

Gender Gaps in African Security Architecture and Implications on Security Preparedness: Focus on Kenya

By

Dr. Linnet Hamasi, PhD

Kenyatta University, Kenya

Department of Conflict Peace and Strategic Studies

E-mail: neddylinnet@gmail.com

Cell: +254-729-758-193

Abstract

The purpose of this study was to identify and illuminate gender gaps on how security organizations, agencies and state institutions are organized and composed with regard to men and women. The aim was to isolate the gaps in order to create mitigating interventions in political, social and cultural realms that seem to influence arrangements in security architecture. Increasingly, major economic players and investors who are mostly men are getting interested in security issues. Due to this security dynamic women are increasingly getting marginalized in matters of security to the extent that many security bodies do not have female representatives or avenues for collecting information from both women and men. The danger and is that Kenya and other African countries are ignoring fifty percent of information on security which is owned by women. Security experts as well as theories on peace and security emphasize holistic approach to security issues in which both genders are considered. Efforts in which women are peripheralized are incomplete and at the same time replete or full of missing gaps in the gendered spaces. This study will provide opportunity for us to learn about the missing links in war against terror, counter terrorism, knowledge on how to address other threats in African security architecture and the need to develop an early warning system. Some of the areas that this study will illuminate are the informal and non-formal spaces that have the potential to impact negatively on security. My contention is that we need to incorporate all voices in discussing and articulating about security. Using Gayatri Spivak's subaltern prism, the study shall argue that gender inclusion is the key to sustainable peace and security. The study used mixed methods approach which will allow for the use of Focused Group Discussion, observations, case studies and personal histories to arrive at more comprehensive findings than traditional research. The study demonstrated that there has been evidence of gaps that emerge in terror attacks in which women may have known about potential attacks and attackers but there is a lack avenue for accessing this information because women are found in the marginalized and ignored spaces. To what extent are women involved in information gathering compared to men? Do security agencies in Kenya have access to all spaces that matter such as the public and the private spaces? How inclusive is intelligence gathering, early warning and information use in Kenya's security architecture? These are among the questions that this study attempted to address.

Key Words: Gender, Security Architecture, Early Warning System, Interventions, Spaces

Introduction

Many studies on security studies in Africa tend to miss the gender dimension in analyzing security architecture on the continent. The aim of this article is to isolate the gaps in order to create mitigating interventions in political, social and cultural realms that seem to influence arrangements in security architecture. In the political realm the positions are often dominated by men through patronage, ethnicity and other forms of selection that always create disadvantage for women. The political structures are often not subjected to external competition but done through internal recruitment in which loyalty is often rewarded at the expense of merit, experience and qualification. Those recruited in the security sector are often put there in order to protect the status quo. Political party and the ruling class merge their interest in order to keep others outside creating a tightly neat group of lumpen politicians. Claude Ake has argued that in many African countries elites often gang up to protect their interests across ethnic lines and masterminding and controlling security apparatus becomes part of the game¹. These are the issues that this paper will be discussing using examples from many parts of Africa.

In the social arena, social recruitment in many countries takes place through schooling. The rich take their children to special academies and elite schools in Africa. In these rich schools they create bonds which last for a life time. They begin to bond and set themselves to succeed their rich parents. They look after each other in order to cement this elite collaboration leading to the creation of the comprador bourgeoisie which begins at a very early age. The focus is often how to ensure continuity in control of the social landscape for self-perpetuation or succession. The control of security apparatus becomes the means through which the elite seek to control affairs of the state. Promotions in the military and security forces depend on these bonds. In all these, women are left out as they become boys clubs. According to Owino Okech the whole idea of boys' clubs is perpetuated by various actors in the community such as patriarchs, states, militaries, vigilante groups who at different moments, have monopoly over violence as sanctioned by societal norms and enabled by physical power, guns, financial resources and even state machinery². Using examples from Kenya this article will show how the military, police and other areas become almost family enterprises but dominated by men where for example General (Rtd) Jackson Kimeu was

¹ Claude Ake, 1996: 57-79

² Owino Okech, 2016: 32-45

the chief of Kenya's defence force and then his son Lt. Gen. James Mulinge also grew to become a general but not his daughter.

In the cultural sphere, African societies have often taken security from the hands of women as they regard them as weak. The Security architecture in Africa is therefore state centered and focuses on the protection of state borders from external threats, or the protection of state authority. Security is thus viewed as the absence of a threat of violent conflict.³This approach allows states to monopolize the use of force and limit the participation of women in the development of security strategies. This approach has been borrowed from the traditional societies where the warrior groups were used to protect societies and these were made up of men and young boys. Male age sets played a major role in the recruitment to these warrior groups. Men were recruited during circumcision rituals during which women were often excluded. The cultural exclusion in many communities in Africa permeates the formal military set up. The military and security formations seem to replicate the cultural male hegemony in the control of security⁴. So that in many African countries such as Kenya they have not attained the status of a female general due to this cultural conditioned set up. The important role that culture plays in conditioning the behavior of security architecture cannot be therefore ignored. The tendency is to mimic the cultural set ups in the military formations where patronage and discrimination based on gender appear to play an important role.

Other areas also play out in this hegemonic male militarization structures including economic, environmental and others. We need to understand the causes of differentiation and the prevalence of gender gaps in security in Africa. Hamasi argues that since women constitute over fifty percent of the population, there is need to interrogate why women are often ignored in the security architecture yet they have the potential to play a very important role in societal stability⁵. There is evidence to suggest that women play a very important role in providing security, they are the guardian of the homes, they provide intelligence, they are the first in protecting families and so no security architecture can succeed without involving them.

Of importance to this paper is that major economic players and investors who are mostly men are getting increasingly interested in security issues. Due to this security dynamic women are

³ Nzomo, Maria, Women, 1988: 139-146

⁴ Amutabi Maurice, 2012:67-75

⁵ Hamasi Linnet, 2016: 54-63

increasingly getting marginalized in matters of security to the extent that many security bodies do not have female representatives or avenues for collecting information from both women and men. This article will examine the gender gaps in security architect in Africa focusing on four areas. First, it will examine why women are often excluded from the political arena through which many decisions are made and which determine the development in security architecture. Second it will look at how social institutions especially through training and other forms of learning create notions and traits that usually lead to the exclusion in security arrangements later in life. Third, it will demonstrate that cultural hegemonic structures which are dominated by men often influence the formal security structures in Africa in which old notions that privilege men as protectors of society still dominate⁶. Fourth the article will demonstrate that there are many other factors related to economics, environments and other miscellaneous factors that shape and create differences, segmentation and privileging in the security architecture in Africa in which women are often excluded. The article provides a conclusion and way forward in which I argue that before Africa addresses the gender gaps in security architecture it will continue to miss out on the great potential inherent in women's participation in the security matters on the continent. There is need for holistic engagement of all stakeholders in management of security where all are seen as equal partners in the management of the efforts of the state. The article will demonstrate that the gaps in African security architecture are by and large cultural and stake holders must begin to deconstruct and unmake them in order to create parity in how affairs of the continent are managed.

African Security architecture

Many African militaries are colonial in the architecture and orientation. They have traditions that are very western. Western militaries and security architecture did not have women for a long time so that we do not see women in the campaigns of the European Conquers such as Napoleon and Bismack. Women only enter as nurses during the First World War meaning that this exclusion of women in the security is not just African but universal. The African militaries received advanced training at Sundhurst in the United Kingdom and other military academies such as West Point in the USA⁶. This western influence affected the orientation of the security architecture in ways that remain real and present today. The first cohort of these militaries was largely the product

⁶ Hendricks C, & Sigsworth (Eds) , 2016: 130-156

of European imaginations and intentions on the continent. They recruited based on loyalty considerations. Due to this, they segregated some parts of countries having identified some groups as more loyal than others, while others were created with the notion that they were good in the military than others⁷. In Rwanda, the Tutsi were tall and also regarded as loyal in the European mindset and they were privileged in the rise in the military. In Uganda Europeans regarded the northerners as the marshal ethnic groups because of their tall imposing frames which they could use to control the people. The military ranks were dominated by the Langi, Teso, Acholi, Kakwa and other northern Tribes. The Baganda, Banyoro among others were identified for civil service roles. Such considerations led to the rise of General Iddi Amin Dada to the apex of Ugandan Military. Similar considerations were also done in Nigeria by the British where the rise of Hausa Fulani in the military was assured because of their loyalty to the British rule. The large number of Hausa Fulani Generals at independence in Nigeria was occasioned by this colonial arrangement. So that Generals such as Murtala Muhamed, Ibrahim Babangida, Sani Abacha and many other northern generals was deliberately intentional and explains why the Nigerian state became captive to this northern “Khaki Boys” in Nigeria’s political dispensation⁷. What one will note about these examples is the absence of women in the high ranks of Africa militaries and security architecture where the high ranks in security were by and large a preserve of men to the extent that many African security agencies do not have women at their helm.

African security architecture requires reforms and reorganization which should pay attention to the existing gender gaps. Many of the security formations segregate against women taking advantage of their physical conditions to peripherise them. Female recruits who are expectant were in the past expelled from the military yet the norm elsewhere should be taking medical leave and report back after giving birth. The same was present for example in Kenya until 2010, where serving female officers were not supposed to conceive and this limited the rise of women to top ranks because commissioned female officers took early retirements to go and make families while their male counter parts remained even as they made families⁸. The aftermath was female careers cut short despite strong merit at the expense of some of their weak male

⁷ Hellen Bradford, Vol.31, No.3, 1996: 351-370

⁸ Republic of Kenya, 2010

counterparts. Today many militaries are modernizing in Africa and reducing the gender gaps by allowing merit as the main standard in recruitment but not enough is being done.

Recruitment criteria often involve very conservative colonial standards such as height, weight and level of education that often excludes women who often stand at less than 5.2 feet and are left with no option but to look elsewhere. It is this colonial mindset that is opening up opportunities for girls to join the ranks of radical groups such as Al Shabaab and Boko Haram as fighters⁹. They have joined these groups largely as a result of being excluded from the main stream military and they find open arms who welcome them without conditions. The gaps left by the recruiters open up opportunities for the rebel groups who have taken advantage of these lapses to recruit women to advance their causes which are affecting the African security arrangement. The security architecture in Africa is also complicated because of the patriarchal tendencies affecting promotions in the military¹⁰. Many security agencies in Africa are headed by men just like many national leaders are men. Women cannot therefore hope to rise to senior positions in these militaries because they are discriminated against in promotions. Some often get demoralized and depart for other ventures because of marginalization.

The colonial set up based on ethnic considerations is also present in some of the armies in Africa where there is evidence suggesting that some groups are still privileged in African militaries based on ethnic orientations. In Nigeria women who have risen in militaries are often northerners. In some African countries the ethnic group from which the president comes from often dominates in the number of women serving in security. For example in Kenya there are many Kikuyu and Kalenjin women in security agencies¹¹. In Malawi we have many Chewa women as senior in the military and similarly in Uganda we have many women from Western Uganda enjoying high ranks. The trend projects itself in almost all security apparatus in Africa to the extent that ethnicity plays a major role in shaping the development of security architecture in Africa. The prevalence of few generals in African militaries is a confirmation of this reality. One of the remarkable change that is likely to take place in Africa under the democratic dispensation is rapid embracing of equity and egalitarianism within security services¹². The security agencies are becoming more knowledge-

⁹ Hamasi Linnet, 2017b: 103-117

¹⁰ Hodgson, M. Dorothy L, & Sheryl A, 2001: 89-103

¹¹ Mama A., 1997: 19-34

¹² Molefi Kete Asante, 2015: 50-57

based than physical- based that was prevalent in the past. There is more emphasis on skills and technology rather than physical imposition as was the case in the past. Militaries are recruiting people based on education rather than sheer physique and ethnicity.

The understanding today is that much of the security build up in Africa will be based on level of education, knowledge and skill acquisition than on height and physical status. There is evidence to suggest that although ethnicity will remain a factor it will cease to be the dominant consideration in promotions and the hope is that women will be considered in these emerging structures based on merit. The danger and the threat is that Kenya and other African countries are ignoring fifty percent of information on security which is owned by women. Security experts as well as theories on peace and security emphasize holistic approach to security issues in which both genders are considered. This is missing in the African security architecture.

Peripherilization of Women

In the western world women were excluded from certain tasks in the military such as the navy and air force. The belief in the American army was that women could not stay at sea for long. Today this has changed and women have become successful marines as well as air force and they have participated in the Afghanistan and Iraq conflict just like their male counterparts. Israel and American armies have demonstrated that women are good just like men and they have joined the commando squads successfully and done a very good job thus demystifying the notion that women cannot be successful in the military¹³. The understanding is that today these examples have inspired many African security agencies to understand that women are as competent as men. Many have joined militaries and are proving to be good at it. Unfortunately for African security architectures, the security agencies enjoy such high patronage in the political class that decide who rises and who does not. This has played a major role in undermining the position of women by the assumed ethnic allegiance because they may be married in groups outside their ethnic groups or suspected to have mixed allegiance.

Elinami helps us to understand the cultural indication of the position and role of women in security as being weak and in need of protection.¹⁴ Amadiume thus reiterates the fact that the

¹³ Mbilinyi B.S. Tumbo, H. Maho, E. Senkondo and N. Hatibu, 2005: 792-98

¹⁴ Swai E.V., 2010: 98-106

upshot of this prism of looking at women therefore allows security agencies to use culture and colonial history to undermine women¹⁵. We observe that this dual marginalization together with hard to die perceptions of the belief that women cannot be successful in the military plays out negatively against women. The danger with these stereotypes will continue to undermine the rise of women while at the same time promoting the rise of radical groups who will continue to receive these women who are left out from the mainstream security arrangement in Africa. On hopes that as African security forces get enlightened and merit rather than gender begin to play an important role in promotions, women will rise and occupy their rightful place in Africa's security architecture.

Efforts of peripheralization of women in security agencies in Africa are incomplete and at the same time replete or full of missing gaps in the gendered spaces. The research on Radicalization of Women and Girls in Kenya and implications for Peace and Security has revealed that mainstream policy makers and decision makers miss important information on many threats to security by ignoring this important gender dynamic.⁹ This study has provided an opportunity for us to learn about the missing links in war against terror, counter terrorism, knowledge on how to address other threats in African security architecture and the need to develop an early warning system. Some of the areas that this study will illuminate are the informal and non-formal spaces that have the potential to impact negatively on security. My contention is that we need to incorporate all voices in discussing and articulating about security.

Theoretical impetus

The article draws impetus from Gayatri Spivak's interpretation of gender dynamics in her article *Can the Subaltern Speak?*¹⁶ In other words it is informed by the notion that although women suffer dual and even triple marginalization, they are dynamic enough to defy such marginalization and silencing to claim their true positions in development discourses. Her argument is that there can be strength in silences and silences are not necessarily muted. That women can still be important actors in security matters with evolution of time. The advantage that Spivak brings to this study is best explained in cases where women have risen in the past to become important actors

¹⁵ Amadiume Ifi, 1987: 122-129

⁹ Hamasi Linnet, 2017b: 103-117

in development in cases where they have been marginalized. They have risen to become presidents and prime ministers¹⁷. The strength of women is further echoed by Amadiume's take in African society where women can still reclaim their spaces despite the heavy colonial hegemonic impositions. This can be quietly navigated as seen by African states electing women as presidents and prime ministers despite all odds¹⁶. This paper has argued that gender inclusion is the key to sustainable peace and security. Citing other gender scholars such as Ogundipe¹⁷ and Hamasi¹⁸ we can argue that women played important roles in previous African security arrangement. Women such as Field Marshal Wamboi Muthoni and Wamboi Otieno of the Mau Mau in Kenya and various liberation fighters in Zimbabwe, Mozambique, South Africa and Namibia rose to high levels in the military. The meaning of this is that the liberation struggle in Africa would not have been successful without strong role of female fighters. The role they played by women cannot be undermined and is confirmed by accounts of liberation heroes in the autobiographies of Muthoni Likimani, Wamboi Otieno among others¹⁹. Molefi demonstrates that the tremendous amount of courage and charisma displayed by these women goes further to demonstrate how resilient women have been in Africa.

New democratic institutions in Africa are opening new possibilities for the inclusion of women in the security architecture. There is new realization that women are some of the best intelligence collectors on the continent and if well utilized can provide an important missing link in security architecture in Africa. Today there is evidence to suggest that the modernization of African militaries will provide big impetus in women's inclusions in security systems in the continent²⁰. Many gender scholars on have been adamant on insisting on putting and inserting women in what has often appeared to be impossible situations both culturally and politically. According to the rise of female leaders on the African continent is a vindication of this strong hope and aspiration. The gender gaps in security apparatus in Africa will continue to be narrowed down and in further there is likely to be gender parity like we have seen in education where those enrolled

¹⁶ Spivack, G., 1988:74-75

¹⁷ Ogundipe- Leslie M., 1985: 28-36

¹⁸ Hamasi Linnet, 2017a: 323-33

¹⁹ Kanogo Tabitha,1993: 67-98

²⁰ Ranger, Terence, 1985,

in primary and secondary are the same and some university are also going towards parity in gender enrolment²¹. A good example is private universities in Kenya where we have more female students than male students.

Research Methodology

The study used mixed methods approach which allowed for the use of Questionnaires, Focused Group Discussions, Participant Observations, Case Studies and Personal Histories to arrive at more comprehensive findings than traditional research. The study was therefore highly qualitative as the data collected through in-depth interviews with key informants supplemented the desktop review of grey and academic literature. Open ended questions allowed the interview to elaborate on issues when needed in the general topic of interest for this study. A team of six (6) researchers led the data collection by travelling to different military formations together with the police service. Line ministries and departments such as the ministry of interior security were also visited. Sampled respondents from the police, army, navy and air force in Kenya were used in the study. In-depth interviews with key informants and Face to face discussions with women in military were also carried out. A total sample size of ninety (90) respondents was used in the study.

Findings

The study found out that there were several gender gaps in the security architecture in Kenya. The gaps include promotions criteria, rigid and low recruitment, cultural stereotypes, ethnic nature of politics, the problem of male patriarchy and the colonial legacy. The attractors by rebel or radical groups, lack of inclusion of women in security matters due to hard vs soft security politics were also cited as gaps. However, there were suggestions that skills and knowledge will replace physical might which is the domain of men. The findings concurred with the military trends where cultural hegemony has been central in marginalizing women. One serving military woman officer said;

I have colleagues whom we joined together in this military but because of patronage, they have raised to very high ranks unlike me. I am telling you I am better than some of them by far even if you look at my academic qualifications and theirs. In this base, women

²¹ UN Women, 2016: 11-23

despite their merit are allocated peripheral tasks like cleaning, carrying and serving food, washing unlike our male counterparts who are commanding battalions. Our male colleagues therefore get exposure and experience compared to us who are basically observers (Interview with Respondent A)

From these findings one can infer that the cultural stereotype of women being weak and requiring protection is still playing out in the security architecture. However this was disapproved when Kenya through the Kenya Defense Force (KDF) began to engage with the Al Shabaab terror group. There came a time when more resource was required in terms of fighting this radical group. To the amazement of the whole world women were given senior and ‘hard’ positions which included flying fighter jets and driving combat lorries. Women made headlines in the local and international media with some commentators viewing it as a space to show case the women’s competence while others feeling that the military commanders were risking the delicate lives of our women²².

The study found that the previous rules before the promulgation of the 2010 constitution played a major role in retrogressing women involvement and growth security in Kenya. Most competent women who could have risen to high position chose to opt for administrative jobs which could allow them to raise families. Many resigned and took up other jobs while others have since become house wives. In an FGD it was established that from the police service almost ten (10) women would leave in a year to go and raise a family. This however could not compare to the Army where at least five (5) women would leave every year given that there are fewer women in the army than in the police service.

Most female respondents cited sexual harassment and bribery which have almost been “institutionalized” by the security sector as a major hindrance to the recruitment and especially the growth of women. One respondent said;

In this military women are vulnerable. Sometimes to move from one rank to another, one is required to pay up to three hundred thousand (300,000KES) which most of us cannot afford due to our low ranks and the family responsibilities that we have. Men control most of the resources both here and at home and so they easily raise this kind of money and they are promoted. I am telling you the issue of buying positions in this sector is becoming unmanageable. Right now we have about five (5) colleagues who came in two (2) years after me but because they come from affluent families they have bought their way up and are now my bosses. I am

²² Amina Mama, 2000: 45-78

not sure that experience is any longer a factor in promotion (Interview, with Respondent B).

The quote above is in line with Mcurdy Hodgson who believes that women are disadvantaged in the society due to lack of access to resources. In African communities it is men who own important economic resources such as land and crops such as maize and animals such as cattle. As a result, they can easily dispose of these resources in exchange for positions like in the military. On the other hand women who are merely custodians of these resources do not have even collateral that can allow them to borrow from the commercial banks for the same reasons or other forms of development. Any woman who attempts to own or access these resources is “wicked”¹⁰. The explanation given in the above quote should lead us to understand why Kenya and East Africa in general has never produced a woman general despite as the security sector has remained a men’s club.

Face to Face discussions revealed the need for sexual bribes by men from women makes women even more vulnerable. Some of them even cited that they could not apply for the promotion because they feared to be asked for sexual favours. Worst of all some indicated that they were sexually harassed even while in their low positions. The most disturbing revelation is where some women cited that some of their colleagues had left the mainstream military and joined Al Shabaab and other radical formations because there they were not being sexually molested. However, the parents of some girls who had left to join the radical groups indicated that their daughters had tried to join the police and the army times and when this did not seem to work, they opted to join the radical groups. Exclusion by mainstream security architecture should therefore be blamed for the high number of women and girls joining the radical groups.

According to this study, there has been evidence of gaps that emerge in terror attacks in which women may have known about potential attacks and attackers but there is a lack avenue for accessing this information because women are found in the marginalized and ignored spaces. The study established that the security agencies missed a lot on lack of collecting evidence from women in their informal spaces and groups. Further it was found that in many cases men are engaged to a large extent in information collection than their women counter parts. The end result is that too much information is not collected as men tend to introduce masculinity and corruption which backfires and renders the whole process void. The findings of the study indicated that security agencies did not have access to all spaces that matter such as the public and the private spaces and

this limited the amount and quality of information that they collected. In Kenya it was established that there was limited inclusion in intelligence gathering, early warning and information use in Kenya's security architecture due to the traditional stereotype that women cannot be trusted with sensitive information²³.

¹⁰Hodgson, M. Dorothy L, & Sheryl A, 2001: 89-103

²³ Nasongo Shadrack, 2012: page 221-242

Conclusion

There is evidence suggesting that there are changes occurring in the Africa at large and in Kenya specifically. Women have been women are in cooperated in security committees in Kenya. The percentage of female recruits in the security architecture and in Kenya has gone up. The quota has been increased and this creates a lot of hope that there is ascendance of women in security forces. There is need for more research that will probe possible areas of inclusion of women and understand why there is a gap. There is need to interrogate the nexus between the rigid structure of recruitment and the departure to Al Shabaab, other terror groups and militias by women, men, girls and boys. Modernization and more education will help to remove culturally inclined stereotypes that have tended to undermine women in the African security architecture. There is hope that the modern state will begin to realize and appreciate the role that women are playing in informal spaces as partners in security matter so that they can create space for them in the formal arena.

Bibliography

Amadiume Ifi, *Male Daughters, Female husbands: Gender and Sex in African Society* (London and New Jersey: ZED Books Ltd, 1987)

Amina Mama, *Khaki in the family gender discourses and militarization in Nigeria*, (Accra North Ghana: Third World Network- Africa, 2000)

Amutabi Maurice. *Manhood, masculinity and Honor in Africa: Interrogating Patriarchy and Initiation among the Abaluhya of Western Kenya* in Falola T and Emily B (Eds), *Landscape, Environment and Technology in Colonial and Post-colonial Africa* (New York- London, Routledge publishers. 2012)

Claude Ake, *Democracy and Development in Africa*, (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1996)

Goran Hyden, *Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania: Underdevelopment and an Uncaptured Peasantry* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980)

Hellen Bradford. "Women, Gender and Colonization: Rethinking the History of the British Tape Colony and its Frontier Zones". *The journal of Africa history*. Vol.31, No.3, 1996

Hamasi Linnet, Special Gendered Spaces in Rural Western Kenya and how they shape Societal Development Discourses, in Amutabi Maurice(Ed), *Beyond Agency Voice and Space in Africa's Development* (Nairobi: CEDRED, 2017)

Hamasi Linnet, *Gender, Patriarchy and Power Dynamics in Nakhamuna Stories from Western Kenya: Implications for Female Agency, Voice and Space* (Nairobi: University Press of Africa, 2016)

Hamasi Linnet, Radicalization of Women and girls in Kenya and implications for security in Kenya, in Amutabi Maurice (Ed), *Africa in Global Development Discourses* (Nairobi: CEDRED, 2017b)

Hendricks C, & Sigsworth (Eds) , *Gender, Peace and Security in Africa*(London and New York, Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 2016)

Hodgson, M. Dorothy L, & Sheryl A, "Introduction" in "*Wicked*" *Women and the Reconfiguration of gender in Africa*, (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2001)

Kanogo Tabitha, *Squatters and the Roots of Mau Mau*, (London: James Currey, 1993)

Mbilinyi B.S. Tumbo, H. Maho, E. Senkondo and N. Hatibu. (Indigenous Knowledge as decision support tool in rainwater harvesting, (Physics and chemistry of the earth 3030, 2005)

Molefi Kete Asante, *The History of Africa: The Quest for Eternal Harmony*. (New York: Routledge Publishers, 2015)

Moore, H L., *Space, Text and Gender: An anthropological Study of the Marakwet of Kenya*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986)

Nasongo Shadrack, Ecological Roots of Social Conflict in Kenya: Pastoralism, Land and Development in Falola T and Amutabi M(Eds) *Perspectives on African Environment, Science and Technology*, (Trenton, New Jersey, 2012)

Ogundipe- Leslie M., *Women in Nigeria*, (London: ZED Books, 1985)

Republic of Kenya, *The Constitution of Kenya*. The Gazette Supplement No55 (The Constitution of Kenya (Special issue), (Nairobi, Government Press: 2010)

Ranger, Terence. *Peasant Consciousness and Guerrilla War in Zimbabwe: A Comparative Study*. (University of California Press: Berkeley, 1985)

Spivack G. Can the Subaltern speak? In *Marxism and interpretation of culture* C. Nelson and L. Grossberg (Eds). (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988)

Swai E.V., *Beyond Women's Empowerment in Africa: Exploring Dislocation and Agency*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010)

UN Women, *Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations: Connection between Presence and Influence*, (UN Women, 2016)

Zezeza, T., Madam President: The Changing gender dynamics of African Politics. *CODESRIA Bulletin*, (2006) Owino Okech, *Gender and Security in Africa*, (African Women's Development Fund, 2016)