Inbuilt Self-Regulating Social Mechanisms of Behaviour Management in *Kamuratanet* among the Kalenjin, Kenya

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Abstract: African cultural practices and traditions provided individuals with socially mediated contexts of behaviour adaptation and learning. With Westernization most children today have few structures to learn social self-regulating. The role of cultural structures, such as Circumcision (Yatitaet in Kalenjin) was explored for its potential educational value and how it provided initiates with contexts for self-regulating behaviour management. The main purpose of this study was to carry out a qualitative research into Kamuratanet as an Educational self-regulating social mechanism of behaviour management among the Kalenjin and derive a conceptual model based on the findings. The specific objective of the study was to describe the inbuilt self-regulating mechanisms of behaviour management deployed in Kamuratanet. The theoretical foundation of this study hinges on three premises: Functionalist perspective originated by Emile Durkheim; Social Cultural Theory by Lev Vygotsky; and the Social Learning Theory by Albert Bandura. The study was qualitative, informed by Interpretivist paradigm and guided by Ethnographic research design. Purposive and Snowball sampling procedures were used to get participants with experience, deep knowledge and an understanding of the Kalenjin cultural systems of socialization. Twelve participants informed the research where data was generated through intensive face to face semi-structured oral interviews. Consequently, a multi-method approach was used in data analysis in order to enhance findings. The findings of the study determined existence of educational self-regulating social mechanisms of behaviour management embedded in Kamuratanet.
Keywords: **Self-regulating, Social mechanisms, Behaviour management, Kamuratanet**
Definition of Terms
Kamuratanet: Kalenjin traditional process of teaching appropriate behaviour, knowledge, skills, attitudes, virtues, religion and moral standards.
Yatitaet: Circumcision. It is accompanied by seclusion where rituals are preferred based on Kamuratanet standards.
Tumdo: Ritual, contexts of Kamuratanet where individuals undergo formal lessons.
Social Mechanism: structures in Kamuratanet for implement prescribed social order.
Education: Learning contents in Kamuratanet to guide the behaviour of members.
Kalenjin: A tribe of Nilotic descend that traditionally live in the Counties in former Rift Valley Province of Kenya.

I. BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Kamuratanet is a Kalenjin traditional process of teaching its members appropriate behaviour, knowledge, skills, attitudes, virtues, religion and moral standards. Though carried out throughout an individual's lifetime, it is formalized during *yatitaet/*circumcision and subsequent initiation (*tumdo*).

Indeed, colonial attitudes made some early African Christians to attempt to abandon African cultural practices in favour of European or Christian styles but this was short-lived (Kenyatta, 1965; Ngugi 1986). Clearly, with the onset of Western education and Christianity, new patterns of social interaction emerged that seemed to negate the role of *Kamuratanet*. Moreover, during colonialism, Western observers misconceived the nature of content presented in the African practices. What remains a puzzle to this study is the re-emergence of *Yatitaet* on *Kamuratanet* standards even among the Urban Kalenjin and those in Diaspora.

Statement of the Problem

This study observes that the principles of *Kamuratanet* still hold much influence on general perceptions of the masses, including those of the western educated among the Kalenjin. It argues that the position of *Kamuratanet* has remained steadfast because it serves a purpose for which the modern western educational

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practices have not been able to provide a substitute.

Objective of the Study
To describe the inbuilt self-regulating social mechanisms of behaviour management deployed in *Kamuratanet*.

Justification of the Study
This study sought justification on the basis of two issues regarding *Kamuratanet*: First, available research has not addressed itself to describing the inbuilt self-regulating social mechanisms of behaviour management deployed in *Kamuratanet.* Secondly, the self-regulating mechanisms are a challenge in the midst of less understood systems of schooling.

Significance of the Study
        The power of *Kamuratanet* as a cultural outfit with self-regulating mechanisms of behaviour management should be demystified in order to engage a larger audience by making this knowledge available to the universal audience. Certainly, by decoding the various features of *Kamuratanet*, the study has opened up the cultural process for external scrutiny. Indeed, the techniques in *Kamuratanet* may be moderated to complement the behaviour management strategies of modern educational psychology. Thus, this study brings to the fore the value of borrowing and intercultural dialogue necessary in the present global village perspectives.

Theoretical Framework
The study is guided by the functionalist perspective as developed by Emile Durkheim and refined by Robert K. Merto, Talott Parsons (In Zastrow & Kirst-Ashman, 2001).

Figure 1: Conceptual Framework of *Kamuratanet.*
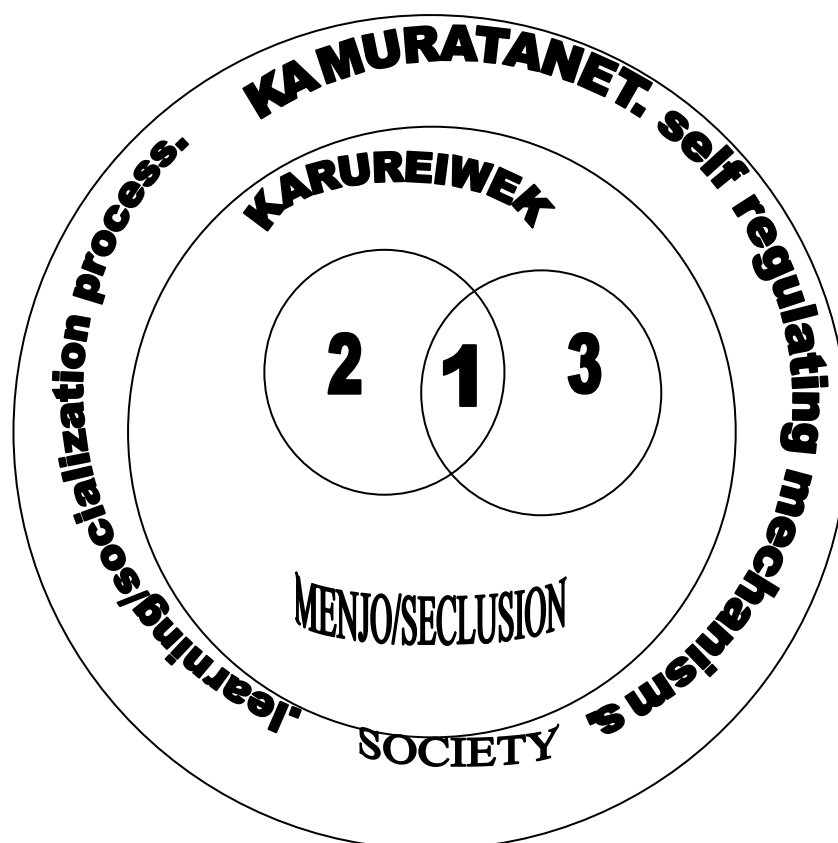
1.   Initiation
2.   Yatitaet
3 *Tumdo*/ritual (*Tumwek*/rituals)
Karureiwek are special teachings only carried out in seclusion. The English equivalent word is "ripeners*"* implying ripening the initiates so that they can become adults.
Kamuratanet involves educational, social and religious teachings of society's core values (Chemitei & Ogoma,

2012). Its learning processes are formalized during circumcision and initiation. Initiation among the Kalenjin is the intermediate stage between *Yatitaet* (circumcision) and *Tumdo* (ritual).The initiation rituals are carried out in *Menjo* (Seclusion) alongside special learning instructions referred to as *Karureiwek.*

II. LITERATURE REVIEW
Significance of *Yatitaet* in Behaviour Management in *Kamuratanet* Context

The idealization of *Yatitaet* among the Kalenjin today remains what it was over a century ago as captured by Hollis (1909) and Snell (1954). Snell says that as much as initiation was obligatory, it was anticipated eagerly as the threshold of warrior hood and status within the tribe. He points out that initiation conferred the youth's age grade and entitled them to take his father's name and also to engage in the manly pursuits of war. Relative to the focus of this study therefore, initiation was an occasion for formal instruction on the responsibilities of adulthood and the rules of conduct, whose goal was to regulate behaviour. Clearly, nothing has changed much. In fact the principles of *Kamuratanet* are still respected and initiation is still obligatory and is expected to satisfy the goals stated by Snell. Nevertheless time and contexts have changed. The implementation of *Kamuratanet* may therefore need to be adapted to reflect current reality away from Hollis' and Snell's contexts.

Indeed, in the *Kamuratanet* context, one had to observe acceptable moral and behavioural standards to be accorded the respect, responsibilities and rights which membership of the social group brings (Sambu, 2007). Sambu explains that *Kamuratanet* stratified the community into various social groups such as agesets *(ibinda),* age grades *(siritiet),* warriors *(murenik)* etc. The groups observed variable sets of rules as specified in K*amuratanet* (Snell, 1954).

Thus, if the traditional man, with limited knowledge in modern psychology was able to craft out a structure that could instill good qualities in the youth, then the modern trained personnel should be able to achieve this with ease particularly now that the youth are perceived to lack in the attributes envisaged in *Kamuratanet*. Chesaina, (in Sambu, 2007) elaborates:

The age set assumed by the initiates does not merely play a nominal role; it is a point of reference for each member's commitment to his fellow initiates and to the community at large. Each member of an age set has to live up to the expectations the community has towards each age set. This is because in the final analysis initiation is not a social prestige but the beginning of definite social responsibilities, (p. 145).

In relation to the suggested psychological control of *Kamuratanet*, Nader, cited in Levinson and Ember (1996) explain: "Research illustrates the relative power of cultural control as compared to social control. Cultural control is impersonal and deeply embedded. Those who exercise control through culture are often unaware of doing so" (p.266).In conclusion therefore, *Kamuratanet* as a cultural agency is at our disposal for use. The principles of *Kamuratanet* can be borrowed, redirected and propagated within the tenets and demands of modernity.

Inbuilt Self-Regulating Social Mechanisms of Behaviour Management in *Kamuratanet:*
Age Sets as Tools of Behaviour management in *Kamuratanet*

Sambu, (2007) argues that perhaps nothing demonstrates ancient Kalenjin philosophical genius better than the high precision and complex traditional division of society into age sets and age grades. Accordingly, the Kalenjin evolved a system of eight age sets, *ibinwek* which are divided into two houses or groups. But the two houses are meshed together so that both operate as one. So the order of occurrence, shifting every fifteen years is as follows: *Korongoro, Kipkoimet, Kaplelach, Kimnyige, Nyongi, Maina, Chumo, Sawe* then back to *Korongoro* 120 years later and the cycle begins all over again. Moreover it is important to mention here that women too had age sets that went hand in hand with the male age sets as diagrammatically illustrated in figure 2.2

Figure 2:1 Kalenjin men and women agesets
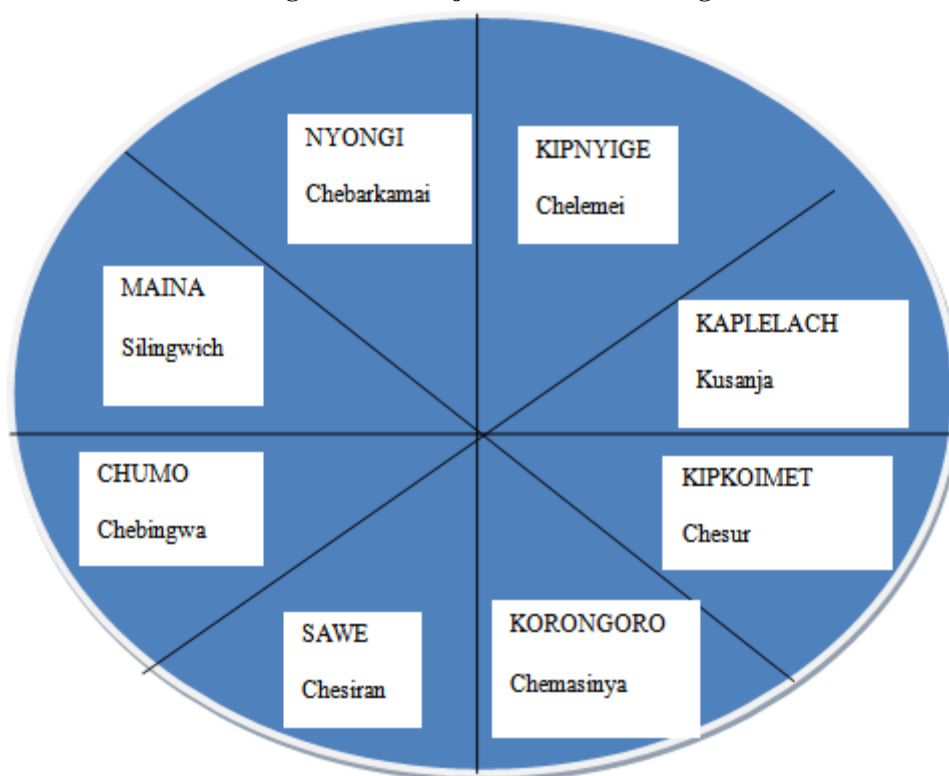
Key: The age sets transcribed in capital letters are for male while the corresponding age sets transcribed in small letters are for female.

Age Grade *(Siritiet)* **as Behaviour Regulating Strategy of** *Kamuratanet*

The age sets provided self-regulating systems where each member ensured his age set and grade was viewed positively. Snell says that a nickname relating to some idiosyncrasy of the members of the *Siritiet* or commemorating an event which occurred at the time of their circumcision was widely used. Each member therefore worked hard to ensure their age set or grade acquired a good name and this consequently served as a self-regulating process of behaviour management.

Having examined *Yatitaet/*Circumcision procedures within the context of *Kamuratanet,* one cannot fail to notice its philosophical grounding, practical nature and holistic approach to the preparation of its youth and maintenance of a cohesive functional society. The rituals comprised activities that were less than ordinary in order to capture the attention of the initiates and make the entire procedure look mysterious. The study observes that the power of the rituals rested on this premise.

III. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Research Design

Maree (2008) describes research design as the plan on how to proceed with a research study. Similarly, Bryman & Bell (2011) describe a research design as a framework for the collection and analysis of data.

Qualitative Research Approach

The main goal of this study was to capture the sense that lies within *Kamuratanet*. Thus, the research purpose is best answered by qualitative methods (Morse & Richards, 2007).

Research Paradigm: Interpretivism

Huitt (2011) describes a paradigm as a pattern or model of how something is structured and how the parts function. Kuhn elaborates that "a paradigm is a cluster of beliefs and dictates, which for scientists in a particular discipline influence what should be studied, how research should be done and how results should be interpreted" (Cited in Bryman & Bell 2011, p.24).Consequently, Interpretivism as a paradigm suffices the needs highlighted by Huitt and Bryman and Bell and therefore guided the conceptualization of this study**.**

III. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Ethnographic Case Study Research Design

Ethnography is a systematic study of people and cultures (Lichtman, 2013). According to Morse and Richards (2002), "ethnography provides a means for exploring cultural groups" (p.48).However, they caution agreeably that "the key to good ethnography is the researcher's awareness of his or her own cultural values, beliefs and biases and the way they influence what data are collected" (p.52). Thus, to Taylor, the delicate balance needed between the relatively objective observer and the subjective participant is necessary.

In line with Taylor's (2002) suggestions, this study was characterized by:
a)   Gathering data from a range of sources.
b)   Studying the behaviour in everyday contexts.
c)   Using a semi-structured approach to data gathering.

Trustworthiness of Qualitative Research

To ensure trustworthiness of the research findings, the study used a combination of the following strategies as suggested by McMillan and Schumacher (2006):
i)   Prolonged the consistent fieldwork which allows analysis and corroboration to ensure match between findings and participants.
ii)   Triangulation.
iii)   Mechanically recorded data involving use of tape recorder.
iv)   Member Checking.
v)   Participant language verbatim accounts to obtain literal statements of participants.

Dependability in Qualitative Research

To ensure dependability of the findings, the study employed the following strategies as suggested by Denzin (1997):
i)   Combine the symbolic meanings with patterns of interaction by clarifying how the various coded words and phrases were operationalized.
ii)   Observe the world from the point of view of the subject.
iii)   Link the group's symbols and their meanings with the social relationships: An example of a physical symbol is the roaring bulls *(tolgugut)* while abstract symbols include uttered statement with symbolic meanings.

The Location of the Study

The study was carried out in Uasin- Gishu County. Uasin-Gishu lies in a central position relative to other counties that are predominantly occupied by members of the Kalenjin communities in Kenya.

Research Population

The target population of the study comprised the Kalenjin speakers in Uasin-Gishu County who numbered 894,179 (Kenya Bureau of Statistics, 2009). Based on the report the population of the Kalenjin stood at 4,967328 in Kenya. The study contacted 12 respondents. The sample consisted of six male and six female participants were selected purposively due to their expertise (Morse & Richards, 2002) in traditional procedures.

Data Collection Methods.

To obtain the required data, a number of methods of data collection included: participant observation, key informant interviews and tape recording.

Analysis of Data

Groenewald (2004) prefers the term explicitation to analysis of data. In addition Hycner (1999) states that explicitation implies, "an investigation of the constituents of a phenomenon while keeping the context of the whole" (p.161). In analyzing data, the study found it suitable to use Hycner's (1999) explicitation procedure. The procedure mainly involved coding and theme-ing.

Research Authorization

Moi University gave permission to conduct research through letter Ref: MU/SE/PGS/54. I also received formal authority through research permit serialized: NACOSTI/P/14/7393/1235.

IV. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

Inbuilt Self-Regulating Social Mechanisms of Behaviour Management in *Kamuratanet*

The critical question that resonates in this chapter is, "what are the inbuilt self-regulating behaviour management strategies of *Kamuratanet*?" From the data, the self-regulating mechanisms include: forced confessions during *Yatitaet*, the concepts of *Chepng'echeriat, Kimorigi, Kimarsi* and *injoget*. Brief descriptions of these features are provided.

Segments of *Kamuratanet* that Maintain its Relevance

Deriving from the verbatim excerpts, the structures evolved in *Kamuratanet* were geared towards producing automated procedures of regulating behaviour. This was aimed at developing a self-directed individual who

would be functional in the society. To be considered functional one had to exhibit accepted knowledge and skills as specified by *Kamuratanet*.

Forced Confessions

Before the circumcision (*yatitaet*) procedure was effected, initiates were implored upon to "confess their wrong doings" failure to which dire consequences were envisaged. Spirituality is implored to coerce confession. This notion is further supported by Yegon (2012):

The boy is then asked by one of the attendants that the lady he had sex with is now testifying his "misbehaviour". The boy having been terrified and shocked in the process will in most cases tell the truth of his sexual indulgence if any… however he is cautioned against having sex before marriage. (Yegon,2012,p.98).

Consequently, confessions beckoned upon parents to give their children sufficient caution to avoid embarrassments from them during initiation. For this reason, those who intended to indulge in unaccepted behaviours with children or the uninitiated were forewarned by these activities thereby putting the morality of the society on check.

The dramatic episodes that initiates go through during the whole night before "going to *Kimosop*" are truly frightening and leave the initiates vulnerable. For this reason, the initiates confess their past activities without hesitation or reservation. Among the questions they were expected to answer, was if they had ever indulged in sex with a circumcised woman/man as may be appropriate. This is confirmed by respondent 7:6 who in part stated *"Chepyoso nekiruiyo ak ng` eta keguru kokangete tum"* (A woman who had sex with a boy was named at initiation).

Respondent 7:6 explain that a public naming was done to deter other women from doing so. Consequently, any woman who contemplated having sex with an uncircumcised boy would have to wrestle with the fact that a time to be publicly named for the act lay ahead. Indeed this served as an inbuilt self regulating process evolved by *Kamuratanet* to ensure its members observed accepted moral standards. This position is also supported by Kipkorir and Welbourn (1973) who explain that in the eve of the operation, the *motiren/*tutors torment the initiates with forecasts of the suffering ahead. From the researcher's experience, the confessions caused a lot of anxiety and people waited to hear them with fear and impatience. Any woman named would be an embarrassment not only to herself and her husband, but also to her clan, the neighbourhood and indeed the entire community:

"Tomigas kele koguuru chepyoso ng'eta? Ngomwoi lakwa kenyochin gat kikimwou kokas chitugul sikopit aibu eng pik tugul eng kokwet" (7:12)

Translation.

You have not heard of a woman named by a boy? The boy who names a woman is forgiven. The message is publicly said to cause shame to all people and the neighbourhood (7:12).

Confessions were important tools in regulation and management of behaviour in the *Kamuratanet* context. These confessions were not voluntary but necessitated by the cultural knowledge that was tied to spirituality; anyone who failed to confess would die in the initiation process and indeed many died. There were several instances where making confessions became mandatory. Confessions were not limited to the initiates. For instance, during circumcision any parent who had committed grossly unacceptable behaviours such as murder or theft of animals from a tribesman was forced to make confessions failure to which death of their initiated children would occur. This is clearly articulated by respondent 7:18:

"Ng`oki ko kiy nekiing'em akitup, Ngichorse anan itup anan ipar chii kemwou eng tum sikosopcho torusiek. Isupin ng'oki motiny itunisie: Isupi lagok".

Translation.

"Ngoki is agross mistake you committed and hid. If you stole or killed somebody, you had to say it during circumcision for the initiates to survive. *Ng`oki* would follow you even when you got married. It will even follow your children".

Deaths were common for initiates who underwent *Yatitaet* (circumcision). This could however be associated with the low levels of hygiene or the harsh living conditions in seclusion. In seclusion however these deaths were associated with unconfessed mistakes by the initiates or their parents. Hollis (1909) adds that, "they (initiates) may not mourn if anybody dies" *Ng'oki* (bad omen) resulting from undisclosed gross mistakes was believed to follow children for several generations to come. As a result, parents who were eager or interested in "saving" their children and generations to follow were forced by their conscience to make confessions. In effect, anyone who chose to commit atrocities had it in mind that a time to confess and get appropriate punishment lay ahead. Certainly, this feature served as an inbuilt self-regulating social mechanism of behaviour management in the *Kamuratanet* context.

Chepng`echeriat: Sexuality as an Instrument of Behaviour Regulation

Chepng`echeriat, by inference, refers to a virgin (*perkeiyat*). *Kamuratanet* developed methods of checking the girls' virginity before initiation. This was a strategy to regulate sexual behaviour mainly among girls. On the contrary however, the study affirmed that sex was not forbidden for girls. Indeed, girls were even free to sleep with young men in their huts *(sigiroino)*(Mbiti 1986). Respondent 7:7 says:

"Tye kokikitepsee eng tum. Kikichomchini tipik korui sigiroino. Ngomamanach komomii ng`ala. Kimageguru muren tai komaimanach. Lakwa nekikorui ak chii komotepee Ngecheret. Chepng`echeriat kokikiriekchini kimorigi, si ketienchi, kikikonyiti.

Translation.

A girl was interrogated before initiation. They were allowed to sleep with boys in their huts. If there was no pregnancy, no issue was raised. A man was not publicly named if pregnancy did not occur. A girl who had indulged in sex was not allowed to sit on a ritual three lagged stool/*ng'echert*. *Chepng`echeriat* (virgin) was celebrated and respected.

This is similarly captured by respondent 10:7 when he uttered, *"kii keny komii chorwandit ama kiruitos"* (In the past friendship flourished but not sex).

Girls who were found to be virgins (*perkeiyat*) were revered and allowed to sit on a special designated three legged stool (*Ng`echeret* – one who sit on it during the operation, *chepng`echeriat*) as a sign of respect. Respondent 7:7 explains that people prided themselves in *Chepng`echeriat*/virgin,*"kikigosegeichepng'echeriat"*, refer to table 4.6. *Chepng`echeriat* bought great honour to herself, family, clan and indeed an envy to the tribe more so to the other girls and male marriage suitors. Those who were not virgins were despised and made to sit on the ground as they were being operated on in seclusion. The *chepng`echeriat* (virgin) concept had serious implications in regulating behaviour, not only for the girls, but also to the entire family and neighbourhood.

The respect and honour earned by the virgin girl was shared by family members. This information was passed to all and sundry in order to encourage virginity and morality among the girls. Parents were under pressure to check and encourage the morality of their children. *Chepng`echeriat* was therefore instrumental as an inbuilt self- regulating strategy in the management of behaviour, not just for girls, but also for boys who had to endure the temptation of sleeping with the girls without engaging in sexual intercourse.

Kimorigi

Kimorigi is a special occasion to celebrate the virginity of *chepng'echeriat*. The father of the virgin girl prepared beer and a dance to be celebrated with members of his ageset. Members of the ageset were considered the fathers of the virgin since they were also considered his true brothers. The occasion was set to coincide with the day marriage suitors were expected to present their interest in marriage at the end of seclusion period. The contest by suitors to get the hand of *chepng'echeriat* in marriage on the day set to celebrate virginity is the occasion referred to as *Kimorigi*.

It is important to underline the idea that even though the girls were allowed to visit their boyfriends in their huts, and even sleep with them, virginity was greatly emphasized by *Kamuratanet* as a Kalenjin social curriculum and *Kimorigi* was its enforcement. *Kimorigi* therefore served to motivate the girls to observe high moral standards and the concept served to instill self-regulating processes in the mind of the youth.

Kimarsi

Kimarsi was a social unit established by *Kamuratanet* to discipline errant members through beating. The members who instituted the beating only did so on behalf of the community and could not therefore carry any blame. *Kimarsi* was mainly instituted against the youth who misbehaved but could befall any other member of the society regardless of age or status if misbehaviour was noticed. The concept of *Kimarsi* was well articulated by various informants.

Accordingly, the role of age sets in operationalising *Kimarsi* was immense. Ageset members watched over their group members to ensure adherence to the moral standards set by *Kamaratanet*. As a result, every member took great caution to ensure they did not go contrary to the principles of *Kamuratanet* just in case they were noticed by other community members who had gone through *Yatitaet*. This is because they would alert members of their age-group on misbehaviour of their group members. As a matter of fact, ageset names identified individuals more than their personal names. It therefore means all members were concerned with the behaviour of community members. Respondent 9:5 explains in part that: *"Kingolel nekikwo tum kekurchini murerik ap ipindanyi sikotetyi kimarsi"* (if an initiated person misbehaved, people of his/her ageset were informed so that they could arrange *kimarsi).*

On the other hand, the Kalenjin youth were expected to sleep in common places for effective tuition. Correspondingly, communalism was embraced to foster good interpersonal relationships. Each member

becomes *a brother's keeper*. Because of the collective nature of behaviour, even those group members who did not misbehave received strokes of the cane during *Kimarsi*.

"Agot nemalel kepirei ipkole mogetyini. Kikipirin simelopu" (9.2) (Even those who did not misbehave were canned until they said, 'I will not repeat'. You received strokes of the cane so that you do not behave like a pampered child).

Those who were known to have misbehaved however received more strokes of the cane. Consequently, while performing their tasks, the youth watched over one another and remained alert to avoid *Kimarsi*. The net effect was producing men and women who were always alert and self regulated members of society. In relation to the harsh and punitive environment, Kipkorir and Welbourn state that "…now proceed to instill into the *torus* (initiates) the importance of courage and fearlessness. Fear is as far as possible destroyed (p.48) and upon graduation, the initiates joined the warrior class. They were now expected to "engage in the manly pursuits of war", (Snell, 1954, p.65).

Kimarsi was instituted early in the morning, at cock craw by the newly initiated young men to ensure there was no escape. Due to *Kimarsi,* members of the social group were forced to keep an eye on each other to ensure they behaved in acceptable ways to avoid *Kimarsi*. This is because besides the youth, *Kimarsi* was also instituted against older members of the society by members of their age group when they were deemed to have misbehaved.

The modern systems can learn lessons from this feature:
i.   The need for collective approach to maintaining discipline.
ii.   Consequences of indiscipline need to be interwoven with social structures that may serve to automate its implementation and therefore make itself regulating.

Moreover, if on average, members of a particular age group were seen to be culpable, the next older age group arranged *Kimarsi* for them. Any attempt to resist *Kimarsi* would attract communal curse *(Chupisio)* from the elders. Ultimately, everyone was checked by *Kimarsi* and there were no gaps or loopholes in the management of behaviour**.**

Injoget

Injoget is a punishment meted out by naked women against an offender whose mistake is considered grievous. It involved getting hold of the offender and making him a captive for a period of time, seizing and destroying his property as a sign of anger. *Injoget* was mainly meted out by women against men who had committed serious offences against a woman.

Snell (1954) describes *injoget ap chepyosok* as punishment by women (p.32). For instance, Chebet (2007) says that during the initiation of girls, initiates were expected to confess if they had ever had sexual intercourse and that the main purpose for this interrogation was "to find out if she had sexual relationship with close relatives like a father, brother or uncle", (p. 11).This is because incest was considered a taboo punishable by a ritual performed by women while naked – *injoget.* Women were taught to respect men, *"kikitegisi muren"* (7:17), (men were respected).As a result *Injoget* therefore caused great shame to the man.

According to respondent 7:3, *Injoget* was not only directed against men, but indeed to anybody who broke the taboos. Anybody refers to people who had been initiated, since anyone who had not been initiated was only regarded as a child and not a person. A punishment of the magnitude of *injoget* could not be directed against a child. Certainly, initiation gave people their identity and personhood (Kipkorir & Welbourn, 1973). Consequently anyone who had gone through *Yatitaet* (circumcision) was expected to display *tagurnatet* (integrity).Subsequently; any deviation from the expected behaviour code set out in *Kamuratanet* was castigated and punished.

Of critical importance to this study is the role of *injoget* in maintaining the discipline of its members. Clearly, if community engagement is sought in regulating behaviour, individuals would be keen in observing acceptable moral and ethical standards. Social Collectivism in behaviour management among the Kalenjin was thus paramount. Consequently, *Injoget* served as an inbuilt self-regulating process of behaviour management.

V. SUMMARY

All informants interviewed were of the view that *Yatitaet* (circumcision) was probably the most important life event that defined the Kalenjin as a person. Indeed, a Kalenjin child *(lakwa)* was never considered a person *(chii)* before circumcision and initiation. Each Kalenjin sought answers to life questions from the principles of *Kamuratanet. Yatitaet* marked the beginning of definite social responsibility and not a privilege (Sambu 2007). Once circumcised the youth assumed adult roles and could now be expected to provide tuition and guidance to the younger generations.

Moreover, *Yatitaet* assigned people their age sets and age grades. These structures were used to keep track of behaviours of its members. Those who failed to observe the norms were cautioned and even punished by members of their age sets. Those who consistently misbehaved were re-initiated during the subsequent

initiation season. Ultimately, *Kamuratanet* evolved inbuilt self-regulating social mechanisms that immensely shaped the behaviour of the Kalenjin and influenced their thinking patterns and processes.

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