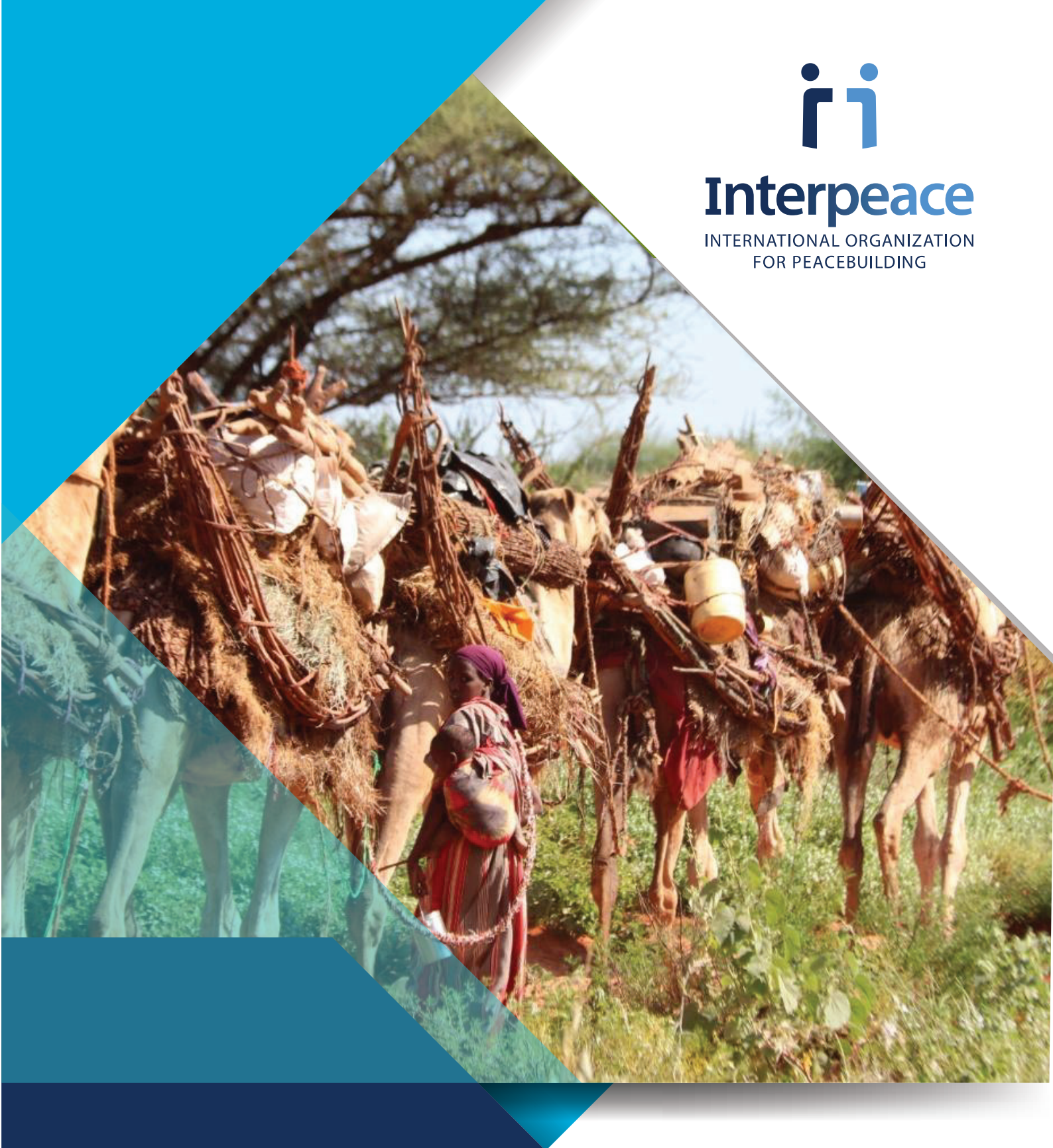




Interpeace

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION
FOR PEACEBUILDING



An Intersectional Approach to Gender-Inclusive Peacebuilding in Northern Kenya

FCDC + 3 NOREB Counties 2026

Cover photo: Pastoralist families migrating amid escalating conflict along the Wajir–Mandera border.

Back photo: Pokot girls and women participating in a peace meeting in Silale, Baringo.

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FOREWORD

This research was conducted against the backdrop of a successful stabilization effort that broke a prolonged cycle of conflict in Marsabit. The Interpeace Peacebuilding Programme in Marsabit undertook a fragility and resilience assessment, establishing a robust foundation for informed peacebuilding strategies. One critical gap identified was the role of gender in peacebuilding, with a focus on women and youth, and the intersection of their unique roles, especially in a patriarchal pastoralist context. This study was deliberately designed to highlight the often-overlooked contributions of women and youth during conflicts, gathering key insights and offering extensive recommendations aimed at a “whole society” approach.

It is crucial to acknowledge that women have played significant roles in peacebuilding, often stepping in where government, religious leaders, and men have struggled. A powerful example is the “Wajir Women for Peace” initiative, which ended a long-standing conflict between communities in Wajir. Similarly, along the Tot-Kolowa corridor between Baringo and Elgeyo Marakwet, peace initiatives led by prominent women peace leaders, including then-Member of Parliament Hon. Jebii Kilimo, achieved a ten-year ceasefire between the Pokot and Marakwet communities, an outcome that had proven elusive in male-led initiatives.

The launch of this report also coincides with a challenging time for women, who continue to face numerous forms of violence, including domestic violence, female genital mutilation (FGM), abductions, social exploitation, and limited opportunities in governance and leadership. Women’s leadership roles are often restricted to nominated positions within male-dominated frameworks. There is a strong correlation between education, and economic empowerment, and women’s capacity to assert their rights; FGM and other abuses are more common among women with limited education and economic resources. This study emphasizes that economic and social empowerment must be integral to peacebuilding activities to strengthen women’s roles in these efforts.

Dedicated neutral spaces for dialogue, peace infrastructures, and specific initiatives should be created for women and youth as standalone components. In a patriarchal society, mainstreaming their participation has often proven to constrain their impact; therefore, these focused avenues are essential for fostering effective engagement and leadership in peacebuilding.

Hassan Ismail

Interpeace

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ABBREVIATIONS

ASAL	Arid and Semi-arid Lands
CBO	Community-based Organization
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women
CMC	Ceasefire Monitoring Committees/ Community Ceasefire Committees
CVE	Countering Violent Extremism
FCDC	Frontier Counties Development Council
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FGM/C	Female Genital Mutilation or cutting
GBV	Gender-Based violence
IVDSC	Intervillage Dialogue-Space Committee
KDHS	Kenya Demographic and Health Survey
KII	Key Informant Interview
KNAP	Kenya National Action Plan for United Nations Security Council
KNBS	Kenya National Bureau of Statistics
NCIC	National Cohesion and Integration Commission
NGAO	National Government Administrative Officers
NOREB	North Rift Economic Bloc
SGBV	Sexual and Gender Based Violence
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325
VDC	Village Dialogue Committees
VDPC	Village Dialogue Peace Committees
VSLA	Village Savings and Loan Associations also known as Chamas in Kiswahili
WEF	Women Enterprise Fund
WPS	Women, Peace and Insecurity

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This research report presents findings from a study on the drivers, challenges, and opportunities for gender-inclusive peacebuilding in Northern Kenya from an intersectional perspective. It explores the gendered drivers of conflict and opportunities for gender-inclusive peacebuilding, based on a study carried out between August and September 2023 in Northern Kenya. It provides lessons and recommendations for developing, implementing, and evaluating gender-inclusive peacebuilding programmes in Kenya, in line with the 2020 Interpeace Ten Foundations for Gender-Inclusive Peacebuilding.

This report is intended to support locally informed gendered peacebuilding programming, guided by the Interpeace Ten Foundations for Gender-Inclusive Peacebuilding (2020), which provide a framework for implementation in Kenya.

The foundations recognize that conflict dynamics are inherently gendered and emphasize the need to analyze how gender shapes these dynamics. They also acknowledge that different gender identities, masculinities, and femininities influence how men and women engage in violent conflicts, highlighting the need to understand these relationships in order to transform violent expressions of masculinity and femininity for peacebuilding.

The ten foundations further call for the identification of distinct vulnerabilities experienced by men and women across the conflict life cycle to help prevent cycles of violence. They also recognize that gender influences resilience capacities of men and women during and after violent conflict, underscoring the importance of understanding these dynamics. The foundations encourage strategies that challenge and transform power relations to ensure equitable and sustainable decision-making on peace and security matters in post-conflict contexts.

The Interpeace Ten Foundations for Gender-Inclusive Peacebuilding are informed by United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325, which Kenya has ratified. UNSCR 1325 underscores women's roles in advancing peace and security through its four pillars (Participation, Protection, Prevention, Relief and Recovery). Adopted in October 2000, UNSCR 1325 reaffirmed the important role of women in peacebuilding, peacekeeping, conflict resolution, and conflict management while emphasizing equal participation and setting precedent for subsequent resolutions including 1820, 1888, and 1889, that call upon member states to safeguard and promote women's participation before, during and after conflict.

Kenya has localized UNSCR 1325 through national and county-level action plans, with 18 out of 47 counties including Samburu, Mandera, and Marsabit in Northern Kenya having developed local action plans.

The main objective of this study was to understand the gendered challenges preventing women's participation in formal peacebuilding activities, as well as examine the drivers of conflict and opportunities for gender inclusive peacebuilding in Northern Kenya. This report draws from a qualitative study that was carried out across three Northern Kenyan counties: Marsabit, Samburu, and Isiolo, where Interpeace collaborates with Ceasefire Monitoring Committees (CMCs), Community Dialogue Village Representatives and local civil society organizations.

A literature review of Interpeace reports, intergovernmental, non-governmental, government reports and academic research was conducted to examine the existing drivers of conflict, challenges to gender-inclusive peace, and infrastructures for peace in the Northern region. The report draws on information from documents reviewed, observation, and 180 interviews with diverse stakeholders representing different ages, genders, religions, abilities, ethnicities, and regions, analyzed from a gendered intersectional perspective. Deliberate attention was given to interviewing marginalized groups engaged in peacebuilding activities, including young women, young men, persons with disabilities, and marginalized religious and ethnic groups across different counties. In total, 13 Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and 15 Key Informants Interviews (KIIs) were conducted, involving 120 women, 60 men, and 3 women with disabilities across the three counties.



Figure 1 Participants share a joyful moment during an inter-community peace meeting that brought together Turkana and Samburu women in Tuum, Samburu North, with some meeting for the first time in over a decade. © NEPCOH/Interpeace, 2024.

FINDINGS

The findings indicate that there is interest in formal participation in politics and peacebuilding: however, informal participation remains the only avenue available for women to engage in peace matters among marginalized groups, including grassroots women, young women, and persons with disabilities. The study also revealed that political will and support to formalize peacebuilding activities by county and national leaders is lacking in Northern Kenya. There are inadequate human and financial resources provided by the National and County governments in the region to catalyze greater gender inclusivity, including mainstreaming gender in peace programming at the county level.

The study further identified Interpeace infrastructures for peace, such as the Ceasefire Monitoring Committees (CMCs) and the Village Dialogue Peace Committees (VDPCs), as key pillars in securing peace in the Northern region, alongside other organizations. However, these structures lack consistency in ensuring equal women's participation in peacebuilding. There was minimal women's participation in the CMCs and VDPCs peace infrastructures due to cultural and structural barriers. The findings demonstrate that Interpeace, in partnership with the Kenyan government through the NCIC and other stakeholders, has contributed to reducing violent conflict in the region through early warning systems and local peacebuilding infrastructures including Community Ceasefire Committees (CMCs), but these remain male-dominated peace infrastructures that exclude women by design and by default.

Negligible changes have been made in the implementation of gender mainstreaming programmes by county governments and Interpeace, despite progress made by women's organizations at the local level. This is despite a national government gender policy that stipulates that no more than two-thirds of representatives should be of the same gender.¹ Due to constant conflicts in the Northern region, the Kenyan government treats the region with exceptionality, where national policies, including gender policies are often not implemented due to the region's unique cultural context. This has created the notion of the impossibility of women's inclusion in peace, security, and conflict matters, which are regarded as masculinist and rational issues ascribed to men. While other sectors in the region, such as development programmes for water projects and food relief, have made progress in ensuring women's inclusion, very little progress has been made in the peace and security sector. This is despite Kenya having ratified the United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325, which requires states to ensure increased women's participation in peace processes and in prevention of conflict.

The study findings were guided by research questions that first sought to understand the gendered roles and cultural norms influencing women's low participation in peace and security matters in Northern Kenya, including within the Interpeace CMCs and VDPCs. The study found that women in the three counties played a greater role in reproductive, communal, and productive gender roles, based on Moser's framework on Women's Triple Burden. Cultural demands that ascribe masculinity to peace and security matters leave women overburdened by care responsibilities in reproductive gender roles in Northern Kenya, while excluding them from equal participation in communal and productive roles, which include politics, peacebuilding, security, and conflict management matters.

The second finding responded to the question of gendered drivers of conflict in Northern Kenya. Analysis of conflict often lacks a gendered lens, which renders invisible the roles that women and girls play in conflict, as conflict is often associated with men and hegemonic masculinities.

¹The 2010 Kenyan Constitution in Article 27(8) provides for affirmative action where the State is required to take Legislative and other measures to ensure that no more than two-thirds of the members of elective or appointive bodies are of the same gender.



The study identified three gendered drivers of conflict in Northern Kenya:

1. the role of mothers in constructing violent masculinities;
2. the role of young women's praise songs in constructing violent masculinities; and
3. the role of mothers in beading practices that contribute to the construction of masculinities that encourage violence against women (VAW).

The third finding addressed the question of gendered agencies, capacities, and resilience opportunities in Northern Kenya. The study found that several opportunities exist in women's endogenous resilience, which can be transformed into adaptive resilience with investment in women's agencies, and resilience. These include:

- Investment in mothers and morans in early warning systems and in Transforming Violent Masculinities Programmes;
- Investment in chamas (informal savings and welfare groups), as spaces for resilience and peacebuilding;
- Harnessing women's advocacy for peace roles in private spaces, and
- Supporting women in formal peace and security roles, such as chiefs, who provide opportunities for women in the community and serve as role models for other women in advancing the Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) agenda in Northern Kenya.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The study findings propose the five Priority Pathways for a Gender-Inclusive Peacebuilding in Northern Kenya as recommendations for programming.

The first is the establishment of a Gender Policy Pathway, which would be the Interpeace Gender Mainstreaming Policy developed in partnership with the communities. This would ensure gender mainstreaming in programming and within the Ceasefire Monitoring Committees (CMCs) and Village Dialogue Committees (VDCs), in line with the Kenyan constitutional requirement for gender equality.

The second recommendation and strategic priority area is a Movement Building Pathway through the establishment of the Women-Only Peace Structures as quotas that can provide safe spaces for women to build confidence as peacebuilders, as a temporary measure. This would ensure their capacity is built for women in peacebuilding before eventually mainstreaming them in the existing male-led peace structures. The women-only peace structures should not be treated in isolation or as subservient to the main CMCs, but rather as equal in hierarchy, with collaboration between the two enhanced until equality is achieved. Another activity within the Movement Pathway would be establishing a Women, Peace and Security Role Modelling and Exchange Programme for peer learning among communities.

The third agenda area is the Social Transformation Pathway, which proposes establishing a Transformation Militarized Masculinities Programme to shift violent masculinities toward less violent expressions, recognizing that masculinity encompasses multiple expressions.

The fourth priority area recommended by this study is the Resilience Pathway, which entails documenting and appropriating the various adoptive, adaptive, and transformative pathways for resilience, including chamas (informal savings and social groups) for Resilience and Peacebuilding as an adaptive mechanism. Chamas in Kenya have mainly focused on their capacity for economic empowerment and development programmes for women. Peacebuilding organizations have not used them as a space for peacebuilding despite their potential for transformative resilience building in post-conflict societies, conflict prevention and conflict resolution during conflict.

The fifth pathway suggested by this study is the Knowledge and Learning Pathway. This pathway suggests the need for research, peer learning, and exchange. It includes continued gendered research to document women's peacebuilding efforts at local and regional level and any progress made through monitoring. It also proposes implementing a training programme and a Women's Role-Modelling and Exchange Programme.

The study acknowledges the gendered burdens faced by women in Northern Kenya and indeed elsewhere in Kenya, and how they create obstacles to women's participation in formal peacebuilding activities. The findings also expose how different aspects of marginalization such as gender, age, religion, ability, and region affect the different drivers of conflict from an intersectional perspective which provides opportunities to recognize women's resilience, agencies, and contribution to conflict and peacebuilding. Women's endogenous agencies as role model peace champions, as mothers, as informal peacebuilders and as advocates for peace in the private space have largely been ignored and unacknowledged and the Proposed Pathways for Gender Inclusive Peacebuilding for Interpeace provide opportunities to correct the inequality.

Five Agenda Areas for Gender-Inclusive Peacebuilding

Policy Pathway:	Towards a Gender Inclusive Policy for Peacebuilding. The Interpeace Gender Mainstreaming Community Policy in Partnership with Communities.
Movement Building Pathway:	Create a powerful women's peace network with women only peace structures as safe spaces for women.
Social Transformation Pathway:	The Transformation of Masculinities Programme proposes a transformation of Violent/Militarized Masculinities in partnership with communities and devolved governments.
Resilience Pathway:	Documenting and appropriating the adoptive, adaptive, and transformative resilience pathways in communities for peacebuilding, including Chamas for Peacebuilding and Resilience Programme.
Knowledge Building and Learning Pathway:	Research, Peer Learning and Exchange: The Women Peace Security (WPS) Role Models Training and Women Exchange Programmes.

Proposed 5 Programming Pathways for Interpeace Gender-Inclusive Interventions in Northern Kenya

Five Proposed Pathways for Gender-Inclusive Interventions



RECOMMENDATIONS: STRATEGIC PATHWAYS	RECOMMENDED ACTIVITIES TO OPERATIONALIZE RECOMMENDATIONS
POLICY PATHWAY Proposed Interpeace CMC Gender Mainstreaming Policy in Partnership with Communities	• Developing a localized gender policy. • Training and capacity building elders and other peace stakeholders on WPS, gender roles, and peace dividends accrued from Women's inclusion in CMCs. • Creating intersectional women quotas as Interpeace CMC policy.
MOVEMENT BUILDING PATHWAY Proposed Women-Only Peace Structures as Safe Spaces for Women	• Phase 1: Create Parallel Women CMCs. • Building capacity of WCMC. • Phase 2: Combine CMCs and WCMCs • Support young women, women with disabilities, and widows in peace structures through quotas.
SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION PATHWAY Proposed Transformation of Violent/Militarized Masculinities Programme	• Create a Morans for Peace programme. • Create a Moran Mothers Peacebuilding program. • Build capacity of morans and moran mums on WPS including harmful effects of beading and FGM. • Support shift in praise songs to praise non-violent masculinities. • Partner with local economic empowerment programmes to support alternative livelihoods.
KNOWLEDGE BUILDING AND LEARNING Proposed WPS Role Models and Women Exchange Programmes	• Support research for Gender and peacebuilding. • Support women, peace and security role models in the region through training, capacity building, and national/international exposure on WPS with other networks. • Support WPS champions awards to encourage women and men for gender equality. • Support county and country WPS exchange programmes for learning.
RESILIENCE PATHWAY Support Women Groups/ Chamas for Peacebuilding and Resilience Programme an untapped potential	• Create a database of existing women chamas and Marro networks among the Borana. • Support women chamas with peacebuilding training opportunities to build their capacities. • Include women chama members in peace and security activities.



The recommendations arising from the assessment include the following:

National Government and NCIC

1. Create awareness on gender-inclusive peacebuilding programming in government departments at the county level by training on the importance of gender-inclusive peace and gendered monitoring for inclusive peace.
2. Mainstream gender-inclusive peacebuilding through the Priority Agenda Areas from the Interpeace Gender Report with the National Commission for Cohesion and Integration (NCIC) and other national partners. This should be achieved by training and integrating gendered indicators into the performance indicators of NCIC/Interpeace County officials and their staff down to the local level.
3. Establish partnerships with the National Secretariat for United Nations Resolution 1325, whose mandate is to provide human and technical resources for mainstreaming Resolution 1325 in focus counties, to prevent duplication of resources and create synergy for women's participation in peace activities.
4. Create awareness on the link between gender and inclusive peacebuilding across the Frontier Counties Development Council (FCDC) and their counties, while training FCDC staff on gender analysis for Women, Peace and Security (WPS). Specifically, create awareness about the Interpeace Ten Foundations for Gender-Inclusive Peace and the five priority intervention strategies to ensure implementation at all levels.

County Governments

1. In partnership with the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 Secretariat, encourage county governments in focus counties to integrate gender-inclusive peacebuilding into peace and security matters in line with the ten foundations and five priority areas.
2. Train local male and female Members of County Assembly leadership to prioritize legislation and policy development on WPS and ensure the inclusion of women in peace issues.
3. Support the development of UNSC Resolution 1325 County Action Plans where none exists in Northern Kenya, in partnership with other stakeholders.
4. Support county governments of focus counties to engage men and boys, women and girls on transformation of violent masculinities and hegemonic femininities through training of staff in gender departments.
5. In partnership with county governments, establish annual awards for gender champions in WPS.



Development Partners

1. Support the five pathways as priorities in the Kenya Gender-Inclusive Peacebuilding Strategic Plan. These include: the Gender Mainstreaming Policy Pathway, Transforming Masculinities as a Social Pathway, Quotas and Safe Spaces for Women Peacebuilders as the Movement-Building Pathway, Knowledge, Learning, and Exchange Pathway, and support for women's Resilience Pathway for Peacebuilding.
2. Support a partners' roundtable on Women Peace and Security (WPS) actors in Northern Kenya to map out their focus areas, reduce duplication of resources, create a regional coalition and network for WPS, while supporting resource mobilization efforts.

Interpeace

1. Fundraise for the five strategic priority pathways for gender mainstreaming and conflict transformation for sustainable peace.
2. Create a women peacebuilding movement mainstreamed into Interpeace' infrastructures for peace by establishing safe spaces and opportunities for women's participation and resilience building at Interpeace and NCIC.
3. Through an intersectional perspective, ensure inclusion of marginalized groups, including young women, women with disabilities, and widows, through specific peace projects for their inclusion while building their resilience for peace as neglected groups in the Interpeace and NCIC structures.
4. Strengthen gender analysis capacities of Interpeace staff and partners by training them on intersectional gendered conflict analysis and gender needs assessment.
5. Engage partners, including county, regional, and national governments in partnership with the UN 1325 Secretariat to create a Women, Peace and Security network in Northern Kenya for learning and exchange.

1.0 Introduction

Interpeace is an international peacebuilding organization with over 30 years of experience working in 15 countries around the world to build local and national capacities for effectively managing inter-community tension and conflict, leading to opportunities for community-level sustainable development and resilience. Interpeace works with grassroots communities to design locally led solutions for sustainable peace.

Interpeace has been active in Kenya since 2014 in the Northern and North Rift Counties, supporting communities to develop locally driven peacebuilding architectures in Mandera, Wajir, Turkana, West Pokot, Elgeyo Marakwet, Baringo, Samburu, Marsabit, and Laikipia. These efforts have led to peace accords such as the Orwa I & II Peace Accords, among others, which addressed conflict issues in Suguta Valley, Turkwel, and Baragoi conflict belts. However, much more needs to be done in building grassroots capacities for increased responsiveness, particularly in addressing emerging security issues such as climate change and psychosocial concerns. Interpeace continues to support communities in peacebuilding through four pillars which include: fostering inclusive governance, sustaining social cohesion, enhancing communities' climate and conflict resilience, and improving collaborative security management.

It is in response to these peacebuilding pillars, particularly Pillar 1 on fostering inclusive governance, that Interpeace commissioned a study on gendered dynamics of conflict in Northern Kenya and resilience capacities from an intersectional perspective, to better support different groups of marginalized women in the region. Despite the presence of conflict in Northern Kenya due to scarce resources and the proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALWs), the gender implications are rarely considered in peacebuilding policy and Interpeace dialogue forums, both nationally and at the regional level. Women and non-binary gender identities are often victims of violence and conflict through sexual violence, female genital mutilation (FGM), beading, trafficking, and early marriages, in addition to increased domestic burdens in conflict zones. Women and non-binary persons are further discriminated against when denied participation in peace initiatives, further marginalizing them in the post-conflict peacebuilding phase. Notwithstanding such drawbacks, women in Northern Kenya have been active agents for peace at the grassroots and community level despite remaining unacknowledged and invisible to the government and development partners.

There is a need to increase women's participation in peacemaking, peacekeeping, and peacebuilding as provided for by the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325. Women have equal rights to participation under international instruments and local policies. A growing body of literature demonstrates that peace processes are more sustainable when there is gender inclusivity in peacebuilding. Interpeace seeks to develop a more nuanced understanding of the gendered nature of conflicts in Northern Kenya in order to design more gender-inclusive peacebuilding programmes in partnership with communities for sustainable peace.

The next section explores the international instruments for women's inclusion, conceptual and methodological approaches that informed the research, which include intersectionality theory and a masculinities approach to understanding gendered conflict dynamics and resilience capacities in Northern Kenya.

2.0 Conceptual Approaches to Gendered Peacebuilding

2.1 International Legal and Policy Framework for Women's Inclusion in Peacebuilding

1. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW, 1979): which defines what constitutes discrimination against women and holds governments accountable for reporting on their actions to eliminate such discrimination. CEDAW Articles 4 and 7 set out strategies for the promotion of women's participation in decision-making. CEDAW is binding international law for those countries that have ratified the convention.
2. CEDAW Optional Protocol (United Nations General Assembly [UNGA], 1999), which enables the CEDAW Committee to hear cases of violations of rights brought by individuals against their states.
3. The UN Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women (working since 1994).
4. The Beijing Platform for Action (1995), the outcome document of the UN Fourth World Conference on Women, especially Critical Area E on Women, Peace and Security. Strategic objective E1 emphasizes women's participation in all matters related to peacekeeping, preventive diplomacy, mediation, and negotiations.
5. The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (1998), which categorized crimes such as rape, sexual slavery, forced prostitution, forced pregnancy, trafficking, enforced sterilization, and other forms of sexual violence committed in international and intra-state armed conflicts, as "crimes against humanity" and "war crimes". It also provides a statute for delivering gender-inclusive justice. It entered into force in 2002.
6. United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 (issued in 2000) and other Women, Peace and Security resolutions – 1820, 1888, 1889, 1960, 2122, 2122, 2242, 2467, 2493 (the latter issued in October 2019) – underscore state obligations to increase women's involvement in peace and security matters at every level. The resolutions do not simply focus on "women's issues", but instead provide an important set of objectives for gender-inclusive, transformative processes and practices. The resolutions aim to protect women and girls during conflict; to ensure women's participation in peacekeeping, official peace-making and peace-building, and to guarantee the prosecution of gender-based war crimes.
7. General Recommendation 30 of the CEDAW Committee on Women in Conflict Situations, issued in 2013. GR30 makes it a binding international legal responsibility for governments that have ratified CEDAW to take all measures to ensure that state and non-state actors uphold human rights and prevent "the violation of any human right by any actor" during conflict and post-conflict. It requires all those governments to report on their implementation of UNSCR 1325 and their National Action Plans in their periodic reports to the CEDAW committee.
8. Sustainable Development Goal 16, (2015) calls for the promotion of peaceful, just, and inclusive societies for sustainable development by providing accessible and inclusive justice systems.

1. The Maputo Protocol (2003) or the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa, guarantees women's inclusion in peace and security matters for African women.
2. African Union Office of the Special Envoy on Women, Peace and Security.
3. African Union (AU) Continental Results Framework for Monitoring and Reporting on Women, Peace and Security.

2.2 Intersectional Gender Approach to Conflict Analysis and Resilience

An intersectional analysis of conflict considers how a combination of different factors affects an individual or community in the context of conflict, rather than considering each factor in isolation. During conflict analysis, an intersectional gender lens takes into account how different gender inequalities intersect with conflict dynamics and emphasizes the importance of informing conflict and resilience programming from a gender perspective. Kimberlé Crenshaw has defined intersectionality as a 'prism for seeing the way in which various forms of inequality often operate together and exacerbate each other' (Crenshaw 1989).

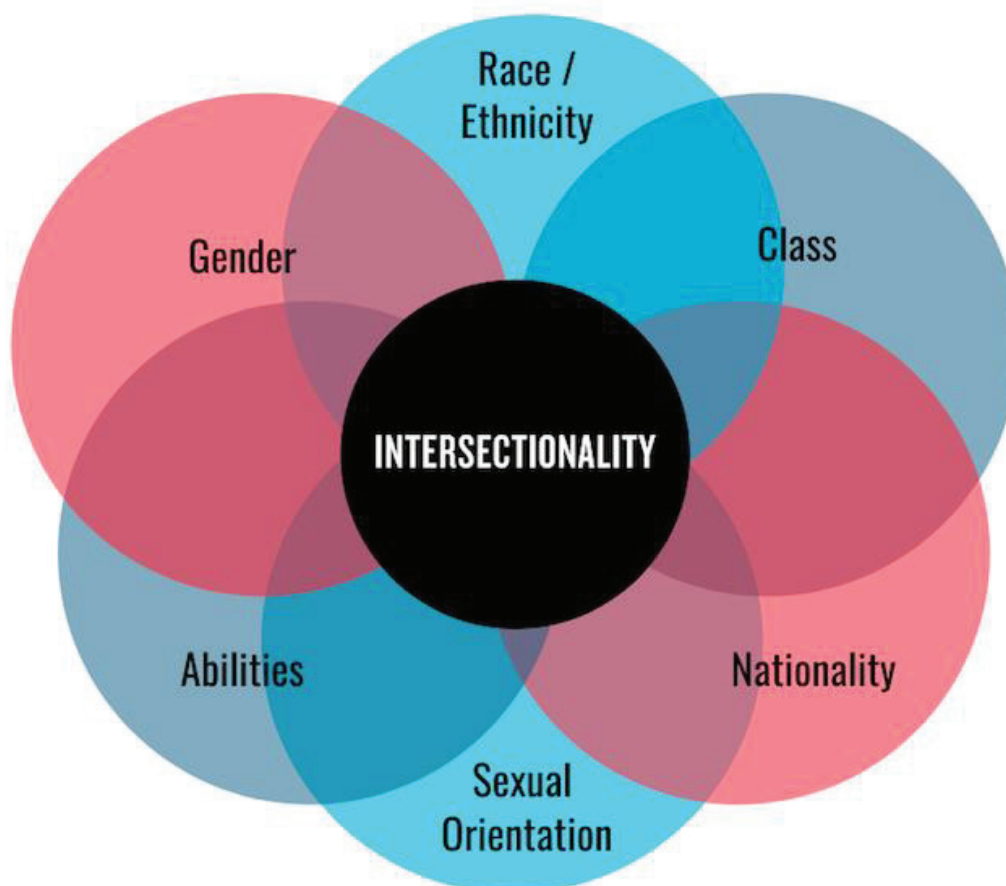


Figure 2 Intersectionality



Conflict analysis looks at the drivers of conflict, the actors and stakeholders, issues, triggers of violence, proximate causes of violence, and structural causes of violence. Gender denotes socially constructed identities and is the most prevalent socially constructed identity marker of difference in society. Gendered conflict analysis then examines the actors, drivers, consequences and resilience capacities of men, women, non-binary people, boys, and girls during conflict. A gendered conflict analysis using an intersectional perspective provides an appropriate response to different vulnerabilities that intersect among women, including age, religion, race, and ethnicity, by ensuring meaningful interventions in peacebuilding processes. Different gender identities have different vulnerabilities and unique resilience capacities for conflict. Alder (2021) observed that analyzing how identity issues such as gender, class, ability, race, and religion, intersect provides diverse experiences and forms of agency in a conflict context. This leads to a better understanding of power relations and conflict dynamics between actors and groups involved in the conflict.

In Kenya, intersections between different identities, such as age, religion, and region contribute to further discrimination against women. For instance, young women in Northern Kenya are largely perceived as passive victims of patriarchal structures, including local cultures, religion, and their families. This contributes to the image of women in the region as passive victims of conflict, hence lacking agency in conflict management and peacebuilding. Peacebuilding activities have mainly focused on interreligious dialogues led by male clerics in Northern Kenya and, indeed, across the entire country.

Peace and security leadership structures in Northern Kenya are often occupied by elderly male Muslim, Christian, and traditional religious leaders, contributing to the notion that being a cleric is inherently synonymous with being a peacebuilder. As a result, women's peacebuilding activities are largely unrecognized and invisible due to their exclusion from clerical roles in mainstream religions. Women's contributions to peace through activities such as humanitarian support during conflict, psychosocial support, community reconciliation, and community rebuilding often go unrecognized and unappreciated.

An intersectional perspective on gender issues within the context of conflict can overcome this categorical thinking by examining how different aspects of identity, such as age, gender, ethnicity, religion, class, caste, marital status, (dis)ability, and sexual orientation, intersect to further marginalize individuals or similar groups. An intersectional perspective also exposes different resilience capacities for different gendered identities, such as men, women, boys, girls, and trans individuals, during conflicts and crisis.

According to Juncos & Joseph (2020), "Resilience is the ability of a community or society to cope with or adapt to external violent shocks in order to foster a more sustainable peace." In post-conflict societies, women's resilience capacities are often ignored by peacebuilders, leading to the exclusion of women in peace programming and creating challenges in fostering sustainable peace. An intersectional approach to mainstreaming gender in peacebuilding is important for understanding conflict, violence, and resilience, as it both influences and is influenced by gender. It is against this background that this study was carried out to analyze the gendered drivers of conflict in Northern Kenya and to provide a guide for gender mainstreaming and in peacebuilding for Interpeace, ensuring women are involved and their resilience capacities are taken into account in peace and security programming.

Gender analysis of conflict can be carried out using various frameworks, such as the Moser Framework which recognizes women's triple roles and practical and strategic gender needs for women and men (Moser 1993). The Moser framework employs two main tools for gender analysis, which include the Gender Roles Identification tool to identify the distribution of women's triple roles, and the Gender Needs Assessment tool which identifies practical and strategic gender needs, among other tools.

2.3 Masculinities Approach in Conflict Analysis

Despite progress made in recognizing the need for conflict analysis from a gender perspective, the term ‘gender’ is still often used inaccurately to denote ‘women’ in both theory and practice. This narrow approach to understanding gender overlooks men and non-binary identities within the gender spectrum and their relationship to conflict and to each other in the context of peace and security. Since gender denotes socially constructed identities, engendering peacebuilding research acknowledges both men and women as important actors in peace, security, and conflict. Masculinity is defined as the socially constructed gender roles ascribed to male bodies (Kimmel & Messner, 2004). Masculinities are shaped by social institutions, both formal and informal, and they define masculine attributes, social roles, and ascribed behaviors for men in different societies at a given time.

Considering the overwhelming role played by men in producing and reproducing violent conflicts, and the unrecognized roles femininities play, there is a need for a better understanding of the links between conflict, masculinities, and femininities when analyzing gendered drivers of conflict. Connell (2005) cautions against considering all masculinities as similar, noting that multiple masculinities are shaped by the intersectionality of class, race, ethnicity, religion, and sexuality. Similarly, Elisabeth (2023) argues that three mechanisms drive conflict dynamics from a masculinity approach which include masculinist protection, masculinist survival, and masculinist competition. Militarized or violent masculinities motivate men to participate in violence to protect their communities, for survival, and advancement of their communities in the context of competition for water and grazing resources in Northern Kenya. Dominant forms of masculinity then encourage activities that emphasize aggression and dominance to protect, survive, and compete, including violence against women.

Connell (1995) also provides four types of masculinities that define men’s behavior, which include: hegemonic masculinity, subordinate, complicit, and marginal masculinity (Connell 1995). Hegemonic masculinity is the qualities defined as manly that establish and legitimate a hierarchical and complementary relationship to femininity and that, by doing so, guarantee the dominant position of men and the subordination of women’ (Connell 1995).

The study employed a masculinity approach to understand the prevalence of hegemonic masculinities, subordinate, and protest masculinities for better peacebuilding interventions in Northern Kenya, where multiple forms of masculinities coexist with different femininities. Femininities remain under-researched despite their role in conflict. Connell’s ideas on hegemonic femininity were developed further by Schippers(2007) to define hegemonic femininity as ‘the characteristics defined as womanly that establish and legitimate a hierarchical and complementary relationship to hegemonic masculinity and that, by doing so, guarantee the dominant position of men and the subordination of women’(Schippers, 2007). Hence, women who support hegemonic masculinities play complementary roles, furthering gender inequality. Through this femininity lens, the study explored the complex relationship between mothers, elderly men, young women, young warrior men (morans), and the exacerbation of conflict in the community.

3.0 Methodology and Research Objectives

The study was guided by two qualitative research designs, which include ethnography and grounded theory. Ethnography is the study of human interaction in their social environments to understand the culture, values, behaviors, and beliefs of a particular group of people. The term "grounded theory" refers to a collection of systematic inductive methods for conducting qualitative research to develop theories from below as opposed to testing theories from elsewhere—in this case, understanding the lifeworld of women and girls in Northern Kenya in the context of peacebuilding from their own vantage point.

Theoretically, the study was underpinned by constructivist and feminist theories. Constructivist perspectives are formed from participants' experiences, ideas, and social constructions of reality for men and women.² For instance, construction of the meaning of security, peace, and conflict could be gendered.³ Similarly, understandings of hegemonic masculinity are different and unique in pastoral communities that depend on militarized masculinities for their survival. An Intersectional feminist approach and a masculinity approach provide a framework to understand gendered drivers of conflict and gender roles that prevent meaningful women's participation in conflict prevention in Marsabit, Isiolo, and Samburu counties.

The fieldwork study employed qualitative data collection methods, which included focus group discussions (FGDs), key informant interviews (KIIS), and observation in Marsabit, Samburu, and Isiolo Counties. The selection of these locations was based on ethnic representation, cultural diversity, and religious diversity to explore how women, men, girls, and boys in different counties engage with peace and security matters. The locations selected were mainly former hot spots and non-hot spots, which included Lerata, Kargi, Archer's post in (Samburu County); Saku, Horonderi, Turbi, Moyale, Warda, Laisamis, Nairibi in (Marsabit County); Ngare Mara and Isiolo town in (Isiolo County).

The research questions sought to address the following: first, what are the dominant gender roles for men and women and how do they affect their participation in peacebuilding and security activities? The second question sought to examine how men and women participate in peace, security, and conflict management issues in Northern Kenya. The third question explored how gender differences shape drivers of violent conflict, and the fourth examined how gender differences shape resilience capacities.

Approximately 15 FGDs were held, which included: nine all-female, four mixed FGDs, two all-male FGDs to capture salient conversations among women, young women, young men, and elderly men. FGDs were also segmented across age groups, with one FGD held with young morans, and another with elderly men, and three with young women. Fifteen KIIS were conducted to triangulate the findings from the FGDs and the literature reviewed. The KIIS were held with selected individuals of different ages, genders, ethnicities, and (dis)abilities, based on their position, knowledge, and expertise on the issues of gender and peacebuilding in the region. In total, 180 people were interviewed through the FGDs and KIIS to address the research objectives.

²Andrews, T. (2012). What is social constructionism Grounded theory review, 11(1).?

³Fosnot, C. T. (2013). Constructivism: Theory, perspectives, and practice. Teachers College Press.

3.1 Conflict Analysis of Northern Kenya

The Northern region in Kenya covers approximately 60% of Kenya's geographical territory while hosting 18% of Kenya's population (KNBS 2019). Most of the region's counties are among the nine arid counties out of 47 Kenyan counties, characterized by extreme weather patterns and severe living conditions with devastating effects on communities' livelihoods and the environment (GOK 2011). These counties are Marsabit, Mandera, Wajir, Isiolo, Samburu, Turkana, Baringo, Tana River, and Garissa (KIPPRA 2022). Most of the Northern counties have been incorporated in the Frontier Counties Development Council (FCDC), an inter-county economic and political bloc drawn from frontier counties, which include Lamu, Tana River, Garissa, Wajir, Mandera, Marsabit, Isiolo, Turkana, Samburu, and West Pokot (FCDC, 2023). According to Kenya's Economic Development Strategy known as Vision 2030, the region comprises the least urbanized counties (GOK 2011). Communities in arid counties in Northern Kenya struggle with access to basic needs such as water, food, healthcare, and sanitation.

Figure 2 below shows that poverty rates are significantly above the national multidimensional and monetary poverty rates (53% and 36%, respectively). When compared to other regions of Kenya, these counties have the highest rates of poverty, as indicated in Figure 2.

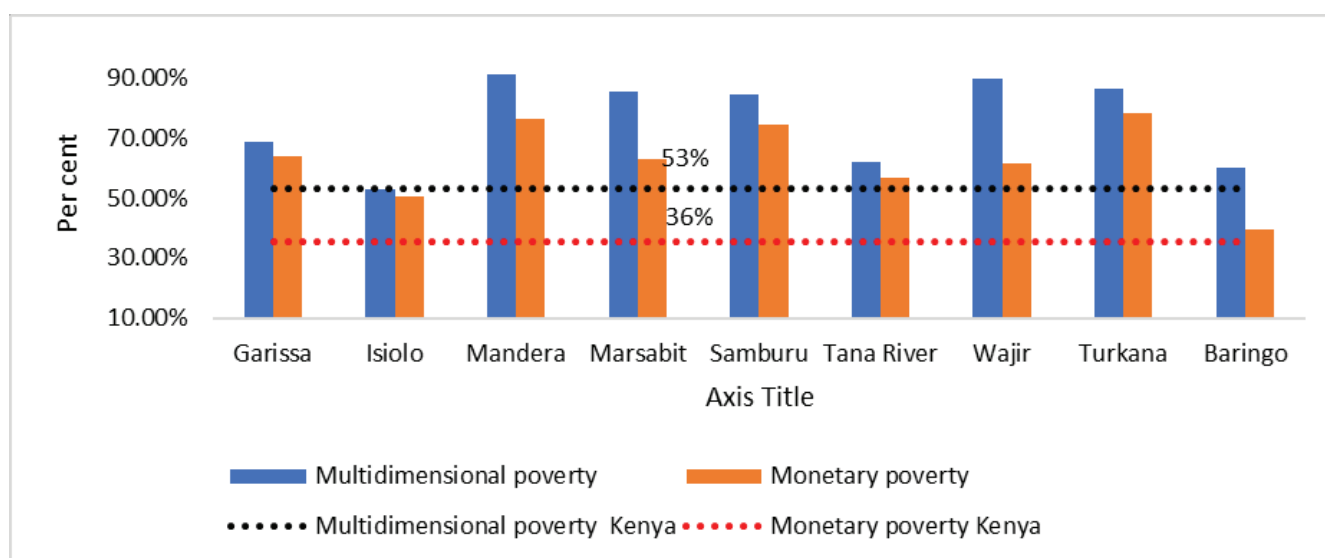


Figure 3 Multidimensional and Monetary Poverty across the Arid Counties in Comparison to the Overall Poverty Rate

Data source: Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (2020), Comprehensive Poverty Analysis Report

Pastoralism is the main economic activity in the vast Northern region. Populations in marginalized areas in Northern Kenya face myriad challenges including poverty, lack of development infrastructure, and inequalities stemming from historical isolation and neglect by the colonial and postcolonial states. Additionally, natural calamities such as drought and floods caused by climate change have increasingly worsened poverty and conflict.

Conflict and insecurity from cattle rustling, violent extremism, and land disputes are recurrent, with increased prevalence due to the proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALWs), according to Interpeace reports (Interpeace 2022). According to the Centre for Human Rights and Policy Studies (CHRIPS), 73% of the country's stock theft occurred in Northern region, and 58% of illegal arms recovered in Kenya in 2021 were from Northern Kenya (CHRIPS 2022). The Interpeace rapid assessment report on violence in Marsabit County observed that the main drivers of conflict were ethno-politicization, a zero-sum approach to power and resources, unresolved collective grievances, and government inaction (Interpeace 2022).

3.2 Gendered Poverty and Conflict Analysis in Northern Kenya

The region has the lowest education rates for girls in Kenya, and high teen pregnancy rates (15%) due to harmful cultural practices in the region such as Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) and beading among the Samburu (KDHS 2022). Beading is a harmful cultural practice in Samburu County which prevents girls from attaining their potential, when morans select girls for sexual relationships by gifting the girl's family beads. The moran is gifted the beaded girl-child for a casual sexual relationship by the family and clan members. When, and if, the girl gets pregnant, traditional abortion, infanticide, or adoption of the newborn to another ethnic community is practiced to ensure she is marketable to another suitor.

According to the KDHS survey, Samburu County leads in teen pregnancies at 50%, followed closely by West Pokot (36%), Marsabit (29%), and Narok (28%) (KDHS 2022). Teen pregnancies and FGM are common in Northern Kenya counties, further leading to women's poverty and inequality relative to men in the region. According to a UNFPA report (UNFPA 2023), the top safety and violence concerns for women were: forced marriages, FGM, gender-based violence (GBV), and lack of access to resources. The key drivers of GBV in Samburu are the loss of livelihoods among men and boys, leading to violent masculinities. As climate change effects like famine and floods ravage Samburu County, increasing women's poverty, the trading of girls through beading increases for economic sustenance. As women increasingly take on new responsibilities and gender roles such as bead and charcoal trading, along the highways, they are required to travel long distances in search of trees for production, increasing their vulnerability to sexual violence.

Owing to historical marginalization, porous borders, recurring conflicts, and climate change, poverty is pervasive in the Northern region. Women and girls are especially vulnerable to poverty, climate change, and conflict due to gender norms that prioritize men over women and boys over girls in education, healthcare, food security, political representation, and climate change mitigation in the Northern region. In the context of conflict and climate change, women and girls face gender-specific vulnerabilities, including increased household burdens, female genital mutilation (FGM), and early marriages due to resource constraints in resource-poor contexts. Girls are increasingly trafficked and often face sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) as they walk long distances in search of food and water in this arid region. These risks faced by women and girls in Northern Kenya are further exacerbated by intersectional issues such as class, age, regional marginalization, ethnicity, marital status, sexuality, religion, and disability.

4.0 Study Findings and Implications

The first objective of this study was to understand the gender roles for women and men and their gendered implications for formal peacebuilding activities from an intersectional gender perspective. Gender analysis aims to identify opportunities, constraints and power dynamics of men and women in a given context. The second objective was to study the gendered drivers of conflict and the third objective was to study gendered sources of resilience and how they can provide opportunities for gender-inclusive peacebuilding in Northern Kenya. This section addresses the findings from the three objectives. The next section discusses the first objective on the gendered roles preventing women from achieving equal participation in formal peace, security, and conflict management roles in Northern Kenya.

Study Objectives

Gender Roles & Implications

01

- Understand the roles of women and men in peacebuilding.
- Analyse their gendered implications for formal participation, using an intersectional lens.

Gendered Drivers of Conflict

02

- Examine how gendered norms and practices contribute to conflict in Northern Kenya.

Gendered Resilience & Opportunities

03

- Identify sources of resilience among women.
- Explore how these can be transformed into opportunities for gender-inclusive peacebuilding.

4.1 Objective 1: Understanding Gender Roles and Implications for Peacebuilding in Northern Kenya

4.1.1 Women's Triple Burden in Northern Kenya, Resilience, and Change

Since gender roles are socially determined and change over time across different social, cultural, and environmental contexts, gender mainstreaming activities should carry out a gender analysis to study and acknowledge the roles of women in order to ensure effective planning and participation in peacebuilding activities. The study found that one challenge to women's formal participation in peace and conflict management roles is the triple gender burden. The triple burden is a concept proposed by Caroline Moser within her Gender Analysis Framework. It refers to the disproportionate burden on women who manage multiple roles simultaneously, and it was used in this study to analyze gender dynamics for gender-sensitive programming.

In the Moser framework, women's activity profiles are categorized into three socially defined roles: Reproductive, Productive, and Communal Roles (Moser 1993). Moser argued that women play a central role in reproductive roles associated with the domestic sphere, while men play a central role in productive and communal roles associated with income generation and community leadership, respectively.

The Moser Framework includes several assessment tools, including gender roles identification and gender needs assessment, which disaggregate control of resources and decision-making within the household, and gender analysis. This gender analysis involves planning to balance the triple roles that burden women, preventing them from formal participation in peacebuilding, and addressing the cultural barriers that prevent equal participation.



Figure 4 Moser's Women's Triple Gender Burden Framework 1993

This study conducted a gender roles profile, which identified the following roles across three counties between males and females.

Gender Roles		Marsabit		Samburu		Isiolo	
Productive Activities		M	F	M	F	M	F
1.	Cattle/camel herding and migration	X		X		X	
2.	Cattle/camel trade and slaughter	X		X		X	
3.	Goat and sheep keeping	X	X	X	X	X	X
4.	Bead making and selling handicrafts		X		X		X
5.	Milk processing and selling		X		X		X
6.	Charcoal production and trade		X		X		X
7.	Land preparation and hay trade		X		X		X
8.	Growing and selling vegetable produce		X		X		X
9.	Wild fruit harvesting and mineral, sand harvesting		X	X	X	X	X
Reproductive Activities							
1.	Fetching water and food preparation		X		X		X
2.	Cooking, cleaning, and housework		X		X		X
3.	Childcare and nurturing		X		X		X
4.	Care of elderly and the sick		X		X		X
5.	House construction and house moving		X		X	X	X
6.	Firewood collection		X		X		X
7.	Meat and food preservation	X	X	X	X	X	
Communal Activities							
1.	Conflict resolution, security and negotiations	X		X		X	
2.	Grazing land management and access	X		X		X	
3.	Managing water points and roads	X		X		X	
4.	Funerals and mourning	X		X	X	X	
5.	Mosque and Church religious activities	X		X	X	X	
6.	Crisis management and food distribution leadership	X		X	X	X	
7.	Wedding ceremonies preparation		X	X	X	X	X

Figure 5 Moser Gender Roles Assessment Framework for Marsabit, Samburu, and Isiolo (Source Wamai 2023)

The gender role assessment in Figure 4 shows that gender roles are distinct for men and women in Marsabit, Isiolo, and Samburu counties. Women in these three counties play a central role in reproductive roles but are less involved in leadership roles within productive and communal peacebuilding activities. The study documented several productive roles (income-generating activities) that women were also involved in, including: goat keeping, bead making, milk processing, charcoal production, vegetable growing and selling along the rivers and dry river beds(lagas), hay making, wild fruit harvesting, sand and mineral harvesting.



Traditionally, women in the three counties were responsible for bead making, milk processing, and goat keeping. Increasingly, women have started engaging in new productive roles, such as goat selling in all the counties, vegetable growing in Isiolo, Samburu, and Marsabit, hay making in Marsabit, and charcoal production in Samburu. For instance, in Naiberi, Samburu, a group of a women bead makers in a chama have diversified their trade to include vegetable farming, collectively owning a vegetable nursery. Women in Walda area also reported having started vegetable and hay farming to diversify their incomes through their chamas. Women bead makers in Archer's Post are increasingly involved in buying and selling goats for profit. These changes were attributed to adaptations arising from environmental stress within the context of climate change, according to respondents.

“Our Aradi women group started growing vegetables and planting grass to make hay for sale in Walda scheme. The drought season taught us to diversify our sources of income beyond relying on our husbands and keeping goats. This enabled us to survive the drought.”⁴

Another women's group in Naiberi in Samburu County, started a vegetable nursery project during the drought period with the support of a development partner.⁵ Through their activities tending to the nursery, women reported having started organizing themselves into chamas, which have led to a consistent supply of seeds, water, and they now sell their vegetables to a school feeding programme, giving them increased economic power that was not there previously.⁶ The study also observed that activities like charcoal making have emerged among Samburu women as a new form of income generation and resilience mechanism as a result of drought, as one of the participants reported:

“These days things have changed due to lack of water. This place used to have water from River Ewaso Nyiro up to Lorian Camp and the tourists would come to see the crocodiles in the river near where we sold our Ushanga (beads). Now the rivers are dry. The market for Ushanga ended and we are forced to burn charcoal to sell along the highway for money, which is risky for women because they can be sexually assaulted as they burn the charcoal in the wild.”⁷

As a result of famine in Samburu County, more women reported having joined petty trading activities along the highway and charcoal burning. The study observed that drought and famine in the region are causing subtle shifts in gender roles, with more women becoming breadwinners in Samburu, Marsabit, and Isiolo. A few men in Samburu and Marsabit were observed to be involved in reproductive roles such as child nurturing, as women leave home for long hours to collect water, firewood, and sell charcoal.

“Men are no longer the only ones paying school fees and providing for the children since many lost their animals in the drought season. We women are now increasingly educating our children using money from ushanga/beads due to effects of drought. We are also farming, rearing goats individually and collectively in groups for sale.”⁸

⁴FGD in Walda with Aradi Women Group in Marsabit County September 2, 2023.

⁵FGD in Naiberi Village Centre, Marsabit County September 4, 2023.

⁶FGD in Naiberi Village Centre, Marsabit County on September 4, 2023.

⁷Samburu Ushanga/Beads Maker and Trader at Archers Post Women FGD on 4 September 2023.

⁸Samburu women FGD at Naibiri market centre held 5 September 2023.



The drought period affected men's ability to provide for their families after their livestock and camel stocks dwindled following the long period of famine before 2022. This inevitably forced women to adapt by becoming providers through petty trade, farming, and charcoal production in order to pay their children's school fees—a responsibility previously reserved for men, according to several respondents.⁹ These new roles emerged over a long period of time within the context of environmental stress but were most visible during the 2020-2023 drought season. Increased incidents of insecurity, including violence against women, were also reported in the region as women left the safety of their homes to venture into the wild in the search of firewood, charcoal, and goat rearing.

4.1.2 Implications for Gendered Roles and Women's Participation in Peacebuilding

The first research objective attempted to understand gender roles and implications for peacebuilding. The study demonstrated that the dominant patriarchal culture has led to an increased burden on women in reproductive roles. This overburdening of women with reproductive roles restricts them to the domestic space, leading to gender bias and eventual discrimination in formal peacebuilding structures. The gender analysis exercise using Moser's framework in Figure 4 found that the greatest challenge to women's engagement in peace and security activities was the dominant patriarchal culture that informed women's gender roles, relegating them to mostly reproductive roles in the household and excluding them from peace and conflict roles outside the home, which are associated with rationality, masculinity, and conflict resolution.

Generally, subtle changes were observed across Samburu, Marsabit, and Isiolo counties following the prolonged drought period resulting from climate change. Environmental changes appear to be gradually influencing femininity and hegemonic masculinity, as women take up provider roles in their communities by adopting alternative livelihoods.

Subtle shifts in gender roles were recorded across all the counties due to climate change, but most progress was observed in Samburu County. The study shows that in Marsabit, out of the dominant productive activities listed, women dominated only a few roles, including preparing milk and milk products, selling farm produce, and engaging in petty trade.

In Samburu, Marsabit, and Isiolo counties, non-Muslim women performed more productive roles, including petty trade, small livestock trade, charcoal production, ushanga/bead making, handicraft making, and selling. These internal differences among the three counties could be attributed to prevailing gender norms in the different counties, informed by religion and local sub-cultures. The Islamic faith, with its strict gender roles, often dictates reproductive and productive roles for men and women. These strict differences were less prevalent among non-Muslim women, mainly located in Samburu County. This observation of changing gender roles was most markedly observed in Samburu and Isiolo Counties among the Non-Muslim populations. Peacebuilding interventions should appreciate the effects of these subtle changes in the region which could revert to the status quo with increased rainfall.

⁹Archers Post FGD and Turkana Women FGD held on 7 September 2023.

Interpeace peacebuilding programmes could conduct further studies in communities where they work to understand women and men's gender roles to enable peace programming that considers their gender burdens, enabling better organization of peace building training workshops that accommodate these burdens. Women have often been excluded from CMC training meetings because of their reproductive gender burdens, and conflict resolution is considered a responsibility for men who embody hegemonic masculinity.



Figure 6 A Pokot woman greets and sells firewood to a Turkana woman symbolizing renewed trust and peaceful coexistence after a prolonged period of conflict in Kapedo, Baringo. © NEPCOH/Interpeace, 2024.

4.2 Objective 2: Gendered Drivers of Conflict in Northern Kenya

The report identified several gendered drivers of conflict in Northern Kenya that contribute to or support violent or militarized masculinities and conflict. Beyond understanding the general drivers of conflict, this study objective sought to understand how culturally accepted gendered norms perpetuate conflict in the region using an intersectional approach. In addition to support for moranism as a form of militarized masculinity, young women and older women are deeply implicated in the reproduction of violent and militarized masculinities in various ways, as discussed in the findings for this objective. Support for militarized masculinities, comprising praise songs, nurturing of boys into violent men, demanding bride price, and beading of teenage girls for family rewards, were the gendered drivers of conflict discussed below.

4.2.1 Moranism and Hegemonic Masculinities in Northern Kenya

Communities in the three conflict-affected counties attested that militarized notions of masculinity fueled conflict and insecurity in the region. In Marsabit, Samburu, and Isiolo where the study was carried out, participants reported that certain attributes were considered most important for men to be regarded as successful in their

societies. These characteristics determined the most valued form of masculinity, which is a form of hegemonic masculinity. They include being courageous, a protector of the community, a provider, independent, militant, and aggressive. While men are not inherently violent, violent masculinities are produced through institutions that uphold militarized forms of masculinity, including the moranism system among other informal militarized systems of initiation in Northern Kenya. This report has adapted the militarized understanding of masculinity to an informal context of producing violent hegemonic masculinities, as discussed here.

“For a man to be a man he must leave home to protect the community after circumcision. After circumcision you don’t have a home. Your home is in the bush protecting the clans’ animals. After acquiring your own livestock through buying if you have money or raiding others, you are allowed to marry and now stay at home as an elder because you have proved yourself.”¹⁰



Figure 7 Pokot community engagement in Likwon during the establishment of Inter-Village Dialogue and Solidarity Committees (IVDSCs) in the Kerio Valley conflict belt. © NEPCOH/Interpeace, 2024.

The Samburu morans interviewed above attest to how protecting the community and aggressive attributes are the most rewarded forms of masculinity. Hegemonic masculinities also produce patriarchal masculinities, which are ideas and practices of masculinity that emphasize the superiority of masculinity over femininity and the authority of men over women. Hegemonic masculinity is considered more prestigious than subordinate, complicit, and marginal masculinities, which are all associated with a less powerful, feminized form of masculinity. Thus, men who refuse to engage in cattle rustling and other violent cultural practices that glorify

¹⁰ FGD with Morans at Lerata Ward, Samburu County in September 2023.

hegemonic masculinity are viewed as ‘women’ and not real men. Despite the popular acceptance of hegemonic masculinities in many Northern Kenyan societies, there is an increasing rejection of the traditional gender order through what Howson (2006) has called protest masculinities and protest femininities. For instance, protest masculinities were observed among some Samburu morans who defied their culture to embrace other forms of livelihoods such as farming and bodaboda (motorcycle taxi) riding, which are considered domesticated and less prestigious. Protest masculinities challenge the traditional dominant masculinities through championing for non-violence and modeling nonviolent ideas of masculinity. Since masculinity is a social construct, ideas about masculinities can be constructed and reconstructed through socialization by the society.

4.2.2 Praise Songs and Construction of Militarized Masculinity by Women

In the three counties where this study was conducted, women were instrumental in encouraging men to raid other ethnic groups as a show of might and hegemonic masculinity. Women encouraged young men and morans through motivational songs often sung before cattle raids and after successful raids. In Marsabit, Samburu, and Isiolo, women composed songs to shame those who failed to bring back cattle and camels after raids.

During the study, morans in Lerata, Samburu County, acknowledged how praise songs inspired them while recognizing the losses the raids caused.¹¹

“We like being praised. These praise songs by women really inspire us to steal and raid more cattle...but these raids only lead to losses for everyone.”

Morans reported that praise songs boosted their self-esteem because they felt they were not respected by the society, as they ‘lived like wild animals in the bush’ and they did not own houses to live in after initiation.¹² Praise songs thus served to restore their value in their societies in a changing world. Morans are young men aged 15-35 years, depending on the region, who live in the wild savannah tending cattle, camels, and learning their culture for 10-15 years after which they get married and rejoin the community. They also maintained that lack of money for sustenance drove them to cattle raiding, especially during drought seasons.

Songs from the women in the community encouraged and reinforced hegemonic masculinities defined by aggressive behavior, while shaming men who refused to engage in cattle raids or those who were unsuccessful, as detailed in the refrain of a praise song by women in Marsabit. The mothers of morans interviewed said they sometimes encouraged their sons to raid through songs but also advised them against the harmful effects of cattle raids involving guns. Samburu moran culture pushes young men away into the bush after initiation, which breeds moranism/warrior cultures that are militarized. The young men acquire guns, which emboldens them, perpetuating a culture of violence.

Another group of women working on peacebuilding in Turbi town reported that it was common for men and morans who failed to bring back goats and camels to be rebuked by their mothers, sisters, and wives, who told them they preferred the men who brought back wealth (camels and goats). This further shows the link between violent masculinities and women’s role in driving men to conflict.

¹¹FGD with Samburu Morans at Lerata Ward, September 3, 2023.

¹²FGD with Samburu Morans at Lerata Ward, 3 September 2023.

*Mama wa shujaa anakamua ng'ombe yake
Mama wa mwoga, anaenda akiomba omba maziwa'.*

Translated to:

*'The heroes mother milks her cow
The coward's mother goes around begging for milk'*

Praise songs by Borana mothers in Marsabit County¹³

4.2.3 Nurturing Boys to Men and Construction of Militarized Masculinities by Mothers.

Mothers, older sisters, and female relatives also play an important role in teaching, shaping, and encouraging militarized masculinities in boys by discouraging attitudes and behaviors that are not part of hegemonic masculinities. Studies on mothers and masculinities show that mothers are significant role models for sons in their younger years. Mothers construct hegemonic masculinities for boys based on normative ideals and cultural expectations for strong men among the Samburu, Gabbra, and Borana. In Turbi and Dambala Fachana sub-counties in Marsabit County, women participants observed that mothers nurtured their boys by encouraging them to be courageous men who would defend their communities when they grew older and criticizing behavior that was considered weak and 'feminine'. For instance, a young mother in Dambala Fachana observed the following:

“When bringing up boy children we warn them not to behave like girls so they can be brave and tough to fight those who steal our livestock.”¹⁴

The women also explained their role in supporting war and the consequent violent masculinities:

“A long time ago, when conflict broke out between the Gabbra and Borana I would tell my husband and other men in my village to go and fight for us. We sang for them to encourage them to fight. These days we have stopped encouraging men to go to war. If they want to go, we tell them to stop because when they are killed it is we women who really suffer because the provider is dead.”¹⁵

Violent masculinities also harm women, as a Borana grandmother in Dambala Fachana shared. In her younger days, she often encouraged the men around her to fight for her community, but observing the destitution of widows changed her worldview. Gender norms dictate that men are not only protectors of their community but also providers. Hence, when men die, their women suffer financially, but more importantly, they are excluded from the general activities of their communities that are often male-led or male-centered, including peacebuilding. Women, especially mothers, are powerful but untapped agents of peacebuilding given the special relationship they have with their sons.

¹³FGD with Gabbra women at Oronderi, 1 September 2023.

¹⁴FGD with women at Dambala Fachana, Marsabit 2 September 2023.

¹⁵KII with Saku Diba, Elderly woman leader and village peace committee member.

4.2.4 Mothers and Morans Programme for Transforming Militarized Masculinities

The research study found that mothers are valued among communities in the three counties since they play an important role. Mothers are close to their children, including morans, and can play an important role in early warning systems and in conflict management. Among the Boranas, Gabbras, Somali, and Samburu, mothers are highly respected and often privy to information about their sons, which could be helpful in early warning and peacebuilding among pastoralist communities. For instance, among the Samburu, the morans stay in the bush most of their time during their formation as morans, and are not supposed to meet women, including their mothers and relatives. However, despite these rules that are meant to build their masculinity, morans interviewed reported that they often visited settlements when taking breaks from the laga (bush), and during their stays in the community, they lived in their mothers' kitchens when visiting their homesteads. Several mothers reported that these visits provided them with an opportunity to counsel and advise their children.

“Morans cannot walk alone. They always walk in pairs or groups and they often visit their mothers’ houses for food and water. Women have access to their sons and their friends and they can influence their sons to stop violence.”¹⁶

Archers Post FGD, September 2023.

In exploring the capacities of mothers in conflict management, the study found that women, in their roles as mothers exercise agency over their sons, presenting an opportunity for formally involving them in peacebuilding. According to participants in an FGD at Ngaremara, mothers are often ignored by government and development organizations in peace meetings. The mothers complained that:

“The government people meet men under the trees, ignoring women in the manyattas, yet mothers have access and influence over their sons.”¹⁷

The FGD concluded that mothers and female relatives who have access to their moran sons and their friends should be considered key pillars in all conflict prevention programmes, since they have intelligence on planned revenge missions and can influence their sons.

4.2.5 Economic Empowerment Projects for Morans to Transform Violent Masculinities

Beyond paying programmatic attention on mothers in the transformation of militarized masculinities, an equivalent focus is needed on the economic empowerment of morans to adopt alternative lifestyles that will empower them economically. A moran at Lerata ward in Samburu County observed that lack of economic opportunities and low status in their society drove them to perform violent masculinities through cattle raids to earn money, and gain them status in society. Young morans cannot live at home with the rest of society, until they marry, using cattle as bride price.

¹⁶FGD with women at Archers Post, Samburu County in September 2023.

¹⁷FGD with Turkana men and women in Ngaremara, Isiolo County in September 2023.

“For a man to live he must know what belongs to him. After circumcision you cannot eat at home unless after getting married. You cannot ask morans to be peaceful if they don’t have livestock, property, businesses, or jobs. Old men own everything and they get the jobs. So...we have to raid to get animals. Even we morans fear death but lack of money takes us to war.”¹⁸

Mathias, Moran- Lerata Ward, September 2023

4.2.6 Role of Bride Price in Construction of Militarized Masculinities by Women

Bride price is the fourth driver of militarized masculinities among all the nomadic communities in Marsabit, Samburu, and Isiolo. The bride price system expects a man to pay a certain number of cattle or camels to his prospective bride’s family before marriage, as sanctioned by the community elders. Bride prices have been increasing by 44 percent since 2005, according to a UN report, making it increasingly difficult for young men to get married.¹⁹ Drought, famine, and climate change have reduced cattle and camel stocks, forcing young men to conduct cattle raids for marriage, leading to a cycle of violence when communities carry out revenge attacks. Young men without livestock are forced to conduct raids in order to marry, earn respect, and gain status reserved for powerful men who embody hegemonic masculinities in the community. Women in Turbi town reiterated that women, especially mothers, were instrumental in shaping their sons’ ideas of what it means to be man, as they celebrated men who had enough cattle for bride price.

“ In our communities’ men who are not married are not considered men. This forces them to attack the other people for cattle to pay for bride price, so they can be considered a man. Once they return from the raids there is a celebration to welcome the successful raiders as heroes led by women.”²⁰

4.2.7 Beading Teenage Girls and Construction of Dominant Masculinities

Most nomadic ethnic groups in Marsabit, Samburu, and Isiolo organize their societies around age-set systems, which assign different roles and responsibilities. These age sets support the passing on of different cultures, such as beading practice among the Samburu, passing them from one generation to the next. Beading is a community sanctioned practice among the Samburu and Rendille that allows for non-marital sexual relations between a moran and a young girl in his clan in exchange for decorative beads and cash income for her family.²¹ Beading young girls is a harmful practice because it supports sexual relationships between morans and teenage girls aged 9-15 years, leading to teenage pregnancies, unsafe abortions, high school dropout rates, sexually transmitted diseases and sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV). As observed earlier in the analysis of gendered poverty in this report, Samburu and Marsabit are among the top five counties with the highest teen pregnancy rates in Kenya. Samburu leads at 50 percent and Marsabit at 29 percent, according to the latest Kenya Demographic Health Survey (KDHS, 2023). Beading is the leading cause of teenage pregnancies and school dropouts among the Samburu community, while Female Genital Cutting (FGC) in Marsabit is a leading cause of early marriages.

¹⁸FGD with Morans at Lerata Ward, Samburu County.

¹⁹Silent Sacrifice, 2012, Samburu Women Trust Beading Report.

²⁰FGD with Turkana men and women in Ngaremarara, Isiolo County in September 2023.

²¹Silent Sacrifice: Girl Child Beading in Samburu County, 2013.

Beading and FGM/C reinforce cultural expectations of hegemonic male and passive femininities to complement men. Once beaded, adolescent girls as young as 10 acquire status as ‘temporary wives’ for the morans who have paid their parents, thus preventing them from attending school and playing with other children their age. The practice has significantly more negative than positive consequences for the teenage girls. Despite its harmful effects, mothers and clan members continue to encourage the practice due to the perceived benefits that accrue in patriarchal cultures that value girls as a source of wealth. According to a focus group discussion with women at Archer’s Post, beading continues despite being a harmful practice because it is perceived to improve relations between families.

“ Beading strengthens family ties, provides a wealth source for family, leads to protection of the girl by warriors, and prepares the girls for marriage.” ²²

The same FGD outlined the negative impact of beading on teen girls, which include early pregnancies, early marriages, unsafe abortions, death from abortions, school drop-out, high illiteracy, STIs, child prostitution, child labor, traumatic childhoods and SGBV from the warriors. Inter-clan conflicts among morans competing to bead the same girls were also prevalent, hence triggering and driving conflict among Samburu clans. According to the FGD held in Archers Post, beading impacts girls negatively with dire effects on their education, reproductive health, mental health, and overall well-being. The FGD also observed that the practice is a driver of conflict, as rival clans and warriors create enmity over the selection of beaded girls.

4.3 Objective 3: Assessment of Gendered Sources of Resilience for Peacebuilding

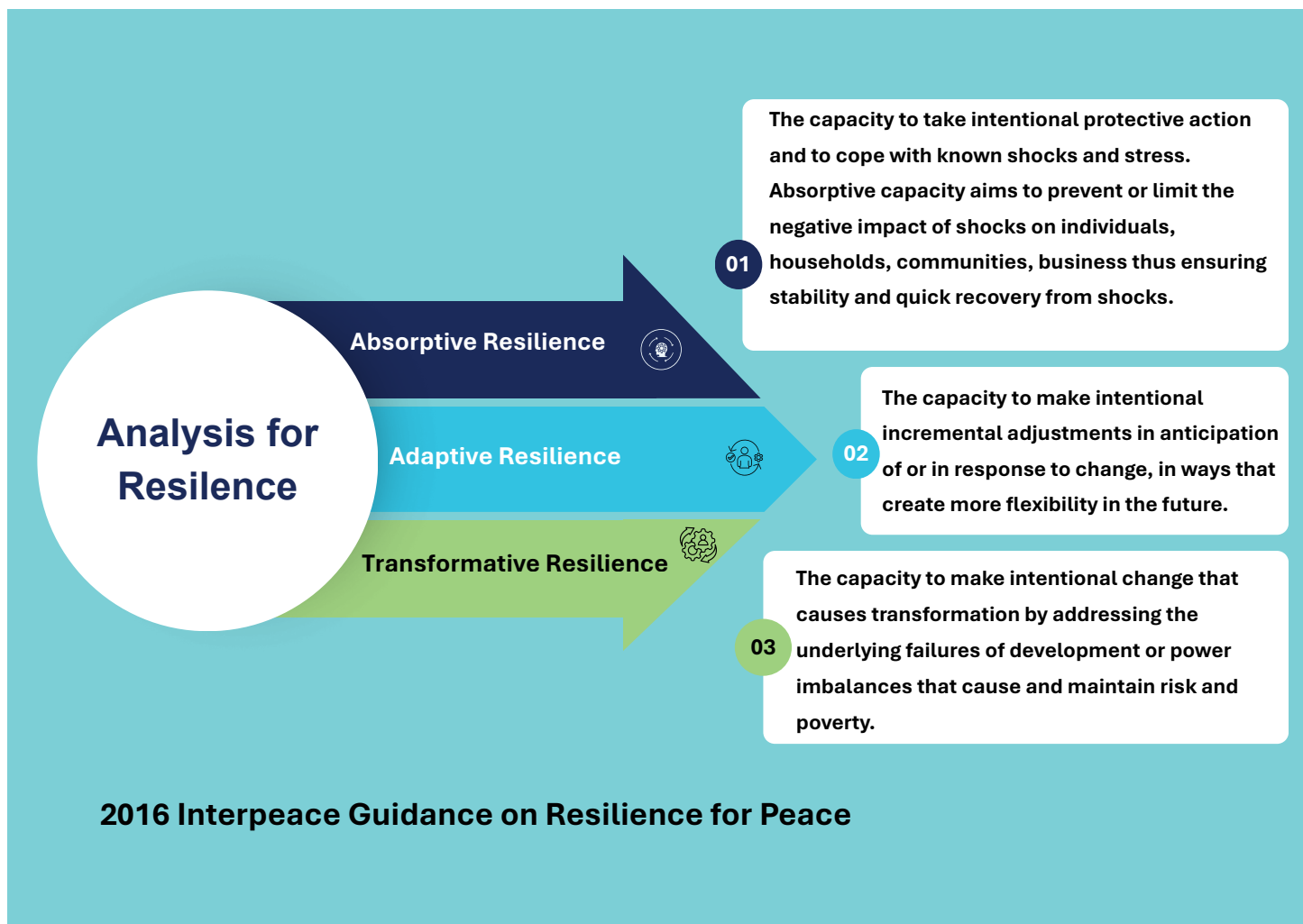
4.3.1 Gendered Agencies, Capacities, and Resilience in Northern Kenya using the Framework for Assessing Resilience (FAR): Analysis of Gendered Resilience

According to the Interpeace Guidance Note for Assessing Resilience, Interpeace believes that in order to transform conflict, it is necessary ‘to not only identify its causes, but also to better understand existing sources of resilience for peacebuilding in societies so that they can be strengthened.’²³ Interpeace defines resilience for peace as the diverse endogenous attributes, capacities, resources, and responses, that potentially enable individuals, communities, institutions, and societies to deal peacefully with the impact of past conflict and violence, as well as to prevent new and emerging patterns of conflict and violence.²⁴

An assessment of resilience for peace using the Interpeace Framework for Assessing Resilience (FAR) emphasizes endogenous assets, attributes, and resources that can transform conflict at the individual, household, community, and societal levels. This section explores the local processes, endogenous assets, attributes, and qualities, that creates gendered resilience for peace.

The study examined resilience for peace among women at the household, communal, and societal levels. Analysis of resilience with the Interpeace FAR is conducted at three levels: Absorptive Resilience, Adaptive Resilience, and Transformative Resilience.

²²Focus Group Discussion with Samburu and Rendille Women at Archers Post in September 2023.



According to Interpeace, individuals, households or communities that minimize exposure to shocks and bounce back quickly have absorptive capacity, or endogenous resilience, which is inherent. The study on gendered resilience in Northern Kenya illustrates that men and women at the household and community levels in the three counties demonstrated both absorptive and adaptive resilience through their coping and recovery activities during long drought season between 2021-2023.

These absorptive or endogenous resilience capacities are demonstrated in some activities documented by the study. Endogenous capacities include indigenous knowledge on sustainability passed down through generations for drought and conflict resilience. One sustainable practice among communities in the northern region is the management of pastures (laga) to ensure sustainability. Among the Borana in Moyale, the legend about Hawecha, the woman seer, was a constant inspiration for women peacebuilders, endogenous resilience despite their exclusion from formal processes.

²³Interpeace Assessing Resilience for Peace <https://www.interpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/2016-FAR-Guidance-note-Assesing-Resilience-for-Peace-v7.pdf>

²⁴Interpeace Guidance on Resilience for Peace <https://www.interpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/2016-FAR-Guidance-note-Assesing-Resilience-for-Peace-v7.pdf>

Hawecha the Woman Dreamer

Among the BoranaThe Borana women in Moyale draw inspiration and strength from Hawecha who was an Oromo mythical female legend who is believed to have lived between Southern Ethiopia and Northern Kenya 200 years ago. Hawecha was a seer who provided leadership during crisis by providing information about impending famines, war, pestilence and death. Hawecha's story has been published to inspire women and illustrate Borana women's role in early warning among other peace and security activities where women are often ignored in the present day.²⁵

The main endogenous capacity the study found was women's participation in chamas. Chamas are informal community-based support and savings groups that offer savings and loan facilities for their members. Chamas have been in existence for a long time. The Borana women have support groups called Marro networks, which are endogenous to their community. Endogenous/adoptive capacity was recorded for women's resilience in the Marro culture among the Waso Borana in Isiolo, Northern Kenya. The women reported drawing on culturally existing informal Marro reciprocity networks and women's groups as a form of endogenous and adaptive resilience in the contexts of limited financial resources and climate change.²⁶ According to Khalif and Oba (2018), the women groups collaborate to reciprocate labor, share food, and cash. Membership in these women's groups or chamas affords women income-generating activities that contribute to food security and the education of children, resulting to greater autonomy for women. If harnessed, this autonomy can enable them to participate in peace, politics, and security activities outside the household.

During the drought season, Marro and chamas provided their members with loans and funds to minimize their exposure to shocks and enable them recover quickly from losses caused by calamities. This allowed them to bounce back from short-term stresses. Chamas in Northern Kenya and indeed across Kenya, are important resilience mechanisms that allow women and men, but mostly women, to pool their resources, and access credit for restocking or replanting after crisis.

On adaptive resilience capacities, the study found women were better able to adapt to shocks and disasters in Northern Kenya by making proactive choices regarding alternative livelihoods. Adaptive capacities for resilience enable flexibility and incremental changes through ongoing process of continuous learning, adjustment, and innovation. For instance, women in Naiberi, Samburu County, started a community kitchen garden in the middle of the shopping centre which they watered in turns and then sold the vegetables as an alternative livelihood, ensuring income and food security despite the drought. Similarly, women in Samburu and Marsabit counties who depended on rivers to sell their beadwork to tourists adapted alternative forms of livelihoods when the rivers dried up following prolonged drought, demonstrating adaptive resilience against environmental stress as illustrated in the interview below:

²⁵Mann R., (2008), Hawecha: A Woman for All Time <https://search.worldcat.org/title/hawecha-a-woman-for-all-time/oclc/228634109>

²⁶FGD with Isiolo Women on September 6, 2023.

“These days things have changed due to lack of water. This place used to have water from River Ewaso Nyiro up to Lorian Camp and the tourists would come to see the crocodiles in the river near where we sold our Ushanga (beads). Now the rivers are dry. The market for Ushangas died and we were forced to burn charcoal to get money for sustenance.”²⁷

Transformative capacity, according to Interpeace FAR, is the ability to make intentional changes to stop or reduce the causes of risk, vulnerability, poverty, and inequality, and ensure a more equitable society. The study found that individuals interviewed were able to transform their individual and household resilience but were less able to transform their societies through transformative resilience capacities that enabled system-level changes, such as governance changes that address the root causes of conflicts.

Building capacities for resilience needs to move beyond individuals and households to governance structures in the Northern region to address root causes of marginalization and discrimination. Chamas and Marro networks have the capacity for transformative resilience if local and international Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and government can invest in them. These groups were documented to have invested in transitioning their members from livestock dependency to diversify sources of income and food.

By adopting innovative techniques, including irrigation in Dambala Fachana and Walda, women groups and chama members transformed their community's resilience to drought through a gendered form of adaptive and transformative resilience. Empowering women for climate change and peacebuilding, by providing training, resources, and supporting women role models in their transformative roles, can transform conflicts and contribute to community resilience against conflict and food insecurity. The next section discusses opportunities for transformational resilience through case studies.

Opportunities for Transformational Resilience in Peacebuilding

4.3.2 Women's Chamas: Endogenous Capacities for Resilience and Potential for Transformative Resilience

Women have successfully negotiated conflict in the Northern region, but their experiences remain unacknowledged and invisible. The study found that women's participation in peace processes in the region is often informal, hence underappreciated, despite the passing of The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSC) in 2000.

The research found two relevant cases in Marsabit County where women were involved in negotiating peace through informal savings and welfare groups, popularly known as chamas in Kenya. While chamas are widely recognized for advancing resilience among women during financial crisis, little attention is paid to chamas as a safe space that can be harnessed for peacebuilding. The study found that most adult women were affiliated with a chama for economic activities and development projects in the community, where they contributed money towards collective projects. Njeri Kinyanjui (2012), in her book on Vyamas (plural for chamas), argues that chamas are informal institutions of hope for ordinary people who creatively use traditional methods of working together to save and invest. This research report provides two cases studies as a testament to women's endogenous resilience and potential for transformative resilience through chamas.

²⁷ Samburu Ushanga/Beads Maker and Trader at Archers Post Women FGD on 24 September 2023.



Figure 8 A Turkana woman contributes during a peace meeting in Lokuto, Baragoi, © NEPCOH/Interpeace, 2024.

The two cases which demonstrate the endogenous capacities in resilience are the Gabra-Borana women's informal negotiation process after the Turbi Massacre and the second is women's role in peace-making in the Kenya-Ethiopia Borderlands by the Moyale Women Cross Border Network.

The Turbi massacre was a deadly conflict between the Borana and the Gabra in Turbi, Marsabit County in 2005, following previous conflicts over scarce land, pasture, and water. The 2005 massacre led to the displacement of 6,000 people and the deaths of 53 people, including 21 children (Interpeace 2023). The Turbi massacre inspired other violent conflicts, which raised the death toll to 95 people (Interpeace 2023). The Gabra and Borana herders-initiated dialogue to end the tensions between the two ethnic groups. Women from both ethnic groups also initiated dialogues between themselves, and they continue to partner in peacebuilding efforts.

Case Study 1

Cross Border Women's Peace Dialogues in Turbi

'We Gabra women created water and school committees with development organizations which enabled us to meet other women and start chamas to save money. Gabra women in Turbi town in September 2022 invited Borana women across their region for dialogue and a cultural festival that brought all groups together. As women we realized how much loss we suffered during conflict including loss of our sons, husbands and relatives leaving us widowed and poor. We apologized to each other and we now attend wedding and funeral events across the hill (Borana side) while constantly being in dialogue.'²⁸

Chokolisa, Turbi Women Group Chairperson, FGD held in Turbi September 2023

Women's groups and chamas have been informally making efforts to reconcile communities through cross-border dialogues conducted through these groups. Chamas in the Northern region represent an underexplored opportunity not only for women's resilience but also women's peacebuilding activities.

In Moyale sub-county, women are excluded from the county government-led peace committee despite numerous efforts by women peace activists to be included. This exclusion has not deterred women from organizing for peace dialogues through women groups that focus on culture and women's economic empowerment. An ethnically diverse women's group interviewed in Moyale town comprised Borana, Gabra, and Burji members who organize cultural ceremonies and festivals to celebrate their diverse cultures and foster peace.

The group has formed an ad hoc group known as the Baqacha Women Group, which, beyond celebrating culture, also advocates for girls' education and an end to FGM and early marriages. Baqacha Women Group is also involved in conflict resolution and early warning. The group discourages their husbands, brothers, sons, and men in general in Moyale from perpetrating violence after the November 2011-2014 violent conflicts. The women groups like Baqacha have united women through attending weddings across the Gabra-Borana divide and addressing cross-border interference from Oromo in Ethiopia, in support of Borana on Kenyan side. The women's chama group was actively involved in conflict resolution during the 2013-2014 cross-border conflict in Moyale, as they shared in the FGD.

"In 2012-2014, there was conflict between the Oromo and the Gabbra in Moyale. We left our homes on this Kenya side of Moyale and we went to stay in Ethiopia with friends and family. It is then we started the Baqacha women group as a cultural group to unite different ethnic groups through culture. Despite our differences initially as different ethnic groups, working together in the Baqacha Chama helped us preserve our culture and preserve peace. We started preaching peace and talked to women to stop ethnic hatred and stop pushing men to go for revenge wars. When the 2018-2019 conflicts started in Moyale started we were united-so we began to talk to women and leaders on Kenya Moyale side to stop the conflict. We also advocate for better hygiene especially during COVID 19, we buy and distribute relief food and fight against FGM and child marriages. We take care of many things and we are now respected. They are now asking everyone to go learn from Baqacha Women Group."²⁹

²⁸ Turbi Women FGD in Turbi town held on 1 September 2023.

²⁹ Baqacha Women Group FGD at Moyale town hall, 1 September 2023.

4.3.3 Women Role Models as Transformational Resilience Agents for Peacebuilding

The research study identified several women role models in security positions who are transforming perceptions and ensuring that girls' and women's concerns are mainstreamed in peace and security in Samburu, Marsabit, and Isiolo counties. This can be celebrated as transformational resilience.

Among the three counties where the study was conducted, Samburu registered the highest number of female role models in peace and security, including chiefs, peace committee members, and policewomen, among others. Despite enormous challenges faced by Samburu women including harmful cultural practices such as FGM, beading, and SGBV, which hinder girls' education and progress, the county has deliberately increased female role models in line with constitutional and county gender policies. These policies support women's appointment in government jobs and ensure that no more than two-thirds of appointments are of the same gender.

Appointed women role models in the peace and security sector provide opportunities for partnerships with organizations such as Interpeace to challenge stereotypes on women's role in peacebuilding. For instance, Joyce Nairesia Lesegi was elected the Chairperson of the Samburu Elders Council in Isiolo, becoming the first woman to join the Council of Elders and the first woman to chair it. As Chairperson, Joyce is now respected by male elders in her community in Oldonyiro, following her consistent highlighting of Samburu issues through traditional and news media.³⁰ She was previously disregarded as a potential elder because dominant hegemonic masculinity demands men who physically chase after cattle during the raids, but she has proved herself, leading to her appointment as Chairperson.



Figure 9 Samburu women follow proceedings during a peace meeting in Ngilai, Samburu. © NEPCOH/Interpeace, 2024.

³⁰ KII with Samburu Council of Elders Chair, Joyce Naiseria.

Chief Joy Lenawalbene was appointed as Samburu County’s first female Chief of Waso West Location in Samburu East in January 2021.³¹ Since then, more Samburu women have been appointed as assistant chiefs and chiefs, including Chief Hellen Teresa Lebasha, Assistant Chief of Lerata sub-ward, and the Chief in charge of Merille Location, who is also a woman widely respected by the community, including the elders. Another Assistant Chief, Mariam, has transformed how women are perceived. She is in charge of Hafara ward in Samburu County. Like other female leaders in patriarchal societies, these women have faced challenges being accepted by the community, especially by male elders who considered them unfit to manage peace committees because of their age and gender.

*‘At the start I faced challenges like one day when I was chairing the peace committee meeting an old man said they cannot be led by a woman and he asked me to leave. I told him I was the assistant chief appointed by the state and I would not leave. Since then, I am respected and I don’t need to meet morans while accompanied by an old man. During the dry season raids increased and I would look for the peaceful morans and Wazee to recover the stolen cattle with my support. I also go around checking that all children go to school when schools open. In the Samburu East Sub-County peace committee, we have 5 women and they are making an impact especially in dealing with FGM and child marriages.’*³²



Figure 10 Pokot herders during a peace meeting at Cheptulwo, Turkana. © NEPCOH/Interpeace, 2024.

³¹ KII with Assistant Chief Helen Lebasha, Lerata Village, Samburu County.

³² KII with Assistant Chief Helen Lebasha, Lerata Village, Samburu County.



Another female chief in Merille town, Marsabit County, shared that she initially experienced resistance and demonstrations opposing her appointment. This has since changed, with the community now embracing her leadership in peace and security matters because of her reliability and effectiveness. The chief has also increased the number of women in peace committees at the ward level and encourages them to contribute in meetings for sustainability.³³ Marsabit County also has another assistant chief in North Horr and a police woman, Senior Sergeant Susan Lenguya, whose role in combating cattle raiders is celebrated in Naibiri and greater Laisamis, proving that women with military and police training can deal with armed cattle raids successfully.

“Hawecha the Woman Dreamer Among the Borana

The Borana women in Moyale draw inspiration and strength from Hawecha who was an Oromo mythical female legend who is believed to have lived between Southern Ethiopia and Northern Kenya 200 years ago. Hawecha was a seer who provided leadership during crisis by providing information about impending famines, war, pestilence and death. Hawecha’s story has been published to inspire women and illustrate Borana women’s role in early warning among other peace and security activities where women are often ignored in the present day.³⁴

³³KII with Chief Merille Village, Marsabit County.

³⁴Mann R., (2008), Hawecha: A Woman for All Time <https://search.worldcat.org/title/hawecha-a-woman-for-all-time/oclc/228634109>

5.0 Discussion of Findings

The findings indicate that there is political interest at the local level, especially among grassroots women, for increased participation in peace and security management. However, the commensurate political will by county and national leaders in Northern Kenya is lacking. There are inadequate human and financial resources provided by both levels of government to catalyze greater gender inclusivity, including gendering peace programming at the county levels. The study identified Interpeace/NCIC infrastructures for peace, such as the Ceasefire Monitoring Committees (CMCs) and the Intervillage Dialogue-Space Committees (IVDSCs) as key pillars in securing peace in the Northern region, alongside other organizations. The findings demonstrate that Interpeace, in partnership with the Kenya Government through the NCIC and other stakeholders, has to a large extent implemented relevant peace interventions that have contributed to effectively reducing violent conflict in the region. However, early warning systems and community ceasefire committees remain largely male-centered.

Negligible changes have been made in implementation of gender mainstreaming programmes by county governments, despite progress made by women's organizations at the local level. This is despite a national government gender policy that requires no more than two-thirds of representatives to be of the same gender. The Northern Kenya leadership has convinced the national government of the region's exceptionality creating what can be described as a 'State of Exception' where national policies, including gender policies, cannot be implemented due to its unique cultural context. This has created the notion that women's inclusion in peace, security, and conflict matters is impossible, as these are regarded as masculinist issues that can only be dealt with by men. While other sectors in the region, such as development programmes for water projects and food relief, have made progress in ensuring women's inclusion, very little progress has been made in the peace and security sector. This is despite Kenya having ratified the United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 in 2000.

The study findings resulted from research questions that sought to first understand the Gendered roles and culture that influenced women's low participation in peace and security matters in Northern Kenya, including in the Interpeace CMCs and VDPCs. The study found that women in the three counties played a central role in the reproductive roles compared to communal and productive gender roles, based on Moser's framework on Women's Triple Burden. These cultural demands, which ascribe masculinity to peace and security matters leave women overburdened by care roles while excluding them from equal participation in politics, peace, security, and conflict management matters.

The second finding was in response to the question of gendered drivers of conflict in Northern Kenya. Analysis of conflict often lacks a gendered analytical lens, which then makes invisible the roles that women and girls play in conflict because it is associated with men and hegemonic masculinities. The study found three key gendered drivers of conflict including: the invisible role of mothers in construction of violent masculinities and non-violent masculinities; the role of women's praise songs in constructing violent masculinities; and the role of moran beading practices in constructing violent masculinities and hegemonic femininities that encourage violence against women (VAW).

The third finding responded to the question of gendered agencies, capacities, and opportunities for resilience in Northern Kenya. The study found several opportunities for adoptive, adaptive, and transformative resilience that Interpeace and its partners can invest in to support women's resilience capacities. These include: Investment in mothers and morans in early warning and transforming masculinities programmes; investment in chamas as spaces for resilience, conflict prevention, conflict resolution and peacebuilding; harnessing women's advocacy for peace in private spaces; and investing in women in peace and security as role models who provide opportunities for women's inclusion and transformation of conflict within communities.

³⁵ The 2010 Kenyan Constitution in Article 27(8) provides for affirmative action where the State is required to take Legislative and other measures to ensure that no more than two-thirds of the members of elective or appointive bodies are of the same gender.

³⁶ Giorgio Agamben, States of Exception.

Key Findings on Gender and Peacebuilding in Northern Kenya

Limited Political Will for Gender Inclusion in Peace and Security

- There is strong interest at grassroots level, particularly among women, for greater participation in peace and security processes.
- However, county and national leaders in Northern Kenya have shown limited political will to support meaningful gender inclusion.
- National and county governments provide inadequate financial and human resources for gender mainstreaming in peacebuilding.

Existing Peace Infrastructures Have Contributed to Stability

- Interpeace/ NCIC reduced violent conflicts through interventions.
- Peace structures supported by Interpeace and the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC), particularly:
 - Cease Fire Monitoring Committees (CMCs)
 - Village Dialogue Peace Committees (VDPCs)
- were identified as critical contributors to peace and conflict reduction in Northern Kenya.
- Despite their effectiveness, both the Interpeace/NCIC-supported structures and other existing infrastructures for peace remain largely male-dominated, especially in early warning and ceasefire mechanisms.

Gender Mainstreaming in Peace and Security Remains Weak

- County governments have made minimal progress in implementing gender mainstreaming in peace and security programming.
- This persists despite Kenya's constitutional gender provisions (two thirds rule) and commitments under the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325).
- Northern Kenya has been framed politically as an "exceptional" region where national gender policies are considered difficult to implement due to cultural norms.

Cultural Barriers in Peace and Security

- Peace, conflict management, and security issues are widely perceived as masculine responsibilities.
- Women are excluded from equal participation because of deeply entrenched patriarchal norms and cultural expectations.
- Using Moser's Triple Burden Framework, the study found that women primarily shoulder reproductive and caregiving roles.
- These responsibilities limit women's ability to engage fully in political, peacebuilding, and security processes.

Conflict Drivers Are Highly Gendered

The study identified several gendered drivers of conflict that are often overlooked in mainstream conflict analysis, including:

- The role of mothers in shaping violent and non-violent masculinities.
- Women's praise songs that reinforce violent masculinities.
- Moran beading practices that contribute to militarized masculinities and hegemonic femininities.
- Social norms that normalize violence against women (VAW).

Untapped Peacebuilding and Resilience Capacities

The research identified important opportunities for strengthening women's resilience and peacebuilding roles, including:

- Investing in mothers and morans in early warning systems and masculinity transformation programmes.
- Supporting Chamas (women's groups) as spaces for:
 - resilience building,
 - conflict prevention,
 - peacebuilding, and
 - conflict resolution.
- Strengthening women's advocacy in private and informal community spaces.
- Investing in women role models in peace and security.

Need for Transformative Approaches to Gender and Peacebuilding

The findings emphasize that sustainable peacebuilding requires:

- transformation of militarized masculinities,
- inclusion of women in formal peace structures,
- long-term social norm change,
- and recognition of women's endogenous resilience capacities.

Recommendations

The study findings propose five Priority Pathways for Gender-Inclusive Peacebuilding in Northern Kenya as recommendations for programming.

1.The first is the Policy Pathway, which recommends the establishment of the Kenya Interpeace Gender Mainstreaming Policy for Interpeace internal programming and community partners such as NCIC and CMCs.

2.The second pathway is the Movement Building Pathway, which recommends that county governments, with support from Interpeace, establish the Interpeace Women's Movement for Peace in two phases. The first phase involves creating parallel Women's Ceasefire Monitoring Committees (WCMCs) as quotas that provide safe spaces for women to grow. This phase also emphasizes building the capacity of WCMCs so they can operate effectively and be recognized as equal in hierarchy to the main CMCs, rather than treated in isolation or as subservient. The second phase would focus on combining the CMCs and WCMCs to ensure collaboration and gender inclusion. This phase also highlights the importance of supporting young women, disabled women, and widows in peace structures through quotas, thereby strengthening inclusivity and representation in peacebuilding.

3.Third pathway is the Social Pathway, which proposes the establishment of the Transformation of Militarized Masculinities programme to transform dominant narratives on violent masculinities and femininities in the region. This pathway seeks to encourage a shift in the value of militarized masculinities toward a more nuanced ideal. Recognizing that this is a long-term process involving many drivers, Interpeace can begin conversations to lay the groundwork for future transformation.

4.The fourth pathway is the Knowledge, Learning, and Exchange Pathway, which recommends several programmes, including, the creation of a Women, Peace, and Security Role Modelling Programme and an Exchange programme for peer learning among communities. The study findings indicate that women need training opportunities in peacebuilding and conflict analysis at the grassroots to avoid disrupting their triple gender roles. Women role models have also emerged as powerful peace and security champions who can visit other women for exchange programmes and increased leadership skills building.

5.The fifth pathway is the Gendered Resilience Pathway, which focuses on building women's endogenous resilience into transformational resilience. These programmes include, Chamas for Resilience and Peacebuilding and the promotion of women role models as agents of resilience. While Chamas in Northern Kenya have mainly focused on economic empowerment and development programmes for women, peacebuilding organizations have not leveraged them as spaces for peacebuilding, despite their potential for resilience building in post-conflict societies, conflict prevention, and conflict resolution during conflict.

PRIORITY PATHWAYS FOR GENDER-INCLUSIVE PEACEBUILDING

01

POLICY PATHWAY

- Develop a Gender Mainstreaming Policy for Interpeace and partners (NCIC, CMCs).
- Embed gender inclusion in all peace programmes.

03

SOCIAL PATHWAY

- Launch a Transforming Militarized Masculinities Programme.
- Promote dialogue to shift norms from violent to peaceful masculinities.

02

MOVEMENT-BUILDING PATHWAY

- Create an Interpeace Women's Movement for Peace.
- Phase 1: Establish women-only peace structures as safe spaces.
- Phase 2: Integrate women into mainstream peace structures once agency grows.

04

KNOWLEDGE, LEARNING & EXCHANGE PATHWAY

- Develop Women, Peace & Security Role-Modelling and Exchange Programmes.
- Train grassroots women in peacebuilding and conflict analysis.
- Support peer learning and leadership exchanges among communities.

05

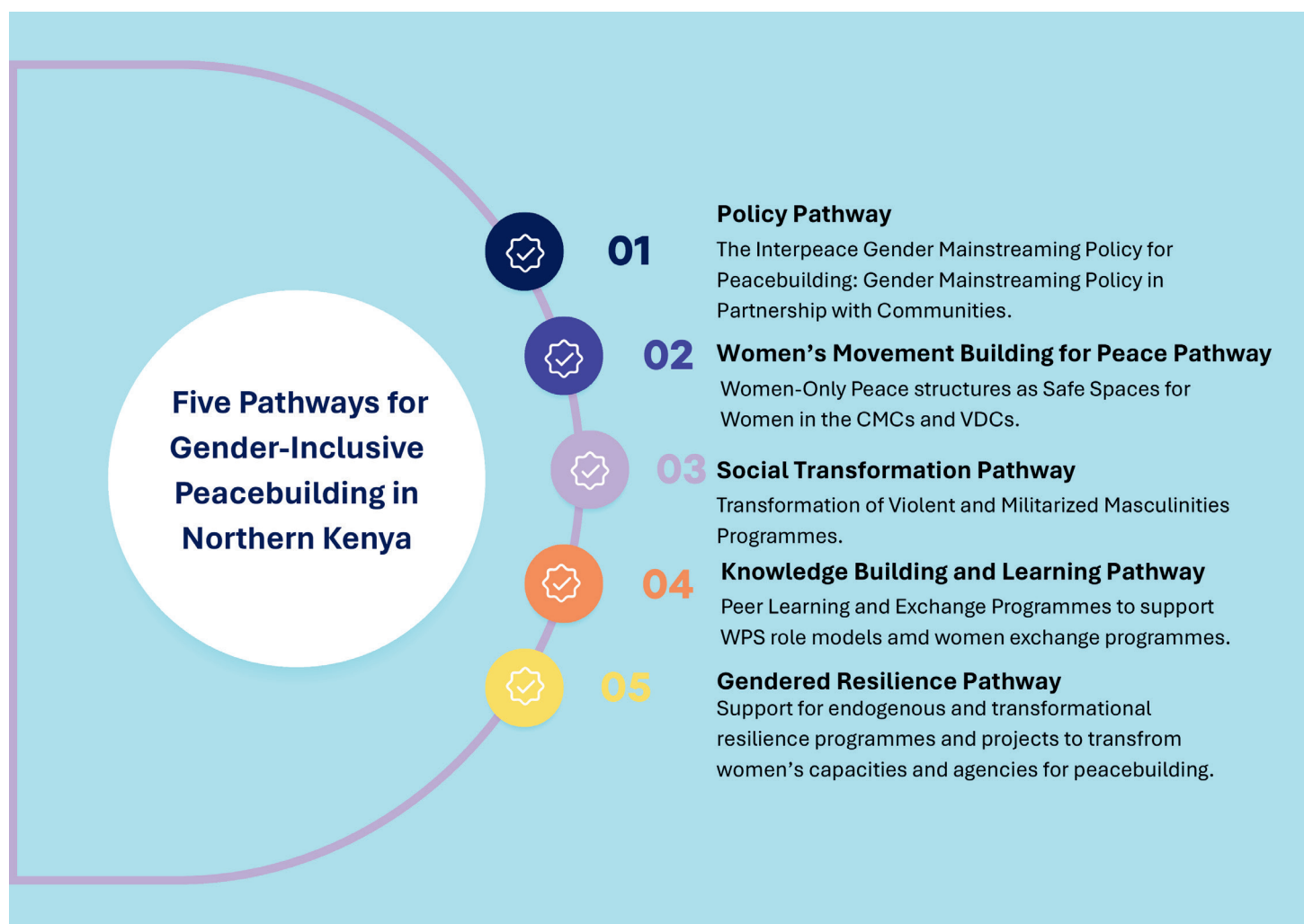
GENDERED RESILIENCE PATHWAY

- Strengthen Chamas for Resilience and Peacebuilding.
- Support women role models to foster transformational resilience.
- Leverage women's economic groups as peacebuilding spaces.

Conclusion

An intersectional approach to studying gender-inclusive peacebuilding in Northern Kenya recognized the diverse and overlapping identities affecting how individuals and groups are affected by conflict. An intersectional approach ensures that all women's efforts are recognized and included in peacebuilding, especially marginalized gender identities, religious minorities, young women, women with disabilities, and widows, to ensure their unique concerns are addressed by peacebuilding programmes.

The study acknowledged the gendered burdens of women in Northern Kenya, and indeed elsewhere in Kenya, and how they create obstacles to their participation in formal peacebuilding activities. The findings also expose how gender affects the different drivers of conflict from an intersectional perspective, providing opportunities to recognize women's resilience, agencies, and contributions to conflict and peacebuilding. Women's agencies, as role model peace champions, mothers, informal peacebuilders and advocates for peace in private spaces have largely been ignored and unacknowledged. The Proposed five Pathways for Gender-Inclusive Peacebuilding provide opportunities to build on these informal and private agencies, correcting the inequality in the recognition of women's peacebuilding efforts while acknowledging their resilience.



RECOMMENDATIONS: STRATEGIC PATHWAYS	RECOMMENDED ACTIVITIES	ACTORS
POLICY PATHWAY Create Interpeace CMC Gender Mainstreaming Policy in Partnership with Communities	• Developing a localized gender policy. • Training and capacity building elders and other peace stakeholders on WPS, gender roles, and peace dividends accrued from Women's inclusion in CMCs. • Creating intersectional women quotas as Interpeace CMC policy.	• VDCs, CMCs, FCDC • Local elders • Women leaders, groups and chamas • WPS Role Models to train CMCs and elders • Chiefs, Gender focal persons, and local government
MOVEMENT BUILDING PATHWAY Create Women-Only Peace Structures as Safe Spaces for Women	• Phase 1: Create Parallel Women CMCs. • Building capacity of WCMC. • Phase 2: Combine CMCs and WCMCs • Support young women, women with disabilities, and widows in peace structures through quotas.	• Women groups and chamas • Young women • VDCs, CMCs, FCDC • PLWD associations • Widows' associations • Gender officers in County Governments
SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION PATHWAY Create a Transformation of Violent/Militarized Masculinities Programme	• Create a Morans for Peace programme. • Create a Moran Mothers Peacebuilding program. • Build capacity of morans and moran mums on WPS including harmful effects of beading and FGM. • Support shift in praise songs to praise non-violent masculinities. • Partner with local economic empowerment programmes to support alternative livelihoods	• Morans • Mothers of morans • Wives, sisters and women • Teen/Young women • Women PWDs • CMCs/VDCs, FCDC • Gender officers in County Governments • Other NGOs
KNOWLEDGE BUILDING AND LEARNING Create a WPS Role Models and Women Exchange Programmes	• Support women, peace and security role models in the region through training, capacity building, and national/international exposure on WPS with other networks. • Support WPS champions awards to encourage women and men. • Support county and country WPS exchange programmes for learning.	• Women Role models • Women A/chiefs • Teen/Young Women • Women PWDs, widows • County Governments • VDC, CMCS, FCDC
RESILIENCE PATHWAY Support Women Groups/ Chamas for Peacebuilding and Resilience Programmes	• Create a database of existing women chamas and Marro networks. • Support women chamas with WPS peacebuilding training opportunities. • Include women chama members in peace and security activities	• Women chamas • Women PWDs • Teen/Young women • Gender officers • County governments

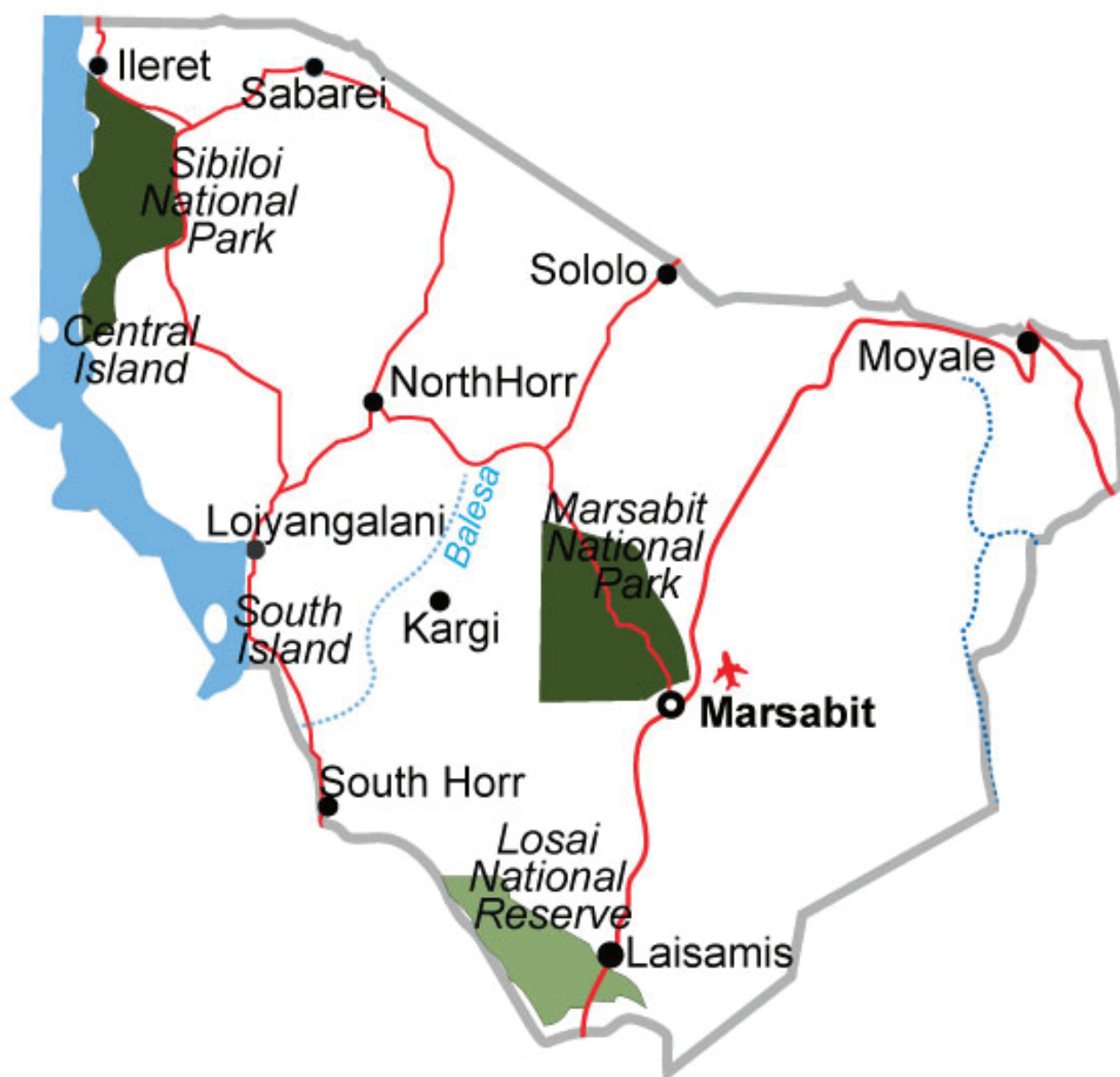
Figure 11 Recommendations on Intersectional Gender and Peacebuilding Interventions

Annexes

Annex 1: North and Northeastern Kenya Counties

Annex 1a: Marsabit County Context

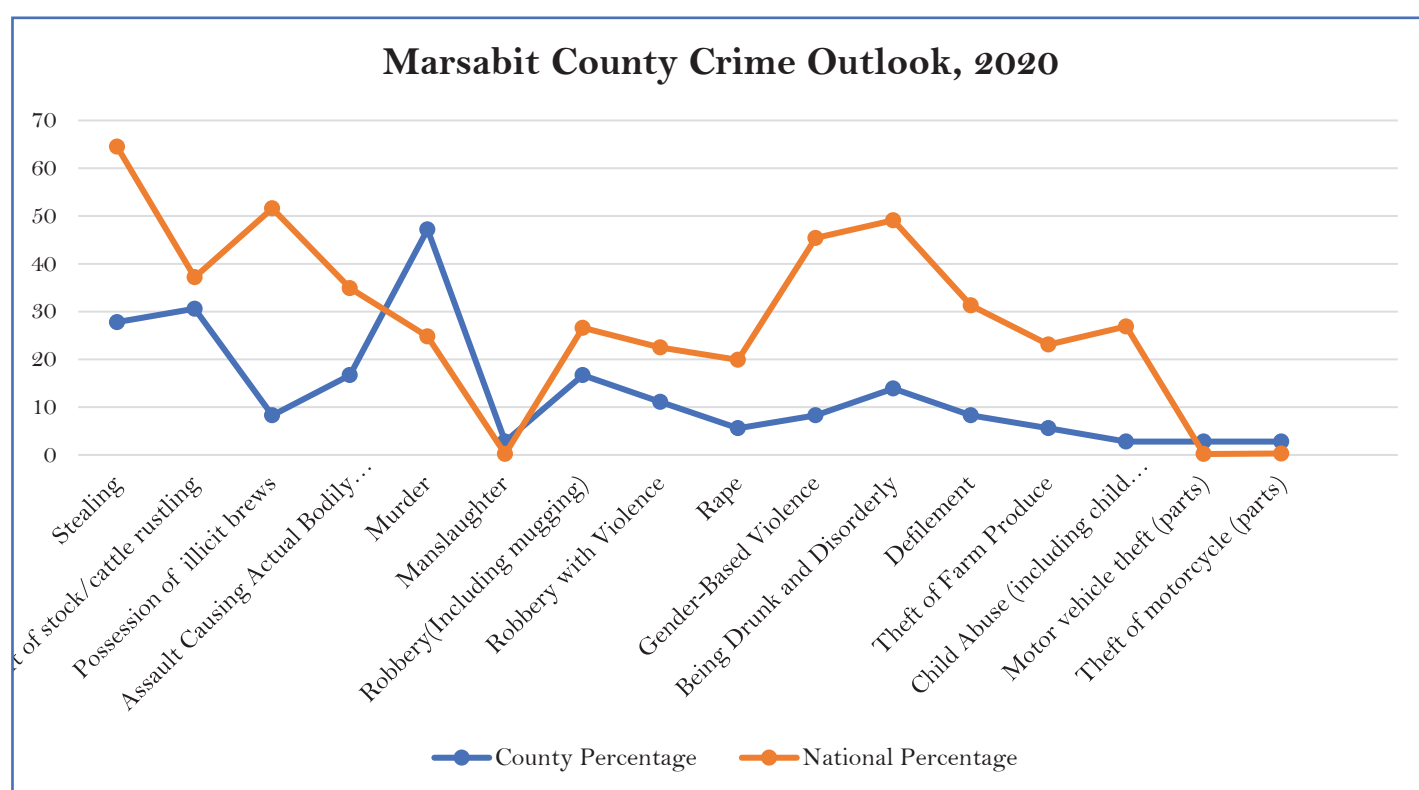
Marsabit County



Marsabit County is a predominantly arid and semi-arid plain land bordering Ethiopia to the north, Wajir County to the east, Isiolo County to the south, Samburu County to the southwest and Turkana County to the west. The county has four sub-counties: Laisamis, Saku, North Horr, and Moyale. Marsabit County is estimated to have a population of 459,785, of whom 53% are male and 47% female.³⁷ The cosmopolitan county hosts 14 ethnic groups, primarily the Gabra, Rendille, Borana, Samburu, Turkana, Burji, Dassanach, Wayyu, Garre, Sakuye, El Molo, Konso, Somali, and Ameru.³⁸ The Rendille, Gabra, and Borana communities are the most populous and, as a result, shape the county's social, political, and economic policies.

Marsabit County's absolute poverty level is 63.7%, which is nearly twice the national rate falling at 34.4 percent (KDHS 2022). The county has the lowest education levels, with large numbers of out-of-school youths, who are mainly girls (UN-Habitat 2021). Only 44% of people in Marsabit County can read and write, compared to a national literacy rate of 82.62% in 2021, with women and girls having much lower literacy rates (UN-Habitat 2021).

There are high levels of food insecurity as well as civil insecurity in the County.³⁹ According to the National Crime Research Centre, crimes reported in Marsabit in 2020 included murder, manslaughter, and gender-based crimes such as rape and defilement.⁴⁰ Crimes rates of murder and manslaughter were higher than the national average in Marsabit County.



³⁷GoK, (2019). Kenya Population and Housing Census. Kenya National Bureau of Statistics.

³⁸Isiolo Gender Watch, (2021). Peace or into pieces: Conflict Analysis and Mapping for Isiolo and Marsabit Counties, Kenya. UKAID.

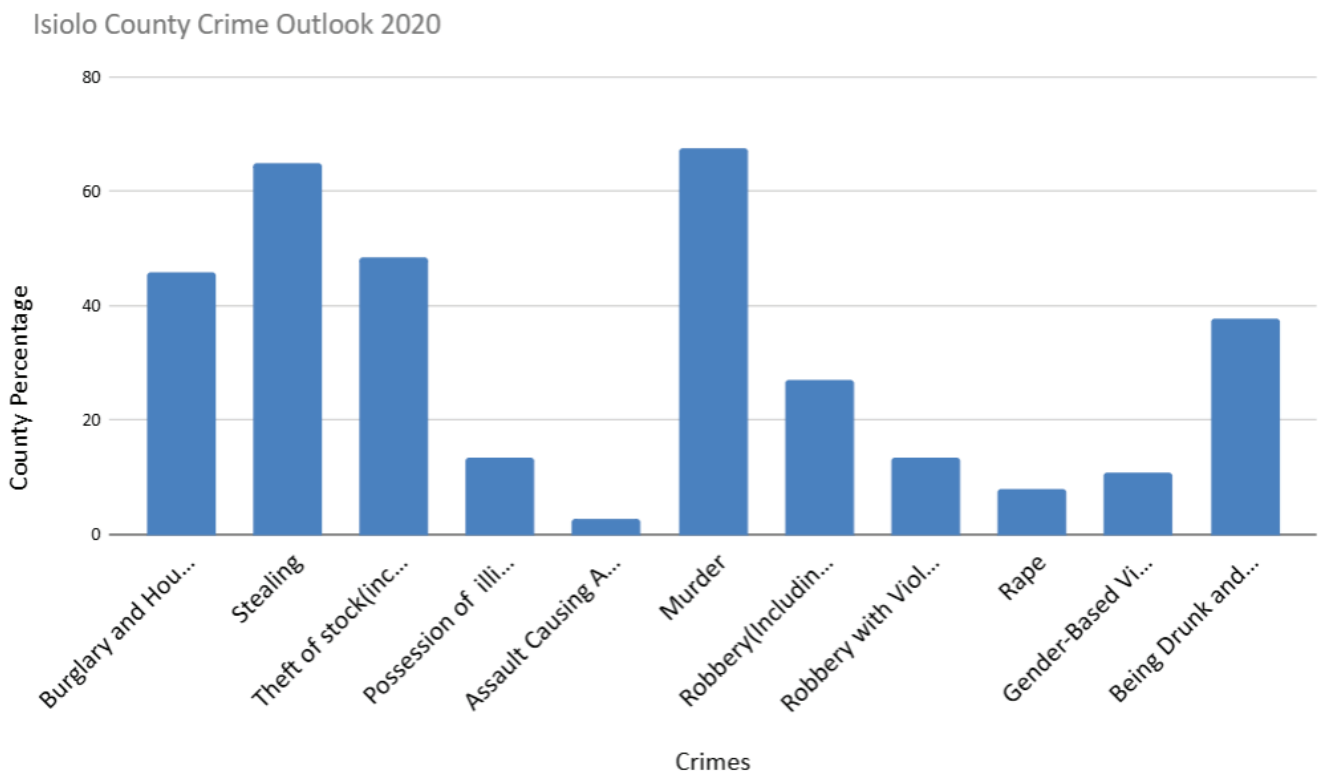
³⁹Marsabit County, (2021). Marsabit County SDGs Voluntary County Reporting. UNHABITAT.

⁴⁰NCRC, (2020). Crime Statistics. NCRC.

Annex 1b: Isiolo County Context

Isiolo County is one of the Northern counties highlighted in this research study. It borders Samburu County to the west, Marsabit County to the north, Wajir County to the east and Meru County to the south. Isiolo County comprises three administrative sub-counties namely Isiolo, Garbatula, and Merti. The county headquarters are currently located in Isiolo town.

The county is cosmopolitan, with different communities comprising of Borana, Turkana, Samburu, Rendile, Meru, and Somalia among others. The main economic activities in the county include livestock herding, crop farming, tourism, commercial wildlife conservation, ranching, and small-scale trade.⁴¹ Isiolo experiences recurrent violent conflicts due to the interplay of factors such as theft, cattle rustling, farmer-herder boundary tensions, human-wildlife conflicts, inter-ethnic violence, and the circulation of small arms and light weapons (SALWs), especially among pastoralists. Increased drought and failed rains between 2018-2022 led to seasonal movements of herders from arid and semi-arid areas, leading to violent clashes among rival herder groups. Tensions around ethno-regional interests and land resources between pastoralists, between herders, and agriculturalists, and between herders and commercial wildlife ranchers, often drive land conflicts in Isiolo due to scarcity of fertile grazing land.

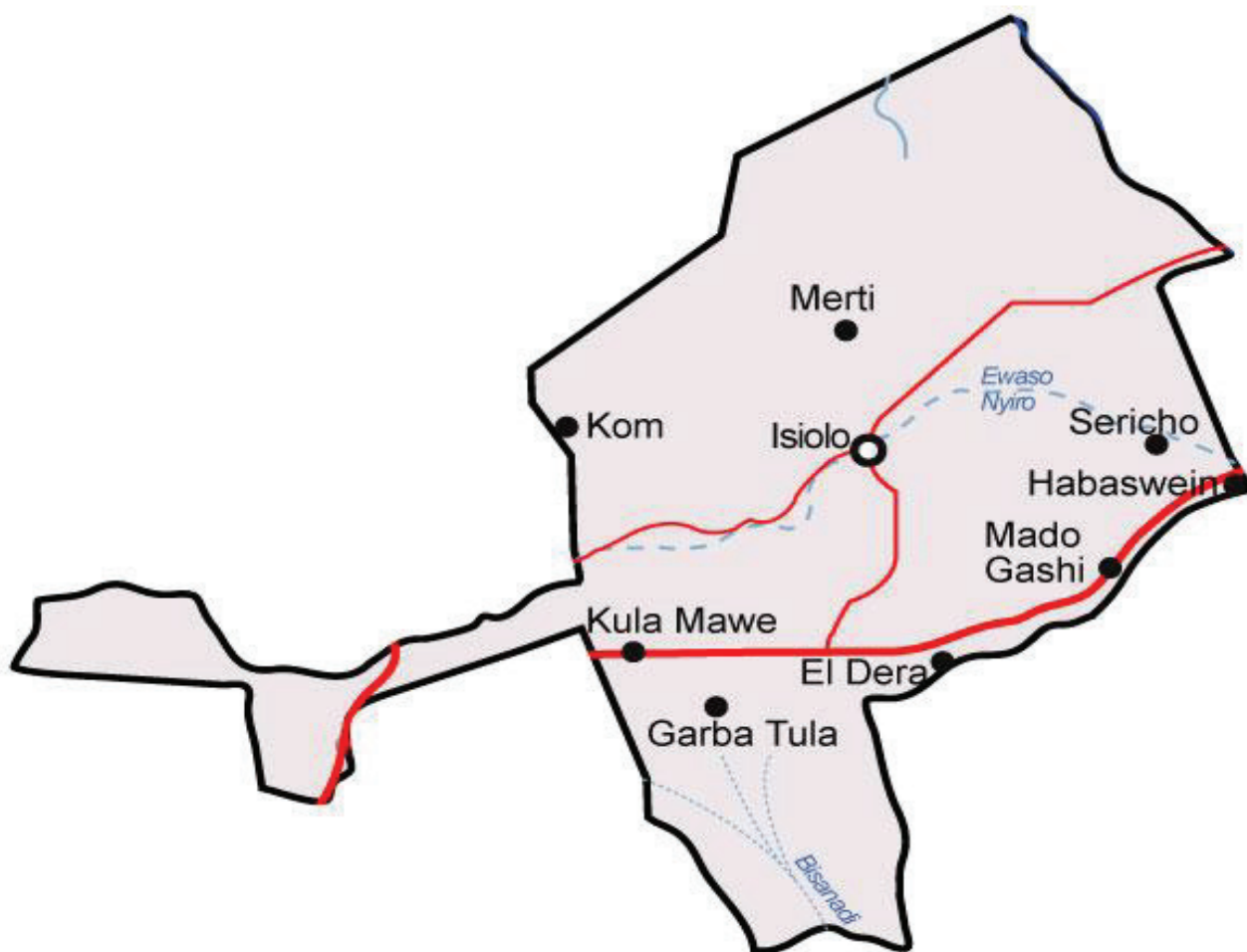


⁴¹ KNBS 2022 Isiolo County Statistical Abstract.

The national government's Vision 2030 plans to develop Isiolo as the gateway city to Northern Kenya and as Kenya's future administrative capital, owing to its central location. This has raised Isiolo's prominence, leading to increased investments and resources such as the Isiolo International Airport, the Lamu Port South-Sudan Ethiopia Transport Project (LAPSSET), and a planned resort city. These mega-infrastructure projects are expected to reduce violent conflicts over resources, though there is a lack of a gender analysis on how the projects will impact men, women, boys, and girls from an intersectional perspective.

Gender dimensions to the challenges faced in the region are myriad. The 2018-2022 drought in Isiolo, as in other northern counties, increased the vulnerability of women and girls to violence as they walked long distances in search of water and pastures. The floods in 2023 have increased women and girls' vulnerability to diseases, as they are primarily responsible for reproductive gender roles and the care economy. Climate change has exacerbated the existing gendered inequalities in Isiolo, increasing women's and girls' vulnerability to gender-based violence, including female genital mutilation (FGM), food insecurity, diseases, early marriages, and early school drop out for girls when resources are strained.

Isiolo County

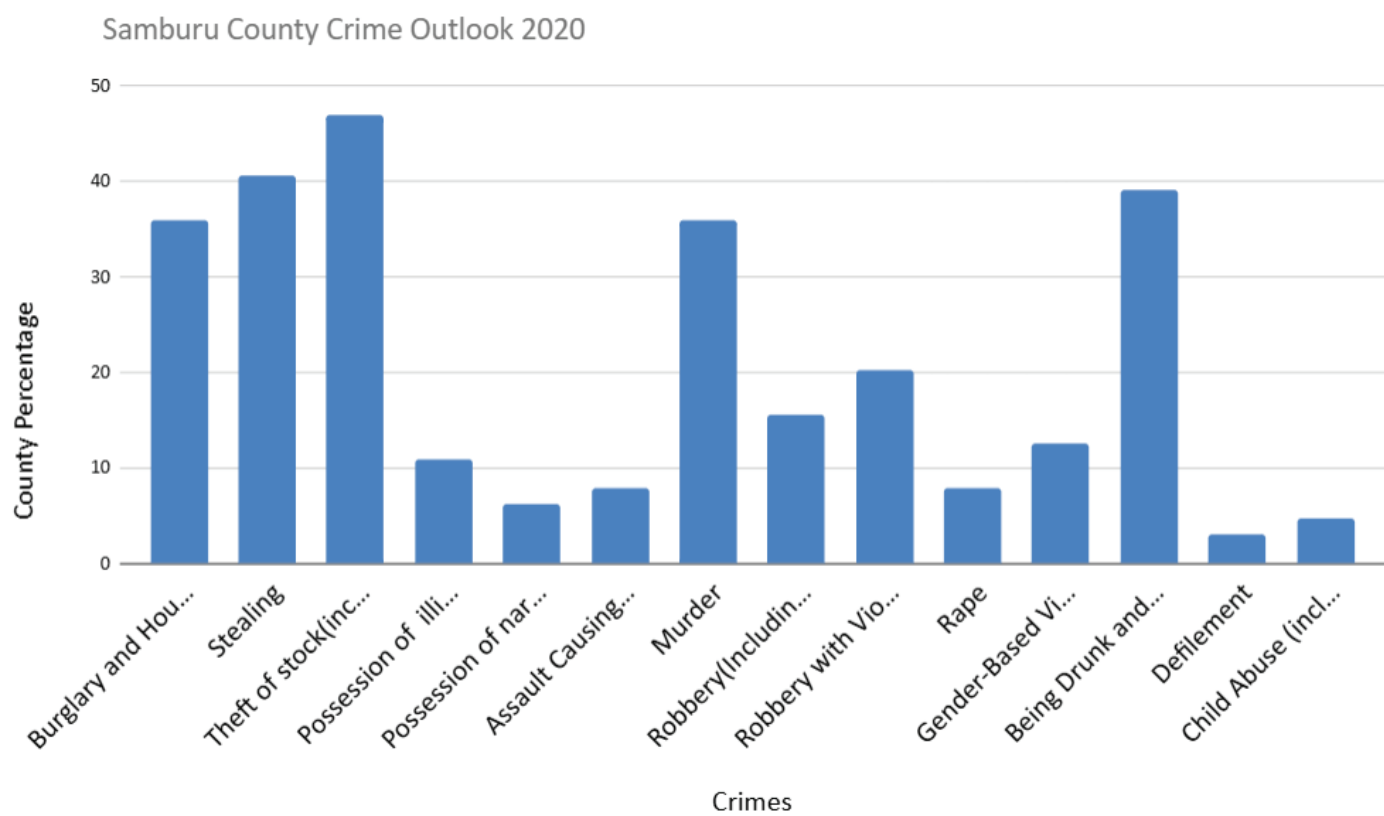


Annex 1c: Samburu County Context

Samburu county is the 10th largest county covering more than 21,000 square kilometers in the Northern region of Kenya among the 29 arid counties in the country. It has a population of 153,546 women and 156,744 men (KNBS 2019). The county has three sub-counties including Samburu North, Samburu East, and Samburu West. Samburu borders the Ewaso Nyiro river to the south and lake Turkana to the north.

Samburu county is inhabited primarily by the Samburu and Turkana communities, among other ethnic groups. Samburu also faces similar security challenges to Marsabit and Isiolo counties, including:

- Natural resource conflicts
- Conflict over limited grazing resources due to drought and climate change
- Failure of migrating communities to adhere to traditional resource-sharing agreements
- Farmers and pastoralists conflicts on one hand and between other
- Inter-pastoralists conflicts, particularly between the Turkana and Borana.



According to the National Crime Research Centre (NCRC), Samburu County’s crime outlook in 2020 included gendered crimes including rape, gender-based violence (GBV), and defilement, as illustrated in the graph above. According to the Kenya Demographic Health Survey (KDHS 2022) survey, Samburu County registered an average of 49% of women who have experienced physical violence since age 15 against a national average of 34% and 17% prevalence of child marriages (KDHS 2022).

Annex 2: Interview Guide and Research Questions

Main Research Questions

1. What are the dominant gender roles for men and women and how do they affect how young women, older women and men's participation in peacebuilding and security activities?
2. Discuss how men and women participate in peace, security and conflict management issues in this community.
3. Explore how gender differences interact with other identity factors to shape drivers of violent conflict.
4. Identify how gender differences interact with other identity factors to shape resilience capacities.
5. Identify how Interpeace peacebuilding efforts in Northern Kenya can effectively promote inclusive peace and harness the potential of gendered sources of resilience?

Additional Probing Research Questions

6. What are the gendered drivers of conflict and what is the impact in different counties?
7. What are the challenges and perceived outcomes of young women's involvement in peace and security interventions?
8. What are the priorities of young women, older women, and young men, older men in pursuit of peace and security in the region?

Annex 3: Factors Considered in This Intersectional Gender Research

Engendering factors	Indicators in Peacebuilding Research
Gender lens applied in the core concepts of research	Gendered nuances considered in conceptual understanding of the key research concepts and locally grounded local on concepts: women, gender, peace, conflict, violence, security, and masculinity.
Use of appropriate gender terms in all research tools	Clarification of myths related to the usage of the term gender e.g., gender is not women but men and women or boys and girls. Men and women are not a homogenous group – consider intersecting markers of inequalities.
Gender dimensions envisioned in research objectives	Gendered nature of conflict and peacebuilding. Gendered impact of climate change and how multiple dimensions of gendered interests and aspirations considered within peace and conflict context
Languages	Data collection protocols that allow women's voices to be heard in the language they are most comfortable in.
Gender mainstreaming in research team and data collection	Allocation of research teams to match gender norms – Consider same-gender FGDs to allow freedom of expression e.g., Women only FGDs provided safe spaces for women facilitated by female researchers.
Gender-disaggregated data	Disaggregated all indicators (peacebuilding roles, conflict, resilience) during data collection, analysis and reporting.
Interview guide questions about different experiences of men and women	Interview guide questions to be outlined along gendered specific cultural norms and circumstances in the context of peace.
Gender considered in sampling	Representative samples to include gender and other intersecting inequalities considered including disability, class, age, ethnicity, religion among others.
Gender and culture-defined spaces for observations and interviews	Considered cultural gender roles and timing of interviews. Consider different barriers or constraints that may affect participation of women.

Annex 4: Tabulation of Respondents and Locations

Type of Data Collection Method and Gender	No. of respondents	Location	No. of FGDs or KIIs
Male FGDS	Approx. 60	2 FGDS: Male elders and DPC (Lerata and Marsabit) 1 FGD: Turkana mixed men and women (Ngare Mara) 1 FGD: Samburu Morans (Kargi)	4
Female FGDS PWDS	Approx. 120	Female only mixed and young women only: Dubqunyo (Saku), Horonderi (Saku), Turbi (North Horr), Moyale, Warda, Laisamis, Nairibi, Archers Post, Lenkusaka, Ngare Mara(Isiolo), Isiolo town.	9
KIIs	15	Female Chiefs: Merille, North Horr, Lerata	3
		Female Police: Laisamis	1
		Women County Leaders: Saku, Lerata	4
		County Government Gender Officials: Saku, Laisamis	2
		Women living with disabilities: Warda, Isiolo	3
		Male elders and leaders: Laisamis, Oldonyiro	2
Total	180	13 FGDS and 15 KIIs	
Counties	3	Marsabit: Saku, Moyale, North Horr, Laisamis, Samburu (East), Isiolo (Isiolo)	

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