

AN ANALYSIS OF WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN PEACEKEEPING MISSIONS  
SINCE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF UNSCR 1325: A CASE STUDY OF THE  
NAMIBIAN DEFENCE FORCE

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BY

INGRID ZEMBURUKA

200537504

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Supervisor: Prof. P. H. Van Rooyen - University of Namibia

## **ABSTRACT**

This study was undertaken to assess women participation in peacekeeping missions since the implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325. The aim of the study was to explore the challenges that hinder women participation in peacekeeping whilst at the same time rejuvenate gender equality as espoused in UNSCR 1325. The UNSCR 1325 calls for an increased role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building operations. Therefore, participation of women in peacekeeping missions remains an important area of research to the discipline of security as it lessens threat to human security.

The study was guided by liberal feminism which focus on primary achieving gender equality through security sector transformation whereby both men and women are given equal rights and opportunities for peacekeeping missions. In addition, some aspects of radical feminist theory were also supported which encourages the involvement of women in peacekeeping missions because of their unique skills which them better peacekeepers. This study employed a mixed research design, consisting of both quantitative and qualitative methods to provide a better understanding and explanation on the arguments of women participation in peacekeeping missions and also to provide better reliability. The sample size of 25 NDF employees was used in the study.

The study found that to some extent the NDF has complied with UNSCR 1325 in terms of responsiveness to policy requirements but lacked practical implementation, adherence and commitment. Further, the study found that from the statistics of males and females who participated in peacekeeping missions from 2014-2018 showed a decrease in women deployments. The study therefore, recommended that the NDF to increase the training slots for potential women to enhance the possibility of having more qualified women to select from and most importantly, encourage women to participate in peacekeeping missions in large numbers.

## DEDICATION

In loving memory of my dearest great-grandmother, for the wonderful upbringing she gave me, based on the principles of hard work, endurance and honesty.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to thank the Lord Almighty for guiding me throughout this study; it was through his blessings that I managed to cope with emotions and other challenges during the journey for this study. Of course, an important study like this would not be possible to achieve without assistance of other people. I am profoundly grateful to my supervisor, Prof Van Rooyen for his invaluable advice, guidance, support and for awakening my enthusiasm to successfully carry out this study.

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## DECLARATION

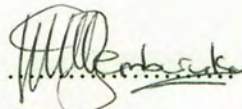
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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AU	-	African Union
Brig Gen	-	Brigadier General
CDF	-	Chief of Defence Force
CLM	-	Command Leadership and Management
DDR	-	Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration
DHR	-	Directorate of Human Resources
DJOps	-	Directorate of Joint Operations
DPKO	-	Department of Peacekeeping Operations
GBV	-	Gender Based Violence
GRN	-	Government of the Republic of Namibia
ILO	-	International Labour Organizations
MASSS	-	Master of Arts in Security and Strategic Studies
MOD	-	Ministry of Defence
NAP	-	National Action Plan
NAMPOL	-	Namibian Police
NDC	-	National Defence College

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

NDF	-	Namibian Defence Force	
PME	-	Professional Military Education	37
PRO	-	Public Relations Office	38
PSO	-	Peace Support Operations	40
SADC	-	Southern Africa Development Community	41
SGBV	-	Sexual and Gender Based Violence	43
TCC	-	Troop Contributing Countries	44
UNSCR	-	United Nation Security Council Resolution	45
WPS	-	Women, Peace and Security	47

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# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Introduction

This thesis was undertaken to assess women participation in peacekeeping missions since the implementation of UNSCR 1325. The participation of women in peacekeeping operations remains an important area of research to the discipline of security studies as it lessens the threat to human security. Therefore, the study fits into the broader area of security and strategic studies.

In recent decades, issues related to women, peace, and security have generated a constant international debate that other important elements of national power such as political, economic or social aspects also taking place have been marginalized (Sikhulekile & Jeffrey, 2018). Equally, the prevailing discourse on women and children has been largely pessimistic. Notably, the post-Cold War era saw the rise of various forms security issues such as sexual violence and rape used as a weapon of war particularly on women and children (African Union Report, 2016). Therefore, to ensure human security and express concern for women who accounts for the majority of those affected, the United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 was adopted unanimously on 31 October 2000 (UNSC, 2000).

Furthermore, the study is critical given that Namibia became signatory of UNSCR 1325 with regards to the involvement of women in peacekeeping. This was known as the “Windhoek Declaration” which ultimately led to the adoption of the Namibia Plan of Action and modelled the passage of UNSCR 1325 (Adzei-Tuadzra, 2013). Using Namibian women’s participation in peacekeeping, this study highlights how women participation in peacekeeping missions has a direct correlation to human security in the broader continuum of security and strategic studies.

## 1.2 Background of the study

Peacekeeping was developed by the United Nations (UN) as a tool to maintain international peace and security by peaceful means. The first UN Peacekeeping Mission was in 1948 with the deployment of the UN Military Observers (MOs) to the Middle East to monitor the Cease-Fire Agreement between Israel and its Arab neighbours (Ilweya, 2014). Subsequently, regional and sub-regional bodies such as the African Union (AU) and Southern African Development Community (SADC) was established to deal with regional peace and security. However, the modern peacekeeping has now changed into multidimensional peace support operations which requires the participation of women (Boehme, 2008; Sikhulekile et al., 2018). As a result, feminists, women's associations, scholars and the UN have called for Troop Contributing Countries (TCCs) to increase the numbers of women in peacekeeping missions around the world. Notable, the passing of the UNSCR 1325 remains the landmark recognition on the important role women plays in conflict prevention and peace-building (UNSC, 2000).

In addition, the UNSCR 1325 calls for the renewed importance of women equal participation and comprehensive involvement in efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security (UNSC, 2000). The resolution also provides important operational mandates for all Member States and the entities of the UN system. In addition, the UNSCR 1325 was consolidated by subsequent resolutions 1820 (2008), 1888 (2009) and 1889 (2009), 1969 (2010), 2106 (2013) and 2122 (2013). Within the African context, the AU has managed to build up an extensive body of instruments and policies which are holistically relevant to women with regards to peace and human security (AU Report, 2015). The most prominent instrument being the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the Protocol to the African Union Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa, also referred to as the Maputo Protocol and the Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa (SDGEA) (AU Report, 2016).

Since then, women have been deployed in all fields such as police, military, correctional services, and civilian components and made positive contributions in peacekeeping missions (Dharmapuri, 2013; Jennings, 2011; Sikhulekile & Kurebwa, 2018; Mubita, 2016; Arhin, 2014, Alchin, 2015).

The assumption were that women contribute to a higher level of discipline among the male peacekeepers and decreases sexual exploitation and abuse against women (Sikhulekile & Kurebwa, 2018). In addition, women were believed to be more sensitive, sympathetic and well-mannered within peacekeeping missions in contrast with men who were often aggressive and frequently commit sexual exploitation on the locals (Alchin, 2015). For this reasons, the presence of women peacekeepers enhances cohesion and operational effectiveness of the unit because they perform certain security tasks better than men (Alves, 2016).

Empirical studies further shows that the presence of women facilitates contacts and cooperation with the local community which allows better opportunity to gather information (Sikhulekile & Kurebwa, 2018). Drawing on this, occasionally the male peacekeepers were not well received by the local community on suspicion of being spies (Mubita, 2016). Most importantly, women peacekeepers have been found to inspire local women. Notably, the increase women recruitment in the Liberia Police Force which boasted almost 20% after the deployment of an all-women Police Unit in the area (Dharmapuri, 2011). Therefore, the presence of women enhances the security sector transformation by changing the peace process.

Even though, the UNSCR 1325 have called for an expansion on the women's role and contribution, women continue to be underrepresented in peacekeeping processes. Empirical studies indicates that women participation in peacekeeping whether in the UN or the AU remained very low in the military (Adzei-Tuadza, 2013; AU Report, 2016; Alves, 2016; DPKO, 2016). Furthermore, Hendricks (2016) quantified that globally, only 9% women at between 2.4 =4% and female peacekeepers in UN missions remain at 3% amongst military peacekeepers and 10% for the police peacekeepers. In the Namibian context, the figure in 2017 was 5% for military and 33% for police (Hendricks, 2016). These statistics show a gap between the target of 50:50 in line with UNSCR 1325. Thus, the gap which this study seeks to bridge and advance knowledge on is that, why the number of women participations in peacekeeping was significantly low despite considerable commitment to achieve gender equality by the UNSCR 1325.

### **1.3 Statement of the problem**

The African Union's Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa and the SADC Gender Protocol extensively calls for full, effective participation and representation of women in peacekeeping processes in line with UNSCR 1325. Even though the UNSCR 1325 has called for an expansion on the role and contribution of women in UN peace-keeping missions, eighteen years (2018) after its adoption, evidence suggests that women continue to be underrepresented in peacekeeping efforts. Nevertheless, there have been very few empirical studies on women participation in peacekeeping missions on the African continent, except perhaps for Ghana (Arhin, 2014; Adzei-Tuadzra, 2013) and Zimbabwe (Sikhulekile & Kurebwa, 2018). No studies have been done in the Namibian Defence Force (NDF) and the police even though Namibia had made a significant contribution in the creation of UNSCR 1325. Furthermore, the pace at which women participate in peacekeeping missions in the NDF appears to be minimal.

Recent data by the Gender Audit Representation revealed that between the years 2008 and 2015, 34% (N=1003) of NDF members participated in UN operations. Of those who participated, 23% (N=226) were female and 77% (N=772) were male (Situational Analysis Report, 2015). These figures show a gap between the target of 50:50 which in line with UNSCR 1325 and the actual NDF female participation in peacekeeping missions. Therefore, this study seeks to explore why there have been fewer women peacekeepers and make suggestions as to how the participation of women can be extended in peace-keeping missions. Examples will be drawn from other countries within the African continent on how the participation of women in the NDF can best be exploited for the benefit of human security and global socio-economic development in peacekeeping missions.

### **1.4 Research questions**

The main research question of the study is why women in the NDF are still underrepresented in peacekeeping missions since the implementation of UNSCR 1325?

The following sub questions will further guide the study:

- What criteria and procedures have been followed by the NDF to ensure gender representation in peacekeeping missions?

- What are the barriers encountered by the NDF in their efforts towards ensuring women's participation in peacekeeping?
- What are the challenges affecting women participation during peacekeeping missions?
- How can the participation of women in peacekeeping missions be improved?

### **1.5 Significance of the study**

In Namibia, until now (2018) there has been an insufficient number of studies undertaken to investigate compliance to UNSCR 1325, in the light of women participation and contribution in peacekeeping missions. As a result, this study offers an exclusive prospect to fill the research gap in an area which had not been investigated before. The findings from this study will assist the NDF strategic decision-makers to better address the challenges that hinder women participation in peacekeeping whilst at the same time rejuvenates gender equality as espoused in UNSCR 1325. Further, it will inform the Ministry of Gender and Child Welfare, the NDF, the Namibian Police (NAMPOL), the National Planning Commission (NPC) with an understanding to implement the UNSCR 1325. Conclusively, the study will also serve as a reference point for comparative studies to future researchers and scholars within the thematic clusters of women, peace, and security.

### **1.6 Limitation of the study**

Time constraints and resources were the primary limitations of the study. The other limitation was poor participation and interest from female officers in this research because of fear victimization. Moreover, due security operational environment of the NDF, some of the respondents were reluctant and unwilling to give the correct information.

### **1.7 Delimitation of the study**

This study was restricted to officers who participated in peace support operations. Further, senior management cadre currently in policy formulation and implementation were interviewed. The study covers the period from 2014 to 2018 NDF deployment to the UN and the AU.

This period was informed by the National Development Plan (NDP 5) which is founded on the broad objectives of the strategic plan and aspirations in achieving the long-term vision (Vision 2030).

## **1.8 Conclusion**

Chapter one introduced the study and outlines the content to be covered in detail. The chapter explored the background on the establishment of UNSCR 1325 and national and regional instruments, which have a strong relevance on women inclusion in peace and human security. The chapter also discussed the rationale of the study, research problem and main research question with its supporting sub-questions. The next chapter presents the theoretical framework related to this study.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

#### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the research framework and supports of the argument the researcher considering what has been already discovered by other researchers. The key words of the study will be discussed. The chapter will also deliberate on the barriers of women inclusion, their unique contributions during peacekeeping missions and the challenges faced by women peacekeepers. The study has applied two theoretical frameworks: human security and feminist theory.

In general, the existing studies and reports have indicated substantial improvements in terms of gender inclusivity since the implementation of UNSCR 1325. However, the number of women in peace processes and peacebuilding remains marginalized. Alves (2016) study which focused on women's participation in peacekeeping missions in the military and police found that there were some improvements with gender inclusion and gender mainstreaming activities since the implementation of UNSCR 1325 but with minimal changes. Further, Alves (2016) findings established that change could occur if there had been improvements in the social and cultural attitude towards gender equality both from the TCC and within the UN peacekeeping system.

Global Study (2016) documented that although the participation of women in formal peace processes has been increasing, a study between 2015-2017 on 45 major peace processes revealed that only 10% of negotiators were women which appears to be an negligible figure. The report further maintained that only 2% of the military personnel in UN missions were women and the majority was employed as support staffs. The report also found out that peace-making and peacekeeping were the two critical areas that were mostly challenging for ensuring women's equal and meaningful participation (Global Study, 2016).

Another report by the AU (2016) acknowledged that enormous progress has been made in Africa towards achieving post-2015 agenda for UNSCR 1325. Although the participation of women in peacekeeping both in the UN or the AU remained very low in the military compared to the police. Drawing on this, Hendricks (2016) quantified that globally, only 9% women as peace negotiators and far fewer women have been signatories to peace agreements, estimated at between 2.4 =4%, and female peacekeepers in UN missions remain at 3% amongst military peacekeepers and 10% for police peacekeepers. In the context of Africa, the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) had 3% female representation in its mission and for the United Nations–African Union Mission in Darfur (UNAMID), the figure was 4% for the military and 22% for police.

Another study on women's participation in thirty-one peace processes between 2014 -2017 showed that of the sixteen African countries, only five had women on their negotiating teams (Burundi, Sudan, the DRC, Kenya, and Uganda); five had women witnesses or observers (Liberia, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, and Uganda); three had women lead mediators (DRC, DRC Goma South Kivu, and Kenya); and only two (DRC and DRC Goma North Kivu) had women signatories (AU Report, 2016). This illustrates that while there has been advocacy to increase the number of women in peacekeeping operations, the number of military women in variety of official roles was significantly low.

Adzei-Tuadzra (2013) case study employed qualitative data to investigate the level to which the Ghana police service has complied with UNSCR 1325 using the deployment of police officers to the Darfur (UNAMID) mission. According to his measures of gender inequality, the study found that the Ghana Police was making great efforts in trying to comply with Resolution 1325 however the level of female participation was still very low. Similarly, Sikhulekile et al. (2018) study in Zimbabwe examined the uniformed women's participation in United Nations peacekeeping missions in Liberia and East Timor found that the participation of uniformed women in peacekeeping missions was low due to a variety of factors. The study noted that uniformed women peacekeepers were having challenges with language and cultural barriers, the low number of female peacekeepers, gender stereotypes to the non-family status of most UN peacekeeping missions.

It appears that to date (2018), there are limited studies which have investigated the compliance of the NDF to UNSCR 1325, the AU and SADC protocols on women participation in peacekeeping efforts in Namibia. Shikomba (2018) study documented that women perform better than male counterparts if given equal opportunities. Similarly, Mboti (2014) study found that the sources of inequalities in the NDF were rooted in the traditional military masculinity. The literature also raised concern that the social-cultural factors, organization culture, limited military education and training, discrimination in promotion and appointment constraints equal opportunity for women in the NDF (Mboti, 2014). Both studies used gender as an exploratory tool to explain gender inequalities in policies and results. Therefore, in line with other researchers this study aims to add to the existing literature on women, peace, and security in the field of security studies.

## **2.2 The concept of peacekeeping**

Many scholars, governments and international organizations have little agreement about peacekeeping. This is because peacekeeping defies a conventionally accepted definition and is not defined in the UN Charter (Ilweya, 2014; Bellamy & Willams, 2010; Mihalas & Langholtz, 2008). United Nations Peacekeeping Operations: Principles and Guidelines (2008) defined peacekeeping as a strategy established to preserve peace in an area of conflict. Peacekeeping was further reinforced in the UN Tactical Manual (2007) that peacekeeping operation under Chapter VI of the UN Charter involves an impartial military force that acts with the consent of the parties whereas a cease-fire agreement usually must be in place before any deployment.

The former UN Secretary General, Boutros Boutros Ghali conceptualizes peacekeeping as: *“the deployment of a United Nations presence in the field, hitherto with the consent of all parties concerned, normally involving UN military and police personnel and frequently civilians as well”* (Arhin, 2014, p.25; Adzei-Tuadzra, 2013, p.19). Equally, the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) (2008) explained that traditional peacekeeping are operations that relied on the consent and cooperation of the belligerents and was largely restricted to the interposition of unarmed or lightly armed peacekeepers.

Mihakas and Langholtz (2008) asserted that peacekeeping is identified as one of the six peace and security activities outlined as follows:

- a. Preventive diplomacy- actions to prevent disputes from developing between parties and prevent existing disputes from escalating into conflicts.
- b. Peace-making- the use of diplomatic action to bring hostile parties reach negotiated agreements through peaceful means.
- c. Peace-enforcement- the use of military force to maintain or restore international peace and security upon the will of the UN Security Council.
- d. Peace-building-includes wide range of measures to promote peace and build trust among former enemies.
- e. Sanctions-involves the use of other measures than the use of force to modify the behaviour of a party which is threatening international peace and security and not to punish.

Equally, pacekeepers according to Arhin (2014) carry out numerous tasks such as monitoring and observing peace processes in post-conflict areas, patrols, protection of civilians and assisting the former belligerents in the implementation of signed peace agreements. On the other hand, Nakapipi (2014) explained that the primary military functions of peacekeeping missions are as illustrated in Figure 2.1

Figure 2.1: Primary military functions of peacekeeping missions



Source: Adapted from Nakapipi, (2013, p.19).

Peacekeeping is a challenging phenomenon that lacks a universally accepted definition. All the definitions, however, have common principles such as neutrality, non-use of force and the consent of the parties to the conflict (Adzei-Tuadzra, 2013). In this study, peacekeeping would therefore refer to the deployment of military, police and civilian personnel to preserve peace and security with the consent of all parties concerned.

### 2.3 Gender mainstreaming in the UN peacekeeping missions

Gender mainstreaming is defined as “the process of assessing gender gaps and making women’s, men’s, girls’ and boys’ concerns and experiences integral to the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies, legislation and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that both men and women benefit equally” (National Gender Policy, 2010, p.53).

Further, the International Labour Organisation (ILO), (2008) stressed that mainstreaming is not about adding a woman's into an existing activity but goes beyond increasing women's participation to achieve the disparate effect. Therefore, gender mainstreaming is a strategy aimed at achieving gender equality through collective intervention by all stakeholders (Arhin, 2014; Adzei-Tuadzra, 2013).

Gender mainstreaming have been the top priority of several international humanitarian and human rights law as well as other UN instruments which provides the rationale and international standards for integrating a gender perspective into the multidimensional UN peacekeeping missions (Sikhulekile & Kurebwa, 2018). The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) in 1948 was the first international human rights instrument in which gender equality was protected (Adzei-Tuadzra, 2013). Specifically, the UNDHR affirms the principle of inadmissibility of discrimination and proclaims that all human beings were entitled to equality regardless of their gender (Mackay, 2002).

Furthermore, the Convention on Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) created in 1979 provides internationally recognized standards that recalls all forms of discrimination against women which violates the principle of human rights equality and respect for human dignity. Mackay (2002) stressed that any form of discrimination was an obstacle that hinder full participation of women on equal terms with men. The next significant UN treaty bodies towards the advancement of gender equality were further stressed in all the World Conferences namely: Mexico in 1975, Copenhagen in 1980, Nairobi in 1985 and Beijing in 1995. The Fourth World Conference on Women developed the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action in 1995 which had the biggest impact on the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and identified women and armed conflicts as one of its twelve critical areas of concern (Siider, 2013).

In May 2000, the Windhoek Declaration ultimately led to the adoption of the "Namibia Plan of Action" which was modeled on the UNSCR 1325. The UNSCR 1325 was the first formal and legal document on women, peace, and security adopted by the Security Council on 31st October 2000. It stresses the important role of women participation and comprehensive involvement in efforts for maintenance and promotion of peace and security (UNSC, 2000, para.5).

UNSCR 1325 was built on four pillars namely: participation, protection, prevention, and relief and recovery (AU Report, 2015; Ramšak, 2015):

(1) *Participation* aims to ensure women's equal participation and decision-making processes at national, regional and international level.

(2) *Protection* ensures that women and girls' rights are protected and promoted in conflict-affected situations including protection from gender-based violence (GBV).

(3) *Prevention* focuses on the prevention of conflict and all forms of discrimination and violence against women and girls in conflict and post conflict situations.

(4) *Relief and Recovery* aims to address that women and girls' specific relief needs were met and ensure women participation in the design and implementation of all relief and recovery programs.

Furthermore, the UNSCR 1325 was consolidated by additional resolutions 1820 (2008), 1888 (2009) and 1889 (2009), 1960 (2010), 2106 (2013) and 2122 (2013) known as the Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) framework (AU Report, 2015). Africa's commitment towards the implementation of UNSCR 1325 led to the adoption of numerous policies and legal instruments to advance WPS among its Member States (AU Report, 2015). The most prominent being the Protocol on the Rights of Women in Africa known as the Maputo Protocol and the Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa. The Protocol on the Rights of Women in Africa of 2003 maintained that women have equal rights to participate in the promotion and maintenance of peace and security whilst the Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa of 2004 calls for full and effective participation and representation of women in peace processes (AU Report, 2015).

Subsequently, the AU Member States also developed National Action Plans (NAP) as a strategic tool to prioritize activities and coordinate the implementation of UNSCR 1325 at the national level (Shikomba, 2018). On the contrary, to date (2018) only 63 countries in the world have developed and adopted NAPs, whereby 19 of these countries was in Africa, 13 are in West Africa, and one country in the SADC Region, which is DRC.

This includes: Cote D'Ivoire adopted in 2007; Uganda in 2008; Liberia in 2009; Democratic Republic of Congo in 2010; Ghana in 2010; Guinea Bissau in 2010; Rwanda in 2010; Sierra Leone in 2010; Burundi in 2011; Guinea in 2011; Senegal in 2011; Burkina Faso adopted in 2012; Gambia in 2012; Mali in 2012/2015; Togo in 2012; Nigeria in 2013; Central African Republic in 2014; Kenya in 2016; and South Sudan in 2016 (AU Report, 2016).

According to Farquharson (2017) most countries were faced with many challenges such as financial resources, time and lengthy political process that prevent the designing and implementation of NAP. On the other hand, Hendricks (2016) stressed that new security challenges such as climate change, forced displacement and migration and violent extremism had emerged that were not taken into consideration at the time most of NAPs were formulated. However, Namibia was making substantial progress in the process of developing their NAPs. Currently, the final product has been crafted and validated and now on the table of law-makers for final decisions (Personal Interview, Mboti, 2018).

Namibia's commitment towards achieving gender equality was enshrined in the Constitution under Article 10, Article 23 (3) and Article 95 (a) specifically addressing gender equality. Moreover, policies such as Vision 2030, Harambee Prosperity Plan, National Gender Policy and the fifth National Development Plan also addresses issues of gender equality. Likewise, Chapter 7 of the Defence Policy, sub-article 73 (b) specifically objective (9) stipulates that the Namibian Defence Force has made women part of its workforce and was committed to make military career attractive to women and ensures equal and equitable employment opportunities within the structures and rank and file of the MOD/NDF (Defence Policy, 2002). However, despite the existence of this body of instruments and protocols, evidence suggests that women continue to be excluded from the peace-making and peacekeeping process. Therefore, Namibia has a long way to implement policies that support equitable gender representation in peacekeeping missions.

## 2.4 Barriers of women inclusion in peacekeeping missions

Many military forces are faced with numerous obstacles that restrict women to participate in peacekeeping missions. Milošević (2012) examined the challenges of women's participation in Serbia's peacekeeping operations noted that the patriarchal belief that the security sector was reserved only for men drawing on the percentage of male representation and the systematic entry requirements in the military was the major challenge against women deployment for peacekeeping. Another challenge was the fact that military institutions were closed to women in the past and as a result women perceived themselves as incompetent to perform military duties. Saferworld (2015) further maintained that the patriarchal culture in South Africa's military remains a considerable challenge, with men in the military often displaying negative attitudes towards women. Therefore, these gender dynamics within the international community might have influenced other countries including Namibia on the participation of women in peacekeeping and security sectors.

A similar sentiment was expressed by Machakanja (2016) that the patriarchal ideologies coupled with lack of political will continue to undermine many gender mainstreaming activities in most African societies. He further stressed that limited awareness on UNSCR 1325 at the grassroots level, lack of critical mass on women's voices and a shortage of strategic dialogue posed challenges to women participation in peace processes (Machakanja, 2016). For instance, a study on women's participation in thirty-one peace processes between 1992-2011 showed that of the sixteen African countries, only five: Burundi, Sudan, DRC, Kenya, and Uganda had women in their negotiating teams (AU Report, 2016). This exclusionary participation indicates that the number of women in a variety of official roles were significantly low and therefore compromise the inclusion of women's participation in peace and security as advocated by the UNSCR 1325.

Adzei-Tuadza, (2013) study argued that lack of adequate skills such as proficiency in both written and spoken English, driving as well as firearms skills by many women were among the contributing factors that hinder women not pass the selection tests for peacekeeping missions. The study also found that a lot of female officers lacked confidence and were not military knowledgeable as their male counterparts even though all candidates were equally prepared through Pre-SAT Selection training.

For instance, female police officers from Namibia, Tanzania, and Zambia identified women's lack of driving skills as one of the main obstacles to their deployment to peacekeeping missions (Bastick & de Torres as cited in Mubita, 2016).

However, even though these requirements apply to all; men were mostly recommended. Furthermore, Milošević (2012) stated that one of the systematic obstacles of women participation in peacekeeping was the low share in operational ranks. For instance, in 2017 the NDF women accounted for only 23% of the total number of employed soldiers for peacekeeping (High Consultative Meeting, 2017). Therefore, it was necessary to give priority to women with the required qualifications as men when selecting candidates for peacekeeping missions in order to increase their representation.

## **2.5 Women 's unique contributions to peacekeeping**

### **2.5.1 Respondents to Sexual and Gender Based Violence**

Sikhulekile and Kurebwa (2018) stated that women peacekeepers protect fellow women and children from cases of Sexual and Gender Based Violence (SGBV). The assumption was that women have greater awareness and sensitivity towards SGBV victims and therefore local women were more likely to report incidents of sexual violence to female officers (Jennings, 2011). Drawing on this, a study for the UN Division for the Advancement of Women in 1995 found that the incidence of rape and use of prostitution fell significantly low with the presence of female peacekeepers (Dharmapuri, 2013).

Equally, Ghimire (2017) argued that women was more sensitive, sympathetic and well-mannered within peacekeeping missions in contrary to men who were often aggressive and frequently commit sexual exploitation and abuse on the locals. For instance, a study based on the missions in Namibia, South Africa, and Rwanda found that "in all of these operations, women police peacekeepers were seen by locals as less threatening, more willing to listen and better able to diffuse potentially violent situations" (Dharmapuri, 2013, p.7). On the other hand, civilians often sees the uniform before the gender, therefore, gender may not be a defining issue (Simić as cited in Alchin, 2015).

### **2.5.2 Enhanced operational effectiveness**

The presence of women peacekeepers enhances operational effectiveness of the unit because they perform certain security tasks better than their male counterparts (Alves, 2016). Dhurmapuri, (2013) emphasised that female peacekeepers have a comparative operational advantage in sensitive situations such as female body searches, working with women's prisons, providing escorts for victims and witnesses of sexual violence and screening of female combatants during disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR).

Furthermore, women peacekeepers can have easier access and interview more local community especially in cultures in which the physical contact between men and women were forbidden (Sikhulekile & Kurebwa, 2018). Similarly, the UNSC (2006) prohibits men to attend to women unless there was a female doctors in the medical team. Thus, women peacekeepers serve as a resource for community capacity building, sustain national security structures and emphasize gender inclusivity.

### **2.5.3 Intelligence gathering**

Women peacekeepers facilitates contacts and cooperation with the local women which gives the opportunity to obtain information unavailable to the male peacekeepers (Sikhulekile & Kurebwa, 2018). A similar view was shared by Karame (as cited in Alchin, 2015) that women enhances mission intelligence as information regarding the local culture can be collected through informal and friendly meetings. Moreover, male peacekeepers are sometimes not well received by the local community on suspicion being spies making it difficult to build rapport (Mubita, 2016). However, some studies have shown that women peacekeepers have limited contact with the local community due to resentment by the local men, fear of being raped or lack of will to communicate with locals (Jennings, 2011).

#### **2.5.4 Inspiration and role model**

Women peacekeepers inspire local women by seeing them in uniform and successfully working together with their male counterparts. The most commonly cited example is the increasing numbers of women recruitment in the Liberia police force which boasts almost 20% after the deployment of the first all-women Indian police unit to the area. (Dharmapuri, 2011; Milošević, 2012). Further, women peacekeepers become role models for local women in challenging the social and cultural beliefs, both within and outside the security sector (Sikhulekile & Kurebwa, 2018) Therefore, the presence of women in evolving security structures enhances overall national stability in the peaceful transition.

On the other hand, the local culture may restrict contact with women peacekeepers as it may be inconsistent with their gender roles and beliefs and considered disrespectful (Alchin, 2015). In addition, women in uniform may be nothing new as in some states women were part of the liberation struggles which forms the mandate of peacekeeping missions (Karamé & Olsson as cited in Alchin, 2015).

#### **2.5.5 Civilizing effect on men**

Women's presence ensures a better-behaved, less-corrupt, and less-abusive peacekeeping mission by having a civilizing effect on their male counterparts. Women in the peacekeeping missions contribute to a higher level of discipline among the male peacekeepers and decrease the number of cases of sexual exploitation and abuse against women (Sikhulekile & Kurebwa, 2018). To support this argument, a study for the UN Division of the Advancement of Women in 1995 which saw reductions in accusations against peacekeepers concluded that men behave better when around women of their own culture (De Groot as cited in Alchin, 2015).

Based on this study, the notion is that the presence of women will help reduce the high level of prostitution often found close to bases, decrease the number of brothels, reduce the number of soldiers affected by AIDS, and reduce the number of abandoned babies (Simić as cited in Alchin, 2015).

## **2.6 Challenges faced by female peacekeepers**

### **2.6.1 Facing the warrior framework**

One of the greatest challenges faced by female peacekeepers revolves around the social and cultural issues characterizing the warrior framework. Some studies noted that women peacekeepers encountered lack of acceptance by male counterparts due to uncertainties with their feminine aspects during peacekeeping missions (Alchin, 2015; Mubita, 2016). Further, male peacekeepers also have a negative perception towards women to an extent that men restrict them to socially constructed feminine roles (McLean as cited in Mubita, 2016). Even the UN Secretary-General expressed the same views that women were treated unfairly in some peacekeeping missions claiming they should not work in dangerous situations whilst some host countries do not accept women in decision-making positions (UN, 2002).

Nakapipi (2013) study also found that the troop-contributing countries might be unwilling to deploy women soldiers to the most dangerous conflict zones. A study by Mubita (2016) confirmed that women serving in Kosovo and Bosnia peacekeeping missions were refused to serve in combat roles based on being female. As a result, women peacekeepers were forced to adapt their own behavior for acceptance by their male colleagues (Alchin, 2015). Undeniable, social and cultural resistance within the military continues to influence the implementation of gender-specific stereotypes (Sikhulekile & Kurebwa, 2018).

### **2.6.2 Psychological and biological needs**

The other challenge was limited access to meet women's specific psychological and biological needs. Ghittoni, Lehouck and Watson (2018) argued that some peacekeeping missions were not equipped with facilities with single gender deployments in mind: with no separated bathrooms or dormitories for different genders. Further, at times women's accommodation might requires modification but there may not even be provisions made regarding women's special security needs (Bertolazzi as cited in Mubita, 2016). Therefore, in the absence of proper ablution facilities women menstruation might cause disturbances in the working environment and be foreseen as a challenge during peacekeeping missions (Trego & Jordan as cited in Nakapipi, 2013).

Contrary, proper accommodation facilities is essential for both men and women's well-being during missions abroad. In addition, women peacekeepers also suffer from homesickness and depression more than male counterparts due to their feminine characteristics of primarily being care givers and child bearers (Mubita, 2016). Therefore, dual family and work responsibilities, depression and homesickness challenges women participation in peacekeeping missions.

### **2.6.3 Sexuality and Security**

One of the most common significant challenge but often hidden was sexual and gender-based harassment. It is believed that sexual and gender-based harassment incidences were higher on peacekeeping deployments based on separation from home country leading to morals relaxation and rivalry between different units (Ghittoni et al., 2018). In a certain study, women in the US military were more likely to be raped by fellow male soldiers than killed in combat. The study quantified that approximately 25% of US military women reported having been sexually assaulted and close to 80% been sexually harassed however the victims were unwilling to come forward (Meade as cited in Shikomba, 2018).

Another study by Human Rights Watch (2014) involving Ugandan peacekeepers at AMISOM's headquarters in the Somali capital Mogadishu, stressed that there has been sexual exploitation and rape by members of security forces tasked with maintaining peace and security in the region. Drawing upon this study, this affirmation can be seen as a serious violation of human rights abuses by military soldiers against women and girls and to a broader sense of human security.

On the other hand, women's sexuality appears to become a battlefield and posed a threat to personal security. Research shows that women distort to male bonding within the unit through the development of sexual relationships, lust, love, marriage, or jealousy that sometimes end on bad terms (Maninger as cited in Alchin, 2015). Furthermore, women become targets of rape putting the operational effectiveness of the whole unit at risks and make male peacekeepers feel vulnerable (Heineken, 2013). Male peacekeepers may also become distracted and sometimes overprotective of women (Alchin, 2015). Indirectly, a mixed male-female composition provides for higher sensitivity to infringement on women's rights in male members of the mission.

#### **2.6.4 Biological and Physical differences**

Another challenge that women peacekeepers face was related to the physical strength and stamina to keep up with the demanding peacekeeping environment (Alchin, 2015). Until recently, many military institutions have been closed to women and the underlying argument is that women are physically less capable or professionally less competent to perform security tasks (Milošević, 2012). However, the ability of women peacekeepers to make a difference was limited by their training which ought to be gender-neutral and was expected to act and perform duties like men (Heineken, 2016; Ghimire, 2017).

Similarly, Davis and McKee (2006) argued that the real challenge to fewer women in the military was not a result of women's physical and mental inability but rather social and cultural issues that characterize combat. Drawing on this, Davis et al. (2006) indicated that studies in US and UK suggest that presence of women has a negligible effect on the maintenance of cohesion, esprit de corps and operational effectiveness in a force. Therefore, women make diverse and unique contributions that improve the operational effectiveness of peacekeeping units and human security of vulnerable populations (Alchin, 2015; Jennings, 2011).

#### **2.6.5 Language and Religious barriers**

The other obstacle faced by women peacekeepers is the issue of language barriers even though was experienced by both genders. In general, peacekeepers were exposed to foreign languages and these sometimes pose difficulties in their daily operations and might hinders relationships with the locals (Alchin, 2015). For instance, the Namibia Battalion (NamBatt) peacekeepers that served in Liberia missions highlighted that language was a barrier given that some peacekeepers were not fluent in English and not acquainted with the accent of Liberians and Pakistanis English (Ilweya, 2014). On the other hand, research participants also noted that religious beliefs were a challenge in Liberia as NamBatt served under command of the Pakistanis who were Muslims which was defying the Christian beliefs. As a result, the Pakistani blamed the NamBatt of wrong behaviors because of different religious and cultural beliefs (Ilweya, 2014).

### 2.6.6 Tokenism

The other challenge women peacekeepers may face is related to tokenism. Tokenism arises when the women ratio comprises less than 15% of the total representation and the male is 85% (Davis & McKee, 2006). Further, Kanter called those in the minority in skewed groups 'tokens' because they are often treated as representatives of their category rather than individuals (Alchin, 2015). Studies had shown that substantial progress has been made towards achieving post-2015 agenda for UNSCR 1325 in Africa although the participation of women in peacekeeping, remained very low (Adzei-Tuadza, 2013; AU Report, (2016). The situation of NDF peacekeepers from 2014-2018 was estimated to be approximately 82 troops of which 11 (13%) were female and 71 (87%) were males leading to tokenism. Peacekeeping environment is, therefore, a man's world where women peacekeepers are challenged 'within the camp' by their male counterparts (Mubita, 2016).

### 2.7 Measures to increase women participation in peacekeeping

Sikhulekile & Kurebwa (2018, p.51-52) identified the following measures to increase women participation in peacekeeping missions:

*Sustained recruitment of women into national security services institutions:* The UN DPKO has set the target of 20% for each member states to ensure women were given priority and systematically selected for peacekeeping missions. A good example currently cited is Zimbabwe who must surpass the baseline with the highest female peacekeepers at 35%.

*Enhancing safety and security for peacekeepers during deployment:* Safety and security is critical and often influences troop-contributing countries in sending peacekeepers. The UN should increase safety and security mechanisms in place to reduce the number of peacekeepers casualties in conflict zones.

*Conducting robust pre-deployment peacekeeping training:* Pre-deployment training enhances peacekeepers competencies in conflict prevention and conflict management including gender dimension during peacekeeping missions. It also prepares uniformed personnel to be self-sustained during peacekeeping missions given that some peacekeepers lacked operational skills and military training.

Such training is offered from SADC Regional Peacekeeping Training Centre in Harare, Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC), African Contingency Operations Training and Assistance sponsored by the US and pre-deployment training at battalion and brigade levels.

## **2.8 Operationalizing the human security paradigm**

This study has a direct correlation to human security in the broader continuum of security and strategic studies. Human security was first coined by Mahbub ul Hag in the 1994 Human Development Report which proposed a rethinking of the traditional concept of a state-centric approach by shifting the focus to individual security (UNDP, 1994). The report was the catapulting document that shot the term human security into global acknowledgment and significance (Allah-Mensah, 2010). Human security entails seven key components: economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security and political security (Acharya, 2001).

Sigsworth and Kumalo (2016) postulates that human security encompasses freedom from violence, the degradation of human dignity, threats to livelihoods, environmental concerns, hunger, disease and other harms to the security of the individual Equally important, Kofi Annan (2000, p.1) on International Workshop on Human Security in Mongolia clarified that: human security, in its broadest sense, encompasses human rights, good governance, access to education and health care and ensuring that each individual has opportunities and choices to fulfil his or her potential. In addition, human security was defined by former Canadian Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy as a condition or state of being characterized by freedom from pervasive threats to people's rights, their safety, or even their lives (Anderlini & El-Bushra, nd). Therefore, it means that the scope of this definition entails that human security encompasses both psychological and physical well-being that exists at all levels of national income and development.

Hannan (2011) believed that the concept of human security has real potential for strengthening the critical links between development, equality, and security. She argued that human security was the failure to focus sufficiently on agency and empowerment in aspects which were critical freedom from want and freedom from fear as well from a gender equality perspective.

Chenoy (as cited in Farquharson, 2017) drew similar conclusion that human security challenges the emphasis on state security and advocates that the state must simultaneously concern itself with the security of individuals and the gendered concept. This literature will assist in understanding that human security is important in addressing issues of violence against women that will be useful in the participation of women in peacekeeping missions. Moreover, the concept of human security will assist in understanding that the basic human rights, as stated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights are interrelated by drawing attention to international humanitarian law (Anderlini & El-Bushra, nd).

On the other hand, the critique on human security was that the existing definition tends to be too broad, encompassing everything from physical security to psychological well-being which provides meaningless guidance for policymakers (Paris, 2001). Secondly, human security creates a false expectation about assistance to victims of oppression which cannot be achieved by the international community (Khong, 2001). The third and most powerful criticism of human security is that it neglects the role of the state as the sole provider of state security (Acharya, 2001).

## **2.9 Feminism Theory**

This study was premised on the feminist theory. Feminism refers to the beliefs that both men and women deserves equal opportunities, treatment, respect, and social rights. In general, feminists recognized the social inequality based on gender (Tickner & Sjoberg, 2016). Most scholars opined that there is no single feminist security theory, however, feminism was categorized into liberal, radical and post-structural.

### **2.9.1 Liberal feminism**

The philosophical assumption of liberal feminism lies in the principle of individualism. Liberal feminism believes that all individuals are entitled to equal treatment regardless of their gender, race, colour or religion (Heywood, 2011). Therefore, liberal feminism aims to break the legal and social pressures that restrict women from pursuing their careers whether politically and importantly to increase meaningful representation in the public and private sectors (Heywood, 2011, p.419).

Tickner & Sjoberg (2016) further stated that liberal feminism remains committed to investigating the causes of women insubordination within a positivist framework in global politics. They used an 'add women and stir approach' to challenge the existing policies and methods and bring women on board where they were previously invisible or underrepresented (Daddow, 2009). The main goal of liberal feminism is therefore to advocate for equal rights and opportunities between men and women. Drawing on this, women should have the same opportunities as men to participate in peacekeeping missions.

Contrary, Goldstein (2004) criticized liberal feminist theory that women's recruitment into the military insists on engendering women instead of imposing the same requirements on men. In other words, women into the military were expected to conform to the masculine norms and not changing the masculine environment. Equally, Enriques as cited in Adzei-Tuadwa (2013) share the same view that women tends to behave like men and these change can only be seen within the existing male-dominated structures.

### **2.9.2 Radical feminism**

Radical feminism on the other hand, believes in looking deeper into the root causes of gender inequality and asserts that the male-dominated hierarchy was the result of women oppression (Mboti, 2014). The radicals' point of view was that power is a constructed phenomenon that could be reviewed in order to allow women demonstrate their full potential. Therefore, radical feminism advocates for the involvement of women participation in peacekeeping missions because of their unique skills which make them better peacekeepers.

On the contrary, critiques of radical feminism revolves around scepticism that women can change the militarized culture by introducing more feminine qualities (Goldstein, 2004). Goldstein (2004) further explained that women plays an invaluable role in consolidating gender roles especially the masculinity and the warrior ethos. Therefore, radical feminist favours the inclusion of women in the military and that their differential traits should be valued.

### **2.9.3 Post-structural feminism**

Post-structural feminism focuses on the way the dichotomized linguistic were constructed around the interdependence of terms, such as strong or weak, rational or emotional that serves to empower the masculine qualities over feminine (Tickner & Sjoberg, 2016). In addition, post-structurals looked at other aspects of identity in addition to gender, such as class, race, or ethnicity, noticing the interconnectedness of different forms of oppression known as intersectionality (Goldstein as cited in Alchin, 2015). Feminist poststructuralists therefore seeks to expose and deconstruct these hierarchies often through text analysis. On the other hand, the reification of gender-based expectations that women was peaceful or passive in the UNSCR 1325 provisions for including women in peace-processes were arguable still-gendered interpretation and even in the gender-emancipatory international law (Shepherd, 2008). Hence, there was a necessity to conceptualize gender politics to avoid the misinterpretation of UNSCR 1325.

### **2.10 Conclusion**

The study has a direct correlation to human security in the broader continuum of security and strategic studies. Human security is important in addressing issues of violence against women that will be useful in the participation of women in peacekeeping missions. Women participation in peacekeeping plays an important role in maintaining an equitable gender perspective. However, there are several challenges facing women during peace-keeping mission as well as in conflict zones, as identified by the studies. In addition, the study supports liberal feminism with a focus on achieving gender equality through security sector reform or transformation whereby both men and women are given equal rights and opportunities in peacekeeping missions as enshrined in UNSCR 1325.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

The chapter outlines the research methodology used to achieve the objectives for this study. It focuses on the research design, the population, the sample size and the research instruments employed during the study. It also presents the validity and reliability of instruments, data collection and analysis and ethical considerations.

#### **3.2 Research design**

The study employed a mixed research design, consisting of both quantitative and qualitative methods. The purpose of using mixed method design in this study was to provide a better understanding and explanation on the arguments of women participation in peacekeeping missions. The two methods were employed to complement each other to provide better reliability, also since there was little documentation on the subject matter in the NDF. A convergent mixed method design was mostly used due to its use of comparing different views drawn from quantitative and qualitative data (Creswell, 2018). The convergent design is characterized by the collection of quantitative and qualitative data concurrently, analysed separately and then merged (Leedy & Ormron, 2015; Creswell, 2018).

#### **3.3 Research Methods**

In this study, the qualitative data (from interviews) was used to capture opinions and insight information from experts on women participation in peacekeeping missions. The quantitative data (from questionnaire surveys) was used to test the perception of various respondents about women participation during peacekeeping missions. The reason for collecting both quantitative and qualitative data was to overcome the weaknesses of one method by using the strength of another (Leedy & Ormron, 2015).

### **3.4 Population**

The population for this study was the Namibian Defence Force members stationed at Defence Force Headquarters in Windhoek and the Namibia Command and Staff College in Okahandja. In 2018, the population consisted of about 1000 members of which 75 (75%) were males while 25 (25%) were females (Human Resources Quarterly Report, 2018). The target population comprised of senior management (from full Colonel to Lieutenant General) and members who participated in peacekeeping missions.

### **3.5 Sample size**

Purposive sampling was used for qualitative research design to select five (n=5) information-rich respondents from the population. The sample included the COS Staff Human Resources, MA to the CDF, SSO Civil & Military Cooperation, SSO Gender Division and SSO Career Development. The flexibility of purposive sampling allows the researcher to select a sample based on their knowledge about women participation in peacekeeping missions and to achieve the objectives of the study. The chosen subjects were deliberately chosen because of their strategic positions within the MOD/NDF and activities which were central in the selection of personnel to peacekeeping missions and overall in the realization of UNSCR 1325.

For the quantitative research design, simple random sampling of 20 (n=20) subjects was used for men and women who participated in peacekeeping missions from 2014-2018. Simple random sampling was chosen because of its simplicity to give equal chance for each member of being selected for the study. Thus, even though the study focused on women participation, male participants were included to have a balanced representation.

### **3.6 Research instruments**

In this study, semi-structured interviews (a qualitative methodology) were used to collect expert opinions from five (n=5) interviewees namely the COS Staff Human Resources, MA to the CDF, SSO Civil & Military Cooperation, SSO Gender Division and the SSO Career Development. This instrument was vital in gaining more knowledge about certain aspects of the debate and getting clarifications on women participation in peacekeeping missions in the NDF. Another instrument that was used was the self-administered questionnaire (quantitative). An advantage of using self-administered questionnaires was that they were entirely standardized measuring instruments because the questions were always phrased exactly the same way to all the respondents. (Sapsford, 2007).

In addition, official records and documents which had relevance on women participation in peacekeeping were another source of instrumentation. This was necessary to provide insight into understanding the historical data and test the internal consistency of literature and official UN and AU documents. Some of the main documents cited were the UNSCR 1325, SADC Gender Protocol, African Union Reports, Needs Assessment in Africa Report, National Gender Policy, National Gender Plan of Action, Defence Policy and the Namibian Constitution.

### **3.7 Procedure**

Approval was sought from the University of Namibia's Postgraduate Studies Committee (PGSC) and the Chief of Defence Force (CDF). Once approval was given, the researcher made the necessary arrangements with the participants via the Defence Headquarters. The fieldwork was conducted from 09-30 November 2018 at Defence Headquarters in Windhoek and the Namibia Command and Staff College in Okahandja.

Prior to entering the field, the researcher developed an interview schedule for asking questions and established a protocol to record the answers. When designing the interview schedule (see Appendix 2) the researcher considered the quality that would yield more information to address the objectives of the study. Furthermore, questionnaire was separated from interview responses to protect the participant's confidentiality.

Permission to tape-record each interview was sought from each participant before the beginning of interviews. Then, they were asked to sign a written consent form. Further, the researcher explained the purpose of the study and guaranteed anonymity to ensure that the respondents give objective responses. The researcher started with the questions that could be easily answered to help the interviewees be at ease and build confidence. The interviews lasted approximately 30-40 minutes in each participant's office. All interviews were recorded using Samsung Galaxy Note III mobile phone voice recorder. Debriefing sessions for 10 minutes were held after each interview to identify any factors that had an influence on the participant's response.

During the interview process, the researcher also collected documents e.g. historical records, minutes of meetings, official reports. The researcher developed a log to record all documents collected to maintain privacy and anonymity of the research participants. Interviews reports were sent back to the interviewees for comments and additional information if needed in order to enhance the validity of the study. The interviews were reported in the form of summaries.

For quantitative data collection, a total of thirty questionnaires (n=30) were printed out (see Appendix 1) for the members who participated in peacekeeping missions from 2014-2018. The respondents completed the questionnaire in a multi-purpose hall setting at Namibia Command and Staff College and Defence Headquarters. At the beginning of each session, the purpose of the study, respondent's rights and instructions were explained in detail. Then, all respondents signed the consent form. Respondents were also informed that the questionnaire was based on the experiences they may have had during peacekeeping missions. The sample consisted of 23 respondents who completed the questionnaire. Out of these, 3 were omitted because they were unreadable or incomplete. Finally, a total of 20 were selected for this study.

### **3.8 Data analysis**

The qualitative data were analysed by giving the full textual report, based on the key informants and information shared by the respondents through structured questionnaires. The emerging themes were grouped into main over-arching themes that were presented as narratives according to the research questions before being interpreted. The questionnaire was coded and analysed using descriptive and inferential statistics with the aid of IBM Statistical Packages for the Social Sciences (SPSS). Moreover, tools such as graphs and charts were used to present the findings of the quantitative data.

### **3.9 Validity and reliability of instrument**

Validity refers to the extent to which the instrument measures what it is intended to measure (Leedy & Ormrod, 2015, p.114). To achieve validity, the instrument was given to the supervisor to scrutinize the content and give an informed opinion about measuring the characteristic in questions. The use of multimethod approach (semi-structured interview and questionnaires) also helped to reduce any misinterpretations of data collected and strengthen the research findings. Furthermore, the use of triangulation was a critical way for validating the findings for the study.

Leedy & Ormrod (2015) refer to reliability as the degree of consistency with which the measurement yields the same results on repeated trials. The researcher was mindful of encountering potential sources of error like data collection bias. In this regard, the researcher was the only one who administered the questionnaires and in consistent manner to minimize data collection bias. Likewise, the use of multi data collection method, retesting the data collected, crosschecking facts, unfamiliar terms, words, phrases helped to strengthen the reliability of the study.

### 3.10 Research ethics

The researcher was committed to abide by all protocols in conducting research as stipulated in the prospectus of postgraduate students of University of Namibia. Some ethical issues taken into consideration, both before and during the interview to ensure effective results and maintain credible were:

**Approval:** Firstly, the research proposal was submitted to the University of Namibia's Postgraduate Studies Committee (PGSC) for approval and permission was granted to conduct the study. Subsequently, written permission to conduct the study was sought from the University of Namibia's Research and Ethics Committee and the Chief of Defence Force (CDF). Approval was also sought from all the participants before the conduct of interviews and administration of questionnaires.

**Voluntary and Informed Participation:** Participants were given a choice to participate voluntarily after the purpose and objectives of the study was thoroughly explained. In this regard, informed consent form were presented to the participant that describes the purpose and the nature of one's participation. Participants were also informed about their rights to withdraw from the study at any time without any negative consequences. Further, permission to tape-record the interviews using a Samsung Galaxy Note III mobile phone voice record was sought from each participant.

**Privacy and Confidentiality:** Any study involving human beings must respect participants' right to privacy (Leedy & Ormrod, 2015). Participants were therefore assured that all information provided would be treated with utmost confidentiality and would only be used for the academic purposes. To this effect, privacy was maintained by ensuring that all participants were given unique, arbitrary code number to any written documents instead of the person's name except during direct quotation with key informants when permission was sought from the respondents. The researcher also ensured that the data collection took place in a private and conducive environment especially with the interviews. Furthermore, any hard copies of research information were kept in locked files at all times. The data collected through the study shall be kept for a period of 2 years before approval is sought from the Research Ethical Committee for destruction.

**Protection from harm:** Participants were informed that they would be protected against physical or psychological harm. Hence, all participants were treated as human beings and not as subjects in a respectful manner. However, the need of sensitivity to the organizational cultural norms in the execution of gender issues was critically reviewed and considered throughout the study. Some questions that had the potential to evoke gender bias and frustrations from participants were skipped or withdrawn from the questionnaires. Since this study involved a sensitive research topic, debriefing sessions lasting 10 minutes were held after each interview to alleviate uncomfortable reactions and correct any misinformation participants might have gotten during the study.

### **3.11 Conclusion**

The study employed a mixed concurrent triangulation research design. Further, purposive sampling was used to select 5 (n=5) senior managers from the population for the interview and simple random sample of 20 (n=20) subjects for the men and women who participated in peacekeeping missions from 2014-2018. Approval of ethical clearance for this study was sought from Research and Publication Office at the University of Namibia and the Chief of Defence Force. Participants were assured that all information they provided would be treated with confidentiality to maintain privacy and anonymity. This chapter also outlined, described and explained the research methodology including the population, sample and sampling techniques, research instruments, data collection procedures, data analysis and ethical considerations. The next chapter presents details of analysis from both qualitative and quantitative methods and findings of the study.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

The previous chapter described and explained the research design and the methodology followed in this research study. Therefore, this chapter presents the results of findings from the primary research meant to analyse women's participation in peace keeping operations since the implementation of UNSCR 1325. The findings are presented in line with the structure of the research instrument, propositions of the conceptual framework and the research objectives of the study. The findings are interpreted and linked to literature review where applicable.

#### **4.2 Namibian Defence Force participation in peacekeeping missions**

Peacekeeping operations are authorized under Chapter VI, Chapter VII and Chapter VIII of the UN Charter. Specifically, Chapter VI provides the legal basis for peace operations but does not authorize the use of coercive force whilst Chapter VII authorizes the use of coercive measures including armed force by international community (Mihalas and Langholtz, 2008, p.18)). Chapter VIII emphasizes the use of regional arrangements and organisations for regional action in the maintenance of international peace and security. In addition, peacekeeping missions are guided by the principles of consent, impartiality and non-use of force except in self-defence and defence of the mandate (United Nations Peacekeeping Operations Principles and Guidelines, 2010, p.31)).

The NDF was established in terms of Namibian Constitution, Chapter 15, Article 115 with the primary mission to defend the territorial integrity and secondary role that include an obligation to participate in PSO (The Namibian Constitution 1990, p.59). In order to fulfil its commitment to the UN in the maintenance of world peace, the NDF has been involved in PSO efforts since 1990 under the auspice of the SADC, the AU and the UN. The first contingent was in the United Nations Transitional of Administration in Cambodia (UNTAC) from 1992 to 1993 (Ilweya, 2014, p.38).

Furthermore, the NDF was involved in peace efforts in the United Nations Observer Mission in Angola (MONUA) from 1996 to 1998 (Directorate of Joint Operations, 2018). Subsequently, from 1998 the NDF sent staff officers to the United Nations Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK). It also formed part of 15000 peacekeepers in Liberia after contributing 800 men and women for PSO in 2004 to 2007 on six-month rotational basis.

In addition, the NDF contributed staff officers and military observers to the following countries: from 2003 until 2005 to the United Nations Mission in Burundi (ONUB); from 2004 to the United Nations Missions in Ivory Coast (ONUCI); from 2003 to 2007 to the United Nations Mission in Ethiopia/Eritrea (UNMEE) and from 2007 till presently to the United Nations African Union Hybrid in Darfur Sudan (UNAMID) and United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) (Ilweya, 2014, p.38). Regionally, from 1998 to 2001 the NDF contributed a contingent to Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) under the SADC peacekeeping operations and was involved in the Launching of SADC Standby Brigade in the Republic of Zambia, Lusaka in August 2007 (Directorate of Joint Operations, 2018). Presently (2018), the NDF send a contingent to the SADC Military Intervention in Lesotho.

However, the UN did not make special request for women peacekeepers until 1994, when the target of 50 percent women and men was recommended (Dharmapuri, 2013). Even though the UNSCR 1325 has called for an expansion on the role and contribution of women in UN peace-keeping operations, eighteen years (2018) after its adoption, women continue to be excluded from peace-making and peacekeeping efforts. In Namibia, the pace at which women participate in peacekeeping missions in the NDF appears to be minimal. According to the Directorate of Joint Operations report (DJOPs), from 2014-2018 the NDF was estimated to had sent approximately 82 troops of which 11 were female and 71 were males as shown in Table 4. 1.

Table 4.1: Peacekeeping deployments statistics from 2014-2018

Year	Male	Female	Total	Female %
2014	10	0	10	0%
2015	16	4	20	20%
2016	16	3	19	16%
2017	11	2	13	15%
2018	18	2	20	10%

Source: DJOPs, 2018

These statistics shows a decrease in female deployments from 0% in 2014, 20% in 2015 to 16% in 2016, 15% in 2017 and 10% in 2018. The alarming state of these statistics in the NDF peacekeeping deployments was an indication that the UNSCR 1325 were not translated into action and the participation of women in peacekeeping continues to be minimal in the NDF (Shaanika, 2017).

### 4.3 Response rate

Out of twenty-five (25) respondents, five (5) were engaged in the interviews and twenty (20) were given questionnaires. The information is shown below:

Table 4.2: Response rate

Target Population	Number of copies	Responded	Response rate
Key Informants (NDF Senior Management)	7	5	6%
Officers who served in UN peace keeping mission	20	20	94%
<b>Total</b>	25	25	100%

Source: Author's Computation with data derived from the questionnaire

Table 4.2 above shows the response rate of respondents. Initially, the research envisioned having interviews with the CDF and the COS Joint Operations but due to other official obligations these interviews could not be secured instead the CDF delegated his MA to be the respondent. From the 20 questionnaires distributed, the researcher managed to get all 20 questionnaires back. Therefore, the results show 100% response rate was achieved.

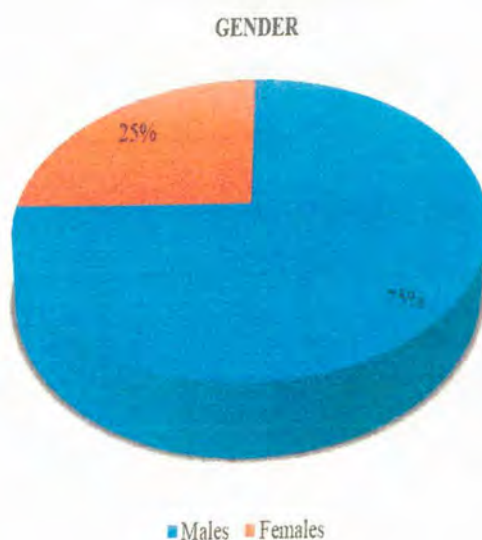
#### **4.4 Findings on quantitative research testing perceptions and opinions of officers who served in peacekeeping missions, conducted from 09-30 November 2018 at Defence Headquarters and Namibia Command and Staff College**

##### **4.4.1 Demographic information**

The demographics of respondents shown below shows the distribution of respondents by gender, age, rank, UN peacekeeping mission, and position held.

##### **1. Gender**

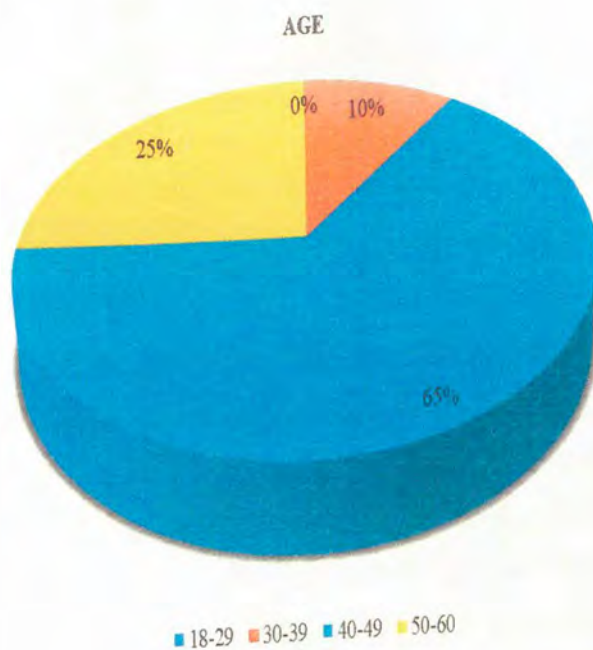
Figure 4.1 shows the gender of respondents.



According to figure 4.1 above shows that out of a total of 20 respondents, 15 (75%) males and 5 (25%) females. In respect of this statistics, it can be concluded that the military environment was male dominated making the female representation very few in terms of gender representation.

## 2. Age

Figure 4.2 shows the age of the respondents.



According to figure 4.2, from the respondents who participated in this study, the age group 40-49 years occupies the greatest part of the population with a percentage of 65%, followed by 50-60 with 25% and 30-39 the least with only 10%. It can be assumed that based on the UN age requirements most officers who participated in peacekeeping missions thus falls in the age group 40-49.

### 3. Rank

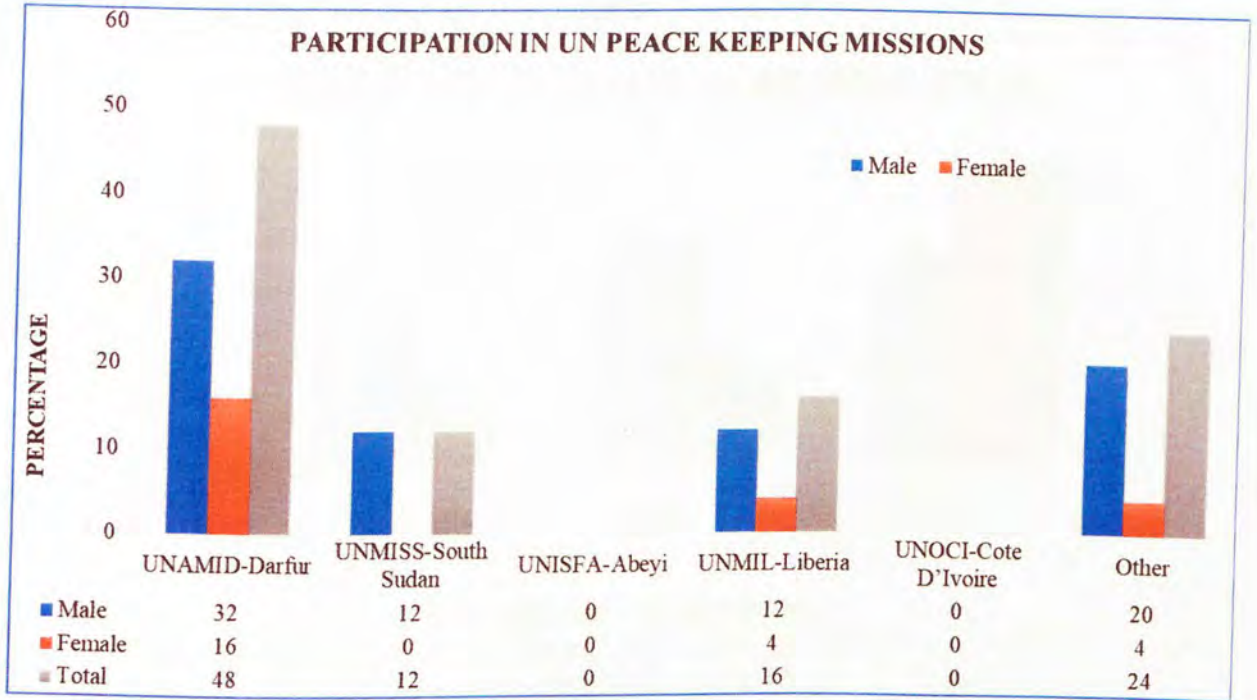
Figure 4.3 shows the rank of the respondents.



Figure 4.3 shows that from the population under study, 55% of the respondents were of the rank of Lieutenant Colonel or equivalent, followed by 35% of the rank of Major or equivalent. The Colonels or equivalent were fairly represented with 10% and with 0% for the Generals. One may assume that most officers who participated in peacekeeping missions at the time were holding the rank of Majors or equivalent because of UN requirements for staff officers that considers mostly the rank parameter of Majors or equivalent and below. In addition, the Generals were the least represented because they form part of key informants in this study and therefore were interviewed using different questions.

#### 4. Participation in UN Peacekeeping Missions

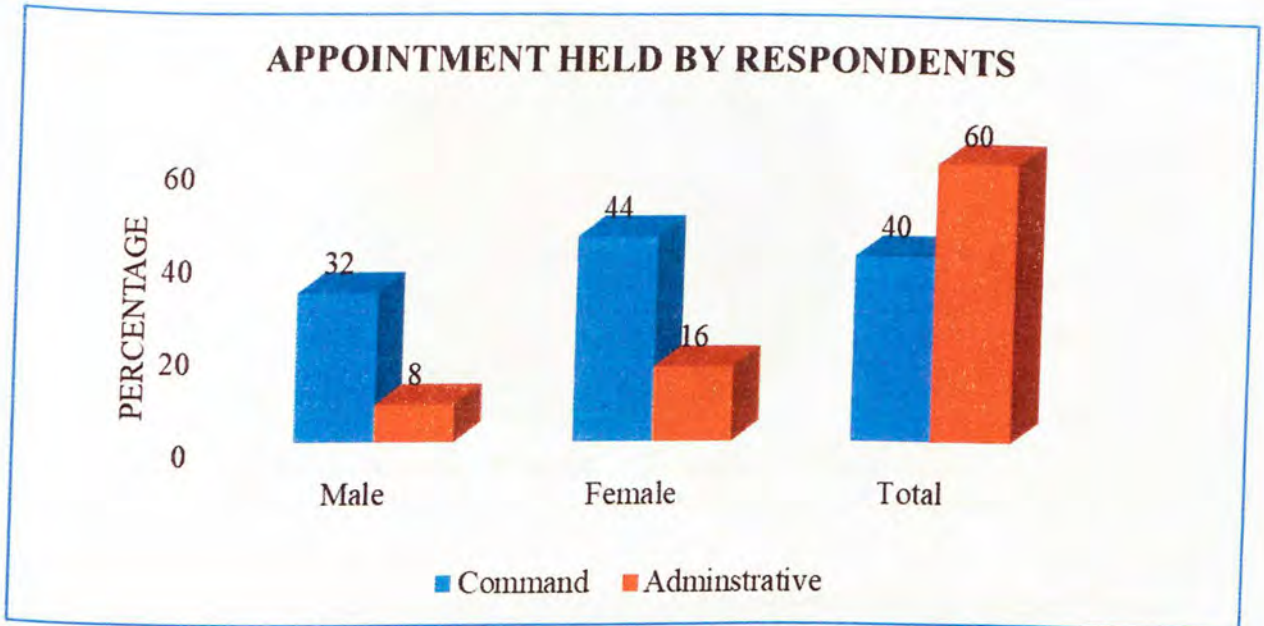
Figure 4.4 shows the participation of respondents in UN peacekeeping missions in terms of gender.



According to figure 4.4, most respondents who participated in UNAMID-Darfur mission comprised of 32% males and only 16% were females, followed by other missions with 20% males and 4% for females. UNMIL-Liberia were least represented with 12% for males and 4% females, followed by UNAMISS-South Sudan with 12% and 0% respectively. UNOCI-Cote D' Ivoire and UNISFA-Abeyi were all not represented. Convincingly, one may conclude that during the period under review (2014-2018) many males participated in the UNAMID-Darfur due to the perceived security complications in the operational environment.

## 5. Appointments held

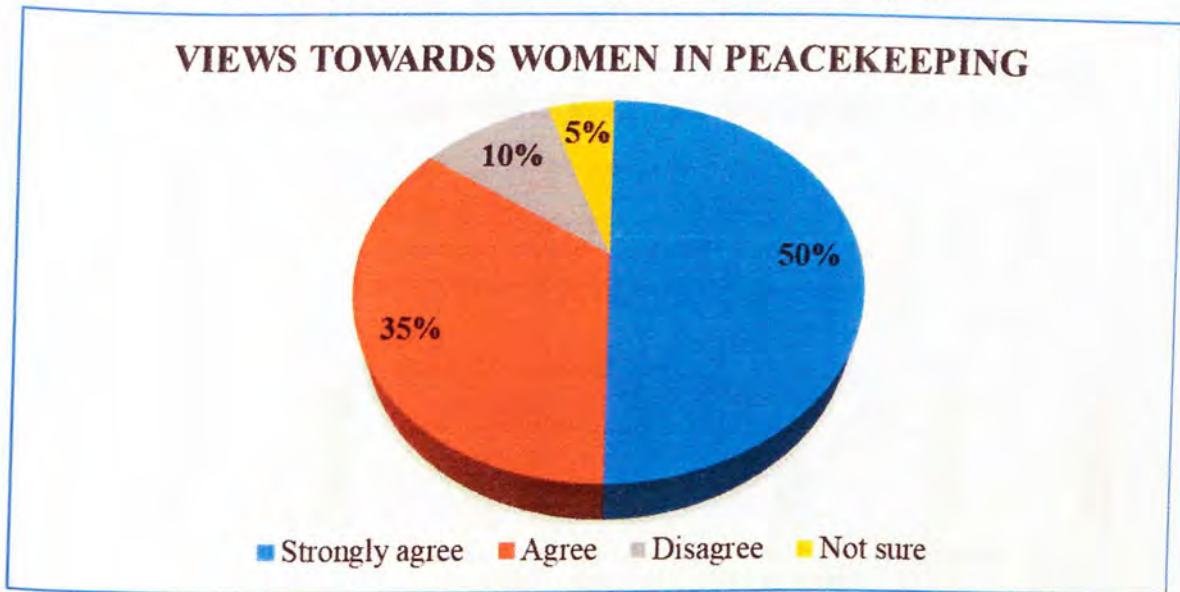
Figure 4.5 shows the appointments held by the respondents in UN peacekeeping missions in respect of gender.



In figure 4.5, most respondents who participated in this study held administrative appointments during peacekeeping which comprised of 60% and command appointments with fair representation of 40%. However, only 8 % of women have been represented in command appointments. The views of posting fewer women in command appointments was shared by Mclean (2011), cited in Mubita (2016) that male peacekeepers had negative perception towards women to such an extent they restrict them to socially constructed feminine roles. A similar view was expressed by the UN Secretary-General that women were treated unfairly in some peacekeeping missions therefore claiming not to want to work in dangerous situations (UNSC, 2000).

## 6. Views towards women participation in peacekeeping

Figure 4.6 shows the respondents views towards women in peacekeeping.



According to figure 4.6, the majority (50%) of the respondents strongly support women participation in peacekeeping missions and those who were in favour was 35%. On the other hand, the respondents who disagree accounts for 10% of the respondents and those who were not sure were 5%. Strongly, the idea of women participation in peacekeeping was supported by the UNSCR 1325 of (2000) which calls for the renewed the importance of women equal participation and comprehensive involvement in efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security. This has prompted the UN member states to ensure more female representation within their structures including peacekeeping missions (Shuuya, 2018). Alchin (2015) also reiterated a similar view that women peacekeepers decrease violence because of the calming effect on men, interact more with locals and responds better to victims of sexual violence.

## 7. Positive changes women present in missions

Figure 4.7 shows positive changes women presents in peacekeeping missions.

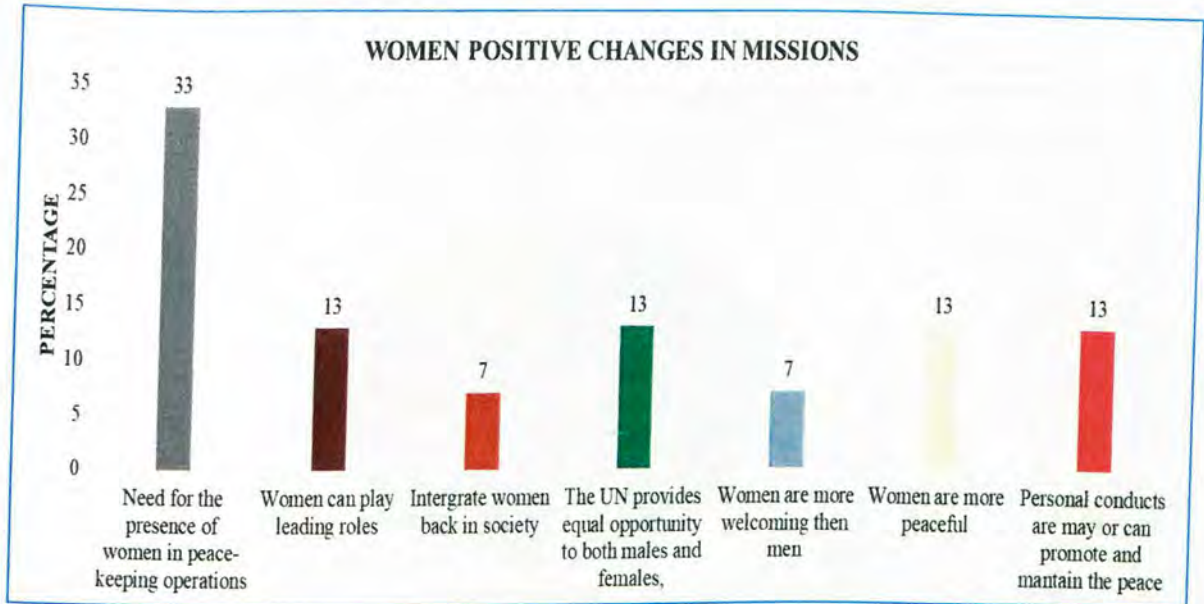


Figure 4.7 shows that different views were aired by the respondents regarding positive contribution women brings into peacekeeping missions. Most of the respondents (33%) believed that there was a need for women presence in peacekeeping missions. Of 13% views that women were needed in the missions because they play leading roles in helping other women and that women were more peaceful compared to men. Another view that gained 13% response rate also claims that women behaviour on peacekeeping missions promotes peace. Furthermore, Dharmapuri (2013) noted that women peacekeepers improve daily tactical level work because they perform certain security tasks better than their male counterparts. The results are supported by Alchin (2015) in that, by nature women were soft heartened and therefore brings motherly roles into the operational environment. Jennings (2011) shared the same views that increasing the number of women in peacekeeping was necessary to protect fellow women and children, ensures a more compassionate response to sexually assaulted women and children and ensures better-behaved, less-corrupt, and less-abusive peacekeeping missions.

## 8. Female officers' views in terms of deployment duties

Figure 4.8 shows female officers' views with their male counterparts in terms of deployment on duties.

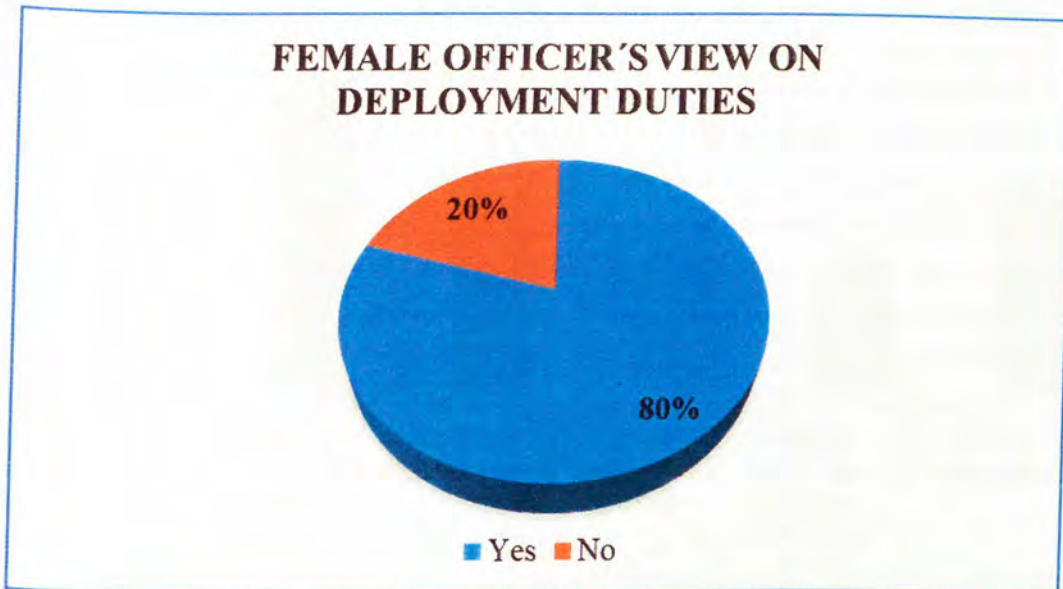
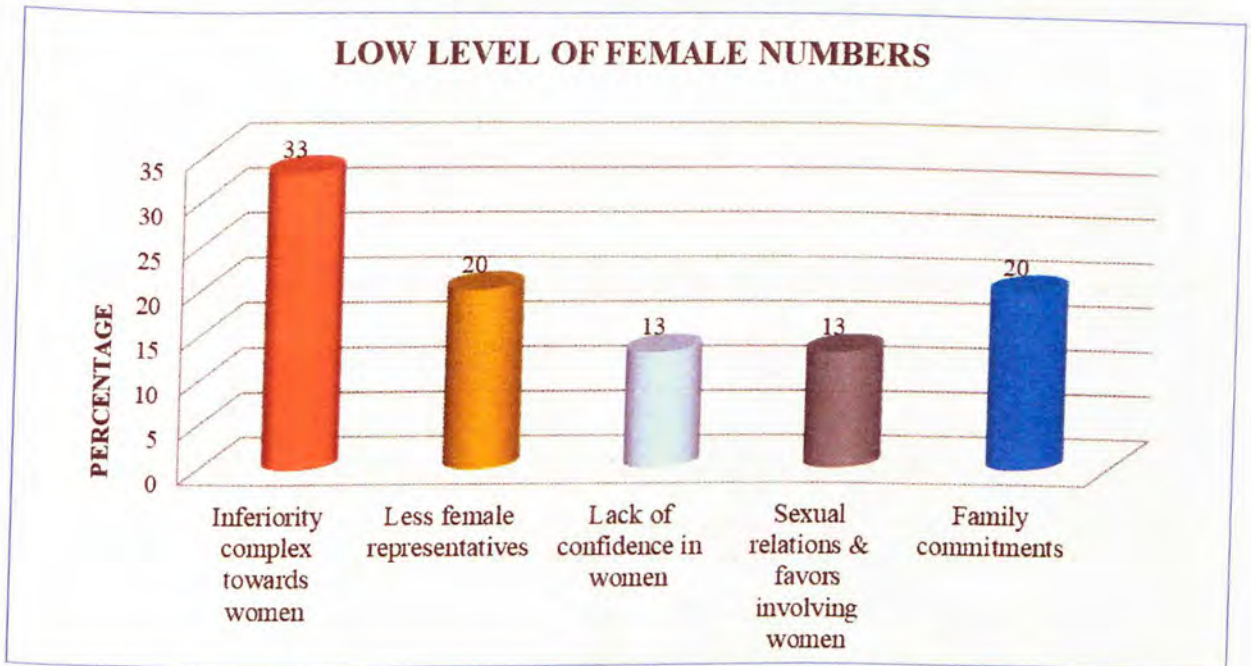


Figure 4.8 depicts female officers' views on deployment duties with their male counterparts. The results shows that 80 % of respondents agreed that both men and women were given equal opportunity. However, only 20 % of the respondents still feels that the opportunities for men and women were not the same. In respect of this statistics, it can be concluded that the military environment was male dominated making the female representation very few in terms of gender representation

## 9. Views on low female numbers embarking on missions

Figure 4.9 shows the views on low level of females embarking on peacekeeping missions.



In addition, the respondents emphasized that before the implementation of the National Gender Policy in Namibia (2010) there were fewer women recruited in the NDF, therefore, women were less represented in all spheres including their participation in peacekeeping missions. This could be the reason why 33 % of the participants noted that the low level is caused by inferiority complex toward women and 20 % blames it on less female representatives as it can be seen in figure 4.9. According to Ghittoni, Lehouck and Watson (2018) there was gender inequalities when it comes to selection of manpower bit in the police or army the results was also supported by Adzei-Tuadza, (2013, p 64) who revealed that female population of the Ghana Police service among from whom candidates were selected was extremely low.

According to 13 % of the respondents reasoned that lack of confidence in women and sexual relations and favors involving women is also a contributor. Alchin (2015) claimed that women's sexuality has been exploited to become a tool and that the presence of women might create sexual relationships, lust, love, marriage or jealousy within the unit.

Moreover, Human Rights Watch (2014) stressed that there has been sexual exploitation and rape by members of security forces tasked with maintaining peace and security in Somalia, Burundi, and Uganda. This finding is supported by Meade et al. (2013) cited in Shikomba (2018) that women in the US military were more likely to be raped by fellow male soldiers than killed in combat.

### 10. Criterion or policies followed by the NDF

Figure 4.10 shows criterion or policies followed by the NDF to ensure proper selection procedures.

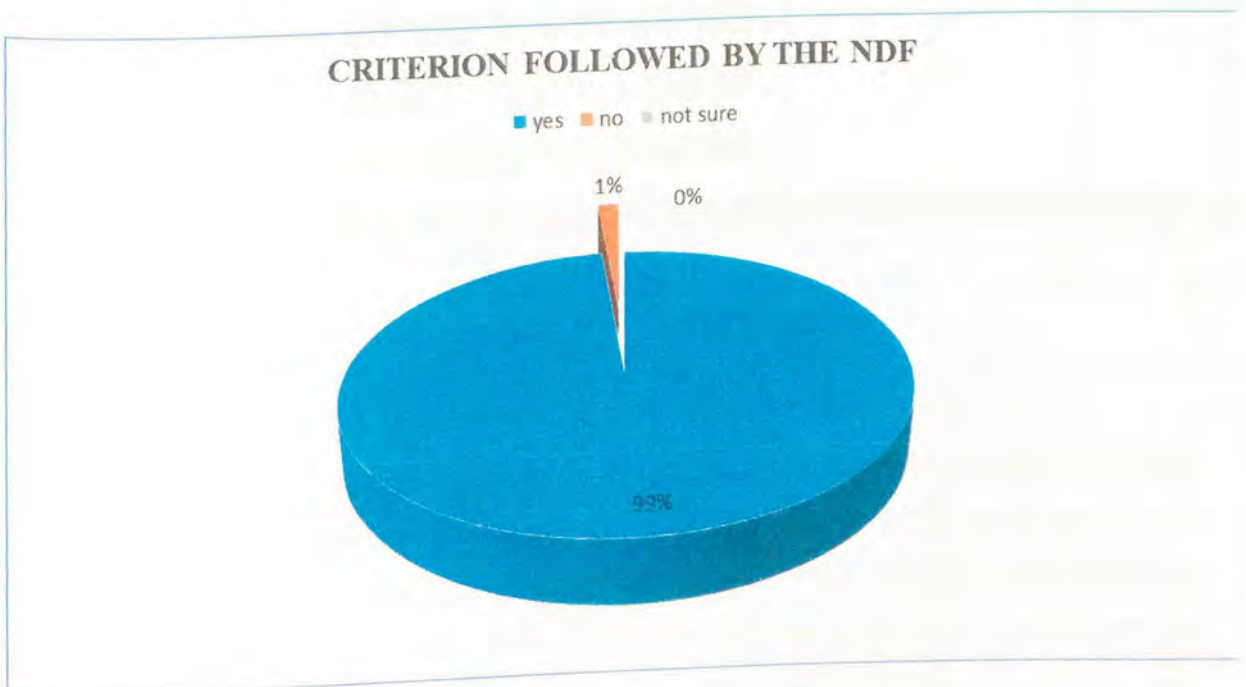


Figure 4.10 depicts criterion or policies followed by the NDF. The results shows that 99 % of respondents agreed that the NDF follows proper criterion to ensure proper selection for both men and women. However, only 1 % of the respondents feels that no proper selection procedures were being followed to ensure equal representation. In respect of this statistics, it can be concluded that there were imbalanced gender representation to come up with tangible deduction.

## 11. Challenges encountered by the NDF

Figure 4.11 shows the challenges encountered by the NDF towards ensuring women participation in peacekeeping missions.



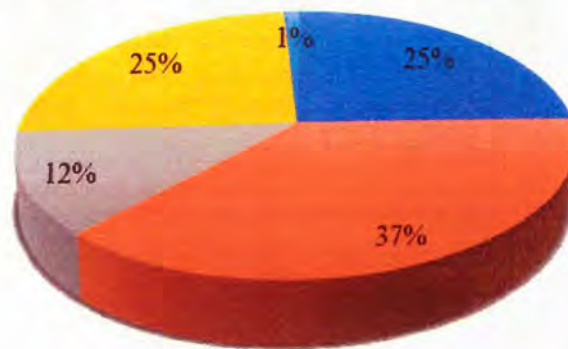
Under this question, the researcher sought to investigate the challenges affecting women's contribution during peacekeeping missions. As seen in figure 4.11 the respondents have detailed down some challenges that the NDF encounters towards ensuring that women do participate in peacekeeping missions. One of the challenges was gender discrimination with a response of 29 %. Another 24 % of the participants have noted that there are policy issues that have become a challenge. Marriage (7 %) and few male officers (7 %) was also a challenge. Lack of training has also been identified by 14 % of the respondents. For example, female police officers from Namibia, Tanzania, and Zambia identified women's lack of driving skills (the UN requires the ability to drive manual shift 4x4 vehicle) as one of the main obstacles to their deployment to peacekeeping missions (Mubita, 2016). Moreover, a study by Adzei-Tuadza, (2013, p 64) revealed that female population of the Ghana Police service lacks adequate skills such as proficiency in both written and spoken English, driving as well as firearms skills by many women was one of the contributing factors that women would not pass the selection tests for peacekeeping missions.

There is also a lack of trust in women identified by 14 % of the respondents. This response is backed up by Enca, (2017) who stated that women often fall prey drawing reference to South Africans who were captured during Sudan missions and the UN blamed the SADF for untrained female soldiers. Therefore, these cases had influenced these cases had the commanders not to select women.

## 12. Factors affecting women contribution during missions

Figure 4.12 shows the factors affecting women contribution during peacekeeping missions.

### FACTORS AFFECTING WOMEN CONTRIBUTION



■ Vulnerability ■ Living standards ■ Accountability ■ Customary laws ■ Health

Figure 4.12 shows the challenges that women face during their peacekeeping mission. Of all the participants, 37 % who are the majority have declared that the living standards during their mission were a challenge. The challenge of ablution facilities as a living standard also was shared by Nakapipi (2013) who claimed that women menstruation cycle can cause disturbances in the working environment and it is foreseen as a challenge during deployment. This can also be declared as a health issue as 1 % of the respondents has been challenged by their health.

Some of the challenges cited by 25 % of the respondents were that they are vulnerable. These views on vulnerability are supported by Alchin (2015) who claims that the sexuality of women has been exploited as a tool their presence can create sexual relationships, lust, love, marriage or jealousy within the unit. Another vulnerability is that women are required to patrol at night very far from the headquarters and as a result, women often fall prey (Enca, 2017).

### 13. NDF/MOD strategies in ensuring women participation in missions

Figure 4.13 shows how the NDF/MOD can ensure meaningful women representation in peacekeeping missions.

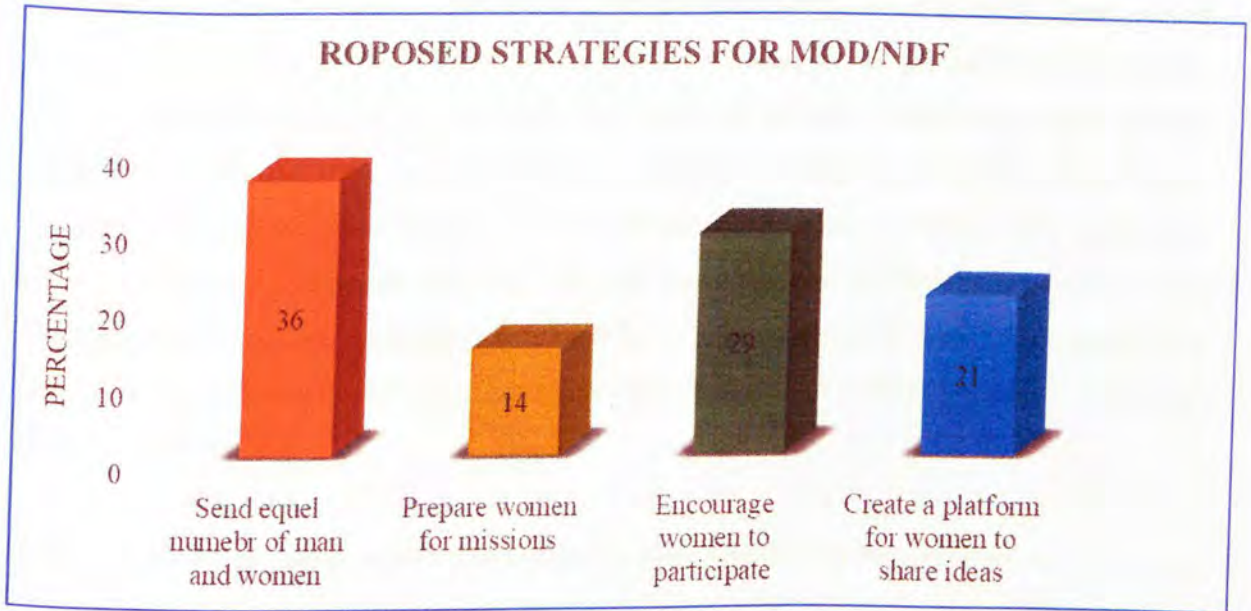


Figure 4.13 shows how NDF/MOD can overcome the challenges that they face when the women attend the peacekeeping mission. The respondents (36 %) have suggested NDF/MOD sending an equal number of man and women will overcome the gender inequality challenge. The same views were shared by Hendricks (2016) that the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) has 3% female representation in its mission, and for the United Nations–African Union Mission in Darfur (UNAMID), the figure was 4% for troops and 22% for police. However, 29 % of the respondents have noted that the NDF/MOD should encourage women to participate in the peacekeeping missions. According to 21 % of the respondents, there is a need to create a platform for women to share ideas. Preparing women for the mission was advanced by 14 % of the respondents.

#### **4.5 Findings on unstructured interview (qualitative) with key informants, conducted from 09-30 November 2018 at Defence Headquarters**

This is the response that was obtained from informants' also known as senior management. The researcher used unstructured questionnaires consisting of open-ended and closed questions to collect expert opinions from five senior managers of the MOD/NDF namely; COS Human Resources, MA to the CDF, SSO Civil & Military Cooperation, SSO Gender Division, SSO Career Development to explore insights understanding and challenges on the inclusion of women participation in peacekeeping missions. Initially, the researcher envisioned to have interviews with the CDF and the COS Joint Operations but due to other official obligations, these interviews could not be secured but instead the CDF delegated his MA to be the respondent. All key informants were interviewed in their respective offices at Defence Headquarters.

##### **4.5.1 Procedures and criteria aimed at promoting gender representation**

From the responses, one respondent pointed out that the NDF have a Defence Policy which stipulates that women should be accorded equal opportunities and gender representation in the NDF. He further emphasized that NDF adheres to the National Gender Policy of 2010 and Affirmative Action. In ensuring these, women were being promoted to senior ranks and some were accorded opportunities to participate in the UN PSO (Liberia, Ivory Coast, and Sudan) and many others since 2005.

One respondent on the contrary pointed out that currently there were no specific programmes in place to advance a particular gender because of the uniqueness of the NDF structure. He highlighted that the NDF has both males and females and the mission was very clear that it should be executed by all regardless of the gender. Therefore, the respondent confirmed that the NDF does not appoint individuals based on specific gender but sends officers who meet the prescribed requirements set out by the UN in exception of contingents. He gave an example of UN requirements such as passing driving and medical test and code of conduct.

Furthermore, another respondent decisively confirmed that there were no specific policies in place though the duties to ensure gender inclusivity lies with the Formations/Units commanders. He however stated that he was aware that both males and females' officers had participated in UN missions such Cambodia, Angola and Liberia and women participated with the battalion selected for the contingent. Similarly, another respondent said that the laws and policies governing the NDF deployment was not discriminatory. She further emphasised that all depends on the specific unit earmarked to participate to ensure that the personnel were equitable balanced. However, she suggested that more needs to be done in terms of facilitating the career progression of women to pave ways in participation for peacekeeping missions.

#### **4.5.2 NDF in maintaining a database for prospective peacekeepers**

The researcher wanted to find out if the NDF maintains or has a database for qualified prospective women peacekeepers. From the responses, 60% being the majority said they were not sure if NDF maintained a database whilst 30% said no and 10% said yes. Furthermore, the respondents explained their positions starting with the view by the first respondent who indicated that the NDF maintains a database in place for all personnel which was managed by the Career Development office within the Directorate of Human Resources. Likewise, another respondent confirmed that all courses attended were recorded and verified timely on individual personnel file for data purposes.

Contrary, one respondent stated that he was not sure since the responsibility to maintain database for prospective peacekeepers lies with the Directorate of Joint Operations. Addressing the same issue, another respondent stressed that his office only kept records of those officers who participated in the UN peace support operations. He, however confirmed that the UN DPKO sends the requests to member states whereas his office invite prospective candidates via respective Services and Formations based on the allocation of slots. He also emphasised that the UN DPKO was responsible for the final nomination in relation to the officers who had passed the set UN requirements.

Furthermore, another respondent expressed that she was not aware that there the NDF was maintaining any database. She further pointed out that the career development database appears to be in its infant stage in the sense that the NDF were failing to keep the correct data of individual qualifications. Therefore, this was an indication that the organisation were in the dark ages regarding flexible human resource practices and lacked objectivity thereby outreaching gender biases and preferences.

#### **4.5.3 UN DPKO making special requests for female peacekeepers**

The respondent's views on UN DPKO's special request for female peace keepers. From the responses, 20% were in agreement, 10% were not in agreement and 70% were not sure. Their responses were further explained where NSM5 stated that in most UN DPKO invitations there was always a clause which states that the female candidates should be encouraged to participate. Therefore, on the basis of these requests the NDF had deployed women in peacekeeping missions such as Sudan-Darfur, Liberia, Ethiopia/Eritrea and Cote D'Ivoire.

Similar views were expressed by NSM4 and NSM3 that there were no specific requests made for women peacekeepers from DKPO though member states were encouraged to give women opportunities to participate in peacekeeping. NSM4 further stated that the selection of women for missions entirely lies with their commanders at respective Services and Formations. As a result, NSM2 suggested that more needed to be done in terms of gender parity since both genders was required to perform different tasks during the missions. On the other hand, NSM1 indicated that at one time, a special request was made to NAMPOL and not the NDF whereby a fully fledged female contingent was deployed in Darfur region.

#### **4.5.4 NDF compliance with UNSCR 1325**

The researcher also wanted to find out if NDF was complying with the presentations of UNSCR 1325 regarding the participation of women in peace keeping. From the responses, 80% of were in agreement and 20% were not, this was further explained by respondents that NSM5 argued that the NDF was complying with UNSCR 1325 though at a minimal pace due to some challenges.

He provided statistics of males and females who participated in peacekeeping missions from 2014-2018 was approximately 82 troops of which 11 (13%) were females whilst 71 (87%) were males. NSM5 therefore maintained that these statistics proves the NDF were doing better in peacekeeping and peacebuilding efforts compared to other countries.

NSM4 concur with NSM5 that the NDF was complying with the resolution 1325 prescriptions because the policies and regulations applies to all and do not discriminate between masculinity and feminism with regards to peacekeeping deployments. NSM2 also agree with NSM4 and NSM5 that the NDF made remarkable strides in the area of peacekeeping and peacebuilding and even hosted global women, peace and security conferences.

NSM1 on the other hand pointed out that the NDF was complying in terms of responsiveness to policy requirements but lacked practical implementation, adherence and commitment as per prescribed by the UNSCR 1325. Therefore, she maintained that Namibia have a long way to implement policies that support equitable gender representation in peacekeeping missions.

#### **4.5.5 Barriers towards ensuring women participation in peacekeeping missions**

With regards to investigating the challenges encountered by the NDF towards ensuring women participation in peace-making missions. One of the respondents highlighted that the challenge towards ensuring women participation in peacekeeping missions was the issue of training and development whereas many women lacked trained to take up any roles and responsibilities as qualified officers. Adzei-Tuadza, (2013, p 64) study revealed that female population of the Ghana Police service among from whom candidates were selected was extremely low. He further argued that lack of adequate skills such as proficiency in both written and spoken English, driving as well as firearms skills by many women was one of the contributing factors that women would not pass the selection tests for peacekeeping missions.

The respondent further reasoned that this was due to statistical factor and representation in the structure whereby women roles were limited to combat service support functions. Further, another respondent confirmed that another challenge was irregularities and negligence by some commanders on women during the selection process. He also stated that some women don't want to stay away from their families for long periods as quoted saying,

*“some women don't want to stay away from their family for long period. Of record: married women engage in sexual activities when on missions, to the system is a story but to the family is a disaster.”*

Some respondents concurred with others that the biggest challenge was with individual training which made many women in the NDF to lack operational exposure or combat experience therefore, the selection for peacekeeping deployment were preferred to males.

Another respondent further argued that based on NDF historical background, women were denied opportunities to attend qualifying courses abroad because of few slots given in foreign countries. He stressed that since 2009 the NDF had no Command and Staff College to train military officers in large numbers therefore, in the advent of training establishments it became a challenge to have potential qualified women for PSO. This is line with similar sentiments shared by Ghimire (2017) that a lack of training and other factors such dual work and family responsibilities, lack of technical knowledge and good communication skills, lack of resources and lack of decent education challenges women participation and performance in peacekeeping missions.

Furthermore, one respondent stated that another challenge was the implementation of gender mainstreaming and policies within the NDF that was not accepted by all in totality because of hegemonic male dominance in the military environment as well as negligence by some male commanders. However, one also noted that the NDF just started with women participation in PSO fulfilling the prescriptions of UNSCR 1325 within the Ministry of Defence although the implementation was a gradual process.

In addition, more respondents were in agreement with each other that the perceptions of male commanders towards women in the NDF especially at grassroots levels to implement gender policies was central to favouritism and gender bias. They also emphasized that another challenge was that posed by partners domestically.

One gave an example of the appointment of potential women peacekeepers whereby sometimes the overall decision lies with the men. These views were supported by Machakanja (2016) that the patriarchal ideologies rooted in most African societies, coupled with limited awareness of resolution 1325 at grassroots level and lack of critical mass of women's voices posed challenges to women participation.

On the other hand, three respondents concurred that there was no pool of trained and well prepared women soldiers to serve in peacekeeping missions. One further stated that lack of trust that women were not capable of carrying out the tasks more competently than men and negative perception by male counterparts posed the biggest challenges for women participation in peacekeeping missions. The findings were supported by Milošević (2012, p.5) who examined the challenges of women's participation in Serbia's peacekeeping operations by noting that the patriarchal belief that the security sector was reserved only for men drawing on the percentage of male representation and the systematic entry requirements in the military was the major challenge against women deployment for peacekeeping.

#### **4.5.6 Unique contributions by women during peacekeeping missions**

In a bid to scout for positive contributions brought by women as peacekeepers in host country. One respondent admitted that women have better negotiation skills and intelligence gathering and were good unifiers. He further explained that it was easier for individuals to communicate with women peacemakers and therefore brings cohesion in the team. He also highlighted that the presence of women makes men be cautious of their conduct. The results are supported by Alchin (2015) in that, by nature women are created as soft heartened creatures who are there to cool down fires. Some as mothers in peace keeping missions, they try to their motherly roles to other people and families in need, they unify families and bring peace.

Another respondent asserted that women enhance access to services for local women, reduction in sexual incidences and gender based violence and improve community relations as local women would have platforms to discuss their special needs. She further stressed that women peacekeepers facilitate capacity building to help breach down traditional views that discriminate and marginalize women.

Nakapipi (2016) reiterated that women acting as peace keepers in other countries tend to fight for women's rights. These women prevent gender based and even domestic violence.

Some respondents confirmed that women build local women confidence to confront the conflict situation and helps them be part of the decision-making and negotiation process. Jennings (2011) shared the same views that increasing the number of women in peacekeeping was necessary to protect fellow women and children, ensures a more compassionate response to sexually assaulted women and children and ensures better-behaved, less-corrupt and less-abusive peacekeeping missions.

Addressing the same issue, another respondent confirmed that women bring a well-balanced working environment to the mission and could also shape the environment from masculine thinking to bring in collective approach. He maintained that women change the *modus operandi* within the operational area in the sense that the complexity of the mission might require some areas to be managed by women especially where rape victims were involved. Similar views were shared by Dharmapuri (2013) that women peacekeepers also improve daily tactical level work because they can perform certain security tasks better than their male counterparts. Drawing on this, women soldiers have a comparative operational advantage in sensitive situations such as women body searches, working with women prisoners, providing escorts for victims and witnesses of sexual violence and screening of female combatants at disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) (Dharmapuri, 2013).

Another respondent in response to women contributions during peacekeeping confirmed that women were good listeners and the motherly effect helps them to foster good relations with the locals in the area of deployments. He further emphasized that women peacekeepers help to bridge the server of communication and traditional beliefs. Similarly, two more respondents stated that women play a significant role when deployed at the internal dispersed person's (IDPs) to escorts other women and could be used as military observers in other instances. Jennings (2011) shared the same views that increasing the number of women in peacekeeping was necessary to protect fellow women and children, because of greater awareness and sensitivity to their particular needs and contribute to more equitable gender relations within the local communities by serving as role models or mentors for local women and girls.

#### 4.5.7 Challenges affecting women contribution during peacekeeping missions

Under this question, the researcher sought to investigate the challenges affecting women's contribution during peacekeeping missions. The researcher found that one of the respondents pointed out that the negative image in the event of hasty generalisation that some women sexual preferences would be generalised to all affects the participation of women. She stated that another challenge was the women expectations to prove themselves and be like men.

On the other hand, one respondent highlighted that women were prone to rape, abduction and human trafficking etc. even she was a trained soldier or peacekeeper might need protection from male counterparts. Further, he stressed that women needs to be deployed where there was water due to their nature and away from conflict zone areas.

Human Rights Watch (2014) stressed that there has been sexual exploitation and rape by members of security forces tasked with maintaining peace and security in Somalia, Burundi and Uganda.

More four respondents had a similar view that women need logistical support due to their nature. They further admitted that women were prone to rape, abduction, human trafficking and could not be equalized to men as one was quoted saying, *"Women are prone to rape, abduction, human trafficking etc. even if it's a trained soldier or peacekeeper will need protection from male counterparts. Women needs to be deploy where there is water due to their nature and away from severe conflicts."* This finding is supported by Meade et al., (2013) cited in Shikomba (2018) that women in the US military were more likely to be raped by fellow male soldiers than killed in combat. Approximately 25% of US military women reported having been sexually assaulted and close to 80% been sexually harassed however the victims were unwilling to come forward

#### **4.5.8 Measures to ensure women participation in peacekeeping missions**

The last part on this questionnaire was to find out some measures NDF has to put in place to ensure women participation in peacekeeping missions. One respondent suggested that the MOD/NDF should increase the training slots for women in order to prepare them for any roles and responsibilities. He further proposed that the MOD/NDF should increase women in combat service support and relook at the combat functions though with some limitations on women. Another respondent further maintained that women should avail themselves for peacekeeping duties without unnecessary complaints. Also, another respondent proposed that the MOD/NDF should encourage and educate both men and women in the NDF in terms of gender mainstreaming and the UNSCR 1325 since the NDF had all relevant policy documents and instruments at their disposal but lacked on the implementation part.

One respondent proposed that the NDF senior management should sensitize commanders at all levels on UNSCR 1325. He further stressed that the MOD/NDF should encourage women to participate in peacekeeping missions in large numbers. Another respondent suggested that the Gender Office should be involved to ascertain women participation in large numbers. The last respondent suggested that the MOD/NDF identify potential women and prepare them for possible deployment in peacekeeping missions. She further maintained that MOD/NDF should promote gender sensitive policy when selecting members for participation in peacekeeping missions such as to give precedence to women who have the required competency and qualifications as men.

#### **4.6 Conclusion**

The major purpose of this chapter was to explore the research findings in a brief and thematic manner. However, not all the responses were quoted above. The overall themes were drawn from the questionnaires and the literature review and the most important responses were recorded within this chapter to stress the points made. Chapter Five concludes the research study and provides recommendations for future action.

With all these barriers, the research has concluded that having a woman on a mission provide the positive change that is linked to credibility and security. With the NDF facing some challenges, the women who embarked on the peacekeeping missions also encountered some challenge.

## **5.2 Recommendations**

Based on the research findings, the following recommendations may be considered and implemented in the NDF to accelerate the increase of women participation in peacekeeping missions:

### **5.2.1 Policy and strategic recommendations**

It is recommended that the MOD and NDF increase the training slots for potential women to enhance the possibility of having more qualified women to choose from. Therefore, more needs to be done in terms of facilitating the career progression of women to pave ways in participation for peacekeeping missions.

It is recommended that the NDF encourage women to participate in peacekeeping missions in large numbers. Therefore, the nomination is increased to 60% men and 40% women and if the nominated woman falls short during tests, the replacement should be a woman.

Such arrangements should involve the Gender Office to ascertain that the selection gave precedence to potential women and promote gender mainstreaming policy within the NDF.

It is recommended that the MOD and NDF sensitize both men and women at grassroots levels on gender mainstreaming and the UNSCR 1325 even though the NDF has all relevant policy documents and instruments at their disposal. The greatest challenge was with the implementation of gender mainstreaming and policies that were not accepted by all in totality and the perceptions of male commanders towards women in the NDF, especially at grassroots levels.

### **5.2.2 Future research recommendations**

Future research should focus on comparative studies with other security agencies such as the Namibian Police to assess women participation in peacekeeping since the implementation of UNSCR 1325. This knowledge could help to mitigate the challenges of women empowerment and further the agenda on women, peace, and security in Namibia. Future studies should look at how other nations are managing gender equality of women participation in the security sector, share ideas of training and development. The studies should continue to focus on the reasons why women are second placed in peacekeeping missions.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix 1: Questionnaire

Dear participant,

I am Ingrid Zemburuka, a Master of Arts in Security and Strategic Studies student from the University of Namibia. I am currently conducting a study on the analysis of women participation in peace keeping operations since the implementation UNSCR 1325 in the NDF. The aim of the study is to explore the challenges that hinder women participation in the Namibia Defence Force. The interview would take 30-40 mins of your time. All information gathered shall be used for academic purposes only and treated with confidentiality. Participation in this interview is completely voluntary and anonymous. You may choose to withdraw from this interview without attracting any penalty. The data collected through this study shall be kept for a period of 1 year in a secure location.

I therefore, kindly ask you to honestly answer all questions and feel free to ask for assistance in answering. Your cooperation is greatly appreciated.

Yours

Ingrid Zemburuka

(Please tick the appropriate box)

#### SECTION A: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

1. What is your gender:

Male	<input type="checkbox"/>
Female	<input type="checkbox"/>

2. What is your age category:

18 - 29	
30 - 39	
40- 49	
50 - 60	

3. What is your rank:

Lieutenant	
Captain	
Major	
Lieutenant Colonel	
Colonel	
General	

4. Name the peacekeeping operation (s) you have participated in.

UNAMID-Darfur	
UNMISS-South Sudan	
UNISFA-Abeyi	
UNAMIL-Liberia	
UNOCI-Cote D'Ivoire	
Other	

5. What appointment did you occupy during the peacekeeping mission?

Command	
Administrative	

6. What are your views towards women participation in peace-keeping missions?

Strongly Agree	
Agree	
Disagree	
Not Sure	

7. Participation of women in peacekeeping mission are aimed at improving human security of the host state. What positive changes do you think women presents in peacekeeping mission?

Need the presence of women in peacekeeping missions	
Women can play leading roles	
Assists in integrating other women in the society	
UN provides for equal opportunity of both men and women	
Women are more welcoming and peaceful than men	
Personal conducts may or can promote and maintain peace	

8. Do female military officers see themselves as equal to their male counterparts in terms of deployment on duties?

Yes	
No	

9. In your opinion, what account for the low level of female numbers embarking on peacekeeping mission?

Inferiority complex towards women	
Less female representation in the structures	
Lack of confidence in women	
Sexual relations and favours involving women	
Family commitments	

10. Is there any criterion or policies followed by the NDF to ensure proper selection procedures in peacekeeping missions?

Yes	
No	
Not Sure	

11. What do you think are the challenges encountered by the NDF towards ensuring women participation in peacekeeping missions?

Marriage	
Few female officers	
Policy issues	
Lack of military training	
Lack of trust	
Gender discrimination	
One mission per military career	

12. What are the factors affecting women contribution during peacekeeping missions?

Vulnerability	
Living standards	
Health	
Customary laws	
Accountability	

13. In your view, what should NDF/MOD do to ensure women participation in peacekeeping missions?

Send equal representation of both males and females	
Prepare and train women for peacekeeping missions	
Encourage women to participate	
Create a platform for women to share ideas	

Thank you for your cooperation!

**Appendix 2: Interview protocol with Key Informants (NDF Senior Management)**

1. What is your view towards women participation in peacekeeping missions?

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2. Is there any criterion of procedures followed by the NDF to ensure gender representation in peacekeeping missions? If your answer is “YES”, state the criterion or procedure followed.

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3. Does the NDF maintain a database of qualified prospective women peacekeepers?

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4. Are there instances where UN DPKO makes specific request only for female peacekeepers?

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5. In your view, do you think the NDF was complying with the prescriptions of UNSCR 1325 regards to women participation in peacekeeping?

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6. What obstacles have been encountered by the NDF towards ensuring women participation in peacekeeping missions?

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7. Participation of women in peacekeeping mission are aimed at improving human security of the host state. What positive contributions do you think women presents in peacekeeping mission?

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8. In your view, what should NDF/MOD do to ensure women participation in peacekeeping missions?

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Thank you for your cooperation!

### Appendix 3: Permission letter to CDF



Telephone: 062 509 3000  
Extension: 3027

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NCSC 3 2 5 14

Namibia Command and Staff College  
PO Box 2167  
Okahandja

2 August 2018

#### REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT ACADEMIC RESEARCH IN THE NAMIBIAN DEFENCE FORCE

Annex A: Research Proposal Tentative Plan

1. I, 17213466 Lt Col Zemburuka, a Directing Staff at Namibia Command and Staff College and a final year student at the University of Namibia, School of Military Science pursuing my Master Degree in Security and Strategic Studies, hereby kindly seek permission to conduct academic research on the *analysis of women participation in peacekeeping missions since the implementation of UNSCR 1325*. This project will be conducted under the supervision of Professor P.H. Van Rooyen, University of Namibia

2. As a member of the NDF, the topic fascinated me to explore, describe and analyze key dimensions hindering women participation in peace-keeping missions and proposing how their roles can best be exhibited. The study is an academic requirement for the partial fulfilment of Master of Arts Degree and it is purely for academic purposes and the final copy will be shared with the MOD/NDF management

3. Resultantly, this study presents a unique opportunity to fill in knowledge gap in an area that has not been researched before, given the background presented by the UNSCR 1325 on women inclusion in peacekeeping missions. The findings from this study will stimulate NDF/MOD strategic decision-makers to address the stumbling blocks that hinder women participation in peacekeeping and also rejuvenate the implementation of UNSCR 1325

4. The researcher envisioned to conduct qualitative research verbal interviews from 1<sup>st</sup> September 2018 till 31<sup>st</sup> October 2018. The target population will include approximately six (6) key informants in strategic positions at Defence Headquarters and eight (8) male/female officers who served in UN peacekeeping missions stationed at Okahandja and Karibib.

5. Kindly find attached letter from the University of Namibia, School of Military Science that approved the topic for the study, approved research proposal and interview guides to be used during this study

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6 Counting on your usual assistance

Respectfully,

  
I ZEMBURUKA psc\* TZ



DIRECTING STAFF NAMIBIA COMMAND AND STAFF COLLEGE: LT COL

IZ/IZ

- Enclosures
1. Approved Research Proposal
  2. Interview Guides
  3. Permission Letter from UNAM

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## Appendix 4: Permission letter from UNAM

### CENTRE FOR POSTGRADUATE STUDIES

University of Namibia Private Bag 13301, Windhoek, Namibia  
340 Mandume Ndemufayo Avenue, Pioniers Park  
☎ +264 61 206 3275/4662 Fax +264 61 206 3290 URL: <http://www.unam.edu.na>



### RESEARCH PERMISSION LETTER

**Student Name:** Ms. I. Zemburuka

**Student number:** 200537504

**Programme:** Master of Arts in Security and Strategic Studies

**Approved research title:** An analysis of Women participation in peacekeeping operations since the implementation of UNSCR 1325: A case study of Namibian Defence Force

### TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

I hereby confirm that the above mentioned student is registered at the University of Namibia for the programme indicated. The proposed study met all the requirements as stipulated in the University guidelines and has been approved by the relevant committees. Permission is hereby granted to carry out the research as described in the approved proposal.

Best Regards

02 NOV 2018

**Name:** Prof. M. Hedimbi

**Date**

**Director:** Centre for Postgraduate Studies

**Tel:** +264 61 2063275

**E-mail:** [directorpgs@unam.na](mailto:directorpgs@unam.na)