CONFLICT-SENSITIVE ADAPTATION GOVERNANCE:

Assessing Kenya's County Climate Change Fund

Authors

Leonardo Medina, Frans Schapendonk, Martina Jaskolski, Joab Osumba, Alice Jebiwott, Radhika Singh, Joyce Takaindisa, Grazia Pacillo.

Cover photo

Neil Palmer/CIAT

Partner organizations

Contents

Acronyms and definitions

ADA: Adaptation Consortium

Barazas: community meetings

CCCF: County Climate Change Fund

CIDP: County Integrated Development Planning

CCCPC: County Climate Change Planning Committee

CSA: Conflict-Sensitive Adaptation

CSC: County Steering Committee

CSG: County Steering Group

Dedha: a traditional rangeland management systems used by Borana populations in Isiolo

ILM: Integrated Landscape Management

NCIC: National Cohesion and Integration Commission

NSC: National Steering Committee on Peacebuilding and Conflict Management

WDP: Ward Development Plan

WCCPC: Ward Climate Change Planning Committee

Executive summary

The Conflict Sensitive Adaptation Governance analysis, part of CGIAR's Climate Resilience initiative (ClimBeR), aims to evaluate multi-level climate adaptation policies on whether these instruments are intentionally designed, implemented, and assessed for their ability to prevent new conflicts, create legitimate venues for conflict resolution, and harness their peacebuilding potential.

This analysis focuses on Kenya's County Climate Change Fund (CCCF) mechanism. This adaptation policy instrument operates under the principles of locally-led adaptation. It is intended to assist county governments across Kenya in establishing a dedicated fund that can be readily accessed by community-led adaptation committees to finance locally prioritized and designed adaptation projects.

This research developed a practical framework for evaluating climate adaptation policies through a conflict sensitivity lens. The framework includes 22 assessment criteria to guide the analysis across three policy phases: 1) agenda setting and formulation, 2) policy implementation, and 3) policy review. Furthermore, the framework is organized around three key dimensions which can theoretically enable governance conditions for conflict sensitivity to emerge: multilevel governance, adaptive governance, and representative governance.

Key findings

The County Climate Change Fund (CCCF) provides a promising model for conflict-sensitive climate governance by empowering ward-level planning committees and fostering inclusive, community-driven decision-making. Despite its successes, several opportunities for conflict sensitivity and peacebuilding integration remain. This summary outlines key findings and recommendations.

Sources of conflict sensitivity:

1. **Inclusive local governance:**

   • Ward Climate Change Planning Committees (WCCPCs) and project management committees promote broad community representation, fostering local ownership, accountability, and trust.

   • These committees strengthen state-society relations and build political legitimacy by aligning adaptation activities with local needs.

   • Empowered local actors demand accountability and adapt governance to local socio-ecological dynamics.

2. **Vertical and sectoral coordination:**

   • The CCCF enhances coordination among governance actors through mechanisms like technical advisory support and inter-ward meetings.

   • Participatory vulnerability assessments allow communities to analyze climate risks and identify resilience strategies tailored to local contexts.

3. **Corruption prevention and transparency:**

   • The CCCF mechanism has established robust frameworks to prevent corruption and rent-seeking, particularly in procurement processes, aligning with national and county-level regulations like the Procurement and Asset Disposals Act and Public Financial Management Act.

- Transparent practices include the 'Minutes Journal' documenting community consultations and tender evaluations, public radio broadcasts, and community meetings (barazas).
- A formal complaints procedure enables stakeholders to challenge unethical conduct, reinforcing accountability. Beneficiary feedback reflects high confidence in the absence of corruption within CCCF operations.

4. **Conflict prevention measures:**

- Projects often employ harm-avoidance strategies, such as locating initiatives in non-contested areas and using consensus-based decision-making.
- Community-based adaptation projects improve inter- and intra-communal relationships, reducing resource conflicts and fostering cooperation.

5. **Grievance Mechanisms:**

- Structured channels for community feedback enhance transparency and accountability across CCCF operations, building trust and enabling redress.

Opportunities for conflict sensitivity:

1. **Limited integration of peacebuilding actors:**

- Peace and conflict stakeholders, such as the National Steering Committee on Peacebuilding and Conflict Management (NSC), are not formally represented in CCCF planning.
- Conflict sensitivity is inconsistently embedded in institutional learning tools and participatory assessments.

2. **Data and monitoring:**

- Conflict dynamics identified through participatory assessments are not systematically documented or leveraged to inform governance or research frameworks.
- The robust M&E framework developed during pilot phases has not been widely implemented, limiting the ability to track socio-political impacts or develop early-warning systems.

3. **Transboundary and landscape-level challenges:**

- Projects often focus on localized solutions, missing opportunities for larger-scale, integrated approaches like ecosystem-based adaptation.
- Landscape approaches risk exacerbating conflict dynamics due to competing community interests and historical tensions. .

4. **Sustainability Risks:**

- Interruptions in mandated funding and lack of follow-through on government commitments undermine community trust and adaptation efforts.
- Communication gaps after participatory assessments create frustration and disillusionment among communities.

Recommendations: An action plan towards conflict sensitivity

The following figure summarizes the insights and recommendations that emerged from the analysis. Recommendations are grouped according to their feasibility of implementation in the short, middle and long term. Together, they make up an action plan towards conflict sensitivity in the CCCF.

Conflict sensitivity		Short-term			Mid-term		Long-term	
	Foster intersectorial coordination between adaptation and security policy	Assign peace and conflict advisors to county planning committees to integrate conflict sensitivity into investment proposal reviews.	Develop guidelines for inter-ward meetings to address cross-border conflict risks and foster peacebuilding collaboration.		Establish coordinating mechanisms between CCCF and peace actors, like including peace and conflict advisors in the technical assistant provided by the CCCPCs to the WCCPCs.	Expand the CCCF Grievance Redress Mechanism by involving peace actors and connecting it to conflict response units for early conflict detection and resolution.	Amend CCCF guidelines and legislation to mandate the inclusion of peace and conflict actors, ensuring their formal representation in CCCF committees.	
	Integrate peace-positive approaches in programming strategies	Explicitly mainstream conflict and peace into CCCF policy documents.	Include conflict sensitivity in CCCF training programs, such as modules on peace-positive climate adaptation planning.	Incentivise conflict-related indicators in project proposals.	Encourage project designs that aim for peacebuilding outcomes, rather than only "do no harm" approaches.	Use the ADA consortium model for cross-county learning on conflict-sensitive climate adaptation	Employ landscape management to support conflict-sensitive landscape and cross-boundary conflict sensitive adaptation.	Expand M&E to systematically document peace and conflict impacts of CCCF projects to inform conflict-sensitive designs	Formalize connections between CCCF structures and customary decision-making bodies to strengthen locally grounded conflict management.
	Support wider governance systems for conflict response and peacebuilding	Standardize the documentation of climate-conflict linkages in vulnerability assessments using a consistent framework.	Develop systematic procedures for monitoring and reporting interactions between CCCF projects and conflict dynamics, including sharing relevant data with stakeholders.		Train CCCF teams and WCCPCs on documenting and analysing climate-conflict dynamics, focusing on early warning signs and conflict drivers.	Establish communication channels to provide conflict-related information to peacebuilding institutional actors in Kenya.	Enhance efforts for conflict early warning systems in Kenya integrating CCCF data and experiences with conflict indicators to anticipate and mitigate risks.	
	Strengthen accountability to local populations and the legitimacy of the CCCF	Establish gender quotas for leadership roles in WCCPCs to ensure women's active participation and influence in climate adaptation strategies.	Conduct targeted outreach to underrepresented groups, including pastoralists and low-income households, to enhance inclusivity in community consultations.		Enforce the CCCF's 2% funding allocation through accountability measures, a dedicated budget code, and integration into the National Climate Change Fund.	Develop clear communication protocols to provide communities with updates on consultation outcomes and funding availability.	Advocate for county governments to enhance M&E documentation, focusing on long-term social dynamics like conflict and peace outcomes.	Incentivise reporting indicators related to equitable distribution of benefits from CCCF projects, such as resource access, and income distribution.

Introduction

The urgent need to support the capacities of communities most affected by climate change and variability cannot be overstated. However, in the race to implement climate responses across various levels of governance—from civil society organizations to multilateral institutions—, there is a risk that these actions lead to unanticipated and unintended consequences. Poorly planned adaptation efforts can generate negative social, political, economic and ecological impacts for local communities. Furthermore, they can create cascading implications for governments, an effect that Swatuk & Wirkus (2018) have termed the "boomerang effect" of climate action.

Resilience-building efforts can sometimes exclude marginalized groups, reinforcing existing inequalities and creating new barriers to access natural resources (King-Okumu et al., 2018; M'Mbogori et al., 2022; Nightingale, 2017). When adaptation or mitigation strategies are developed without input from local populations, they can perpetuate a cycle of vulnerability, leaving those most in need behind and deepening social divides. For example, adaptation measures may facilitate the displacement of local or indigenous communities from their ancestral lands leading to a loss of their cultural heritage (Wilmsen & Webber, 2015). Additionally, local political and economic elites may co-opt climate initiatives, redirecting benefits towards their own interests and further entrenching power imbalances (Jacobson & Tropp, 2010; Naeku, 2020; Persha & Andersson, 2014). Elite capture thus undermines the equitable goals of climate action, limiting its potential to empower communities and foster inclusive and socially just development.

The devolution of adaptation responsibilities to local communities, while important and necessary, may reduce the accountability of governments to provide essential services and financial support for resilience. Vulnerable populations, especially in settings with low access to public services, are often left to manage climate impacts without sufficient government assistance, weakening their adaptive capacities (Newell & Mulvaney, 2013; Nyandiko, 2020; Ribot, 2011). On the other hand, when initiatives are designed through top-down approaches, climate action is frequently viewed merely as a technical issue, rather than a socio-political one, effectively neglecting local worldviews, institutions, and values, which are crucial for culturally relevant and effective solutions (Adger et al., 2011; Eriksen et al., 2021). Failing to incorporate these perspectives risks perpetuating colonial legacies and undermining the legitimacy of adaptation efforts, thereby eroding state-society relations.

Unintended consequences of climate action have been observed globally, often significantly impacting local communities and the governments responsible for their implementation (Dabelko et al., 2013; Mirumachi et al., 2020). As the international community works to strengthen social and ecological resilience to future climate risks, it is crucial to critically examine how these actions may inadvertently create disparities or heighten existing grievances linked to environmental and social injustices (Medina et al., 2024). A careful and informed approach is required to ensure that climate policies do not exacerbate conflict risks. Instead, by adopting governance and programming strategies that address the root causes of injustice and conflict, climate actions can contribute not only to mitigating climate risks but also to fostering a sustainable peace.

Objective

Governments, particularly those facing high climate vulnerability and fragility risks, must proactively address the potential unintended consequences of climate actions. A key approach is to strengthen climate adaptation policy instruments through conflict sensitive approaches. That is, adaptation instruments that contribute to sustainable peace or, at the very least, do not exacerbate existing conflict drivers. However, many governance systems struggle to effectively integrate

conflict sensitivity in climate adaptation due to the complexity of addressing problems that span multiple sectors and geographic and temporal scales. Traditional institutional frameworks often find it challenging to detect and respond to cross-cutting issues, particularly when coordination is required among diverse stakeholders with limited prior collaboration.

The Conflict Sensitive Adaptation Governance analysis, part of CGIAR's Climate Resilience initiative (ClimBeR), aims to evaluate multi-level climate adaptation policies on whether these instruments are intentionally designed, implemented, and assessed for their ability to prevent new conflicts, create legitimate venues for conflict resolution, and harness their peacebuilding potential. By doing so, the project seeks to generate policy recommendations for adaptation efforts that can better align with the broader goals of both climate resilience and peacebuilding.

This analysis focuses on Kenya's County Climate Change Fund (CCCF) mechanism. This adaptation policy instrument operates under the principles of locally-led adaptation. It is intended to assist county governments across Kenya in establishing a dedicated fund that can be readily accessed by community-led adaptation committees to finance locally prioritized and designed adaptation projects. The CCCF also aims to facilitate the implementation of adaptation initiatives in line with nationally determined contributions (NDCs) and other international commitments such as the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), the Paris Agreement (2015) through which the NDC are anchored, the Sendai Framework on Disaster Risk Reduction (2015 – 2030), and the sustainable development goals (SDG) underpinned by Agenda 2030.

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Conflict sensitive climate adaptation

Climate adaptation measures are essential to building resilience against the impacts of climate change. However, if not carefully designed, these interventions can unintentionally exacerbate socio-political tensions, particularly in fragile contexts. Conflict-sensitive climate adaptation provides a strategic framework to ensure that adaptation efforts not only reduce vulnerabilities to climate impacts but also mitigate and prevent conflict risks, fostering peace and social cohesion.

Conflict-sensitive climate adaptation refers to designing and implementing climate adaptation measures in ways that minimize the risk of exacerbating tensions or triggering new conflicts. This approach aims to ensure that adaptation efforts not only address environmental and climatic vulnerabilities but also contribute to stability, social cohesion, and peacebuilding. By integrating conflict sensitivity, adaptation actions can strengthen local resilience while fostering trust and cooperation within communities and between citizens and institutions.

> "It is important for communities to come together, share resources, and see how they can create cohesion. It is important to understand how climate action can contribute to insecurity. We can come together and see what we contribute in terms of cutting down trees, but we should also look at this other aspect. We live with our neighbours and there is always conflict over scarce resources. But if people come together to solve problems, these issues can be resolved. Peace is paramount to everything."
>
> **Representative of Peace Committee in Ademasajida ward, Wajir**

Conflict sensitivity requires adopting a "do no harm" approach, proactively identifying and addressing potential risks. This involves thorough conflict analysis to understand local power dynamics, resource dependencies, and social hierarchies that may influence how adaptation measures are received. Inclusive stakeholder engagement is also central, ensuring that interventions are designed in collaboration with diverse community members, including those most at risk of exclusion or harm. Special attention must be paid to marginalized groups, such as women, indigenous peoples, and youth, who are often disproportionately affected by climate change and conflict.

Beyond mitigating risks, conflict-sensitive approaches present an opportunity to enhance the peacebuilding potential of adaptation actions. Transparent, participatory processes that distribute benefits equitably can address longstanding grievances and promote social cohesion. For example, adaptation projects that provide platforms for collaborative resource management can build trust among conflicting groups, while initiatives that strengthen local governance capacities can increase institutional legitimacy and resilience in fragile contexts. Mechanisms for grievance redress and continuous feedback ensure that interventions remain adaptable to changing conditions and responsive to emerging challenges.

Incorporating conflict sensitivity into climate adaptation is particularly urgent in fragile and conflict-affected regions, where the stakes of failure are high. However, the approach is broadly relevant, as climate impacts increasingly test governance systems and social cohesion worldwide. By embedding conflict sensitivity in climate adaptation, practitioners and policymakers can ensure that their efforts not only reduce climate vulnerabilities but also contribute to a more peaceful and equitable future. In this way, conflict-sensitive climate adaptation becomes a pathway to resilience that strengthens not just ecosystems and adaptive capacities in the face of climate change but also the social fabric of communities.
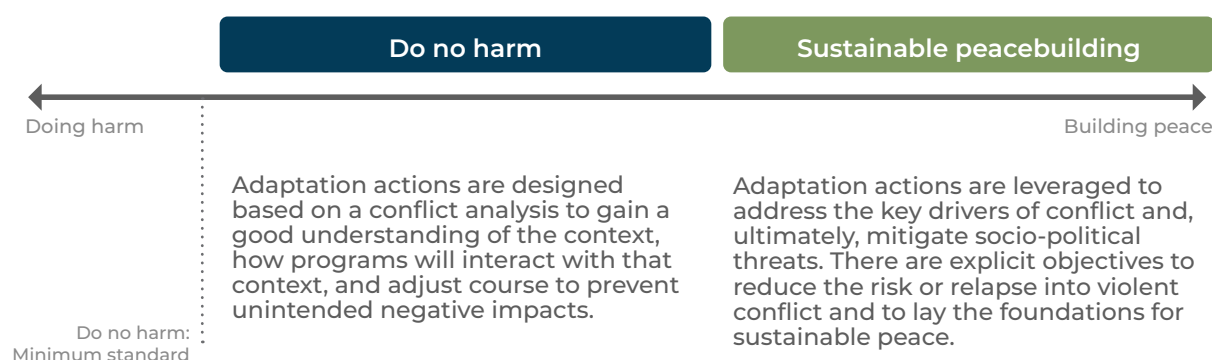
Do no harm	Sustainable peacebuilding

Doing harm ←————————————————————→ Building peace

Adaptation actions are designed based on a conflict analysis to gain a good understanding of the context, how programs will interact with that context, and adjust course to prevent unintended negative impacts.

Adaptation actions are leveraged to address the key drivers of conflict and, ultimately, mitigate socio-political threats. There are explicit objectives to reduce the risk or relapse into violent conflict and to lay the foundations for sustainable peace.

Do no harm: Minimum standard

Figure 1. Conflict sensitive adaptation. Based on Crawford et al. (2023)

A framework for conflict sensitive adaptation

This research developed a practical framework for evaluating climate adaptation policies through a conflict sensitivity lens. The framework includes 22 assessment criteria (Table 1) and 49 specific indicators (see Annex 1) to guide the analysis across three policy phases: 1) agenda setting and formulation, 2) policy implementation, and 3) policy review. Furthermore, the framework is organized around three key dimensions which can theoretically enable governance conditions for conflict sensitivity to emerge:

Multilevel governance

For climate adaptation to contribute effectively to conflict prevention and peacebuilding, policies should adopt flexible, decentralized governance structures rather than rigid, top-down approaches (Thiel & Moser, 2019). This entails distributing decision-making power across various levels—local, regional, and national—and engaging different sectors. By diversifying who participates in the adaptation process, policies can capture a broader range of insights and expertise, encouraging innovative and context-specific solutions. A multilevel governance approach enables policies to benefit from the complementary strengths of stakeholders, from local communities and civil society organizations to government agencies and private sector actors (Hamilton & Lubell, 2018). It also facilitates the emergence of leadership, which can support the transition to conflict sensitive strategies. This alignment fosters better coordination and ensures that interventions are more adaptable to the diverse needs of all those affected.

Adaptive governance

In a rapidly changing climate, policies need to be flexible and responsive to evolving conditions and potential conflict risks. Adaptive governance in climate adaptation planning involves designing policy instruments that can anticipate and accommodate a range of future scenarios and adapt to shifts in environmental, social, political, and conflict dynamics (Koontz et al., 2015). This requires institutional capacities that not only support continuous learning but also enable rapid responses to emerging challenges, including those that may increase tension or lead to instability. Integrating adaptive governance means embedding robust feedback loops that capture real-time information on both climate and conflict conditions, fostering knowledge exchange, and establishing mechanisms that allow policy instruments to evolve as new data and insights—particularly related to potential conflict risks—become available (Chaffin et al., 2014). With these processes in place, adaptation policies are better positioned to stay relevant, address evolving risks, and strengthen resilience, even as circumstances change.

Representative governance

Addressing the root causes of conflict in adaptation efforts demands the active inclusion of conflict-affected communities and traditionally marginalized groups (Barnett, 2020). Representative governance ensures that these groups have a voice in shaping policies that directly impact their lives, helping to foster greater trust and ownership over adaptation initiatives. This inclusive approach aids in identifying potential trade-offs and in weighing the positive and negative impacts of policy actions across different groups. By bringing diverse perspectives into agenda-setting, goal formulation, and the implementation process, adaptation policies can more effectively address underlying issues of inequality, injustice, and marginalization that may contribute to conflict (Adger et al., 2005). In this way, adaptation strategies are not only conflict-sensitive but also more socially equitable and durable, promoting long-term stability alongside environmental resilience.

	Multilevel governance	Adaptive governance	Representative governance
Agenda setting and formulation	• Adaptation and security actors collaborate in strategic planning. • Effective coordination across levels of governance fosters self-organisation. • Policy actors recognize the need to include conflict and peace issues in adaptation planning. • Planning extends beyond political boundaries, considering landscape levels.	• Vulnerability and resilience assessments encompass conflict dynamics. • Institutional capacities increase to generate information related to conflict. • Institutional capacities increase to use information related to conflict.	• Structural inequalities driving vulnerability and conflict are recognized within the scope of action priories. • Social groups affected by structural inequalities and overlapping risks significantly influence decisions for adaptation.
Implementation	• Overlap of roles between stakeholders creates synergies for adaptation and peacebuilding goals. • Policy strengthens or creates collective action institutions for local capacities to manage conflict risks.	• Flexible and risk-tolerant financing structures target conflict-affected areas in a continuous basis. • Planned actions are assessed for unintended consequences over conflict, both positive and negative. • Policy experiences are used to strengthen wider governance systems for peace.	• Implementation strategies intend to enhance relationships, including between groups holding grievances. • Implementation encourages the negotiation and challenging of structural inequalities. • Implementation challenges corruption as a source of conflict and vulnerability.
Review	• M&E frameworks focus on conflict and peacebuilding outcomes. • M&E processes ensure transparency and accountability to local citizens.	• Frequent monitoring of policy effects on conflict dynamics, including worsening conflict or promoting peace.	• M&E considers structural inequalities and overlapping risks acting as causes of conflict and vulnerability. • Community members participate in and influence M&E processes.

Table 1. A criteria framework for conflict sensitive adaptation.

Methodology

This study assessed the CCCF policy cycle by reviewing policy documents to understand the involvement of various actors and processes at each stage. The document review mapped the structure and protocols of the policy instrument, identifying key platforms, entities, and their roles, as well as how decision-making, planning, and reporting mechanisms operate across national, sub-national, and local levels. This mapping exercise relied on desk research and interviews to capture the policy's practical implementation.

The review encompassed a wide range of documents, including official strategies, policies, and grey literature evaluating the policy's impact. Specific documents reviewed included planning toolkits, procedural manuals, formal regulations, implementation reports, stakeholder dialogue records, budget documents, and evaluation reports, all of which were analysed thematically using the framework described above.

Following the document review, focus group discussions (FGDs) were convened to explore local perspectives on policy implementation processes. Data collection occurred in three counties that initially piloted the CCCF mechanism: Isiolo, Wajir, and Kitui. FGDs engaged policy actors at the county level—including representatives from county government, civil society, and community representatives. FGDs were also held in six wards (two per focus county), with representatives from community-led committees involved across the policy cycle. A total of 132 individuals (93 men, 39 women) at county and ward levels were consulted through focus groups.

In addition, a survey was distributed among community members in the six wards studied through the FGDs. A total of 252 surveys were completed (122 men, 130 women). The survey asked people about their views and perceptions on the CCCF project's impacts, focusing on three main elements of the analytical framework:

○ Distribution of benefits: Whether resources, risks, and benefits are shared fairly among various groups impacted by the adaptation policy.

○ Recognition of conflict and structural inequalities: Whether the identities, rights, and experiences of all social groups are recognized, particularly those who are marginalized or vulnerable, with attention to conflict dynamics.

○ Representation of marginalised populations: Whether different groups, including marginalized ones have a meaningful role in decisions about climate adaptation and policy.

Qualitative data from documents and FGDs was analysed using thematic analysis with Atlas.ti software, based on the analytical framework. Quantitative data from the survey was analysed using descriptive statistics, separating results by gender, in R Studio software. This approach provided a multi-level view of how the CCCF mechanism works and its impacts across governance systems and communities, supporting the analysis and recommendations to enhance its conflict-sensitivity.

Case studies

Three counties and six wards that participated in CCCF's pilot phases were included in the assessment:
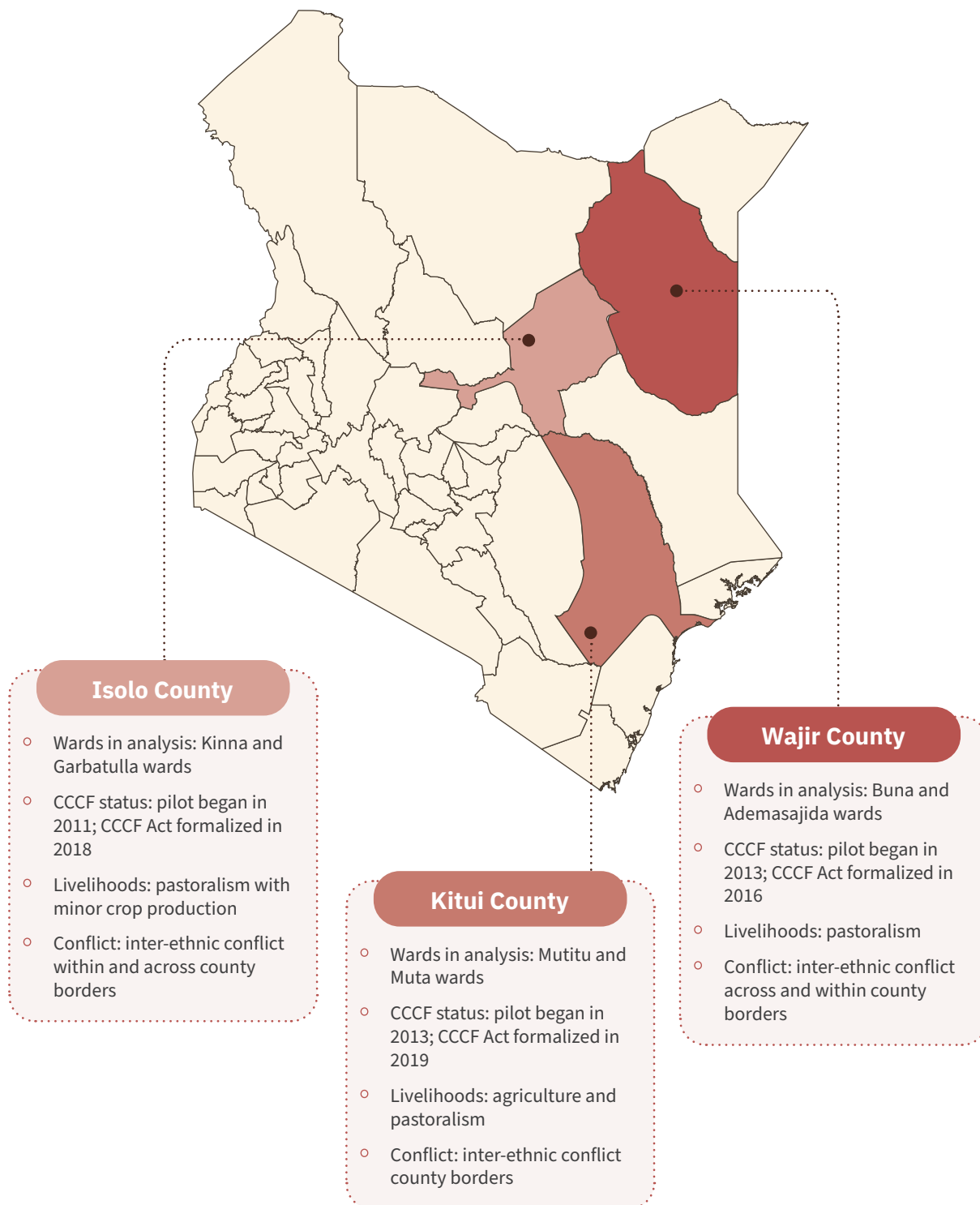

Isolo County

- Wards in analysis: Kinna and Garbatulla wards
- CCCF status: pilot began in 2011; CCCF Act formalized in 2018
- Livelihoods: pastoralism with minor crop production
- Conflict: inter-ethnic conflict within and across county borders

Kitui County

- Wards in analysis: Mutitu and Muta wards
- CCCF status: pilot began in 2013; CCCF Act formalized in 2019
- Livelihoods: agriculture and pastoralism
- Conflict: inter-ethnic conflict county borders

Wajir County

- Wards in analysis: Buna and Ademasajida wards
- CCCF status: pilot began in 2013; CCCF Act formalized in 2016
- Livelihoods: pastoralism
- Conflict: inter-ethnic conflict across and within county borders

Figure 2. Counties and wards included in the analysis.

Kenya's County Climate Change Fund

Kenya's County Climate Change Fund (CCCF) mechanism[1], initially known as the Climate Adaptation Fund, was established in 2010 by the Ministry of State for Development of Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands, in collaboration with the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED). Its primary goal was to strengthen local-level adaptive planning capacities in Kenya's Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASALs), in line with the devolution of powers following the 2010 Constitution. The mechanism is today managed through the Adaptation Consortium (ADA), a partnership between state and non-state actors advising county governments on locally-led climate action finance[2].

The first pilot phase (2011-2013) was launched in Isiolo County. It supported 39 climate adaptation projects focused on water access, pasture management, and livestock health. Key governance challenges tackled by these projects included limited coordination between government and community planning, weak integration of climate information, and central budget constraints that hindered local adaptation efforts.

To address these challenges, the CCCF was designed to decentralize decision-making and financial authority to the ward level. Drawing on lessons from similar decentralization efforts in West Africa, the initiative aimed to empower local institutions and improve adaptive capacity. The pilot's success led to the creation of the ADA, which supports county governments in expanding the CCCF mechanism. Following the dissolution of the founding ministry, the National Drought Management Authority took over management of the CCCF. With funding from DFID and SIDA, the CCCF was scaled to four additional counties—Wajir, Garissa, Makueni, and Kitui—between 2013 and 2018.

The County Climate Change Fund (CCCF) mechanism is structured around four key components to support climate adaptation efforts in Kenya:

1. County-level Climate Adaptation Fund: Counties must pass legislation to allocate 1-2% of their development budget to the CCCF. This fund, managed publicly, can receive additional support from national and international sources. The fund is distributed as follows: 70% for local adaptation projects at ward level, 20% for county-wide initiatives such as Climate Information Systems (CIS), and 10% for the CCCF operation, including planning and evaluation.

2. County and Ward Climate Change Planning Committees: Ward Climate Change Planning Committees (WCCPCs), composed of community members, identify adaptation priorities through participatory assessments. Their proposals are reviewed by County Climate Change Planning Committees (CCCPCs), which provide technical advice and manage the procurement process. WCCPCs also supervise procurement to ensure transparency. The CCCPC allocates 20% of the CCCF for county-level projects such as climate information systems, extension services, and resource management improvements.

3. Climate Information and Resilience Planning Tools: The CCCF uses toolkits, such as the Resilience Assessment Toolkit, to guide participatory resilience assessments and integrate climate data into decision-making. The Kenya Meteorological Department plays a key role in ensuring climate information is used effectively in planning.

4. Monitoring and Evaluation System: The CCCF employs the Tracking Adaptation and Measuring Development (TAMD) framework to assess the impact of investments on resilience and development outcomes. This system ensures the effectiveness and sustainability of adaptation efforts at both ward and county levels.

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1   https://adaconsortium.org/work/climate-finance.
2   https://adaconsortium.org/about.

Figure 3. Institutional design structure of Kenya's County Climate Change Fund.
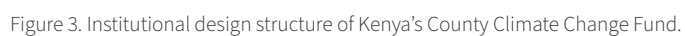
CCCF project cycle: design and practice

Step	Phase	Design	Practice	Tools and inputs
1	Prioritisation of investments at ward level	The CCCF facilitates Participatory Climate Risk Assessments (PCRA) at the ward level, a community-based process to assess climate risks and adaptive capacities. Guided by the Resilience Assessment Toolkit, this process brings together community members, selected to represent diverse social groups and all locations. A Technical Working Group (TWG) at the county level—comprising members from Ward Planning Committees, county government, NGOs, civil society, and faith-based organizations—conducts a stakeholder mapping to identify participants. Following the PCRA, the TWG consolidates findings a county-level analysis, informing strategic climate adaptation and resilience planning.	Although the PCRA process is comprehensive, inclusive, and sensitive to conflict, it is implemented inconsistently, only occurring when international funding becomes available. In the three counties assessed, PCRAs were first conducted during the pilot phase and later resumed after securing international funds for locally-led adaptation through the CCCF across Kenya. Without such funding, public consultations revert to the standard local development planning framework. However, this alternative lacks a specific climate adaptation focus and only partly meets the CCCF's inclusion standards for equitable and representative participation.	• Resilience Assessment Toolkit • Resource Mapping guideline • County Climate Information Service Plan development guidelines
2	Development of proposal and draft budget	In each beneficiary ward, the Ward Climate Change Planning Committee (WCCPC)—composed of community members—guides the prioritization of adaptation investments based on the results of public consultations. This committee identifies key adaptation needs for public investment, develops proposals within the ward's budget assigned by the CCCF, and ensures that proposals align with the technical criteria specified by the CCCF mechanism. When WCCPC's identify the need, inter-ward meetings take place to coordinate projects across ward boundaries.	The WCCPCs, typically led by the Ward Administrator, oversees the prioritization of adaptation investments and the development of project proposals. In practice, the WCCPC's role has expanded to represent the community in broader development efforts, engaging with county and national governments as well as the international community. However, WCCPC members often lack clarity on their budget allocations within the CCCF during the adaptation planning process, which can hinder effective investment prioritization.	• CCCF proposal development guidelines • Technical and quality criteria for proposal approval • Support from county technical staff • Inter-ward meetings
3	Proposals reviewed and approved at County level	Investment proposals from the WCCPC are evaluated by the County Climate Change Planning Committee (CCCPC), which includes county government representatives, WCCPC members, and relevant stakeholders. The CCCPC reviews proposals against established criteria but does not have veto power over the WCCPC's prioritized investments. Instead, the CCCPC's role is to provide advisory input on technical compliance and offer technical support where necessary.	While the process functions as intended within an operational CCCF, county governments often do not allocate the required 2% of development-designated funds to the CCCF. This shortfall frequently disrupts county-level activities, leaving previously developed proposals unfunded and local expectations unfulfilled. In the absence of public funding allocations to the CCCF, the mechanism becomes reliant on international funding—a source that is inherently unstable and cannot guarantee continuity.	• Technical and quality criteria for proposal approval
4	Public procurement process and formalisation of contracts	Once proposals are approved, the CCCPC oversees a public tender process to select service providers for project implementation. This process adheres to Kenya's Public Fund Management Act (2012), ensuring transparency and accountability in the allocation of resources. The County Climate Change Steering Committee oversees the procurement process and approves the disbursement of funds.	Procurement processes follow the Public Fund Management Act (2012). However, the Steering Committee is not consistently operational across counties. Frequent turnover among high-level elected officials has been a primary factor disrupting its functionality.	• CCCF guidelines • CCCF County regulation • CCCF procedure manual
5	Monitoring implementation and assessment of project completion	A project management committee, consisting of community members from various beneficiary locations, is established to monitor project implementation in collaboration with the WCCPC. This committee is also responsible for overseeing the Grievance Redress Mechanism, which provides a platform for community members to voice grievances and complaints regarding project execution.	Process takes place as designed by the CCCF.	• CCCF procedure manual • Supervision by project management committee • Project completion report
6	Project operation and maintenance	The project management committee is responsible for the upkeep of the project site, the collection of user fees, and the management of project finances. Members of this committee are selected every three years by members of the users association. The committee convenes annual meetings to promote accountability and facilitate collaborative planning, thereby fostering transparency in project operations and ensuring that the community's needs and concerns are addressed.	Process takes place as designed by the CCCF.	
7	Evaluation	The CCCF employs the Tracking Adaptation and Measuring Development (TAMD) framework to assess the impact of investments on resilience and development outcomes.	Project's evaluation is not conducted systematically. Documentation includes user lists, grievances and project finances. This information is kept within the ward, and it's not requested by county government. Project assessments in terms of long-term impacts do not take place.	• Tracking Adaptation and Measuring Development (TAMD) framework

An action path to conflict sensitivity in the CCCF: summary of recommendations

Figure 4 summarizes the insights and recommendations that emerged from the analysis (see next section for a detailed discussion). Recommendations are grouped according to their feasibility of implementation in the short, middle and long term. Together, they make up an action plan towards conflict sensitivity in the CCCF.
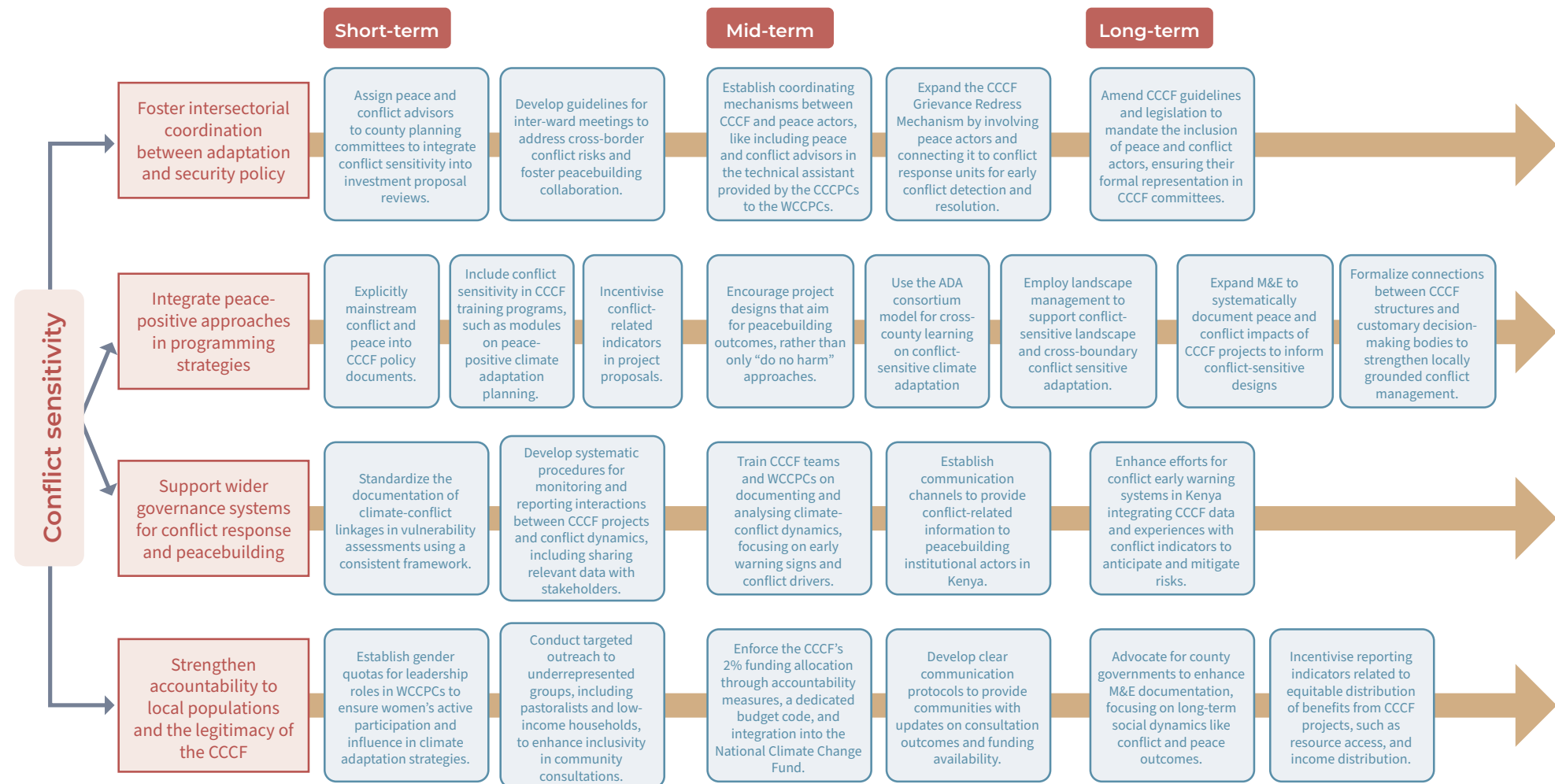
Conflict sensitivity

	Short-term			Mid-term			Long-term	
Foster intersectorial coordination between adaptation and security policy	Assign peace and conflict advisors to county planning committees to integrate conflict sensitivity into investment proposal reviews.	Develop guidelines for inter-ward meetings to address cross-border conflict risks and foster peacebuilding collaboration.		Establish coordinating mechanisms between CCCF and peace actors, like including peace and conflict advisors in the technical assistant provided by the CCCPCs to the WCCPCs.	Expand the CCCF Grievance Redress Mechanism by involving peace actors and connecting it to conflict response units for early conflict detection and resolution.		Amend CCCF guidelines and legislation to mandate the inclusion of peace and conflict actors, ensuring their formal representation in CCCF committees.	
Integrate peace-positive approaches in programming strategies	Explicitly mainstream conflict and peace into CCCF policy documents.	Include conflict sensitivity in CCCF training programs, such as modules on peace-positive climate adaptation planning.	Incentivise conflict-related indicators in project proposals.	Encourage project designs that aim for peacebuilding outcomes, rather than only "do no harm" approaches.	Use the ADA consortium model for cross-county learning on conflict-sensitive climate adaptation	Employ landscape management to support conflict-sensitive landscape and cross-boundary conflict sensitive adaptation.	Expand M&E to systematically document peace and conflict impacts of CCCF projects to inform conflict-sensitive designs	Formalize connections between CCCF structures and customary decision-making bodies to strengthen locally grounded conflict management.
Support wider governance systems for conflict response and peacebuilding	Standardize the documentation of climate-conflict linkages in vulnerability assessments using a consistent framework.	Develop systematic procedures for monitoring and reporting interactions between CCCF projects and conflict dynamics, including sharing relevant data with stakeholders.		Train CCCF teams and WCCPCs on documenting and analysing climate-conflict dynamics, focusing on early warning signs and conflict drivers.	Establish communication channels to provide conflict-related information to peacebuilding institutional actors in Kenya.		Enhance efforts for conflict early warning systems in Kenya integrating CCCF data and experiences with conflict indicators to anticipate and mitigate risks.	
Strengthen accountability to local populations and the legitimacy of the CCCF	Establish gender quotas for leadership roles in WCCPCs to ensure women's active participation and influence in climate adaptation strategies.	Conduct targeted outreach to underrepresented groups, including pastoralists and low-income households, to enhance inclusivity in community consultations.		Enforce the CCCF's 2% funding allocation through accountability measures, a dedicated budget code, and integration into the National Climate Change Fund.	Develop clear communication protocols to provide communities with updates on consultation outcomes and funding availability.		Advocate for county governments to enhance M&E documentation, focusing on long-term social dynamics like conflict and peace outcomes.	Incentivise reporting indicators related to equitable distribution of benefits from CCCF projects, such as resource access, and income distribution.

Figure 4. An action path for conflict sensitivity in the CCCF.

Sources and opportunities for conflict sensitivity

This section presents the results from data analysis. It includes findings from both document reviews and focus group discussions conducted in Isiolo, Wajir, and Kitui counties. Insights are organized around the "sources of" (green) and "opportunities for" (yellow) conflict sensitivity in the CCCF, using the criteria framework presented above. The framework comprises 22 criteria, categorized into three core governance dimensions—multi-level governance, adaptive governance, and representative governance—and structured across three policy phases: agenda setting and formulation, implementation, and review.

The section is structured by policy phase, with each criterion discussed in a dedicated sub-section. Readers may follow the full narrative or refer to specific criteria by selecting them in Table 2. Criteria marked in green identify CCCF components or processes that strongly align with principles of conflict sensitivity, serving as sources of conflict-sensitive practices. Criteria marked in yellow indicate opportunities, where conflict sensitivity could be enhanced within the CCCF. Importantly, these yellow-marked criteria do not imply that the CCCF's current operations contribute to conflict; rather, they highlight areas where the further integration of conflict-sensitive approaches is feasible. In many cases, these opportunities are anchored in CCCF's efficient mechanisms for cross-sectoral and multi-level engagement, which provide a solid foundation for strengthening conflict-sensitive practices.

Tim Cronin/CIFOR

Table 2. Each criterion is assessed individually. Readers can review the full narrative or click on individual criterion.

	Multi-level	Adaptive	Representative
Agenda setting	Effective coordination across different levels of governance strengthens local self-organization	Assessments of the complex and root causes of climate vulnerability advise planning, including conflict dynamics	Structural inequalities that drive vulnerability and conflict are recognized as important issues and action priorities
	Adaptation and security sectors collaborate during strategic planning at different levels of governance	Institutional capacities increase to generate information related to conflict in the context of climate risks and adaptation	Social groups affected by structural inequality and overlapping risks influence decisions for adaptation
	The policy and stakeholders recognize the need to include conflict and peace issues in adaptation planning	Institutional capacities increase to use information related to conflict in the context of climate risks and adaptation	
	Planning goes beyond administrative boundaries, considering resources and conflict at the landscape level		
Implementation	Overlap of roles between stakeholders creates synergies for adaptation and peacebuilding goals	Flexible and risk-tolerant financing structures target conflict-affected areas in a continuous basis	Implementation processes intend to enhance relationships, including between groups holding grievances
	Policy strengthens or creates collective action institutions that boost local capacity to manage conflict risks	Planned actions are assessed for potential unintended effects, positive or negative, over conflict dynamics	Implementation encourages community institutions to negotiate and challenge structural inequalities prioritized
		Policy experiences are used to strengthen wider governance systems for resilience and peacebuilding	Implementation challenges corruption and rent-seeking practices as sources of conflict and vulnerability
Review	Monitoring and evaluation frameworks focus on conflict and peacebuilding outcomes	Frequent monitoring of policy effects on conflict dynamics, including worsening conflict or promoting peace	M&E considers structural inequalities and overlapping risks acting as root causes of vulnerability and conflict
	M&E processes ensure transparency and accountability to local citizens		Community members participate in and influence the design and implementation of M&E processes

Agenda setting and policy formulation

Investments in multi-level institutional structures enhance plurality, representation in county politics, and bottom-up self-organization

The CCCF instrument effectively promotes conflict-sensitive governance by establishing ward planning committees as local, autonomous decision-making bodies, like the Ward Climate Change Planning Committees (WCCPCs) and the project management committees. These committees facilitate inclusive planning and implementation of adaptation activities aligned with local needs, strengthen state-society relations, and enhance political legitimacy. Through community-driven selection processes and funding allocations, these committees ensure broad representation, fostering local ownership and accountability. Each location within a ward selects representatives by consensus, creating a foundation for inclusive and legitimate decision-making.

WCCPCs collaborate closely with civil society organizations (CSOs) that meet readiness criteria for managing international funds, supported through financial transfers and operational funds to bolster local capacities. This structure empowers local actors to coordinate effectively in defining community priorities for adaptation, contributing to capacities for collective action. WCCPCs are widely regarded as highly legitimate institutions, serving as a critical bridge between the government and local communities. They act as essential intermediaries, connecting communities with government and other development organisations, and often facilitate additional projects beyond those funded by the CCCF, which position them as an integral body in county-level planning. Beyond their original role within the CCCF, for instance, WCCPCs actively contribute to and even facilitate, in some wards, the creation of five-year Ward Development Plans that reflect local priorities for development investments and in turn advise the design of the five-year County Integrated Development Plans (CIDPs).

> "The Ward Planning Committees have become a political force to reckon with."
>
> **Member of the CCCPC in , Isiolo town, Isiolo**

The empowerment of local community actors through the ward planning committees increases local capacities to demand representation and accountability from higher levels of governance and permits a greater degree of sensitivity to local socio-ecological conditions and dynamics, both of which contribute to conflict sensitivity. A diversification of functions moreover evidences the self-sustainability of the WCCPCs as an institution that fosters local collective action. However, this expanded role sometimes generates competition with other local political actors, while interruptions in CCCF funding have led these committees to depend on alternative county development processes, which do not always adhere to CCCF's original planning and accountability standards. This shift risks inverting CCCF's intended accountability flow, where committees feel more accountable to the county government than vice versa.

> **Case study: Composition of the WCCPC in Garba Tulla ward, Isiolo**
>
> Garba Tulla's WCCPC was formed through a participatory, community-led process. This began with a series of public engagement barazas, or meetings, in which community members from all local areas gathered. Initial meetings were held at the village level across various locations, with a larger baraza held centrally in Garba Tulla. During these gatherings, the purpose and importance of forming the WCCPC were explained, and community members reached a consensus on representatives for elders, youth, women, and people with disabilities.
>
> Through these village-level barazas, 44 representatives—four from each of the 11 locations—were selected. To further refine this group, a centralized meeting with a stakeholder committee and community members takes place to review the 44 representatives based on specific criteria: each candidate needed to be from the local area, fluent in both the local language and English, and have a reputation of integrity and prior involvement in community initiatives. Ultimately, one representative from each of the 11 locations was chosen, ensuring that each area and group was equitably represented in the WCCPC.
>
> Each member of the WCCPC serves as a representative not only of their specific community but also of the particular group to which they belong (such as women, youth, elders, or persons with disabilities). In addition to the main community representatives, other key committees, like the traditional rangeland management systems (Dedha) and the Peace Committee, also contribute to the WCCPC. While there is no formal requirement for these bodies to participate, their involvement was identified as valuable by the ward members themselves, underscoring the grassroots-driven nature of the WCCPC's composition.

Institutional absence of key peace and security stakeholders within the CCCF, particularly at county and national level

CCCF structures effectively enhance sectorial and vertical coordination between climate governance actors through multiple mechanisms, such as the assignment of technical advisors by the County Climate Change Planning Committees (CCCPCs) to support ward committees in proposal development and the organisation of inter-ward committee meetings. Furthermore, CCCF operation at the ward level facilitates cross-sectoral (informal) collaboration between community-led bodies focused on climate adaptation and those addressing conflict management and sustainable peacebuilding, such as Peace Committees and customary land management systems. In Wajir and Isiolo counties, for example, the informal engagement of Ward Climate Change Planning Committees (WCCPCs) with local peace committees plays a critical role in shaping proposal development under the CCCF. Notably, some WCCPC members also serve as representatives on local Peace Committees, while the inclusion of elders in the WCCPC ensures that customary institutions for conflict resolution and response are integrated into project design. This represents a significant source of conflict sensitivity in the CCCF.

However, CCCF structures at the county level lack formal involvement of peace and conflict actors. County-level peace and security directorates and national peace institutions, like the National Steering Committee on Peacebuilding and Conflict Management (NSC) or the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC), are not formally represented in CCCF planning or steering committees. This may limit CCCF's capacity to embed conflict sensitivity and address local conflict dynamics within climate initiatives. The absence of formal roles for peace actors results in a lack of established protocols for incorporating peace considerations into proposal development, monitoring, or inter-ward coordination. It also, however, undermines the potential of the CCCF to advise national governance systems for peacebuilding and conflict management. This represents an opportunity for CCCF structures to systematically integrate conflict-sensitive approaches,

such as fostering the documentation and sharing of local experiences and perceptions on conflict indicators, which could enhance early warning and response systems used by wider governance systems in Kenya.

The absence of such actors within county-level CCCF structures and processes is partly due to their omission in the county legislation pertaining to the creation of the CCCF (e.g., Isiolo CCCF Act, 2018; Wajir CCCF act, 2019 [3]). Hence, formal inclusion of peace and conflict actors would likely require legislative amendments to CCCF mandates, expanding the committees to include county-level peace directorates and relevant national bodies.

Aside from these longer-term processes, however, other more immediate opportunities to integrate peace and conflict actors within CCCF processes do exist. Integration could begin with the CCCF's Grievance Redress Mechanism (GRM), which provides a hierarchical complaints process within which ward-level committees address conflicts and escalate unresolved cases. The GRM, while not a formal conflict management tool, serves as a potential entry point for involving peace actors more systematically. In Kitui county, for instance, the GRM committee, led by the Chief Officer for Climate Change and connected to both the County Climate Change Unit and planning committees, demonstrates a pathway for embedding conflict prevention and resolution capacities into CCCF processes.

Recommendations: Foster cross-sectorial coordination between CCCF and peace and conflict policy actors

o **Enhance the CCCF Grievance Redress Mechanism (GRM) as a conflict response tool:** Strengthen the role of the GRM as a point of entry for detecting and managing conflict through the inclusion of peace actors in the GRM process. Establish protocols that connect the GRM with peace and conflict response units to handle escalated grievances with conflict implications. By doing so, the GRM can become a dual-purpose tool for addressing grievances and serving as an early warning mechanism for emerging conflicts.

o **Establish coordination mechanisms between CCCF committees and peace institutions:** Formalize coordination protocols for communication and data sharing between CCCF committees and county peace and social cohesion institutions. This could involve regular inter-committee meetings and joint capacity building exercises focused on conflict-sensitive planning and monitoring practices, allowing for smoother, more consistent integration of conflict data and perspectives into CCCF activities.

o **Integrate peace and conflict expertise into county and ward-level committees:** Assign technical advisors or focal points from peace and conflict institutions to support ward planning committees in the development and review of investment proposals. This involvement would ensure that each proposal is assessed not only for climate resilience but also for its potential impact on local conflict dynamics, fostering cross-sectoral alignment.

o **When relevant, consider amending CCCF legislation to formally include peace and conflict actors:** Advocate for legislative amendments to CCCF foundational documents that specify committee composition, formally including county peace and security directorates, and national peace and security actors. Formal representation would provide peace and conflict actors with the mandate to contribute consistently to the development, assessment, and implementation of CCCF-funded initiatives.

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3   Isiolo County Climate Change Fund Act, 2018. https://isioloassembly.go.ke/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/The-Isiolo-County-Climate-Change-Fund-Act-2018.pdf; Wajir County Climate Change Fund (Amendment) Act, 2019. https://kenyalaw.org/kl/fileadmin/pdfdownloads/CountyLegislation/WajirCounty/Acts/The_Wajir_County_Climate_Change_Fund_(Amendment)_Act_2019.pdf.

Figure 5. Coordination between WCCPCs and local peacebuilding institutions, described by study participants in Isiolo.
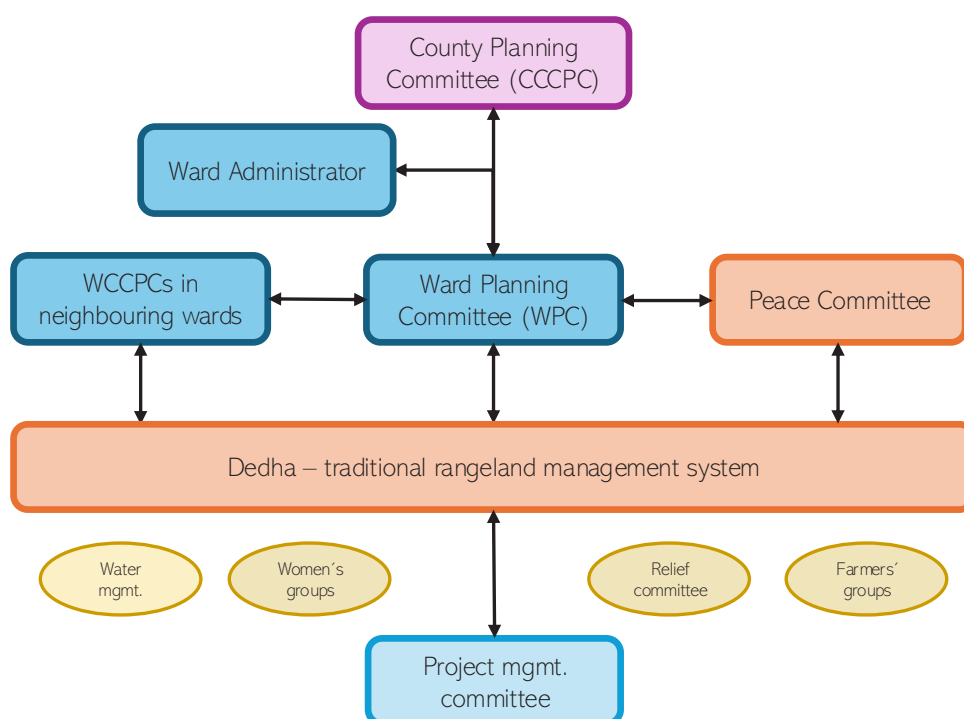
- ◦ **Dedha:**
  A traditional rangeland management framework among Borana communities in northern Kenya, governed by customary institutions that regulate grazing patterns, water access, and resource use through communal decision-making.

- ◦ **Ward Planning Committee (WCCPC):**
  Community-level bodies responsible for identifying, prioritizing, and developing climate adaptation projects, ensuring local needs and perspectives are integrated into country climate planning and resource allocation.

- ◦ **Ward administrator:**
  Local government respresentative, usually serves as member of the WPC. Is responsbile for the drafting of CCCF proposals and acting as a bridging entity between County Planning Committee (CCCPC) and the WPC.

- ◦ **Peace Committee:**
  A Community based structures that facilitate conflict resolution, preacebuilding, and mediation efforts by fostering dialogye and cooperation among local stakeholders to address intercommunal tensions and resouce-based conflicts. They are consultred by the WPC to advise project design that avoids exacerbating conflict risks. Peace Committee members are often also represented in WCCPCs, and coordinate with WCPs to provide climate and conflict information to the community.

- ◦ **Project management committees:**
  Composed of community members, they oversee the implementation and operation of projects, ensuring accountability to community beneficiaries while also activating conflict response and resolution mechanisms when necessary.

- ◦ **Neighbouring WCCPCs:**
  WCCPCs coordinate with their neighbouring counterparts through inter-ward meetings when opportunities for synergies or potential trade-offs are identified between nearby CCCF projects.

Geoffrey Njenga/ILRI

Vulnerability and resilience assessments include conflict as an issue of concern

The CCCF mechanism employs participatory vulnerability and resilience assessments, guided by the Resilience Assessment Toolkit, as a core strategy to identify adaptation investments prioritized by the community. This participatory process enables community members to analyse local climate trends, historical community development, climate vulnerabilities and impacts, spatial distribution of resources and threats, adaptive capacities, and feasible resilience strategies. These assessment sessions engage a diverse group of participants, including representatives from vulnerable groups selected through stakeholder mapping led by the county's Technical Working Group (TWG) of the County Climate Change Planning Committee (CCCPC). The TWG, comprising members from Ward Planning Committees, county government, CSOs, NGOs, FBOs, and community representatives, consolidates findings into a comprehensive report.

These assessments frequently identify various forms of conflict which are in differing degrees affected by climate change, such as resource-related conflicts, domestic violence, human-wildlife conflict, and crime, all of which also amplify community vulnerabilities. In Isiolo county[4], for example, all wards reported that climate change intensifies these forms of violence, while in Wajir county[5], most wards linked drought and other climate risks to increased natural resource conflicts. As part of the CCCF vulnerability analysis, climate change is recognized as a driver of conflict through direct resource competition and its indirect impacts on livelihoods and social dynamics, including migration and family separation. The assessment process also incorporates broader conflict indicators, such as the spread of illegal firearms, and includes resource mapping to identify security hotspots. Vulnerability assessments that integrate a clear focus on conflict-related issues serve as a promising foundation for conflict sensitivity to be mainstreamed across CCCF design and operation.

Recommendations: Increase the frequency of conflict sensitive vulnerability assessments

The PCRA exercise, as outlined in the Resilience Assessment Toolkit, is only conducted sporadically, primarily when international funding is available. To ensure social and environmental changes are adequately captured and new solutions to community challenges are regularly generated, PCRA processes should take place in each ward at least every five years. This would guarantee a robust pipeline of locally appropriate and prioritized projects for the CCCF and enhance the integration of community perspectives and stakeholder support in climate resilience planning

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4   County Government of Isiolo (2023). Isiolo County Participatory Climate Risk Assessment Report. https://maarifa.cog. go.ke/sites/default/files/2024-06/REVIEWED-%20PCRA%20ISIOLO_1.pdf.

5   County Government of Wajir (2023). Wajir County Participatory Climate Risk Assessment Report. https://maarifa.cog. go.ke/sites/default/files/2024-03/Wajir%20County%20Participatory%20Climate%20Risk%20Assessment%20Report.pdf.

Case study: CCCF's vulnerability and resilience assessments identify conflict-related threats as an issue of concern for climate adaptation

A resources and hazards map developed in Bulapesa ward, Isiolo county, reveals the spatial distribution of both climate vulnerability and insecurity hotspots. Isiolo's recent Participatory Climate Risk Assessment report[3] identifies resource-based conflict as a climate-related risk of most concern in Bulapesa, affecting the community through loss of lives and livelihoods, increasing intolerance between communities, and displacement. Furthermore, all 10 wards in Isiolo identified conflict-related issues as exacerbated by climate effects and as sources of vulnerability during the participatory assessment.

Figure 6. Bulapesa ward, Isiolo, resources and hazards map. Extracted from Isiolo PCRA report[3].

Climate and conflict linkages identified during CCCF planning processes should be systematically documented to advise research and wider governance systems

As detailed above, CCCF planning processes reveal crucial links between climate change and conflict, mainly identified during vulnerability and resilience assessments. However, this data is not systematically documented in a way that informs broader research or governance frameworks. Although reports cite issues like resource conflicts and GBV [6], they lack sufficient detail to fully understand the underlying dynamics, missing a valuable opportunity to develop conflict-sensitive adaptation strategies.

Additionally, this data is not effectively communicated to higher governance levels, where it could guide conflict management and policy responses. Consequently, responses to conflict are often ad-hoc, revealing a significant gap in the CCCF's approach. Addressing this gap by systematically documenting climate-conflict linkages could inform conflict-sensitive adaptation strategies and strengthen conflict early warning systems, enabling more proactive management of climate-driven insecurity. Such improvements would enhance the CCCF's contributions to resilience and peacebuilding, integrating conflict sensitivity into climate adaptation governance more effectively.

Recommendations: Leverage conflict-related information generated through CCCF operation to advise wider governance systems for conflict resolution and peacebuilding

o **Standardize documentation of and planning for climate-conflict linkages in vulnerability assessments:** Establish a consistent framework within the Resilience Assessment Toolkit for documenting and addressing climate-conflict linkages. This framework should include standardized categories (e.g., resource-related conflict, GBV, and crime) and contextual information on conflict drivers and impacts, allowing for systematic analysis across wards and counties.

o **Establish a feedback mechanism to share climate-conflict insights with higher governance levels:** Develop a mechanism for communicating documented climate-conflict linkages from ward-level CCCF processes to county and national levels, along with other research and development actors. This could involve quarterly summaries or annual reports submitted to county planning committees, the National Steering Committee on Peacebuilding and Conflict Management (NSC), and the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC), allowing insights to shape broader policy and conflict management strategies. Reports could include context-specific examples of how conflicts are influenced by climate change, such as the ways droughts exacerbate resource conflicts or the socio-economic factors driving other forms of insecurity in times of climate stress. For their development, the CCCF may partner with research centres within and beyond Kenya that support the systematisation of data.

o **Provide training on conflict-sensitive documentation and analysis for CCCF teams:** Equip CCCF teams and WCCPCs with training and training materials on how to document and analyse climate-conflict dynamics effectively. This training should cover identifying early warning signs, understanding conflict drivers within the climate context, and gathering data that can inform adaptation strategies and conflict prevention.

6   County Government of Isiolo (2023). Participatory Climate Risk Assessment Report. https://maarifa.cog.go.ke/sites/default/files/2024-06/REVIEWED-%20PCRA%20ISIOLO_1.pdf; County Government of Wajir (2023). Participatory Climate Risk Assessment Report. https://maarifa.cog.go.ke/sites/default/files/2024-03/Wajir%20County%20Participatory%20Climate%20Risk%20Assessment%20Report.pdf; County Government of Kitui (2023). Participatory Climate Risk Assessment Report. https://maarifa.cog.go.ke/sites/default/files/2024-06/Kitui%20County%20PCRA%20Report%20Reviewed.pdf.

Policy stakeholders, public communications and key policy documents miss opportunities to mainstream conflict within the governance scope of the CCCF

National climate change policy frameworks in Kenya are designed to account for peacebuilding and conflict management systems (Schapendonk, 2022). The CCCF mechanism emerges as a funding mechanism supporting the implementation of these wider governance frameworks. Specific CCCF's policy guidelines, however, could better highlight the importance of integrating conflict and peace considerations into its climate adaptation framework. This opportunity extends across public communications, procedural manuals, planning tools, and other essential documents, which largely omit discussion of conflict's impact on climate resilience initiatives. For instance, while the community-level resilience and vulnerability assessments conducted by the CCCF process do prompt participants to consider security threats and violence dynamics, the supporting Resilience Assessment Toolkit[7] gives only partial attention to conflict-related issues, framing security narrowly and without emphasizing conflict as a key vulnerability or peacebuilding as a positive adaptation outcome.

Mainstreaming a focus on conflict across policy guidelines and procedures may enhance facilitators' ability to bring conflict-sensitive issues into vulnerability assessments, encouraging participants to discuss vital security concerns or peacebuilding strategies. While the CCCF's reliance on local decision-making does offer a natural entry point for addressing community-specific conflict issues, more explicit integration of conflict sensitivity could better support communities in identifying and addressing the full range of vulnerabilities. To fully capitalize on the CCCF's potential, the mechanism could encourage stakeholders to systematically address conflict and peace considerations in all facets of its operation. More systematically embedding such considerations, however, does not necessarily mean that every diagnostic exercise or intervention under the CCCF must have conflict reduction or peacebuilding as a primary objective. In many cases, this may simply not be necessary and may actually be counter-productive, as well as increase complexity and operational costs. Rather, such efforts are designed to further encourage conflict-sensitive discussions and prioritisation when deemed relevant by communities themselves.

Recommendations: Mainstream conflict sensitivity across the CCCF design documents and public communications

○ **Mainstream climate-sensitive conflict and peace dimensions across the CCCF policy documents:** Integrate conflict and peace considerations more explicitly across key CCCF policy documents, including procedural guides and planning tools. This would ensure that conflict is recognized as a critical element of vulnerability and peace as a central component of resilience.

○ **Incorporate conflict sensitivity in capacity building processes:** Incorporate conflict sensitivity into training spaces meant to capacitate stakeholders, at both county and ward levels, in the CCCF mechanism's design and operation, ensuring that facilitators and stakeholders are equipped to address the links between climate resilience, conflict, and peace in their work. For example, a module on conflict sensitivity and peace positivity of climate adaptation planning and implementation processes could be added into the CCCF course currently being developed in collaboration with the Kenya School of Government (KSG).

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7   ADA (2016). Resilience Assessment Toolkit. https://www.adaconsortium.org/publication/resilience-assessment-toolkit.

Existing mechanisms for planning and institutional learning could facilitate the integration of conflict-sensitivity, but need to be leveraged for this goal

The CCCF mechanism includes several institutional learning tools, such as inter-ward meetings, county-level technical assistance, and multi-stakeholder platforms created by ADA and the County Climate Change Planning Committees (CCCPCs). These mechanisms support adaptive funding processes and stakeholder collaboration and advise project design and operations. Notably, however, while these tools have the potential to enhance conflict sensitivity, they are not systematically applied toward this aim.

Though some conflict risks are occasionally flagged through these processes, conflict sensitivity is not consistently integrated. By embedding conflict and peacebuilding considerations into these institutional learning processes, the CCCF could progressively refine its structures and operations in alignment with each county and ward context. A more deliberate approach could maximize the CCCF's capacity to improve efficiency, representation, and conflict-sensitive practices within its governance framework.

> "I think they [the County Steering Committee] usually meet once in every year… usually the last three years of each regime they work well, but the first two to three years there are a lot of turbulence. Climate change is cross cutting, so when they are implementing agricultural projects, water projects, the members say, 'ah, this is actually my mandate', the new people do not understand why climate change is now part of their mandate."
>
> **Member of the CCCPC in Wajir town, Wajir**

There is furthermore a need to secure the allocation of 10% operational costs to the CCCPC. At present, the amount allocated is 3%, as per the Public Fund Management Act. However, many of the costs in the intended 10% allocation in accordance with the CCCF design are not actually operational, such as those allocated for capacity building. This leads to only 3% of CCCF funds being allocated for operational, engagement, and capacity building tasks. There is hence the need to distinguish between administrative costs and investments in wider capacities. The latter should not fall under the 3% limit established by the PFM act. There is hence a need to adjust CCCF fund designation to allow the 10% allocation specifically for operational costs for CCCPC activities, supervised by climate change directorates/secretariats, as intended by the CCCF's design. By distinguishing operational costs from broader capacity-building expenses, CCCPCs can maintain the administrative functionality essential to implementing climate adaptation projects without reducing resources needed for additional skills training or institutional capacity development.

Recommendations: Existing structures in the CCCF which may be leveraged to increase conflict sensitivity

○ **Strengthen conflict-sensitive objectives in inter-ward meetings:** Establish guidelines for inter-ward meetings that encourage discussions on cross-border and transboundary conflict risks and peacebuilding opportunities. These guidelines could prompt ward planning committees to share insights on conflict dynamics affecting project areas and explore joint approaches to mitigate potential tensions. However, increasing the facilitation skills of WCCPC members is a key requirement for this endeavour, as it is likely that conflict consideration will lead to sensitive issues, such as inter-ethnic grievances, emerging during planning processes.

○ **Integrate conflict sensitivity into technical assistance provided by the CCCPC:** Equip county planning committees with training to incorporate conflict-sensitive review criteria into the technical assistance they provide to WCCPCs, building on the existing criteria relating to the promotion of harmony and construction of social relations between actors. This could include a checklist for identifying potential conflict risks related to proposed investments and advising WCCPCs on peace-promoting project adaptations. Systematising existing feedback mechanisms between CCCPC and WCCPCs in relation to peace and conflict considerations could further support iterative learning on conflict sensitivity.

○ **Leverage the ADA consortium model to promote conflict-sensitive learning:** Use the collaborative framework of the ADA consortium to create a platform for sharing best practices on conflict-sensitive adaptation. Regular consortium workshops could include sessions on integrating peacebuilding approaches into climate projects, with opportunities for CCCPCs and WCCPCs to learn from other counties that have successfully embedded conflict-sensitive approaches.

○ **Expand the scope of the grievance redress mechanism (GRM):** Adapt the GRM to capture insights not only on individual grievances but also on broader patterns of conflict risks arising from CCCF investments. These insights could inform project adjustments and contribute to a repository of conflict-related learnings. For example, data from GRM complaints can be analysed periodically to identify recurring themes related to resource access, social tensions, or other conflict drivers in CCCF project areas.

Kabir Dhanji/ILRI

Alex Maina/CIFOR-ICRAF

Landscape-level approaches are not comprehensively integrated in CCCF planning

The CCCF planning process faces challenges when addressing projects near political or administrative boundaries, particularly in contested territories. While there are mechanisms for trans-boundary planning and coordination, ward-level approaches often limit projects to localized, small-scale solutions focused on infrastructure within specific administrative boundaries. This boundary-based approach can overlook opportunities for larger-scale, integrated solutions, such as ecosystem-based adaptation or joint resource management, which could promote inter-group collaboration and climate resilience. Currently, the scaling of the CCCF mechanism across the country has included efforts to leverage landscape approaches under settings beyond the ASAL counties, such as the Lake Victoria Basin.

However, adopting a landscape-based approach which transcends administrative boundaries brings its own risks. CCCF projects that operate across larger landscapes could inadvertently exacerbate existing conflict dynamics, as landscape approaches may necessarily involve multiple communities with competing interests, differing resource needs, or historical tensions over land and resource access. Particularly in Isiolo and Wajir counties, for example, FGDs with ward planning committees revealed that the majority of conflict dynamics and sources of tension that emerge in relation to natural resource access manifested across ethno-cultural groups. Semi-nomadic pastoralists were identified to routinely move across administrative boundaries in order to access natural resources located within and adjacent to other communities, meaning that ecosystem-level approaches may result in additional layers of complexity with regards to the involvement of both sedentary and non-sedentary groups.

If not carefully managed, such projects could serve to further intensify disputes, particularly where governance structures are weak and coordination between communities and authorities is insufficient. Balancing the need for comprehensive, cross-boundary climate adaptation solutions with the risk of heightening conflicts requires conflict-sensitive planning and inclusive stakeholder engagement. This approach must account for ecological and socio-cultural and political dynamics to avoid undermining the resilience and cooperation that landscape-based projects seek to foster.

Recommendations: Leveraging integrated landscape management (ILM) approaches for peace within the CCCF
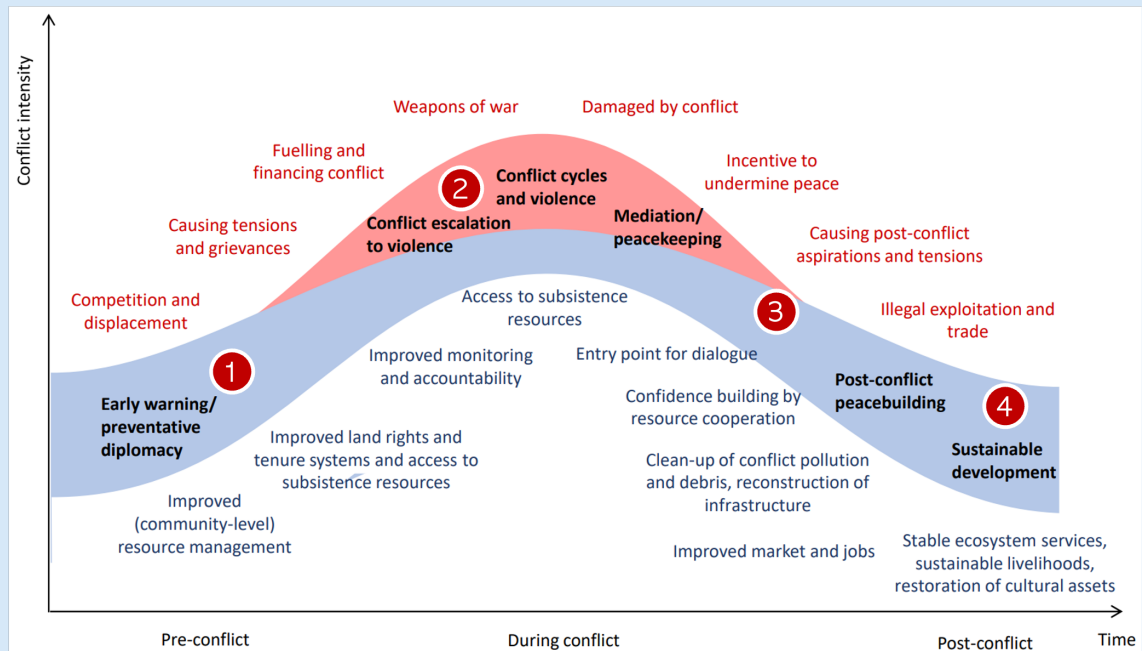
Figure 7. Natural resources and the environment play different roles across the conflict cycle, as well as during peacebuilding processes. Leveraging NbS for peace demands that programming strategies consider the context-specific conflict dynamics being targeted. Image extracted from Wolters & Schellens (2024).

Integrated landscape management (ILM) is a process that aims to promote coherent cross-sectoral and cross-scalar management of ecosystems and natural resources. By emphasising the multi-functionality of resources and natural landscapes, ILM seeks to facilitate the simultaneous achievement of social, economic, as well as environmental objectives. The landscape management literature converges around several key principles and areas of action, all of which have implications for the effective integration of capacities for conflict-sensitivity and the realisation of peacebuilding co-benefits, especially in settings where conflict dynamics often unfold across administrative boundaries. These principles include the identification of relevant stakeholders and relationships between them, the creation of multi-stakeholder fora for deliberation and decision-making, the establishment of a shared common vision around an imagined future state that informs agreed-upon actions and objectives, institutionalisation of landscape-level approaches into formal and informal governance institutions, and enshrining capacities for iterative and adaptive management.

Entry points for conflict sensitive landscape management approaches in the CCCF:

○ **Implement cross-boundary conflict assessments:** Before initiating landscape-based or transboundary projects, CCCF needs to conduct detailed conflict assessments focused on historical tensions, resource competition, and socio-political dynamics. These should engage multiple livelihood and ethnic groups, to ensure that data assessments and interpretations are accepted by different parties, and that project planning is informed by a nuanced understanding of cross-boundary conflict dynamics and resource needs. This can engender a common vision and understanding amongst various (conflictive) groups.

○ **Establish inclusive, multi-stakeholder forums for joint planning:** In support of the above, the CCCF can set up regional bloc planning committees that include representatives from all relevant communities and groups, particularly those with competing interests. These forums may be critical for facilitating dialogue and moving towards a common vision for the future between communities, addressing grievances proactively, and ensuring that all stakeholders are part of the decision-making process for landscape-based or transboundary projects. Existing regional bloc platforms, such as the Frontier Counties Development Council (FCDC), may form an appropriate institutional home for such initiatives.

○ **Establish cross-scalar institutional linkages between WCCPCs and regional bloc committees:** In order to ensure the institutionalisation of landscape-based approaches, it is critical that WCCPCs are effectively integrated and represented in regional decision-making forums. Much like ward-level representation within CCCPCs, a nominated representative for particular groups of wards could therefore become a permanent member of regional bloc committees to ensure sufficiently localised representation. Moreover, such regional blocs should develop comprehensive landscape-level strategic frameworks governing planned actions and interventions, with WCCPCs embedded as key (voluntary) implementing entities within such approaches.

○ **Embed conflict monitoring systems into landscape-level strategic initiatives and projects:** In order to ensure landscape-level projects involving multiple stakeholders avoid inadvertently worsening inter-communal relationships, projects should actively monitor project interactions with and impacts on inter-communal dynamics. Regular documentation provided to regional forums should moreover inform the creation of early warning systems and related contingency and response mechanisms to ensure conflict can be prevented from escalating.

1. In situations where armed violence is absent, but tensions exist due to perceived or actual inequities in resource access, ILM can help alleviate grievances.

   • **Integrate resource and land tenure security within the scope of action of CCCF projects:** Strengthened systems for resource governance and land rights may reduce inter-group tensions, lowering the likelihood of resource-related conflicts. Additionally, community-driven resource management initiatives can enhance social cohesion and facilitate dialogue, reducing the risk of violence between groups.

   • **Create flexible, culturally sensitive access agreements for shared resources:** Develop governance protocols that allow flexible resource access across administrative boundaries, with an emphasis on ecosystem-based adaptation practices. These agreements could support peaceful coexistence by setting clear terms for resource-sharing that respect traditional practices and seasonal migration patterns of pastoralist groups.

2. In contexts where violence is ongoing or imminent, ILM can improve access to essential resources such as food, water, and shelter, providing critical support to vulnerable populations. These solutions can also enhance accountability mechanisms to ensure the fair distribution of resources.

   • **Integrate peacebuilding components into landscape-based projects:** Explore the use of ILM projects as a neutral platform for initiating dialogue when more sensitive issues make direct engagement challenging. By involving communities in resource management, ILM can foster trust, enable mediation, and strengthen relationships among conflicting parties.

   • **Provide training to WCCPCs on peace and conflict resolution through ILM:** Training on conflict resolution, mediation, and resource-sharing principles should be provided for WCCPC members and community representatives to strengthen resilience not just to climate impacts, but also to socio-political tensions.

3. In post-conflict environments, ILM can aid recovery by addressing socioeconomic and environmental damages caused by conflict, enhancing access to basic services like clean water, and establish sustainable livelihoods.

   • **Expand the scope of adaptation measures in settings affected by conflict:** CCCF projects can address some of the effects of conflict by integrating environmental restoration with social and economic recovery. This includes clearing pollution and debris, promoting sustainable resource use, and rebuilding key infrastructure. Strengthening markets for natural resources and creating employment opportunities in related industries can further reinforce peacebuilding efforts.

   • **Support sustainable livelihoods and ecosystem restoration as strategies for post-conflict recovery:** Initiatives such as the restoration of cultural and spiritual landmarks, and the protection of shared natural assets can foster community cohesion and trust, helping to lay the foundation for lasting peace. However, such projects need to be prioritized and designed by local communities, as already fostered by the CCCF mechanism, for them to support legitimate forms of peace.

CCCF achieves the representation of groups affected by structural inequalities, with some persistent barriers

The CCCF mechanism promotes the inclusion of populations affected by intersectional risks by integrating participatory governance structures that ensure representation of marginalized groups, including women, youth, people with disabilities, and the poor. Through the WCCPCs, community members identify and prioritize climate adaptation projects, ensuring that diverse voices are heard and considered. The mechanism mandates quotas for these groups in decision-making bodies, fostering equitable participation. Additionally, the CCCF supports capacity-building and awareness-raising initiatives to empower underrepresented populations to actively engage in planning and implementation processes, ensuring their unique vulnerabilities and priorities are addressed.

Community consultations within the CCCF do, however, still face challenges in achieving equitable participation. Planning processes often attract active, influential community members, unintentionally side-lining underrepresented voices such as women, youth, and ethnic minorities. This selective participation risks reinforcing existing power dynamics, limiting the range of perspectives and potentially misaligning outcomes with broader community needs.

WOULD YOU SAY THE IMPLEMENTATION AND OPERATION OF THE CCCF INVESTMENT CONSIDER THE NEEDS, PREFERENCES AND CONCERNS OF THE FOLLOWING GROUPS?
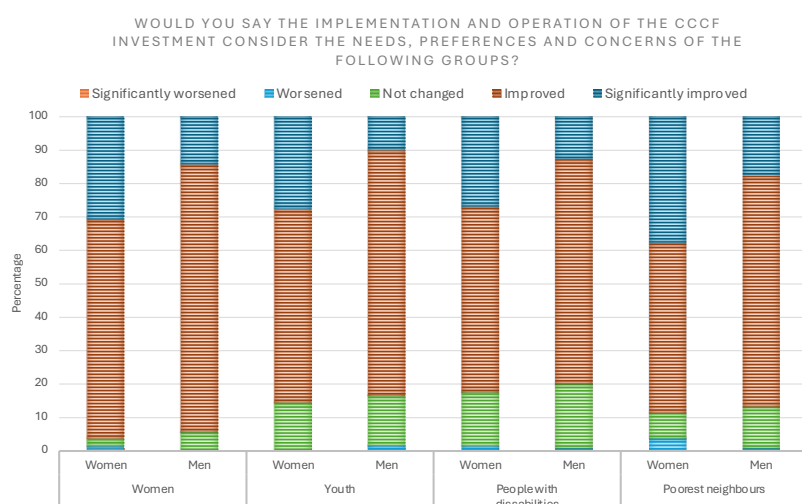
Figure 8. To what extent would you say the implementation and operation of the CCCF investment consider the needs, preferences and concerns of the following groups? 1) Women; 2) Youth; 3) People with disabilities (pwd); 4) Poorer members of the community. Answers are disaggregated by gender.

While barazas and ward planning committees (WCCPCs) are intended to be inclusive, marginalized groups remain underrepresented within such fora. Recommendations and decisions are often swayed by traditional leaders, typically male elders, without proactive measures to ensure full participation of all groups, including pastoralists and residents of informal settlements. For example, in Kinna Ward, Isiolo, gender quotas in WCCPCs mandate at least one woman in a leadership role, enabling her to advocate for women's interests and ensuring gender representation in climate adaptation planning. This model could benefit other wards, as women's inclusion often remains symbolic with minimal decision-making influence. Enforcing leadership quotas could enhance women's roles and improve decision quality by incorporating diverse perspectives.

The CCCF's Resilience Assessment Guide suggests using alternative engagement formats, like one-on-one interviews and informal gatherings, to encourage participation from those less comfortable with formal settings. However, these methods are not consistently applied. Participatory tools such as visual mapping and storytelling are also recommended to ensure inclusive dialogue, yet they are rarely utilized. Instead, community barazas often replace these focused discussions, prioritizing broad development agendas over targeted resilience assessments, thereby limiting the depth and sustainability of community input.

Recommendations: Strategies to strengthen the representation of marginalized populations in the CCCF

○ **Promote gender quotas in leadership roles across wards:** Building on Kinna Ward's model, establish gender quotas not only for committee membership but also for leadership positions in Ward Planning Committees (WCCPCs). This structural change will support women's active participation and influence in decision-making processes, creating a pathway for more representative climate adaptation strategies.

○ **Actively recruit underrepresented groups for community consultations:** Encourage facilitators to conduct targeted outreach to marginalized community members who may face barriers to participation. This includes residents of unplanned settlements, traveling pastoralists, and low-income households. By creating more inclusive outreach practices, the CCCF can ensure broader community representation in the planning processes.

○ **Use alternative engagement formats as recommended by the Resilience Assessment Guide:** Implement one-on-one interviews, small group discussions, and informal gatherings regularly to complement formal meetings. These formats are designed to make participation accessible for individuals who may feel uncomfortable in large, formal settings, thus enabling a broader range of community members to share their perspectives and insights.

Structural inequalities emerge as issues of concern during agenda setting

Vulnerability assessments as conducted through the CCCF mechanism incorporate gender as an important factor in shaping priorities[8], allowing for structural vulnerabilities and inequalities, such as power imbalances, to surface during the prioritization of adaptation investments. The bottom-up approach endorsed by the CCCF emphasizes the role of institutional and cultural practices in shaping vulnerabilities, providing space for discussions about issues like gender and socio-economic inequalities. For example, overburdening labour tasks and exposure to risks like physical and sexual violence while fetching water are commonly identified in vulnerability assessment reports, such as in Isiolo county[9], underscoring the vulnerability of women in particular during planning stages.

While issues like GBV and youth vulnerability to crime, drug abuse, and sex work are identified as key concerns, they are not explicitly addressed in the proposed solutions. The solutions presented are often neutral from the perspective of vulnerable groups, with some—such as livelihood diversification—potentially addressing these issues indirectly, but without a targeted focus on them. This highlights a conscious decision in the CCCF's approach, where structural inequalities, especially related to historical injustices and elite-driven vulnerabilities, are not explicitly integrated into the planning and solution framing, being instead addressed indirectly. This approach recognizes the limitations of a project-based mechanism in addressing structural sources of vulnerability, which require wider political reform and cultural reflection.

Actors engaged in the CCCF mechanism, mainly represented by the Adaptation Consortium (Ada), do however engage in wider policy dialogues related to structural forms of inequality and vulnerability. For example, Ada has published widely on the role of locally led adaptation in the

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8   Ada Consortium (2016). Resilience Assessment Toolkit. https://www.adaconsortium.org/publication/resilience-assessment-toolkit.

9   County Government of Isiolo (2023). Isiolo County Participatory Climate Risk Assessment. https://maarifa.cog.go.ke/sites/default/files/2024-06/REVIEWED-%20PCRA%20ISIOLO_1.pdf.

CCCF mechanism in formalizing land tenure as a resilience building strategy[10], on mainstreaming gender inequality across adaptation planning[11], and on tackling socioeconomic inequality through adaptation investments[12].

> **Case study: Informal settlements in Wajir County**
>
> In Wajir County, CCCF representatives in FGDs reported that the rise of new informal settlements presents a substantial barrier to achieving inclusivity within the CCCF operations. Although these informal settlements are discouraged by official county policy due to their substantial strain on an already stretched governance system, particularly in delivering public services, they continue to emerge. These informal settlements often lead to tension with established communities, as competition intensifies over limited resources, public funding, and development opportunities. This competition exacerbates existing conflict dynamics within the county.
>
> The CCCF's operational framework, primarily implemented through the WCCPCs, aims to ensure fair representation of all locations within each ward. However, local CCCF representatives find it increasingly difficult to address the evolving needs of new settlements, given their unexpected growth and demand for services. The emergence of new settlements adds complexity to project prioritization, as additional villages now require consideration in planning processes. This challenge strains WCCPCs' ability to fairly distribute resources and align project prioritization with community needs across the county.

Policy Implementation

CCCF facilitates the integration of climate and peace institutions at the community level

The absence of formal protocols mandating the inclusion of peace and security stakeholders in ward-level governance has not impeded the County Climate Change Fund (CCCF) from fostering multi-level integration. Data gathered through focus discussions reveals that WCCPCs have emerged as a platform to harmonize localized structures, including peace committees, traditional rangeland management systems, water user committees, and sectors like education and health. Often this harmonization take place in formal policy planning mechanisms, such as the five-year Ward Development Plan (WDP).

In Wajir county, for instance, WCCPC membership reflects community priorities of peacebuilding and land management, often drawing from peace committees and traditional rangeland management systems. While not formally mandated, individuals with demonstrated commitment to these areas are typically selected as members of the WCCPC, ensuring the committee aligns with community needs. This inclusion strengthens collaboration between WCCPCs and other local institutions, leveraging their expertise. Peace committees contribute insights into conflict dynamics, and customary traditional offer knowledge on resource management and conflict resolution. This integration enhances the WCCPC's legitimacy and community trust over the CCCF.

10   Ada Consortium (2014). Securing community land rights in Kenya ASALS: Available legal options. https://www.adaconsortium.org/publication/securing-community-land-rights-in-kenya-asals-available-legal-options.

11   Ada Consortium (2018). Gender inclusion and the CCCF Mechanism: Increasing the voice and the benefits for women. https://www.adaconsortium.org/publication/gender-inclusion-and-the-cccf-mechanism-increasing-the-voice-and-the-benefits-for-women?url=publication/gender-inclusion-and-the-cccf-mechanism-increasing-the-voice-and-the-benefits-for-women.

12   Ada Consortium (2018). Assessing the effectiveness of the CCCF Mechanism on rural livelihoods and institutions in Kenya. https://www.adaconsortium.org/publication/assessing-the-effectiveness-of-the-cccf-mechanism-on-rural-livelihoods-and-institutions-in-kenya?url=publication/assessing-the-effectiveness-of-the-cccf-mechanism-on-rural-livelihoods-and-institutions-in-kenya.

The coordination between WCCPCs and traditional structures enables alignment with conflict resolution mechanisms, allowing rapid response to disputes. For example, in Kinna ward, Isiolo, WCCPCs have previously mediated access disputes over water resources with the support of peace committees, elders, and governmental authorities. These interventions not only resolve immediate tensions but have also strengthened protocols to prevent future conflicts. However, challenges persist. Customary institutions, while effective, are not always sufficient to prevent conflict escalation between communities. The Bibi water pan case in Kinna (see box below) exemplifies such limitations. Despite this, the WCCPC's ability to work closely with legitimate community structures has proven critical in fostering the de-facto emergence of conflict sensitivity in CCCF operation.

Case study: Conflict around the Bibi water pan in Kinna ward, Isiolo

The Bibi water pan, located in a key livestock corridor near a market in Kinna ward, has long been a critical water source for pastoralist communities. Established in the 1970s, its location was carefully chosen to complement other water sources, such as boreholes, which help manage access to water and pasture more effectively. Unlike boreholes, which allow for controlled access, water pans offer free and open access, making them both a valuable resource and a potential flashpoint for conflict over shared natural resources.

During the CCCF pilot phase, it was decided to expand the Kinna water pan and enhance its infrastructure. This expansion, which occurred in 2014, included the addition of a fence to control access, water tanks, a pump, and a water distribution system that required livestock to drink from designated points rather than directly from the pan. The project also included the construction of a management office for security and administration. This infrastructure was intended to regulate access and prevent the degradation of surrounding pastures due to overuse, while maintaining a fair system for local pastoralists.

However, by 2020, the water pan became a site of conflict between the Somali and Borana communities, particularly around access and control of the water point. The Somali pastoralists, who travelled from Garissa, were not allowed into the site, as the rules for access had been established exclusively by the Borana community. This created a significant tension, especially as the Borana themselves struggled with insufficient water supply. The influx of outside pastoralists further strained this resource, intensifying grievances. The rules imposed by the Borana were not recognized by the Somali community, which viewed the restrictions as illegitimate, leading to further conflict, especially as both groups faced extreme desperation during the 2020 drought.

The escalating conflict between these communities eventually displaced people from the area, cutting off access to the water pan entirely. The absence of security during the conflict allowed the site to be vandalized, with much of the infrastructure and materials stolen. The ongoing tensions between the Borana and Somali communities, driven in part by border disputes between populations in Garissa, Isiolo, and Meru, have continued to prevent any resolution or recovery of the water pan's functionality.

During the initial planning phase of the CCCF project, the water pan's location was considered safe, as there had historically been no significant disputes over its use. However, in recent years, resource depletion and recurrent droughts have greatly heightened competition for water, exacerbating tensions between different pastoralist groups.

The experience at the Kinna water pan highlights several key lessons for conflict-sensitive project design and implementation. Firstly, even longstanding sites that have historically been peaceful may become flashpoints for conflict as resource scarcity intensifies. Secondly, the lack of inclusive decision-making around resource access rules can deepen existing social divisions and undermine project success. Finally, the absence of conflict documentation and security arrangements can lead to the complete loss of valuable infrastructure, as seen in the vandalism of the Kinna water pan.

Changing political priorities disrupt funding and lead to unmet constituent expectations

Interruptions in the operation of the county-level CCCF Act due to changing county government priorities has the potential to lead to unmet expectations that increase local resentments and undermine legitimacy. While the Act mandates the allocation of at least 2% of county development funds for climate adaptation to shield these resources from political interference, non-compliance by county governments has disrupted this protection. As a result, adaptation initiatives have become entangled in the broader political and electoral competition over development funds, undermining their effectiveness. Communities and ward authorities, in the absence of guaranteed CCCF funding, have increasingly relied on the County Integrated Development Plan (CIDP) to advocate for projects. However, the CIDP's competitive nature often deprioritizes local initiatives in favour of projects aligned with broader political agendas. This shift erodes the certainty of project implementation, exacerbates community grievances, and creates a sense of exclusion from decision-making processes.

The uncertainty allocation the mandated funds not only limits adaptation efforts but also undermines trust in the CCCF Committees. Community members often receive little or no feedback from the government about unmet commitments, creating frustration and disillusionment. The lack of communication following participatory assessments adds to this disconnect, as communities perceive their input as undervalued. This growing disillusionment undermines the legitimacy of CCCF institutions, compounding the challenges of implementing climate adaptation initiatives effectively.

In Isiolo County, for example, the absence of mandated CCCF funding has rendered higher-level structures such as the county planning and steering committees inoperable. WCCPCs have, in this case, have responses to funding interruptions. These committees maintain communication with the County Steering Group (CSG), an NDMA forum that links local structures to national and international development actors. While this coordination has opened new funding opportunities, it has also led to instances where international organizations implement pre-designed projects through WCCPCs rather than empowering them to lead adaptation processes. This dynamic shifts the role of WCCPCs from autonomous decision-makers to facilitators of externally driven initiatives, altering the original intent of the CCCF framework. While the Isiolo case does not necessarily reflect country wide CCCF operation, it does evidence the risks embedded in interrupted funding and unmet local expectations.

Despite these challenges, the CCCF framework has demonstrated its potential to create a vertically coherent institutional structure that is sensitive to local climate and conflict dynamics. The autonomy afforded to local planning entities has proven valuable for addressing community-specific needs and fostering resilience. However, for the CCCF to achieve its objectives, consistent and risk-resistant funding is essential to insulate the framework from political and institutional risks. Furthermore, enhancing accountability and improving communication with communities can help restore trust and ensure that the CCCF remains a legitimate and effective instrument for climate adaptation.

> **Recommendations: Safeguarding public fund availability for CCCF operations and increasing accountability towards local populations**
>
> ○ **Enforce the mandated ≥2% allocation of county development funds:** Establish accountability measures that hold county governments responsible for fulfilling the CCCF's mandated 2% allocation. A prudent strategy would be to incorporate the CCCF into the mandate of the forthcoming National Climate Change Fund. This integration would establish a secondary mandatory funding source beyond the influence of county governors, ensuring that adaptation resources are safeguarded from local political dynamics. Equally critical is the establishment of a dedicated government budget code for the CCCF. By law, budget codes must be resourced, which would create a binding financial obligation.
>
> ○ **Increase communication and feedback mechanisms following consultations:** Establish protocols for the CCCF to provide communities with regular updates following participatory consultations. This can include progress reports on funding availability, implementation timelines, and explanations for any delays or adjustments. Clear communication on decisions and outcomes is essential for managing community expectations and reducing perceptions of unmet promises. Alternatively the constitutional provision on the right of access to information held by the State can be invoked in the act and citizens be sensitized to use it

The CCCF only partly incentivises conducting conflict-sensitive assessments of unintended consequences from adaptation investments

The integration of local and traditional peace and conflict resolution actors into planning processes for CCCF investments has enabled alignment with basic conflict-sensitivity standards. Conflict prevention measures, such as selecting project sites in non-contested areas or in locations where access can be effectively controlled, are frequently employed. These measures are further reinforced by consensus-based decision-making processes that involve local communities, ensuring stakeholder buy-in and equitable access arrangements. By addressing potential access and usage conflicts among competing groups, this approach promotes collaborative resource management and reduces the risk of disputes arising from resource competition.

Despite these efforts, the focus of conflict sensitivity in CCCF projects remains largely in the realm of harm avoidance ("do no harm"). There is limited emphasis on leveraging projects to achieve transformative peacebuilding outcomes that could foster social cohesion and long-term stability ("do more good"). Ward-level focus group discussions highlight a widespread awareness of potential conflict risks, with communities and planning committees recognizing the importance of mitigating these risks during the planning and implementation phases. However, this awareness predominantly translates into reactive measures, particularly in the strategic selection of project sites.

The focus on site avoidance limits opportunities to engage with broader conflict dynamics or to involve other conflict-affected parties in project planning. Consequently, the potential for CCCF projects to serve as mechanisms for fostering peacebuilding and cooperation remains underexplored. Furthermore, avoiding high-risk contested areas often excludes investments in the most vulnerable communities, effectively disincentivizing efforts to use CCCF projects as tools for addressing deeper tensions and promoting reconciliation. Without a comprehensive strategy that balances conflict prevention with proactive peacebuilding, the peace potential of CCCF investments remains constrained.

A document analysis of implemented adaptation project proposals[13] suggest that programming strategies under the CCCF address underlying sources of conflict only in part. While conflict-related issues are identified as key concerns during vulnerability assessments, they are not explicitly addressed in the project proposals. Investment proposals developed under the CCCF are often neutral from the perspective of conflict and structural inequalities. While some—such as livelihood diversification—potentially addressing these issues indirectly, they do so without a targeted focus in tackling structural inequalities. See the box below for an example analysis of an individual proposal.

Case study: Assessment of Conflict Sensitivity in a CCCF project proposal for Chari Ward, Isiolo county

A CCCF project proposal in Chari Ward, Isiolo County, seeks to enhance water access through the improvement of an existing borehole. The initiative aims to extend water access to distant households and benefit pastoralist groups using a shared rangeland. However, a critical review of the proposal highlights opportunities towards conflict-sensitive design and implementation.

Conflict dynamics and problem framing: The vulnerability assessment for Isiolo identified widespread resource-based conflicts in Chari Ward, which were highlighted by community members as a pressing issue. Despite this, the project proposal does not explicitly acknowledge these dynamics in its problem analysis. The absence of conflict considerations in framing the problem limits the proposal's capacity to address key social and institutional challenges tied to water access.

Unintended consequences: While the proposal acknowledges that pastoralist groups from neighbouring wards access the area for pasturing and would benefit from the water infrastructure, it does not address how these dynamics might influence or be influenced by the project. Specifically, the potential for the project to strengthen conflict management capacities is overlooked. Furthermore, risks of exacerbating conflicts due to perceptions of inequitable access to water resources or adaptation funds are not considered.

Although the monitoring framework includes an indicator tracking the number of registered conflicts over water access, no clear strategies are outlined to leverage this data for conflict prevention or resolution. Without explicit integration of conflict-sensitive approaches in project activities and outcomes, it remains unclear how the project aims to contribute to sustainable resource management and conflict mitigation.

Budgetary limitations: The project budget is solely allocated to the procurement and installation of water infrastructure, with no provisions for building institutional capacities to ensure equitable and legitimate resource management. This omission is particularly relevant given the recognized involvement of pastoralist groups from outside the ward, whose inclusion could be a source of tension if not managed inclusively and transparently.

Gender considerations: The proposal recognizes the importance of improving women's access to water as a project benefit but does not incorporate this into its activities, implementation plan, or monitoring framework. Indicators for project achievement are framed as output metrics—such as the number of individuals accessing the infrastructure—rather than addressing structural inequalities, such as the disproportionate burden and security risks faced by women in accessing water. There is no indication of how the project will address these gender-specific challenges or mitigate barriers to equitable water access.

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13   Project proposal documents were provided by the Adaptation Consortium for the analysis, but are not publicly available.

Recommendations: Incentivise assessments of planned projects in terms of their potential contribution to peace

○ Institutionalize engagement between CCCF structures and traditional customary and community-led decision spaces: Recognize and formalize connections with customary institutions and other locally embedded committees at the ward level. By transitioning informal overlapping of individual members and attendance into formalized collaboration, climate adaptation initiatives can better reflect and leverage existing local governance structures. This approach can increase the effectiveness and local acceptance of adaptation strategies by grounding them in established networks of trust and influence. While customary conflict resolution mechanisms are vital, their limitations should be acknowledged. Formalizing connections with these bodies and integrating them into the CCCF can improve conflict management and ensure ongoing dialogue about unresolved disputes.

○ Enhance conflict sensitivity in project design: While existing planning processes align with minimum conflict-sensitivity standards, there is a need to develop incentives for project designs that consider transformative outcomes. Projects should aim to contribute to peacebuilding and social cohesion, moving beyond a 'do no harm' approach towards 'do more good' approach. The following actions can support this recommendation:

- **Increase the capacity of WCCPCs to conduct assessments of cascading consequences:** Conduct trainings with WCCPC and CCCPC members to assess project proposals in terms of potential cascading consequences. These trainings should account for both the unintended exacerbation of conflict risks from project implementation, as well as the identification of peacebuilding opportunities.

- **Adopt proactive conflict management strategies:** Communities and ward planning committees recognize potential conflict risks associated with investments. To enhance this, it is crucial to move beyond reactive measures focused on site selection. Proactive engagement in dialogue about conflict dynamics, as well as involving various stakeholders in planning, can foster genuine peacebuilding and cooperation.

- **Encourage investment in high-risk areas through conflict sensitive strategies:** The current trend of avoiding contested areas can disincentivize necessary investments in regions that may benefit the most, particularly those inhabited by vulnerable community members. Policies should promote investments in higher-risk areas as potential peacebuilding opportunities.

Alex Maina/CIFOR-ICRAF

Interactions between CCCF projects and conflict dynamics should be systematically documented and used to strengthen wider governance systems for peace

Results evidence a de-facto interaction between local peace and security bodies and adaptation efforts under the CCCF. However, the outcomes and interactions of projects with conflict dynamics are not systematically documented or leveraged to improve governance systems for peace and conflict response. This lack of documentation undermines the potential of CCCF actors to learn and adapt to evolving conflict risks.

Currently, even though CCCF projects collect valuable data related to implementation efforts, such as grievance records, committee minutes, user lists, and conflict incidents, this information is rarely shared or stored in a way that can inform broader strategies. Such information tends to remain with WCCPCs and project management committees, and county governments do not currently prioritise its collection or use. FGDs in Kinna ward, Isiolo, for instance revealed that despite the destruction and subsequent inoperability of its water pan directly due to conflict, no formal mechanism exists to record and analyse the role that conflict played in this event. This is problematic because it prevents meaningful reflection on how conflict dynamics may have influenced project outcomes and stifles the development of strategies to better anticipate and mitigate such risks in future projects. The absence of formal mechanisms to document and learn from such incidents therefore represents a missed opportunity for promoting conflict sensitivity within the CCCF more broadly, and hinders the ability to create robust early-warning systems that could mitigate risks before conflicts escalate.

To capitalise on this opportunity, it is essential to establish formal systems for documenting and analysing interactions between CCCF projects and conflict dynamics. This includes creating regular monitoring and reporting mechanisms to capture conflict-related incidents, their impact on project implementation, and to ensure such information is used by county governments to inform future planning and risk mitigation efforts. By embedding conflict monitoring into project implementation, both planning and implementation processes can become more responsive, adaptive, and resilient, ultimately enhancing their effectiveness in conflict-prone areas.

Recommendations: Embedding conflict monitoring into implementation processes for institutional learning and the development of risk mitigation strategies

○ **Establish documentation processes for project interactions:** Create systematic procedures for documenting and sharing interactions between CCCF projects and conflict dynamics. This should include routine monitoring and reporting mechanisms that capture conflict-related incidents and their impacts on project implementation, as well as the transmission of this information (such as grievance records, user lists, committee meeting minutes, and instances of conflict occurrence) to relevant county stakeholders.

○ **Create a climate-conflict early warning system:** Utilize climate-conflict data from CCCF assessments to establish or enhance a conflict early warning system within counties. This system could integrate indicators of conflict risk (e.g., resource scarcity, migratory pressures, economic stressors) with climate data to help county and national authorities anticipate and respond to potential flashpoints more effectively.

CCCF investments create new and strengthen existing community institutions to promote local collective action capacities

In the vast majority of CCCF projects assessed as part of this research, use of existing or creation of entirely new local institutional arrangements accompanying the investment. This creates a local space where collective action and negotiation can occur, and potential conflict risks associated with the project can be managed. Project management committees play a key role in overseeing project activities and day-to-day operations, ensuring financial sustainability, and managing potential conflicts. In some cases – such as in Mutitu ward, Kitui (see box below) – CCCF investments have spurred the creation of entirely new resource user associations.

The autonomy and empowerment of project management committees has several benefits. Firstly, such arrangements can improve the financial sustainability of CCCF projects. Many projects create membership-based associations with annual fees and small charges for accessing resources (e.g., water). These fees help fund the maintenance and improvement of infrastructure, ensuring long-term project viability. Secondly, local management structures provide a platform for community participation and accountability towards project users and beneficiaries. Whilst exact mechanisms differ across different project contexts, regular elections, public meetings, and transparency mechanisms allow community members to hold committees accountable, voice concerns, and provide feedback and input into project operations. This builds local capacity for decision-making and improves trust within the community.

> "The project committee collects small fees from those who have the animals. This money is collected for maintenance as part of a cost-sharing system. There are a lot of people who use the borehole, and every household wants time to access it, so they have made a timetable to avoid conflict. Every person knows at which time they will come to use the project. Internally, there are some conflicts over access, but if this happens the borehole is shut down, a meeting is called, and they will see [based on the timetable] who is right and who is wrong."
>
> **Member of the project management committee in Ademasajida ward, Wajir**

Thirdly, such committees often develop local regulations and by-laws (e.g., water collection timetables, regulated access points) to manage resource use and aid in the prevention, management, and resolution of conflicts. These rules are adaptable to environmental changes and impacts, such as drought, and help resolve disputes within the community. For example, in Ademasajida ward, Wajir county, FGDs involving members from the site management committee responsible for the management of the Elemdi borehole consciously identified the role of the timetable in conflict resolution efforts between different users within the community, using it to decide often without involvement of other actors who is correct in the context of disputes. If necessary, peace committees are additionally permitted to intervene and mediate conflicts.

Case study: Collective action institutions for management of the Kaayo dam, Mutitu ward, Kitui

In Mutitu ward, Kitui, the CCCF investment centred around the rehabilitation of an older water dam and adjacent water pan. A site management committee consisting of 12 members was formed to manage the project, with each member representing one sub-location unit containing communities envisaged to have access to the site. In this case, these sub-location units included units in neighbouring wards that were also envisaged to have access to the site. Elections to the site committee occurred on the basis of consensus achieved during public barazas at village level.

The Kayoo site management committee quickly established accountability mechanisms within the local community, including a public baraza that is held every Wednesday with members of the water user association that was created as part of the project. There are approximately 100 members in the association, each of whom pay a 50-shilling joining fee and a subsequent 50-shilling monthly payment to cover maintenance costs and the salary of a site security guard.

These public barazas were identified by respondents as critical institutional spaces to manage interactions with the community and ensure accountability, trust, and transparency. Initially, for example, the site was subjected to several instances of vandalism, but public barazas formed a space where such issues could be addressed and sensitization and awareness raising activities could take place, thereby reducing these incidents. In another instance, a public baraza enabled community members to challenge some members of the site management committee, as perceptions had arisen that association funding was being spent in ways that could not be accounted for. To restore trust, the treasurer of the Mutitu ward planning committee assisted the site management committee in conducting a financial audit, which was subsequently presented to association members to allay any fears of impropriety.

In yet another case relating to the Kayoo dam, the role of the site management committee in creating and enforcing by-laws – and resolving sources of conflict within the community – became particularly apparent. The land that was donated by a member of the community for the implementation and expansion of the project borders a smaller plot owned by another community member, which is situated upstream. A shallow well had been dug by this community member in one of the spaces where fencing around the dam was subsequently constructed, leading to them claiming that the project was encroaching upon their land. To deal with this, the community member decided to construct a ladder going over the top of the fencing in order to ensure they were able to access their shallow well. The committee, in consultation with the rest of the association, required him to remove this ladder and use the same access point used by all other community members to disincentivize other people from taking similar courses of action and thereby increasing the risk of contamination and an unfair distribution of water

Axel Fassio/CIFOR

Implementation of CCCF investments evidence the capacity to enhance relationships and trust within and between groups

The CCCF instrument has proven effective in building trust and strengthening relationships within communities by enabling the development of locally relevant, climate adaptation projects. By promoting inclusive decision-making and shared responsibility, CCCF enhances community resilience and moreover fosters a sense of ownership, which is crucial for the sustainability of adaptation efforts. By prioritising community-based adaptation projects, the CCCF offers an inclusive platform for dialogue and negotiation, thereby reducing the risk of conflicts over scarce resources. Survey responses from across all case studies, for instance, indicate that beneficiaries generally share the perception that CCCF projects have helped improve inter- and intra-communal relationships (Figure 7). The CCCF thereby contributes to social stability by helping bridge social divides, preventing tensions over resource access, and enhancing community resilience.

Impacts appear strong within the immediate community benefiting from individual CCCF investments as a consequence of their focus on within-community projects – mostly centred around water infrastructure such as dams and boreholes – although in some cases inter-communal benefits were also apparent (see box below). This also, however, often precludes the development of an integrated landscape-level planning process, thereby limiting opportunities for broader inter-community cooperation, especially in areas with interconnected climate risks and resource pressures. While localized benefits are strong, particularly in areas like Kitui County, the model could be more effective if it incorporated a landscape-level approach to adaptation, encouraging cross-community engagement.

To maximize its impact, policymakers should consider integrating capacities within the CCCF to enable the development of a landscape-based approach and inter-community projects, such as joint management of shared water resources or coordinated early warning systems. To optimise the conflict-sensitive potential of the CCCF, a phased approach that incorporates inter-community projects alongside local initiatives is recommended. Such an approach could involve coordinated investments in shared water resources or joint early warning systems, directly addressing cross-community dynamics and reducing competition for limited resources.
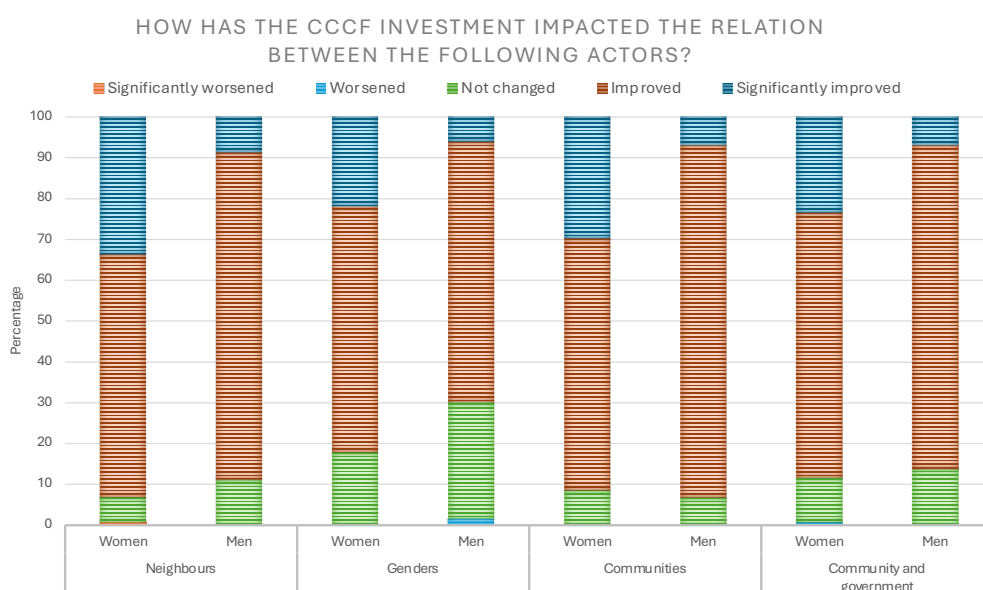

Figure 9. To what extent has the CCCF investment impacted the relation between the following actors? 1) Between members of the community (neighbours); 2) Between men and women; 3) Between neighbouring communities; 4) Between the community and the government. Answers are disaggregated by gender.

Case study: Community benefits arising from the Kalikuvu earth dam restoration in Mutha ward, Kitui county

The Kalikuvu earth dam, originally built during the colonial era, remained non-operational for years until its restoration under the CCCF pilot phase. Situated in Mutha ward, in a highly drought-prone location, the dam's restoration was prioritized for its high impact relative to investment. However, selecting the project site led to notable discussions among residents in different ward locations regarding the equitable distribution of its benefits.

During the site prioritization phase, community barazas (meetings) were held in each of the ward's three locations, led by the ward chief, to explain the site selection process. These gatherings addressed community concerns, clarified the criteria behind the decision, and introduced additional prioritized projects that would follow. Ultimately, residents accepted the dam's placement, partly due to the facilitation efforts of the Ward Climate Change Planning Team (WCCPT). According to the ward administration, the WCCPT's inclusion of community members allowed for effective dialogue and eased concerns, promoting community buy-in.

The Kalikuvu dam project intersects with protracted cross-border conflicts, which are exacerbated by severe droughts and competition for scarce resources. In times of water scarcity, particularly during the prolonged drought between 2019 and 2023, pastoralists from neighbouring Tana River County have frequently driven their livestock into Kitui farms, sparking tensions. Local residents who previously depended on distant river sources often faced risks of violence while fetching water in conflict-prone areas. As the ward administrator stated, the dam's availability has provided critical relief, as "scarcity of water often compels people to overlook conflicts, as everyone needs access to water."

The restoration of the Kalikuvu earth dam has proven instrumental in providing climate adaptation benefits while mitigating conflict risk. By enhancing local water access and supporting equitable resource distribution, the project has not only addressed the community's water scarcity but has also contributed to improved inter-community relations and economic resilience. This case exemplifies the value of community engagement in adaptation planning, demonstrating how locally inclusive decision-making can foster both resource sustainability and social cohesion. Project beneficiaries reported the following impacts:

- **Improved access to water:** Before the dam's restoration, some community members travelled over 30 kilometres daily to collect water. This challenging distance resulted in significant time away from school for children and left little time for women to participate in economic activities. With the dam, there is now easier access to water, allowing children to stay in school and enabling women to engage in farming and market activities.

- **Equitable water access during droughts:** During dry periods, access to the dam is managed by the site committee, which rations water to ensure equitable distribution, particularly benefiting those with limited means for water transportation. Community members have developed informal agreements to share water and often negotiate to buy or sell water allocations as needed.

- **Reduced conflict exposure:** The dam has reduced the need for residents to fetch water from conflict-prone areas. In the absence of local water sources, residents were previously compelled to collect water from regions where confrontations with pastoralist groups were common, particularly during the driest months. With the dam in place, they can avoid these high-risk areas, enhancing community safety.

- **Improved relations with neighbouring pastoralist communities:** Since the dam's restoration, residents report fewer interactions with pastoralists at contested water points, decreasing conflict potential. Additionally, the nearby market has facilitated trade between the farming community and pastoralists, fostering economic interdependence and social interaction that were previously minimal.

- **Enhanced community collective action:** The dam's site management committee oversees an annual consultation, where members report on project finances and jointly decide on reinvestment plans. This community-led management has improved the dam's sustainability and led to new investments, including a water pumping system.

- **Livelihood diversification and food security:** Increased access to water has enabled local vegetable gardening, contributing to food security and economic diversification in the area. The enhanced water table around the dam has led to improved pasture, reforestation, and new water sources such as a privately managed borehole, which offers public access for a fee.

- **Improved water quality and environmental health:** A newly installed fence now prevents animals from contaminating the dam, ensuring a cleaner water source for the community.

Implementation of CCCF projects should capitalize opportunities to incentivise the challenging of sources of structural inequality

Structural issues of inequality and vulnerability, such as risks of gender-based violence (GBV) while fetching water, are acknowledged as a significant issue in multiple wards during vulnerability assessments. However, proposed activities under CCCF projects, mainly related to water availability do not often account for women's access to water or the safety risks they face. Project objectives and expected impacts often do not explicitly address conflict or violence dynamics, despite evident links between resource access and conflict identified during assessments.

CCCF projects moreover mostly focus on "grey" infrastructure (e.g., water infrastructure), which undermines the capacity of such projects to focus on structural sources of vulnerability, such as land tenure issues. Unequal or exploitative land tenure arrangements, as well as comparable structural challenges, are politically sensitive as well as complex, and both international donors and county governments tend to avoid addressing them. For this reason, CCCF addresses these structural issues indirectly, through livelihood diversification or engaging in wider policy debates. Yet, it is imperative that project activities foster the reflection and deliberation spaces to explicitly address structural drivers of inequality and insecurity, such as inequitable resource access.
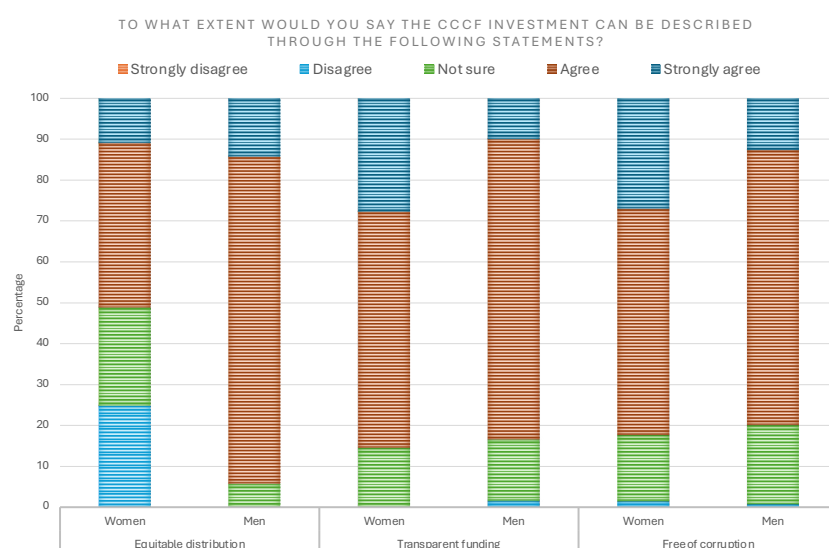
TO WHAT EXTENT WOULD YOU SAY THE CCCF INVESTMENT CAN BE DESCRIBED THROUGH THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS?

To what extent would you say the CCCF investment can be described through the following statements? 1) equitable distribution of benefits; 2) appropriate and transparent management of public funds; and 3) free of corruption.

Survey responses from across all case study sites, for instance, indicate that whilst the majority of respondents indicate that CCCF projects are appropriately transparent in their management and generally not perceived as corrupt, both male and female respondents indicate less confidence regarding the equitable distributions of project impacts (Figure 8). Project objectives should therefore explicitly incorporate goals that address these dynamics, ensuring that resource-based interventions, such as water infrastructure, provide equal access for vulnerable groups, particularly women, and mitigate risks related to violence.

Recommendations: Embedding conflict monitoring into implementation processes for institutional learning and the development of risk mitigation strategies

o **Address structural drivers of conflict in project design:** Ensure that project proposals explicitly tackle structural issues that drive conflict, such as inequitable resource access and gender-based violence (GBV). Incorporate objectives that address these conflict dynamics, particularly in resource-based interventions, ensuring equitable access for vulnerable groups, especially women.

o **Foster a procurement environment that prioritizes local engagement:** Create procurement strategies that actively promote local engagement by prioritizing local contractors and suppliers. This approach can enhance community livelihoods and contribute to the sustainable development of local economies.

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Implementation processes recognize and prevent corruption and rent-seeking practices

The CCCF mechanism has established or aligned itself with robust frameworks to prevent corruption and rent-seeking behaviours, particularly in procurement processes at the county and local levels. Procurement processes are, for instance, in line with the national Procurement and Asset Disposals and Public Financial Management Act, as well as county-level procurement regulations, and ensure an appropriate disaggregation of responsibilities amongst multiple actors to minimize the risk of misappropriation and wrongdoing.

Procurement plans and high-level budgets are, for instance, first developed by ward planning committees and CCCF sub-agents as part of the broader proposal development process. Specifically, upon initial submission of the proposal idea, ward planning committees and sub-agents are assigned a specific technical advisor by the relevant county directorate to further assist in the development of the project implementation plan and budget, particularly by producing an accurate bill of quantities and thereby helping to estimate the cost of the project in question. Projects undergo rigorous approval by CCCPCs before moving to tendering, where competitive bidding processes and strict rules around tender box usage minimize the chance of manipulation. Following the tender process, payments are released and strictly monitored by the county Fund Administrator, with service provider performance closely overseen by the ward planning committee and sub-agent[14]. In some cases, local committees have successfully negotiated with contractors to ensure compliance with contract terms.

Transparency efforts are moreover embedded throughout this the process, with the 'Minutes Journal' documenting community consultations, tender evaluations, and implementation meetings, all accessible to the public. Additional accountability measures include public radio broadcasts and community meetings (barazas), whilst a formal complaints procedure allows stakeholders to challenge unethical conduct. Such mechanisms similarly promote accountability and transparency throughout CCCF operations, thereby disincentivizing rent-seeking behaviour and allowing beneficiaries to hold officials to account. Beneficiary perceptions around transparency and the absence of corruption are, tellingly, very positive (Figure 8).

Policy Review

Limited Monitoring and Evaluation processes exclude conflict and peace outcomes

The CCCF developed a robust monitoring and evaluation (M&E) framework designed to capture conflict dynamics and incorporate community-driven insights. This framework offers detailed guidance for integrating M&E systems into local and national planning or evaluating specific interventions. It also creates opportunities for identifying conflict as a key issue during monitoring due to its participatory design.

However, evidence suggests that the framework has not been implemented beyond CCCF's pilot phases. Current M&E practices are limited to the early project stages, focusing on procurement quality, initial operational metrics, and financial accountability. Project management committees document investment usage and financial flows, but there is no systematic tracking of the socio-economic, political, or environmental impacts of CCCF projects.

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14   County Government of Isiolo (2014). Isiolo County Adaptation Fund: Procedure Manual. https://admin.adaconsortium.org/storage/uploads//2024/10/29/iied1012_Isiolo-County-Adaptaton-Fund-Procedure1_uid_67209f8c79131.pdf.

This opportunity is critical given communities' nuanced understanding of the broader impacts of CCCF investments. Their insights are not systematically documented, reducing the potential for evidence-based decision-making. Current M&E processes prioritize user statistics over indicators such as access to resources, demographic participation, income distribution, or the impacts on conflict, peace, and social cohesion. Integrating these metrics could reveal structural inequalities and strengthen grievance mechanisms to address disparities effectively.

County governments further exacerbate this challenge by neglecting the documentation of long-term project impacts. Monitoring efforts remain focused on technical implementation aspects, neglecting critical social outcomes, including the potential influence of investments on conflict or peacebuilding.

This represents a missed opportunity to enhance the conflict-sensitivity of climate adaptation investments. A more comprehensive M&E system, capturing socio-political dynamics, could improve project design, inform future programming, and support broader peacebuilding and resilience objectives. Expanding conventional reporting to include structural inequality and conflict-sensitive indicators is vital for leveraging CCCF investments to foster sustainable adaptation and peace outcomes.

Recommendations: Mainstreaming conflict sensitivity in the CCCF's monitoring and evaluation framework

- **Enhance county government support for M&E documentation:** Advocate for county governments to provide more support for generating and documenting the long-term impacts and outcomes of CCCF projects. This includes prioritizing the monitoring of social dynamics, such as conflict and peace outcomes.

- **Expand M&E efforts beyond initial implementation:** Shift the focus of M&E efforts from only the early stages of project implementation to include long-term impacts of CCCF projects. This includes assessing socio-economic, political, and environmental outcomes, rather than just procurement quality standards and initial operations. For this, it is necessary to establish mechanisms to systematically document and leverage the rich understanding that community members have regarding the broader impacts of CCCF investments.

- **Incentivise reporting indicators related to equitable distribution of benefits from CCCF projects:** Expand conventional reporting metrics to include indicators that focus on structural inequalities, such as access to resources, demographic participation levels, and income distribution within communities. This will provide a more nuanced understanding of how adaptation efforts affect different groups, particularly marginalized or vulnerable populations.

- **Incentivise conflict-related indicators in project proposals:** Encourage the systematic capture of socio-political impacts of CCCF investments, including their influence on conflict and contributions to peacebuilding. This information can inform more conflict-sensitive project designs and support broader peacebuilding and resilience objectives, ultimately enhancing the effectiveness of climate adaptation efforts. In this regard, there is an opportunity to integrate grievance processes with the M&E system to enhance the capacity to identify and address structural inequalities and conflicts arising from CCCF projects.

Monitoring and evaluation mechanisms ensure accountability to local populations and provide opportunities for community feedback

The establishment of grievance and complaints mechanisms across multiple operational levels within the CCCF framework offers community members structured channels to express concerns, lodge criticisms, and seek redress. These mechanisms enable community members to voice issues at local, regional, and program-wide scales, enhancing transparency and accountability within the CCCF's operations. By providing pathways for judicial recourse and formal complaint resolution, the CCCF not only supports the equitable handling of grievances but also builds trust with local communities, fostering a collaborative environment that is essential for sustainable and inclusive development.

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Annex 1. Definitions of criteria and indicators

Dimension	Policy phase	ID	Criterion/Indicator	Indicator type	Definition
Multilevel governance	Agenda setting and formulation	1	Adaptation and security actors collaborate in strategic planning		There is evidence of cross-sectorial engagement between policy sectors related to adaptation and security during strategic planning processes at multiple levels of governance.
		1.1	Cross-policy sector engagement includes security actors	de-facto	Peace and security actors actively participate in planning processes for the policy instrument at multiple levels of governance
		1.2	Presence of cross-policy sector engagement mechanisms to include security actors	de-jure	There is evidence of governance mechanisms facilitating engagement among stakeholders across policy sectors related to adaptation and conflict, such as by climate and security mandate(s) being allocated within the same department or cross-sectorial coordinating mechanisms like steering groups.
		2	Coordination and devolution across levels of governance fosters self-organisation		There is evidence of institutional structures facilitating multi-stakeholder integration across levels of governance, and of mechanisms to facilitate local self-organization during planning and prioritization of adaptation measures.
		2.1	Actors at multiple levels of governance engage, including conflict mandates	de-jure	Actors representing multiple levels of governance, including those with peace and security mandates, are involved and engaged in planning processes for the policy instrument.
		2.2	Investments in bottom-up organization and decision-making	de-facto	Explicit investments are made to ensure that bottom-up organisational dynamics are permitted and able to emerge (capacities, information provision, mandates, etc.)
		2.3	Mechanism to empower local and customary decision-making bodies are effectively used	de-facto	Local and customary decision-making bodies in practice operate in an autonomous manner and are capable of influencing higher levels of governance.
		2.4	Presence of mechanisms to empower local and customary decision-making bodies	de-jure	Local and customary decision-making bodies are formally empowered to operate without higher level interference.
		3	Policy actors recognize the need to include peace and security as policy issues of concern within the scope of adaptation planning		Framings of the policy instrument, as detailed in policy documents, feature the need to integrate conflict and peace considerations in the scope of adaptation planning.
		3.1	Proceedings and public communications include conflict	de-jure	Workshop procedures, public communications, press notes and other communications resulting from planning process feature the need to integrate conflict and peace within the governance scope of the adaptation policy instrument
		4	Planning extends beyond political boundaries, considering complex social and ecological dynamics at landscape levels		Analytical approaches and tools accompanying the prioritization and design of adaptation interventions should be grounded in systems thinking, thereby recognising non-linearity, emergent behaviour, and feedback loops amongst different system components, including those connected to peace and security dynamics, extending their focus beyond politico-administrative boundaries
		4.1	Cross-boundary planning mechanisms include conflict	de-facto	Mechanisms for cross-border coordination are functional and influence decision-making. Extant mechanisms produce concrete and actionable outputs, such as action plans, timelines, specific funding allocations, personnel assignments, etc.
		4.2	Cross-boundary planning mechanisms include conflict	de-jure	The policy instrument explicitly includes mechanisms to facilitate engagement between decision-making units across national and international administrative boundaries. For example, 'conflict systems' may be identified as conceptual spaces bound together by common sets of drivers, rather than based on a specific geographic domain or boundary, in order to account for cross-border/cross-boundary dynamics

Dimension	Policy phase	ID	Criterion/Indicator	Indicator type	Definition
Multilevel governance (continued)	Implementation	5	Overlap of roles between stakeholders creates synergies for adaptation and peacebuilding goals		Overlapping functions between multiple centres of decision-making and a variety of stakeholders lead to synergies and co-benefits between the adaptation and peacebuilding sectors.
		5.1	Overlapping functions in implementation allow for resilience and peace synergies	de-facto	Diverse stakeholders representing overlapping functions of adaptation and peace-building actively contribute to implementation efforts, thus generating effective redundancy
		5.2	Overlapping functions in implementation allow for resilience and peace synergies	de-jure	Institutional arrangements and workflows of implementation engage actors and stakeholders whose mandates, operational foci, and capacities allow for the generation of synergies and co-benefits for climate adaptation and peace-building
		6	Policy strengthens or creates collective action institutions for local capacities to manage conflict risks.		The implementation of adaptation action strategies strengthens or creates collective action institutions with the expressed purpose of addressing risks of conflict. Collective action institutions are strengthened or created through locally suitable strategies that relate to people's priorities, needs and experiences of conflict threats.
		6.1	Operation of collective action institutions is sustainable in time	de-facto	Collective action institutions created or strengthened through the policy mechanism continue to be active in and influencing decision-making processes at local levels after the investment
		6.2	Investments in collective action institutions	de-jure	Investments are made in creating and sustaining over time, mechanisms where diverse local stakeholders are able to participate in collective action for adaptation governance and planning, conflict resolution, and where collaborative capacities are fostered.
	Review	7	Monitoring and evaluation (M&E) frameworks focus on conflict and peacebuiding outcomes.		Monitoring and evaluation frameworks encompass indicators focused on conflict and peacebuilding outcomes and involve the cross-sectorial engagement of key stakeholders across adaptation and peacebuilding policy sectors.
		7.1	M&E design and implementation engages across policy sectors	de-facto	The design, development, and implementation of the monitoring and evaluation frameworks engage a variety of actors and stakeholders across the policy sectors related to adaptation and peacebuilding
		7.2	M&E include peace and conflict indicators	de-jure	Monitoring and evaluation frameworks include both resilience and peacebuilding indicators.
		8	M&E processes ensure transparency and accountability to local citizens		The policy instrument ensures transparency and accountability to citizens involved in and affected by implementation.
		8.1	M&E facilitates bottom-up feedback	de-facto	The monitoring and evaluation process is designed to enable multidirectional feedback between citizens/local actors and decision-makers.
		8.2	M&E outcomes have consequences	de-jure	The outcomes of the monitoring and evaluation process have operational consequences to the policy mechanism
		8.3	M&E measures local priorities and perceptions	de-jure	Monitoring and evaluation frameworks include measures of success that defined and prioritized by, or through engagement with, populations affected by the policy instrument

Dimension	Policy phase	ID	Criterion/Indicator	Indicator type	Definition
Adaptive governance	Agenda setting and formulation	9	Vulnerability and resilience assessments encompass conflict dynamics.		Agenda setting across multiple governance levels is guided by assessments of complex functioning of social-ecological systems and risks that emerge from it, including dynamics of conflict.
		9.1	Procedures for SES analysis with conflict focus	de-jure	The policy instrument contains procedures around conducting ex-ante assessments that are capable of capturing complex, multi-dimensional, and multi-scalar risks that span across conventional socio-ecological boundaries, including issues of conflict and violence. This is best done by making use of analyses based on socio-ecological and intersectional systems thinking and that invites consideration around non-linearity, emergent behaviour, feedback loops, etc. to identify clear leverage points within socio-ecological systems to construct just resilience.
		9.2	Procedures for vulnerability and resilience analyses that include a peace and conflict focus guide decision making	de-facto	Resilience and vulnerability assessment procedures guide adaptation priorities that account for long-term resilience building while addressing immediate humanitarian needs in fragile and context-affected settings.
		10	Implementation increases institutional capacities to generate and make available information related to conflict.		The policy instrument increases institutional capacities for the generation, availability, and effective sharing of information relevant to conflict dynamics in the context of climate adaptation.
		10.1	Mechanisms for knowledge and information exchange have iteratively integrated conflict in decisions	de-facto	There is evidence that processes of knowledge and information exchange have fostered the iterative integration of conflict as an issue of concern for the policy instrument
		10.2	Mechanisms for learning and knowledge exchange on conflict dynamics are operational	de-facto	Knowledge and information exchange on conflict dynamics is taking place between stakeholders across multiple levels and sectors of governance in the context of adaptation action
		10.3	Mechanisms for learning and knowledge exchange on conflict dynamics	de-jure	The policy instrument includes formal mechanisms to foster the generation of information, learning and knowledge exchange on conflict dynamics and their relevance to climate adaptation between stakeholders across multiple levels and sectors of governance
		11	Implementation increases institutional capacities to interpret and use information related to conflict.		The policy instrument increases institutional capacities to interpret and respond to generated information on conflict dynamics in a manner that facilitates operational changes within the policy instrument
		11.1	Planning processes include spaces to reflect on past experiences including conflict dynamics	de-facto	The agenda setting process considers and is responsive to monitoring and evaluation outcomes related to conflict performed as part of the policy cycle
		11.2	Presence of mechanism to reflect on past experiences including conflict dynamics	de-jure	There are procedural steps as part of the agenda setting process that acts as a reflexive mechanism to ensure that it is based on past experiences of policy implementation. This steps includes considerations of conflict dynamics as affected by the policy instrument.
		11.3	Presence of key thresholds related to conflict	de-jure	Policy documents and manuals and guides prescribe the identification of key thresholds related to conflict dynamics that when breached should trigger a set of contingency activities or alternative policy pathways.

Dimension	Policy phase	ID	Criterion/Indicator	Indicator type	Definition
Adaptive governance (continued)	Implementation	12	Flexible and risk-tolerant financing structures target conflict-affected areas in a continuous basis.		The policy instrument incorporates flexible and risk-tolerant financing structures that target conflict-affected settings, continue under the outbreak of conflict, and include mechanisms to cope with the governance challenges posed by conflict.
		12.1	Flexible financial disbursement mechanisms and funding cycles are designed to be consistent, ease experimentation and coping with uncertainty	de-facto	Financial disbursement mechanisms and funding cycles are consistent, risk tolerant and enable experimentation and 'trial and error' as opposed to acting as overly rigid reporting structures
		12.2	Flexible financial disbursement mechanisms and funding cycles ease experimentation and coping with uncertainty	de-jure	Financial disbursement mechanisms and funding cycles are flexible to cope with the inherent uncertainty that operating within complex socio-ecological systems brings with it, especially in the face of conflict threats
		13	Planned actions are assessed for unintended consequences over conflict, both positive and negative.		Implementation strategies are guided by an impact assessment looking at how could project activities unintentionally contribute to existing or future conflict dynamics, including over increasing climate change
		13.1	Implementation in practice follows do-no-harm and peace-positive impact assessments	de-facto	Processes of implementation, guided by assessments of unintended consequences, in practice comply with delineated strategies in line with "do-no-harm" and peace-positive principles
		13.2	Implementation includes a do no harm impact assessment	de-jure	The different stages of the implementation process (logistics, construction, personnel) account for potential unintended consequences over conflict threats as outlined in the ex-ante assessment of conflict actors, dynamics, and causes.
		13.3	Implementation includes a peace positive impact assessment	de-jure	The stages of the implementation process are advised by a pro-peace analysis looking at potential strategies for policy implementation to contribute to peace
		14	Policy experiences are used to strengthen wider governance systems for peace.		Experiences on policy implementation are documented and capitalized upon to account for, aligning with and strengthen wider governance systems for peacebuilding or conflict prevention and resolution at sub-national and national levels.
		14.1	Conflict-adaptation interactions are shared in wider governance systems	de-facto	There is evidence of previous experiences on the interactions between policy implementation and conflict dynamics being shared in wider governance systems for adaptation and peacebuilding at national and sub-national levels, such as through multi-stakeholder platforms
		14.2	Documentation of interactions between policy instrument and conflict	de-jure	There is evidence of previous experiences on the interactions between policy implementation and conflict dynamics being documented
	Review	15	Frequent monitoring of policy effects on conflict dynamics, including worsening conflict and peacebuilding.		Implementation processes regularly engage in information generation, feedback, and interpretation of information to monitor potential spill over effects over conflict dynamics, including inadvertently exacerbating conflict and contributing to peace.
		15.1	Implementation and M&E process generate and interpret information about peace and conflicts	de-jure	Implementation processes contain capacities, protocols such as thresholds and contingency plans, and budgets for the generation and reflexive interpretation of data and information on peace and conflict dynamics
		15.2	Implementation is periodically reviewed in the light of peace and conflict	de-facto	Activities are periodically reviewed in the light of 1) changing conflict dynamics to assess the potential impact of existing conflict over implementation; 2) how implementation processes affect peace and conflict dynamics

Dimension	Policy phase	ID	Criterion/Indicator	Indicator type	Definition
Representative governance	Agenda setting and formulation	16	Structural inequalities driving vulnerability and conflict are recognized within the scope of action.		Agenda setting across multiple governance levels allows for structural inequalities acting as drivers of vulnerability and conflict to emerge as issues of concern and priorities of action
		16.1	Adaptation priorities in the policy mechanism challenge structural inequalities	de-facto	Identified priorities for adaptation action actively challenge existing structural inequalities
		16.2	Localized vulnerability assessments include conflict and structural inequalities	de-facto	Agenda setting processes act as arenas for the discussion of identified structural inequalities acting as drivers of vulnerability and conflict
		16.3	Existence of instruments to conduct vulnerability assessments that include conflict and structural inequalities	de-jure	The policy instrument relies on conducting localized vulnerability assessments that include components of conflict analysis and structural inequalities acting as drivers of vulnerability and conflict.
		17	Social groups affected by structural inequalities and overlapping risks, including conflict risks, influence decisions for adaptation.		Horizontal and vertical engagement processes for agenda setting facilitate the inclusion of social groups that are affected by structural inequality and an intersectionality of risks, including those related to conflict
		17.1	Marginal actors are effectively engaged in planning process	de-facto	Groups that are affected by intersectional risks and inequalities are effectively engaged in planning processes across multiple levels of governance
		17.2	Presence of mechanisms and investments for the engagement of marginal actors in planning process	de-jure	Explicit investments are included in the policy design to ensure that a variety of groups affected by intersectional risks and inequalities across multiple levels of governance have access to information, knowledge, and decision-making processes
		17.3	Stakeholder mapping process is spart of agenda setting	de-jure	Stakeholder mapping processes are in place to identify groups that are affected by intersectional risks and inequalities across multiple levels of governance
	Implementation	18	Implementation strategies intend to enhance relationships, including between groups holding grievances.		The implementation process is structured to enhance the quality of relationships within stakeholder groups and between them and their supportive networks
		18.1	Implementation consciously seeks to enhance relations and trust	de-facto	Implementation processes are advised by a comprehensive understanding of societal relations among a diversity of stakeholders affected by the project, and include the explicit goal of enhancing the quality of these relationships (intersections of state-society, gender dynamics, social classes, conflict parties, traditional authorities, local elites, user groups)
		19	Implementation encourages the negotiation and challenging of structural inequalities.		Implementation processes actively tackle structural inequalities and encourages community institutions to negotiate, challenge, and clarify structural inequality
		19.1	Implementation challenges structural inequality	de-facto	Implementation processes and decisions deliberately challenge and tackle structural inequality as identified in ex-ante assessments (e.g. tenure rights, horizontal inequalities, gender inequality), through both outcome oriented and procedural actions (recruitment, procurement, etc.)
		20	Implementation prevents and challenges corruption as a source of conflict and vulnerability.		Policy implementation processes recognise and address the role of corruption and rent-seeking practices in reinforcing structural inequalities, conflict, and vulnerabilities to climate effects
		20.1	Policy implementation in practice deploys institutional controls to prevent corruption and rent-seeking practices	de-facto	The institutional controls and transparency measures are actually operationalised in practice
		20.2	Institutional controls to prevent corruption deployed by the policy are perceived as legitimate	de-facto	Operational institutional controls are legitimate and deemed efficient as perceived by stakeholders
		20.3	Policy design incorporates institutional controls to prevent corruption and rent-seeking practices	de-jure	The implementation process contains specific institutional controls and transparency measures to prevent rent-seeking practices in the form of corruption, nepotism, and clientism / undue influence of political elites

Dimension	Policy phase	ID	Criterion/Indicator	Indicator type	Definition
Representative governance (continued)	Review	21	Community members participate in and influence M&E processes.		Members of communities affected by the adaptation policy have an active role in and the agency to shape the design and deployment of monitoring and evaluation processes and frameworks.
		21.1	M&E processes are conducted and information shared effectively with communities	de-facto	Information is produced with and shared in ways that local communities are able to understand, and not be limited to reporting templates to donors/funders, to maximise community involvement and capacity for feedback.
		21.2	Community members influence indicators	de-jure	There is evidence that priorities defined through community-led participatory processes for resilience and peace are incorporated as indicators in M&E frameworks
		22	M&E considers structural inequalities and overlapping risks acting as causes of conflict and vulnerability.		M&E frameworks account for structural inequalities and intersectional experiences of social-ecological vulnerabilities, including those related to conflict dynamics
		22.1	M&E framework includes indicators on structural inequalities	de-jure	Indicator composition in M&E frameworks includes key dimensions of structural inequalities and intersectional vulnerability (such as resource tenure security and gender inequality) as experienced along gender, age, ethnic, and demographic groups.