

RESEARCH ARTICLE

Re-imagining Moralities and Masculinity: Male Circumcision and Marriage in South-Western Kenyan Communities

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ABSTRACT

Male circumcision and marriage are significant cultural practices that mark a critical stage in a person's life in many African societies. Many rites of passage that exist, circumcision and marriage are intertwined. Marriage and circumcision like other cultural themes have attracted wide scholarship of diverse depths. Such studies have underlined, among others, the nature, forms, types and even the place of the two initiation rites in society. What, however, has not received adequate attention are the (re)negotiations and contestations between morality and masculinities in the context of male circumcision and marriage. Based on this understanding, and drawing on the findings of a qualitative study conducted in Kisii, and Homa Bay counties in South-Western Kenya, the researchers in this paper argue that circumcision and initiation determine one's masculinity, which as well acts as a gateway to marriage and social wellbeing. Combined, the two cultural practices can be presented as central morality and cultural notions that inform, underpin, and serve as the dominant paradigms that direct the lives and activities of African people from birth to death. The study suggests that despite its significance over decades, the practice of circumcision has changed over time in relation to the importance people attach to it, how it is practiced, and the attention it attracts from the society. The study recommends the need for a critical interrogation of morality in relation to what fits individuals and the contemporary world as they practice the rites of passage, while at the same time maintaining what is morally acceptable in the society.

KEYWORDS: Moralities, Masculinities, Marriage, Male Circumcision, Kisii, Homabay, Kenya

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Introduction

In 1871, Edward Bernard Tylor, a British Anthropologist defined culture as that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society. Indubitably, women are also considered as creators of culture, which is constantly changing and easily lost, considering that it exists only in people's minds and can as well be observed through products such as buildings and other man-made possessions. Notwithstanding, dramatic social changes resulting from mobilities of things, ideas, and people in social realities in the context of modernity and globalization have fundamentally affected the cultures of Africans, including the processes of moralities both at individual and communal levels. For instance, Scott and Marshall (2005) point that globalization has led to cultural homogeneity and an end to cultural diversity in Africa. The traditional African cultural values are being replaced by global cultural values. (Ibrahim, 2013). A study by Ugbam et al. (2014) concludes that globalization has impacted African culture such that of Nigeria both positively and negatively. For instance, it has led to increased access to information and communication technologies (ICTs), which have facilitated communication between people from different cultures while leading to the decline in traditional values and customs.

This is manifested in power relations, property ownership, and inheritance and kinship systems. More specifically, the aforesaid changes have transformed representations and the practice of social roles, moral attitudes, personhoods and shared ideas about good life and how to realize it. Notice that these attributes that characterize good-led life, that is, social acceptance, respectability, authority, honor, fame and prosperity also intersect with gender, ethnicity and religion to influence actors' everyday social actions.

Conventionally, morality has been studied as moods and dispositions (Throop, 2014; Mahmood, 2000), crisis, language and as economy among others (Muehlebach, 2012; Lambek, 2010). In this paper, however, we define morality as a set of social rules, principles and norms that are intended to define masculinity and to guide the conduct of people in society, including beliefs about what constitutes right and wrong conduct and/or bad character. However, with dramatic changes resulting from contemporary social realities, emphasis on human agency has emerged as individuals seek to (re)define their individual identities and moralities.

According to Pleck (1981), masculinity, just like any other concept in African settings, is characterized by the fact that the manner in which one becomes a man is not simply socially constructed, but that such construction comes with pressure to conform to the ideals of manhood. In this context, Kimani (2015) and Lambert (1956) emphasize that through circumcision, a man symbolically gains power, the right to marry and procreate, become a warrior and dominate others in society.

It is in this respect, for instance, that it is considered a taboo for a Kisii man or woman to marry or bring forth children before undergoing circumcision. This is in view of the fact that a grown up, but

uncircumcised man or woman was seen as being only physically able, but not socially 'sanctified' to marry or give birth. This implies that the two rites of passage (circumcision and marriage) punctuate the life projects of persons within practicing communities. While the practices differ from community to community, the key meaning and functions of these rites are common: they serve to affirm/provide identities and social belonging, moral personhood, as well as individual and social wellbeing (Cerchiaro & Odasso 2021; Sifuna, 2021).

According to Erickson (1970), human beings are born *tabula-rasa* (with no idea or identity), but acquire them with time. It is through such rites of passage (circumcision and marriage) that individuals acquire identity that is vital in terms of making them fit in society. Despite the emerging emphasis on human agency, there are still contestations around who between the community and the individual takes priority in accounting for moral personhood (Molefe, 2018; Shuttle, 2001).

As well, marriage and male circumcision remain dominant social spaces and processes in the changing world, where gender, ethnicity, age, religion, and social class intersect to constitute not just identities, but also, moral personhood. The researchers in this case argue that it is morality that defines personhood through practices, such as marriage and circumcision authors should be wary of falling into the conceptual trap; that is presenting findings while presenting literature. In the words of Menkiti (1984), personhood has to be attained and achieved in direct proportion, as an individual participates in communal life through the discharge of the various responsibilities defined by oneself and the community.

Arguably, marriage and circumcision are major African initiation rites that have been handed down from generation to generation. In this study, marriage entails the process through which a man and a woman/women of marriageable age come together and form a family. Likewise, we consider that morality is shaped by acceptable practices of circumcision and marriage, which eventually determine personhood and general expectations for worthiness, dignity and good life (Machery, 2012; Clarke et al. 2015). Despite this understanding, however, little is available on agency-centred perspectives and the making of moralities in the context of male circumcision and marriage in South-Western Kenya, including the resultant contestations, (re)negotiations, (re)definitions, and (re)constructions of moralities and identities as avenues to wellbeing, where still male initiation rites are instrumental for transitioning an individual from boyhood (*Oboisia*) to manhood (*Obosacha*). Please specify the dialect. Since this was carried out in Homa Bay, are there similar words related to initiation?

The practice of male circumcision has always been in existence in South-Western Kenya, ever since 1907 (the beginning of the first decade of the 20th Century), when the British colonialists began to establish their authority in Gusiland (Silberschmidt, 1999) this incorrectly implies that circumcision begun in 1907. As institutions, marriage and male circumcision were not as differentiated as they are today, but the community's social life was based solely on kinship and patriarchal authority (Mayer, 1974). The institution of marriage has continued to experience strains and shortages, with the home, hitherto regarded as being responsible for maintaining basic social order, refuge, harmony, serenity

and understanding, now becoming the site of confrontation between people of different ages and social standing, diverse personal ideologies and social affiliations (Ocholla-Ayayo, 2000).

African traditions of male dominance and the patriarchal system have been perceived to determine the practice of male circumcision. In this study, the circumcision of boys refers to the cutting of the foreskin of the male genitalia, usually also done for cultural reasons as opposed to medical necessity (Denniston et al., 2007; Sifuna 2021; and WHO, 2007). What is more, contemporary transformations have largely been attributed to industrialization, urbanization, educational expansion, demographic change and monetization, all of which have altered the structure of family relationships in crucial ways (Dyson, 1987 a more recent citation would be helpful). In this context, cultural and religious rationales, such as maintenance of masculinity, marriageability, perceptions of gender, coming of age rituals and religious interpretations are commonly put forward for justification (Darby and Svoboda, 2007; Cerchiaro & Odasso 2021; Oketch, 2021).

Research Methodology

The data used in this paper was collected from two sites: Kisii and Luo Nyanza. The sites were purposively selected to include rural populations with ethnic homogeneity, as well as cosmopolitan urban populations with or without elaborate rites of passage-now that formal education has increased the age of marriage. We adopted a cross sectional exploratory and descriptive design to compare the making of identities and moralities through initiation rites across South-Western Kenya. The two communities provided the researchers with all typologies of the aforesaid rites of passage that were of interest to this study (initiation from childhood to adulthood and marriage).

Before fieldwork, participants were selected for interviews in each of the two locations of Kisii and Homa Bay, based on a priori characteristics, reflecting our understanding of the moral standing of a person in local societies. The target population comprised of male and female persons from the two communities aged 30 or older; either married or not; and who had been living in the study sites over the last five years. Any form of rite considered as marriage by the study participants was studied in line with the theory of Critical Diversity Literacy. Our assumption was that everyone who is/was thirty years or older had undergone some form of initiation from childhood to adulthood, and could or was expected to get married. We applied stratified opportunistic and theoretical sampling procedures to access a sample population of 91 participants (and achieved saturation) from across the different communities in various localities. We further applied multiple ethnographic methods sequentially: Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and in-depth one-on-one oral interviewing to access thick and in-depth descriptions and explanations of multiple identities and moralities, including the processes of moralities-making. All data was transcribed, translated (where it was collected in local language), coded, and thematically and linguistically analysed. Regular workshops helped the researchers to deepen their understanding of field experiences and local perspectives in a collaborative way.

This study was licensed by the National Council for Science, Technology and Innovation in Kenya (Ref. 129012) and authorized by local County Governments of Bungoma, Kisii, and Homa Bay. Additionally, the study received ethics review and approval from the Moi University/Moi Teaching and Referral Hospital Institutional Research Ethics committee (FAN: 0003802).

Morality, Circumcision Rites and Wellbeing

Morality, circumcision rites and wellbeing are interlinked aspects that define people's identity, personhood and wellbeing in South-western Kenya communities (O'Neill, S., & Pallitto, C. (2021; UNICEF, 2013). It is done in the two communities studied (Abagusii and Luo) to satisfy particular individual/local needs. Findings from our study reveal that the intention of circumcision varies from place to place depending on the community involved. In the Kisii community, for instance, circumcision is a practice considered highly sacred and an identity marker symbolizing social belonging and acceptance while among the Luo it is not given priority. However, the old initiation rite had not been discarded.

During FGDs and KIs in Kisii, it emerged that the practice of male circumcision is secretive and, one whose details are intricate and hardly ever discussed with outsiders. That is, only the initiates and circumcised men were allowed to interact during the seclusion period. Furthermore, one participant in an FGD narrated that: *"It is against Kisii culture for women and uncircumcised men/boys to attempt to access information concerning male circumcision process"* (FGD: Male participant, 58 years). The researchers further found out that male circumcision was and is still a prerequisite for attaining the full status of adulthood and wellbeing. It is an identity which, if not acquired, could confine a male person to perpetual childhood (Omoisia), thereby compromising one's personhood.

It was also found that traditional male circumcision rite takes place before marriage and entails physical brutality, seclusion, reconfiguration, esoteric knowledge, death and rebirth imagery, change of name, dietary change and sexual taboos. A key informant reiterated that: *"when initiates retreat into seclusion, they are taught the necessary skills for growth and maturity in society and they take up new roles which they assume after circumcision"* (KI: Male, 72 years). Moreover, participants in FGDs argued that anything that happened during circumcision as a rite of passage remained a secret that could not be discussed by other members of the community, visitors and the uncircumcised. From the above finding, it is observed that secrecy is a principle adopted by both the initiates and trainers as one of the ways of protecting the social practice from those who could wish to discredit it. Such teachings to the initiates lead to the construction of the masculinity (man-making) of individuals.

Similarly, Silverman (2004) observes that circumcision plays a social role in terms of mediating inter-group relations, renewing unity and integrating socio-cultural systems. For instance, in the Gusii community, the rite entrusts trust in, and commitment to the family and community. It was also observed that, symbolically, circumcision is both a death (of the boy) and a rebirth (of the man). In one of the FGDs, one participant confirmed that: *"circumcision in itself is the gateway to manhood in the*

same way that baptism is the gateway to salvation in the Christian church." (FGD: Male participant, 63 years).

Likewise, circumcision is a dramatic enactment of the separation of the son from the mother and the integration of the man into the community. As such, it is a dominant communal ratification of a culture's accepted norms of heterosexual manhood. Therefore, circumcision is presented as one of the criteria used to determine a man's masculinity and his social standing among the Gusii people. Here, masculinity means physical strength which is believed to be only possessed by "real men". From the participants' view, a "real man", enjoyed all the freedom and status such as good person, leader, caregiver and God-given person, as ascribed by the community. This is also confirmed by KNHRC (2006), that circumcised men are accorded political rights in comparison with the uncircumcised, in popular imagination.

The study noted that during seclusion, dietary taboos are introduced; the initiates are expected to observe strict dietary taboos/patterns during their initiation. For instance, initiates are not allowed to drink water and/or eat salty foods, such as meat in the first week after circumcision. It is presumed that the origin of such taboos lies in the attempt to quicken the healing process, as well as segregating or graduating the initiates from food perceived to be for the children to those regarded to be for adult.

The study found that in the Kisii community, circumcised men were respected, not only in the public arena but also, at the family level. This has often had adverse effects on the relationship between the Gusii people and other non-circumcising communities. It was also revealed that an uncircumcised visitor was not supposed to sleep on a bed, but on the floor on a matt since "*abagere mbanga bana*" (the luos are like children). This symbolizes the uncircumcised man is still a child and cannot be equated with real men (circumcised-Kisiis) who should be treated with a lot of regard, recognition and value.

In one of the interviews, it was noted that: "*Once you get circumcised as a male child you are separated from your mother and you get assigned new roles and responsibilities as per the expectations of the family and community*" (KI: Male 63 years). The father of the household expects the circumcised boy to behave like an independent man, stay in his own cottage and pursue his own life. These findings are supported by Burton and Whiting (1961) in their position that:

Boys tend to be initiated at puberty in those societies in which they are particularly hostile toward their fathers and more dependent upon their mothers.... If a child develops a strong emotional dependence upon his mother during infancy, and hostility toward, and envy of, his father in early childhood at the time of weaning and the onset of independence training) these feelings latent during childhood, will manifest themselves when he reaches physiological maturity in: (a) open rivalry with his father; and (b) incestuous approaches to his mother, unless measures are taken to prevent such manifestations....Painful hazing, enforced isolation from women, trials of endurance of

manliness, genital operations and change of residence are effective means for preventing the dangerous manifestations of rivalry and incest.

In their detailed account of the social organization of the Gusii community, Levine and Levine (1959) also portray a situation of masculinity where male dominance and female subordination is used as a cultural rule governing husband and wife relations in the family and community. We note that while the gender norms are largely reinforced culturally and institutionally, it is during the seclusion period that initiates learn about equating maleness with power and authority and femaleness with inferiority and subservience. This implies that circumcision has a major function of linking the individual to masculinity, role allocation and social differentiation.

In Homa Bay, dominated by Luo speakers, the male circumcision was not a cultural norm. However, recently (2008), voluntary male circumcision was introduced as an HIV/Aids containment strategy (Sifuna, 2021). The primary barriers to acceptance of male circumcision among the Luo were; the cost, cultural identification, fear of pain and excessive bleeding. Some members of the community preferred pulling out of the six lower teeth than undergoing incision of the penis foreskin. However, recently (2008), voluntary male circumcision was introduced as an HIV/Aids containment strategy (Sifuna, 2021). In this way, thus, getting circumcised in the Luo community is viewed as a responsible choice to survive and protect others from HIV/Aids. Nevertheless, the practice is contested by many community members and it is not unanimously adopted. In our view, as modern morality plays about the contested endurance of traditional male authority, circumcisions provides the initiates with social legitimacy though contested, it (re)defines identity and recognition of individuals in the current contexts.

In Gusii Community, however, male circumcision has changed over time due to colonialism, modernity and internal changes within the community. Boys are now at a young age taken to hospitals to be circumcised by medical doctors and not the traditional circumcisers who before also played as agents of socialization (*of teaching the initiates about their culture and transitions to adulthood*). This has questioned the sustainability of Gusii traditional culture.

Morality, Marriage Rite and Wellbeing

African marriages are established according to socially recognized rules, which largely involve the payment of bride-wealth and mutual acceptance of the involved families. From the foregoing discussion, male circumcision comes out as a prerequisite to marriage for some communities. In line with this understanding, for instance, Bolande (1969) and Cerchiaro and Odasso, (2021) notes that initiation brings an individual into the maturity of adulthood which ushers one into marriage and gives legitimacy to beget children. It is the foundation for which families are built and a communication channel with the ancestors are secured (Magesa, 1997).

One of the key informants alluded to longevity in life as a sign of moral maturity. He asserted that once the individual dies, he continues to be associated with and/or recognized by the community. That is, they are considered as ancestors for the continuity of the family lineage. He added that marriage is viewed as a community activity that involves all members (those currently physically living within the community, the ancestors and those yet to be born). It also facilitates the growth of the community through procreation and continuity. He concluded that there is also belief that men who are circumcised traditionally well i.e. *they have gone through the approved procedures of circumcision*, would never be barren and bound to sustain their families by giving birth to many children and provide for them.

From the findings of the study, it was evident that marriage rite is at the centre of morality and wellbeing, where the payment of bride-wealth seals the union. In this respect, bride wealth has to be acceptable by all to attract blessings from the family of the woman and that of the man. One participant said that: *"for dowry payment to be culturally acceptable, the traditional elder must be involved in the negotiations"* Male participant, 57 years.

It is through marriage that life emanates from the centre and keeps the reminiscence of the ancestors and the living dead through nominal re-embodiment or/and re-birth. As discussed by participants during FGDs, rituals conducted during the marriage process determine the futurity and sustainability of the family. In both Kisii and Homa Bay, marriage is viewed both as an individual choice and a community affair. One of the participants in the study narrated that; *"in my community, traditionally, once I identify a woman to marry, I have to seek approval from my male mates from the community and parents whether she is the best fit for marriage"*-Male participant, 46 years. This implies that as much as an individual marries for himself, the community has to accept the woman. In cases where a woman appears not fit, she (re)negotiates her status and position in the family and community. This is more specifically the case, when one is married from a perceived 'bad family' (*one associated with social ills such as witchcraft, theft among others*), or coming from another ethnic community. Furthermore, the two married individuals (man and woman) have an obligation to accept the members of their families to their lives. During an FGD, one of the participants alluded that: *"once married to a new family you have to be initiated and integrated to the culture of the new family...all your actions must reflect their norms, beliefs and traditions"*. A female discussant, 65 years. Some disparity however were noted with regard to this among the studies community. One of the participants in an FGD narrated that:

The Luos are encouraged to marry early and also embrace polygamy since they are comfortable with marrying from outside their cultural group and the wife/wives are allowed to maintain their social ties with their matrimonial homes (FGD: Male participant, 56 years).

This is contrary to the Kisii community where:

Once you (wife) get married, you cease to care about your matrimonial home and any kind of support given to your kins is through the mercies of your man (husband)...(FGD: Female participant, 59 years).

In Kisii, polygamy was allowed in the past, but in the contemporary world, due to diminishing family resources (such as land), most men prefer monogamy. However, what was evident during the study was that men often maintain other (hidden) women and make mutable contributions to them as long as their relationship last. One of the key informants asserted that: *"men are scarce to find, and all good men are married, and a married man is kind and more caring than single men. This makes us to look for them even if we will not be married by them"* (KI: Female, 55 years).

From the above findings, the outcome, though, from the point of view of women, these relationships do not give them sustainability or legality of marriage and social recognition. The majority end up as single parents, which according to many participants in the study, was not an acceptable way of life. In tandem with the above findings, Kyalo (2012) and Farris (2020) affirm that such challenges like single parenthood serve to disintegrate the institution of marriage in society.

Still in Kisii, when one is married, it is the moral responsibility of the woman to make the man succeed, hence women are considered as the determinants of the wellbeing of the family. One of the participants during interview asserted that: *"It is my role as a women to make a man psychologically happy, feed him and prepare him to go to work"* Female participant, 48 years. From the findings it was noted that a Kisii woman seeks to get a new identity through marriage, which she receives once the marriage works (*through practicing acceptable morals as defined by the community as well as giving birth to normal children*). One Key informant revealed that: *"for a marriage to be termed as working, the woman must give birth to children...and more so boys for continuity of their lineage."* KI, Male, 72 years. In this context normal children refers to the importance of male children to keep the family lineage in existence into future generations. This directly relates to identity, morality and wellbeing of both man and wife.

There are so many issues of identities and moralities relating to sexuality and although nobody talks about them explicitly, everyone seems to know them. In this connection, One FGD participant recounted that:

When a woman is barren, it becomes both a family and community issue; you are blamed for causing the problem. But when a man is impotent it is a taboo to discuss it in public, thus, protecting the man's identity and image. Men are allowed to (re)negotiate their impotence by secretly allowing another man (of their choice) to help the wife become pregnant and give birth as a way of maintaining a name, honor and respect in the family and community (FGD: Female participant, 64years).

From the above observation, it can be deduced that sexuality remains an important aspect to the wellbeing of an individual in the family and the community at large. When not fulfilled, it causes psychosocial harm to an individual, hence self-rejection. This is in line with the observation by Gott (2003), in which he argues that sexuality remains important to individuals and a key aspect of emotional satisfaction. As noted by Oduyoye (2004) from the viewpoint of the participation and role of women in marriage, rituals for women, whether positive or negative, are related to procreation. Similarly, in his writing, Oduyoye (1995) states that in marriage; the woman is an indispensable part of the institution. For the African woman, marriage is *"the transitional rite that establishes and solidifies relationships that enable her to function as a channel by which the ancestors can return to the community"* (p. 132). The findings present a case of multiple and shifting identities; if one cannot fit the standards, he/she reflects on how best he/she could fit in, and tries to compensate and look for honorable compromises (in this case and now having children). One informant alluded that:

In current times, some men have turned to perform the role of women in the community as a result of insubordination. Women are accused of using superstitious means to overpower and control men. It was specifically of great concern to their mothers and such men were the subject of ridicule and were, in most cases, excluded from the company of their peers in the the community (KI: Male Informant, 54 years).

The degree to which men have internalized and consciously endorsed traditional masculinity ideologies will vary from man to man, but it is likely that most men will experience some hesitance to seek help, under certain circumstances, because of perceived threats to their masculine identity. Based on the researchers' observations, this challenges the concept of masculinity and the social standing of the man in the society. This also poses a challenge to gender stereotypes that cast men as being more agentic, competent, ambitious, assertive, and competitive compared to women. As postulated by Prentice and Carranza (2002), and Rudman et al. (2012), people still view agency as relatively masculine and more desirable for men than for women, who are still held to communal ideals. This is fascinating, as it confirms how individuals go to great dimensions to construe social change within the prism of myths, which scholars such as Green (2005) and Geschiere (2000) view as a rejoinder to modern reconstructions of discourses emerging from contemporary social inequalities.

Apparently, the men who took the responsibilities of women in the household are perceived as not circumcised and have lost masculinity in the presence of women and community. These men who are upset with the dominant circumstances manifest men's loss of control over their households. In vengeance, such men have often resorted to aggression, domestic violence and extra marital sex as defense mechanisms. One of the male participants narrated that: *"I decided to have another woman outside my marriage, since that is where I could find comfort from the harassment I got from my always demanding and nagging wife."* Male Participant, 56 years. As noted by Good et al. (1989) those men that experience concerns about expressing emotions, and concerns about fulfilling traditional male gender roles, endorse negative attitudes toward seeking professional psychological help. Good & Wood, (1995), have also indicated that the men who experience higher levels of gender role conflict

often face “double jeopardy” and develop depressive symptoms and are more likely to disapprove psychological help offered to them.

These new dynamics have resulted in further vulnerability of women as new forms of family (dis)organization have risen. For instance, the emergence of couple separation was found to lead to single parenthood, where women are not effectively able to provide for the wellbeing of the members of their households, especially their children.

This situation can propel women to increased decampments and informal unions, as some enter into informal marriages, thereby compromising their social identity and status as wives and sisters. This underscores our argument that when masculinity is challenged or undermined, the status of women becomes more fragile.

The recent analysis of male–female relations generally and specifically on how gender identities are formulated, the socio-economic and cultural change has a direct bearing on gender relations in the contemporary Kisii community. Disputing the commonly held contention among scholars, women in rural areas suffer most on gender inequalities compared to men. This coheres with Gray and Kervane (1999), who aver that the changes have affected men more deeply than women, with their roles and identities being challenged and undermined with those of women strengthened in some ways.

Conclusions

In conclusion, it has emerged that male circumcision and marriage are very significant in many African societies. They mark a critical stage in a person’s life. Of the many rites of passage that exist, circumcision and marriage are intertwined. The ongoing socio-cultural changes negatively affect the practice of circumcision and marriage in South-Western Kenya. The researchers argue that circumcision determines one’s masculinity, though affected by socio-cultural change, which as well acts as a gateway to marriage and social wellbeing. Combined, the two socio-cultural practices can be presented as central morality and cultural notions that inform, underpin, and serve as the dominant social paradigms that direct the lives and activities of African people from birth to death.

We conclude that despite their significance over decades, the practices of circumcision and marriage have changed over time in relation to the importance people attach to them, as well as the attention they attract from the society. Additionally, male circumcision has also been affected by the entry of globalization and internal changes within the community, which directly and indirectly affect their culture and transition to adulthood in society. The AIMWell study was exploratory and limited in scope on target population, respondents and funding. Building on the findings of this study therefore, we recommend further studies on the subject matter.

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