

MASCULINITY AND INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE IN KENYA

HEARING THE VOICES OF MEN



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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FIDA	Federation of Kenya Women Lawyers
GBV	Gender Based Violence
IPV	Intimate Partner Violence
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
SLDF	Sabaot Land Defense Force

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Kenya has recently witnessed a surge of intimate partner killings; 11 women were killed by a current or ex-partner in February 2019. Over 2019, 44 women and 3 men killed by a current or ex-partner.¹ Prior to these alarming statistics, it was already recognized that intimate partner violence (IPV) is common and normalized, affecting 4 out of 10 women in Kenya (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2014). The Government of Kenya, civil society activists and researchers agree that this is a pressing human rights, health, and development issue and have accordingly prioritized research for women experiencing violence and preventative and redressive measures.

Worldwide, IPV affects around a third of women (WHO n.d.) and leads to a range of physical, sexual, reproductive and mental problems. A number of contributory factors have been identified at individual, family, community and wider society levels and have shaped interventions. These include beliefs about male entitlement and gender inequality and the perpetuation of norms on the acceptability of violence to enforce male dominance (WHO/LSHTM, 2010). The International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES) in 2010 identified how economic and work stress can lead to gender-based violence through feelings of low self-esteem and inadequacy and the need to reassert dominance to preserve status (International Centre for Research on Women, 2010). In line with this, several studies have also identified the

phenomenon of increased violence relating to female empowerment, where men are not engaged or assisted. (Flood 2015, Barker et al 2007, Gibbs et al 2015).

A recent study by NCRC (2018) similarly found that violence against women in general, and domestic violence in particular, is intricately linked to real or perceived fulfilment of masculine identities amidst economic pressures. However, one limitation of this study was that it interviewed mainly women respondents. Further, while patriarchal cultures have been well studied, there is less understanding of attitudes about masculinity and IPV within the changing Kenya context of modernization, urbanization and women's empowerment.

The study aimed to examine IPV and its links to masculine identities in the current Kenya context and to explore possibilities for intervention. Specifically the study sought to: 1) Understand men's perceptions about masculinity and male roles and behaviors, within the changing cultural context in Kenya; 2) Find out what men think about IPV as it relates to masculinity, male roles and behavior in changing cultural context and 3) Recommend opportunities for support and prevention of IPV. The report is intended to inform the Office of the President and to influence government policy and practice, as well as civil society and faith-based organizations.

¹ "Counting Dead Women Kenya" Facebook site compiled from media sources.

The study was carried out in Bungoma, Kwale, Mombasa, and Nakuru counties, between May and June 2019. It comprised a questionnaire issued to 674 respondents, twenty-nine focused group discussions and twenty-seven key informant interviews with workers in government, criminal justice, security, health, civil society and faith-based sectors, followed by quantitative and qualitative analysis.

Findings

The survey sample was representative of the Kenya population in terms of age distribution, but on the whole the respondents were better educated, with a higher percentage having reached secondary education and above, than the general population. There were also a higher percentage of Muslims than that of the whole population in Kenya, reflecting the coastal counties included in the study.

Questionnaire respondents agreed with the importance of a number of “marks of manhood,” covering physical characteristics, money and status, responsibility, leadership and sexuality. Interviewees and focus group discussion (FGD) respondents identified masculine identity and male roles mainly in terms of leadership of the family, taking responsibility for the family, protection and provision. These are in part dependent upon socialization and African tradition, but also find a significant basis in different religious beliefs.

These perceived roles are being challenged in a number of ways. The most commonly voiced challenge to masculine identity and roles operating at both relationship and societal level is women’s economic and social empowerment. There was a general approval of women running businesses (although quite a number thought that men should retain control over the finances) but

it was clear that men could be angered by certain disrespectful attitudes of women which they believed to be related to societal change and empowerment. Overall men did not disagree with women disputing with them in private, though in public this was considered unacceptable by most. Other behaviours which met with overall disapproval were refusal of sex, refusal to have children/more children, neglect of household duties and having another partner. Several men expressed concern about the changing tide of society, and opposed feminism, materialism and individualism which are to some extent alien to African culture and Christian and Muslim religion. The influence of social media and TV was a common concern.

Most men strongly disagreed with violent behaviours against women such as: insulting or calling names; threatening or scaring; slapping or pinching; pushing or shoving; forced sex; choking, burning or cutting; and hitting or kicking. However 20% of men felt that sometimes violence was the only option. Several men in FGDs in all counties were in favour of light physical “discipline” through slapping, which they deemed necessary to maintain the respect of a woman. Several consequences of IPV were identified, and most men agreed with statements such as “change is necessary in our society through a multi-agency approach” and that “violent men would like help to change.” However, they also agreed with a statement that “media/society is hard on men” and that “a lot of help is being given to women but not to men” (77%).

Men gave a wealth of views on the causes, both direct and indirect of IPV including childhood emotional trauma, psychological factors, the breakdown of societal norms and institutions particularly those supporting marriage, substance abuse and the influence of technology. The

undermining of a man's self-esteem and masculine identity at relationship and societal levels was an important factor and behaviours of women which were disrespectful, humiliating, hurtful or sexually unfaithful were particularly likely to cause violence. The "sponsor" relationship and men working away were mentioned as specific contexts for female infidelity and resulting violence. The persistence of male polygamy, albeit now without formal marriage was also source of tension and a factor in conflict and violence in relationships.

Most men preferred to resolve situations of conflict and violence in relationships through dialogue and involvement of elders and religious institutions. Police, government institutions, hospitals and schools were considered less important. Men generally lamented that police favoured women, which prevented their involvement with them. A number of civil society organizations were also noted to have a valuable role in addressing IPV. Respondents agreed that a variety of issues are barriers to addressing the problem of IPV, including attitudes, lack of knowledge and lack of capacity to cultural and societal failings and problems.

Comments and Recommendations

It is clear that men need support and help to articulate and discuss some of the tensions they are feeling and consider how to deal with them in a constructive way. This may involve resisting some changes and accepting others.

The study raised an important question over women's empowerment and its impact on Kenyan society and perhaps other similar African societies. The unintended impacts of focusing on female empowerment to the exclusion of men must be considered.

Therefore, this report recommends a balanced approach which discourages violent expressions of masculinity but supports the place of men in the home and society and the family structure in general, since the family remains the point of nurture and guidance for children.

This work reveals that other external pressures such as poverty and unemployment as well as previous experiences of various types of violence are important contributors to violence within the home; it is not simply about the gender-power imbalance. Poverty was seen to influence IPV in a number of ways, both direct and indirect. Other pressures include the strain of transition from a more communal to an individualist society, and the rural-urban disconnect.

Policy Recommendations

1. Make use of *Nyumba Kumi* and community policing as community-based interventions for monitoring and dealing with challenges of IPV.
2. Review the National Gender and Equality Commission policy and target to empower both boys and men besides women/girls.
3. Make marriage certificates cheaper to support the institution of marriage and connection of the couple to the church.
4. Strictly regulate the gambling sector, especially online betting, which is a driver of poverty, domestic violence and suicide.
5. Strictly regulate alcohol imports and sale. County governments should see alcohol as a largely destructive influence and limit licensing accordingly.
6. Modern-day "polygamy" should be discouraged and no further legal provisions made for it.

Government operational recommendations

1. Both county and national governments should partner with non-state organizations to empower and create jobs for men. “Job centres” could be created to function both as employment bureaus and places for training in financial management, debt counselling, accessing microfinance and job application. These could potentially be based in existing centres and meeting places.
2. Educate and sensitize the public on IPV in the changing cultural context, through the school syllabus, barazas, media and social media. Discredit physical discipline of women as a fruitless and illegal practice, in favour of other ways of gaining respect in the home and managing conflict.
3. Educate and sensitize the public on parenting skills to shape children at the family and the community levels, this should be done in partnership with civil society and faith-based organizations and use social media, internet, TV and community radio programs.
4. Sensitize people on the risks of gambling, alcohol and drugs. Support organizations working to assist with these kinds of addiction and create strong referral pathways from police, social services and healthcare facilities.
5. Support the preventative work of civil society and faith-based organizations in Kenya.
6. Sensitize youths in schools and campuses on the “sponsorship” culture together with its attendant risks.

7. Ensure sufficient numbers of male teachers in schools who are trained to provide understanding and guidance to boys.
8. Educate police and judiciary to ensure impartiality in the legal system, which will increase trust and reduce frustrations of men which can lead to violence.
9. Create a well-publicized confidential professional counselling service, within the civil service and police (based in each county) and ensure widespread access to professional counselling services at Level 2 (local clinic) level.

Recommendations to civil society and faith-based organizations

1. Partner with government to empower and create jobs for men. Create job centres (see above) in existing community centres which are male-friendly.
2. Redress the balance in girl child/boy child empowerment programmes.
3. Partner with government to address drug, alcohol and gambling addiction and to provide general counselling services.
4. Create fora for men to discuss issues common to men and boys and find solutions. Discussions and guest speakers could take place on societal issues and questions such as managing technology, family values and parenting, relationships, and community cohesion. Men should be encouraged that they are pillars and guardians of the family and community and guided in this role.

INTRODUCTION

In the year preceding the release of this report there has been a growing outrage among the Kenya public at what seems to be an epidemic of killings of women, many of whom were attacked by their current or ex-intimate partner. In February 2019 11 women were reported killed by a current or ex-partner through being stabbed, hacked, strangled, beaten or shot, and others were left injured or maimed.² By the end of 2019, 47 women and 3 men had been killed by current or ex-partners, and 3 children killed in the same incidents. Further, many of the attackers then turned on themselves in their remorse. The events have been shocking to the public and policy-makers and prompted a search for solutions.

Leaving aside the cases reported in the media, intimate partner violence (IPV) is common and largely unseen. Focussing for the purposes of this report on female victims, it is important to note that around 4 out of 10 women in Kenya experience physical or sexual violence at the hands of a spouse or intimate partner and often this is tolerated and normalized (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2014). The Government of Kenya, civil society activists and researchers widely recognize this as a human rights, health, and development issue.

As a result of this recognition, research on women experiencing violence and services for such women have been prioritized.

However, men have often been left out of this work. Often, men are recognized as the main perpetrators, but their voices are less often heard with regard to understanding the phenomenon and how to prevent it. Indeed, for many, violence against women is a woman's issue that should be dealt with by and for women. However, it is increasingly being recognized that men have to be acknowledged as a critical part of addressing and ultimately preventing violence against women. This means acknowledging men as perpetrators but similarly, appreciating that vast numbers of men do not engage in violence against women, and these men, as well as their more violent counterparts, are critical resources and partners in ending violence against women. Men as a whole, including perpetrators, also suffer from female directed IPV since this causes loss of humanity, and family and societal breakdown.

Global State of Intimate Partner Violence and Interventions

The World Health Organization (WHO) states that IPV is a major public health problem and disproportionately affects women at the hands of men. 35% of women worldwide suffer IPV which leads to a range of physical, sexual, reproductive and mental problems (see figure 1.1 for definitions). The majority of affected women do not seek help from formal services or authority figures (World Health Organization n.d.). As many as

² A Facebook site "Counting Dead Women Kenya" is dedicated to documenting deaths of women in Kenya

This information has been compiled from media sources and checked by the authors.

38% of murders of women are perpetrated by an intimate partner (WHO 2017).

The WHO gives statistics which may offer some insight on root causes, triggers and factors associated with IPV and sexual violence. In line with the ecological model of violence used by the WHO, these factors may be considered at individual, family, community and wider society levels (Krug et al, 2002). At the individual level, young age, low education, a history of child maltreatment, harmful use of alcohol and acceptance of IPV as normal are risk factors for both perpetration and experience of violence. There is also a consistent link between antisocial personality disorder and perpetration of IPV and sexual violence. At the family/relationship level there is an association with multiple partners, and marital discord. At the community level, beliefs about male entitlement and the

Figure 1.1: Forms of Intimate Partner Violence (WHO, n.d.)

Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) refers to any behaviour within an intimate relationship that causes physical, psychological or sexual harm to those in the relationship. Examples of types of behaviour are listed below.

- Acts of physical violence, such as slapping, hitting, kicking and beating.
- Sexual violence, including forced sexual intercourse and other forms of sexual coercion.
- Emotional (psychological) abuse, such as insults, belittling, constant humiliation, intimidation (e.g. destroying things), threats of harm, threats to take away children.
- Controlling behaviours, including isolating a person from family and friends; monitoring their movements; and restricting access to financial resources, employment, education or medical care

absence of sanctions against violence and

sanctuary for abused women are important. Further, poverty may act in a number of ways to increase vulnerabilities and also create frustrations which may be expressed in violence. At the societal level, the main risk factor is gender inequality and the perpetuation of norms on the acceptability of violence to enforce male dominance (WHO/LSHTM, 2010).

Another study, the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES) in 2010 made some interesting observations in addition to those noted by the WHO, namely that economic and work stress can lead to gender-based violence through feelings of low self-esteem and inadequacy and the need to reassert dominance to preserve status; and that conflict situations increase gender-based violence because it is difficult for ex-combatants, once encouraged to join armed groups to later unlearn violent behaviours (International Centre for Research on Women, 2010).

In response to the problem of IPV, many efforts by governments and civil society worldwide in the last two decades, have focused on the empowerment and legal protection of women. Whilst these interventions have produced significant improvements in the sphere of gender-based violence, a gap has emerged whereby men though recognized as the main perpetrators, their voices are less often heard with regard to understanding the phenomenon and how to prevent it.

Further, even though WHO advocate interventions to challenge gender norms through education, family visitations and support, reduction of the harmful use of alcohol, promotion of communication and relationship skills between couples and communities, such efforts are not male specific (WHO, 2017) and there is yet a need

to strengthen the evidence base for these interventions (WHO/LSHTM, 2010).

Interestingly there is some evidence that when communities/societies are in cultural transition and women are empowered to challenge norms of male dominance, IPV may actually be increased. The same is true in some societies when women are given access to credit schemes, although there is evidence that the engagement of men as well as women in holistic interventions mitigates this problem (WHO/LSHTM, 2017). From the IMAGES study noted above, it was recommended that while the inequality of women should not be forgotten, interventions should engage men, helping them to develop alternative behaviours and involving them in planning of programmes and approaches. The engagement of men has become increasingly recognized as part of violence prevention (Flood 2015). There is evidence that well-designed programmes can indeed lead to attitude and behavioural change (Barker et al, 2007). In South Africa one evaluation of an intervention found that it was possible to help men shift away from harmful perceived “masculine” behaviours, but that it was important to simultaneously address men’s economic exclusion (Gibbs et al, 2015).

The Kenyan Context

The Kenya Demographic Health Survey (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2014), found that while women and men experience similar levels of physical violence (44 and 45% respectively) the setting is

usually very different. For women, the most likely perpetrator is an intimate partner, usually a husband (reported by 80%). This contrasts with reports by men in which the perpetrator is less likely to be an intimate partner (21%) and more likely to have been a parent or step-parent (34%) a teacher (30%) or someone else (46%).³

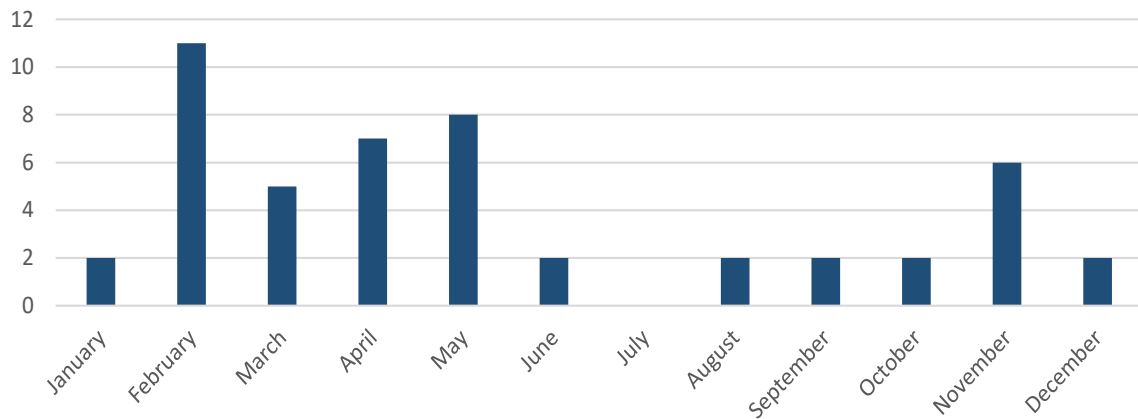
For women aged 15-45 who had ever been married, 39% reported violent behaviour most commonly took the form of slapping (31%), pushing, shaking or having something thrown at them (20%). But a smaller though significant percentage reported being punched or hit with an object (13%), kicked, dragged or beaten up (14%) suffered attempted choking or burning 4% or attempted or actual attack with a weapon (6%). 12% had been physically forced to have sex.

The report concurred with the WHO findings that IPV is widely tolerated and normalized. Importantly for Kenya, IPV is closely related to the HIV epidemic, because victims are less able to negotiate for safer sex (UNAIDS 2018).

Four years on, the country has witnessed a growing outrage among the Kenya public at what seems to be an epidemic of killings of women, many of whom were attacked by their current or ex-intimate partner. Key statistics from these reports are presented in figures 2 and 3.

³ Note: these percentages add up to more than 100% because victims were able to mention more than one person.

Figure 1.2 Media Reported Incidences of Intimate Partner Killings in Kenya in 2019 (Stop Killing Women Facebook Site).



The majority of those killed by their intimate partner were married and living together with the person who attacked them (it should not be forgotten that three men were also killed by their female partners). Stabbing was the most common mode of killing. Some of the newspaper reports pointed to a history of unresolved disputes, and others to a history of violence. There was an unexplained peak in February 2019 (which may relate to a period of prolonged drought and also economical stress after Christmas and payment of January school fees), and the problem seems to have been distributed all over the country except the north-east (and even the entire north), a phenomenon which may be due to under-reporting by both individuals and the media but which is deserving of further examination.

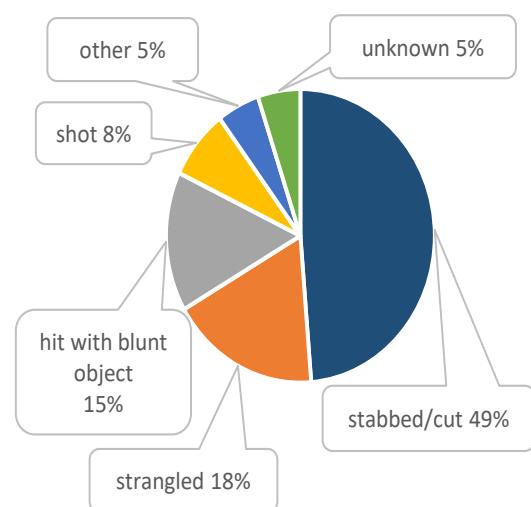
A qualitative study on domestic violence by the National Crime Research Centre (NCRC, 2018) carried out focus group discussions with people in 9 counties, enquiring about various aspects of the problem. Respondents blamed domestic violence on gambling, technology (in particular social media), culture, harmful traditional practices, parenting, poverty, land conflict, weaknesses in legal and judicial systems and other social supports. The same suggested

that violence against women in general, and intimate partners in particular, is intricately linked to real or perceived fulfilment of masculine identities, particularly where there is economic disempowerment (NCRC 2018).

One author provides further insights:

In many parts of Kenya, as in so many patriarchal societies, men and women are raised differently. This upbringing creates imbalances in the

Figure 1.3 Mechanism of Intimate Partner Killings January-June 2020 (Stop Killing Women Facebook Site).



power relations between them. Most young men are socialised to be sexually adventurous and aggressive as a way to prove their masculinity. Girls are expected to be chaste, domesticated and compliant. Women and girls who deviate from these designated roles risk disapproval from community members as well as physical and sexual violence (Wangamati, 2018).

This issue raises questions about men's social value, identity, self-esteem as once well-regarded provider, protector, and procreator, and concurs with findings noted above about the problem of empowering women without also working with men.

However, one limitation of the NCRC study was that it interviewed mainly women respondents. Thus there is a need for a study of male respondents which explores their own experiences, perceptions and attitudes on masculinity and IPV. The NCRC study also suggested the need to have a deeper understanding of masculine identities, norms of power and control and the linkages between these norms and IPV in Kenya.

In Kenya, as in other countries, men are an integral part of preventing and responding to domestic violence. However, their voices are less heard – the Kenya Demographic and Health Survey was a quantitative study (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2014) which was not designed to understand why, and while traditional patriarchal cultures are well studied, there is less understanding of masculine identities and attitudes towards IPV in the changing context of modernization and urbanization.

Aims and Objectives

This work aims to focus on this changing Kenya context, and to gauge men's attitudes

and opinions about masculinity and IPV and the potentials for reducing the latter. It is expected that some persistent patriarchal attitudes will be revealed, but perhaps also some cultural shifts, and even new motivations for violence. Specifically, the study seeks to:

1. Understand men's perceptions about masculinity and male roles and behaviors, within the changing cultural context in Kenya.
2. To find out what men think about IPV as it relates to masculinity, male roles and behavior in changing cultural context.
3. To recommend opportunities for support and prevention of IPV.

The findings are intended to inform the Office of the President and to influence government policy and practice, as well as civil society and faith-based organizations.

This study was based on the assumption that IPV violence is culturally and historically situated in gender norms and power relations which favor men (Kwesiga et al. 2007), and therefore attempted to identify how attitudes about masculinity (and femininity) might connect with attitudes about IPV. However, it is understood that culture is not the only factor; it is important to qualify that in various patriarchal cultures, and various families within those cultures there are different degrees of domination and control by men, and of the use of physical force.

Moreover, even though physical force is a breach of women's rights a distinction is often made in traditional societies between "discipline" and violence which should be acknowledged. The researchers tried to understand this perspective in the process of the study. Further, while Kenya has a history of patriarchy amongst most of its various

ethnic groups, Kenyan society has been heavily influenced by the West and there exist many contradictions and tensions. The study therefore considered these tensions and the implications of this. It was also assumed from the beginning that other factors contribute to aggression and conflict expressed by both partners and the study was open to the possibility of discovering various sources of frustration and disruption to the family unit within the varied complexity of Kenyan society.

The study design for the most part assumed that bystanders, perpetrators and victims of IPV can report their own experiences and notions despite the stigma that at times associated with IPV. However, it is acknowledged that it is simply not possible to get a true picture of the situation given the sensitivity of the topic and its moral and criminal implications. Therefore, the survey and the discussions made use of indirect questions (about society instead of about individuals) and tried to gauge attitudes as opposed to experiences per se. Further it would seem to have been assumed that state and non-state agencies including the police, judiciary, probation officers, faith based and local opinion leaders are knowledgeable about IPV and would share such information without fear and bias, but the limitations of these informants' knowledge and readiness to speak must be acknowledged.

Study Sites⁴

Bungoma is located in the west of the country on the border with Uganda and

contains the southern slopes of Mt Elgon. It has a population of 1,671,000 with Bukusu, and Sabaot as the dominant ethnic groups, and Christianity (in particular Seventh Day Adventist) as the main religion. Crime and violence challenges include land conflict which led to severe violence in 2008-2009 and was the result of irregular and flawed land allocations in the context of historical displacements and population growth. Political competition is superimposed on the unresolved issues and continues to threaten violence prior to election periods. Poverty in the county is chiefly related to landlessness and the disruption caused by land conflicts as well as the closure of Mumias Sugar Factory in a region where sugarcane is the main economic activity.

Local cheap alcohol is a problem in Bungoma, coming illegally from Uganda. Circumcision of adolescent boys is an important festival among the Bukusu and is associated with high consumption of home-brewed alcohol. Amongst the Sabaot, girls go through female circumcision in their early teens and are often married immediately afterwards, while young men process through an age-set system and take up the role of warrior for the community.

Kwale and Mombasa County adjoin each other and lie on the Kenya coast. Kwale has a population of around 866,800, with the indigenous Mijikenda tribe comprising around 80% and the remainder mostly made up of Kamba, Arabs, Indians and Europeans. The dominant religion is Islam. Mombasa is Kenya's second largest city, at 294.7 km², and is sometimes referred to as "Kisiwa cha

⁴ Statistics for this section rely on Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (2009)

Mvita” which means “Island of War” due to its various conquests by Arabs, Portuguese and British. It has a population of 1.208,000 and also has a high number of indigenous Mijikenda people.

As in Bungoma, a major trigger of crime and violence in Coastal Kenya is land, since by an unfortunate legacy of colonial rule, a large part of the land is public (government) land, and most local people are landless, leasing land or squatting. Land issues have led to several episodes of violent conflict and the formation of local movements such as Kaya Bombo in 1997, Mulung’unipa in 2007-8 and the ongoing Mombasa Republican Council, a social movement which agitates for the secession of the coast. Other cross-cutting problems which relate to landlessness include low education, underinvestment, underdevelopment, high numbers of single mothers and poverty. What jobs there are, within the tourism industry or otherwise, often go to upcountry people.

Drug use is particularly high in Mombasa, and there is an alarming youth gang problem, while both counties also have a problem with youth radicalization into the Somalia-based terrorist organization, Al Shabaab.

Nakuru is an interior county with an area covering approximately 7,498.8 Km². It is cosmopolitan, with the dominant communities being Kikuyu and Kalenjin. The population is 2,162,000. Nakuru town is troubled by gangs which engage in criminal activities such as muggings, pick pocketing, demanding protection fees, drug abuse and trafficking. There is a high level of unemployment. Defilement cases are high in the county, and some inhabitants still practice female circumcision. A large number of internally displaced persons are in the county following the 2017-2008 post-election violence, who the government is attempting to settle. The country is also troubled with land conflict, suspicions of fraudulent land sales and ethno-political tensions.



METHODS

The study was undertaken between May and June 2019 and took a mixed-method approach, comprising concept mapping, cross-sectional survey, focus group discussions (FGDs) and key informant interviews (KIIs). Concept mapping was used to create a conceptual summary of the masculine acts, behaviors, perceptions and attitudes that could comprise intimate partner violence (IPV). A cross sectional survey was then used to determine the relative importance of each notion and domain as a contributor to IPV. Prior to the data collection exercise, a pilot study was undertaken using Google Online platform with 100 respondents to ensure validity and reliability of the data collection instruments.

Research was undertaken in four counties of Bungoma, Kwale, Mombasa and Nakuru (see Appendix 1). The total population in the area of study was based on KNBS 2009, census population (1,122,211) in 15 selected sub-counties and 42 wards (see Appendix 2). Solvin's sampling formula was applied to determine a sample size of 816. The wards and the number of respondents were randomly identified.

Men were selected through convenience sampling (households selected through chiefs and others through handing out questionnaires on the streets). The questionnaire was self-administered for those respondents who were literate while those who were not were assisted by the researcher. In each selected household, the researcher asked if they could speak to one person and randomly selected among eligible males who were present in the household. The percentage response for the questionnaires was at 83%, that is, 674 respondents (see table 2.1).

Respondents were identified through existing networks developed with civil society, faith-based organizations and local administrators during previous work in the area. Twenty-nine focused group discussions (FGDs) were held and twenty-seven key informant interviews (KIIs) were conducted with government officials, security personnel, prosecution staff, community elders, staff of faith-based organization, civil society and medical staff, persons whose particular knowledge and understanding could provide insight on the nature of IPV problems (see table 2.2).

The structured closed ended questionnaire was administered to (male) members of the public while KIIs were conducted with government officials in criminal justice, men, youths, clergies, doctors, social workers, probation officers, police officers, judges/magistrates, prison officials, psychologists as well as academicians. FGDs

Table 2.1: Total Number of Respondents

County	Total number targeted	Total response achieved	Percentage response
Nakuru	298	224	75%
Bungoma	234	167	71%
Mombasa	195	195	100%
Kwale	89	88	99%
Total	816	674	83%

Table 2.2: Number of Surveys, Focus Group Discussions and Key Informant Interviews by County

County	KIIs	FGDs	Questionnaires
Bungoma	8	9	167
Nakuru	6	5	224
Kwale	10	5	88
Mombasa	3	10	195
Total	27	29	647

were stratified on age, special interest categories of men to facilitate comparison of responses. They were guided by a moderator (researcher) who facilitated a lively and natural discussion on attitudes about masculinity in the changing context, factors in IPV, willingness to change and the actors and structures relevant for addressing IPV. Secondary data was collected by analyzing statistics from the study areas and data mining from previous studies reports, books, newspapers, as well as journal articles.

Primary quantitative data collected through the questionnaires was cleaned, coded, entered and analyzed using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) software. Qualitative data collected from KIIs and

FGDs were analyzed according to themes reflecting study objectives.

Authority to collect data was sought from the relevant institutions before commencement of the study. Respondents were well informed of the research objectives and their consent was sought before commencement of interviews.

Respect to cultural practices and diversity was upheld and due to the sensitive nature of the study in terms of discussing private matters which reflect on morality and criminality, survey data was obtained in confidentiality while focus group and interview records were anonymised after collection.



FINDINGS

This section presents the results of both the quantitative and qualitative⁵ arms of the study in the thematic areas of: attitudes and perceptions about masculinity; gender roles, control; intimate partner violence (IPV) causes and impacts; and lastly how to address the problem of IPV.

Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Survey Respondents

As table 3.1 indicates, around half of the survey respondents were youths according to the Kenyan definition (18-34) and only 3% were over 65, this approximated fairly well

Table 3.1 Background Characteristics of Survey Respondents

Characteristics	Categories	Frequency	Percent	National (KNBS 2009)
Age of respondent in years	18-34	356	54.77	47%
	35-64	274	42.15	45%
	65 and above	20	3.08	9%
Type of family	Monogamous	520	81.00	
	Polygamous	122	19.00	
Highest level of education completed	None	12	1.80	Approx. 50% Primary and below
	Primary	129	19.37	
	Secondary	232	34.83	
	Middle level college	187	28.08	
	University	93	13.96	
	Adult literacy	10	1.50	
Religion	Traditional	17	2.55	Less than 1%
	Christian	503	75.41	83%
	Islam	144	21.59	11%
Marital status	Single/never married	162	25.51	
	Married	440	69.29	
	Divorced	12	1.89	
	Separated	14	2.20	
	Widowed	7	1.10	
Children	With children	388	70.29	
	Without children	164	29.71	
Age gap between respondent and their partner	1-2 years	133	19.73	
	3-6 years	244	36.20	
	7-10 years	121	17.95	
	Above 10 years	66	9.79	

⁵ Interviews and FGDs are referenced according to place (B, N, K or M), interview (I) or FGD (F) and a

unique number for each interview or FGD. Full details are found in Appendix 3.

to the Kenya population age distribution. 88% of respondents had primary-level education or above, which was a well-educated sample of respondents in comparison to the Kenyan populace (the team acknowledged that this could limit the generalizability of the results). Around 75% identified as Christian, while the remainder mostly identified as Muslim, a higher percentage than for Kenya as a whole, reflecting the choice of coastal counties included in the study.

The majority of the respondents, (around 70%) were married. In terms of the type of family, the majority of the respondents (81%) were in monogamous families while (19%) were in polygamous family arrangements. Most were close in age to their partners.

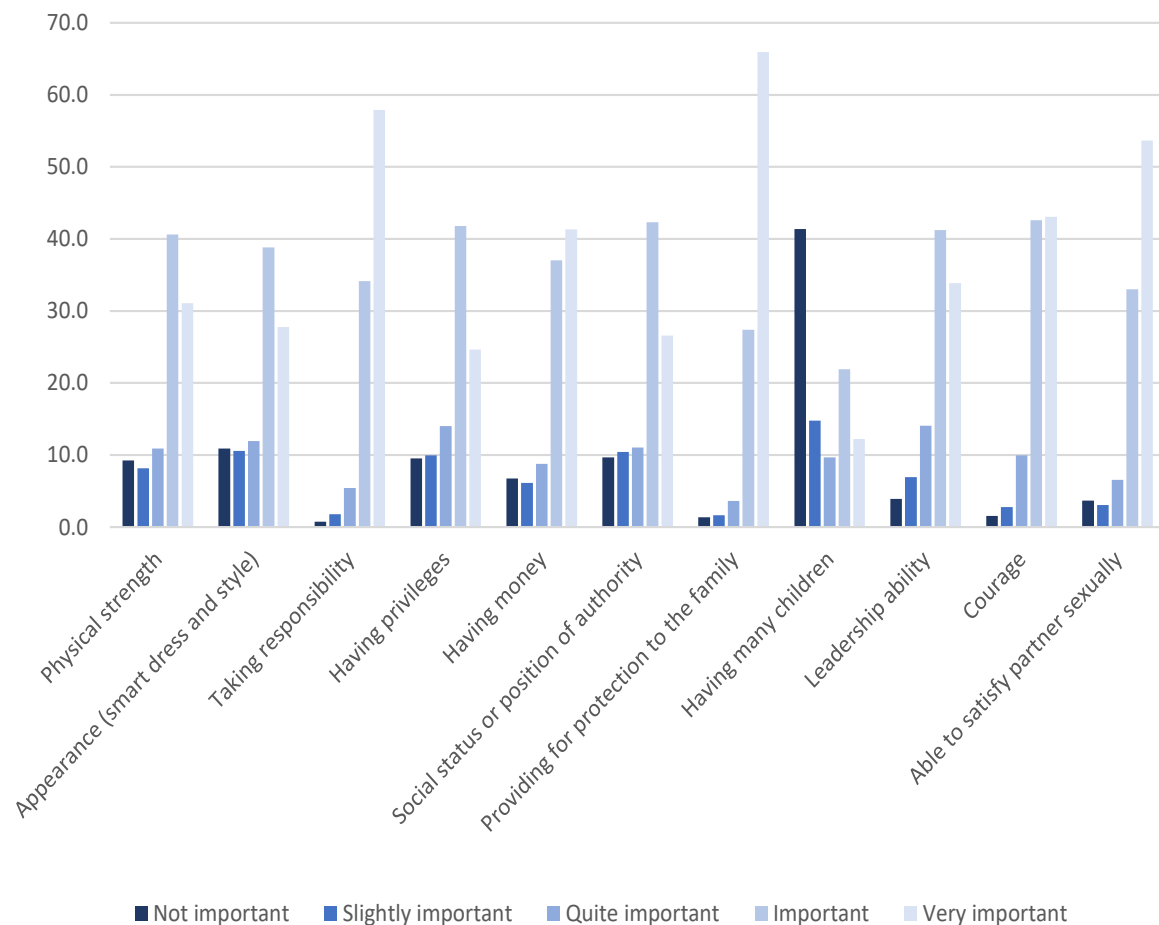
Attitudes and Perceptions about Masculinity and Changing Gender Norms

Marks of manhood

Respondents were asked to rate the importance of certain “marks of manhood” which covered physical characteristics, money and status, responsibility, leadership and sexuality (see figure 3.1). Almost all of the characteristics scored high rates of importance, except for having many children. Highest importance was given to provision/protection, taking responsibility, sexual capacity and having courage.

In the interviews and FGDs, men almost universally expressed their roles as that of protection, provision and leadership.

Figure 3.1 Attitudes about “Masculine” Roles and Behaviours



Material provision and payment of bills and school fees were commonly mentioned aspects of provision. In Mombasa and Kwale, men added to the concept of leadership in terms of overseeing the wellbeing or smooth running of their families in every way and providing an advisory role.

Sheikhs in Mombasa expressed that a man is the head of the woman while youths in Kuresoi, Nakuru said that the man is the “president of the home.” A quote from the Bible noted that women have a role as helper to the man. Old men in Kwale felt that men should be respected by their wives and children in eyes of the community (KF3). However, working hard was considered important for earning respect, while taking responsibility was also mentioned by several respondents. Some men felt that the role of a man was to be the main provider “If you want to marry you must be ahead in terms of finance” (MF5). However, this was often not easy. Old men in Mombasa noted that there was a lot of pressure for the man to provide for school fees, housing, food and for the woman to go to the hair salon (MF8). In Kwale old men lamented the shift from subsistence economy due to market economy and declining land, which have challenged men’s abilities to provide. A reformed gang member in Mombasa said “Most of us we cannot deliver. The money we get is very little. You must provide for the family, they should not struggle” Another said,

I know why my wife left. She was called by her parents to return. Where we lived was in one room (a Swahili dwelling), and I have no power. The parents were able, so they took their daughter... I miss my child and we never see the mother...I am still preparing, I know I sleep on the floor, if at least she comes, I should buy a bed (MI6).

Independence and assertiveness by women

The next question asked whether the respondent agreed that it was “OK for women to do” certain activities which covered financial independence, disputes and decisions about sex and children (see figure 3.2). Most men did not disapprove of women going to work, and were in agreement with her having her own bank account or M-Pesa (mobile money), but their views on women working away were more negative than positive. More men agreed (42%) than disagreed (38%) that it was OK for a woman to dispute with her husband in private, but in public it was a different matter, with a strong majority (87%) disagreeing or strongly disagreeing with this. Refusal of sex met with a high rate of (66%) disagreement, as did refusal to have children/more children (65%) neglect of some household duties (80%) and having another partner (86%).

Responses to this question were significantly different with regard to age, religion and education status, revealing that older men (over 35), non-Christian men (who were mainly Muslim) and men without secondary education were significantly less likely than younger men to approve of women working away.

In the interviews and FGDs, all respondents identified how the traditional division of roles between men and women are changing, and that women are increasingly taking on work outside the home and earning money. Some men emphasized the positive aspect of partnership.

Regarding domestic duties, men had differing views, which were not necessarily related to age. Some men resisted certain roles such as washing dishes, doing the laundry, mopping and cooking. “These are all women’s work or her children as the

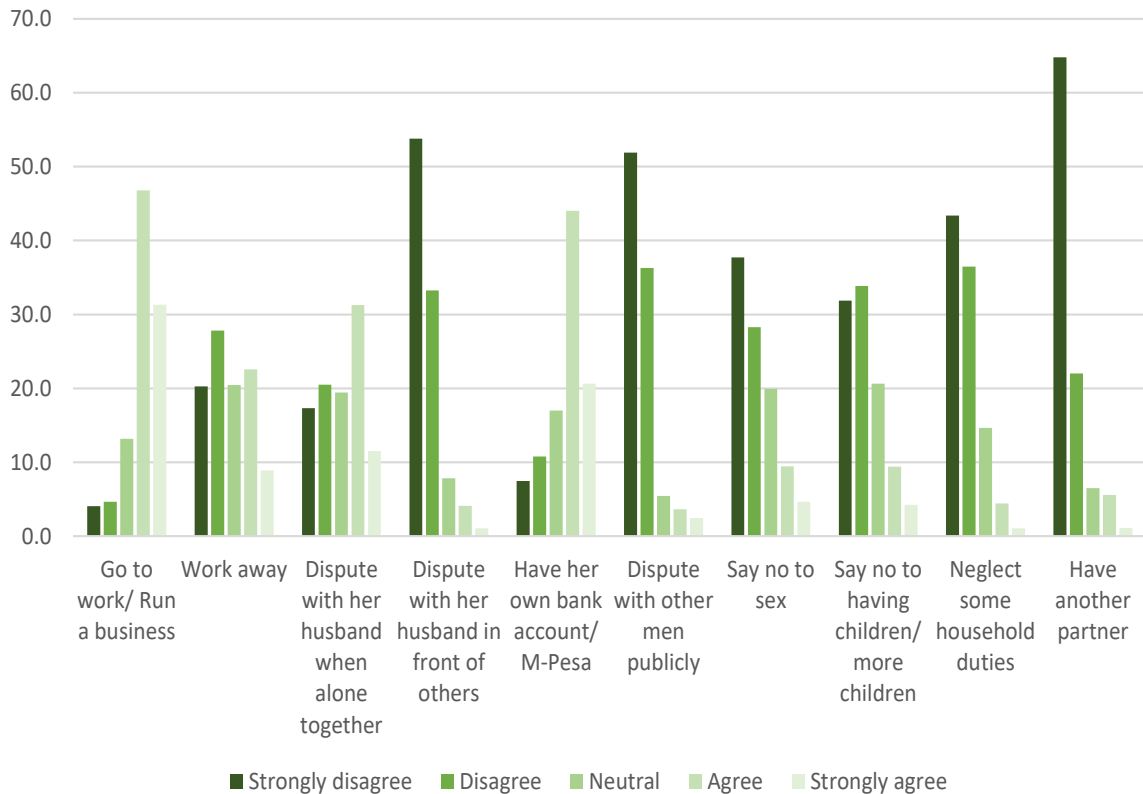
homemaker. I do not see myself doing this” (MF2) while others were more open-minded “My age is 75. I cannot see dirty dishes and wait for my [wife] to come and wash them. I will do it. I must help, all of us are at home, and we must help each other.” (MF2) And “I help with washing. I help like her co-helper. Today we use wood, I will go and search and bring for her. Water, I will go and bring water.” (MF2) Views on domestic duties seemed to relate to upbringing, though on the other hand sometimes traditions were being rejected. A youth in Kayole, Mombasa said,

From analogue to digital, most young men do not want to follow in the footsteps of their fathers. Men now cook, they play with their children, some even change diapers, something that their fathers never did. We as youths have left the traditions, elders clothing and roles,

and we see those roles as outdated (MF3).

Specifically, the issue of women becoming financially independent was a potent one as noted “Too empowered, too demanding, and unlike the traditional modest wife and the man is unable to relate and to cope. She has her money which comes with a lot of independence” (BI3). Women are also part of merry-go-round schemes, independently of their partners which can lead to resentment (NF1). Again, “Women go to work and even choose when to walk away from their relationship. All these changes are confusing the men as they feel they have no control over their spouses” (KF4). Pastors in Nyali were concerned that women were even taking the lead in “seducing men” such that men were undermined in their role of pursuit of a woman (MF7).

Figure 3.2 Attitudes about Assertive or Independent Roles and Behaviours by Women



Most men expressed concerns about women's empowerment and that this was undermining their own leadership role in the home. "Women wear trousers and think they are equal to men" said a man in Bungoma (BF3). Other comments included, "Wives are now bosses" (NI2) "men are no longer men in the house" (NF2), "Currently men have no voice in the family" (NF6), "Men's roles are under threat because of women empowerment... It is difficult for a man to make decisions in his own house. His authority is constantly challenged" (MF9). Similarly, women were said to be now asking men to account for time or money (MF3). Elders in Likoni also expressed that the undermining of their leadership role had also been seen in the attitude of youths and children, "The authority of a man, family headship, order and discipline has been frustrated" (MF1).

Wider economic change and stress

Men also expressed how an increasingly market-driven economy was placing stress on their marriages and was another aspect of the lack of respect afforded to them by women. In Kayole men said "the cost of living has made the roles of a man change" and,

Elders had love before, and respect was there, and our grandmothers were very resilient. This element is nowadays missing in our women. They don't have patience and understanding that life is hard, and we might not be in a position to provide for them all the time (MF3).

In Ziwa la Ng'ombe, Mombasa, men expressed that without money they did not have the respect of women, nor the security of knowing she would stay "Contract love, you agree to be enslaved, allowing the woman to do what they want" (MF4) and,

Women have become very expensive to maintain, and if you cannot keep them happy they go to those with more money than you...she gets empowered, they change and leave you. You must have a job to win a woman's heart (MF4).

Again, a respondent concurred, "You can't afford her because of the new lifestyle and the changing attitude of women (MI4).

Societal disempowerment of men

Men in all interviews and FGDs complained that society as a whole has invested a lot in the empowerment of girls and women whilst ignoring boys and men, which was seen to be partially responsible for the challenge to male leadership at home. This they noted, took a number of dimensions, from education, to financial empowerment (through small business start-ups), and legal empowerment. Administrators in Bungoma noted that there are many girls' schools and that women are more academically empowered, making it difficult for men to dictate (BF7). Since the 2010 Constitution women have also gained inheritance rights on land, which means that they have land from their family home, to which the man has no access (NF1).

Men lamented the lack of a forum on men's issues (MF6) while pastors in Nyali and administrators in Nakuru commented that society was criminalizing men "You have *haki ya wanawake* (justice for women) the boy is being hunted. The abuser is the man, the boy is totally neglected. If anything happens to the boy child, nothing will be done. We are neglected." (MF7, NF3) Similarly, pastors in Changamwe said that women were favored in divorce proceedings even if they had been unfaithful, and that women could easily lie to get what they

wanted. “Men live in fear of FIDA.⁶ Sometimes it is even a set-up. Most men live in fear of this.” In a separate FGD men in Nyali said that social media “frames maleness in a negative light.” (MF6). Men in all counties had a lot to say about this and how it relates to violence, which is mentioned in the following sections.

Questioning ideologies

Men, particularly pastors and Sheikhs questioned the ideologies behind the cultural change which to some extent are at odds with Christianity and Islam and African traditional religion. It was perceived that the influence of the West coming through sources such as NGOs, media and education was bringing feminism, materialism and individualism, and also urbanization, a technological revolution and an increasing pace of life which was noted to be putting men under pressure. Muslim Clerics in Kwale pointed to the tension between religion and modern views on equality saying,

Women of today are taking advantage of the democracy that is around the world to do what they want and are not listening to their men. They have forgotten their traditional roles and the values that their mothers taught them and are adopting modern values that are misleading [them] (KF5).

Men at a Baptist church in Nyali said “Western education appears to have diluted the African culture. Now women sit in the same seats, they earn more, they make

decisions, they are empowered (MF6). Senior administrators noted that feminist activism across the world has threatened men’s role in society (MF11), while Christian men said “individualism has killed the social structure” (MF6). In Nakuru a man said,

Western culture and technology have changed our culture. Currently there is no woman who can take water to the bathroom for you to shower, iron your clothes and ensure hot food on the table for you. This used to happen during our fathers’ days; today women have changed.” (NF2)

Several people felt that while accepting certain changes, it was still important to resist feminism, “No matter what type of arrangement of the job is there, a woman should still submit to the husband” (MF11). Similarly, a Sheikh said,

If you don’t know your role you will be carried away by the culture. A man must declare he is a man. Even if my wife has a PhD, I am the head. Today look at the marriage which has succeeded, it’s where the man is head (MF5).

Pastors in Nyali said, “The roles have not changed” it is the culture that is teaching [the assumption] that the roles have changed – the problem is the adoption of Western culture” (MF7). Other men in Mombasa, both Christian and Muslim called for a return to traditional/Muslim/Christian values. Others however did not question the rightness or wrongness of feminist ideology

⁶ FIDA is the Federation of Women Lawyers, an active civil society organization in issues of women’s rights in Kenya and other African countries.

but simply expressed that men were not keeping pace with change. “[The man] still wants to be the *jogoo* (cockerel) of the house, he refuses to change with changing times” said a senior administrator (BF7). “The man cannot cope with changing roles” said a security officer (BI3). “Boys have not been prepared to handle an empowered woman,” said administrators in Nakuru (NF3), while men at the Mombasa church said, “Men are still where they were 50 years ago. The ground has shifted; we are still in 1950. Look at what is changing and evolving and change with it (MF6).”

Woman-headed households

Whether through neglect or through the demands of work, it was noted that men are often absent from the home and women are

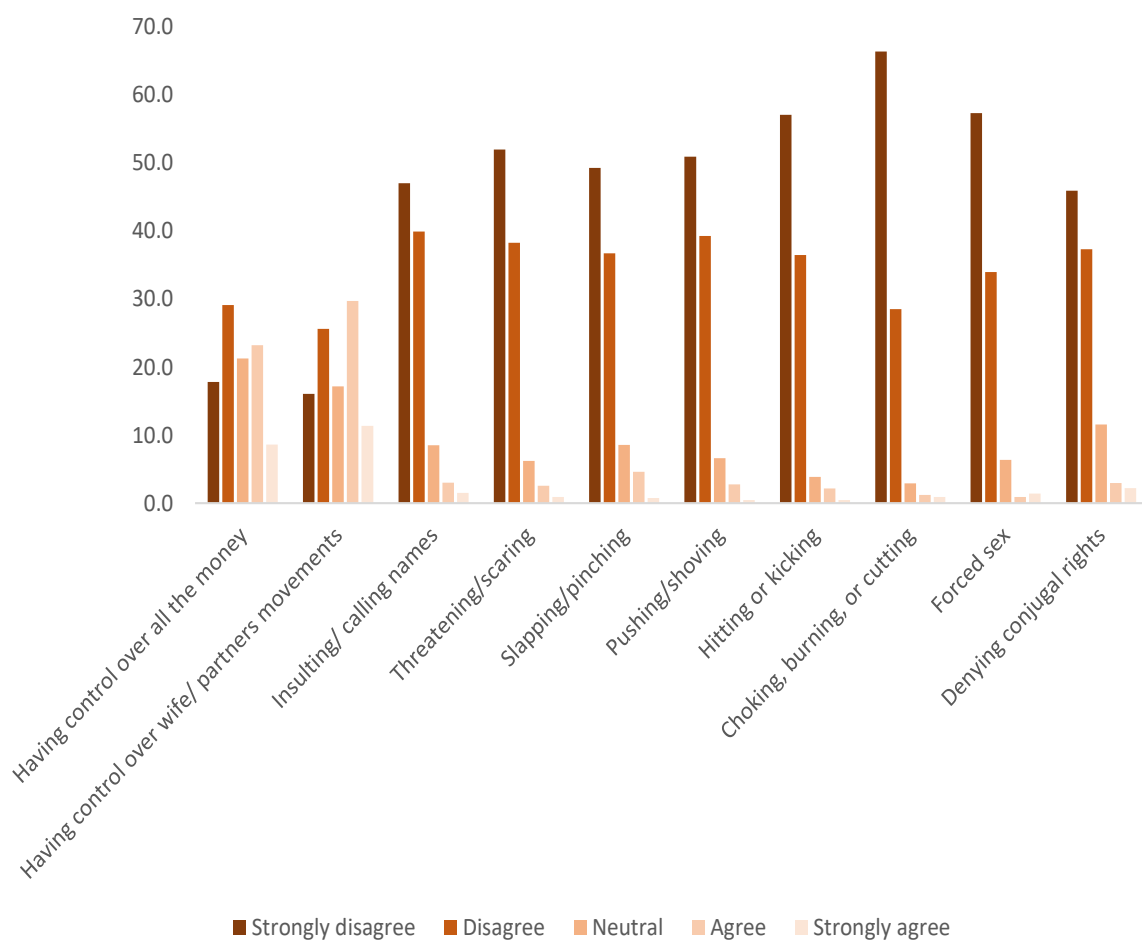
raising children alone (BF7, BF1). The posting of civil servants far away was noted by several people and is a factor in infidelity. Some men in all counties expressed the concern that men were neglecting their own roles and responsibilities. Another civil society worker said “Some men are forgetting their roles and neglecting their spouses (KI10). Similarly, the undermining of male roles may also cause men to avoid the home feeling that they are inadequate, unwelcome or unnecessary.

Attitudes and Perceptions about Intimate Partner Violence

Male Controlling or Negative Behaviours

The respondents were then asked whether it was “OK for a man to carry out” certain

Figure 3.3 Attitudes about Controlling or Negative Behaviours by Men



controlling; insulting or violent actions (see figure 3.3). Overall, more men disagreed than agreed with controlling all the money (47% vs. 32%), but were evenly distributed on the question of controlling the wife's movements (42% vs. 41%). Regarding forceful and violent behaviours like: insulting or calling names; threatening or scaring; slapping or pinching; pushing or shoving; forced sex; choking, burning, or cutting; and hitting or kicking, the majority strongly disagreed, although the agreement of a few was notable. There were no significant differences detected according to age, religion or education status.

The survey findings were largely supported by the interviews and FGDs. Most men felt that violence towards women was not acceptable, with one man in Mombasa stating, "If you beat a woman you will be looked down upon. Men don't beat a woman unless they are mentally ill" (MI4). However, in Kwale it was said, "A man can be violent but only to discipline her so that she realizes her mistake" (KF3). "Using something as light as a scarf" was a suggestion to limit violence in this situation (KF3, KF4). In an FGD in Nakuru, men were divided on the issue with some saying, "It is good to beat a woman that is, to instill discipline; however, this should be done diplomatically, not to kill but to straighten her up" (NI1). Also in Nakuru a youth said that beating was justifiable "if she has not done her duties in the home, ensuring water, firewood, children bathed" (NF5).

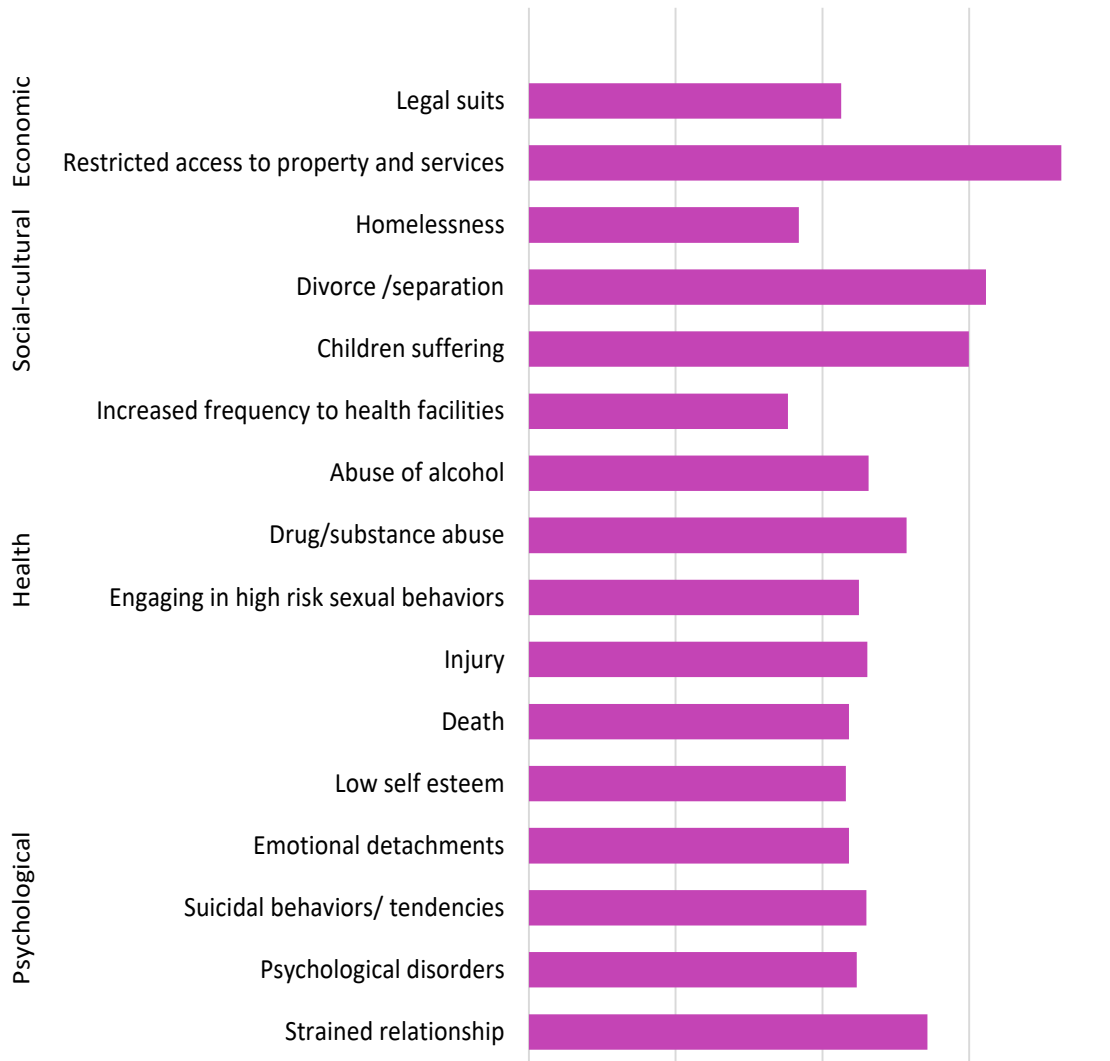
However, there are cultural practices which normalize the discipline of women, and sometimes open the path to wanton violence. For example, it was noted that Bukusu believe that beating women in the early stages of marriage helps to strengthen the relationship" (BF2); this tradition in Bukusu culture was echoed by many others. A youth in Bungoma said, "Violence is

justified sometimes when it is for correction of deviant behavior. Wives sometimes behave like children and there is no harm in beating them to correct behavior" (BF2). Administrators in Bungoma noted that in parts of Mount Elgon, normalization of violence against women is expressed as *kuruka jiko*, loosely translated to mean 'when a woman is beaten, she does not leave but perseveres the beatings, akin to jumping around the three-legged traditional cooking stones any time the husband assaults her" (BF7). A social worker noted that there are rites of passage for men which encourage drinking and sexual debut and experimentation and domination and this was echoed in another FGD in the county (BI5 and BF6)). It was also noted that polygamous unions are a context for violence, often against the first wife (BF4). Early marriage was also given as a factor in violence (BF6). Lastly, infertility in women is seen as particularly shameful and belittling in many traditional societies and this was a factor in IPV (BI5).

Consequences of Intimate Partner Violence

IPV was acknowledged by many respondents as leading to family and community breakdown, negative effects on children, death, mental illness and disability, imprisonment and negative economic impacts on family and society. Figure 3.4 shows that certain psychological, health, socio-cultural and economic consequences seemed to be most well recognized, with 75% noting that IPV could lead to restricted access to property and services and 60% and 62% respectively recognizing the suffering of children and the consequence of divorce or separation. Most other consequences were acknowledged by 40-50% of people. IPV was acknowledged by many interviewees and FGD participants to lead to family and community breakdown, negative effects on children, death, mental illness and disability,

Figure 3.4: Perceived Consequences of Intimate Partner Violence



imprisonment and negative economic impacts on family and society. Perpetrators acknowledged negative effects of their actions, “Violence undermines development in the family” and “leads to separation of families” (KI4, KI5).

Societal Aspects of Intimate Partner Violence

The following question explored attitudes about the justification for violence and issues at the societal level (see figure 3.5). The majority (71%) disagreed with the statement that “violence is sometimes the

only option” while they agreed (84%) that “Change is necessary in our society through multi agencies approach” and that “violent men would like help to change” (76%). Interestingly, more men disagreed than agreed that “men often treat wives/partners badly” but the opposite was true for “women often treat husbands/partners badly.” Most men agreed that “media/society is hard on men” (60%) and that “a lot of help is being given to women but not to men” (77%).

Contributory Factors to Intimate Partner Violence

Men in interviews and FGDs gave a wealth of views on the causes, both direct and indirect of IPV, many of which have been documented in other literature, but which are usefully described within the Kenyan context. These are highly revealing and relate in part to some of the phenomena mentioned, the perceived threat to masculinity and male roles brought by cultural change and women’s empowerment and the breakdown of community norms and structures, as well as a number of other factors.

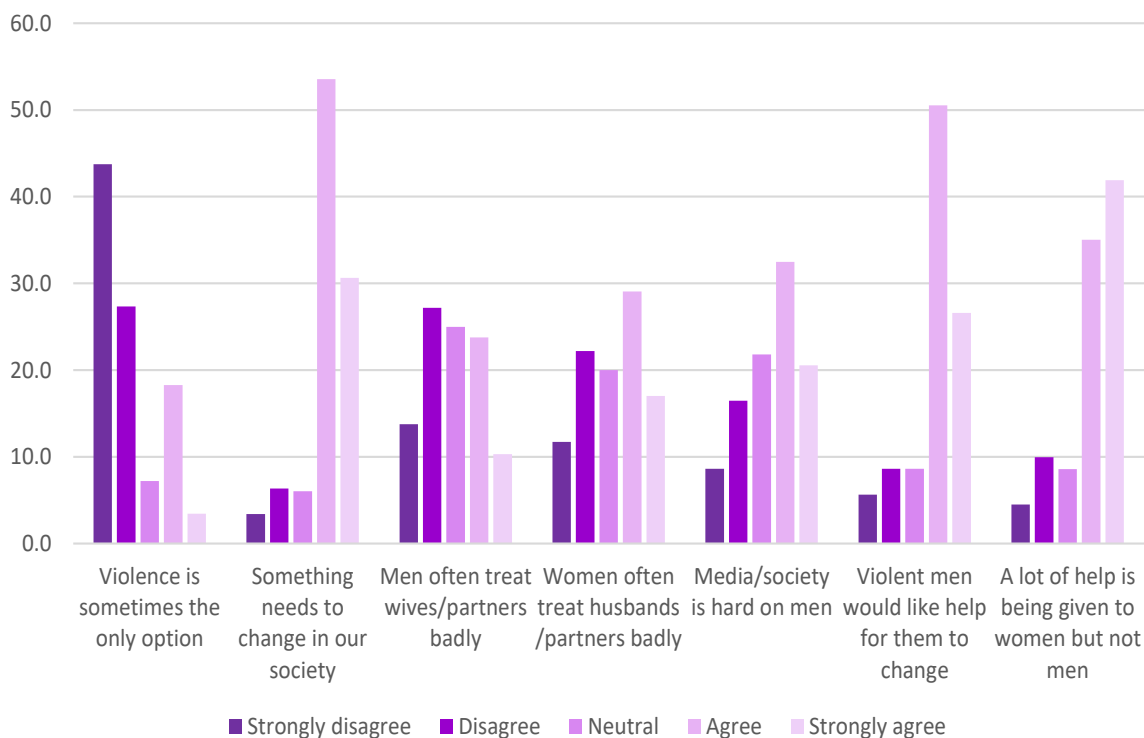
Psychosocial factors at the family level: Several men mentioned that poor parenting, broken homes and witnessing violence as a child were factors in IPV. Low self-esteem, anxiety, depression, lack of support/no one to talk to, work pressures, low levels of education and lack of conflict resolution

skills were also mentioned by several people, both key informants and FGD participants. The following comments were revealing, “A Kenyan man is an isolated and burdened man” (NF1), “[There is] silence in men which explodes” (MF2), “Men are like a bottle that has been closed, when given a small opening they explode” (NF3), “Violence is a cry for help” (MF4) and “Men don’t cry, so when they get angry they kill (MF9).

Some felt that young people lacked moral values, good character and patience (KF3, NI6) that positive role models were lacking, and that community restraints against violence had broken down (BF6, BI3) The absence of men from the home was blamed for boys having poor skills in relationships (BF3).

Breakdown of societal norms and institutions: While the cultural precedents for violence have been noted, the

Figure 3.5 Perception of IPV as a Societal Issue



breakdown of societal norms and institutions was also commonly mentioned with regard to marital conflict and violence. "For us, we got the woman from their home. Now people now meet on the road or hotel" (MI1), "Marriage was a community affair but today people meet in town and marry the next day" which, it was noted, means that they have nowhere to go for help and advice, which leads to violence (BI3). "Young people hurriedly enter into relationships devoid of much purpose" (BI1). Similarly, "Today boys' and girls' families do not know each other, thus no respect, and a small disagreement between couples leads to violence" (KF4). The demise of "background checks" by the family on a prospective spouse was mentioned and that this makes it difficult for families to assist when things go wrong (BF2, BI4, NI2, KF5).

Another tradition which is waning is the payment of bride-price, and this was said to undermine accountability, and avenues for conflict resolution (KF4). Similarly, lack of rites of passage, individualism as opposed to collectivism (MF1, BF6) waning of traditional authority structures (BI9) and again Westernization, modernism and moral decay were all mentioned severally for their role in societal breakdown.

Media and technology: Technology such as TV, phones and internet was mentioned in 3 distinct ways. The first was that it is bringing in certain values whether immoral or Western or both, which are at odds with traditional and sometimes religious values. Sometimes they may be seen as liberating from certain oppressive or restrictive aspects of tradition and religion and when restraint is cast off this leads to conflict, as noted "Western values in media cause people to experiment" (BI9), "people see things in the media and practice them blindly (BF6) and "the social media [and] media influence is too rampant" (NI2) "The

role model is the TV" (MF6). With regard to children, technology together with school and community influences, is said to be causing children to be less submissive to parental authority (MI1). One respondent felt that some memes encourage gender-based violence (KI6).

More indirectly, technology also breaks down family values by absorbing people and they fail to focus on what's important, especially family relationships (NI2). Lastly technology offers a new avenue for flirtation (KF4) and advertising oneself as available for relationships through dating sites (NI2), which bypasses the institutions noted above and in a similar vein, offers new opportunities for infidelity. Even where there is no infidelity, there may be suspicion of such, and strong overreaction (KF5, BF1, BF2, MI1).

Specific sources of disagreement: Commonly mentioned areas for disagreement between spouses were parenting and finances. Regarding parenting, women were considered over-protective (KF1) as noted, by Sheikhs in Mombasa, "When a child comes home at 11pm and my wife disagrees with me on how to discipline such a child. It frustrates me because as a disciplinarian my role is being challenged." Another respondent mentioned the scenario when women defend a daughter with a teen pregnancy (BF3).

Regarding finance, economic constraints raised the likelihood for disagreements about how to spend the scarce resource and sometimes violence (KI9, KI2). Gambling and other misuse of money by men was said to cause a man to take out his frustration on his wife (BF3, BI5). Similarly, IPV is mostly perpetrated by men after misappropriating family resources (BF2); sometimes the demand for accountability by wives was the trigger for the violence (BF4). On the other

hand, men resented women making investments without consulting with them (KF5) and the diversion of family resources to the woman's family (KF1).

Several other sources of disagreement and IPV were mentioned including inter-ethnic and inter-faith marriages (BI1), MF4, MF11), family disputes and property disputes, both of which are particularly a problem in polygamous marriages (NF3, BF3, BI9, BF4).

Undermining of masculinity: Violence was said to be an expression of masculinity, when masculinity is challenged (KI2, KF1, KI8) as noted "men turn violent to try and return back to the top" (MF5) and "failure to submit to her husband is what provokes a fight" (MF11). When women called men to account for time spent in Maskan this brought conflict (MF3). One respondent noted that if a woman is more educated than the man this can cause her to become a victim (BI4). The situation in the home was a microcosm of the empowerment of women going on in the wider society, which was also a source of anger (KF5, MF5, BF1, BF3, BF6). An elder in Kwale expressed,

The Government favours women, affirmative action is for women, this is making women hard-headed. A man cannot control his wife or tell her anything... [she is] not taking her traditional role seriously. Men are angered by losing authority (KF3).

Another respondent said "The man turns violent because he has no ear...Men are desperate for gender equality. If it's there, violence will reduce" (MF5). Others echoed this issue of partiality of the law (NF3, NF6).

Connected with this was a widely mentioned problem of the anger which resulted when men felt unsupported or unappreciated by their wives or partners, who made what

were perceived to be unreasonable demands for money or expensive goods. When women's appreciation or respect was conditional on money this was a particular problem, "When I had money I was somebody to you, now all love is taken somewhere else because I don't have. That pushes one to demand that respect back, and they can use violence" (MF5). Further, the stress of being unemployed or not being able to provide was a common theme when discussing factors in conflict or violence. Men in Kayole said "When you have money there is peace" (MF3). Suicide killings were referred to here, "Some people kill to address the [financial] burden of living. No one should be left after killing the spouse. This is why people wipe out the entire family and then commit suicide" (BF4, MF2). Some mentioned the problems of men failing to send money or see their families which could start the process of family conflict (BI1, BF1, KF2).

Women who use men for money are a source of severe pain and anger. This kind of behavior may lead to extreme measures, "To them this even warrants killing – better kill the girl and kill self instead of living with the pain" (KF4). Other comments included, "Stress builds up; you would rather die. I loved you but what [you] saw was the opportunity not the love...Lack of faith makes the man kill himself. Most killing of wives is pain" (MF5). Specifically, men often talked about sponsors (who have paid for girls' education) (BF7, BI2). An example was given by a peace worker from Nakuru, from Enosupookia on the border with Narok, of a Maasai man who killed his wife of eight years, because after he had put her through school and she had found work, she was discovered to be seeing another man (NI7).

Infidelity: While polygamy and extra-marital relationships by men were normalized by some respondents, in comparison, infidelity

by a woman was widely noted to provoke a strong reaction of hurt and anger which can result in killing (NI2) A civil society officer expressed the passion involved, “When you love so much and you show the extreme...when you reach the wall...it’s first me, no one else will have her” (MI1).

Uniquely in Mt Elgon area in Bungoma, men formerly associated with the Sabaot Land Defence Force who were allegedly castrated by state security forces in operations had experienced the double pain of infidelity and finding out that children had been conceived out of wedlock (BF2, BI9). Other men’s children were also mentioned as a source of anger in Nakuru (NF5). The discovery of HIV or STIs might also bring suspicion and violence. (BI9, BI7, MI3). A peace worker narrated an incident whereby a senior police officer shot his mistress in a bar before turning the gun on himself in rage. He noted that the officer had discovered that the girl had knowingly infected him with HIV, and that his wife at home would have also been exposed. When confronted, the young mistress had apparently casually brushed off his concerns with, “It is not an issue, there is now medicine for HIV.” Family planning in some cases raised suspicions of extramarital affairs (KI4, KI5).

A unique factor noted severally was men working away from home and particularly the posting of civil servants away from the family which leads to love triangles which can subsequently lead to IPV (BF7, BF3, BF6). As a police officer noted,

Most of the officers don’t stay with their wives so several have side relationships. One officer became suicidal because his wife got pregnant with another man, the officer had been away from his wife for three years and he was having a

relationship with another woman (MI7).

Lastly, *boda boda* (motorcycle taxi) operatives had a particularly bad reputation: as “empowered villagers who have money and can entice women away from their spouses/partners” or allow women to pay for rides with sex (BI2, BF8).

Substance abuse: Substance abuse is well-recognized as a factor in IPV and was mentioned as a trigger by many respondents (BF1, BI8, BF3, BF6), especially in Bungoma where youths have a number of options, from cheap alcohol imported from Uganda to the traditional brews *busaa* (mild and used in traditional ceremonies) and *chang’aa* (strong). Other drugs mentioned were *kuber* (strong tobacco placed under the lip, which it is feared may be laced with other substances) and *mogaka* or *miraa/khat* (leaves which are chewed to give a mild stimulant effect - mentioned in coastal counties where it is very popular. Substance abuse, it was noted, affects sexual function, which may be an added source of frustration and conflict.

Religion and ideology: Christianity, Islam and African traditional religion and values were described both in terms of endorsing the leadership role of men (see above) and in placing restraints upon violence, both directly and indirectly through providing wisdom for life which would reduce sources of conflict. In Coastal counties some mentioned that the more religious a man was, the better he behaved “Depth of involvement in religion reduces IPV,” and “Before I reformed things use to be so bad, we used to fight, since I changed and joined religion things are better” (KI2,MI6).

Some felt that religious leaders themselves had failed in their role of guiding people (KF5), while an interfaith leader in Bungoma

felt that the church had been sidelined in the role of addressing societal challenges (BF1). In one FGD it was noted that biblical teaching was valuable but it needed to be better contextualized in the African context, relating to African traditions (NF5), while related to this, an administrator felt that Christians had become individualistic and needed to learn from Muslims in this regard (NI2). A cleric in Kwale said that religious leaders are guilty of encouraging women to stay in violent marriages.

Interestingly, it was noted that church membership could cause women to neglect their families, “Religion pulls women into church and neglecting their families, women respect the pastor more” (KF1) or breach privacy, “Women go to pastors/priests for advice on bedroom matters which can lead to IPV” (BF1). Overnight prayer meetings

could sometimes be a context for sexual infidelity (BF8).

Addressing Intimate Partner Violence

When respondents were asked “what is the best way to resolve situations of violence in marriage/relationships?” (see figure 3.6). The most popular options were dialogue together or with the help of respected others, and involvement of elders and religious institutions. Most did not agree with divorce or separation, and were evenly weighted on the option of involving the courts.

Related to the above, respondents were also asked to rate the importance of certain institutions in addressing IPV (see figure 3.7). As can be seen, the most popular institutions were churches, mosques, elders and family, while police, government

Figure 3.6 Ways of Resolving Situations of Violence in Relationship

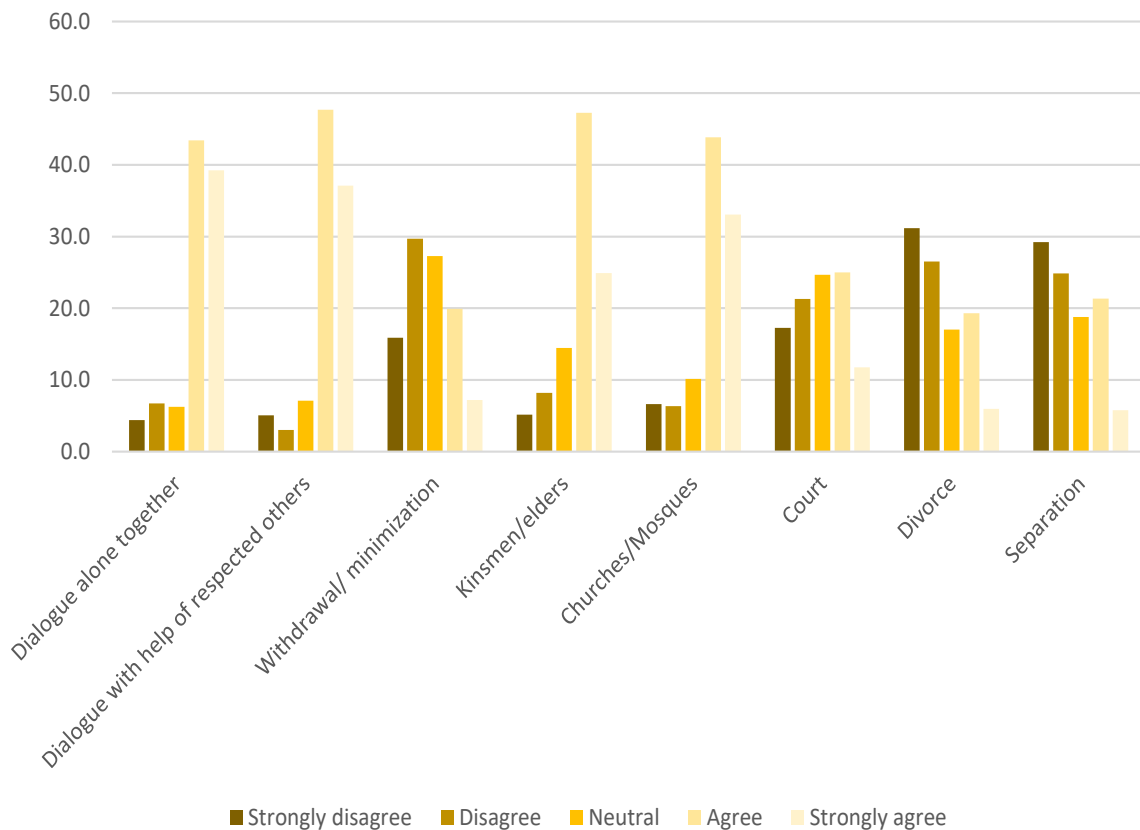
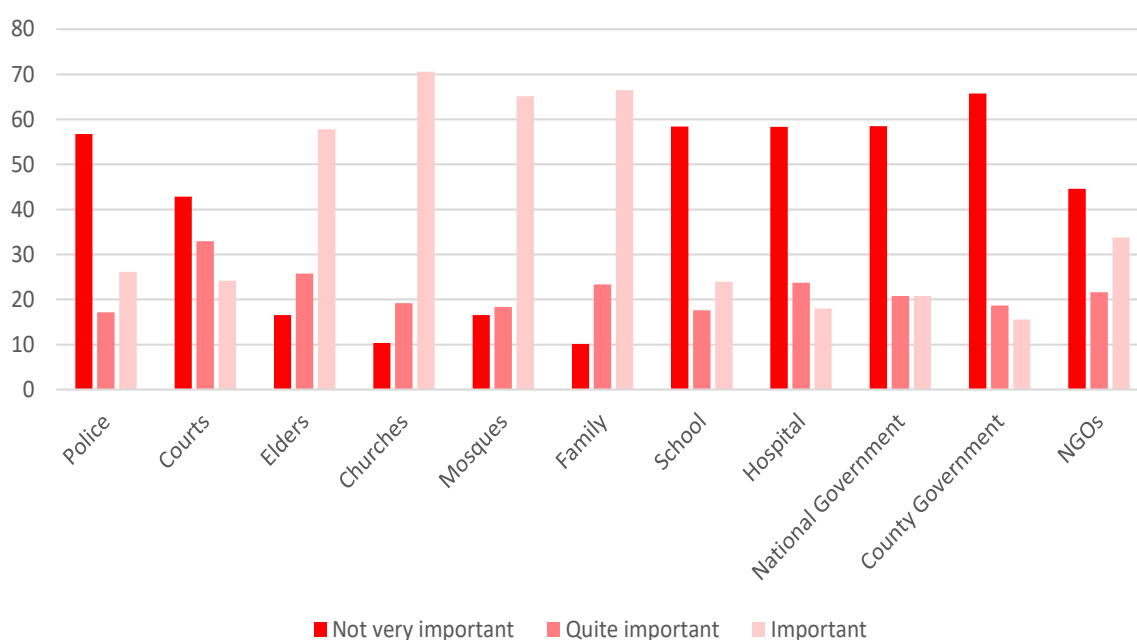


Figure 3.7 Perceived Importance of Institutions in Addressing Intimate Partner Violence



institutions, hospitals and schools were rated as not important (although perhaps the roles played by some of these institutions are less well recognized or more indirect).

Interviewees and FGD participants echoed the importance of families in resolving disputes and also pointed out the role of local or village elders and *Nyumba Kumi* in IPV through alternative dispute resolution, the advantage being that of local contextual understanding and ongoing involvement in IPV. Village elders play a vital role as they are close to the people and can follow up cases. They were also perceived as being fairer; a respondent had this to say, “Elders are preferable to the courts because courts only punish men” (KI10). Village elders in Kwale noted that they resolve up to ten (10) cases of IPV per month (KF3). Churches, Mosque Committees, Kadhis and other religious institutions were mentioned in all counties as assisting both in terms of general teaching on peace, counselling and mediation or conflict resolution and several national and

local civil society organizations were also mentioned.

Chiefs could be a source of help, and police, including gender desks and courts were mentioned. However, police were limited in their capacity to bring IPV offenders to justice (KI10). Gender desks in police stations were sometimes lacking in terms of staffing and gender-specific training (NI4). Probation and aftercare was said to assist with reconciliation (Ibid and Prosecution Kwale 28 May, 2019). The Children’s Department was involved in some IPV cases and hospitals and gender violence recovery centres were another source of help for victims. Sometimes institutions of higher learning were involved in counselling.

Finally, respondents were asked to what extent they agree that certain issues are challenges to addressing violence within marriage/relationships (see figure 3.8). All the issues met with overall agreement, from individual factors such as willingness, lack of knowledge and lack of capacity to cultural and societal failings and problems.

Respondents' Suggestions

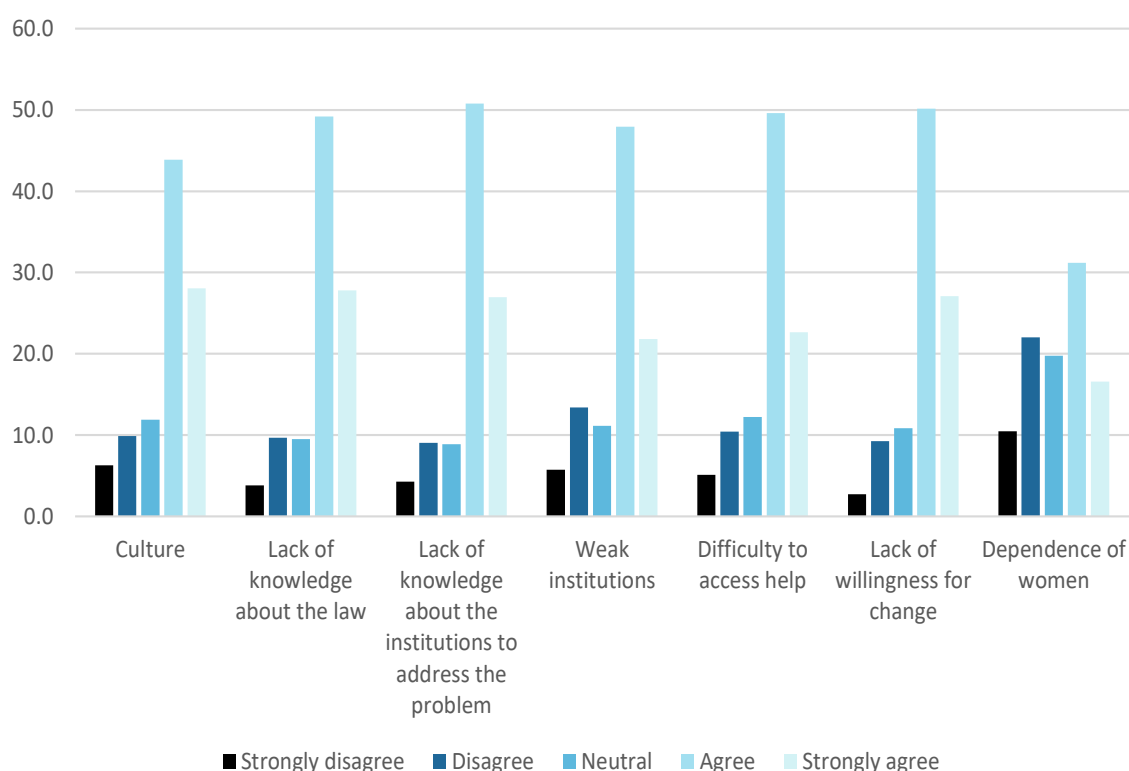
Interviewees and FGD participants made a range of suggestions which may widen the perspective on addressing IPV. **Education and public sensitization** on IPV were proposed through *barazas* (public meetings), media, social media and the school syllabus. Parenting classes were also mentioned, and education for men and boys, to help them to define and understand their masculine identity and roles, within a changing culture where rites of passage have gone and gender roles have shifted.

Combined with this was the frequently voiced need for men to access **support and advice**, and a place to voice issues and deal with stress. **Male empowerment** through education and economic empowerment were most widely suggested to redress the balance of empowerment now weighted in favour of women. **Individual counselling and psychiatric care**, relationship

counselling and pre-marriage counselling were mentioned by many, particularly targeted towards engaging men, and specifically improved services for the police. **Budgeting advice** was another useful suggestion. It was important that this be affordable and professional. Related to this was the need to address **substance abuse**, including the need for more rehabilitation services.

African tradition was seen as having both negative and positive elements. Although several advocated the discouragement and abolition of cultural practices which demeaned and disempowered women, more frequently in all counties, men considered what could be done to **strengthen or revive the best of the traditional values and institutions** to nurture family and community. These included councils of elders, alternative dispute resolution, marriage arrangements, collective responsibility for children and

Figure 3.8 Perceptions about Challenges to Addressing Intimate Partner Violence



youths, respect for elders and inter-generational conversations. Adopting socioeconomic policies which build community cohesion were in keeping with these suggestions (K17). **Nyumba Kumi and community policing** were suggested as community-based interventions for monitoring and dealing with IPV.

Supporting religious institutions was seen as important since they were widely held to have an important message and to also be a good forum for instruction on masculinity and IPV, which should not be sidelined or silenced even as Kenya becomes more westernized. Pastors also pointed out that since marriage certificates cost 25,000 (although this is not the case for Muslims) people were being hampered from following Christian teaching to get married before entering into a sexual relationship (MF9).

While some felt that improved reporting and follow through, and tougher sentences

would help, many men called for justice in the form of **legal aid and impartial application of the law**. Policies which support families, and vibrancy and inclusivity in gender technical working group structures, better budgeting for IPV and coordination and partnership between the various state and non-state institutions were other suggestions.

Certain specific needs were mentioned. A probation officer in Kwale mentioned the need for more court psychiatrists (K19), while better data collection from hospitals was considered useful to better understand the scale of the problem. There was a need to understand the problem of IPV specifically as it relates to women with disability and intervene accordingly. Finally, some respondents considered what could be done at the policy level to limit the influence of negative social media on children and families.

DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study sought to find out men's perceptions about masculinity and male roles and behaviours and intimate partner violence (IPV) in the changing cultural context in Kenya. In so doing, it also revealed some interesting risk factors and contextual and cultural issues. Further, the institutional aspects of IPV were explored with the aim of suggesting areas for intervention.

Summary and Discussion

Table 4.1 provides a brief summary of all responses from questionnaires, interviews and FGDs,⁷ and where available, information on how these responses varied across differences in religion, urbanization, education level and age. It is notable that on the whole there was little variation according to these characteristics, with some exceptions to be discussed

Attitudes on gender roles and relations in the changing context

The study found that masculine identity and male roles are seen almost universally in terms of leadership of the family, taking responsibility for the family, protection and provision. These are in part dependent upon socialization and African tradition, but also find a significant basis in different religious beliefs. These perceived roles are being challenged in a number of ways. The most commonly voiced challenge to masculine identity and roles operating at both relationship and societal level is women's

empowerment. Men are overall not opposed to women working, or having their own bank account or mobile money, although quite a number thought that men should exercise control over all the finances, and also over a woman's movements, but it was clear from many responses that they were irritated by the attitudes of women which were less subservient and sometimes perceived as more disrespectful than in previous generations as a result of education, financial independence and legal empowerment.

Several men expressed concern about the changing tide of society, in particular, certain ideologies behind cultural change, namely, feminism, materialism and individualism which are perceived as alien to African culture and Christian and Muslim religion; men in faith-based FGDs had particularly well-formed objections to these ideologies. The influence of social media and TV was a common concern. From the study it was clear that men need support and help to articulate and discuss some of the tensions they are feeling and consider how to deal with them in a constructive way. This may involve resisting some changes and accepting others.

In much of modern Kenyan society, initiation rites for young people have waned. While the passing of some rites may not be mourned, there were undoubtedly positive aspects to a celebrated structured

⁷ Summary of quantitative data is given in black, and qualitative data in blue where available

Table 4.1 Summary of Responses from Questionnaire, FGDs and Interviews

Issue	Summary of all responses	Variations in response according to respondent characteristics			
		Religion	Urban/rural	Education	Age
Male roles and masculinity	Highest importance given to provision/protection, taking responsibility, sexual capacity and having courage. Provider, protector, leader.	No difference though more elaborately expressed in Christian and Muslim faith-based FGDs	No difference	-	-
Changing roles and strain	Most did not disapprove of women's financial independence. Majority agree that media/society is hard on men Strain noted.	No difference	No difference	Less educated men more likely to disapprove of women running a business	Older men more likely to disapprove of women working away
Societal changes	Concern about feminist ideologies, some western/modern influences, loss of traditional norms and institutions	Christian and Muslim faith-based FGDs especially expressed concern	No difference	-	-
Attitudes towards IPV	All against violence in questionnaire, but in interviews/FGD, "Light" physical discipline supported by most.	No difference	No difference	No difference	Older men less likely to disagree with forced sex
Suggested causes of IPV	Moral decay and loss of traditional norms and institutions, especially through technology. Disrespect/undermining of male roles. Reaction to infidelity by women. Substance abuse	No difference	Bungoma: culture, land issues, polygamy, witchcraft	-	-
Preferred interventions	Elders, churches, mosques and families seen as most important. Police and courts not very important Emphasis on faith-based institutions and elders	Maskan as a support structure noted by Muslims	No difference	-	-

Proposed interventions	Majority agree that something needs to change Economic empowerment (including men) Public sensitization Support for men and boys Counselling Reviving/building traditional/grassroots institutions Harnessing religious institutions Make law enforcement fair to men	No difference	Need for drug rehabilitation centres noted in Bungoma and Kwale Abolishing retrogressive practices also noted in Bungoma and Kwale	-	-
Barriers to change	Majority agreed that barriers include individual factors such as lack of willingness, knowledge and capacity, and cultural and societal failings and problems.	-	-		

path to adulthood with the acknowledgement of both the rights and responsibilities of this and a context for fraternal support and community belonging (Mbiti 1969:118-123). Could the best aspects of initiation be reinvented within the modern context? Faith-based and civil societies as well as schools may be well-placed to do this, and to also support fathers in relating to their sons in passing on the mantle.

Attitudes about intimate partner violence

When it came to IPV, most men express opposition to all forms of IPV, however, around 20% of men felt that sometimes violence was the only option. Several men however distinguished between violence and “discipline” of a woman through physical action such as slapping, which they deemed necessary to maintain the respect of a woman.

Relationship factors: “sponsors,” working away, and “the spirit of polygamy.”

Factors in IPV are many and support those already documented in other studies. In particular, this study reinforced the finding that the undermining of masculinity through an emphasis on women’s empowerment in Kenya was a factor in violence. Behaviours of women which were disrespectful, humiliating, hurtful or sexually unfaithful were particularly likely to cause violence. A particularly context-specific example of a situation potentially leading to fatal violence is the “sponsor” relationship, between a student (usually female) and a wealthy older “sponsor” who provides financial support in exchange for sex. This is known to be prolific in Kenya with possibly as many as 20% of young female students involved (Busara Centre, 2018).

Another specific situation described is infidelity by a woman whose partner is

working away; this situation is contributed by rural-urban migration which has persisted since the advent of taxation during the colonial era and the centralization of development since that time, and is especially the case for civil servants. The normalization of one or more sexual partners outside marriage for men has been referred to as a persistence of “the spirit of polygamy” following the decline in the traditional system which had various functions, including providing workers for family farms under the largely agrarian traditional economy (Hayase and Liaw, 1997). Indeed it is a common argument by men in favour of having multiple partners that this is a legitimate African tradition which has only been recently disrupted by Western interference and that it is also unreasonable to expect a man to “go against his nature” and to be monogamous. Polygamy is an established practice in Islam and even adherents to Christianity argue that it is not condemned in the Bible. On the other hand, some women’s rights leaders and Christians point out that monogamy is ideal in according equal dignity to both partners and increasing the likelihood of the harmony and stability of the family unit and the proper nurture of children (Bhalla, 2018).

Notably polygamy is now legally recognized in Kenya since 2014, when civil law was realigned to agree with both customary law and Islamic law which had long allowed for such arrangements, to the consternation of Christian leaders and several female politicians (BBC News, 2014). This was a decisive reversal of the colonial laws under which polygamy was theoretically a criminal act (Commission on the Law of Marriage and Divorce, 1968). Several tensions are revealed in the changing African context and the reality of modern polygamy, (which is usually polygyny – males having multiple partners) supports the argument for female

empowerment because within the modern economy, men are often unable to sustain more than one family and thus women are necessarily the heads of families and need direct support.

Rural/urban differences

It was noted in Kwale and Bungoma, both more rural areas, that IPV was related to certain cultural practices. In Bungoma there was a strong cultural precedent for more severe forms of IPV, however, the justification of “light” discipline to reinforce male dominance was almost universal with no respect to urban/rural (and religious) divides. Interestingly though there were concerns about breakdown in traditional norms, values and institutions and the rural/urban divide, these kinds of concerns did not appear to be stronger in Mombasa, which is an urban county, than in the other counties (although this may simply reflect a lack of sensitivity in the data collection tools to detect such differences). Other rural/urban issues came out in the study such as men working away (often in urban centres) while their spouses remained in rural areas, and stresses due to lack of land. Land is a particular problem in the rural counties of Bungoma and Kwale and is one of several context-specific issues which contribute to poverty and are likely to indirectly contribute to IPV.

Faces of poverty

Poverty was seen to influence IPV in a number of ways, both direct and indirect. Firstly, it affects male self-esteem and disrupts the male provider role, which is exacerbated when women work and sometimes become the main breadwinner, threatening men’s leadership role over decisions regarding money. Secondly, poverty leads to stress in general over trying to make ends meet, and conflict over

priorities. All of these frustrations may be expressed through violence. Thirdly, poverty often comes with lower education, and perhaps lower awareness of alternative strategies to manage conflict or alternative expressions of masculinity. Fourthly, poverty implies a reduced awareness, capacity and opportunity to access various sources of help such as individual or relationship counselling, healthcare, and help for addictions, and mitigate situations before they cause severe harm. Finally, poverty may be both a symptom of and a contributory factor (as noted) to sexual promiscuity (through engagement in transactional relationships) which as this work demonstrates is an important factor in IPV.

The question of gender empowerment

This study raised an important question over women's empowerment and its impact on Kenyan society and perhaps other similar African societies. Responses to IPV and gender-based violence (GBV) in general are often based on the assumption that at the core of GBV are gender norms and gender-based power inequalities (SIDA 2015). However, the unintended impacts of focusing on female empowerment to the exclusion of men must be considered. These impacts might be interpreted as being a reassertion of existing harmful gender norms, and further evidence for the need to re-adjust these norms, but there may be both practical and philosophical problems with this approach. It is important to question the appropriateness of a

wholehearted assent to values which may be foreign to African culture and worldviews, and cannot be assumed to be "correct" simply because they have come from more developed economies and democracies (Ilmi 2014). This is the expression of several of the male respondents in the study which, while necessarily subjective is still worthy of consideration, (as are women's voices on this matter of cultural shift). Further, there is always a balance between individual rights and the wellbeing of society which is emphasized differently by Western and African culture (Moshia 2000 quoted in Ilmi, 2014). Therefore, this report recommends a balanced approach which discourages violent expressions of masculinity but supports the place of men in the home and society and the family structure in general, since the family remains the point of nurture and guidance for children.

External pressures on relationships

This work reveals that other external pressures such as poverty and unemployment as well as previous experiences of various types of violence are important contributors to violence within the home; it is not simply about the gender-power imbalance. Echoing the findings of the IMAGES study,⁸ this work finds that many other factors are important in IPV, such as depression and economic strain due to poverty and in the Kenya case, rising consumerist ideals. Interestingly, at the same time there is also the strain of transition from a more communal to an individualist society, and the rural-urban

⁸ International Centre for Research on Women (2010) "International Men and Gender Equality Survey" See <http://www.gbv.ie/masculinities-and-gbv/>

disconnect brought about by increased urbanization, which can leave people isolated and floundering, lacking familiar structures for guidance and support. It is worth considering how urban-based institutions such as community groups, community policing/neighbourhood watch organizations and religious groups can fill this void.

As previous studies imply (Gibbs et al, 2015) if poor men were also empowered, financially, educationally and legally they may have more of a stake in society and at the relationship level be more inclined to see the woman's successes in a positive light, enhancing mutual respect. In terms of addressing poverty, Kenya has the Youth Enterprise Development Fund and the Women's Enterprise Fund, (in which up to 30% of members of registered groups can be men). However, uptake of the Youth Fund is very poor, partly because of flaws in its design and management and partly because most young people lack the capacity, skills and support to form and maintain small business ventures (Sikenyi 2017). Uptake of the Women's Fund is also less than planned (Mutai, 2018).

Gambling was revealed as a factor in relationship strain, IPV and suicide. Kenya's online gambling industry has expanded hugely in the last 5 years, as the result of mobile money and smart phones, along with relentless advertising for the same. Concerns about the social repercussions of this seductive and potentially addictive practice are acknowledged by the government of Kenya which is currently in the process of updating the current regulatory framework, which dates from 1966 and is inadequate to cover the changing context (Denitza Demitrova Consultus, 2019). However the industry will continue, and the government is under pressure to collect taxes.

Addressing intimate partner violence through grassroots institutions

The preferred avenues for dealing with IPV conflicts included dialogue and involvement of families, elders and religious leaders, while the most popular institutions were churches, family, mosques and elders. A number of civil society organizations were also noted to have a valuable role in addressing IPV. A recent report by the World Bank (2019) on services for GBV at the county level revealed that informal institutions are commonly used for a number of reasons. Firstly, they are more accessible, especially where formal institutions are thin on the ground and people are ignorant about how to access them. Secondly, people feel that formal service staff such as police and healthcare workers may not understand them or treat them well (a fear which is often justified), Thirdly, people have little faith in the competence and integrity of formal institutions such as police and judiciary to bring perpetrators to justice, and lastly, people worry about the fees charged (sometimes illegally) which they cannot afford.

However, there are specific disadvantages for women victims of IPV in using informal institutions such as families, religious institutions or the office of the chief to discuss their problems. This is because these institutions often reflect the same structural inequalities which perpetuated the IPV in the first place. Women who have been victims of IPV are commonly advised to reconcile, persevere and keep the family together, and indeed, the economic impact of separation is often enough to deter a woman from leaving an abusive situation (World Bank, 2019).

The legal system was an important area in which men identified that they have been

disempowered, saying that police and courts tend to rule in favour of women. One area in which men are disadvantaged under the law is that many young men are being imprisoned for defilement when they have had sex with a minor (under 18) who agreed to this and may or may not have revealed her young age. Many have called for a lowering of the age of consent to 16 though this was recently rejected by the High Court of Kenya. Further, the Kenya legal system has failed many people who remain in remand for extended periods, diminishing their capacity for reintegration.

Recommendations

Interventions to address the problems identified need to be directed to the individual, family, community, society and the national levels and require a multi-sectoral approach. Arising from the findings and conclusions of this study, the following are policy and operational recommendations for government and civil society organizations. The emphasis of this study is about prevention, albeit secondary prevention in some cases, through interventions which deal with risk factors for IPV, and the recommendations are mainly concerned with prevention rather than redressing the impacts of violence once it has occurred.

Policy Recommendations

1. Review the National Gender and Equality Commission policy with a view to also empowering boys/men besides women/girls.
2. Make marriage certificates cheaper to support the institution of marriage and connection of the couple to the church.
3. Continue current efforts to strictly regulate the gambling sector, especially online betting.

4. Strictly regulate alcohol imports and sale. County governments should see alcohol as a largely destructive influence and limit licensing accordingly.
5. Modern-day “polygamy” should be discouraged and no further legal provisions made for it.

Government Operational Recommendations

1. Create awareness among *Nyumba Kumi* and community policing leaders on pathways for dealing with IPV cases.
2. Both county and national governments should partner with non-state organizations to empower and create jobs for men. This could be done through job centres which function both as employment bureaus and places for training in financial management, debt counselling, accessing microfinance and job application. These could potentially be based in existing centres and meeting places. A structure for empowerment of men would encourage investors and employers, and also donors who could fund training.
3. Educate and sensitize the public on IPV in the changing cultural context, through the school syllabus, barazas, media and social media. Discredit physical discipline of women as a fruitless and illegal practice, in favour of other ways of gaining respect in the home and managing conflict.
4. Educate and sensitize the public on parenting skills to shape children at the family and the community levels, this should be done in partnership with civil society and faith-based organizations. Create publicly funded online services and TV and community radio programs to

further the same dialogues and offer professional advice.

5. Sensitize people on the risks of gambling, alcohol and drugs. Support organizations working to assist with these kinds of addiction and create strong referral pathways to these organizations from police, social services and healthcare facilities.
6. Support the preventative work of civil society and faith-based organizations in Kenya such as community-based/faith-based organizations, churches, mosques, pastors, and sheikhs (given that state institutions are feared).
7. Sensitize youths in schools and campuses on the “sponsorship” culture together with its attendant risks of violence, unplanned pregnancy, sexually transmitted infection and cervical cancer amongst others.
8. Ensure sufficient numbers of male teachers in schools who are trained to provide understanding and guidance to boys.
9. Educate police and judiciary to ensure impartiality in the legal system, which will increase trust and reduce frustrations of men which can lead to violence.
10. Create a well-publicized confidential professional counselling service, within the civil service and police (based in each county) and ensure widespread access to professional counselling services at Level 2 (local clinic) level. Such services need to be equipped with clear pathways into psychiatry, social services and police for when serious problems are flagged up.

Recommendations to civil society and faith-based organizations

1. Partner with government to empower and create jobs for men. Create job centres (see above) in existing community centres which are male-friendly.
2. Redress the balance in girl child/boy child empowerment programmes.
3. Partner with government to address drug, alcohol and gambling addiction and to provide general counselling services.
4. Create fora for men to discuss issues common to men and boys and find solutions. As a result of economic challenges, many men opt for working 7 days a week and hence do not attend places of worship and youth are also often absent from religious gatherings. Regular outreach evening meetings for men and youths in many localities could be a solution for this, serving similar functions to the Muslim Maskan. This could also avoid excessive time spent in bars. Within such a forum noted above, or youth or elders *Bunge* gatherings, there should be discussion and guest speakers on societal issues and questions such as managing technology wisely, family values and parenting, relationships, (including “sponsorship” and multiple partners), and community cohesion. Men should be encouraged that they are pillars and guardians of the family and community and guided in this role.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Key to Interviews and Focus Group Discussion Codes for In-Text Sources.

Nakuru

- NI 1 Interview, senior administrator Kuresoi, 27 May 2019
- NI 2 Interview, senior administrator Nakuru town, 27 May, 2019
- NI 3 Interview, youth leader Kuresoi North, 27 May, 2019
- NI 4 Interview, Gender Department official, Nakuru town, 28 May, 2019
- NI 5 Interview, National Council for Persons with Disability, Nakuru town, 28 May, 2019
- NI 6 Interview, senior administrator, Solai, 29 May, 2019
- NI 7 Interview, peace worker from Nakuru, Nairobi, June 2019
- NF 1 FGD 6 elders Sirikwa, 27 May, 2019
- NF 2 FGD 12 youths Kuresoi North, 27 May, 2019
- NF 3 FGD 16 national and county administrators, County Commissioners office, Nakuru town, 28 May, 2019
- NF 4 FGD 12 youths Njoro, 28 May, 2019
- NF 5 FGD 12 youths Solai chiefs' camp, 29 May, 2019
- NF 6 FGD 1 pastor and 6 administrators (4 male and 2 female) in Visoi, 29 May, 2019

Kwale

- KI 1 Interview Officer Commanding the Station, Kwale, 27 May, 2019
- KI 2 Interview Sheikh in mosque, Kwale 27 May 2019
- KI 3 Interview Medical Superintendent at Kwale County Referral Hospital, 27 May, 2019

- KI 4 Interview perpetrator on remand for assault, Kwale Prison, 28 May, 2019
- KI 5 Interview perpetrator convicted of assault, Kwale Prison, 28 May, 2019
- KI 6 Interview, Chief Magistrate, Kwale, 28 May 2019
- KI 7 Interview, female officer, Prosecution Counsel, Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions, Kwale, 28 May, 2019
- KI 8 Interview, caretaker of mosque, Kwale, 28 May, 2019
- KI 9 Interview, probation officer, Msambweni, Kwale, 29 May 2019
- KI 10 Interview program officer, Actions for Justice, Kombani, Kwale, 29 May, 2019
- KF 1 FGD government officials, Deputy County Commissioner's Office, Kwale, 28 May 2019
- KF 2 FGD national government administration officers, Golini chief's camp, Kwale, 28 May 2019
- KF 3 FGD elders, Golini chief camp, Kwale, 28 May 2019
- KF 4 FGD youths, Ukunda, Kwale, 29 May, 2019
- KF 5 FGD Muslim clerics Ngombeni, 30 May, 2019
- KF 6 FGD Christian clerics, Matuga, Kwale, 30 May, 2019

Mombasa

- MI 1 Group interview with peace worker Nganga and elder Abdullahi, LICODEP, 27 May 2019
- MI 2 Group interview with Director Juma Mwasina and program officer Sadik, LICODEP, Likoni, 27 May, 2019
- MI 3 Interview with Director Juma Mwasina, LICODEP, Likoni, 27 May, 2019

- MI 4 Interview with Athman Joho, private driver, Likoni, 27 May 2019
- MI 5 Interview civil society, Likoni, 27 May, 2019
- MI 6 Group interview with two reformed gang members, now *boda boda* operators, Likoni, 27 May, 2019
- MI 7 Interview police officer, Mombasa island, 30 May, 2019
- MI 8 Interview, elder, Mwakiruge, (rural area in Kisauni), 30 May, 2019
- MF 1 FGD with three elders, Likoni, 27 May, 2019
- MF 2 FGD with Chair, elder, businessman and two youths in Mtongwe Community Initiative, Mtongwe, 27 May, 2019
- MF 3 FGD with youths, Kayole City Maskani, Likoni, 27 May, 2019
- MF 4 FGD with ten youths, KIKODEP, Ziwa la Ngombe, Bombolulu, 28 May, 2019
- MF 5 FGD with Sheikhs from SUPKEM and CIPK in Swalihina mosque, Kisauni, 28 May, 2019
- MF 6 FGD with seven middle class men and church leader at Nyali Baptist Church, 27 May, 2019
- MF 7 FGD with pastors from around Mombasa, Nyali/North Zone Free Town, 28 May 2019
- MF 8 FGD with Bunge wa Wazee, Kipevu Ward, Mombasa 29 May, 2019
- MF 9 FGD with church leaders in Good News Pastors' Fellowship, Changamwe, 29 May, 2019
- MF 10 FGD with church leader and 9 men Miritini, 29 May, 2019
- MF11 FGD with 17 senior administrators and security, and civil society in County Commissioner's office, Mombasa 30 May 2019
- Bungoma*
- BI 1 Interview County Police Commander, Bungoma, 27 May, 2019
- BI 2 Interview Bungoma County Commissioner 28 May, 2019
- BI 3 Interview Chief Magistrate, Bungoma Law Courts, 28 May, 2019
- BI 4 Interview with an Officer Commanding the Station, Bungoma, 28 May, 2019
- BI 5 Interview with female social worker, Bungoma County Referral Hospital, 28 May, 2019
- BI 6 Interview, Nurse at Butula Sub-County Hospital, 28 May, 2019
- BI 7 Group Interview with 2 National Youth Council officers and a Yes Youth We Can Officer, Bungoma town, 28 May, 2019
- BI 8 Interview Deputy Officer in Charge, Bungoma Prison, 29 May, 2019
- BI 9 Interview County Executive for Lands, Bungoma town, 30 May 2019
- BF 1 FGD 6 Christian men from interfaith group, Bungoma, 27 May, 2019
- BF 2 FGD 10 youths, students and others, Bungoma town, 28 May, 2019
- BF 3 FGD 22 men including elders, farmers and businessmen, Cheptais, Mt Elgon, 29 May, 2019.
- BF 4 FGD, 10 national government administration officers, Cheptais, Mt Elgon 29 May, 2019
- BF 5 FGD 8 peace workers (women), Cheptais, Mt Elgon, 29 May, 2019
- BF 6 FGD 7 men over 35, farmers and businessmen, Sikusi, 29 May, 2019
- BF 7 FGD 9 state and non-state officers in County Commissioner's Office, Bungoma town, 30 May, 2019
- BF 8 FGD 8 members (women) of Maendelao ya Wanawake and civil society, Bungoma town, 30 May, 2019

Appendix 2: Areas Sampled for Survey

County	Constituency	Wards	Ward Pop. (2009)	Sample Size	
Mombasa	Changamwe	Port Reitz	31720	23	
		Kipevu	29100	21	
		Airport	31721	23	
	Kisauni	Mjambere	27573	20	
		Junda	39432	28	
		Mwakirunge	8929	6	
		Magogoni	27573	20	
	Jomvu	Miritini	25934	18	
		Mikindani	52777	37	
	Kwale	Msambweni	Gambato Bongwe	34846	18
Ukunda			38629	20	
Matuga		Tsimba Golini	34002	18	
		Kubo South	23466	12	
Nakuru	Njoro	Mkongani	37318	20	
		Mauche	34044	22	
		Lare	17862	12	
	Rongai	Njoro	57429	37	
		Menengai West	27881	18	
		Visoi	31368	20	
		Solai	18867	12	
	Naivasha	Hellsgate	39209	25	
		Biashara	15692	10	
		Maeilla	27528	18	
		Naivasha East	20884	14	
	Kuresoi North	Nyota	39455	26	
		Sirikwa	17042	11	
		Nakuru T.W.	Kaptembwo	70352	46
	Rhoda		24596	16	
	Shaabab		17989	12	
	Bungoma		Tongaren	Mbakalo	32229
		Soysambu/Mitua		28819	17
Naitiri/Kabuyefwe		38023		23	
Kabuchai		Kabuchai/Chwele	35855	21	
		West Nalondo	33130	20	
Bumula		South Bukusu	23135	14	
		Bumula	31923	19	
		Kabula	20756	12	
		West Bukusu	20002	12	
Sirisia		Namwela	27553	16	
		Malakisi/South Kulisiru	35067	21	
Webuye West	Matulo	34905	21		
	Bokoli	32891	20		
				234	



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