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**“To stop #FGM it is important to involve the owners of the tradition *aka* men”  
An Exploratory Analysis of Social Media Discussions on Female Genital Mutilation**

By

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**Abstract**

Female genital mutilation (FGM) remains a significant public health challenge and affects the lives of a million girls and women. Advocacy by men and their involvement in fighting the practice may influence the intention to have it performed; however, men often lack the opportunities and support to voice their stand. Increasingly, social media platforms are becoming effective and culturally relevant communication channels to engage ‘hard-to-reach’ populations on sensitive topics. This study explored the views on the involvement of men in discussions about FGM on Twitter. Data were obtained from Twitter-based activity for February 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> 2017 to coincide with the International Day of Zero Tolerance for FGM using the search terms ‘FGM and Men’. Thematic data analysis was conducted using a data- driven inductive approach and resulted in four main themes a) Prevailing attitudes of FGM b) Support for FGM c) FGM is an issue for men and d) Strategies to effect change. Our study suggests that men can play a role in the continuation of FGM but can also rally the abandonment of the practice. However, men were considered disengaged from the issue as most consider FGM a woman’s issue. The need to empower men through health literacy was deemed particularly influential in creating awareness and ultimately change. Young men may, in certain contexts, be important agents of change and male musicians or sportsmen may particularly be influential in effecting change. Our findings demonstrate that increased use and involvement of ‘hard to reach’ populations with social media can offer a window into real-time on-going discussions of sensitive topics like FGM. Exploring the use of social media platforms and the content of the discussions among these populations can offer valuable insights of their perspectives on where change is needed in terms of designing effective interventions.

**Keywords:** Female genital mutilation, Men, Beliefs, Attitudes, Social Media; Twitter

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**Background**

Despite global campaigns over four decades and substantial deployment of financial and educational resources, female genital mutilation (FGM) remains a significant public health challenge and affects the lives of a million girls and women (UNICEF, 2005). The World Health Organization (WHO) defines FGM as “all procedures involving partial or total removal of the external female genital organs or other injury to the female genital organs for cultural, religious, or any other non-medical reason” (WHO, 2018). Recent UNICEF estimates suggest that FGM affects some 200 million women and girls worldwide and is performed mostly in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) including among some migrant communities in the West (Kaplan-Marcusan, Torán-Monserrat, Moreno-Navarro, Fàbregas, & Muñoz-Ortiz, 2009). FGM prevalence in SSA ranges from less than 10% in countries like Uganda, Togo and Ghana to over 90% in countries like Somalia, Guinea, Eritrea and Egypt (UNICEF, 2013).

The role played by men and their relationships with women has often been overlooked in sexual and reproductive health programs, to the detriment of women’s reproductive health (Dudgeon & Inhorn, 2004). Indeed it has been shown that, while most responsibility for FGM lies with women (Dræge, 2007) men’s significant role as fathers, husbands, religious and community leaders may influence the intention to have FGM performed (Davis, Ellis, Hibbert, Perez, & Zimbelman, 1999). Advocacy by men and their involvement in fighting practices such as FGM, which have social and cultural underpinnings, may be an important step towards its abandonment (Broadwin, 1997). However, research on men’s perceptions of FGM, their influence in the decision-making process, including their potential role in ending this practice is mixed and not yet well understood (Varol, Turkmani, Black, Hall, & Dawson, 2015). Available evidence is sometimes conflicting in terms of levels of men’s knowledge, attitudes and practices (Kaplan, Hechavarria, Bernal, & Bonhoure, 2013). Previous interventions suggest that increasingly more boys and men are joining the anti-FGM campaign and declaring their intention to marry women who have not undergone FGM (Dræge, 2007) and testimonies of men from FGM practicing countries have shown increased acceptance of FGM as a gender issue by men (Ruiz, Martínez, & Giménez, 2017). However, FGM is a culturally sensitive issue to openly talk about and the lack of an open dialogue, particularly between men and women, and the reluctance to debate FGM in the public sphere are considered key barriers to its abandonment (Varol et al., 2015). The need to coordinate research and promote enhanced communication about FGM among researchers and activists has been noted as a significant gap in FGM research (Gruenbaum, 2005).

Research has long acknowledged the powerful influence of media messages in ‘setting the agenda’ for public and policy discussions (McCombs & Shaw, 1972) and in enhancing public awareness of health issues (Glasser & Glasser, 2008). Traditionally, mass media campaigns have been used to debunk myths and misconceptions about FGM while giving a voice to those committed to social change (UNFPA-UNICEF, 2012). The link between anti-FGM activism and media coverage became particularly evident in 1994 after the filming of a ten-year-old Egyptian girl’s circumcision (Boyle & Andrea, 2001). Similarly, media coverage of the death of two girls after FGM was carried out by healthcare providers in Egypt in 2007 was likely instrumental in building public support for strengthening legislation against the practice (Reuters, 2007). Although it appears that legislation may have led to a reduction in the practice in Egypt, support for FGM,

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even among healthcare professionals has remained quite high; indicating that legislation alone may not be effective in changing attitudes towards the practice (Rasheed, Abd-Ellah, & Yousef, 2011). Nonetheless this media attention to FGM has served to maximize international visibility and has helped to encourage debate on the issue.

The internet, particularly online social networks, are considered effective and culturally relevant communication channels to engage ‘hard-to-reach’ populations on sensitive topics (Levine et al., 2011). Furthermore, such peer interaction has the potential to lead to political action and influence policy about health and health care (Griffiths et al., 2015). The ubiquitous growth of mobile technologies and increase in smartphone adoption suggests the ability to use the internet from anywhere and at any time (Chib, 2013), with social media platforms enabling opportunities to host debates in the public domain, including opening up events to much larger communities (Muralidharan, Rasmussen, Patterson, & Shin, 2011). Twitter, a micro blogging social media has been pinpointed as the fastest and most critical campaign tool for reaching and mobilizing people, for gathering data and responding to public reactions (Vergeer & Hermans, 2013). A 2017 report shows that there were about 317 million Twitter users globally in January of 2017 and around 500 million tweets are sent per day (Chaffey, 2017) with more male (24%) internet users using Twitter than females (21%) (Pew Research, 2014).

The topic on FGM and the urgency to end it has become a global phenomenon with Twitter users engaging in discussions about it regularly, particularly using the hashtag (#)ENDFGM. Since 2003, the United Nations and the WHO have recognized the 6th February as the International Day of Zero Tolerance for Female Genital Mutilation. FGM is recognized internationally as a violation of the human rights of girls and women and this day is marked annually to raise awareness of the harm FGM causes to women, girls, and societies worldwide. The current study examines Twitter conversations from this event to identify current views of users about FGM and the perceived role of men in challenging FGM and advocating against the practice. To our knowledge, no research has yet explored social media discussions of FGM and particularly the role that men can play in FGM activism and we seek to address this gap.

### **Statement of the Problem**

Female genital mutilation (FGM) continues to affect the lives of millions of girls and women. Men can be powerful allies in the fight to abandon this practice, but they have largely been silent in the public discourse. With the emerging significance of social media instruments like Twitter the discussion of socially relevant, sensitive topics has become somewhat easier. Men as well as women have increasingly turned to these communication platforms to advocate for social change in relation to FGM. This study specifically explored the views on the involvement of men in discussions about FGM on Twitter.

### **Research questions**

Specifically, we seek to answer two research questions:

1. What are the characteristics of those involved in time-limited and focused Twitter discussions about FGM?
2. What are the perceptions of active Twitter users in relation to the role of men in ending FGM?

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## Methods

### Data Collection

Our data were drawn from Twitter based activity for February 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> 2017, to coincide with the International Day of Zero Tolerance for Female Genital Mutilation. We conducted a census of all tweets using the search terms ‘FGM and Men’ and the target population was Twitter users who used these terms in their tweet.

The data were obtained using N-Capture, <http://www.nvivo10.com/> a web browser extension used to capture web pages, online PDFs, and social media for analysis. The data captured were imported as a PDF file into NVivo version 11, a computer software package for managing qualitative data during the process of analysis. We examined “who” tweeted during the run up to the event and on the day by direct analysis of the Twitter profiles. We categorized participants where possible to identify whether they had a professional background and what specialty this related to. We also assessed Twitter participants’ geographical location. To examine “how” users were tweeting we examined how they engaged with their followers through retweeting (re-posting) (Boyd, Golder, & Lotan, 2010) including the use of @symbol in front of a Twitter user name to direct posts to an individual (Wenger, White, & Smith, 2009). De-identification of tweets followed guidelines regarding personally identifiable information (PII) through social media (Zimmer, 2010).

### Data analysis

We used descriptive statistics to describe the sample and thematic analysis for the resulting qualitative data set. Thematic analysis is a process of identifying patterns or themes within qualitative data (Braun & Clarke, 2006) and for this study, we followed Attride-Stirling (Attride-Stirling, 2001) coding technique. Social media data can be coded and thematically analysed to identify the emotive character of content or classify -hierarchical data to identify areas of significance within them (Thelwall, 2008). For this study we derived codes based on the specified research questions and identified the most relevant constructs in the discussion. We then shaped these into a finite set of codes that were discrete enough to avoid redundancy and global enough to be meaningful (Attride-Stirling, 2001).

### Ethical Considerations

Informed consent was not required for this study as we were accessing data that is publicly available and the content was generic rather than personal (Moreno, Goni, Moreno, & Diekema, 2013). And while the issue around whether tweets are public is open to debate; some researchers (Townsend & Wallace, 2016) argue that if a tweet contains a hashtag, then the user tweeting this has intended for their tweet to be visible to a broader audience, and therefore informed consent is not necessary when reproducing the tweet in an academic article.

For this project, it was decided that it would not be practicable to gain informed consent to analyse tweets as a sample of tweets may contain in excess of a hundred thousand items. For the current study the research team took the ethical standpoint of not disclosing usernames, because those users tweeting, although they may be doing so in a public space, may not be aware that their tweets are being used for academic research. In the analysis and discussion of our study, we ensured that comments were not attributed to any individual.

## Results

The first research question focused on identifying the characteristics of those involved in time-limited and focused Twitter discussions about FGM.

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The flowchart in [Figure 1](#) depicts how tweets and Twitter profiles were analyzed to assess who was tweeting and to explore the content of the tweets.

**Figure 1**

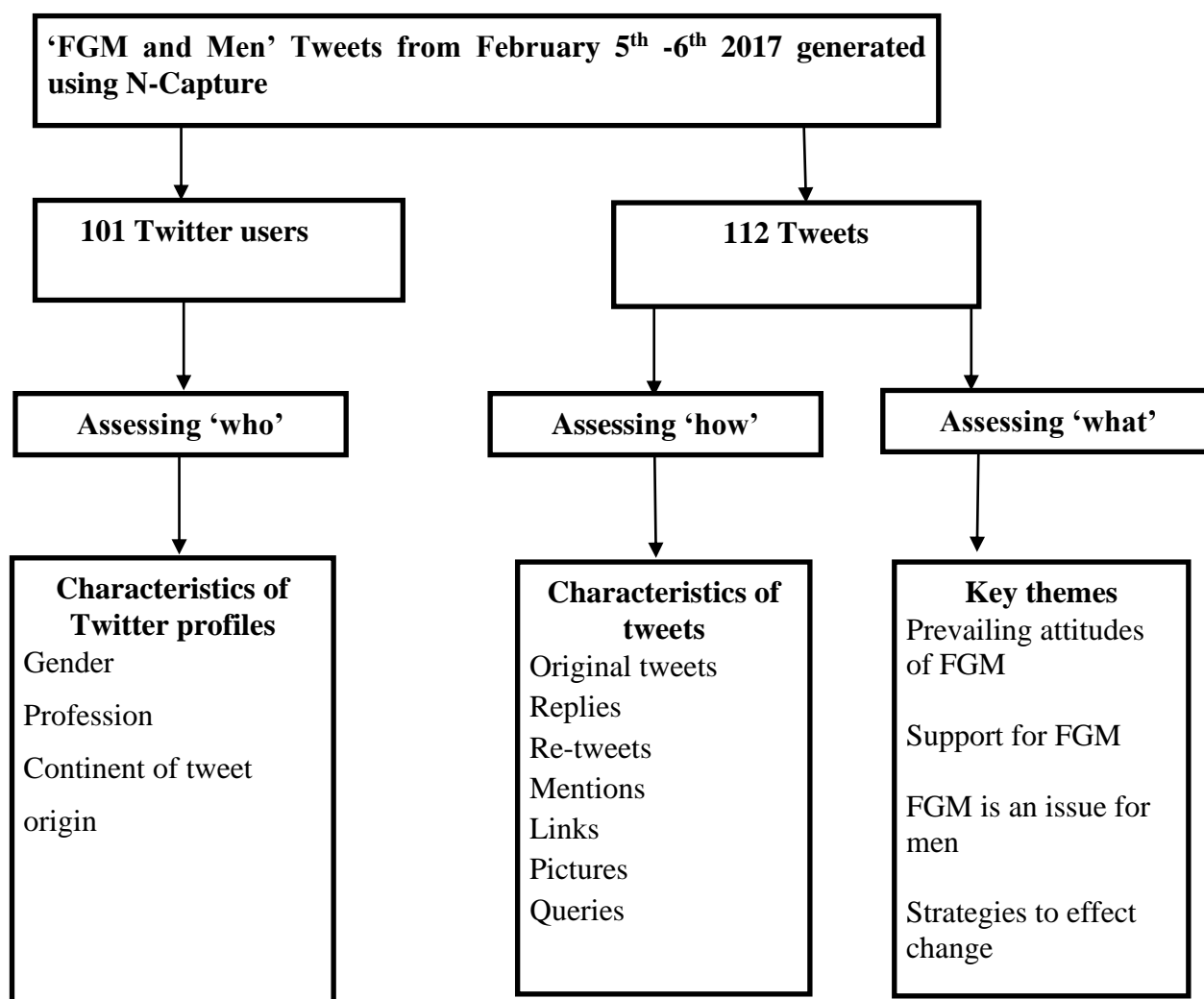


Figure 1. Flowchart of the assessment process for the qualitative Twitter analysis (adopted from Borgmann et al. (2016))

**Source : Authors, 2020**

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Table 1 provides the demographics and activity metrics of the #FGM and ‘Men’ Twitter Feed.

**Table 1 Demographics and Activity Metrics of the ‘FGM and ‘Men’ obtained from the Twitter Feed**

	Number of Users	% of Users	Original Tweets	Retweets	Replies	Tweets with mentions	Tweets with a link	Tweets with picture
<b>Profession/Organization</b>								
Advocate/activist	26	26.5	16	1	9	16	4	5
Non-Profits	9	9.18	8	1	0	4	3	2
Governance	10	10.2	8	0	2	1	1	3
Writer/Media	10	9.9	6	0	3	4	3	2
Other specialties	11	11.2	8	0	3	4	1	1
Not denoted	35	34.7	19	0	16	16	3	4
<b>Gender</b>								
Male	38	38.8	21	0	18	18	3	5
Female	22	22.4	13	1	9	13	5	0
Organization	29	29.5	24	3	3	4	4	12
Not denoted	11	10.9	7	0	4	11	3	0
<b>Continent of tweet origin</b>								
Africa	31	31.6	24	0	8	14	6	5
Europe	31	31.6	21	1	9	14	4	8
Asia	5	5.1	4	0	1	2	0	1
North America	13	12.9	5	0	8	8	1	1
Global/ Not denoted	21	21	11	3	8	8	4	2
Total Users	101	100.0						



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A total of 101 Twitter users participated in the ‘FGM and Men’ Twitter feed generating 112 tweets including replies and queries. The study sample characteristics are shown in Table 2.

**Table 2 Main Themes Supported by Tweets**

Themes	Tweets supporting the theme *ND (Not denoted)
<b>[1] Prevailing Attitudes of FGM</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Human Rights issue</li> <li>Religion</li> <li>Culture</li> <li>Social obligation</li> <li>Patriarchy</li> </ul>	<p><i>FGM is a crime against men and women. It's a crime against humanity</i> [ND, Male, ND].</p> <p><i>Men can live with circumcision, FGM is Islam's desire to remove a woman's sexual identity; they will lobotomize in future</i> [ND, ND, ND]</p> <p><i>This dark piece of cloth that men have made women wear, the men's control to demean women! FGM is another</i> [ND, Female, USA]</p> <p><i>What about Christian men that do FGM?</i> [Artist, Male, UK]</p> <p><i>Our grandparents went through FGM and nothing happened to them, pain a must as men do</i> [ND, Male, Kenya]</p> <p><i>What reason is there for FGM other than the malicious insecurity of some men for women</i> [Writer, Male, UK]</p>
<b>[2] Support for FGM</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Mothers and grandmothers</li> <li>Men</li> <li>Migrant communities</li> </ul>	<p><i>Hasn't it been shown that women are the highest offenders of FGM by far?!The mothers, grandmothers force them. NOT men!</i> [ND, Male, Canada]</p> <p><i>FGM happens in many western countries and not only advocated by men, mothers choose it for their daughters</i> [Stay at home mother, Canada]</p>
<b>[3] FGM as an Issue for Men</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>It's a 'woman's issue'</li> <li>Men not challenging the practice</li> <li>Men are key to abandonment of FGM</li> <li>Men are the decision makers in most African traditional settings</li> <li>Potential suitors</li> </ul>	<p><i>Shamefully most men see #FGM as a woman's issue, infact it's an act of violence and should concern us all</i> [Adviser, Male-UK]</p> <p><i>Men are very quiet today</i> [ND, Female, Ireland]</p> <p><i>More inclusion of men as they are the decision makers in most African families and hence better placed to reduce the cases of FGM</i> [ND, Female, Kenya]</p> <p><i>The men are the potential suitors to these girls so if they said no to FGM, this war is over</i> [Activist, Male, Kenya]</p>
<b>[4] Strategies for Effecting Change</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Education</li> <li>Youth</li> <li>Community led initiatives</li> <li>Sports</li> <li>Elderly men</li> </ul>	<p><i>We must educate everyone about the harm of FGM; Women, men, children and importantly the cutters</i> [Government, Organization, UK]</p> <p><i>Educate the men on the dangers of FGM and we will have part of the job done to #ENDFGM</i> [Advocate, Male, UK]</p> <p><i>Young men are instruments in ending FGM. They can be champions of change</i> [Civil society, Kenya]</p> <p><i>Ban FGM yes, more to do with working with men and boys, faith leaders-legal we continue</i> [Anti-FGM activist, Female-ND]</p> <p><i>Young men using sport to speak against-link</i> [Activist, Blogger-USA]</p> <p><i>The Maasai community now turns to elderly men to help the fight against FGM -TV programme</i> [Media. Organization-Kenya]</p> <p><i>Men in Narok, (Kenya) take FGM by the horns- You tube video link</i> [Activist, Organization-Global]</p>

**Source:** Authors, 2020

The largest group of users had no specified profession (34.7%), followed by activists (26.5%), while the media, non-profits, governance, and other specialties accounted for the rest of the users.

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Most tweets were sent from Africa and Europe (31% of tweets from each continent) with Kenyan users (21.7%) and UK users (22.7%) sending the most tweets. There were more males (38.8%) tweeting on the topic compared to females (22.4%) and gender for 38.8% of the users could not be identified. In Africa males (31.5%) tended to tweet more on the topic than females (18.1%).

The second research question examined the perceptions of active Twitter users in relation to the role of men in ending FGM. Table 2 provides a summary of the main themes supported by tweets. During the coding process four main themes emerged as follows a) Prevailing attitudes of FGM b) Support for FGM c) FGM is an issue for men and d) Strategies to effect change.

## Discussion

The current qualitative study explored the views on the involvement of men in discussions of FGM via social media. The analysis revealed that social media platforms like Twitter can serve to sensitize the public about sensitive topics like FGM, foster debates on the issue and highlight gaps in current interventions. This is in-line with previous research conducted with ‘hard-to-reach’ populations on sensitive topics (Chandler-Coley, Ross, Ozoya, Lescano, & Flannigan, 2017) which found that the internet, particularly online social networks, can be effective and culturally relevant communication channels for such populations. Our discussion is structured as follows; a) Characteristics of Tweets and users, b) Prevailing attitudes of FGM, c) Support for FGM, d) FGM is an issue for men and e) Strategies to effect change.

### Characteristics of Tweets and Users

Based on previous findings that social media platforms can be effective in engaging ‘hard-to reach’ populations on sensitive topics (Levine et al., 2011), our study sought to explore how Twitter users engaged on the topic of ‘FGM and Men’, during the International Day for Zero Tolerance for FGM, held on the 6<sup>th</sup> of February 2017. For users with a specified profession or speciality, activists (26.5%) appeared to be more engaged in posting content related to ‘FGM and Men’ than did other users (the government 10.2%, the media 9.9% and non- profits 9%). This result is hardly surprising as international anti-FGM activism has become highly salient, rapidly gaining traction in public discourse (Cloward, 2015). While traditionally the media served to stimulate the FGM debate and give a voice to those committed to social change (Johansen, Diop, Laverack, & Leye, 2013), our study highlights the possibility provided by social media platforms for real-time engagement and interactivity with other users. This corroborates Beckett’s study findings (Beckett, 2008), who argues that social media platforms provide a sense of community ‘that transcends anything offered by mainstream media’ (p.22).

In terms of the gender, our results suggest that there were more males (38.8%) tweeting on the topic compared to females (22.4%), and this was especially the case for tweets originating from Africa (males (31.5%) tended to tweet more on the topic than females (18.1%)). A study conducted by Pew Research (2014) showed a similar trend in which males tweeted more often than females (24% versus 21%). However, an earlier survey (Beevolve, 2012) investigating Twitter users by gender, contradicts these findings; Twitter usage was a little inclined towards females, with the number of female users outnumbering the male Twitter users by 6% and females sending more tweets than their male counterparts. Our findings might be explained by the claim that about 11.8 % of Twitter users have protected accounts on average and most females (64%) opt for protected accounts as compared to 36% of males (Beevolve, 2012). This suggestion limits our ability to say with certainty who was tweeting more on the topic of ‘FGM and Men’.

In terms of tweet location, most tweets were sent from Africa and Europe (31% of tweets from each continent) with Kenyan users (21.7%) and UK users (22.7%) sending the most tweets.



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This may be explained by findings indicating that Twitter in Africa has become a space for social interaction and is considered a unifying factor for Africans across geographical boundaries (Portland, 2016). Additionally, FGM is a topical issue in Kenya, as prevalence of the practice ranges from 1 percent to 98 percent across provinces (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics-Government of Kenya, 2016) and anti-FGM campaigns funded by civil society organizations, NGOs, the government; including individual initiatives are widespread. In the case of the UK, migration to England and Wales from countries where FGM is practiced makes the issue pertinent. An estimated 137,000 women and girls with FGM, born in countries where FGM is practiced, were permanently resident in England and Wales in 2011 representing a prevalence rate of 4.8 per 1,000 population (Macfarlane & Dorkenoo, 2015). The active engagement of users from these two regions on the topic of FGM may be explained by the extensive efforts to successfully raise the visibility of FGM particularly through #ENDFGM.

In terms of the type of tweet, a significant number appeared to be original tweets, with many of these containing mentions. Those identifying as males were more likely to send a tweet with a picture while tweets with a link were mostly sent by individuals identifying as females. Most tweets centred on participants’ perceptions of the practice of FGM.

### **Prevailing attitudes towards FGM**

Generally, most users considered FGM a crime against women, but some saw it as a crime against men as well. In terms of the perceived rationale for FGM practice, religious and cultural reasons were mentioned while there were a few users who linked the practice to economic factors. Participants’ views were that FGM was as a result of men’s tendencies, particularly among those of Islamic faith, to control women and curtail their sexual desires. There were tweets to suggest, however, that FGM was not confined to the Islamic faith alone, with some suggesting that it is also practiced in communities of the Christian faith, a finding corroborated by survey data of various countries (UNICEF, 2013). Certainly, previous studies have shown that religious obligations often play a role in a family’s decision to practice FGM (Abdi, 2007) but there is no evidence to substantiate the fact that religious scriptures actually require FGM (World Health Organization, 1999). For some Twitter users, FGM is practiced out of cultural reasons and a few regarded FGM as a requirement by society.

### **Support for FGM**

A common theme in most tweets was that men can play a pivotal role in the continuation as well as the fight against FGM, a finding consistent with other studies (Varol et al., 2015). When it came to who supports the continuation of FGM, our participants were divided with most tweeting that men are ardent supporters of the practice although women were also considered instrumental in its continuation. Our finding contradicts those from a recent national survey which indicates a similar level of support for FGM among both women and men, although in some countries with high levels of FGM prevalence, like Eritrea (over 90%) important differences are found between the proportions of men and women who are uncertain about the continuation of FGM, with men being nearly three times less likely to express a firm opinion than their female counterparts. These findings point to the conclusion that men may, in certain contexts, be important agents of change and therefore discussions about FGM should involve men particularly in settings where they are key decision makers (UNICEF, 2013).

### **FGM is an issue for men and strategies of engaging men**

Whilst men’s role in ending the practice was considered critical, men were considered silent and

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disengaged from the issue. However, it was unclear from participants’ tweets why men were less engaged although it can be inferred from the tweets that most men consider FGM a woman’s issue. There seemed to be a push towards the need for men to openly denounce the practice.

Our study, like others (Onyango, Owoko, & Oguttu, 2010) underscores the need to empower men, through health literacy to enable them to make informed and healthy decisions for themselves and their families and men-only community groups may particularly be influential in creating awareness. Previously, education on FGM has been achieved through schools, social media, mobile phone technology, sporting events, musicians, radio, theatre and puppet show interventions (Spadacini & Nichols, 1998). This is in-line with our finding which shows male musicians or sportsmen playing an advocacy role to rally the abandonment of FGM. Other anti-FGM programs, for example the Tostan’s Community Empowerment Programme offers a good example where learning was taught in local languages and incorporated cultural traditions, including songs, dances, proverbs, and theatre (Gillespie & Melching, 2010). The participation of young people in the Tostan project enabled them to become important actors in the change process and is consistent with our findings where Twitter users consider the youth as key instruments to FGM abandonment. Some users in our sample underscored the need to promote community-led interventions as opposed to NGO or government led initiatives, a finding consistent with that of Gele and colleagues (2012).

## **Conclusion**

This study explored the views on the involvement of men in discussions about FGM on Twitter. Our study found that men’s role in ending the practice was considered critical however, men were considered disengaged from the issue as most consider FGM a woman’s issue. We have shown in this study that social media may provide a platform for men to openly denounce the practice, which could form an integral part of an effective strategy to abandon FGM. Further research is needed to more directly explore how men can be involved in denouncing the practice both via social media and in other forms of communication.

To the best of our knowledge, ours is the first study to explore how Twitter is being used to discuss FGM and the role of men in the debate. Future research could explore the use of other social media platforms such as Facebook and YouTube, and the content of the discussions in these platforms which could potentially offer valuable insights on where change is needed in terms of designing effective anti-FGM interventions.

## **Limitations and Future Research**

Our study has some limitations; first, it was not easy to identify the gender of Twitter users and we cannot confirm their location at the time of tweeting since users may not reliably disclose their gender or location. This limits the interpretation of our results as it leads us to believe that our study had fewer users of one gender or from one location.

Second, the interpretation of our data may be limited because we examined users following on from one specific event and we did not examine other popular social media platforms, such as Facebook and YouTube. Further, whilst some of our tweets contained links to YouTube videos and blogs, we did not examine these links. We suggest that future research considers these platforms to capture, comprehensively, social media discussions on the views of FGM and the potential role for men in its abandonment. Future research should also incorporate a larger number of search terms and examine how users engage with their followers through retweeting (re-posting) as this was beyond the scope of this study.

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Third, the findings of our study may be biased as our sample cannot be considered representative of the populations. As such, it may be difficult to infer findings to the general population.

Future research on social media discourses on the topic may reveal shifting gender dynamics over time. Social media platforms can be considered powerful tools in achieving social change.

### **What is already known on this topic**

Exploring the use of social media platforms and the content of the discussions among ‘hard to reach’ populations can offer valuable insights of their perspectives on where change is needed in terms of designing interventions.

### **What this study adds**

This study contributes to advancing a fairly new field of health communication that connects social media to health promotion campaigns and our results have important implications for informing the design of interventions that target men in anti-FGM campaigns.

### **Competing interests**

The author declares no competing interest.

### **Authors’ contributions**

Purity Mwendwa designed the study and collected the data. All authors conducted the analysis and drafted the manuscript.

**Citation:** Mwendwa, P; Kroll, T & De Brún, A. (2020). “To stop #FGM it is important to involve the owners of the tradition *aka* men”: An Exploratory Analysis of Social Media Discussions on Female Genital Mutilation. *Journal of African Interdisciplinary Studies*, 4(1), 34 – 47.

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