Traditional male circumcision and adolescent reproductive health in Western Kenya



Photos by Vidalyne Omollo

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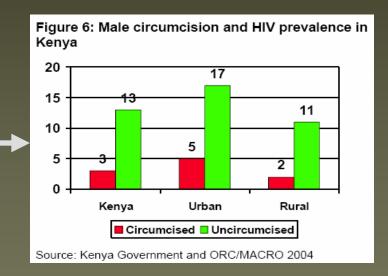


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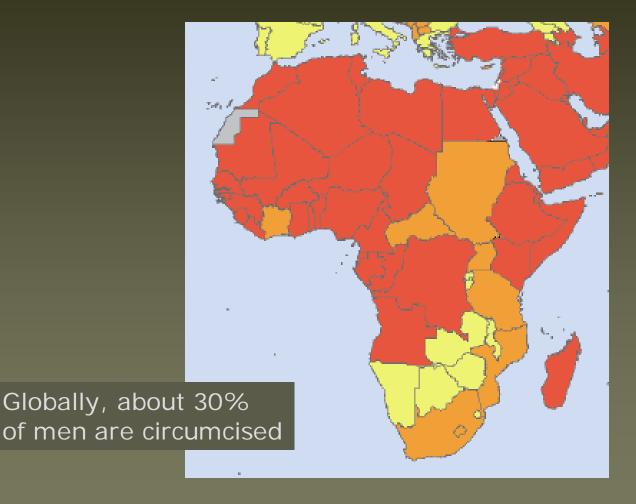
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Why be interested in male circumcision in Africa?

- HIV still very serious problem in Africa
 - 24.7 M Africans infected
 - In 2006, 1.1 M new infections
- Ecological studies since the 1980s have suggested that MC is protective of HIV
- Three RCTs in the past 3 years in Africa all indicate that MC is 55-65% protective of HIV
- Yet many African men have never been circumcised



Prevalence of male circumcision in Africa





Source: UNAIDS 2007

In Kenya, >80% of men are circumcised. But traditional MC can be risky...

- Injuries, pain, excessive bleeding*
 - 35% when done by ritual circumcisers
 - 17% when done by "private clinics"
- Death from hemorrhage or infection (rare)
- Encouragement of sexual activity
- Reinforcement of gender stereotypes

*Source: Bailey and Egesah, Report on Bungoma District, Kenya, 2006

Characteristics of Luhya traditional MC

- Nearly universal, generally done when boy is 12-16 years
- Occurs in August of even years (during school break)
- Costs to family range widely (\$10-\$200+)
- Has spiritual and masculinity connotations
- Boys receive money, gifts



Purposes of MC Education (MCE) intervention in Webuye, Kenya

- To increase circumcised boys' knowledge and attitudes about safe sexuality and gender equality
 - Counteract traditional messages received before and after circumcision
 - Use "Youth for Youth" peer educators
- To reduce among newly-circumcised boys:



- Sexual activities, including forced sex
- STD transmission
- Gender stereotyping

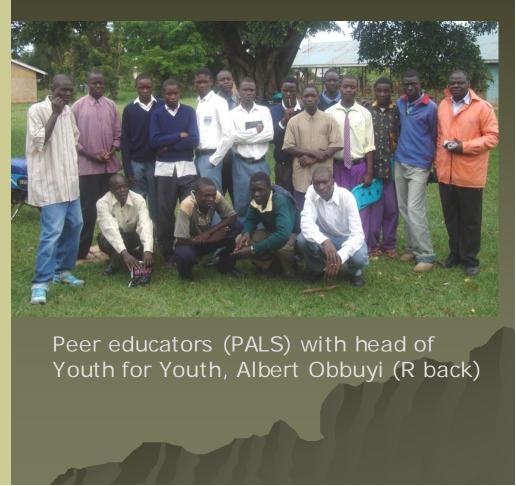
Male Circumcision Education (MCE): Key steps

July 2006

- Met with community leaders and school heads
- Selected 16 peer educators (PALS) to counsel the initiates
- Conducted strategic planning workshop with 28 stakeholders and PALS to discuss messages
- Designed 60-min. education package
 - 8-question exam & discussion points
 - 7-item pocket cards for initiates & discussion points
- Conducted PALS training workshop

August 2006

- Traditional male circumcision ceremonies in Webuye
- PALS conduct MCE activity with boys
- Review meetings with PALS; collection of exam data



1a- Before circumcision: the Sticks

- You are not a real man until you are circumcised.
- You will become a social misfit if you are not circumcised.
- You won't get a wife if you are not circumcised or too fearful.
- You owe debt to society until you are circumcised.
- You should be brave and overcome the pain, or risk death. Crying out your parents' names could risk their deaths.
- Before you are circumcised, you resemble your mother and wear her clothes.
- You should not get circumcised in a hospital, since that will mean you are a coward.



1b- Before circumcision: the Carrots



- Your family will feel proud of you after you are circumcised.
- Being circumcised traditionally gives a [spiritual] payback to the father.
- You will be given gifts, like money, cows, blankets, etc.*

* Note: Luhya boys circumcised traditionally receive \$10-40, in an area where many live on \$1 per day

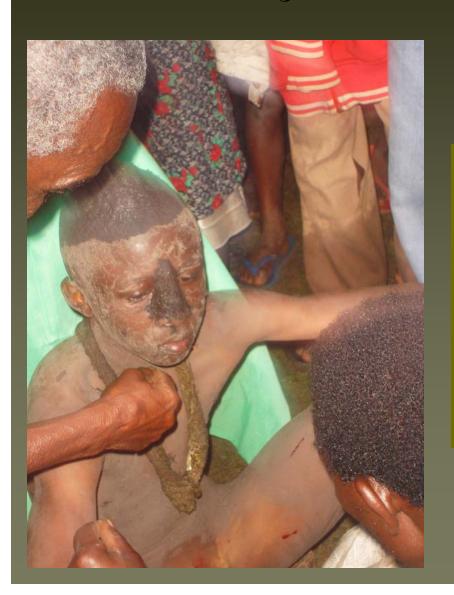
En route....

the knife awaits!





2a- During or after circumcision: Value as a man



- You are now valued
- You are free to make decisions
- You now have a say in the community
- You are now a new man
- You have paid your debt
- You can now start owning things
- You are now blessed

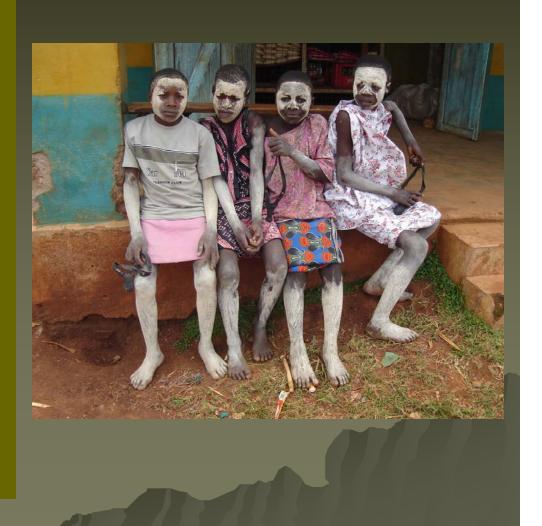
2b- During or after circumcision: New gender roles



- You should no longer sit with your mother, especially in the kitchen
- You should not perform household tasks anymore
- You should not carry goods on your head
- You should not share a house with your mother.
- No female should point a finger at you or slap you on the cheek or even disturb you. You are beyond even your mother's discipline.
- You should not sit down until you get something of your choice (a girl, cow or a car).
- A girl will agree with whatever you say.

2c- After circumcision: Ready for sex

- The "open door [vagina] is yours"
- You now have to prove that you are a normal man
- Your penis is sharp; use it!
- You should look for girls with pointed breasts ("12:00 sharp")
- Now you have a "pen" (spear, penis) for the "book" (shield, vagina)
- You should now "live how the community lives" and may have as much sex as other men
- You may have sex with a married woman, if not at her home



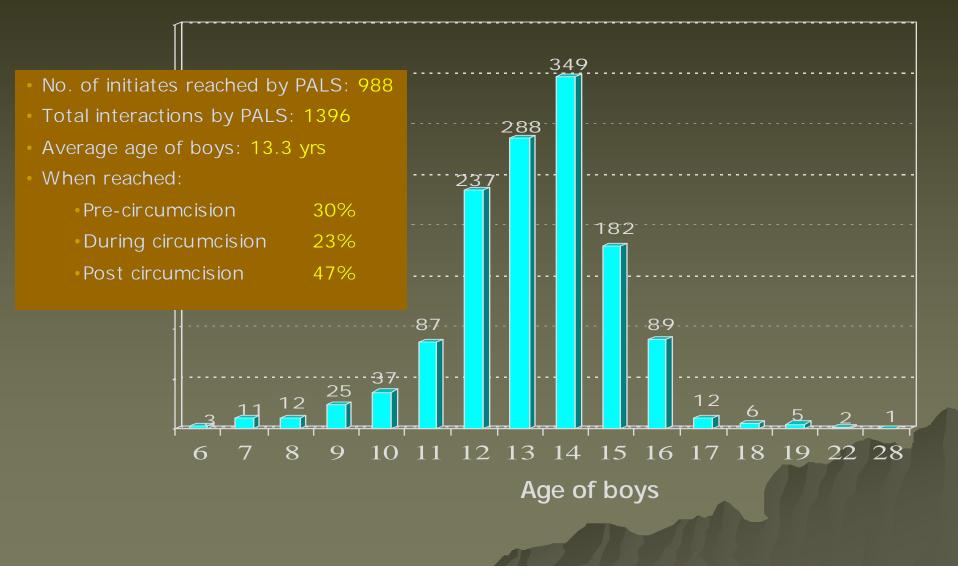
2d- After circumcision: What youths say to each other

- "I scored all the marks" (I was brave and didn't cry)
- We are now an age-set and can be hunting for girls together
- Now we can resist mockery from girls who say "you are still a child" and refuse sex with us
- Sex will now be sweet, so let's get a girlfriend
- We can run away from household tasks
- We can become leaders in the community when we are older

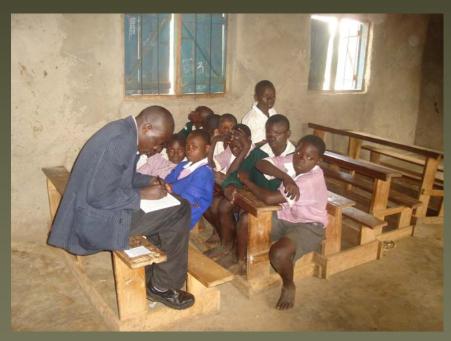


MCE activity: No. of interactions with boys

(Aug 2006, Webuye Division, Bungoma District, Kenya)



MCE Component 1: Priority questions for boys (T/F), followed by discussion



PAL at primary school with MC candidates (pre-circumcision)

- 1. You cannot tell if someone is infected with the AIDS virus by looking at him or her. (T)
- 2. Every time a person has sex even the first time, they can create a pregnancy or can be infected by a disease. (T)
- 3. Using condoms properly can prevent AIDS and STIs. (T)
- 4. If a boy gets an erection, he must have sex or he will feel a lot of pain. (F)
- 5. If you spend money on a girl, you have a right to play sex with her. (F)
- 6. It is okay to force a girl into sex if she wears sexy clothing like tight trousers.
 (F)
- 7. Condoms have small holes that permit the AIDS virus to pass. (F)
- 8. After circumcision, a boy should **NOT** perform household duties anymore. (F)

MCE Component 2: "Pocket Messages" for youths (wallet-sized card) and discussion

- 1. Boys and girls can be good friends without having a sexual relationship.
- 2. When a girl says no, she means no. You cannot assume that she really means yes.
- 3. Just because your body is maturing, it does not mean your mind and heart are ready for sex.
- 4. For many youths, deciding, "I am not ready for sex" is a smart choice because there are many negative consequences.
- 5. Every time a person has sex -- even the first time -- they risk creating a pregnancy or becoming infected with a sexually-transmitted infection (STI) or Human Immuno-deficiency Virus (HIV).
- 6. Abstinence and condoms both protect you from STIs. Abstinence is best, but if you are having sex, using a condom protects you from STIs.
- 7. Common symptoms of STIs are: painful urination, itching in the genital area, pain during sex, sores or unusual genital bumps, unusual discharge from the penis.
- Y4Y Peer Provision Youth Health Services can be obtained at Bokoli Health Centre on Wednesday 2.00-4.00 pm and Saturday 9.00-12.00 am and 2.00-4.00 pm

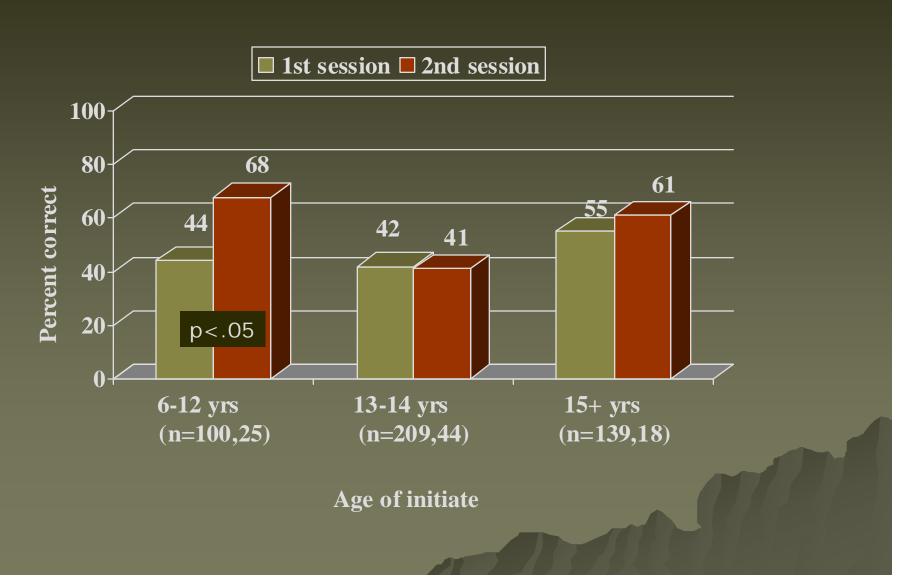


PAL at primary school with MC candidates (pre-circumcision)

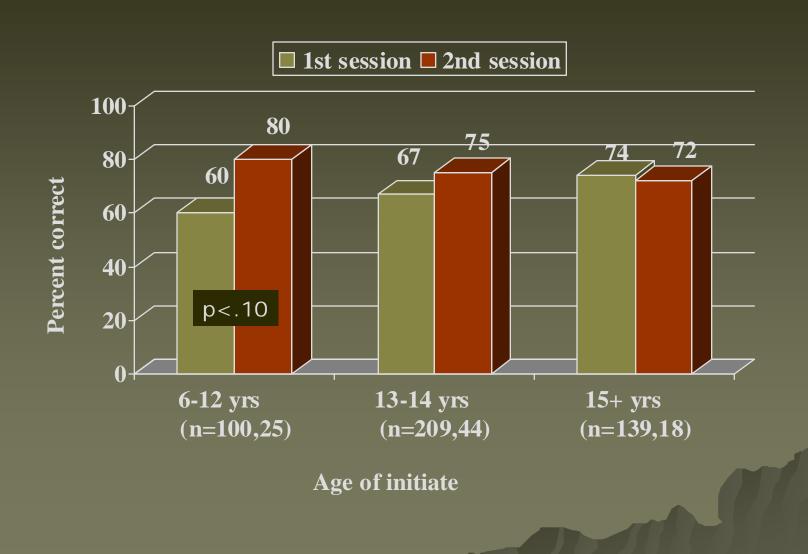
MCE results: Total score on 8 questions



MCE Ex. 1: Using condoms properly prevents AIDS and STIs



MCE Ex. 2: Know that it's <u>not</u> OK to force a girl to have sex if she dresses sexily



Challenges of MCE

- Circumcision sometimes began at 1:00 AM, but PALS couldn't arrive until 6:00 AM when most initiates had left
- Difficult for PALS to reach all places where circumcisions took place
- PALS sometimes recorded exam results poorly or not at all; had to discard about half
- With revisits: PALS not trained in how to reinforce safe sex messages



Post-circumcision boys

Conclusions



- During Luhya traditional MC, messages and gifts to boys encourage sexual activity and rigid gender roles
- MCE seems most promising with younger boys (aged 6-12 yrs)
- Impact of MCE on initiates' subsequent behaviors is unknown
- Despite challenges, MCE reached nearly 1000 boys for nominal cost (<\$1/each)