

### FGM/C: A Historical analysis of its early growth and Mau-Mau colonial movement

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#### **KEYWORDS**

#### **ABSTRACT**

womanhood. Mau, cultural relevance.

The practice of FGC has been there since centuries When considered in the context of anti-colonial efforts colonization, Gikuyu, for land and national liberation, the importance of this ceremonial transition to womanhood among the Gikuyu is shown by the fact that it was performed. The colonization of Mau's in Kenya only emboldened Kenyans to continue the practice, in order to unite under FGM for its cultural relevance and stand against the colonial powers. In Egypt, female genital mutilation (FGM) has a very long history and has been deeply ingrained in the culture of the Egyptian people for a very long time. There was bid system for the woman who were infibulated and they were the small scale economic source for their families and traders via Red Sea route performed this slave trade sale and purchase system and later spread to India as well.

#### 1. Introduction

History of FGC/M and Mau-Mau Movement: -

"In the western Highlands, the British established the East Africa Protectorate in 1895 with the objective of cultivating the land for the purpose of generating cash crop. The history of the Mau-Mau movement begins here, at this point in time. Over the course of twenty years, the Gikuyu people, who were also referred to as the "Kikuyu," who had been residing in the Highlands, were speedily expelled by an influx of white immigrants. Despite the fact that the Gikuyu were prolific and strategically essential to British colonial ambitions, this turned out to be the case. The Gikuyu people had lost sixty thousand acres of land by the year 1950, which had been theirs and the land of their ancestors all along. The only alternative that was open to them was to forcibly occupy farms that were owned by European settlers. The locations in which they could be found were limited. As a consequence of the contraction of land that was brought about by the reservations, the Gikuyu were left with no other choice except to participate in wage labour. In contrast, the "squatters" interacted with the white settlers in a manner that was effectively a pseudo-feudal relationship. In this arrangement, the "squatters" held small parcels of land in using them for subsistence cultivation. return In the case that this is the economic context in which the Mau Mau uprising took place, then it is hard to disentangle it from the sociocultural framework of the Gikuyu sexuality configurations of female and male members of the community. According to the majority of historians, a Gikuyu male could not fully arrive at the stage of manhood if he did not own property. The Gikuyu believed that male maturity was largely determined by the possession of land, and historians are generally in accord with this issue. However, the issues of female sexuality and femininity were at the core of the crisis that brought together themes of settler colonial exploitation, gender, and sexuality. These issues were the focal point of the crisis. Beginning in 1929, the group that was known as the "Church of Scotland Mission to Kikuyu" began to restrict children from joining their schools if their parents would not agree to renounce clitoridectomy of their clitoral function. In an attempt to denounce clitoridectomy as a "barbarous custom" and to put an end to it, the government of the United Kingdom has launched a number of more elaborate measures. After a number of unsuccessful efforts, the ban was the first one. The response from the Gikuyu was not at all uniform; however, the opposition to the ban was powerful enough for a handful of Gikuyu to create new schools that would permit the tradition to be respected. Until about the middle of the 1950s, the attempts that were undertaken by the imperial government to manage 'clitoridectomy' were basically futile. Nevertheless, in the year 1956, the governor of Meru area issued a proclamation that identified the practice of "female circumcision" as one that was not permitted inside the territory. At the height of the violent demonstration against settler colonialism and land rights that came to be

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Gust O. "Mau-Mau, anti-colonialism and Female Genital Mutilation" in African sexualities, Empire and colonialism, 2014-11-20, available at https://notchesblog.com/2014/11/20/mau-mau-anti-colonialism-and-female-genital-mutilation/ accessed on 2024-01-02.



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known as "Mau-Mau," the central government distanced itself from this potentially hazardous behaviour. The aggressive character of the rally had a significant impact. However, the fact that it was backed by the Meru African District Council and the Njuri Ncheke (council of elders) brought to light the tensions and differences that existed within Gikuyu society between those who worked along with colonial rule and those who battled against it. This was a result of the fact that the Njuri Ncheke was a council of elders. In the immediate aftermath of the restriction being put into effect, young women raced to the woods in order to circumcise themselves. It was against the rules for them to behave in this manner, yet they went ahead and did it anyway. These women, who were referred to as ngaitana (which means "I will circumcise myself"), were behaving in a way that opposed the authority of colonial-appointed chiefs as well as the control of colonial authorities"<sup>3</sup>. They were circumcising themselves. Because of their disobedience, they and their family were compelled to pay the price: between the years 1956 and 1958, two thousand five hundred persons were hauled before African courts, fined in cattle, imprisoned, or forced to undertake jobs that was tough. What is the best way for historians to explain the act of self-circumcision performed by the ngaitana and Gikuyu, even in the face of the practice being illegal and being punished by the government? This question arises against the backdrop of a resurgence of criticism against clitoridectomy as "female genital mutilation" on a global scale. Is it possible that these young ladies choose to circumcise themselves despite the fact that there is a lot of talk about the dangers that are linked with the practice? Not a single response that can be deemed conclusive can be found for this issue. However, the reaffirmation of the importance of this ceremonial transition to womanhood among the Gikuyu in the context of anti-colonial campaigns for land and national independence is not at all a coincidence. This happens in the setting of the Gikuyu. Without a shadow of a doubt, this proposition is true. According to Jomo Kenyatta, the first president of independent Kenya and the presumed "father" of the country, the justification for clitoridectomy goes all the way down to the basic core of the nation's existence. He believes that clitoridectomy is the best decision for the nation. "Kenyatta said in his book Facing Mount Kenya, which was published in 1938 and essentially functioned as a manifesto for the cultural nationhood of the Gikuyu people, that clitoridectomy was 'the conditio sine qua non' of the whole teaching of tribal law, religion, and morality of the Gikuyu people"4. At the time when Kenyatta was representing the Gikuyu to both the Gikuyu and the Western world, he held the belief that the practice of irua, which is a term that refers to the process of circumcising both males and females, was paramount to the Gikuyu identity. In the event if the Gikuyu people were unable to marry and are unable to produce children, their capacity to continue living would be put in peril. "The desire of patriarchal nationalism to rule and appropriate female bodies as symbols of the country was discussed by postcolonial feminist academics a considerable period of time after Kenyatta's publication as a result of their observations. African men are often stereotyped as being unproductive, sexually promiscuous, and "barbaric" towards their women". "This is a clear indication that African men are at a lesser level of civilization than other people. When they were young men who had gotten an education from a missionary, they were faced with these biases in a culture that was becoming increasingly dominated by calls for national self-determination of the people". Nevertheless, at the same time, they resorted to community, tradition, and cultural nationalism as a method of showing their dissimilarity to Western racism and imperialism, as well as their rejection of these ideals, this took place simultaneously. "During the contemporary period, the justifications for clitoridectomy revolve upon the ideas of chastity, cleanliness, and feminine obedience to patriarchal institutions that are specific to a given culture. Some of the arguments that are often presented as 'tradition' vs the invasion of Western 'values' failed to take into account the fact that the meanings (and practices) of clitoridectomy are prone to change and are affected by the culture in which they are conducted. The active support that Kenyatta has shown for a behaviour that has been regarded

Canadian Journal of African Studies/Revue canadienne des études africaines 25 (2), 181-206, 1991, available at https://scholar.google.com/scholar\_lookup?title=Nationalism%2C+Ethnicity%2C+and+Modernity%3A+The+Paradox+of+Mau+Mau&author=Berman+Bruce&publication+ye ar=1991&journal=Canadian+Journal+of+African+Studies&volume=25&pages=181-206#d=gs\_qabs&t=1730881771488&u=%23p%3DmJKqZfxLSMAJ.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Bruce J Berman, Nationalism, ethnicity, and modernity: The paradox of Mau Mau',

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Onni Bust, "Mau Mau Anti colonialism and Female genital mutilation", blog reported in African Sexualities, Empire and colonialism, Nov 20, 2014, available at: <a href="https://notchesblog.com/2014/11/20/mau-mau-anti-colonialism-and-female-genital-mutilation/">https://notchesblog.com/2014/11/20/mau-mau-anti-colonialism-and-female-genital-mutilation/</a> visited on 2024-07-18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> International Journal of Constitutional Law, Volume 16, Issue 4, October 2018, p. 1156–1163, https://doi.org/10.1093/icon/moy090

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Léon Duguit, The Law and the State, 31 HARV.L.REV.1 (1917).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> E.K.M.D.A.O.O. Osansanmi, 'Legal Frameworks addressing FGM (2020) 14(3), African Journal of Law and Human Rights 123.



as "barbaric" for more than a century cannot be divorced from colonial power relations or from the gendered constraints of national self-imagining. There is no way to avoid this conclusion. It is impossible to get Kenyatta's support for the practice along with the participation of a large number of Gikuyu females in it. It was not something that Kenyatta was putting together in a vacuum; rather, he was reacting to the demands of colonial authority to explain and legitimise the presence of the Gikuyu people in the patriarchal language of nationalism that "the West" could comprehend. The significance of clitoridectomy as a component of irua was not something that Kenyatta was putting together out of the blue. This does not indicate that Kenyatta was naturally a feminist, nor does it signify that Gikuyu society anterior to the introduction of colonisation was equal". "It is more correct to imply that greater power dynamics, which include both economic and cultural dimensions, come together, influence, and modify the meaning of treatments such as clitoridectomy. This hypothesis is supported by scientific evidence. When one examines the conversations that surround clitoridectomy within the context of colonialism in Western Kenya, it is simple to comprehend the degree to which the implications that are linked with clitoridectomy are historically embedded in the manner in which power is exercised"8. This is not, of course, an argument in favour of the coercive mutilation of genitalia; rather, it is an argument in favour of recognising how the meaning of practices, especially those that are painful and harmful, are continually altering in response to the dynamics of power that are conjoined at the local and global levels.

"An effort to end "female genital mutilation" came to light by Ban Ki-Moon, who is the Secretary General of the UN, in November. They told people about their plan in Nairobi, which is the main city of Kenya. When they were running their campaign, it's important to remember that over 40,000 people were being held captive and tortured by the British during the Kenyan Emergency (1952–1966) because they were thought to be part of the Mau Mau government. People from these groups went to the UK High Court with their claims. It may not seem like the recent events in Kenya have anything to do with each other, but the fight against colonialism and the practice of female genital cutting do have a deep and historical link".

"Historical aspect of female genital mutilation varies from region to region but it is deeply rooted in all the cultural historical social ancient and religious beliefs and if we talk about the belief, we will find that FGC had been prevalent in various parts of Africa Middle East and some parts of Asia. This is evident during Egyptian period as well where several anthropologists believed that in African society the traditional and cultural rites were the means to control female's sexual liberty" 10. "The patriarchal domination does not let them to become free in terms of their sexual desires and there were certain practises on the name of which this was easily carried out and they were never been addressed in Holi Quran as a compulsory ritual. FGC is evident in the long history of Africa where it proves that mummy when it was practised in Egypt this practise was still prevalent at that time almost 2000 years and historically this practise was connected with purity and to dominate the femininity and became a mark of social, reflecting aspects of exploitation and subjugation often seen in historical slavery systems acceptance in African region as a matter of Culture and today FGC is prevalent in various parts of the world as per the UNICEF 2013<sup>11</sup>. The framing of female genital mutilation (FGM) as a "slavery system" and a "bidding for the traders" metaphorically highlights how FGM can function within some societies as a form of control and commodification of women's bodies. Historically, slavery systems exerted complete control over individuals, stripping them of autonomy and subjecting them to the will of others, often for economic or social gain. This parallel can be extended to FGM, where the practice is frequently imposed on young girls without their informed consent, shaping their bodies and lives according to social or cultural expectations rather than personal choice. In this sense, FGM becomes a means of regulating women's autonomy and sexuality, as well as reinforcing gender norms that align with patriarchal structures. Just as slaves were once denied control over their own bodies, FGM has subjected women to irreversible bodily changes, often to fulfil a perceived societal "duty" that reduces their self-determination. The idea of "bidding for the traders" metaphorically points to the

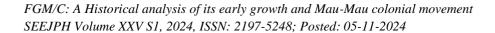
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Kenyata Mau, 'Female Genital Cutting: A Socio-Legal Perspective' [2022] 15 Journal of Gender and Law 210.

<sup>8</sup> Kenyata Mau, The FGC: An Analysis (2022) 45.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Lightfoot-Klein, H., Prisoners of Ritual: An Odyssey into Female Genital Circumcision in Africa (Harrington Park Press 1989).

<sup>11</sup> UNICEF, Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting: A Statistical Overview and Exploration of the Dynamics of Change (UNICEF 2013).





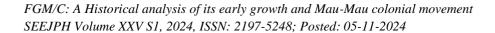
role of social, cultural, and even economic incentives that perpetuate FGM. In communities where FGM is practiced, it can be associated with marriageability, community respect, and family honour, effectively linking a woman's social value to her adherence to this practice. This can result in pressure from family and community leaders to continue FGM, just as traders once profited from controlling slaves. Some have described this as a cycle that benefits social "traders" (e.g., those who reinforce the practice for honour, social standing, or other intangible social currencies) rather than the individuals subjected to it. The metaphor also aligns with how FGM often exists within a socio-economic framework that sustains harmful traditional practices. For example, in some communities, practitioners of FGM derive income from performing the practice, making it a small-scale economy in itself. This creates an economic incentive to sustain the practice, thereby treating the physical integrity of women and girls as a commodity. In recent decades, there has been considerable work by human rights organizations, survivors, and advocates to bring an end to FGM, framing it not only as a cultural or religious practice but as a violation of fundamental human rights. Viewing FGM through the lens of a "slavery system" highlights the imperative of protecting individuals' autonomy over their bodies and lives, promoting policies and educational initiatives that empower girls and women to make informed choices free from pressure. Nowadays it is clear that FGC involves lot of health issues, the practice involves removal of genital part which is done for a non-therapeutic cause The practise involves removal of genital tissues and interferes with the normal functioning of women's body and therefore causes so many immediate and long-term health consequences. The complications sometimes occur at the later stage and it was physical mental sexual emotional and psychological troubles throughout their life which are nowhere being taken into consideration while performing this practise. FGC is harmful in all its types and is unacceptable in the form of medicalization without any reason. There are lot many issues and problems that are faced by a woman and the cause is that no one thought about it before the performance of this practice in their childhood, the sufferings are disfigurement, mental agony, emotional breakdown whenever they revive that pain, sometimes clitoral arteries may get cut due to excessive bleeding<sup>12</sup>. The problems that are seen frequently like chronic genital infections which causes inflammation, swelling at vulva, infections in urinary tract, haemorrhage.

#### Patriarchy and sexual control:

This question is connected to the feminist concern about patriarchal and sexual control—arguments that are vehemently critiqued by some as unfounded. It has been argued in part that the description of female genital cutting as a patriarchal phenomenon is shallow, uninformed, and a misrepresentation of reality because other cultural values associated with this practice are ignored. "The patriarchal paradigm of male control is rejected for contradicting some cross-cut gender cultural variables in which men and women relate and are bound together in social units, institutions, and categories as found in some communities. It is also argued that the claim that the practice is embedded in patriarchy is untenable because patriarchal institutions exist beyond cutting societies, and girls and women are the most ardent defenders of female genital cutting. This is a critique of the patriarchal argument that I find misinformed because it either ignores how the socialization process works or is ignorant of it. One area of critique for these cultural relativist feminists relates to the claims about the loss of sexual desire and the non-enjoyment of sexuality because of female genital cutting. It is argued that assertions that relate female genital cutting to the loss of sexual desire or non-enjoyment of sexual pleasure are erroneous and exaggerated. The claim that female genital cutting leads to a loss of sexual desire and enjoyment of sexuality"13. Further, they argue, cultural patterns tend to structure sexual norms and experience differently. "A general assumption that women in all societies desire sexual fulfilment is misleading since sexuality must be understood within the social contexts within norms about sexuality and even enjoyment of sex are determined by different cultural moral systems. She explains: Article 5 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights . . . stipulates: "No one shall be subjected to torture, or to cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment." The meaning of this provision, though, is not self-evident. Conceptions of human dignity 88 Female Genital Cutting in Industrialized Countries tend to be indeterminate and contingent, and what may appeal to one school as torture, may be absolved or approved of by another as culture. An act one may condemn as depreciative of human dignity may have been enacted by its practitioners as an enhancement of human dignity, the very fact

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> WHO, 'Human reproduction programme hrP (SRH), Health risks of FGM, available at <a href="https://www.who.int/teams/sexual-and-reproductive-health-and-research-sch)/areas-of-work/female-genital-mutilation/health-risks-of-female-genital-mutilation,">https://www.who.int/teams/sexual-and-reproductive-health-and-research-sch)/areas-of-work/female-genital-mutilation/health-risks-of-female-genital-mutilation,</a> accessed on 2024.06.07.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Yoder, P.S., Abderrahim, N., & Zhuzhuni, A., Female Genital Cutting in the Demographic and Health Surveys: A Critical and Comparative Analysis (DHS Comparative Reports No. 7, 2004).





that one may construe as cruel and in violation of Article 5 may be embraced in cultures where it is practiced as a "technology of the body." To these feminists, cultural patterns structure the sexual experience such that what is defined in one culture as sexual fulfilment may not be defi ned that way in another. They condemn the promotion of Western norms of sexual fulfilment that go contrary to those acceptable in female genital-cutting communities (Ahmadu, 284). Everyone has critiqued Westerners who try to impose a zero-tolerance policy on female genital cutting for ignoring the fact that female genital cutting as an initiation rite is generally controlled by women who believe that it is a cosmetic procedure with aesthetic benefit. He criticizes Americans and Europeans for outlawing the practice, while at the same time, they endorse their own forms of genital modifications, such as the circumcision of boys or the cosmetic surgery for women called vaginal rejuvenation"<sup>14</sup>.

The history of FGM with respect to Egypt is very long and has been firmly rooted in Egyptian traditional culture since centuries ago and thus, this practice majorly in the form of type I and type II had been performed almost on all girls and was ranked 6<sup>th</sup> out of 29 countries in Africa<sup>15</sup> and the performance of type III and IV are quite rare <sup>16</sup> Under FGC/M women infibulated to ensure their virginity and to prove their chastity, later they were sold in the Middle East region through highest bid and were kept as concubines. This system was connected via Red sea where traders follow slave trade route to purchase and bid women on whom this practice had been performed<sup>17</sup>.

The Islamic jurisprudence regarding female genital mutilation is intricate and differs among various schools of thought within Islam. FGM is not referenced in the Quran, and its association with Islam is largely cultural instead of theological, as it existed long before Islam, emerging in different African and Middle Eastern communities. Over time, various Islamic jurists have expressed their views on the practice, resulting in differing opinions regarding its permissibility and religious significance.

#### Pre-Islamic Roots and Cultural Practice:-

"FGM has origins that extend beyond Islam, having been practiced by diverse pre-Islamic cultures across Africa, the Arabian Peninsula, and Egypt. In numerous societies, it was linked to rites of passage, cultural ideals of femininity, and, at times, attempts to regulate female sexuality. Islam emerged in the 7th century CE, it extended into areas where FGM was already established, and the cultural practice persisted alongside the growth of the religion. Prophetic sayings (Hadith) and Early Islamic views. There is no mention of FGM in the Quran. Certain advocates of FGM reference specific hadith (sayings attributed to the Prophet Muhammad) to justify the practice. Nevertheless, these hadith are frequently considered weak (da'if) or lacking in authenticity. One frequently referenced hadith recounts that the Prophet came across a woman conducting circumcision on a girl and purportedly advised her to "cut lightly and do not overdo it, for it is better for her and more pleasing to her husband" hadith is a subject of debate, and numerous scholars do not regard it as a valid foundation for FGM. Another hadith regarding circumcision states, "Circumcision is a sunnah for men and a makrumah for women." The term "makrumah" can be understood as a "honourable deed" or "noble act," though it remains somewhat ambiguous and does not serve as a definitive guideline. This ambiguity has resulted in diverse interpretations, with some jurists considering it optional, while others contend that it is not a religious obligation whatsoever.

Islamic Jurisprudence and FGM Across Various Schools of Thought

"There are various schools which have different opinions on the prevalence of FGM/C:-

1. Hanafi School: The Hanafi school, recognized as one of the most prevalent Sunni schools, typically asserts that FGM is not mandatory for women, some Hanafi scholars express reservations about the practice,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> United Nations General Assembly, *Resolution-Intensifying global efforts for the elimination of female genital mutilations*, December 20, 2012, G.A Res 67/146, U.N. Doc A/RES/67/146, http://www.un.org/ga/search/view\_doc. asp?symbol=A/RES/67/146.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) 2016

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Van Rossem, R., Meekers, D. The decline of FGM in Egypt since 1987: a cohort analysis of the Egypt Demographic and Health Surveys. *BMC Women's Health*, 20 100 (2020). https://doi.org/10.1186/s12905-020-00954-2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> La Ferrara, Eliana & Corno, Lucia & Voena, Alessandra, 2020. Female Genital Cutting and the Slave Trade" C.E.P.R. Discussion Papers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Llamas J. Female circumcision: The history the current prevalence and the approach to a patient, 2017



highlighting its lack of foundational support in Islamic teachings and its potential to cause harm, which contradicts the Islamic principle of avoiding harm.

- 2. Maliki School: Like the Hanafi position, the Maliki school does not mandate FGM and views it as more of a cultural or optional practice. Shafi'i School: The Shafi'i school, mainly found in regions of East Africa and Southeast Asia, is among the few that traditionally considers FGM as obligatory (wajib) for women. This belief is primarily rooted in cultural traditions rather than religious doctrines and frequently arises from regional customs. The Hanbali school presents a less definitive stance, certain Hanbali scholars view it as recommended (mustahabb) rather than obligatory.
- 3. Shia Islam (Jafari School): In the context of Shia jurisprudence, especially within the Ja'fari (Twelver) Shia school, FGM is typically discouraged and not commonly practiced. Shia scholars, along with modern leaders, frequently express opposition to the practice.
- 4. Modern Islamic Scholars and FGM. In contemporary society, numerous Islamic scholars, such as those affiliated with Al-Azhar University in Egypt, a historic Islamic institution, along with the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), have denounced FGM, asserting that it is not mandated by religion. They contend that FGM is primarily a cultural issue rather than a religious one, asserting that Islam prohibits practices that inflict harm, as reflected in the principle of "la darar wa la dirar" "Do not harm, and do not reciprocate harm." FGM lacks any basis in Islamic law and should be prohibited, highlighting the damage it causes to women. This marked a significant moment for the religious viewpoint opposing FGM, particularly in areas where FGM is common<sup>20</sup>. In the Middle East, FGC has been observed in countries such as Yemen, Iraq, and within certain communities in Saudi Arabia and the UAE, though at lower rates compared to regions in Africa. Historical texts indicate that FGC was common in specific Islamic societies and might have been shaped by pre-Islamic traditions. Although not required by Islamic law, FGC has occasionally been defended through religious arguments, with certain communities viewing it as a way to promote modesty and chastity<sup>21</sup>.

#### 2. Conclusion:

The practice of female genital mutilation has been practiced for centuries and has been carried out in a wide range of countries all over the world. The bulk of incidences of this practice have been documented in countries that are situated in Africa and other Middle Eastern countries. Following the colonization of the nation, Kenyans were only given the authority to continue the practice of female genital mutilation (FGM) in order to unite behind the cultural value of the practice and to assert themselves against the colonial powers. Despite the fact that Kenya proclaimed the practice to be illegal in 2011, the implementation of the regulation is left up to the discretion of the communities that are located inside the country. The therapy has a broad variety of negative impacts on women, including an influence on their mental health, emotional well-being, physical health, and even their financial status. These negative outcomes may be attributed to the treatment. Infertility, hemorrhage, and even maybe death are some of the possible risks that might be posed to an individual's health. Considering that a girl is considered a woman and is prepared for life as a wife and mother, it is very unlikely that she would go back to school after experiencing female genital mutilation (FGM). This is because of the fact that a girl is regarded a woman. An additional aspect that leads to the retardation of a girl's social development is the presence of this thing. The world community has made a significant amount of efforts to put an end to female genital mutilation (FGM) and to raise awareness about the risks that are involved with the surgical procedure. On the other hand, the work that has been demonstrated to be the most effective is the work that has been done by community and regional leaders. The idea that Kenyan women would welcome outsiders to come into their culture and enforce foreign legislation is just too reminiscent of colonialism. What they do not want to take place is this. The cultural traditions that are prominent in Kenya. These women are enabling change to take place inside their own communities. Tenoi respects the ancient importance of initiation and pushes for alternative rites of passage (also known as initiation celebrations). It is her contention, however, that the process of initiation may be carried out in a way that is far less hazardous for females and young girls. In Kenya, the narrative of female genital

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Prof. (Dr.) Esen A. "An overview of economic policy of Injury may not be met by injury in Islam" 3(1) 2017.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> The Al-Azhar Supreme Council in Egypt stated this statement (2007).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> MS Al Awa, UNFPA Egypt, FGM in the context of Islam, (122-126) available at https://egypt.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/d9174a63-2960-459b-9f78-b33ad795445e.pdf.



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mutilation is undergoing a complete transformation as a direct consequence of the engagement of the community and there is a need for the implementation of the laws in the current scenario to save million of girls from getting circumcised.

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