extent to which government policies adopted can accommodate the needs of citizens and the demands of society and organizations.

METHODOLOGY

This research will discuss the various policies taken and events that occurred related to the handling of cases of Female Genital Mutilation in England. So that this research is not limited to a certain time or period but will focus on every matter concerning Female Genital Mutilation in that country. The research method used by researchers is a descriptive qualitative research method. This descriptive research contains various quotations of facts that have been collected and processed into data used to strengthen the content presented by the researcher. The research model specifically uses case study research from the phenomenon of international relations. The data analysis technique used is qualitative data analysis in accordance with the research theme. Qualitative data will be compiled into a text that will be developed. If in this study a number is found, this is supporting data which only states a unit or quantity to strengthen the sentence, not to be used as the main data to be analyzed.

DISCUSSION

Reasons Why Some British People did Female Genital Mutilation

The practice of Female Genital Mutilation can spread to England through immigrants who come to European territory. Broadly speaking, the immigrants who came still adhere to the culture brought from their country of origin and try to continue to practice it in the next generation even though they are already in European territory. People who believe in Female Genital Mutilation are generally used as a symbol in the



environment to see the chastity or purity of women as well as in the social environment to judge a family. This moral burden that exists and develops deeply in society is also one of the main roles in the persistence of the practice of Female Genital Mutilation even when the people have migrated to the European region. This kind of thinking is still commonly found because it has already taken root in society and it is difficult to eradicate it because they are of the view that their children would prefer to be circumcised rather than receive high social sanctions and make it difficult for the family imposed by the community if girls in a family are not circumcised. This understanding arose because she saw Female Genital Mutilation as a culture based on social, religious and psychosexual beliefs used to control women's sexuality and chastity as well as a tool to maintain family dignity. Female Genital Mutilation is also used as a symbol of women's status in the social environment. Many people still think that circumcised women will improve social status, family dignity, and eligibility for marriage. Society assumes that women who are not circumcised will be labeled as women who have no morals. Stigma and social sanctions that will be applied to women and families who do not practice this are the biggest drivers for this culture's continued strength (Fahmy, El-Mouelhy, and Ragab 2010). This then creates social pressure for the family as the closest people who often perform Female Genital Mutilation on their daughters because the family does not want to be looked down upon and ostracized from society if their daughters do not perform the circumcision (Van Rossem and Meekers 2020). Parents prefer their children to be circumcised in order to be chosen in marriage because many men choose to marry circumcised women because they are still considered sacred. Society believes that there are differences in sexual satisfaction between circumcised and uncircumcised women, so many men in Egypt choose to marry circumcised women (Seif El Dawla 1999).

Actors Who Performed Female Genital Mutilation in UK

Immigrants who come to England with the culture of Female Genital Mutilation are actors who carry out this practice. The first generation of immigrants who arrived were generally affected and victims of Female Genital Mutilation in their home countries before seeking asylum in the UK. Immigrants who come to the UK as adults can pass this practice on to their children in the future. Immigrant communities coming from countries with a high prevalence rate of Female Genital Mutilation such as Kenya, Somalia, Sudan, Sierra Leone, Egypt, Nigeria and Eritrea are at great risk of experiencing and performing Female Genital Mutilation in the next generation after arriving in the UK (Government UK n.d.). Female Genital Mutilation which is carried out on the child can be carried out because of the role of the parents as guardians who allow this practice.

Adolescents who come from countries with the highest prevalence of Female Genital Mutilation are especially vulnerable to being affected. Parents will usually bring them to do this practice during the summer holidays when school will be closed. This summer holiday is also known as the 'circumcision season' where parents will take their daughters for circumcision outside the UK or back to their home country (Plan International UK. 2015). Apart from summer, the Christmas holiday is also one of the best times of the 'cutting season'. The time chosen during the long summer and Christmas holidays was considered very appropriate because there was a time lag for recovery before their children returned to school in the fall (Metro 2018).

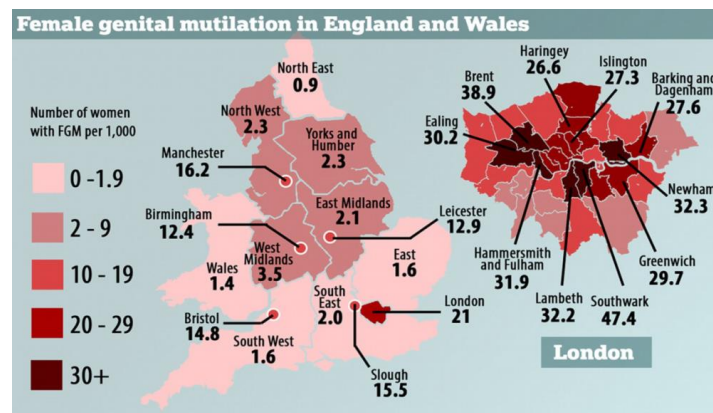
Factors That Resulted in High Rates of Female Genital Mutilation in the UK

The main factor for the high rate of Female Genital Mutilation in the UK is due to the relation or connection between this practice and immigrant cultural identity. Immigrants who come from their home countries to new countries with different social systems and conditions such as in England make them feel that their cultural self-identity that has been attached to it can be lost as a result of migration and acculturation processes. Therefore, many immigrants form closed groups who try to maintain the culture that has existed and consider this culture as a norm that should be defended. The existence of a cultural identity attached to these immigrants makes Female Genital Mutilation a cultural attribute that is difficult to remove, thus contributing to a high prevalence rate (Whitehorn and Ayonrinde 2010).

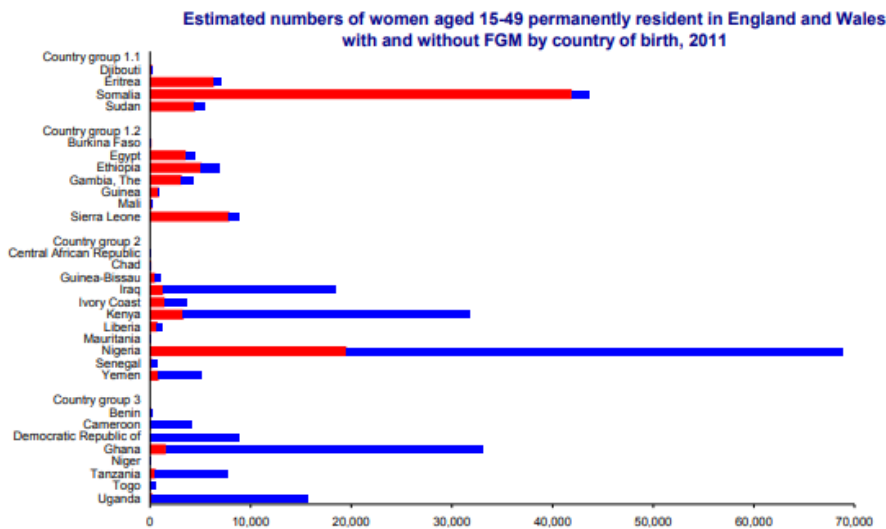
Data on the Number of Women Affected by Female Genital Mutilation in UK

England is a country in the European region with the highest rate of Female Genital Mutilation with 137,000 cases recorded, followed by France and the Netherlands (Government UK. n.d.). It is estimated that as many as 60,000 girls aged 0-14 years are born in the UK to mothers who have experienced female

genital mutilation and are at risk of being affected by female genital mutilation in the future. This figure is predicted to continue to grow given the large number of immigrants who come to England every year. The distribution of women affected by Female Genital Mutilation does not only live in urban areas, many of whom live in big cities where immigrant populations are concentrated, while some of them are scattered in rural areas. London was followed by Manchester as the city with the highest prevalence of women affected by Female Genital Mutilation (Government UK n.d.). In addition, it is estimated that female immigrants affected by Female Genital Mutilation come from countries with a high prevalence of Female Genital Mutilation, such as Somalia, Eritrea, Sudan, Sierra Leone, and Egypt, which is greater than female immigrants from these countries who do not experience Female Genital Mutilation. According to data compiled by the NHS from 2015 to 2022 regarding the type of Female Genital Mutilation that is most common in people living in England, it is noted that Type I is the most common type followed by type II. Although this data is inaccurate because there are unknown data samples, this can provide an overview of the distribution of the type of Female Genital Mutilation found in England.



Graphic 1. Prevalence of Female Genital Mutilation in the UK (Desert Flower Foundation, 2016)



Graphic 2. Estimates of Affected and Unaffected Female Genital Mutilation Aged 15 - 49 Years Living in the UK (Macfarlane and Dorkenoo 2015).

Welfare State

Efforts to fulfill women's rights carried out by the Government are present in the form of law enforcement. The state, in this case the UK, acts as a promoter of women's rights that supports the creation of policies related to women. This is manifested in the formation of laws, conventions and other binding



regulations. This is done so that it is hoped that the level of Female Genital Mutilation can be suppressed. Apart from being in the legal field, the state is also present in the form of community empowerment as an educational effort against Female Genital Mutilation. This educational effort is of course one of the ways taken by the State to balance law enforcement efforts so that a law-abiding and educated society can be created about Female Genital Mutilation.

In addition, the British Government has also signed a series of agreements and international conventions related to human rights and women's rights which also raise the issue of Female Genital Mutilation. These agreements include the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Convention on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT), the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (ECHR), and the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union (Framework 2012). The signing can be seen as a form of the British Government's commitment to upholding human rights and women's rights, one of which is by paying special attention to cases of Female Genital Mutilation that are spread across England.

England issued the Female Genital Mutilation Act 2003 which was a law created to replace the Female Circumcision Act 1985. Article 1 of this law considers guilt for those who commit acts of Female Genital Mutilation in England and Wales, namely by having evidence of acts of cutting, infibulation or mutilation parts of the female genital organs such as the labia majora, labia minora, and clitoris. This law will apply to persons regardless of citizenship status who assist a woman to perform Female Genital Mutilation in England (Article 2) and Wales and assist a foreign national to perform Female Genital Mutilation from within the UK to a British citizen or permanent British resident outside the UK (Article 3). In addition, this law also prohibits British citizens or residents who permanently reside in the territory of the UK from performing Female Genital Mutilation outside the UK, assisting women to perform Female Genital Mutilation outside the UK, helping foreign nationals perform Female Genital Mutilation from outside the UK, to British citizens or permanent British residents outside the UK (Article 4) (Government UK n.d.)

The Serious Crime Act 2015 is a law that regulates serious crimes such as domestic violence, drugs, group crime, child exploitation, including regarding Female Genital Mutilation. Articles 70-75 of this law contain additional laws and amendments to the previous law to complement the law on female genital mutilation. One of them is the addition of the law in article 72 concerning the inability to protect women from the dangers of Female Genital Mutilation. This law will take action against people who are deemed to have failed to carry out their duties as a guardian or who are responsible for a woman when the woman experiences Female Genital Mutilation. This person does not only refer to parents but can be either a person with or without blood relations who is given the responsibility to care for them (Cook 2016). In addition, this law also stipulates several articles regarding the mechanism for handling and preventing Female Genital Mutilation. For example, in Article 74 it is stated that there is an obligation to report cases of Female Genital Mutilation to people under the age of eighteen who are known. This law is especially specific to health workers, social workers and teachers in the UK who are likely to come into contact with victims of Female Genital Mutilation. Apart from that, Article 71 also regulates laws that protect victims of Female Genital Mutilation by creating anonymity. The anonymity of victims of Female Genital Mutilation is necessary to prevent publication in any form that will make the public know or be able to identify all kinds of identities or information about the alleged victim (Legislation Government UK. n.d.)

This law also regulates the existence of a legal mandate regulated in article 73, namely efforts to protect and care for victims and women who have the potential to become victims of Female Genital Mutilation, which is called the Female Genital Mutilation Protection Order (FGMPO). This FGMPO application can be submitted by either the victim, the local government or a third party, and a person who has the approval of the prosecutor. In addition, FGMPO can be issued by the Attorney General's Office without prior filing as a form of protection when needed (Ireland 2015). There are various forms of FGMPO that can be issued by the prosecutor, including an order to surrender passports or other travel documents for protected women and specifically prohibit certain people from being in certain areas in England or outside England where the action of Female Genital Mutilation has the potential to be carried out (UK n.d.).

The British government issued an official guide regarding Female Genital Mutilation called the Multi Agency Statutory Guidance on Female Genital Mutilation. This guide was formed on the basis of the Serious Crime Act 2015 Amendment Act regarding Female Genital Mutilation Act 2003 article 5C as a reference to increase awareness of Female Genital Mutilation, increase compliance with the prohibition of Female Genital Mutilation, increase efforts to report cases of Female Genital Mutilation, and seek maximum protection for victims and survivors of Female Genital Mutilation (Government UK 2020). This guide is



specifically intended for all institutions and parties related to the handling of Female Genital Mutilation in the UK, such as local governments and regional councils, NHS health agencies and private health institutions, school bodies, to police agencies. The British government publishes several guidelines regularly which are continuously updated starting from 2016 in the hope that they will continue to be relevant to the conditions and problems encountered in the field. With the existence of official guidelines issued by the state, it is hoped that this will be the first step in making educational efforts for related parties who can later also explain it to the public.

State Feminism

Theresa May was the secretary of state for the 2010 - 2016 period during the leadership of Prime Minister David Cameron and became the British Prime Minister in the 2016 - 2019 period. As a political contestant, Theresa May was highlighted in her various attitudes regarding feminism and a *femocrat*. The coalition between the Conservative Party and the British Liberal Democrat Party is one of the reasons for the policy breakthrough related to women. During her tenure as secretary of state and Prime Minister, Theresa May has contributed to women's issues including those regarding Female Genital Mutilation and violence against women. One of her policies regarding Female Genital Mutilation is the Girl Summit which was held for the first time in England in 2014. Theresa May played the role of the organizer of this event. In her speech, Theresa May highlighted the phenomenon of Female Genital Mutilation in England and made a commitment to the government to make policies that support efforts to eliminate Female Genital Mutilation (UK Government 2014a)

Feminist Policy Formation

Female Genital Mutilation is thought to be an issue that was raised into British politics around the 1970s - 1980s. One of the main reasons was triggered by the wave of immigrants who came to England to seek asylum that year and at the same time brought this culture so that the British began to see this as a potential humanitarian problem. The increase in the number of cases of Female Genital Mutilation in the UK was influenced by the arrival of immigrants from West Africa, East Africa, to the Middle East. These countries are countries with a high prevalence of Female Genital Mutilation and have been doing this circumcision tradition for a long time.

In 1979 there was the Convention for the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) which raised the rights of women to be free from all forms of violence, including one that alluded to harmful traditional practices such as Female Genital Mutilation. Apart from that, in the adjacent year there was also a declaration that began to raise Female Genital Mutilation as a problem that was highlighted by the international community, such as the Inter-African Committee on Harmful Traditional Practices Affecting the Health of Women and Children. Then came a publication by the Minority Rights Group (MRG) in 1980 regarding a report on Female Genital Mutilation carried out in the UK and abroad (Blue 2017). In addition, in 1983 there was a short film broadcast by the BBC television station entitled Female Circumcision. This film then attracted the attention of the British public and led to public discourse (Hilary Burrage 2016). Then there was a driving factor at that time which raised the public's attention in England where in the early 1980s there was a girl from Manila who died in England due to complications of Female Genital Mutilation (Berer 2015).

A series of events related to Female Genital Mutilation in England in the adjacent period made England begin to take Female Genital Mutilation seriously. In addition, there is a debate in parliament regarding Female Genital Mutilation, which has led to the idea of a law prohibiting the practice of Female Genital Mutilation in England. This idea was initiated by Wayland Young and 2nd Baron Kennet who proposed the need for a law to regulate the practice of circumcision being illegal not for cultural reasons but for human rights (UK Parliament 1983). This proposal was accepted and then followed up with the creation of a law that prohibited the practice of Female Genital Mutilation and was officially passed in 1985 called the Female Circumcision Act. However, pressure came from the Department of Health of the Royal College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists who wanted operations related to female genital organs with medical elements not to be included in the category of criminal acts. So that the final draft of this law prohibits the act of cutting or modifying female genital organs for cultural or ritual reasons (Guin and Fuentes 2007).

Although the UK already has laws governing Female Genital Mutilation, not a single case has been brought to trial. In those years there was no significant policy related to Female Genital Mutilation even



though the incoming wave of immigrants started to grow. The implementation of policies taken by the British Government in dealing with Female Genital Mutilation in the 1990s was in the nature of preventive and educational measures related to applicable law. In 1993 the British Department of Health provided financial assistance to establish a special clinic to treat victims who had health complications related to Female Genital Mutilation called the African Well Woman Clinic (European Institute of Gender Equality 2015). In 1999 the British Government created guidelines for preventing violence against children called 'Working Together to Safeguard Children'. These guidelines were formulated by the Ministry of Health, Education, Labor and the Secretariat of State whose function is to provide direction to related parties in the fields of education, health and law to jointly monitor violence against children (UK Government n.d.) One part of this guideline discusses the handling of cases of Female Genital Mutilation.

The creation of the Female Genital Mutilation Act 2003 was influenced by a poll discussion initiated by the All Party Parliamentary Group on Population Development and Reproductive Health in 2000 which invited parliament, civil servants and NGOs to jointly discuss the issue of Female Genital Mutilation in the UK starting from the health sector, education, social, and NGO activism. This discussion led to a joint agreement regarding the need for the Government to develop and implement laws related to Female Genital Mutilation and urged the government to develop investments specifically used for the elimination program for Female Genital Mutilation (Guin and Fuentes 2007). Apart from that, there is pressure from the Women National Commission which wants the Government to make a national strategy for handling Female Genital Mutilation.

The existence of loopholes in the law on the Female Circumcision Act 1985 is also one of the things being considered by the British Parliament to renew the law on the criminalization of Female Genital Mutilation. The 1985 law does not regulate the act of performing Female Genital Mutilation outside the UK so that many people take advantage of this loophole to bring their children to do Female Genital Mutilation in their home country. In addition, even though many girls in the UK are threatened or vulnerable to the action of Female Genital Mutilation, there are no specific laws governing the protection of potential victims or victims (Griffith and Tengnah 2008). The conditions for handling Female Genital Mutilation in England were also exacerbated by the fact that not a single case was successfully tried in court. This of course raises debates both within society and parliament regarding the need for legal reforms that can tighten the criminalization of Female Genital Mutilation.

The establishment of a new law regarding Female Genital Mutilation was initiated by Member of Parliament Ann Clwyd. Ann submitted a draft law to members of parliament which was then approved for passage as law to officially enter into force in March 2004 and replace the previous law. In the first parliamentary debate aimed at introducing the draft law on March 21, 2003, members of parliament debated how the current condition of Female Genital Mutilation was worrying and needed special attention because it had become a humanitarian issue (Hansard 2003). The 2003 Female Genital Mutilation Act seeks to close legal loopholes that have so far been considered insufficient, making the handling of Female Genital Mutilation less than optimal. The changes made include changing the name of circumcision to mutilation, increasing the sentence to 14 years in prison, defining female victims of female genital mutilation of all ages, making laws governing acts of female genital mutilation that are carried out outside the UK.

The Girl Summit which was held on 22 July 2014 was one of the important events in efforts to deal with Female Genital Mutilation in England. The Girl Summit is an international level meeting initiated by UNICEF and the UK Government in an effort to discuss issues related to women, specifically Female Genital Mutilation and early / child / forced marriage. This meeting invites all governments, organizations, NGOs both local and international to work together to stop this practice (UK Government 2014d). The Girl Summit is expected to have a real impact or change in the formulation and implementation of policies taken by the government, commitments taken by religious/community leaders, as well as the roles played by organizations.

In the 2014 Girl Summit, the British Government succeeded in formulating various new policies related to the handling of Female Genital Mutilation in England which in the future will be embodied in binding laws or regulations (UK Government 2014c). These policies include the establishment of guidelines issued by The College Policing and an inspection program made by Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary which is made for the police in dealing with cases of Female Genital Mutilation, there are drafts or regulatory proposals that specifically regulate the protection of women who are vulnerable to Female Genital Mutilation, there is a draft law that can ensnare parents who are considered to have failed in protecting their daughter from the risk of Female Genital Mutilation, there is a draft law that can protect the anonymity of the victim's identity, the establishment of community services specifically for Female Genital Mutilation. This idea was then poured into binding legal regulations in the amendment to the Female



Genital Mutilation Act 2003 and the addition of the Serious Crime Act 2015. This legal novelty then underlies the implementation of policies that were intensively carried out by the British Government in the 2010s.

The implementation of policies by the British government through the 2003 Female Genital Mutilation Act and the 2015 Serious Crime Act was realized through a funding program. The British government budgeted 50 million pounds to be donated to countries in Africa that need to deal with Female Genital Mutilation through UK AIDS. These funds are used to support programs run by communities and organizations at the community level to accelerate the goal of eliminating Female Genital Mutilation by 2030 (TheirWorld 2018). The British government has managed to budget 250 thousand pounds obtained from EU PROGRESS which are used specifically to treat Female Genital Mutilation in England. These funds are used to form campaigns to raise awareness of Female Genital Mutilation and establish community service numbers that can be used to receive reports or complaints regarding cases of Female Genital Mutilation (UK Government n.d.). The British government also allocated £ 1.4 million which was used to fund the National Female Genital Mutilation handling program through the NHS. This program will focus on handling through the health sector by using the role of health workers in efforts to treat, protect and prevent Female Genital Mutilation (UK Government 2014b).

The British government also implements existing laws through five main policy points (UK Government 2013). First, providing assistance to local areas that need support in making programs for handling Female Genital Mutilation. Second, identifying and highlighting examples of effective handling of Female Genital Mutilation carried out by local areas and professional groups based on the foundations that have been made by the government. Third, promoting material on Female Genital Mutilation which has been prepared by the government in various forms. Fourth, working with the police, border officers, the Crown Prosecution Service, and the College of Policing to improve the identification of perpetrators of Female Genital Mutilation. Fifth, invite all levels of government to work together with community groups, survivors, and experts to make appropriate policies.

Women Movement

FORWARD (Foundation for Women's Health Research and Development) is one of the African women's movement organizations in England that has had an impact on the handling of Female Genital Mutilation in the UK and internationally. Founded in 1983 in England by an African woman named Efua Dorkenoo OBE, FORWARD aims to contribute to solving problems regarding violence against women by focusing on research, education, and community development for African communities and diaspora around the world. For more than 30 years, FORWARD has contributed a lot of research, advice to the government, and assistance to the community for handling Female Genital Mutilation in accordance with the UN Human Rights framework (FORWARD n.d.). With a series of achievements that have been achieved by FORWARD in handling Female Genital Mutilation internationally, especially in England, FORWARD has become one of the most successful and influential women's movements in England. FORWARD once initiated an anti-Female Genital Mutilation campaign which was carried out in 1985 demanding criminalization of this action which resulted in the formation of the first law regarding Female Genital Mutilation issued by the British government in 1985 (FORWARD n.d.) FORWARD also formed a discussion forum for the African diaspora in the UK in 2015 as a forum for exchanging ideas in the community regarding Female Genital Mutilation and violence against women. FORWARD has successfully implemented a five-year educational program for 36,000 school children in the UK regarding body rights and knowledge about Female Genital Mutilation (FORWARD n.d.). FORWARD has also run one of its main programs in the UK, namely training community groups, schools and professionals regarding Female Genital Mutilation. This training is very important to prepare the community to be more sensitive to the issue of Female Genital Mutilation (FORWARD n.d.).

The four points that have been discussed cannot stand alone but are interconnected with one another. The state acts as the main promoter of the fulfillment of women's rights manifested in providing legal protection in the form of making laws. The UK has made three laws regarding Female Genital Mutilation which are expected to have an impact on society. The law or policy adopted is not born instantly but through an ongoing policy-making process. This can be seen from the influencing factors, the negotiation process, and the turmoil that existed until a policy was passed. This policy-making process is important to look at because it can understand how a policy is formed based on the needs or demands of society, parliament, or organizations. After this policy has been successfully formed, there needs to be real implementation of this policy to the community in various forms. The women's movement is one of the main drivers for a policy related to women's rights to be passed. The Women's Movement is able to influence the



government and society in giving their voices for the fulfillment of women's rights. The implementation of the policies taken cannot be carried out without actors promoting policies or as representatives of the government. Especially regarding policies related to women, women actors are chosen by the state so that they can become the right representatives of the policies. These four aspects are then seen as a whole in how the dynamics of political policies in a country are taken, especially regarding policies related to women's rights.

Obstacles Faced in Handling Female Genital Mutilation.

The UK is facing difficulties in its efforts to deal with Female Genital Mutilation due to uncertain data and the number of incoming reports. This was influenced by several factors, for example the act of Female Genital Mutilation which was carried out in England secretly so that there was no documentation or recorded data. In addition, when Female Genital Mutilation occurs, these women will return to their home countries to avoid legal criminalization in England. The realm of Female Genital Mutilation which is considered very private is difficult for the Government to know if no one reports or sees evidence and signs of the act. This is the reason it is difficult to obtain the latest and most accurate data and evidence to prosecute Female Genital Mutilation as a form of crime (Onwu 2015).

In addition, there is criticism in law enforcement regarding Female Genital Mutilation in England. Many researchers see that law enforcement, which is very small and not applied properly, shows the ineffectiveness of the law working in England. This causes Female Genital Mutilation to continue to exist with or without applicable law because it is non-binding (James Hitchings-Hales 2018). With so few cases of Female Genital Mutilation being successfully tried, this can be seen as a collective failure stemming from a lack of awareness and the inability of professional staff and institutions to deal with this case of Female Genital Mutilation (Creighton et al. 2019).

CONCLUSION

Problems related to Female Genital Mutilation in the UK have emerged decades ago and have been in the spotlight both nationally and internationally. This action can get to England because of the immigrants who brought the culture of Female Genital Mutilation to England. These immigrants still practice Female Genital Mutilation for cultural reasons that have become a tradition for generations. England as a country has tried to carry out obligations in fulfilling women's rights as an inseparable part of human rights, one of which is through efforts to deal with Female Genital Mutilation. The policies taken by the British Government were analyzed using feminist comparative theory using four main approaches.

The first approach is gender, policy, and the welfare state. With this approach, looking at the UK as the main promoter of gender equality, it tries to strive for the fulfillment of women's rights through the establishment of an anti-Female Genital Mutilation law. The UK succeeded in formulating three laws related to Female Genital Mutilation, namely the Female Circumcision Act 1985, the Female Genital Mutilation Act 2003, and the Serious Crime Act 2015. The second approach is state feminism where there are female political actors who act as representatives of the government or supporters of state policies related to women. The UK has a female politician named Theresa May who is known as a feminist and promotes government policies, one of which is hosting the 2014 Girl Summit.

The third approach is the implementation and formation of policies that talk about the formation of policies taken by the government and how efforts to implement policies are carried out in an effort to fulfill women's rights. In the effort to establish anti-Female Genital Mutilation laws in 1985, 2003 and 2015 there were many influencing factors such as encouragement from organizations, scientific publications and international events. The law is implemented in the form of policies such as funding anti-Female Genital Mutilation campaigns, training efforts for experts, and efforts to protect victims and vulnerable women. The last approach is the women's movement which talks about the existence of a women's movement that initiates policies or influences policies taken by the government. FORWARD is an African women's organization founded in England in 1983 with an effort to encourage change and the elimination of Female Genital Mutilation. FORWARD has had a lot of impact and influence in policy making regarding Female Genital Mutilation in the UK. The four approaches cannot stand alone but are a unit that are interconnected and have an impact on one another.

The obstacle currently faced by the British Government is that the activities carried out by the country are currently still considered less than optimal and do not yet have truly satisfactory results. Of course this can be fixed if the government is really serious in taking action against the perpetrators of Female Genital Mutilation and upholding the law fairly. With maximum law enforcement, this can be an indicator of the



success of efforts to eliminate Female Genital Mutilation. In addition, the government also needs to pay attention to the renewal of data related to Female Genital Mutilation which is continuously updated in a timely manner. The novelty of this data is very important because it forms the basis for every research and program design that is made to be more accurate and on target.

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