A CRITICAL ANALYSIS ONTHE INVOLVEMENT AND PROMOTION OF WOMEN IN STRATEGIC DECISION-MAKING POSITIONS IN THE

NAMIBIAN DEFENCE FORCE

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE

REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE

OF

MASTER OF ARTS IN SECURITY AND STRATEGIC STUDIES

OF

THE UNIVERSITY OF NAMIBIA

FACULTY OF ECONOMICS AND MANAGEMENT SCIENCE

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE STUDIES

 \mathbf{BY}

ELIZABETH PENEHAFO MBOTI

200235206

APRIL 2014

SUPERVISOR: DR SN lipinge

ı

DECLARATION

I, Elizabeth Penehafo Mboti hereby declare that the views expressed in this study are

a true reflection of my own research and represent the opinion of the researcher and

of those interviewed at the time of issue, and that this work, or part thereof has not

been submitted for a degree in any other institution of higher education.

No part of this thesis may be reproduced, stored in any retrieval system, or

transmitted in any form (e.g. electronics, mechanical, photocopying, recording or

otherwise) without the prior permission of the author, or the University of Namibia

to that effect.

I, Elizabeth Penehafo Mboti, grant permission to the University of Namibia the right

to reproduce this thesis in complete or part, in any manner or format, which the

University of Namibia may deem fit, for any person or institution requiring it for

study and research, providing that the University of Namibia shall waive this right if

the whole thesis has been or is being republished in a manner satisfactory to the

University.

Date-----

Elizabeth PenehafoMboti

Ш

DEDICATION

I devote and credit my academic achievement principally to the divine Godly Father, the source of all knowledge and acumen, who set before me an open door that no one has power to shut. To my beloved parents especially my mother, although not alive today, for the brainwave she inculcated in me, the spirit of intrinsic worth and toughness, perseverance, confidence, humane and hard work. To my beloved husband and daughters, Linea, Reginald and Veronica, who took full responsibility of the household chores to allow me time to concentrate on this study, their perpetual emotional support and understanding, especially in times they needed my support, but circumstances could not allow me, and finally to my special beloved granddaughter Rejoice and niece Natalia Tweufiilwa.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

First and foremost, I wish to express my profound appreciation to all the people who assisted me during the period of my study. My heartfelt special gratitude goes to all my friends who have been selflessly considerate, compassionate and supportive during the period of my study. I cannot thank everyone by name but would like to single out TheopheliaShaaanika, Sonia Hangula, Freddy Maiba, Katox Shikufa and Frieda Meameno Mbenzi; these people deserve a special mention for providing me with material sources and support that keep me on my toes.

Profound special gratitude and appreciation go to my research supervisor, Dr SN lipinge, for understanding me when unavoidable circumstances arose and as well for trusting in my ability to complete this thesis. Dr lipinge provided valuable advice, guidance and direction from research proposal initiation to the conclusion of this thesis. Without her aid, this thesis would not have been possible. Heartfelt thanks are equally directed to Professor Schuter and Dr B Lwendo who assisted me greatly during the crafting of the research proposal. I would also like to thank the library staff for their assistance in helping me to locate all reference material needed with ease.

I owe a similar debt to Salome Iyambo and Reginald Nghihepa for their careful proofreading and constructive comments which greatly improved the first research proposal manuscripts. The same gratitude goes to my career coach and mentor Mr. Michael Conteh for his tireless mentoring and guidance, morale support and words of encouragement during the period of study and research process. His guidance will remain a source of inspiration for the rest of my life.

Lastly, I wish to sincerely thank the leadership and management of the Ministry of Defence for according me this opportunity to pursue this degree. My special profound appreciation goes to the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Defence, Mr.Petrus Shivute and the Chief of the Namibian Defence Lt-Gen Epaphras Ndaitwah for authorising the release of financial resources as well as for granting permission to collect information from NDF members and facilitating access to restricted and confidential information with ease.

To all those that assisted me, although I have not singled you out, you all have been a great team and I am proud to have been connected to you. May God bless you all and keep up the good work.

ABSTRACT

This study was undertaken, firstly to explore and describe women inclusion and participation in executive and commanding positions in the Namibian Defence Force (NDF), and secondly made recommendations on how they (women) could be empowerment to participate fully in power positions. Using descriptive and exploratory methods with both quantitative and qualitative methods for data collection, interpretation and analysis, the study discovered, despite Government interventions with gender-sensitive policies and programs complimented by awareness and sensitization campaigns, regrettably, women continue to be underrepresented in executive and command positions in the Namibian Defence Force.

The study interviewed both men and women in different rank categories with a view of obtaining their opinion as to why there is gender imbalance in strategic decision-making positions and command echelons in the NDF. Data obtained discloses massive inequalities thus revealed, chances for women advancement to strategic and executive positions in the NDF is incommodious, below par and touchy. Empirical evidence obtained during literature review exposed all command positions are patriarchal thus, decisions continue taken by one sex on behalf of the other. The study population was 490, out of which a sample of 125 male and female was drawn from the strategic decision-making bodies, Generals, Officers and other Ranks groupings from DHQ, Army and AF.

The study conceptual framework is embedded from feminist perspective to provide reasons that traditional military masculinity are the sources of inequalities. Thus, exploiting the feminist view point the study established that social cultural factors, organization culture, women limited access to military education and training, discrimination in promotion and appointment constraints equal opportunity in the NDF and inhibit the upward mobility of women to top positions. Thus, NDF should employ a gender optic framework that gives effect to gender equality considerations, development of gender friendly policies and implementationguidelines. Finally, NDF should commission a study to investigate why women are not making it to decision making and command positions.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page	
Declar		ii	
Dedication		iii	
Ackno	wledgement	iv	
Abstra		vi	
Table of Contents		vii	
	Abbreviation	xi	
	tion of Terms	XV	
	Tables	xviii	
List of	Figures	XX	
СНАР	TER 1: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND		
1.1	General Introduction		1
1.2	Background of the Study		4
1.3	Statement of the Problem		11
1.4	Purpose and Specific Objectives		13
1.5	Research Questions		14
1.6	Significance of the Study		14
1.7	Definition of Major Concepts		16
	Women		16
	Gender and Sex		16
1.7.3	<i>C:</i>		17
	Decision-making		18
	Defence		19
	Equal Opportunity and Equal Treatment		19
1.8	Conclusion		20
СНАР	TER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW		
	Introduction		21
2.2	Women in Combat		22
2.3	Gender Equality in the Namibian Defence Force		23
2.3.1	The Constitution and Gender in NDF		23
2.3.2	Gender Equality and the Namibian Defence Force Policy Fr	amework	25
2.4	Gender Equality and Conceptual Realities of Military		27
2.5	International Commitments on Equal Representations		28
2.5.1	The United Nations Declaration on Gender		28
2.5.2	Regional Commitments		31
2.6	Women Representation in National Defence Force		33
2.7	Theoretical Approach		35
2.7.1	Feminist Theory		36
2.7.2	Radical Feminist		37

	Liberal/Equality Feminist	37
	Standpoint Feminist Feminist of Pages and Conflict Theory	38 39
2.7.3	Feminist of Peace and Conflict Theory Conclusion	40
2.0	Conclusion	40
CHAI	PTER 3:RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	
3.1	Introduction	42
3.2	Research Design	43
3.3	Research Methods	47
3.4	Analytical Approach	48
3.5	Population and Sample	49
3.5.1	Population	49
	Sampling and Sample	51
3.5.3	Sampling Size	52
3.5.4	Sampling Strategies	53
3.5.4	(I) Purposeful Sampling	53
3.5.4	(II) Maximum Variation Sampling	54
3.5.4	(III) Snowball Sampling	55
3.6	Data Collection Methods	55
3.6.2	Documentary Study Focus Group Discussions	57 58
3.6.3	Focus Group Discussions In-depth Interviews	60
3.7	Data Analysis	61
3.8	Trustworthiness of Data	62
3.9	Ethical Consideration	64
3.10	Conclusion	66
3.10	Conclusion	UC
CHAI	PTER 4:PRESENTATION OF RESULTS AND FINDINGS OF THE	
STUD		
4.1	Introduction	67
4.2	The Namibian Defence Force Strategic Leadership and Executive Band	68
4.3	Respondents in the Study	69
4.3.1	Respondent's Age Group	72
4.3.2	Respondent's Education Background	73
4.4	Results of the Study	75
4.4.1	Perceptions	75
4.4.2	General Representations in Strategic Decision-making	76
4.4.2.1	Gender Breakdown in Executive Committees	77
4.4.2.2	2 Gender Breakdown in the Namibian Defence Force Leadership	81
4.4.2.3	Gender Breakdown in Strategic Command Positions	82
	Gender Breakdown in Recruitment	83
	Gender Breakdown in the Namibian Defence Force Think Tank	84
4425	5 1 Criteria used for Appointing Members of the Think Tank	85

4.4.2.6	Women Representations in Directorates and Division		85
	Gender Breakdown in Arms of Services		86
4.5	Interview with Key Informants		91
4.5.1	Appointment Criteria		92
4.5.2	Challenges to Women Advancement		92
	Military Culture and Traditions		94
4.5.4	Participation in Combat		95
	Discrimination and Bias		95
	Career Progression		97
4.6	Results from Focus Group Discussion		100
4.6.1	Reasons why Women are not Promoted		105
4.6.2	Causes of Inequalities		107
4.7	Discussion of the Results		108
4.7.1	Military Culture and Male Attitudes		109
	Biasness and Stereotypes	110	107
	Education and Training	110	110
4.7.4	Selection and Appointment of officers		112
4.7.5	Rank and Power Distribution		113
	Deployment and Posting		115
4.7.7	NDF Policies Towards Equal Opportunities		115
4.7.8	Representation in Arms of Service Command Positions		116
4.8	Conclusion		117
СНАР	TER 5:DISCUSSIONS CONCLUSION, RECOMMENDAT	ION AN	D
LIMI	TATIONS OF THE STUDY		
5.1	General Discussions		119
5.2	Conclusion		122
			126
5.4	Limitations of the Study Recommendation		128
5.5	Conclusion		131
5.5	Conclusion		131
D C			100
Refere	nces		132
Appen	dices		140
1.	Letter of Approval		
2.	Authorization Letter		
3.	Letter to respondents		
4.	Questionnaire for the Generals and Senior Staff Officers		
5.	Questionnaires for the Chief of the Defence Force		
٠.	Questionnaires for the Chief of the Defence Porce		

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAA Affirmative Action Act

AC Army Commander

ADBde Air Defence Brigade

AF Air Force

AFC Air Force Commander

AFQ Air Force Headquarters

AM Air Marshall

ANC African National Congress

AS Arms of Services

ASF Africa Standby Force

AU Africa Union

BDE Brigade

Bn Battalion

BDPA Beijing Declaration and Platform of Action

Brig Gen Brigadier-General

Capt Captain

CDF Chief of the Defence Force

CEDAW Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination

Against Women

C-I-C Commander – In –Chief

CMDR Commander (Navy)

CO Commanding Officer

Col Colonel (Army Rank)

COS Chief of Staff

CPL Corporal (Army and Air Force rank)

CSF Commander Special Forces

DA Defence Attaché

DAC Deputy Army Commander

DHQ Defence Headquarters

DI Defence Intelligent

DPS Deputy Permanent Secretary

DSC Defence Staff Council

Flt Lt Flight Lieutenant (Air Force)

FPCT Feminist of Peace and Conflict Theory

FY Financial Year

Gen General (Army rank)

GP Capt Group Captain (AF rank)

HR Human Resources

HRDS Human Resources Development Strategy

ICT Information CommunicationTechnology

ISDSC Inter State Defence and Security Committee

KI Key Informant

L/Cpl Lance Corporal (Army)

Lt Lieutenant (Army rank)

Lt Col Lieutenant Colonel (Army rank)

Lt Gen Lieutenant General (Army rank)

Major (Army rank)

MOD Ministry of Defence

MSC Military Steering Committee

NCO Non Commissioned Officer

NDF Namibian Defence Force

NGP National Gender Policy

OCDT Office Cadet

OPS Operations

OPT Operation, Plan and Training

PGSC Post Graduate Studies Committee

PLAN People's Liberation Army of Namibia

PS Permanent Secretary

PTE Private (Army rank)

SADC Southern Africa Development Community

SADF South African Defence Forces

Sgt Sergeant (Army)

SMC Senior Management Committee

SQNLDR Squadron Leader (Air Force)

SSGT Staff Sergeant (Army rank)

SSO Senior Staff Officer

SVCs Comdr Service Commanders

SWATF South West Africa Territorial Forces

SWAPO South West Africa People's Organisation

TT Think Tank

UDHR Universal Declaration of Human Rights

UN United Nations

UNSCR United Nations Security Council Resolution

WGCDR Wing Commander (Air Force)

WO Warrant Officer

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Attitude

Attitude is how someone feels, behave or act regarding something of which the attitude perceived towards a particular object influences the decision-making processes.

Deployment

Is a military terminology mostly used when soldiers are sent on a military mission outside their normal area of operation usually for more than a month without family members or dependents.

Espirit de Corp

Espirit de Corp refers to willpower and obedience that holds a combat team together, forester harmony and self-discipline among soldiers to pull together persistently and consistently in pursuit of a common purpose.

Gender Equality

Refers to equal treatment of both men and women, for instances, equal representation of women and men in staffing and allocation of resources for men and women activities.

Her-story

This refers to a narrative chronology of events in a woman's life told or written from a feminist viewpoint and underscores the particular actions and experience of women. It is her-story as it relates to womenstories from a feminist point of view.

Gender equity

Gender equity is appropriate and fair allocation of resources (human, material and financial) to both women's and men's activities.

Gender mainstreaming

Gender mainstreaming is a tool that is being used to better understand the causes of inequality between women and men in a project in order to come up with appropriate strategies to tackle the situation.

Leadership

Refers to the process by which one person influences the thoughts, attitudes and behaviours of others towards the attainment of a specific goal. Overall, leadership is the ability to get other people do something that they might not otherwise have done. In military, the concept is employed to mean ability to command or get other people risk their lives in combat.

Patriarchy

Patriarchy is a system in which women's interest is subordinated to the interests of men.

Perceptions

How people view specific situations or understand a certain group of people.

Teeth-Arms

This refers to Army fighting regiments that are to deliver success on the ground by engaging in close combat, these are combat Arms; Infantry, Armour and Aviation.

Traditions and military culture

Traditions and military culture are specific set of practices associated with the military socialization of a soldier in general. In other words it is the military way of life and ethos and includes discipline.

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
Table 4.1 Number of respondents in the study per rank and gender	
by 2012	69
Table 4.2 Age grouping of key respondents in the study	71
Table 4.3 Respondents general education	72
Table 4.4 Respondents military training	73
Table 4.5 Number of women in executive committees by 2012	77
Table 4.6 Women representation in key positions per gender by 2012	80
Table 4.7 Women in command positions by 2012	81
Table 4.8 Number of women recruited and integrated from 1996-2012	82
Table 4.9 Power distribution among members of the Namibia Defence	
Force Think Tank	83
Table 4.10 Women representation in Arms of Services (Army, Air Force	and
Navy)	86
Table 4.11 Rank distribution among women and men in command	
positions of the Army 2000-2012	87
Table 4.12 Rank distribution among women and men in Air Force	

Command positions 2001-2012	88
Table 4.13 Number of women in Brigades, Formations and Battalion	
Command positions	89
Table 4.14 Challenges to women appointment to decision-making positions	94

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Page
Figure 4.1	Namibian Defence Force Executive Command setups	
by 2012		68
Figure 4.2	Percentage of women key respondents	70
Figure 4.3	Number of women respondents in the study per rank and	
gender by 201	2	78
Figure 4.4	Gender Breakdowns in the Defence Staff Council by 2012	78
Figure 4.5	Women in Military Steering Committee	79
Figure 4.6	Women Heads of Directorates and Division	85

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND INFORMATION ABOUT THE STUDY

1.1 GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Equal representation and gender inclusiveness topic clouds discussions of today's security sector and military fraternity. Studies done by International Labour Organization (ILO) 1998 shows women who constitute over 50% of the world population have not achieved much equality in any country of the world and are underrepresented in the security sector. Thus, for the past twenty-two years (1990-2012), promotion of gender equality, women empowerment, representation and participation of women in leadership and decision-making positions had been at the heart of the Government of the Republic of Namibia.

The Namibian Constitution has called for the inclusiveness of all humans in all national development endeavours. In response to such constitutional imperatives, the government, through an Act of Parliament committed all government institutions, NDF included, to ensure equal opportunities of men and women in appointment to decision-making positions as well as equality of voices in committees dealing with security matters. However, despite considerable efforts, inequalities in the Namibian Defence Force (NDF), particularly in executive and command structures remain a challenge. Thus, although women made up a significant portion of the NDF workforce, for a decade and half, records show they are not appointed neither

represented in decision-making and command positions, and that bigotry, masculinity thinking, military traditions and customs bear such exclusion.

Other claims include perceptions that because of their womanly characteristics (reproductive and peacefulness) they (women) are too valuables to be wasted in perilous military professions and operations (Cleaver & Wallace, (1990); Gisela (2004) & Collins,(2007). Similarly, feminist scholars such as Gisela (2004), Juma (2009) & Goldstein (2008), equally contended, these claims are rooted from social realities that society built around feminine characteristics and thus generalised to all women joining the military, that they do not fit military career particularly combat specialities. Thus, opponent for women inclusion in military argues, if women are to be brought in their appointment then should be limited to certain specialities, functions and positions and not upward to as far as strategic leadership, decision-making and command positions, neither to cross the line to becoming artillerists or infantries as such a move may down grade military standards.

Although prior statement sounds proper to those making it, analysing it with gender lenses and contextualizing it within Constitutional provisions enshrined in Chapter three (3), Article (10) and (23), Chapter eleven (11), Article (95) (a) and (e) of the Namibian Constitution (1990), it totally contradicts Constitutional imperatives. The Namibian Constitution acclaimed by many as being the best gender friendly Constitution in the world endorsed human rights as a need to sustain life for all and

thus, commit all government entities to implement policies and programmes aiming at redressing past discriminatory practices and achieving a balanced structure in all government entities including the Namibian Defence Forces (Diescho, 1994). Thus, investigating equal representation in the NDF decision-making and command structures should not be viewed as a security threat, but an appraisal on how the Namibian Defence Force as one amongst the state machineries has responded to constitutional provisions. Drawing from constitutional imperatives therefore, the study sought to confirm, or contradict through evidence whether appointing women in strategic decision-making positions and command structures of the NDF may lower military professionalism and standards or may compromise or may have defects to national security.

For those reasons, this research was undertaken to investigate the involvement of women in NDF strategic decision making and command positions. The aim was to divulge the magnitude of inequalities in the NDF leadership, decision-making and command echelons. In so doing, the study intends to reveal a comparative representation data of men and women in the executive structures and command positions and as well to disclose how bigotry perception shapes the subordination of women in the NDF.

The study meant to explore barriers preventing women access todecision-making portfolios. Thereafter recommend possible actions to increase equal representation

and participation. The study further sought to unfold or dismiss with empirical evidence claims that women's dual roles (reproductive and productive) are barriers to their appointment and advancement to high positions in military. The theoretical outlook of this study is broadly pillared from different feminist's viewpoints that will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2. Overall, this research seeks to explore the involvement and appointment of women in strategic decision-making and command echelons and as well describe power distribution among women and men in the Namibian Defence Force.

Chapter1 therefore provides an overview of the evolution of gender equality in the NDF and enlightens on the necessity for equal representation in strategic decision-making and command structures. The chapter commences with a brief background of the study, a recount of the involvement and engagement of women in combat during the liberation struggle as fighters or combatants, mothers, commanders, leaders and decision-makers in different situation and capacities, followed by the statement of the problem, the research questions and objectives of the study, while significance and definition of major concepts concludes discussions of Chapter1.

1.2 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Studies done by Cleaver & Wallace (1990); Heinecken (1998); Adei (2000); Gisela (2004); Iipinge (2005); Collins (2007); Goldstein (2008); Juma (2008); Baylish, Smith & Owens (2008) acknowledged women's contribution to the liberation

struggle in Africa and elsewhere as being remarkably and outstanding. However, although Hicks –Stiehm (1998) concurs with the foregoing authors, she observed that thoughwomen's active participation in the liberation war had been positively noted by various scholars, there were still different understandings of power relations particularly in security institutions, Defence Forces in particular. As such, women's contribution despite being incalculable did not demystify the traditional founding myth of military masculinity. Thus, debates are nowhere more hotly than the question of women appointment and inclusion in command positions in the Defence Forces.

Similarly, Tobias (1990) also found that although women participation in the liberation war did not break the chains of inequality, the fact remains, if first class citizenship is gained through access to military positions, then women too need to have equal access to gain full citizenship, otherwise they will remain second class citizens. Adding to Tobias observation, Howard (1997) in attempt to search for explanations and variations about women exclusion in leadership and decision-making positions across time and space expose a number of challenges that contributed to the absence of women in decision-making and command positions in the military. In her exploration, Howard argues, in the military, women are more disadvantaged in the recruitment, appointment and promotion processes which results in underrepresentation chiefly in critical decision- making and command positions.

In addition to Howard view point, researchers on peace and security such as Hicks—Stiehm (1998); Heinecken (1998); Collins (2007); Iipinge&Le Beau (2005) and Juma (2008) in their studies indicated while women participation in the liberation wars has been visible and commendable, their appointment in positions of authority after war ceased become silent and distressing. Thus, they (women) continue to be below the desired representation percentage in top leadership and decision-making positions, not only in the Namibian Defence Force but in other security institutions as well.

To this effect, Heinecken (1998) in particular reported, although the debate to appoint women in decision-making and command positions generated different views across national governments, in fact, as the nexus between national security and human security becomes clearer, so as the demand to increase women's access and participation at all levels of security engagement become relevant, imperative and crucial. Thus, any debates on equal representation in the defence sector should move beyond male inherent security echo domain to human security with recognition of the knowledge and experiences of those who had been silenced and excluded in the security planet.

The changes in the natures of security made women unreservedly part of the human social group, and thus entitled to same rights and privileges as their male counterparts. However, despite the expansion in security definition, women continue

to be side-lined, type casted and denied access to decision-making in Defence forces. Such discrimination therefore is in the context of human security aviolation of human rights, women included. Shaanika (2007) drawing on the work of Manuh (1998) equally emphasized that military has traded in traditional practices and prejudices over into public life and reclaim it as professional military way of doing things. Such practices are life in NDF despite policy intervention, thus, resistance andrejection for women appointment in NDF leadership and command responsibility continued. In support of Shaanika's statement Goldstein (2001) in his comparative study "Gender and War" also took a firm hold that, despite the fact that war had been fought byboth menand women, it had and still being understood exclusively as male trades planned and executed by men. Therefore, bringing in women just for representation sake is viewed as compromising the mandates of the military. The arguments are women enter to search employment while men enter the military to prove their status as adult menand thus militaryrepresent the highest aspiration of manhood and not motherhood. Therefore, inmilitary terminologies, acknowledgment words such as "Sir" and "gentleman" are acceptable expressions to all members regardless of what sex they are. There has been no formal terminology such as "madam" thus; females are to try to fit in "one size fits all".

Furthermore, in justification of the call for equal representation in defence forces, Juma (2009) a security feminist took a firm stand and put the record straight that, history recorded many African Queens in the history of Africa (such as Ahhotep I of Egypt, MbandeNzinga of today's Angola, Majaji of Sudan and Amina of Nigeria)

who back the centuries built fearsome armies that prevented enemies to conquer their territories during their reigns. It is thereforeerroneous and irritating to erasethe significant contribution of women in African military history, Namibia included. In support of the preceding arguments, Tjingaete (1995); Angula (1998) and Namakalu (2004) in reference to the Namibian history equally affirmed during the liberation struggle, the Namibian women too distinguished themselves militarily competent and physically fit to cope and deal with any military situation. Based on the findings of the earlier studies therefore, it is arguable that liberation struggle assented women opportunity to perform duties traditionally believed to be men's work. Many historic battles against colonialism in Namibia were fought with women on the frontlines, a situation that swayed the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) liberation movements to give a standing ovation of the principles of equality in its Party Manifesto (1978) and promised to empower women to take up positions of authority once the war ends. Thus, they (women) expected to be accorded equal treatment with regard to appointment in strategic decision-making and command positions in the NDF at inception and thereafter.

Divergently however, a research conducted by Colleta, Kostner&Wielderfer (1996) indicated, though female combatants and staff served in the People's Liberation Army ofNamibia (PLAN) and South West Africa Territorial Forces (SWATF) little has been recorded about their heroinesin other words, this study find no official record reflecting the involvement of women in the battle action as commanders as the case with majority male. Indeed, such historic omissions cannot be left

unchallenged specifically by women combatants, who for decades sacrificed their precious time to build a society where humans are valued, recognized and treated equally on the basis of their potential and competences. Although, some people may argue that omitting women's contribution and heroism from official version was not deliberate, but that women themselves failed to put forward their war story. This study however affirmed side-lining them in pink collar functions and departments and having them not represented in avenues where critical decisions are made is erroneous, irrational and unacceptable practice that attracts scientific inquiries to reveal the truth. Furthermore, it is claimed that if women are not forthcoming in publishing what they had accomplished as commanders of detachments, Brigades and so forth, how do they expect to be identified then? Hence, omitting them from official version was not deliberate action by men but a failure from the women's side to put forward their side of the war story in order to be recognized.

Based on those claims that women are underrepresented in the NDF decision-making positions, this study was therefore undertaken to investigate the extent of women upward mobility to power positions and their involvement in strategic executive and command functions in the Namibian Defence Force. Drawing from the NDF mandates, the study meant to reveal the magnitude of gender discrimination that women in the NDF have experienced since inception, identify and discuss barriers preventing full participation and integration, as well as enlightens on attempts made to promote equal representation.

The study attempted to fill a gap in the literature by examining the position of women in executive and command echelons of the NDF over a period of twenty-two years (1990-2012) of independence. The study made use of both primary and secondary sources of data, examined scholarly works on women, war and gender and examined historic cases to expose the degree of women participation in decision-making bodies and structures. In so doing, national statutory frameworks and policies such as; the Namibian Constitution (1990), the Defence Act (Act 1 of 2002), the Defence Policy (2011) the Affirmative Action Act (AAA) (Act 29 of1998), the long-term national development strategy Vision 2030 (2004), National Development Plans (NDPs) and National Gender Policy (NGP) (2010) were among the statutory instruments reviewed.

Likewise, regional and international initiatives in the form of declarations and conventions such as; the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development (2008), the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (2003), the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) (1979), the African Plan of Action to Accelerate the Implementation of the Dakar and Beijing Platforms of Action for the Advancement of Women (1999), the Beijing Platform of Action (1995); as well as the Security Sector Gender Tool were some of the gender framework comparatively analysed. It was noted with concern that in all levels of NDF command there was no female. Indeed, it is in the military that the glass ceiling has proved most impenetratable, with no women in commanding positions.

1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

From the background it is noted that inspite of Constitutional provisions about gender equality and numerous government efforts to rectify the imbalances within the Namibian society, there exist disparities on women representation in top leadership, decision-making and command positions in the NDF and that women appointment in strategic and command positions fell way below desired national aspirations (Iipinge2005). It has been further claimed that women in NDF are not appointed in executive and command positions and that there is a glaring gap between policies and practices (Shaanika, 2007). Those who joined are to adapt to "one size fits all" in order to survive. Research indicated from 1990 – 2002 there has been no woman in the NDF top leadership, decision-making stratums and in all military command portfolios (Colleta, Kostner&Wielderfer, 1996). These dismal states of affairs lasted for a decade and a half and are still observed although with slight changes.

Preston (1997) and Shaanika (2007) have in their studies indicated until 1995 no woman was above the rank of a major in the NDF, and that up to 2005 there was only one female Brigadier General (out of 18 males), one (1) Colonel out of (67 males), (5) femaleLt Colonels out of (98 males), 19 female Majors out of (203 males). However, while the force strength increased from what Shaanika observed in

(2007), the trend to promote women to strategic decision-making and command positions moves at a very slow pace with the first appointment of a female Brigadier General in 2003 and the second in 2008, the first appointment of a female Colonel was realized in 2007 and the second in 2010, and the appointment of the first female commanding Officer in 2010. Although recent statistics released by Human Resources Personnel Budget of the NDF indicated the force strength as standing between 18 238 and 21 354 only 4 234 are females inclusive of all ranks. By 2012, of the 28 General officers only 2 are women (heading the Directorate of Health Services and Finances). Out of the 180 colonels, only 8 are women (Pharmacists, HR Administration and Sports), out of 231 Lieutenant Colonels, only 29 are women, of the 2671 majors, women accounts for 38.

Equally, significant to note is the first recruits of 1996, although both male and female have same qualifications, fairness and equal opportunities did not prevail, thus, it is still not clear what criteria was used to select the first Office Cadets (OCDT) from that group as no woman was selected. Thus, NDFseems making little efforts to appoint women to occupy command positions because, as of current, about 38% of the NDF executives are males from 1996 recruits who now reached the full Colonel rank. This study therefore holds, in a climate where women in executive and decision-making positions are under increased scrutiny, it is vital that researchers extend this line of inquiry. It is therefore on the basis of the above problem that this study was undertaken to explore some of the factors that block women upward mobility to strategic decision-making and command positions in the NDF. The study

endeavors to evaluate the processes followed to appoint officers at inception and identify challenges encountered if any, which hinders effective inclusion of women in decision-making and command positions. Thereafter, make appropriate recommendations that will enhance equal participation and representation of all the groups that constitute the NDF community.

1.4 PURPOSE AND SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The purpose of the study is to explore and describe why women are not making it to strategic leadership and command positions in the NDF and assess women involvement in decision-making processes to inform gender representation.

The specific objectives of this study therefore are:

- To establish the factors and challenges encountered that hinder women appointment and promotion in decision-making structures of the NDF;
- To establish the participation of women in decision-making avenues;
- To update gender disaggregated data that details Namibia's situation on gender and development with specific attention to women in power and decision-making in the NDF;
- To expose the degree of women representation in NDF decision-making structures and command echelons;
- To examine the promotion and appointment of women in high positions;
- To explore why males are climbing the leadership ladder ahead of women.

1.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The main research question of this study is: To what extent have women been included in the decision-making structures of the Namibian Defence Force?

The following are the sub-questions supplementing the main question and are as follows:

- What are the factors that hinder appointment and promotion to leadership and decision-making positions in NDF?
- What were the processes and criteria followed to ensure gender representation in the decision-making structures at inception of the NDF?
- Why males continue climbing the leadership ladder ahead of women?
- Why women are not appointed and promoted to strategic positions and command positions in the NDF?
- What challenges were experienced that hinder women representation in decision-making structures?
- What remedies can be instituted to redress this situation?

1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

While cognizant of equality in Namibia is constitutional, this study anchored to bring to surface existing inequalities in decision-making structures of the NDF purposely to stimulate inquiries on women inclusion in decision-making bodies of the NDF. The study is crucial to both researchers and NDF decision-makers for its findings expand the knowledge and oversight on equal representation in military while opening eyes

for decision-makers to be aware of the magnitude of inequality in the NDF and start planning with gender lenses.

More importantly, the findings of this study may awakens NDF decision-makers to realize the oversight on the constitutionalimperatives and induce them to start addressing or removing barriers hindering the implementation of equal opportunities in the NDF. The study is essential and timely for its findings will help to determine development of future strategic human resource plan which will facilitate the formulation of gender inclusive strategies that addresses inequalities in MOD and NDF. The study is strategic as it creates awareness on the implications of imbalance structures, awakens NDF female members to realize their rights as called for by the Constitution, Regional and International initiatives on women, gender, peace and security and at the same time enlightens on possible remedial solutions to be undertaken.

It also serves as an eye opener to other researchers who may want to explore more and expand on the knowledge on women inclusion in security and military deeds. It is significant because, it revealed the truth that although, a number of studies have looked at the role women played during the Namibian liberation struggle; there are almost none that focused on women inclusion and appointment in strategic leadership, decision-making and command positions after independence. The absence of such scholarly work therefore signifies the importance of this study.

Finally, the study contributes to the body of knowledge by attempting to fill the knowledge gap that was not researched before.

1.7 DEFINITION OF MAJOR CONCEPTS

One cannot discuss equal representation in the security realms in whatsoever manner without making references to women and men as a social group, gender as a social constructed way of describing and understanding the relationship between males and females, and feminist theory as a framework through which women cross the threshold to claim their rightful position in society.

1.7.1 **WOMEN**

The term women in the framework of this study shall be understood as women exfighters or combatants, who took part in the liberation struggle inside and outside the country, exposed to inhuman treatment and were integrated or recruited in NDF in 1990 and onwards. Cornwall, Harrison & Whitehead (2007) described women as a representative of a social category and a subject of social relations. Such relations are constituted in terms of power through which the life chances of women and men are defined and structured (p. 50). Thus, terminologies such as women, gender, strategy, decision-making, defence, equality of opportunities are narrated.

1.7.2 Gender and Sex

Gender in this study shall mean social attributes, qualities and opportunities connected with being male or female, and the relationship between them. These traits or attributes are socially constructed and learned through the socialization process. Juma (2008) asserted society uses these attributes todetermine expectation for women and men which include assigned responsibilities and decision-making opportunities (Juma, 2006). Similarly, Jar Viola, Moisal&Vilko (2003), definedgender as social relation between men and women which is socially constructed and culturally determined to differentiate roles and behavior between them. Such cultural descriptions affect women and men differently, influences understanding of self and of relationship with others and changes as development occurs.

The social constructions of gender thus refer to how society values and allocate duties, roles and responsibilities to women, men, girls and boys. This differential valuing influences power relations and reinforces gender roles. Sex on the other hand is none than a matter of biology, of being male or female which has nothing to do with the relation between women or men in public life.

1.7.3 Strategy

According to Swanepoel, Erasmus, Van Wyk and Schenk (2005) strategy has its roots from military. The term refers to the word "generalship" which can be thought

of as "the art and task of the general" in military context. Strategy is a long-term direction and scope of an organization to achieve competitive advantage through the configuration of resources to attain national prospects and desires. Strategic decision-making therefore on the other hand entails evolving organizational mission, objective and deciding on the course of action an organization should pursue to achieve the set goals.

1.7.4 Decision-making

Decision-making according to Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary is the process of deciding about something in a group of people or in an organization. It involves the selection of a course of action from possible alternatives in order to arrive at a solution for a given problem. As evidenced by the foregone definitions, decision-making is a consultative process executed by a group of individual occupying specific leadership portfolios, and grouped in formal setups such as committees to drive better functioning of any organization. It is therefore a continuous and dynamic activity that saturates all other activities pertaining to the organization. In other words, decision-making concerns with the choice of the best alternatives regarding objectives, priorities and course of action essential to solve specific problems in order to achieve organizational objectives.

Indeed, decisions are made by people hence, the extent to which decision-making stratum are exposed and generalized to all segments or individuals in an organization

lies in those with power to influence and control the decision-making processes. That means appointment and selection of members to various committees, leadership and command positions lies on the hands of those with power to appoint and make decision in the organisation. The fact that military organization operates through the chain of command the inclusion of some segments in decision-making avenues presents a challenge in the context of equitable functioning of the organisation.

1.7.5 Defence

Defence in the context of this study shall be defined as the strategic determination of, and the functional response, in capacity and capability, of the armed forces, to protect itself and the country's territory, inhabitants and national interests against actual and perceived risks or threat (Ministry of Defence Strategic Plan FYs 2008/9 – 2012/13). As a strategic function, it requires individuals with critical competences, analytical skills and strategic intelligence to evolve and implement strategies capable for the protection of the state apparatus. Because security affects all segments of the society, it needs a defence force that is lifted from male-only executive to a humanized inclusiveness defence structure where both male and female are considered equal partners and important role players in military undertakings.

1.7.6 Equal opportunity and equal treatment

Equality between women and men refers to the equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities for both women and men. It does not mean that the two human beings

become the same but rather means fairness in whatever endeavors are taken into consideration in every interventions or projects of the organization. Equal opportunity on the other hand implies, having a fair chance to apply for a particular job, to attend training courses and to be considered for appointment and promotions in all occupation including those dominated by one sex as the case with the NDF leadership decision-making and command bodies. Besides, equal treatment refers to equal entitlement, working conditions, security of employment, reconciliation between work and family life. Both equality of opportunity and equal treatment according to the International Labor Organization (2007)mean equalizing occupation integration.

1.8 CONCLUSION

This chapter discusses and highlights scenarios that demystify inequalities in strategic decision-making structures of the NDF. It unpacks gender-related concepts to security with a focus on women involvement in executive positions in the NDF. It positioned women in a role that commensurate aspects of gender in military unequivocally to their significant firm contribution during the national liberation struggle by making clear comparisons of their contribution during the war with what they were offered right at the inception of the NDF. To validate the information presented in this study, the chapter explores and discusses gender equality guidelines as provided and stipulated in national frameworks, international and regional initiative, conventions and resolutions on women inclusion in security deeds. In this

chapter, the study calls for a re-conceptualization of history to include her-story. Finally, the research questions, objectives, significant and limitation of the study were also highlighted in this chapter. The next chapter will discuss literature review.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents a review of scholarly viewpoints on women in leadership and decision-making in the Defence Forces and as well highlights their involvement in military operations and undertaking. The chapter commenced with a brief definition of literature review, a brief discussion on International and Regional interventions in the form of Conventions, Resolutions and Protocols and thereafter provides a detailed discussion on the national gender framework. Theoretically, the chapter borrows heavily from feminist's school of thought that speaks mainly on empiricism of socially constructed roles and the production of knowledge that helped to inform practices to improve women's lives. Besides, the study explores theories related to women, gender, peace and security insearch for best strategies and actions that could be engaged in deconstructing military masculinity and resistance which sees women inclusion a problem. Bless et al(2006) defines literature review as "a process of obtaining (through reading) any information that has been published and relevant to the research topic" (p.24).

Equally, Wiersma (1995) on the same subject explains "literature review gives a clear background of the research problem underscores the need for the research and the writer's knowledgeable about the areabeing investigated" (p. 406). Reviewed literature in this study thus included newspaper articles, scholarly publications, Conventions, treaties, agreements and protocols, government policies, reports and

official statements, online articles and academic essays. In particular relevant literature on factors affecting women's appointment and promotion to decision-making and commanding positions were revealed to expose the existing gaps and to offer an insight into the need for the current study.

Thus, borrowing heavily from gender theorists, peace activists and women's rights advocates, removal of barriers preventing women's access to militaryleadership and command positions appear to be problematic. Therefore, the study endeavours to present alternativesbased on a gendered human security approach. Exploiting Chorodow's sexual division of labour theory the study analysed thoughtfully the acceptance and inclusiveness of women in power structures of the armed forces purposely to compare how the sex identity of a particular class determines subordination of the other sex. Drawing from scientific knowledge of feminist scholars therefore, the study meant to expose the extent to which women are marginalized and underrepresented in strategic decision-making and command positions in the NDF.

2.2 Women participation in Combat

Nghidinwa (2008), Iipinge and Lebeau (1995) have argued, Namibian women like women in other countries have a long history of military service in both combat and non-combat roles. During national liberation war, Namibian women actively participated in combat, suffered and experienced same vulnerabilities as their male colleagues. Those who joined the liberation war were trained together with men,

According to NDF operation manual (n.d), as combatants and freedom fighters, women fought and participated fearlessly in active combat and crossed fire with enemy during vicious battles such as; Operation Smoke Shell of 1980, Operation Protea of 1981 and Operation Askari of 1983 (NDF operation manual doc n.d). These were major fierce battles acknowledged by both male and female combatants that were fought between PLAN fighters and the South West African Territorial Forces (SWATF) in which female PLAN combatants distinctly proved theywere militarily capable and competent. During these vicious battles, female combatants fearlessly fought bravely and there were no reported cases of female fleeing combat zone or captured (NDF operation manual document, 1992). To be side-linedtherefore when at ease and peacewhile history remains intact is bigotry and egotism. Hence, more research on the contribution of women and participation in military-related operations are needed to bring to surface their heroines, sacrifices and outstanding contribution purposely to highlight or tell her-story in history as well.

2.3 Gender Equality in the NDF

2.3.1 The Constitution and Gender in NDF

The Namibian Constitution provides a conducive environment of all those who have been discriminated by past practices. It affirmed that those who were discriminated against as a particular group, race or gender are to benefit through intentional corrective policies (Diescho, 1994). Analogous, Article 95 of the Namibian

Constitution sub-Article (a) called for the enactment of legislation ensuring equality of opportunity for women, whereas, Article 23 sub-article (2) and (3) of the same Constitution declared that all governing institution should enact policies and legislations addressing the imbalances that occurred out of past discriminatory practices, and that any interventions geared to rectify such historic imbalances shall consider that women have suffered special discrimination, thus need to be encouraged and enabled to play a full, equal and effective role in all national developments efforts, NDF included (GRN 1990, p.14, 50). Owing to such historic marginalization, human right issues, gender equality and women empowerment are made centre nerve of constitutional imperatives and priorities and placed under Chapter 3 of the Namibian Constitution which is free from amendment in anyway. Thus, keyinstitutions such as NDF are expected to be shining examples in implementing those constitutional imperatives.

Important to note further in this regard is the Constitution made provisions for the establishment of the Namibian Defence Force. Chapter 15 of the Namibian Constitution, Article 115 pronounced the establishment of the NDF, whereas Article116 specified the appointment of the Chief of Defence Force (CDF). Further in the same article the CDF is sanctioned to ensure a balanced structuring during recruitment and appointment of officers in the force. Thus, within the orthodoxy of the Constitution it is the prerogative of the CDF to ensure that equal representation, women appointment and promotion in decision-making and commanding positions are among the command and control core responsibilities of the CDF.

2.3.2 Gender equality and NDF policy frameworks

Section 6 sub-article (1) of the Defence Act, (Act 1 of 2002) stipulated, "the Defence Force consists of in addition to the CDF, of such officers and other ranks as may be appointed by the CDF in permanent or temporally capacity. The Act further pronounced, "the appointment of Colonels and above is the prerogative of the Chief of the Defence Force in consultation with relevant boards as appropriate" (p, 21-22).On a similar note, the Defence Policy (2010) Chapter 7 sub-article (73) (b) specific objective (3) equally underlined the NDF shall pursue and achieve national representation by ensuring that the diverse characters of the Namibian society is represented in the rank and file of the NDF. In addition, the structure and composition of the NDF shall be a reflection of every section of national character, women included (p. 34). Similarly, the NDF Human Resource Policy (2010) Chapter 2 subsection (40) and (41) underlined the need for fair, honesty and transparent appointment and promotion system under which posting and promotion is through respective Boards. Remarkable however, although NDF Human Resource Policy calls for a fair system, the compositions of all selection board dealing with appointment, posting and promotion are patriarchal.

Furthermore, though equal opportunities, women empowerment and participation in military undertakings are among the priority areas of the Defence Act, (Act 1 of 2002), the Defence Policy (2010) the NDF Human Resource Policy (2010) such provisions may not be realized until CDF annual directives unreservedly pronounce gender implementation strategies with indicators to measure progress. A look at

NDF selection boards likewise revealed, the composition of number 1 selection Board that deals with the promotion of Major Generals and above, the President of the Board is the Commander- In- Chief, members are; the Honorable Minister of Defence, the Chief of the Defence Force and the Permanent Secretary, the Chief of Staff Human Resources serve as the secretary. Further, the composition of number 2 Board which deals with promotion to Colonel and Brigadier General, the President is the Hon Minister of Defence and members are; the Chief of the Defence Force, Service Commanders while the Chief of Staff Human resources remain the secretary. The composition of Number 3 selection Board that deals with promotion to Captains, Majors and Lieutenant Colonels, the President is the Chief of the Defence Force, members are; Services Commanders and any member co-opted in by the chairman as he deemed it appropriate, yet, the Chief of Staff Human Resources remain the secretary. Thus, if the command and control directives, General Regulations, Operation Standard and annual CDF directives are core responsibility of the CDF and his management, hence, the underrepresentation of women in the NDF decisionmaking and command structures demonstratesoversight and disregard of constitutional imperative by the CDF and his management.

It is therefore, on the basis of those revelations that the massive inequality in the NDF attracts investigation to expose barriers hindering the full implementation of Constitutional imperatives and the degree of resistances. The study thereforehas it that, equality consideration will only have a room of discussions in NDF Board-Rooms when blockades are exposed.

2.4 Gender Equality and Conceptual Realities of Military

Moving beyond the conceptual level, truthfully gender roles influences men and women's lived experiences differently. Feminist international relation scholars who marked the first stage of women emancipation found that traditionally defence forces are sexist institutions intertwined by a sexist military culture that intensely influences the procedures, structures, personnel and operations. Thus, despite the demand for inclusiveness of all segments of the human family in defence undertakings and the recognition of women experiences and their contribution to war, theorganization culture, bigotry, prejudices, behaviors and attitudes continue being obstacles to equal representation in armed forces. Feminist scholars thus contends, if the key units of society are individuals, who are biologically determined as either men or women, who are equal and have specific rightsto occupy any positions regardless in what type of institution or organization, theyshould then equally be granted such rights. Speaking in favor of women inclusion in all military affairs, feminist scholars such as Collins (2007)strongly stressed, women have, when given opportunity, performed as well as their male counterpart. Hence, denying them access to some portfolios in defence forces is a violation of their human rights.

In line with the preceding scholar, Goldstein (2001) a feminist of peace and security scholar equally pointed outthat military has been a male zone, as such whether certain wars were fought by men and women, military continued to be understood as exclusively male trades planned and executed by men only. Therefore, war represents the highest aspiration of manhood, as such in military terminology a

soldier is a gentleman and not a gentlewoman (p.78). Nevo and Shur (2002) also made it clear that globally, armed forces continue to use the traditional perspective of masculinity as integral socialization processes, as a result, defence forces remain provinces and bastions for male supremacy only. Therefore, nowhere did setting an agenda for women inclusion in structures of power and decision-making generates as much resistance and debates as in the defence forces. Thus, women who happen to join are confined to what this study termed welfare or pink collar functions in Finances, Personnel, logistics, communication and medics. Such practices are however contradicting the provision of human security that "women are constituent of the security family hence, entitled to enjoy same rights and privileges as their male counterparts. To that effect, the perseverance of equal treatment by feminist scholars helps to authenticate the call for equal representation in military endeavors and that led to proclamation of legislative instruments on women inclusion in military operations.

2.5 International Commitments on EqualRepresentation in Positions of Authority

2.5.1 UN Declaration and Conventions

Rooted from the Charter of the United Nation (UN), UN Declaration of Human Rights (1948), numerous UN Conventions and treatiesproclaimed laws addressing discrimination against women and the marginalised and condemn all violation of human rights. Besides, Article 21 of the UN Declaration on Human Rights (1948)

guaranteed the rights of every person and specified that equal access of men and women to power, decision-making and leadership positions at all levelsis a fundamental human rights that cannot be tempered with in any manner (Beijing Declaration and the Platform for Action, 1996, p.7). According to CEDAW (2003) Article (1), discrimination against women refers to any distinction, exclusion or restriction based on sex, (CEDAW, 2003 p.12). Thus, Article (2) of the Convention compels State Parties to:

- Employ the principle of equality of men and women in their national constitution, or other legislation;
- Adopt legislative measures, including sanction, to prohibit discrimination against women;
- Refrain from any act that discriminates against women and ensure that public authorities and institution act accordingly;
- Take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women by any person, institution, organisation or enterprise.
- Modify social and cultural patterns of men and women to eliminate practices based on the idea of role stereotyping or the inferiority or superiority of either of the sexes (CEDAW, 2003, p.13).

In the same vein, the most acclaimed Beijing Declaration and Platform of Action (BDPA) (1995) reaffirmed that equal rights are integral and indivisible part of all human rights and fundamental freedom. Thus, achieving the goal of equal participation of women and men in decision-making will provide a balance that more

accurately reflects the composition of society. In this respect, women's equal participation in all spheres plays a pivotal role in their advancement of women. Without the active participation of women and the incorporation of women's perspective in all levels of decision-making, the goal of equality, development and peace cannot be achieved.

Thus, women empowerment, full participation in all spheres including appointment in power and decision-making, access to resources and avenues of authority, equal sharing of responsibility, equal opportunities must be nucleus in national legislation, policies and programs, (Beijing Declaration and Platform of Action, 2001, p.8). In a similar vein, the recent UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) on Women, Peace and Security thrust for the incorporation of women in defence and security deeds based on the three P's concept (Prevention, Protection and Participation). The three P's concept implies, discrimination against women must be avoided by all means, the marginalized (women, children, and the vulnerable) must be protected against discrimination and women and other vulnerable groups must be allowed opportunities to participate in all endeavors. In this context, women inclusion in all security enterprise including appointment to decision-making was declared conditional in security institutions and defence in particular.

2.5.2 Regional Commitment

At the continental level, the Nairobi Forward looking Strategy for the Advancement of Women in Africa adopted in 1975 called for increased number of women in peace process as decision-makers and delegates to international forums commissioned to negotiate settlementagreements (Africa Policy Brief, 2008, p.5). In response to that, the African Union adopted a number of normative policy frameworks to advance the gender agenda among its member states and governments such as;

- The AU shall function in accordance with the promotion of gender equality (the Constitutive Act, 2005);
- The Protocol to Africa Charter on Human and people's Rights on the Rights
 of Women in Africa (2003) pronounced that women have the right to
 existence peacefully and a right to participate in the promotion and
 maintenance of peace;
- The AU common Africa Defence and Security Policy (2004), emphasized the protection of the marginalized and the right to equality;
- The Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa (2004) affirmed to ensure full and equal participation of women in all peace processes including participation in decision-making bodies;
- The AU Gender Policy (2009) called for effective participation of women in peace-keeping and security; and
- The SADC treaty (1992) Article (6) also stated there must be no discrimination on the basis of gender in all institutions and spheres of life in

the African continent. All persons regardless of whatever background must be treated equal.

Moreover, the SADC Gender Policy and its Protocol (2008) further called for increased participation of women in defence undertakings. While through Inter State Security and Defence Committee (ISSDC) SADC reaffirmed its commitment by establishing a Personnel Working Group (PWG) sub-committee and tasked it to investigate the status of women in SADC defence forces. Both the protocol to Africa charter on human rights and SADC Protocol on Gender and Development thus seek to promote full participation of women in security deeds specifically at decision-making level (Juma 2009, p.9).

Interesting however, while policies on women and gender exist at UN, AU and subregional levels, equality dimensions remain generally women issues andviewed by
many, specifically military commanders as an add-on function which have no major
threat to national security priorities. Testimony to this are the security bodies set up
at the continental and regional level such as the African Standby Force (ASF) and
Southern Africa Development Community Brigade (SADCBRIG)which have no
clear mandate with regard to the role and deployment of womenyet, representation in
decision-making of these bodies remain silent. Thus, bringing women in the streams
to serve as decision-makers at all levels of defence forces became critical and
challenging. Joining the talk, Hutton (2010) quoting Simone de Beauvoir (1998)
provided useful insights that "representation of the world, like the world itself, is the

world of men; they describe it from their own point of view, which they confuse with absolute reality" (2010, p.13). Hence, borrowing from the viewpoint of several scholars quoted in this research, the study concludes the absence of a clear normative standard in ASF and SADCBRIG frameworks is not an omission but a well-thought and deliberate macho strategy to delay women's access, participation, involvement and appointment inhigh echelon of security structures.

2.6 Women Representation in National Defence Forces:

Throughout history to current, no country so far in the world had appointed a woman Chief of Defence Force (CDF), Army Commander (AC), Air Marshall (AF), Navy Commander (NC), or commander of combat fighting unit. Equally, most of the world military Generals are men, women represent below 10 percent. Reflecting on this, Goldstein (2001) and Collins (2007) pointed out that history has been biased towards women and though women participated equally as men, war had and many would argue continue connected with masculine values as such accounts about women's contribution to war remains silent (p.65 & p, 78).

In the same vein, Juma (2009) in her study also stressed "although, Southern African Countries had engaged both male and female equally in the liberation war, they had not yet integrated women in critical positions of their defence forces, and that those that had been stable specifically in the SADC region remain worse performers than the latter" (p, 7-8). Juma further observed that Botswana who is acclaimed for its

democratic culture and who remains an active participant in international peacekeeping operations, only recruited women in 2008. The situation is similar in Zambia where only in 2007, 30% of the new army entrants were females. In Malawi the Ministry of Defencepolicy was not to employ female soldiers and only in 2000 that the first female soldiers recruited graduated at the military college. Mauritius only had its constitution amended to prohibit gender-based discrimination in 1995 (p. 13-14).

The situation is however slightly different in countries that liberation Armies hasmerged to form national defence forces, the changing character of security sector reform had afforded women an opportunity to be retained. But, yet, studies done revealed, women were retained in very low position compared to their male colleagues. For example, countries with the high record of women's participation in war such as South Africa have percentage of females in the military standing at 27% South Africa, Zimbabwe 20% and Namibia 18%. Although statistics presented may lead to conclusions that equal representation in those militaries are considered, figures captured for women in decision-making positions exposed South Africa has only 8% of females in decision making, Namibia 2% Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe both stood at 1% respectively.

Although in Namibia, women inclusiveness in all development efforts was reinforced by the adoption of the National Gender Policy (2010) there still appears to be a commonly held belief that leadership positions in military is only for men. Such

situation therefore stimulates feminist truth-seekers to focus on deconstructing the centralised concept of history to bring in her-story.

2.7 Theoretical Approach

This research took a feminist approach, to expose inequalities in the military environment, where women competences and sacrifices are undervalued and barriers blocking their advancement exist. Given that the study unpacks the representation of men and women in NDF structures with gender lenses. The aim was to highlight reasons for under-representation specifically in decision-making and command echelon with specific focus on the Army and Air Force. Using feminist critiques, thestudy provides evidence that masculinity conceptions ultimately are the source of inequalities in decision-making and command echelons in defence forces. Taking the viewpoint of feminists such as Wallby, (1990); Johnson, (2002)&Chodrow (1978), the study holds, patriarchal dominance and male chauvinism prevents equal representation in defenceauthority. Further, through the use of the Feminist of Peace and Conflict Theories and Critiques, the research attempted to search for reasons behind the zero representation of women in the NDF Army and AF command positions and to expose how this affects their (women) career progression.

The critical analysis of women representation in decision-making of the NDF presented in this study therefore is influenced by theories of gender which revolves among access to power and resources. To create such understanding, the study penciled in the work of the radical theorists, liberal or equality feminists, the

postmodern, the standpoint feminists and the Feminist of Peace and Conflict Theory (FPCT,1990).

2.7.1 Feminist Theory

Feminist theorizing is an extension of feminism into truth-seeking ground which analyzes the status of women and men in society with the purpose of using that knowledge to better women's lives¹. In the margins of security, feminist advocates for specific route of enquiry which aims at giving a voice to those who are silenced. They asserted that interpretation of peace and security that do not address the needs of women leave half of the society in a state of insecurity.

Maiba (2009) quoting Thomson (2008) defined feminist theory as "a collaborative, inter-disciplinary inquiry and a self-conscious cultural critique that cross-examine how subjects are multiply interrelated, in other words how the representational systems of gender, race, ethnicity, sexuality and class mutually inflect and contradict one another (2009, p. 13). Having defined feminism and feminist theory in general, the study will now discuss five feminist perspectives in the context of equal representations in the defence and security context.

^{1.} http://www.livejournal.com/talkread.bml?itemid=9601563,accessed 2012/01/04

2.7.2 Radical Feminist

In the lenses of the radicals, inequality is seen as rooted from collective efforts of men to dominate, control, and exploit women. The radical perceive power as the key variables of oppression and believes that only a revolutionary overhaul in gender roles can guarantee the possibility of women's liberation. The radicals point of view is the fact that power is a constructed phenomenon it an still be deconstructed to allow women as a social group demonstrate potential and competences. The radicals rejected scientific theories, data, and experiment not only because they exclude women but that they are not women-centered. In that regard, they want to see a complete system overhaul to create space for women. A social system based on female values where patriarchy is replaced by matriarchy is an ideal concept of their theory. Critiques of this school of thought are overhauling the systems maynot decrease inequalities but rather worsen the problem because those kicked out may still re-organize among themselves to resist change. Thus, although defence institutions need to be altered, this study will not borrow from the radicals theory but will only use it as a reference departure point of argument.

2.7.3 Liberal/Equality Feminist

The liberals seek no special privileges for women and simply demand equal consideration without discrimination on the basis of sex. They argue that women have the same capacity for reasoning as men, only that they had been denied the opportunity to express and practice such reasoning. They rejected the exclusion of

women from position of power and called for security sector reform or transformation where both women and men are exposed to same vulnerability and exposed to same skills and knowledge to compete equally. The liberalist view fits well with the arguments of this in the sense that it is only when women and men are trained together, exposed to the same reality of war that competition will be fair and possible and thus, equal representation will be realized.

2.7.4 Standpoint Feminist

The standpoint feminists on the other hand, focus on investigating patriarchal setups beyond descriptive and demand the creation of non-patriarchal institutions thus placing the marginal at the center of enquiry. They argue that only when the marginalized reached a state of freedom of consciousness that they can fashion the world they live in (Bowel, 2004). The Bowel observation concurred with Harding (2004) viewpoint that women lived experiences, mediated by the politicized consciousness reveals the way male-dominating ideologies distort reality. Thus, both argued, if the marginalized want to survive within the discriminatory structures of the military, the marginalized or the voiceless, need to understand the language, the practices, cultures, traditions and norms applicable or often used in the environment. In fact, what the standpoint advocates is women to reach the warring faction to open channels of communication and build a dialogue of understanding and trust. Thus, they want to see the marginalized at the center of inquiries as they are convinced that locating the marginal at the center of enquiry will relax male dominance.

2.7.5 Feminist of Peace and Conflict Theory

Unlike other feminist discussed before, Feminist of Peace and Conflict Theorists (FPCT, 1990) offered empirical insights on equality and inclusion in military deeds. They reflect on the need of women's visibility in conflicts situations and affirm that such inclusion leads to a broader understanding of security. For the FPCT the absence of women from his-story placed her-story outside the realm of conventional historiography. They dismissed the traditional moral argument of men warrior and protector, women mothers and too valuable producers to be wasted in combat, men makers of war and women victims. They argue that it is the exclusion from decisionmaking which affects women and created a gender gap and not biological differences. Alternatively, their concern is about security in the context of human security andmoves beyond the traditional concept of state-centered security to human security challenges perverted by social issues like, the exclusion of a greater segment of the population. In so doing, Feminists of Peace attempts to link theory with practice and recognizes the valuable experiences and knowledge of both male and females in security realms. Thus, in the wake of acknowledging women's experiences in war, as active fighters and as well as victims, the question of inherent peacefulness and maternal thinking is invalidated and dismissed by the feminist of peace. Thus, the experience of female fighters in Angola, Namibian, Mozambique, South Africa, and Zimbabwe made a deep impact in the Feminist of Peace discourse.

Drawing heavily from international, regional interventions and initiatives and referring as well to national policies and legislatures, the views in this study are

Conflict Theory. Taping from their theorizing conceptions, the study generated empirical knowledge that contributes to a full account of women exclusion in military deeds. Critiques of feminist of peace allowed the study to go beyond the simple theories of men warrior/protector and women/mothers/valuable producers to be wasted in combat to what security policies had for women. Therefore this study draws its roots from the 21's feminist scholars such as Collins (2007) and Goldstein (2003) that as the nature of war changed, so is the role of both men and women in relation to war have changed.

2.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, the studyhas discussed and examined the writings of various scholars on women, peace, war and security. Itbegins with building understanding of the concept of gender and women in order to unleash series of interlocking misunderstanding to the call for women inclusion in military endeavors. That was done along with the definition of literature review purposely to provide comprehensive comparative analysis of the need for inclusive of all human races in security matters. The conclusion drawn from literature review was that women too contributed to war equally as their male folks thus; men should not be the only dominant sex in command and decision-making portfolios. Through the literature reviewed the study exposed that stereotypes and perceptions are major contributing factors to women underrepresentation in the defence sector. Hence, for NDF to retain a quality force structure, it is imperative that women are enabled to compete equally

with men in training as well as in any military undertakings. The study also revealed in respond to the global demand, SADC has called for 50%/50% representation by 2015the defence sector is no exception. This was followed by Namibia through the ruling party SWAPO which equally calls for 50%50% representation in all party structures. Furthermore, through analysis of gender inclusion in defence forces and its impact on the security of both men and women, the study concludes that the world is focused on moving towards a truly secured world where inequality is eliminated and fairness dominates. Thus, armed forces being the custodian of maintaining peace are to demonstrate what they are entrusted upon to protect.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter looked at the methodological approach used in this study. It describes theroute followed to investigate representativeness in strategic decision-makingand command positions in the Namibian Defence Force. It focused on the research methods and techniques used in the study namely; research design, research approach, analytical approach, population of the study, sampling and sample techniques, data collection instruments, data analysis techniques, validity and reliability of the data collected as well as ethical consideration implemented during the research cycle.

The objectives of the study were thereforeto investigate the status of women in strategic decision-making and command positions of the NDF, assess the processes that informed the design of the NDF structures at inception, appraise the current situation regarding women representation in decision-making positions and examine challenges hindering participation and appointment in strategic leadership, decision-making and Command positions.

3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

Research design is a logical structure of the inquiry aimed at ensuring that the evidence collected enables the research to answer the study objectives and questions as clearly as possible. Research design outlines how the study was carried out and reflected on the process followed to gather, describe and interpret data collected.

Leeds &Ormrod (2005) define research design as a systematic process of collecting, analyzing and interpreting information to increase understanding of the phenomenon being investigated (p.11). Similarly, Bless and Higson-Smith (1995), Maykut and Morehouse (2000)expanded the definition by emphasizing that research design reflects on the research goal of discovery and the route followed to explain issues. Thus, to attain the objectives of this study descriptive and exploratory research design along with qualitative and quantitative methods for collecting and analyzing data were used. Descriptive design was used to describe situations and events while explorative was employed to search circumstances where little is known.

In fact, descriptive method was used to expose the factors affecting the appointment of women to decision-making and commanding positions in the NDF. This method was chosen because it enabled the study to secure both qualitative and quantitative information from the respondents. Qualitative research examines people's words and actions in descriptive ways, more closely to the situation as experienced by participants. Thus, participants were questioned using a questionnaire investigate

women representation and appointment in the NDF decision-making and command positions. Employing descriptive method therefore the study explored the magnitude of women inclusiveness and appointment in NDF structures of authority. This was done to confirm or refute perceptions, different opinions and interpretations held by various groups regarding the appointment of women in military command positions. Exploring perceptions regarding women appointment in positions of authority, qualitative method enabled this study to generate comprehensive description of the phenomenon being studied as well as the conceptual understanding of the participants in the study. Additionally, the method enabled the identification of barriers affecting women progression to top positions and the analyses of the processes and criteria followed to appoint women at inception. It also assisted in the collection of useful information, which affects the progression of women.

In the context of this study qualitative method was essential as it allows participants to express their views and opinions in particular to expose careers and stream where women had been silenced and continue excluded. For this study, qualitative was further essential as it allows more probing and in-depth exploration in particular issue thereby enables the study capture the inside perspective of those investigated; thus, combining qualitative and exploratory in this study ensures higher quality of data. Exploiting qualitative methods the study yielded more information about the social constructed nature of reality which in turn provided facts necessary to refute or confirm subjective claims based on respondents point of view. Thus, based on the participants viewpoints, supported by empirical evidence provided by those

interviewed, the study exposes the magnitude of women underrepresentation in NDF top echelons and avenues of authority. Explorative method on the other hand allows the study to make comparisons on variables related to appointment, training, recruitment, career progression, and access to high profiles and as well reflect on the general promotion criteria for NDF.

Struwig& Stead (2007) quote Neumann (2000) explained that exploratory research is used in an area that has not been studied and in which the research seeksto develop initial ideas by asking focused questions. De Vos (2002) on the other hand also stressed that exploratory research is carried out to gain understanding of a situation or phenomenon that had not been sufficiently examined before. In this context, the underrepresentation in the decision-making of the NDF, the absence of a significant number of women in command positions and limited information about their contributions and sacrifices during the liberation struggle stimulated the exploration. In that regard, the conclusion to be drawn will not be generalized results, but a deeper reflection of the vivacious state of affair based on the perspective of participants.

Quantitative method on the other hand was also employed in this study purposely to show statistical representativeness on the population at large and indicate the percentage of units in a specified population exhibiting the same behavior.

According to (Struwig&Stead, 2001) quantitative research is a form of conclusive research that involves a larger representative samples and is fairly structured in terms of its data collection procedures. Quantitative research explains events quantitatively using mathematically based methods. Creswell (1994) defines quantitative research as a type of research that explains and analyzes phenomenon numerically and statistically. Quantitative research anchored on the premises that variables being studied be measured and the results quantitatively expressed. Hence, employing quantitative methods in this study allows comparisons between independent, moderate and dependent variables while determining the causal relation that provides a clear picture of what is being examined.

Using quantitative methodsthus made it possible to quantify opinions, attitudes and behaviors that express sentiments of the larger population with regard to the situation being investigated. Thus, information captured through questionnaires was interpreted using numerical and percentage expression to show the degree of women representation in executive positions. The fact that, the study meant to expose the extent of representation between male and female in decision-making and command echelons of the NDF, thus dependent, moderate and independent variables such as age, experience, training, length of service, attitudes, behaviors, assertiveness, selection and career progression become the center nerve of analysis. Thus, descriptive statistics were used in analyzing data. Other characteristics that made quantitative method relevant to this study are causality, generalization and replication. Causality seeks to identify relationships between variables being studied,

such as identifying and determining the cause and effect relationship between dependent, moderate and independent variables. By generalization means the result of the study can be inferred or generalized from the study population or sample to a larger population. While by replication means if another inquiry on the same phenomenon is conducted by other researchers the results or finding should be able to come to a comparable conclusion.

3.3 RESEARCH METHODS

A versatile methodology was chosen for this study embracing a review of documentary sources, fieldwork and analytical interpretation. This allows the study acquiesce different dimensions of the same phenomenon and validate findings through comparisons from several vantage points (Minichiello et al, 1995, p.13). A literature review was conducted, which provided the basis for a meaningful process of qualitative analysis of data gathered during field work. The field work phase of the study comprised of the focus group discussions, interviews with members of the Defence Headquarters (DHQ) and Arms of Services Headquarters (ASHQ). Information collected during these interviews and focus group discussions provided a wider outlook on a series of issues relevant to this study.

The field work started on the 14th November 2011 where the researcher spent two weeks in Grootfontein interviewing Service Commanders (Army and Air Marshall) General Staff Officers and senior Staff Officers at Army and Air Force Headquarters,

thereafter pace for December holiday as the majority of key informants went on annual leave. The field work resumes in the first second week of February 2012 and concluded on the 30May2012. The study was confined to NDF decision-making and command structures. Thus, the Defence Staff Council and Military Steering Committee were center nerve of analysis.

3.4 ANALYTICALAPPROACH

The two issues women exclusion and underrepresentation in strategic and decision making positions are explored together in this study. Firstly the study attempted to establish the degree of representativeness between male and female in leadership and decision-making as well as their participation in military undertakings and activities. Secondly, it unpacks rank distribution among male and female in each level of command authority toexpose the magnitude of representation in NDF avenues of powerto reveal the representation gap. The study used Representation Index (RI) to determine the level of women involvement in decision-making processes of the NDF in order to expose areas that require closer investigation. The study opted to use Representation indicators because it allows comparisons among variables such as appointment, training, deployment, promotion and career progression of members from inception to date. For instances, there were thirty five (35) Generals and Senior Staff Officers, 33 males and 2 females, to measure representation therefore RI was used:

RI = Actual number divided by expected number times 100 minus 100 equals over or under-representation. For example: $2 \div 35 \times 100 - 100 = 94.3\%$ which in this case means men over represent womenwith 94.3% in strategic, command and decision-making structures of the NDF.

The purpose of applying Representation Index is RI measure what has occurred in order to ascertain as whether the system is progressing and moving towards narrowing the gap or it is just static.

3.5 POPULATION AND SAMPLE

3.5.1 Population

According to Robson (2002) the population of the study is the whole group of people that have characteristics that the research wants to study (p, 260). Equally, Welman, Krugel and Mitchell (2005) explained the study population is a group of potential participants to whom the research wants to generalize the results of the study. In this regard, the sample to be extracted from the population must be representative. That implies, the sample must have correct characteristics in the exact same proportion as the population from which it was drawn, but in a smaller number. Thus, in the context of Robson's Welman, Krugel and Mitchell (2005) definitions, the populations of this study were members of the NDF management, command and other ranks below the management drawn from Defence Headquarters (DHQ, Army and Air Force Headquarters (AFQ). Headquarters were chosen based on the need to reach out people who had necessary knowledge and experience to provide

information required for the study. The population of NDF is 18 747 of which 4048 are women. The management band is 330 of which 321 (97%) are male while 9 (3%) are female.

The target population accessible by this study was 490 male and female General Officers and other ranks. The NDF management and command strength which is the center focus of this study comprises of 276 Generals and Senior Staff officers namely; the CDF, Service Commanders (SVCs Comdr), Chiefs of Staffs and Senior Staff Officers, Brigades (Bde), Formations and Battalions (Bns)Commanders. Other ranks drawn in comprise 214 male and female members selected randomly from the three HQs from the rank of Lieutenant Colonel down to Private (Pte) soldier. The study interviewed both men and women who occupy top positions.

The inclusion of other ranks in the study population was to allow generalization of the outcome of the study from the sample to the larger population. For that, the conclusions of the study will have a meaning beyond the limited settings in which data was originally obtained. Other ranks comprises of males and females officers, noncommissioned members and private soldiers. The inclusion criterion was based on individual military track records and experience, virtue of appointment namely, those integrated in 1990 and the recruits employed in 1996 and had so far rose to officer's rank and included as well few who remained in other ranks for decades.

3.5.2 Sampling and sample

Sampling is defined as the process of selecting elements from the larger population. The NDF management and command structure is atypical in that there is over-representation of men and under-representation of women. To select a sample of great diversity for this study therefore purposeful samplingwas used for the purpose of finding shared perspective about women appointment in command positions. However, the fact that women are underrepresented in these structures and avenues of power, to draw in female respondents, snowballing sampling techniques were employed to bring in potential females who are not part of the management but believed to possess experiences and rich informationand may provide important insightson the subject being investigated. Thus, the interview starts with a small list but adds momentum and weight as the research proceeds, new sampling units are accumulated as the study progressed through referrals. Referrals are individual who were not part of the original sample but to whom the researcher was referred to by key informant due to their experience and knowledge on the issue under exploration.

The study further exploited judgmental sampling techniques to draw in experts on the matter being investigated hence; selection of some respondents depends on the researcher's judgments. While the study accepted limitations of not being able to make statistical generalization to a larger population, the study built on the ability to make analytic generalizations by selecting a robust representative sample that allows comparisons. Thus, data collected through face to face interview, questionnaires, and focus group discussions, supported by the literature review and the researcher's

expertise and knowledge of the subject as a gender activists in the defence and security environment, were brought to bear on all generalization made.

3.5.3 Sampling size

Other ranks (NCOs and Ptes) constituted the biggest number of participants in this study; they were 44 in total, 26 females and 16 males and all are below the management cadre level. Those believed to have been in command, leadership and decision-making positions during the liberation struggle and continued to lead after independence were 34 in total and were all male. Although few women reached the management and command echelons, their appointment to strategic and decisionmaking positions is long to be realized. Thus, the greatest challenge to equal representation in NDF command and decision-making avenues remains, equally few females who were fortunate to be appointed to that level were yet, deployed in feminine and welfare occupations. For that, only 4 females, one general and three colonels were part of the original study sample. Co-opted in the study sample through critical case sampling were the Chief of the Defence Force, the two (03) service Commanders (Army and Air Force), Chief of Staff's heading Directorates such as; Joint Operations, Plan and Training (JOPTs), Human Resources (HR), Defence Intelligent (DI), Information Communication Technology (ICT), Commanders special Forces (CSF) (Tornado and Marine), Air Defence Brigade (ADBde), and Infantry Brigades. This was done to avoid ambiguity questions, because it is believed that if those co-opted in understood the questions asked then all participants or respondents will as well be able to understand them.

3.5.4 Sampling Strategies

Due to the dynamism of the research question three sampling strategies were applied to yield information-rich sample capable to generate rich-information which allows comparisons between variables. These are purposeful sampling techniques or instruments namely; maximum variation and snowballing.

3.5.4. (I) Purposeful sampling

According to Struwig& Stead (2001) purposeful sampling is not concerned so much with random sampling, but rather a sample-rich information participants selected because they exhibited certain characteristic that the research is interested in (p, 122). Likewise, Welman and Krugel (2001) also pointedout that purposive sampling allows the researcher to hand-pick specific individuals on the basis of their typicality (p.63). Based on this, the study targeted the Chief of the Defence Force, two Service Commanders (Army and Air Force), the Chairpersons of DSC, MSC and the Think Tank and six General Officers who were selected as Key Informants of the study.

The selection of this sample was based on the focus of inquiry and the researcher's judgment on which approach may yield clearest understanding of the phenomenon under study (Maykut& Morehouse, 2000). Thus, in an effort to build the study sample that would yield a shared perspective about the phenomenon studied, extreme and typical cases were also further exploited during the selection of the study sample.

In that context, variables such as age, gender, period of service, experience, training, promotion, appointment and positions occupied by males and females were equally taken into consideration.

3.5.4. (II) Maximum variation sampling

Maximum variation sampling is a purposive sampling procedure in which diverse respondents are selected with the purpose of gaining greater insight into the phenomenon from different perspectives and experiences. Maximum variation techniques allow the study to select participants with sundry experience on the phenomenon being examined. Exploiting maximum variation techniques in this study allows exploration of different perspective from conditions that are viewed classic to those that are extreme in nature. By conditions, we refer to units of analysis namely; people, events and institution that of interest to the study and that they demonstrate broad array of characteristic, behaviors, experiences and qualities that can help the researcher to identify common themes that are evident across the sample,(http://dissertation.laerd.com/articles/purposive-sampling-an-verview.php).In this regard, the study was interested in the respondent's period of service, age, gender, training and deployment as well as career progression among male and female members of the NDF.

3.5.4. (III) Snowball sampling

Snowball sampling according to Struwig& Stead (2003) is a sampling technique in which initial respondents are selected by probability methods, but in which additional respondents are then obtained from the information provided by the initial respondents (p,112). For the purpose of maximum variation it is advisable to use the snowball techniques to locate subsequent participants that are different from the first in order to broaden theoretical insights that assist data collection and analysis (Maykut& Morehouse, 2001). In this study, the snowball sampling strategy was not the ingredient of the primary plan but became applicable as the researcher began collecting information from the first research participant who suggested others who could provide rich information about the subject being investigated. In this context, through snowball strategy the study yielded some useful characteristics including female respondents that would not have been included although they possess potential information relevant to the study.

3.6 DATA COLLECTION METHODS

Data was collected from primary sources using a questionnaire, standardized semistructures interview and face-to- face interviews with Key Informant. To accumulate a comparative reliable data, documentary analysis was imperative to provide the general background of the situation and expose the magnitude of acceptance of intervening variables in this regard the National Gender Policy (NGP), regional and international initiative like SADC Protocols on Gender and Development (2010) and UN Resolution 1325 (2000), NDF policies, Acts, operation manuals and procedures were as well analyzed with gender lenses to determine compliances and responsiveness to equal representation in military partaking. In a nutshell however, a literature review, focus group discussions, semi- structured questionnaires and face-to-face interviews with key informants were the study techniques used to collect data. A questionnaire was prepared and structured to meet data collection needs for the study. Participants were asked questions such as:

- what criteria were used to ensure gender representation in decision-making structures at inceptions;
- what challenges or constraints mostly affected women's representations in decision-making structures;
- Why do male continue climbing the leadership ladder ahead of women in NDF:
- what measures did NDF put in place to ensure equal representation in strategic and decision-making positions;
- How did it happen that women failed to translate their numerical majority to leadership and decision-making positions in NDF at inception and thereafter,
- The researcher was also interested in finding out as to whether there are restrictions to military specialization that could probably be the causes of underrepresentation in strategic decision-making avenues of the NDF. These questions were to yield first-hand information about how prejudice and discrimination benchmarked the appointment of women in strategic and decision-making positions of the NDF;

• Participants were selected through critical case method and asked to confirm previously research findings that, Namibian women were trained in all fields, fought in battlefields side by side with their males and some occupied command positions in PLAN. What made it impossible not to retain such status at the formation of the NDF?

Ideally, data was obtained through in-depth interview, semi-structured questionnaires containing closed and open-ended questions as well as documentary analysis on existing policies, Acts as well as statements by commanders and political office bearers. Questionnaires were drawn and attached to a covering letter explaining the background and purpose of the research exercise and requests participants to assist in completing it. Data collection continued until it reaches the saturation point when newly collected data is redundant with previously collected data.

3.6.1 DOCUMENTARY STUDY

In order to supplement data collected, a desk study focused on the review of relevant documents such as; institution policies, books, accessible online documents was conducted. Also reviewed were national policies and Acts, regulation and directives, as well as regional and international conventions, treaties, protocols and agreements. Similarly, focused during documentary review was the recent UN Resolution 1325 (2000) on Women, Peace and Security which Namibia ratified and signed, the SADC

Protocol on Gender and Development (2008) and the Security Sector Gender Tool (1992). Resolution 1325 recognizes the vital role women play in peace-building and conflict prevention, hence calls for full and equal participation of women in security and defencedecision-making setups. Also, reviewed at institutional level with gender lenses were the Defence Act (Act1of 2002), NDF General Regulations, the Defence Policy (2010) and the NDF Human Resources Policy (2010). This was done to disclose gender parities and gaps in policy framework that informed the decision-making setups, in order to reveal and determine the degree of compliance to international, regional and national regulatory gender frameworks to which NDF is part.

3.6.2 FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

Berg (2001) defines the focus group as an interview style designed for a small population, to learn about the biographies and life structures of group participants (p.49). The focus group discussion affords members an opportunity to share common experiences on topical issues whereby the results of the topic discussed will be agreed collectively. Two group discussions were held at Grootfontein Army and Air Force Headquarters during 22nd 23rd November 2011 and one at Defence Headquarters in Windhoekduring 25th and 26th March 2012.

Table 3.1 below illustrates the composition of each focus group per gender.

Table 3.1 Composition of Focus Groups PerServices

Services		Gender		
	Ranks	Male	Female	
Army	Lt Colonels to Captains	6	4	
	Warrant officers to Private	7	3	
Air Force	Other ranks	4	6	
DHQ	Capt to Major	6	9	
	Other ranks	7	8	

Source: Compiled and computed by the researcher

With the assistance of Unit commanders, a conference room at both HQs was always prepared in advance and members were released to attend the discussions. Each focus group selected a group leader and a minute taker. Groups were presented with standardized questions for discussions. To avoid uncertainty, questions were read to participants and later they were allowed to ask questions for clarity. After a lengthy interaction, participants were then given an opportunity to respond according to their own understanding of the questions. All groups were a mix of male and female soldiers, ex-combatants and recruits and represent different rank categories. Participants in all groups were assured of confidentiality and age group was kept fairly homogeneous to allow comparisons of issues being discussed.

3.6.3 IN- DEPTH INTERVIEWS

Face –to- face interview were scheduled and conducted with key informant namely; the Chief of the Defence Force (CDF), the Army Commander (AC), Deputy Army Commander (DAC), Air Marshall (AM), the Commandant Military School, Chief of Staff's (COS) and Senior Staff Officers at the Army and DHQ. Data collected during the interviews were analyzed separately to expose the leadership opinion and insights regarding the appointment of women in strategic leadership and command positions. The interview with the Chief of the Namibian DefenceForce centered mainly on constitutional mandate of the CDF that he or she must ensure a balanced structuring of the defence force as well as the power to appoint officers.

Incredibly, all General Officers selected for interview, despite their hectic scheduled secured time to be interviewed and complete questionnaires. The interview with the General and Senior Staff Officers therefore focuses on appointment, promotion, training opportunities and career progression between women and men. This was done to bring to surface barriers if any that hinder women's posting and deployment to command and decision-making stratum. Moreover, the interview with the general staff focused yield specific information necessary to substantiate or annul claims portrayed by various scholars in a number of literatures that there were women commanders in the liberation struggle but desolated when the new army was formed.

In his capacity as a seasoned PLAN combatants and pioneers of the NDF, the Chief of the Namibian Defence Force provided systematic information regarding participation, training, appointment and deployment of women during and after the liberation struggle which will be discussed in detail in chapter 4. He offered his advice to those intending to explore on the contribution and the roles women played during the liberation war to select knowledgeable sample of experienced individual to document correct, true and reliable information.

3.7 DATA ANALYSIS

Data analysis includes the range of process and procedures used to reduce the data collected into some form of interpretative descriptive explanations about the people and situation investigated. According to De Vos (2001) data analysis is the process of constructing sensible meaning from the bunch of collected raw data (2001, p.331). Thus, data in this study were analyzed descriptively using SPSS statistical package with specially created Microsoft Excel 2007 spreadsheet. Employing those techniques enables a researcher to organize and give meaning to a large amount of To ensure credibility, data obtained during focus group discussions and interviews were first scanned, summarized, categorized, grouped and itemized into appropriate themes. Thereafter, questionnaires, interviews, content analysis and group discussions were re-conceptualized, narrated in sequence of meaningful descriptive statements and presented in figures and percentage. The researcher created a coding sheet consisting of themes surfaced from group discussions and These themes include gender constraints; prejudice and interview questions.

stereotypes; myth and misconception about female commanders; constraints limiting women access to decision-making. Original documents that are not classified were analyzed, narrated, quoted and interpreted qualitatively.

3.8 TRUSTWORTHINESS OF DATA

Trustworthiness of data refers to the believability of the findings, consistency and neutrality of data presented (Maykut& Morehouse, 2001). To confirm as to whether the findings of this inquiry are trustworthy, the study considered five areas of trustworthiness namely:

Validity: Validity concerns with the degree to which the findings of the study was judged to have been interpreted correctly. Struwig and Stead (2003, p.143) point out, validity in qualitative research is a contentious issue because it is difficult to validate unlike in the quantitative research. Denzin& Lincoln, (2002); Lindlof& Taylor, (2002); Potter, (1996) equally emphasized validity in qualitative research has to do with description and explanation, and whether explanation fits the description or not. In this regard, the interview questions for this study were given to the supervisor to assess contents and its validity to the study. Throughout the analysis process the researcher remains open to new tenets and insights. Thus, the interview with information-rich participants and the use of self-administered questionnaires and referrals enables the researcher to validate data collected which in twirl strengthen the study findings.

According to Hamersley (1990) validity confirms the extent to which accounts accurately represent the social phenomenon to which it refers (p.57). Therefore, the use of constant comparative analysis of data collected in charts and graphics demonstrated the degree to which data provided in this study accurately represents the phenomenon investigated. The use of triangulation techniques also validates the research findings.

Reliability of Instruments: Reliabilityrefers to the extent to which the measurement and the instrument used would yield same results on repeated trials, and that the scores obtained could be generalized to different measuring occasions, test forms and measurement test administrators (Welman and Krugel2000, p.145). Thus, in determining whether findings are reliable, scores obtained were generalized to other similar situations as a way of verifying its reliability. By generalization we mean consistency in ranking the scores assigned to individual, unreceptive of when the measuring was applied, which form it was used, and by whom it was administered or scored. According to Joppe(2000) a research instrument is considered reliable if the results are consistent over time and represent the total population being studied and that the results of the study can be reproduced under a similar methodology. Hence, the researcher was mindful of the need to allow respondents a degree of liberty to describe, interpret events and verbalize own experience since the logic underlying them are major contributing aspects to this study. Equally, the use of multiple data collection method as well increases reliability of thestudy. In fact, if this research can

be repeated, findings, evidence and conclusions would be closest, thus affirms reliability of the research findings.

Credibility of the Data: Data credibility concerns with evaluation of whether or not the research findings represent conceptual interpretation of the data drawn from the participant's original data (Lincoln & Cuban, 1985 p.296). Thus, the researcher used a member checking review for key informants in strategic and command levels. In this regard, each key informant such as the CDF, Service Commanders and General Staff Officers reviewed the summary of the final results of the inquiry and both confirmed correct interpretation of the reality.

Transferability: Transferability explains the degree or extent to which the findings of the inquest can apply to or can be transferred beyond the bounds of the research. To give surety to transferability, questionnaires and field notes containing the raw data from which the analysis generates answers to the research questions are on file and available upon request.

3.9 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

During the study the following aspects of ethics were taken into consideration.

Approval: Before commencement of the study the University of Namibia Post Graduate Studies Committee (PGSC) approved the research proposal and granted permission to conduct the study. Following the PGSC approval, a formal request was written to the Chief of Defence Force (CDF) to give permission to conduct the study on women representation in strategic decision-making positions in the NDF which was approved without provision and included permission to interview members in different rank categories in the DefenceHeadquarters and Arms of Services (Army and Air Force). Thereafter a formal letter was written to all concerned, instructing them to assist the researcher to access all information deemed appropriate for the study. In this regard, the researcher was released to travel to Grootfontein and other places to collect data. CDF permission letter is attached as Annexure.

<u>Informed consent</u>: No person was forced to participate or disclose information she/he intended not to divulge. Informed consent was obtained from participants after the purpose and objectives were explained to them. To this effect, participants had a choice to participate or not to or withdraw anytime they so wished. However, although, participation was voluntary no withdrawal was observed and participants were happy to participate. Notably, respondents were assured that information collected will not be made available to anyone who is not directly involved in the study.

Privacy and Confidentiality: Anonymity was maintained throughout the study. All participants were informed that data collected would be used entirely for the stated purpose of the researchonly. Respondents were assured that all information they provided would be treated with utmost confidentiality. Hence, the privacy of all participants was respected except when permission was granted by the respondent to be quoted directly as the case with the majority of Key Informants (KI).

3.9CONCLUSION

In this chapter the study presented a detailed methodology that was followed to collect information. It explains how the population and study samples were identified and selected including instruments used for data collection and analysis. Thereafter, the research designs, research approach and methods were also explained in detail. The chapter outlines procedures applied for data collection and software used for data analysis. Further, it discusses the sampling techniques and explained the way questionnaires were administered. It also penned out trustworthiness and reliability of the data collected and as well explains the ethical issues considered during the research process. The next chapter presents and discusses the results and findings of the study.

CHAPTER 4

PRESENTATION OF RESULTS AND FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapterpresents and analyses the data collected. It presents theresults and discusses the findings of the study as extracted from documents and transcripts, focus group discussions, interviews and questionnaires. It commences with the analysis of data and proceeds with the interpretation of answers provided in questionnaires and discussions of the results. Information obtained was indexed, grouped and themed in categories according to research questions and objectives. Thereafter analyzed and presented in tabular, charts and graphic forms. Major themes were clustered and recapitulated in recommendations for future programming and policy development. These are summarized in Chapter 5 under recommendation section.

Systematically, the NDF decision-making is structured at three differentlevels of authority namely:

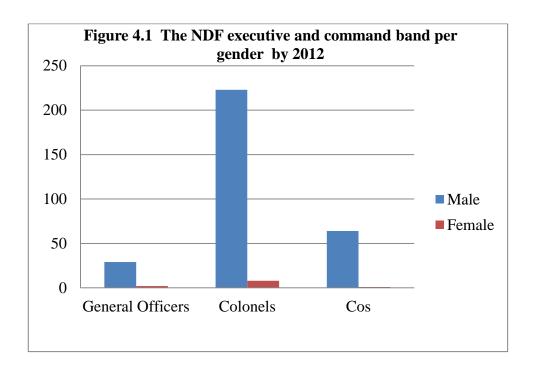
a. The strategic leadership consists of the Honorable Minister, Deputy and Chief of the Namibian Defence Force. These areall appointed by the StatePresident who is by the Constitution of the Republic the Commander-In-Chief (CIC) of the Armed Forces. They are responsible for overseeing the implementation of government policies and programs in their respective services and as well ensure compliance with constitution imperatives.

- b. Military strategic command level: This categorycomprises of Service Commanders (Army, Air Force and Navy) and includes the General Officers. They are responsible for ensuring national security, protection of citizens, the land, the water and the air space of Namibia.
- c. The administrative level: This administrative level is led by the Permanent Secretary who is the Accounting Officer and generally deals with budgetary issues, personnel matters including welfare and condition of services of members. This level comprises of Chiefs of Staff who are Heads of Directorates, Directors and Senior Staff Officers (Full Colonels). As the focus of this study is to explore the extent to which women are represented in strategic decision-making positions in the NDF, the center heart of this research therefore is to expose the extent to which women are involvement and represented in the three levels of decision-making penciled above.

4.2 The NDF strategic leadership and executive band

Currently, there are three hundred and thirty four (334) Management cadreswhoconstitute the strategic decision-making and Command structure of the NDF. Out of these, twenty-nine (29) are general officers and only two (2) are women, two hundred and thirty one (231) are male Senior Staff Officers in the rank category of full Colonels and only eight (8) are women. There are sixty- five (65) Commanding Officers (COs) with only one (1) female. With a yearly recruitment ratio of 20% females and 80% males (20:80), equal representation in decision-

making and command structures pose a challenge to international, regional, national and as well as in sector policies that are in place. Figure 4.1 below illustrates the number of women and men in executive command positions by 2012.



Information displayed in the graph aboveshows the NDF executive decision-making and command portfolios or positions remains a comfort zone for men only.

4.3 RESPONDENTSIN THE STUDY

Respondents in the study were General Officers including the Chief of the Defence Force (CDF), Service Commanders (Army, Air Force and Navy) Management Cadres (PS, DPS and Directors) and Commanders at different levels, and included those not in management but in positions of power and authority to command and make decisions. The latter comprised of referrals in rank category Lt Col and

Majors, Warrant Officers, Non-commissioned (NCOs) and Private (Pte) soldiers. The latter make decisions at Battalion, Company, Platoon and Section levels. Leadership positions in the context of this study referred to; Ministerial and Chief of the Defence Force (CDF) portfolios, while strategic command positions refer to Service Commanders (Army, Air Force and Navy), decision-making is composed of seniorstaff officers in rank groupings of full Colonels who mostly deal with administrative functions. Table 4.2 below presents the rank categories of respondents in the study.

Table 4.1 Number of respondents in the study per rank and gender by 2012 (N=127)

Rank distribution	Gender	Total	
	Male	Female	
General Officers	12 (92%)	1 (8%)	100%
Senior Staff Officers (Col)	25 (85%)	4 (15%)	100%
Lieutenant Colonels, Majors and Captains	10 (33%)	20 (67%)	100%
Other Ranks (WOs and below)	25 (45%)	30 (55%)	100%

Source: Adapted from MOD/NDF Human Resource Annual Report 2011

Data presented in Table 4.1 above showed there were one hundred and twenty seven (127) respondents, seventy (70) males and fifty five (55) females. Figures tabulated revealed there were more male participants in the study than females. That was not deliberate but an exposure of the situation reality that there are more men than

women in the strategic decision-making and command positions of the NDF. Statistics penciled further demonstrated men outnumber women in the Generals and Senior Staff rank categories, while women only picked-up slightly in Lieutenant Colonels ranks where they constituted 67% (n=20) against 33% (n=10) males. Interestingly, in other rank categories such as Non-Commissioned Officers (NCOs) womendominate thus more were drawn in. Showing such representation inpercentage the pie below shows the percentage of respondents in the study. Figures presented shows women are to some extent disadvantaged to the extent that there are 334 NDF executives out of which women areaccounted for 7% while males made up approximately 93%.

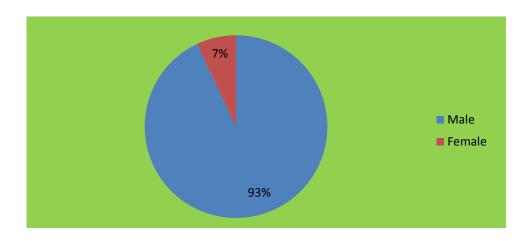


Figure 4.2Percentage of women among the key respondents

4.3.1 RESPONDENT'S AGE GROUP

Information in the table below shows the rank grouping and age categories of the key respondents in this study.

Table 4.2Age grouping of key respondents in the study.

Key respondents						
Age grouping	Ra	Ranks				
	Generals	Senior Staff Officers				
51-54	3	2				
55-60	8	10				
Referrals other ran	ıks					
	Lieutenant Colonels	Majors - Capts				
40-45	0	4				
46-50	0	6				
51-54	8	0				
55-60	2	4				
	NCOs					
	Warrant Officers (WO11)	SSgt's -Pte				
35-40	0	8				
41-45	2	0				
46-50	3	4				

Source: compiled and computed by author; 2012

Out of the forty five (45) key respondents 88% (n=7) in the General categories were males while only 12% (n=1) were female, in the full Colonel rank 88% (n=28) were males while 12% (n=4) were females. Almost all respondents in different rank

grouping including referrals indicated joined the NDF in different rank categories below management in 1990. On flustered accounts, of the 95% male integrated at inception, (85% (n=18) have scaled tostrategic command positions, and two spank the last edge of the pyramid to the highest command position. Pessimistically, nosingle woman was prepared toadvance to that extent as men. Further worsening the situation, females who advanced hit a glass ceiling in Lieutenant ColonelRank or Warrant Officers and no further progress.

4.3.2 RESPONDENT'S EDUCATION BACKGROUND

Investigating and analysing respondent's military career and training the study noted with great concern that the majority of women have not attended military training. Some respondents in the study related this peculiar to women not taking up the challenge to attend military qualifying courses. The table below shows general education, military training and academic qualifications of respondents in this study.

Table 4.3 Respondents General Education (N=84)

	Primary Education Secondary University/O		Secondary		College	
Ranks	M	F	M	F	M	F
Generals	10	2	8	2	3	2
Senior Staff Officers	12	6	9	6	5	6
Lieutenant Col, Majors and Captains	10	9	3	8	4	7
Other ranks	12	23	7	20	15	6

Source: NDF Human Resource Training Division annual Report 2012

Data presented indicated that the majority of females in the study have tertiary and university qualification compared to men. However, comparison in military training picturedhuge variations related to military qualifications among male and female participants. Data presented in the table below gives records on respondent's military trainings.

Table 4.4 Respondent's military training (N=125)

Training	Female	Male
War College	0	4 (100%)
Senior Staff and Command Course	2 (11%)	17(89%)
Junior Staff and Command Course	5 (13%)	34(87%)
Formative for Officers	7 (23%)	23(77%)
Quartermasters Commissioning	8 (24.2%)	25(76%)
Total	22 (18%)	103 (82%)

Source: Adopted from NDF Training Division Annual Report 2012

Information penciled in the table above exposed the majority of men to have received extensive military training compared to women. Equally, figures tabulated in the Tables 4.3 and 4.4 above show of the (n=4238) only three (n=3)female Officers since the formation of the NDF were privileged to attend the Senior Staff and Command Courses (SSC) which qualify them appointments to the management level, fifteen (n=15)completed Junior Staff and command Course (JSCC) and only a few below 25% had accessed basic military training. Information obtained in this study further exposed no female since inception had a chance to enter the War College, although

more than eight (n=8) male officers were privileged to enter and graduated from the War College.

To summarise the findings on military training, information received from respondents revealed not more than 24 % of females in NDF have received basic military training, only 15% (n=3) graduated from Senior Staff and Command Course and not more than 23% (about n=20) females passed JSC. Notable however, almost all male Generals and senior staff officers have received necessary military training, whilethe majority of females regardless of rank grouping have only tertiary and university qualifications. On that note, female respondents in the study argue that it is not by itself that female members lack military training but that training opportunities are not opened to female members. As such, there is a need to have in place clear defined strategies with indicators on how many male and female are to be trained yearly per each slot.

4.4 RESULTS OF THE STUDY

4.4.1 Perceptions

Opponents of equal opportunity and women inclusion in military leadership and command echelon argue that mission effectiveness and readiness may likely be compromised if more women are appointed in strategic command positions (G1 Army Headquarters, March, 2012). Equally, arguing from readiness point of view,

sympathetic to women's command ability and combat effectiveness, thus accentuatedwomenshould remain in 'pink collar' functions and should not be appointed in combatmustering as infantryor artillerists. Such belief demonstrated ahigh soaring degree of resistance to accept women as equal partners in military leadership and commanderauthority. Findings have it that men still hold-on to a notion of male the defender and protector and women the protected. Further, revelations are that men in the military are stillbonded on cultural belief system that if women are to be brought in, first, they must demonstrate leadership qualities and have military capabilities tested in battle to prove confidence, competences and abilities. In that regard, the majority of respondents mostly males argue despite the fact that technology overshadowed physical attributes, participation in battle should remain a criteria to qualify officer's appointment and nothing else. The impression therefore throughout the study seems to be, in some circles, a belief that women do not belong to military.

4.4.2 General Representation in Strategic Decision-making and Command Echelon by 2012

Literatures on military leadership affirmed, as a social institution, defenceorganizations are supposed to enhance a social climate where equal spirit flourishes and cultural barriers diminished. Thus, to find out as to whether NDF works towards creating a more equal and friendly environment for all, statistics provided in tables belowgives information on the number of women appointed in

strategic executives and command positions and compare rank distribution among women and men. Comparatively, the study took a closer look at representation in various decisions-makingand command set-ups. Exploiting Disparity Index (DI), the studycomparewomen representation in variousdecision-making avenues and command structures to the extent of participation and involvement inpower positions affecting their daily life. Disparity Index indicates the magnitude of involvement and show differencesamong and between variables which in this study later pavedthe way to critically analyze the degree ofwomen's participation in strategic bodies such as the Defence Staff Council, Military Steering Committees, the Senior Management Committees and NDF Think Tank to mention just a few.

4.4.2.1 Gender breakdown in Executive Committees (DSC, MSC and SMC) by 2012

There is a large body of evidence obtained from MOD and NDF document that shows men occupy all influential positions in executive committees as Chairpersons and Deputy Chairpersons. Figures presented in table 4.5 showsthe DSC which is the highest decision-making body to have been a male zonefor twenty-two years(1990-2012) and yet, there is no sign of attempt to engender it. Equally, in the MSC and SMC women only made in-roads from 2008 and 2009 but to no more than 10% until 2012.

Table 4.5below gives a comparative analysis of representations in strategic committees such as DSC, MSC and SMC.

Table 4.5Number of women in strategic committees by 2009-2012 (N=43)

Committees	Female	Male	Total
Defence Staff Council	1(14%)	6(86%)	7
Military Steering Committee	2 (13%)	14 (87%)	16
Senior Management Committee	2 (10%)	18 (90%)	20
Percentage	12%	88%	100%

Source: MOD/NDF Committees document 2011

Information tabulated in the table above shows that although there was one woman in DSC between 2009- 2011, two in MSC and SMC, statistics penciled greatly epitomized impressiveover representation of men in all committees amounting to 88% (n=38) males against 12% (n=5) females.

Data penciled further revealed, women are only present in committees and structures that deal with welfare or pink collar functions, of which members to these committees are mostlydrawn from officers in rankgrouping Brigadier Generals and Colonels.

For more explicitly explanations, information in Figures 4.3 and 4.4 below gives a comparative analysis of representation in MSC and SMC by 2012.

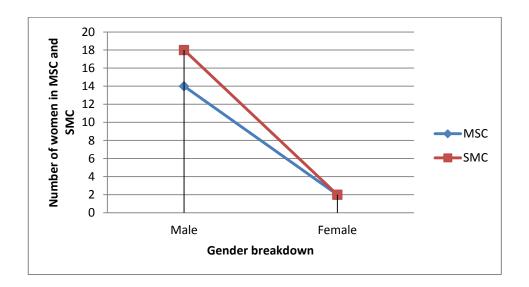


Figure 4.3 Comparative analysis of representation in MSC and SMCby 2012.

Statistics showed in the figure above illustrated that the percentage of men in the MSC is as high as 87% against 13%, whereas in the SMC mencollected 90% against 10% women. Figures presented below show representation breakdown in the DSC.

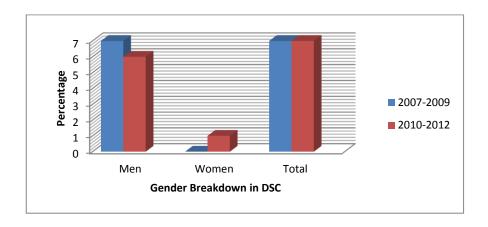


Figure 4.4 Gender breakdowns in the Defence Staff Council by 2012

Data presented shows between 2007 and 2009 women representation in the Defence Staff Council (DSC) remain 0%, and only rose slightly to not more than 1% in 2010. Statistics given expose the DSC has been exclusively male.

Further, acloser look at representation in the Military Steering Committee equally illustrated a continued exclusion of women, where they stuck at 2% for almost seven years. Figures presented showedthe first chance for female in-roads in the Military Steering Committee was once realized in 2009 and remained below 5% up to date. Figure 4.5below provides a comparative analysis of women representation in the Military Steering Committees from 2005-2012.

Women in Military Steering Committees

20
15
10
5
0
2005-2008
2009-2012

Gender breakdown in MSC

Figure 4.5 Women in Military Steering Committees 2005-2012

Source: MOD/NDF Committee Document (2009)

4.4.2.2Gender breakdown in NDF top leadership positions by 2012

Table 4.6Women representation instrategic leadership per gender by 2012 (N=27)

Rank categories	Female	Male	Total
Hon Minister	0	1	1
Hon Deputy	1	0	1
Lieutenant General (CDF)	0	1	1
Permanent Secretary	0	1	1
Deputy Permanent Secretary	0	1	1
Service Commanders (Army, AF and NN)	0	3	3
Brigade Commanders and Chief of Staffs, (Brigadiers Generals)	2	20	22
Total	3(10%)	27 (90%)	30(100%)

Source: Adapted from MOD/NDF Human Resource Annual Report 2011

Data indexed in Table 4.6above exposed male dominates the strategic level where they accounts for 90% (n=27) against 10% (n=3) women. The percentage given indicatedwomen figure nowhere in Ministerial, Permanent Secretaries, Lieutenant Generals and Major Generals. Furthermore, worth noting is that althoughfigures presented showed a woman Deputy Minister, the finding of the study has it thatit could not be applauded as breathtaking because it did not last longer.

Table 4.6 below shows the presence of women incommand positions.

4.4.2.3 Gender breakdown in strategic command positions

Table 4.7Women in command echelon by 2012 (N=334)

Rank Distribution	Position	Gend	er	Total	
		M	F		
Lieutenant General	Chief of the Defence Force (CDF)	1	0	1	
Major General	Service Commanders (Army, Air Force and Namibian Navy)	5	0	5	
Brigadier General	Heads of Directorates, Chiefs of Staff and Brigade Commanders	29	2	31	
Colonels	Heads of Divisions	223	8	231	
Commanding Officers	Unit Commanders	65	1	66	

Source: Adapted from MOD/NDF Human Resource Annual Report 2011

Information provided in Table 4.7 above shows that up until the finalization of these research findings, all strategic executive commandingpositions in the NDF are exclusively reserve for men, who account for 83% over 17% of women. This study noted with great concern that this is not a technical error or omission, or an oversight from the leadership, but a deliberate action to preserve male supremacy in the command echelon of the Namibian Defence Force.

Taking a closer look at the recruitment process from 1996-2012, Table 4.8 below gives the general statistical number of women who joined the NDF from the year 1996 - 2012.

4.4.2.4 Gender breakdown in recruitment from 1996-2012

Data obtained from HR recruitment office show that there have been increases in the number of women recruited between 1996 – 2012 from 41% and 58% percent. However, although in the general recruitmentthenumber continues increasing, the fact remains, the executives scenery continue preserved a male zone, thus no change. It was discovered that although a number of women joined the NDF from 1996 onwardsmen continue having the highest percentage of appointment in command and decision-making positions compared to women. Figures presented in Table 4.8 below indicate the number of women recruited since 1996-2012.

Table 4.8Number of women recruited and integrated from 1996- 2012 (N=4048)

Year								
	1996 2000 2012							
Total	W	M	Total	W	M	Total	W	M
6746	957 (6%)	5789 (94%)	13500	2348 (15%)	12652 (84.3%)	18747	4048 (21%)	14699 (78.4%)

Source: NDF Human Resources document (2010)

4.4.2.5Gender Breakdownin the NDF Think Tank

In 2010, a Think Tank (TT) was constituted with its key objective being to advice the leadership on policy and strategic matters. In addition to its core objectives, the TT should review policies, practices and procedures with gender lenses and when necessary recommend development of new policies. Distressing however, although established the timegender inclusiveness are pressing issues in defence forces, nevertheless, it remains males-oriented. Table 4.9 below shows power distribution between men and women in the Think Tank.

Table 4.9Power distribution among members of the NDF Think Tank (N=22)

Position	Total	Women	Men	%Women
Chairperson	1	0 (100%)	1(100%)	0%
Vice Chairperson	1	0 (100%)	1(100%)	0%
Secretary	1	1(100%)	0 (100%)	100%
Members	22	3 (14%)	19 (86%)	14%
Percentage	25	16%	84%	14%

Source: Adapted from MOD/NDF Committee document, 2009

Figures presented exposed, only menoccupy influential positions in the TT as Chairperson and Deputy Chair, and as usual out of the twenty–two (22) TT members, women account for 12% (n=4) compared to 84% (n=21) men. Of the four (n=4) females only three (n=3) have power to participate fully in discussions, voteand move a motion.

4.4.2.5.1Criteria used for appointing members of the TT

Efforts to find out the criteria used for selection and appointment of members to the Think Tank ended up in veinas no written criteria werefound. Equally, attempts to interview the appointing authority have also yielded no fruits. Thus, observations are while opportunities for male soldiers are wider, women continuetinkling on the interest of those in power, in this case, men.

4.4.2.6Women representation in Directorates and Divisions by 2012

Empirical evidence obtained from official records revealed ten (10) Directorates in DHQ headed by Brigadier Generals (Chief of Staff) and forty-eighty (48) Divisions headed by full Colonels (SSOs). Out of the ten (10) Directorates, only two are headed by females (Finance and Medics) and out of the forty-eight (48) Divisions only four (4) are headed by females and these are: HR Admin,Sports Admin,Training for Qualifying Courses and the Chaplaincy andWelfare Services.In fact, Directorates of HR, Finance, Health Services and Logistics have the highest proportions of women;however at the extreme of representation, Logistics have a high underrepresentation gap where out of 315 logistician officers only two femalesreached the executive level and thus qualified to sit in the Senior Executive Directorate Committee.

The chart below shows the percentage of women in Directorates and Divisions.

Women Heads of Directorates and Divisions

Divisions

Directorates

Directorates

O 10 20 30 40 50

Figure 4.6Women Heads of Directorates and Divisions

Source: Adopted from MOD Strategic Plan Financial Year (FY) 2008/9 - 2012/13

Percentage

Statistics presented in the bar chart above show womenrepresentation in Directorates and Divisions as generally low and stood below 5% compared to over 45% men.

4.4.2.7Gender breakdown in Arms of Services

A large body of evidence obtained from literatures that exposed althoughfemale combatants were the majority of returnees, constituted over 50%, they failed to translate their numerical majority in equal representation when the NDF was formed (Preston 1992, Mwange 2003 and Iipinge and Le Beau 2005). Such situation continued for almost a decade and half.

The study further exposed that men are the only highflyerto power positions in Arms of Servicesas Service Commanders, Chief of Staffs, Brigades and Battalion commanders. Additionally, the study further shows that since the inception of the NDF, only men are deployed in diplomatic missions as DefenceAttachés and seconded in other countries for understudy. Similarly, up until the finalization of these study findings women representation in the Army and Air Force command positions stuck fast at Zero percent. Such disclosure demonstrated that the Army and AF are not paying due attention to equal representation. This is further illustrated by figures tabulated in Table 4.10 below which shows women representation in the Army and Air Force by 2012.

Table 4.10 Women representation in Arms of Services (Army and AF)by2012 (N=2)

Position	Female	Male	Total
Service Commander (Army and AF)	0	2	2 (100%)
Chief of Staffs (Brigadier-Generals)	0	7	7(100%)
Defence Attachés (Generals and Cols)	1	9	10(100%)
Brigade and Formation Commanders (Brigadier-Generals)	0	6	6(100%)
Battalion Commanders (Col or GP Capt in the AF)	1	44	45(100%)
Total	2 (3%)	68 (97%)	100%

Source: MOD/NDF Human Resource Personnel Orbit 2012

Information presented in the table above revealed thatall commandpositions in the Army and Air Force are reserved for men only who accounts for 97 % (n=68) against3% (n=2)women. Positions such as Service Commander, Chiefs of Staff (G1, G2, G3 and G4), Formation and Brigade Command portfolios were never filled by a female since inception to date. The table below illustrates average rank distribution for women in the Army command echelons from 2000 - 2012.

Table 4.11 Rank distribution among women and men in command positions of the Army $2000-2012\ (N=0)$

Year	2000 - 2005 2006 - 2012			
Ranks	Female	Male	Female	Male
Major General (Army Commander)	0 (0%)	1(100%)	0 (0%)	1 (100%)
Brigadier General (Chiefs of Staff)	0 (0%)	2(100%)	0(0%)	12 (100%)
Colonels (Senior Staff Officers or Deputy-Directors)	0 (0%)	15(100%)	0(0%)	79 (100%)
Unit Commanders (Full Colonels)	0 (0%)	15(100%)	1(3%)	35(97%)
2Ic (Second in Command (Major)	0(0%)	15(100%)	2(5%)	35 (95%)

Source: Adopted from Army Headquarters personnel orbit 2011

Statistic penciled above epitomized, onlymen in the Army occupy command positions, while women are only appointed in foyer levels of management and strictly not above 5% or only as second in command (2Ic) of Battalions and only awarded the rank of Major to Lt Cols only. Comparatively, in an attempt determine whether women representation status in the army correlates with that of the Air Force, Table 4.12 below shows rank distribution over decision-making and command authority in the AF.

Table 4.12Rank distribution among women and men in AF executive and Commandpositions by 2001–2012

Year	2000-2005		2006-2012	
Ranks	Female	Male	Female	Male
Air Vice Marshall (Air Force Commander)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	1 (100%)
Air Commodore (Chiefs of Staff)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	1 (100%)
Group Captain (Full Colonels or Deputy- Directors)	0(0%)	1(100%)	0(0%)	8 (100%)
Wing Commander (Lieutenant Colonels)	0(0%)	3(100%)	1(5%)	19 (95%)
Total	0 (0%)	4(100%)	1 (2%)	35 (98%)

Source: Compiled and computed by Air Force personnel Directorate 2011

Statistics provided in Tables 4.11 and 4.12 exposed, up until the finalization of the findings of this research women figure nowhere in command position of the Army

and Air Force. Figures tabulated indicated that all influential positions and structures in both services are occupied by men only. Thus to find out at what level of the decision-making women participate or have their voice heard in the Army and Air Force information tabulated in Table 4.13 below further shows representation in Brigades, Formations and Battalions.

Table 4.13Numbers of Women in Brigades,Formations and BattalionsCommand Positions (N=1)

Position	No of Brigades/ Formation	Female	Male	% women
Brigade /Formations Commanders	8	0 (0%)	8(100%)	0%
Battalion/ Unit Commanders	45	1 (1%)	44 (99%)	1%
Total		1%	99%	1%

Source: Adopted from MOD/NDF Strategic Plan FY 2008/9 -2012/13

Unlike in Directorates and Divisions where women stood at 3% underneath 97% men, a look at equal representation in Brigades and Formations revealed that women advancement in Brigades and Battalion command positions has been very slow. Evidence showed, of the six Brigades in the Army, none ever commanded by a woman or had a woman second in command (21c). Similarly, of the forty-five (45) Battalions only one is commanded by a femalebut only as from 2010, but still, the second in command is a man. Such situation mirrored that in the NDF there is a restrictive iron cage that restrict women to certain functions only.

4.5 Interview with Key Informants (KIs)

An in-depth interviews with Generals and Staff Officers in rank grouping Colonels were conducted. Basically, views and opinions emerged from the interviews werenoted, coded and penciled in categories which finally resulted in conclusions that shaped the recommendations of this study. As a concern about the massive inequality in the NDF command echelons, respondents in the Generals and Senior Staff Officers rank categories were firstly asked to agree or disagree whether inequality is real in executive and command structures of the NDF? To this, an awesome majority, about 76% (n= 22) male Generals and Senior Staff Officers responded in affirmation thatinequality exists. However, despite such recognition that inequality exists, the majority stillpersevered womenmust remain in support and administrative departments, and not appointed in "Teeth Arms" careers such as Airborne, Special Forces and sea-going vessels. Those in Command positions equally do not speak for women infantry commanders or artillerist at all. That informs neither the journey nor the actual process to military leadership and command echelon to have been easy for women, and where equality policies areadopted, they are afforded greater objection authority rather than interest based terms.

Thus, the majority of men are of the opinion that although the push for equality is one among the core mandates of the government, adherence to military standard should remain the yardstick to qualify appointment to command positions and not numerical representation. Thus, if women are to be appointed, they must first be trained and battle tested to allow just and fairness (malerespondents, n.d).

4.5.1Appointment Criteria: Generals and Senior Officers Interview

Having established that inequalities exist, respondents in the Generals and senior staff rank categories were asked to "describe the criteria followed to ensure gender representation in strategic decision-making and command structures at inception?" In response to this specific question, 25% (n=11) male Generals, 55% (n=20) Senior Staff Officers and 20% (n=9) from other ranks affirmed there were no written criteria or procedures followed. However, past historic background, participation in combat, war experience and post held were among the criteria used at inception. Thus, because only men hold command posts in the liberation war, and that equal representation was also not a critical point of consideration at the time NDF was formed, appointment preferences favored men than women (General and Senior Officers respondents, March, 2012).

4.5.2 Challenges to women advancement

Studies done on women in military leadership in other forces show acceptance of women in command positions to have been smooth anywhere and that bias and stereotypes continue to be alive. Sadie (2005) in her study found that the major constraints preventing women accelerating military leadership is the patriarchal

ideological system of the military where the executive power and command authority is in the hands of male only. Linda Frank et al (1997) equally observed collective hyper masculine male forces in military worked out women's marginalization thus; accepting them in command positions is adverse to upholding military professionalism to the majority men. To that end, systematic discrimination continues to exclude women from command appointment.

Thus, in efforts to find out the possible challenges that hinder women's appointment in strategic decision-making and command positions of the NDF from inception to date, respondents were asked to provide answers to the following question. On the question: "what challenges, if any, mostly affected women's appointment in leadership, decision making and command positions at inception? "Almost all respondents in the study affirmed that there were no written criteria. Although, a number of factors affected the appointment of female members, the following were among the most considered hindrances.

Table 4.14 factors influencing women progress to decision -making.

The table below illustrates the various attitudes that influence the progress of women to high positions.

Altitude	Freq	Percent
Male chauvinism	10	32.3

Women Considered as weaker sex	5	16.1
Stereotypes	4	12.9
Lack of confidence from the women's side	2	6.5
Women considered to be emotionally unstable	2	6.5
Inferiority complex	1	3.2
Negative altitude towards work	1	3.2
Some jobs considered as men's	1	3.2
Woman seen as a lesser performer than a man	1	3.2
Women are impatient	1	3.2
Women cannot travel extensively	1	3.2
Women exchange promotion for love	1	3.2
Women not as committed as men	1	3.2
Total	31	100.0

4.5.3Military culture and traditions

Men are traditionally perceived naturalleaders and protectors of the feminine gender. Such social belief were traded in military and finally accepted as lawfully customary practices and further used yardsticks for measuring suitability competences in appointment to command positions. Sadie (2005) asserted traditionally, the woman's position is typically in the house behind the stove, while that of the men is head of the household and a leader in the public life. She then claimed female who attempted to break the chain thus, don't have an easy time. Negative discernment about women

command ability was brought in and built around that conception and as such, they were compacted and so are they now.

4.5.4 Participation in Combatand Leadership Positions

The majority of male respondents in the study affirmed during the war of liberation that no women attained commander's responsibility, hence they were just supporters offering basic assistance to their males in order to help them succeed (Male respondent, n.d). Further, research on women participationin combat during the liberation war exposed that there were no women detachments or battery commanders; hence appointing them from the blue at inception was viewed as undermining military professionalism. However, some acknowledged that although there were few in political leadership, those did not seek employment in the army thus; they were correctlyappointed in executive positions in public institutions. It is therefore unfortunate and notable regret that those who turned up to seek employment with the NDF did not meet leadership or command requirements at a time to be conferred with officer's rank.

4.5.5 Discrimination and Bias

Although the study found that there were no laws that exempted women from any military undertaking, studies done by Eagly, Makkhijani and Klonsky (1992) exposed biasness, discrimination, stereotyping and negative evaluation of women's contribution to war situations, constraints their appointment to power positions. Such negative evaluation culminated in an attitude that gives male soldiers

over-confident to conceptualize military as exclusively a male zone. Thus, in view of the foregoing scholar's opinion, respondents in the General and Colonelsrank acknowledged that the guerrilla war was completely a male zone, womendid not fit such hazardcondition especially command functions and that was it. The warsituation is natural and only men fits. The following challenges therefore constraint women's appointment in decision making and command positions at inception as summaries in the table below.

Table 4.14 Challenges to women appointment in decision making and command positions at inception and afterwards

	Challenges	Frequency
1	Inadequate female military training	12
2	Women have limited exposure to combat and command roles	5
3.	The military culture based on the believe system that the military	15
	is a bastion for men only	
3	Lack of confidence. Women hold themselves back, thus not	10
	forthcoming to show command abilities and competences	
4	Male domination of all command positions during the war and	5
	after which left no space and opportunity for women to enter and	
	compete with male colleagues	
5	The believe that military is for men only.	9
6	Lack of recognition of the contribution of females to the liberation	10
	war	
7	Low morale, shyness, no self-confident among female members	13
8	Biological factors versus social constructed roles	8

Information presented in the table above revealed that major factors detrimental to women appointment at inception were inadequate female military training, military culture, lack of confidence, and no recognition of their contribution during the liberation war and after.

4.5.6 Career progression

On the question "is there equal opportunities and treatment between women and men with regard to career progression, training and education in the **NDF?** "Answers to this question vary however, with regard to basic military training respondents (both male and female) all answered in affirmation. But, about 89% stressed for qualifying courses, such as staff courses, only ahandful few women are considered. Also, data obtained from internal and external training records show that it is always once in a while, after two to three years that a female was sent to Staff course (JSC and SSC), while eachyear, more than five men are sent to qualifying courses, detached orseconded for understudy. Records on deployment show that it is very often that female members are posted, deployed or seconded for understudy. Such practices therefore resulted in a large pool of male qualified for command appointments than females. Although the gap in training was viewed a bottleneck by all respondents in the study, Generals and senior officers indicated though currently, equalparticipation is somehow considered when trainingslots occurred, yet, women on the other hand do notshow readiness and willingness to attend courses when chances occurs (General Officers, 15.7.2012).

Respondents were further asked whether there are *restrictionsthat prevent women* access to leadership and command positions in the NDF. Male respondents in all rank groups indicated that there are no written restrictions, but the findings of the study show biological characteristics confines women to certain job categories. As such, although not written anywhere, practically, women are confined to specific

positions only. To these female respondents in rank grouping Major to Lieutenant Colonels when asked to respond on the same question avowed that although there are no written exclusionary laws or policies restricting women from participating in any military endeavors, in essence, men have more chances and opportunities to advance than women. Thus, arguing from a gender perspective, respondents in the study both male and females called for focused training targeting member's career development. If not, otherwise, the system will continue paying lip-service to equal opportunities and offer training which does not match good intentions. Women regardthemselves equally competent as men if trained and prepared properly like men.

On the question: "Why women lag behind while men continue climbing the leadership ladder ahead of women?" Respondents in the Generals and Officers rank groupings put it straight that men have received militarily training, have practical command experience, are exposed to perilous war situations, participated in active combat and crossed fire with enemy hence deserve recognition of being active combat modest. A statement like the one above affirmed that it is not only that they are viewed incompetent, but they are just not welcomed in command circles. Making matters worse, the few who advanced to higher positions were as well received with stereotyping comments in relation to such appointment as either being tokenism or favoritism. Therefore, in a climate where biased attitudes and discriminatory practices are specifically directed to a certain group, such practice denies the group equality of opportunity and success to positions of authority.

On the question "what measures did NDF put in place to ensure women representation in strategic decision making and command echelon?" Generals and Senior Officers echoed that war is associated with masculine values such as physical strength and braveness to go through thick and thin. Thus, commanders are interested in those who can get equipment moving and physical attributes are one of the major requirements. As such, inclusiveness alone does not offer solution to inequalities hence, the building block should be to offer capacity to the worth being at the decision-making level. What is implied here is that although strategies are in place, only few women are prepared to challenge them.

According to the Chief of the Defence Force, potential female members are being identified to attend qualifying courses and those meeting the requirements should come forth or avail themselves when chances occur. CDF further affirms that women have inborn intelligence that distinguished them as critical and faster thinkers hence, having them in command structures as finance, human resource managers and commanders of support Units enriches the decision-making processes. Of all the factors CDF underlined, the following were the prioritized actions that are being implemented to empower female soldiers.

a. Human Resource Development Strategy (HRDS): Since inception, the NDF had been relying on training slots offered by sister countries which come with set requirements which are in most cases not meet NDF requirements. To accommodate female members who are in most cases disadvantaged in one way or the other, NDF have adopted HRDS program

focusing at giving young potential members proper training in line with their career progression. Through this, the pioneer Junior Staff Course Program at Military School was introduced.

- **b.** Identification of potential female members to attend long and short course:CDF annual directive 2012 directed all commanders to identify potential female members to attend qualifying courses locally and outside.
- c. Rotation and Detach Duties: CDF directives of 2012 further directed commanders at all levels to deliberate post or re-post potential female members to positions where they can be exposed to leadership and command functions. Thus, CDF instructed commanders to rotate members to various job industries in order to gain broader understanding of military leadership.

What the CDF implies above is that NDF has put in place a new workforce management system that focuses at enabling women to be trained in all trades as well as posted in all positions of authority.

4.6RESULTS FROM FOCUS GROUPDISCUSSIONS

For this study to obtain opinion that could be generalized, four focus group discussions consisting of members with different rank categories were held at the Army, Air Force and DHQ, and both women and men were invited to attend the

discussions. Although the invitation was for all to attend, the majority of those turned up were mostly women. This is not surprising, given the fact that, the issue being discussed is of great interest to women. Interviews were as follows: Army- 25, (15 women and 10 men) Air Force 15, (6 men and 9 women) Defence Headquarters 21, (9men and 12 women). In a nutshell, 55% of those interviewed were females while 45% were men. In relation to rank categories thirty four(34) of those interviewed were officers, five (5) were senior Non-commissioned Officers and two were female flight lieutenants. In all the groups, women were the majority of participants. Each group was made up of eight to ten participants aged between 30 to 60 years. Discussions were guided by questionnaires designed to yield variation and similarities among different age groups and rank categories.

Data obtained from group members were coded into categories and eventually narrated in factual meaningful conclusions. With regard to timing, discussions lasted for about sixty to ninety minutes, depending on how interactive group members were. While female participants in focus groups thought there should be a gender balance in NDF structures, male respondents on the other hand indicated only men so far had demonstrated command ability and leadership qualities.

Respondents in focus group discussion generally stated a gender balanced institution secures the best talent among its members and maintains workforce diversity thus, NDF need to embrace that. Further, One female combatant was quoted saying the

song about women incompetent started after war ceased, during the war, all were freedom fighters and that was it (Female referrals, April, 2012). To be sidelined therefore when at ease is erroneous and chauvinism. To establish the truth around the above claims respondents were asked to provide answers to the following questions.

On the question: "Arewomen and men given equal training opportunity before appointed to command positions?" Answers to this question vary among and between age and rank grouping. 65% (n=13) females aged between 30 to 39 and 40 to 57 years answered in opposite, indicating that training in the Army specifically military qualifying courses had been very selective and targeted men only. 40% (n=8) females in age groups 25 to 39 rank grouping (Lt and Capt) answered in affirmation, some affirmed that they were followed up with advanced training afterbasic military recruit training while many in rank grouping major to Lieutenant Colonelsstated that they were not given opportunity to attend qualifying military training.

Of the eleven (11) female respondents in the Army focus group only four (04) were reported to have completed military training up to Junior Staff level compared with 35% (n=6) males who affirm they have done Junior Staff Course, 45% (n=8) did Senior Staff and the Command Course, while 15% (n=2) have graduated from the War College. Important to note is that no female so far in the NDF graduated from

the War College. Female ex-combatants indicated, despite being in the service for over a decade, they had not been given opportunity to attend qualifying military courses as compared with male ex-combatants and recruits. Thus, the arguments from female respondents wereif technology has overshadowed physical strength, then the physical challenge posed by military training become irrelevant and less important. Therefore mixed gender training and deployments should be the best option to narrow the representation gap. Viewing the situation through gender lenses, conclusions are, there is a need to open avenues for qualifying military training to allow fairness and equal competition between women and men.

On the question, "What are your personal opinions with regard to women appointment in command positions of the NDF?" Responding to this question, a male Warrant Officer, was quoted saying, "If women want to take up command responsibilities they must first exchange or give up some feminine characteristics to fit command positions" (Male Warrant Officer, May 2012). Another male Officer from the Army focus group was equally quoted saying "women should first be qualified, and tested for competences before they climb the ladder, and only when they demonstrate capabilities and readiness, that appointment can be conferred, but still even if competences is proven preference should be in non-combat related fields" (Male Officer, anonymity requested, June 2012). Similarly, about 45% (n=6) male participants from the Army focus group indicated no problem on who to be appointed on command positions, but strongly emphasized member must fit to get equipment running best of which physical attributes are qualities and not numerical

figures. Thus, if women are able to move the equipment as artillerists or sub-marine they are welcome to compete for command positions (male respondents anonymity requested). Although, few agreed that inequality should be eliminated in the force, about thirty-five 35% (n=4) males stick to battlefield to remain astandard trial for testing soldiers competences including physical attributes toremain determinant criteria for who to be appointed in command positions in the NDF. Ideally, all these foretell much still need to be done including far-reaching sensitization on gender roles and responsibilities to rupture male perceptions that stand as obstacles to women's headway.

Unlike the Army, the Air Force members undergo specialized training before appointed to specific jobs. Hence, to find out whether fairness is considered when nominating and selecting for training, participants were asked to answer the following question: "Istrainingfairly and equally offered to both male and female in the AF before appointment?" In response to this question, male and female respondents answered in affirmation stating that, although training is open to all, deployment and appointment is not done fairly. 60% males (n=6) and 20% female (n=2) aged between 30 to 34 indicated completed Junior Staff Courses, 79% (n=5) and 35% (n=3) male aged between 40 to 55 did Quartermaster Commissioning, while 45% females and 65% males did Basic and Advance personnel courses. Data obtained from AF human resource division also illustrated that while 98% of men who underwent training in various trades were correctly posted and deployed, only 2% of females were correctly deployed and posted. Also, despite the fact that both

men and women attended and completed the same courses, recognition and reward for female members had been very rare. One female Flight Lieutenant (anonymity requested) was quoted saying women who attended specialized training were either redundant or deployed in areas that are not in line with their specialization but viewed feminine thus, men tend to advance ahead of them(female respondent).

4.6.1 Reasons why women are not promoted

On the question "why only men climb the command and leadership ladder ahead of women?" Put simply, 60% (n=6) female participants aged between 29 and 40 provided a resounding view that "gates are not opened for women to compete on equal footing with men" (female respondents, May 2012). Although 89% have academic qualifications, opportunities to advance to high positions are very limited. In this regard, the Air Marshall quoting Collins (2007) and Joshua Goldstein (2008) affirmed that war is still associated with masculine values thus; females aspiring to become commanders should stand up and demonstrate to the leadership what they can competently do. AF is highly technical, than the army, hence, no one can be wheel-chaired into this position unless one is trained and has proved to have competences of the job. While leadership is working hard to rectify past discriminatory practices, women on the other hand should do their part by demonstrating competences convenience to the leadership that if given opportunity to command they can do so. As for now they seem not doing enough to show competences and capability to lead. Their being left behind therefore can no longer continue to be blamed on men (Air Marshall, March 2012).

Although claims such as the one above cannot be ruled out, one female pilot (anonymity requested) was quoted saying, "although she was recruited, trained and graduated together with fellow males, upon graduation she was deployed in administrative branch doing functions that do not match her specialization, while men were rightly deployed to advance" (female respondent, April, 2012). Further, another female respondents in the age brackets of 25 to 39 in the Air Force dismissed claims that women do not act professionally even though they are trained together with males. They argued that women in the AF are side-lined when it comes to posting, deployment and command appointments. It is therefore clear from evidence provided that specialties and professionalism in the AF for female members is tilted as posting and deployments for females are not linked to specific training received but remain a prerogative of those with power to make final decisions.

Another female Squadron leader "Nancy" pseudonym name given for the purpose of this study also stressed that when a woman is correctly trained can be as strong as any man. Nancy reflected on some illustrious historic battles where some malespretended sick just because they feared to open fire, and when the battle was over, these men were said to be confused and panicked. But, should similar occurrence happen to a woman it could have been news breaking and included in historic war records (female referral, pseudonym Nancy n.d). To conclude this question, respondents most of them femalereferrals, statedthat men regard themselves natural leaders, as such, bias treatment against women becomes apparent.

In most cases, womenare left to try their way out, while men are given trial opportunities to improve.

4.6.2 Causes of inequalities: participant's viewpoint

On the question "What could be the cause of this state of affairs (women under-representation in the NDF)?" In general 89% (n=11) of the General staff leave it to history, situational reality, institutional mandate andbiological factors. However, 79% (n=11) female officers in different rank categories leave it in prejudice, stereotype and male attitudes towards women. Arguably, while the majority of men claim that female members have not perfected military training which is an essential step to assume the first command appointment, 69% (n=7) of male respondents regard women too weak to cope with perilous combat situation. The females, mostly referrals, reveal that literatures on war had not exposed a true reflection of the reality of her-story compared to his-tory.

Although a lot is written about men being commanders and leaders in the liberation war, there are no reflections of women commanders, but when and where their contribution is mentioned or acknowledged, what exactly they did or accomplished is unknown. Asking a probing question therefore, female participants, the majority of whom were inducted in 1990, dismissed claims that women lack war experienceand didnot serve in combat. They however strongly stated that women contributed to the liberation war equally as men, only that the reporting of war events did not made a room of appreciation for women's contribution. Thus, the study concludes to sideline

her war story when at easy is serious historic erroneous oversight that requires urgent rectification and studies such as this one are the right instrument to expose such oversight.

4.7 DISCUSSIONS OF THE RESULTS

Notwithstanding constitution provisions stipulated in Chapter 3 Article 23 (2) and (3), the National Gender Policy (NGP) 2010-2020 gender mainstreaming strategies and MOD commitment to create a conducive environment and making military career attractive to women (Defence policy 2010, p.36), up until the finalization of these research findings, women representation in NDF decision-making and Command echelons remain inert. Data accessed from the Army, Air Force, Brigades, Formations and Battalion records how Services Command positions, Brigades and Formations are still closed to men only, and until the time the study amasses and finalize these research findings nowomen will be in strategic command positions of the Army and Air Force.

Similarly, statistics obtained from MOD/NDF Strategic Plan 2009/10 – 2012/13 discloses up until now that no sign for female(s)under-studying strategic position for future appointment, and as well, other levels of strategic command remain comfort zones for men only and no room for women in whatsoever manner. Such a dismal situation hinders the implementation of the government strategy for achieving gender equality between female and male persons in Namibia by 2020 (NGP, 2010). To

this effect, through exploration, the following factors were the research findings that mostly contributed to the under-representation of women in NDF.

4.7.1 Military Cultureand male attitudes

While the majority argue that gender difference originates from social and cultural factors; those who argue from a military perspective underline military socialization through training, as the most forecastaction that shape masculinity identity. Thus, militarism as a social system has its own set of socialization, culture and traditions through which soldiers construct their identity, behaviors and attitudes, as such women who join are to adjust to masculine identities and not to import female traits in the military environment. Giventhat, the study found that there exists a military patriarchaltraditional value system that gard women as unfit, weak, and emotional to cope with military functions and that dictates the thinking and way of doing things the military way. During the interviews, a significant number of respondents in the Generals and Senior Staff officers rank category quoted sex differences as major obstacles that hinder women participation in the nucleus combat perfection. To this effect, some Generals and senior officersview the call for women inclusion specifically in command positions as too early.

However, others inrank groupings below management expressed mixed feelings particularly in war fighting units. Thus, in calling for a paradigm shift from closed male comfort yard to inclusive executive zones, where equal opportunities and equal

representation is a centerroot of all agendas, NDF should be seen treating both women and men equally.

4.7.2 Biasness and Stereotypes

Although the study found that bias and prejudices result mostly in denial of opportunities, unfair treatment in selection and promotion; discrimination on grounds of age, sex as well as factors relevant to a person's competences or suitability are daily practices in the NDF.

4.7.3 Education and Training

Unpacking training records on military training and education specifically in qualifying courses with gender lenses, the study discovered that the training policy is gender-neutral, written in non-discriminatory language however, complementary implementation directives and strategies lack targets and indicators. Similarly, there are no clear guidelines on how training slotsoffered are shared among women and men. Equally, reasons cited by those interviewed are not convincing although they claimed that women do not make themselves available when training opportunities occurred. Although that sound correct and proper to those making it, this study discloses exceptions, that such a statement is generalized to all women while in reality it was only one or two who have turned down the offer but did so on good grounds and valid reasons. In an attempt to try to find female views in this regard,

one female ex-combatant was argumentatively quoted saying "she had never heard anyone saying women should avail themselves for training as alleged". All she heard is X and Y were off for training, how, when and what criteria was used to select them was not known. Another one (female) who had been second in command of a Battalion for a decade also confirmed, being second in command for more than eight years, she heard no self-nominations, but she is aware that there is a committee responsible for training and selection for those to attend courses however, its membership is closed for men only (female respondent, 2012).

Another female who also joined the talk discloses despite regarding herself as over qualified academically, she was deterred from military training because the top echelon decides on whoto send, what qualifications and qualities to select from were all determined by those in selection committee and not specified anywhere. She emphasized, as a trained ex-combatants and fighter, who joined the NDF in 1990 that she regarded herself over-experienced and over-qualified but, the fact that she is a woman; she was never offered or considered for high military qualifying training and neither appointment in the executive level. To this end she indicated that no matter how skilled and competent women in the NDF are as long as choices and decisions rests in the hands of men, women will continue to attend less valued military courses that do not qualify them for high appointment (female respondent, 20 June, 2012, anonymity requested). Another female respondent equally echoed if preferences were given to experienceand academic qualified female military personnel; she would have put her name forward if there was an open practice. She then dismissed claims that women do not make themselves available (female respondents, June 2012).

With regard to the female views above, this study concurred with Shaanika (2007) in her comparative study on Gender and military professionalism that "equal opportunities mean much more than opening top positions to those traditionally being excluded to removal of obstacles preventing potential and qualified individuals from accessing opportunities that match their aptitude and aspiration"(p.75). What Shaanika attempted to explain is thatas long as negative stereotypes, attitudes and wrong perceptions continue being generalized over women's competences and ability, equal representation in NDF decision making and command positions will remain a night-mare?

4.7.4 Selection and appointment of Officers

The study found that no woman since inception was ever selected or nominated for positions such as Chief of the Defence Force, service commanders and Brigades. For twenty-three years all those nominated for high appointment had been men thus, women's advancement through ranks had been and continues being a challenge. While the majority of male inducted in other ranks at inception advanced through ranks and some even accelerated to an executive level, only few women have advanced up to a Lieutenant Colonel Rank.

4.7.5Rank and Power Distribution

A look at rank distribution in structures and command echelons revealed that women are underrepresented in all levels of decision-making compared with men. Data presented throughout this study revealed that men account for approximately 97% of the NDF decision-making against 3% of women. The study found that discrimination on grounds of sex is higher in the Army and Air Force, where all decision-making and and and positions are all reserved for men only. Further, in Tables4.3.6 & 4.3.7 the study revealed that eight (08) star ranked General Officers and fifty five (55) Senior Staff Officers (Cols) in the Army, and twelve (12) Group Captains in the Air Force comprises of no woman; andbothersome enoughthe Special Forces, Marine Corps and Sea-going vessels do not employ women at all. It is therefore right to say that the absence of women in the Army and Air Force command levels pose a security threat, and thus require urgent rectification if peace and serenity is to prevail. Hence, this study serves as a friendly academic warning to the Commander-In-Chief,NDFtopauthority, Army and Air Force top echelons that a security threat is around the corner, if inequalities in the NDF executive bodies continue.

Although the outcome of this research indicates massive inequalities in the NDF executive and command positions, data presented show a slight increase as compared to what was reported by preceding scholars such as Mwange (2003), Shaanika (2007) and Iipinge (2005). In comparisons, of what was reported by previous scholars and the current findings, this study exposed that representation in ministerial positions rose from 0% to 1% in 2010, although it declined to 0% again in 2012. Representation in managerial level also rose from 1% to 2% percent in 2008,

and in foyer level(Colonel Rank) from 0% to 1% and to 3% in 2010to date. Although that shows a positive move in the right direction, representation in top military command positions (CDF, Arms of services command authority and Brigade Command positions)remains0%. That portrays, for twenty-three years (1990-2013) the hopes of NDF female members dreaming to become commanders in various capacities of the NDF have not been taken into consideration in the NDF agenda. Furthermore, the study observed that such a status quo may not change overnight because the external forces that are supposed to be the driving forces remain maleoriented. Iipinge (2008) in her comparative analysis on women representation in the Security Commission and the Council of Defencealso found that women still account for 0% in the Security Commission and 12% (n=1) in the Council of Defence. That enlightens thatmore efforts are needed to sensitize the security sector to open avenues for women appointment to power and decision-making levels and this should start with the high level authority.

Reflecting on this situation, the Chief of the Defence Force when interviewed acknowledgedthat the absence of women in decision making and command positions of the NDF is real andmanagement is aware and conscious about it. However, although such disparity is identified and acknowledged "the push for equality should not be hastened to the extent that military professionalism is downgraded. Womenaspiring to climb the military leadership ladder should do so by climbing the tree from the trunk and not jumping straight to the top. Thus, those dreaming to become commanders, if they wish to succeed should seek deployment in combat-

related units and serve in special fields where they can earn recognition, and as well make themselves available and ready for military qualifying trainings" (CDF, April 2012).

4.7.6 Deployment and Posting

The study found that the majority of women are deployed in feminine or pink collar departments where they cannot earn recognition for command appointments. Hence, they should seek posting in combat related fields.

4.7.7 NDF Policies towards equal opportunities

The study found that although most of the NDF policies and general regulations are written in gender-neutral language, reality remains that they are still deep-rooted from a patriarchal belief system. For this reason the majority of women who join the NDF regardless of whatever experience they possess, they find it difficult to access decision-making positions. While in general men acceleration to any command positionis faster and is viewed as a normal practice, in the Army and AFthe practice is vice-versa. In these services, men are the only decision-makers and stuck completely in typically traditionalists' ideas that view women as only fit in support roles. As such, no woman since the formation made it to command positions in both the Army and AF. Currently out of 13 563 Army personnel, only two women so far advanced to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel.

4.7.8 Representation in Arms of Services command positions

Throughout this study it has been empirically proven that Service Commanders (Army and Air Force) and their Deputies are all men. All strategic and managerial positions in Arms of Services aremale domain. The study also revealed that appointment of women in Army and Air Force command positions is yet to be realized. This was supported by information provided in Tables 4.3.5 which exposed that those men occupy all command positions in all Arms of Services. Such disclosure agrees with what Goldstein (2001) in his famous comparative study War and Gender alluded to that "although women have always and everywhere been inextricably involved in war, appreciation of their participation had been biased. During the wars, women had been highly visible, but, when wars are over and the war songs are sung, they disappear" (p.56).

The statementby Goldstein fits well with the situation of female's ex-combatants who took part in the liberation struggle, but ended up forgotten when the war ceased. In verifying this statement, the explorations of this study have it that there are no explicitly records about women ex-combatant comparing with what has been reported aboutmen. Hence, this study serves as a wake- up call to those females with credible contributions to war to start challenging the situation by documenting their side of the war story. Generally, the study observed that there is a high degree of resistance from the current male club to accept women in decision-making and command positions. Although, that discloses the reality of the situation, throughout the exploration male respondents remain stuck in traditional combat mustering that women did not participate in careers that were supposed to have earned them

appointment recognition in command positions. Thusthe study concludes regardless of all efforts done at national, regional and international level calling for the removal of all negative cultural practices limiting women access to decision-making, equal opportunities and inclusiveness in command positions in the NDF, specifically in the Army and Air Force will remain a challenge for more decades to come.

4.8 Conclusion

In this chapter the study exposed the enormity of women underrepresentation in decision-making and command echelons in the Namibian Defence Force. The results presented revealed that the inherent macho military culture and traditions are the roadblocks that hinder women progress and advancement in the NDF. Thus, data presented throughout this chapter show a complete exclusion of women in decisionmaking spectra and command echelon in the Army, Air Force, Brigades and Statistics obtained exposed, the strategic leadership and command Formations. positions in the Army and Air Force remains a comfort zones for men only, and that many men are still of the belief that only men are destined to lead, women are to remain followers no matter how prepared or qualified, they are. To that end, the study holds, promotion, careercourses, training for succession and posting for understudy are effective remedies to overcome women underrepresentation in the NDF. Lastly, it is the researcher's firm conclusions that after doing this far-reaching research on this topic and expecting to find data on why only men continue climbing the leadership and decision-making ladder ahead of women in NDF, my conclusion has just shown the opposite. The study did not find scientific proven factors that

stand as barriers to women advancement to leadership and command positions in the military except that military has been hallowed ground for men to create themselves comfortable zones that takes them to most extraordinary levels where they regard themselves as the protectors of the feminine gender.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSIONS, CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND

LIMITATIONS

5.1 GENERAL DISCUSSION

This study attempted to open a discourse on the involvement of women in decision making and command echelon of the NDF. The study discloses, although NDF is slowly adapting to the inclusion of women, such a move is uneven through executive and command ranks. Equally, although Namibiaratified various international and regional initiatives that called for the removal of barriers and practices hindering women access and participation indecision-making, there is still a silence of women's voice in NDF decision-making and command structures. Similarly, for more than a decade after the Windhoek Declaration of 2000, UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security, women in the NDF are still casing behind in all decision-making stratum. Also, despite the SADC requirement that 30% of those in decision-making in security institutions should be women by 2015, women representation in NDF executives and command echelon remains below 10% to date.

Literatures surveyed on women representation and participation in military undertakings affirmed that there are persistent stereotypes and unfair discriminatory practices ranging from unequal recognition of the role of women in military undertakings and their contribution to war. Thus, although, policies in place are gender-neutral, power relations, and women access to skills development continueto

pose challenges to women advancement in one way or the other. While the core objective of Article 23 of the Namibian Constitution is to create consciousness among those with power to regard male and female as equal partners and thus deserve to be treated equally, appointment of women in decision-making and command positions in the NDF remains mute and still to be realized. Hence, all efforts directed to achieve abalanced structuring of the public service particularlyin thedefence force, the police and the correctional services wedged up until now.

During documentary analysis, the study found, though that NDFis not exempted from equal opportunity legislations, evidence shows half of the NDF population (mostly females) are excluded from platforms where critical decisions are made. Ironically, the study revealed that although few policies and doctrines were revised to fit the current demand, changes in power relations, appointments in decision-making positions and structures remain unchanged. A number of jobs, platforms and undertakings that could enhance self-actualization and self-esteem excludewomen and this has left a vacuum in the development of many potential NDF females.

Findings in this study are not far from what Collins (2003) in his book "Social Contemporary Issues" noted that one way to dehumanize an individual or a group is to deny the reality of their experience (p.33). Collins observations go along with the viewpoints that are held by this study that acknowledge that inequality is real, there is a certain ring of truth that those in power positions of the NDF would not even

endeavor to refute. The fact that several studies applauded femaleex-combatants as equal participants in thewar of liberation thus possessing military experience, to a certain extent, much of their valued contribution was not acknowledged anywhere in military records. Thus, participation in combat and war experience used as qualifying criteria to appoint officers at inception only favor or worked in the interest of men.

The study furtherexposed, although the Senior Management Committee recorded 20% women representation, followed by the Think Tank, the Military Steering Committee and DefenceStaff Council with 15% and 10% respectively. Representation in DSC rose from 0% to 5% (n=1) in 2009 but decreases within a year to 0% in 2012 and remains up until the printing of this research findings. Pessimistically, also the Army and the Air Force recorded 0% women representation in decision-making positions, and in Brigades and Formation Command positions men still dominate the decision-making with 100%. Although data presented show that there is one Battalion commanded by a woman, the trend in rank distribution at all levels yielded the results that are similar to those in executive committees.

Also, the fact that only20% of 1500 recruit per year is open to women and that deployment, posting and promotion stillfavor men, yet departments such as Special Field Force, Marine Corps and Sea going vessels exclude women from their regiments up to date. Only Directorates (Finance, Health Services and Human Resources) recorded a remarkable over 20% women representation in senior

positions, yet however, a comparison in top level positions revealed that only few crossed the boundaries. Thus, if the head is a woman the second in command (21c) is a man and that cascades down the level. Thus, the proportion of men in decision-making positions of all Directorates is still higher than that of women. All Service Commanders are men while women in services are found in support functions only. In conclusion, up until the finalization and printing of these study findings, men in NDF still account for 97% of the decision-making against 3% of the women. While the findings disclose the magnitude of discrimination and the massive inequalities in the NDF decision-making and power structures, they are at the same time advocating for the full integration of women in all NDF deeds. In this regard therefore, the study can be viewed as an academic attempt to provoke the situation by investigating equal representation in the mostly male preserved province.

5.2 CONCLUSION

In line with the Namibian Constitution and National Gender Policy, various strategies and initiatives have been put in place to increase gender equality within the Namibian society. The goal of the National Gender Policy in particular is to improve the quality of life and living standards of all the people in Namibia, NDF included.

Despite the positive impact of these initiatives, challenges remain in the form of biasness, prejudices and stereotyping, behaviors and attitudes, discriminatory military traditions and culture, sexual harassment and limited capacity for gender mainstreaming. Thus, the call for women inclusion in the decision making is intrinsic and timely.

Although data presented showed that women are making in-roads in decision-making and command positions of the NDF, figures obtained and presented in this study are not impressive. They mask continued challenges faced by women in defence forces. The patriarchal culture and traditions of military remain intact despite gender friendly legislations in place. Taking advantage of empirical evidence exposed in this study, the results of this study are traditional patriarchal military culture and traditions made it difficult for women to fit in this male-dominated executive set-up specifically in the Army and Air Force. Figures captured in the Army and Air Force exposed women representation in positions of Major Generals, Brigadier Generals and Colonels stood at zero.

Such state of affair exposed that although there are no written restrictions, chances for women advancement to command and decision making positions in the Army and Air Force is incommodious, below par and touchy. Hence, should the situation continue unabated, it would negatively avert women advancement. Dataobtained further show that women have been marginalized to the extent that only men monopolize the decision-makingauthority. Hence, women's career progression has been not adequately taken care of and as such they are closed out of social networking and gatherings where serious business are discussed and resolved. Data

obtained from secondary sources showed that there are still negative perceptions and resistance against women inclusiveness in power positions not only in the NDF but in other defence and security institutions elsewhere. A baseline data on the magnitude of women representation in NDF strategic decision-making and command positions has also been exposed which could serve as the starting point of references for future inquiries in the same subject.

In attempt to answer the research question "To what extent have women been included in the decision making structures of the Namibian DefenceForce" The study revealed that because of the inherent discriminatory military culture and traditions, women in the NDF have not yet reached a quota of the critical proportional representation required in decision-making. Thus figures presented show complete exclusion in executive and command positions in the Arms of Services, Brigades and Battalions. Statistics presented in this study is meant to bring to surface the extent to which women in NDF are rated, classified, considered and valued in taskingof challenging responsibilities as well as appointment to leadership and command positions. Further, on a positive move, information presented in this is also meant to facilitate women access to equal opportunities and power positions.

The conclusion drawn from data presented throughout this study is that women continue not to be represented in positions of authority in the Army and Air Force and figure nowhere in other executive spectra of the organization. A literature

review of this study revealed that there are still regulations in place that declared some services or specialization a "no -go –area" for women. Data obtained show that since independence, 1990 to date, no female was ever appointed to head security institutions(defence, police and prison service) in Namibia. Such a status quo demonstrates the hopes of Namibian women becoming Chiefs of security institutions to remain a night-mare.

Analyzing critically operational procedures and practices related to military deployment, training and education with gender lenses, the study found women are not given opportunities to unleash their potential tothe fullest. Constantly, they are stereotyped as being weak, incompetent, inefficient and emotional. Drawing from a paradigm of inclusiveness and equality approach, the study concludes that armies in the region are going through a process of transformation to meet the global demand and that NDF seems moving at a slow pace and stuck in patriarchal ideology of male-only the protector and defender. Therefore NDF need to embrace a paradigm of social change that compliments the social world of the future. Social change is the genesis of any paradigm shift through which change in new ideas, beliefs and attitudes evolve, and a social climate where team spirit or "Espiritdecorp" flourishes and cultural barriers diminished, without women inclusion in executives and command echelons of the NDF.

5.3 LIMITATION OF THE STUDY

Several limitations were encountered during the study. Chiefly among others were:

Access to information: It was extremely difficult to access gender disaggregated information dating back from inception to 2000 on the grounds that gender was not an issue at the formation of the NDF. Further, information about force strength, recruitment, posting, and training is still treated as secrecy thus retained and not made available to the researcher specifically at the Army and Air Force. As a result, it was difficult and time consuming to obtain the data captured or reflected in this study. For that, the information provided in this study, may not be accurate but the data presented is closer to reality as it was chiefly obtained from records which later verified with those inducted in 1990. Further, cross checked and compared with the assistance of NDF Human Resources Personnel Budget Section at DHQ.

<u>Timeframe and Resources</u>: The timeframe for the study was not friendly due to the fact that approval was granted in November 2011 while the targeted key informants went on festive seasonal leave early December 2011. As such, the researcher took longer than expected. Also, lack of resources, time and unavailability of sex-disaggregated statistics constraints the research process up to the finalization.

Institution directives and guidelines on gender equality: There are nospecific gender guidelines in the NDF hence, the researcher relied heavily on interviews and focus group discussions. Moreover, while the language used in a number of NDF policies is gender neutral, yet, gender issues are defined or referred to as women issues and as well although no written restriction that focuses on preventing women to take up career in the NDF, the practice is that they are not welcomed to a certain

degree. Therefore, little attention was committed to develop effective in-house oversight bodies, regulations, policies and directives on gender. With the exception of the Defence Act, (Act No. 20 of 2002), NDF General Regulations (No 189 of 2010) and Defence Policy (2011) with wooly gender statements, other key institution policy frameworks such as NDF Human Resources Policy, NDF Development Plan, NDF Concept of Operation, NDF Gender Policy, which strategically was supposed to forecast the NDF towards a gender equality road map still remain under red carpets and to be decided upon.

<u>Disaggregated data</u>:Documentscontaining numerical information as well as other regulatory instruments thought to be relevant to this study were either top secret or classified and could not be quoted. Thus, disaggregated representation informationwhichwas supposed to provide insights on this study was not available hence; a larger amount of relevant worthy information could not be validated and therefore not reflected in this study.

5.4 **RECOMMENDATIONS**

This study has presented data on the extent to which women are represented in the NDF strategic decision-making and command positions. Findings of the study showed, despite government efforts to ensure equal representation at all levels of governance; women continue to be underrepresented in NDF and remain at themargin particularly in positions of leadership, power and command authority. Statistics presented in this studyindicated thatmen monopolize all command structures and are disproportionally overrepresented in all NDF structural levels of authority. It is therefore important to stress that efforts should be made to increase women presence and representation in all levels ofdecision-making and command of the NDF. To this effect, respondents in the study provided diverse possible strategies that NDF may consider implementing in order to reduce underrepresentation. Based on the research findings and conclusions of the study, the following recommendations are therefore made with a view to address underrepresentation in the NDF strategic decision making and command echelons.

Recommendation 1: Evolve institution gender policy to guide gender representation in recruitment, promotion and appointment.

Legal reform is an important means of confronting any situation. Hence, for positive changes NDF need to evolve an institutional gender policy to guide equal representation in recruitment, promotion and appointment.

Recommendation 2: Intensifyand increase awareness, advocacy and sensitization campaigns on the significant of women inclusiveness in military undertakings.

Awareness, acknowledgement and acceptance are the first things that need to happen before change can be made. Thus, once those in decision-making power (the leadership) are made aware of what needs to be changed, why and how, they can now take responsibility to change the situation. As such, there is a need to strengthen genderawareness and sensitization campaign in the NDF starting with the political office bearers, executive band, commanders at all levels before extending to service members.

Recommendation 3: Gender equality should be a strategic priority thus all institutions legal documents and policies should indicate target interventions.

Currently, the Gender structure is at margin in all HQs thus rejection and resistance is high. Thus, there is a need to strategically position equality issues at the center nerve of the NDF decision-making band to enable it to drive progress. The fact that the gender mainstreaming works towards mind transformation, behaviors change, attitudes as well as giving a voice to the voiceless, recognition and support from the high authority and those in command power and decision-making is a corner point of its success.

Recommendation 4: NDF should set specific targets and indicators for women in recruitment, training, posting, deployment and promotion.

There is an urgent need to raise the current women recruitment percentage from 20% to 35% by 2014 and to 40% by 2019 to create a significant pool of female personnel and increase women promotions and appointment in command positions.NDF should also introduce at least a 30% target of women participation in training, posting and deployment by 2014 and as well benchmark the same percentage in promotion particularly in decision-making and command positions.

Recommendation5: Create strong inter-service Gender Advisory Committees to facilitate Gender Mainstreaming (GM).

There is an urgent need to put in place supporting structures such as Ministerial Gender Advisory Committee to guide, monitor and evaluate gender mainstreaming programmes.

Recommendation 6: Appoint high performing women to positions of leadership and ensure support

All Service Commander (Army and AF) to address occupational segregation by recruiting and appointing women in areas that has low or complete absent representation of women.

5.5 Conclusion

Based on the research findings discussed in chapter four and conclusions drawn in chapter five, the key recommendations in this study holds, to rectify the skewed ratioof women to men in the decision-making spectra of the NDF, equal opportunities and full involvement of women in training, appointment and promotion are correct mechanism to overcome the underrepresentation. The study therefore recommends that the development of NDF gender policy is the solution to overcome underrepresentation in the NDF leadership and command structures.

REFERENCES

Adei, S. (2000). Gender and Development. Male Perspective on Current Gender Discourse. ISBN 99916-7-706-2. Windhoek: John Meinert Printing.

A Dictionary of Nursing. (2008). Retrieved July 01, 2012 from Encyclopaedia. Com: http://www.Encyclopedia.Com/doc/1062-quantitativeresearch.html

Baylis, J., Smith, S., & Owens, P. (2008). *The Globalisation of World Politics. An Introduction to International Relations*. (4thed.) Oxford University Press. Italy.

Beauvoir, S. (1974). The second sex. Random House, N.Y.

Berg, B. L. (2001). *Quantitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences* (4thed.). Long Beach: California State University.

Bless, C. & Higson-Smith, C. (1995). Fundamental of Social Research: An African Perspective. R.S.A. Juta & Co Ltd.

Cleaver, T. & Wallace, M. (1990). *Namibian Women in the Liberation War*. London: New Jersey.

Colleta, N.J., Kostner, M., &Wiederhofer, I. (1966). Case studies in War to Peace Transition: The Democratization and Reintegration of Ex-Combatants in Ethiopia, Namibia and Uganda. Washington, D.C USA. World Bank Discussion Paper No. 331.

Colleta, N.J. (1995) *Beyond Repatriation: The Democratization and Reintegration of Ex-Combatants in Namibia*, Washington, D.C. USA. World Bank Case Study.

Collins, A. (2007). Contemporary Security Studies. Oxford University Press. New York.

Cornwall, A., Harrison. E., Whitehead, A. (2007). Feminism in Development: Contradictions, Contestations & Challenges. Gutenberg Press Ltd.

Chodrow, N. (1978). *The Reproductive of Mothering*, Berkeley: University of Califonia Press.

Denzin, N.K. & Lincoln, Y.S. (2000). *Handbook of qualitative Research*. Thousand Oak, CA: Sage.

Diescho, J. (1994). *The Namibian Constitution in Perspective*. Windhoek, Namibia: Gamsberg Macmillan.

Francke, L. B. (1997). *Ground Zero: The Gender Wars in the Military*. Simon and Schuster.

Geisler, G. (2004). Women and the Remarking of Politics in Southern Africa: Negotiating Autonomy, Incorporation and Representation. Grafilur Artes Gráficas, Spain.

Goldstein, J. S. (2001). War and Gender. How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa, New York: Cambridge University Press, UK.

Harding, S. (2009). *Standpoint empiricism: Productively Controversial*, Duke University Press, 2008.

Harding, S. (2004). "Rethinking Standpoint Epistemology: What is Strong Objectivity?" in Alcolf, L and Potter, E.(1993). Feminist Epistemologies. London

Heinecken, L. (1998). Social Equality versus Combat Effectiveness: An Institutional Challenge for the Military. African Security Review, Vol 7 No 6, 8-12. Centre for Military Studies. University of Stellenbosch.

Heinecken, L. (2000). Securing South Africa's Future: Putting women in the Frontline. Retrieved August 8, 2012, from <a href="http://http://https://ht

Howard, D.R. (1997). Women and Power in Parliamentary Democracies: Cabinet Appointment in Western Europe, 1968-1992. University of Nebraska Press. Lincoln& London.

Iipinge, E.M., &LeBeau, D. (1997). *Beyond Inequalities. Women in Namibia*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Iipinge, E. & Le Beau, D. (2004). Women and Power- sharing: Namibia's progress towards gender equality. On Landsberg, C & Mackay, S. (eds). (2004). Southern Africa Post- Apartheid. The Research for Democratizatic Governance. Cape Town: Idasa.

Iipinge, E. (2005). Paper presented at Expert Group Meeting on Democratic Governance in Africa: Strategies for Greater Participation of Women. Case study on Namibia. Arusha, Tanzania 6-8 December 2005.

Johnson, B. (2002). *The Feminist Difference: Literature, Psychoanalysis, Race and Gender*. Harvard University Press.

Joppe, M. (2000). The Research Process. Retrieval August 17, 2012. From http://.www.ryeson.ca/~mjoppe/rp.htm.

Juma, M. (2008). The return of the Amazons: Women in Africa's Armed Forces.

Paper presented at Personnel Working Group, Lusaka, Zambia.

Leeds, P.D &Ormrod J.E. (2005). *Practical Research: Planning and Design*, (8th Ed). Person, Merril Prentice Hall.

Maiba, F. M. (2009). Living with disability in Windhoek: An investigation into incidents and forms of Discrimination against people with disabilities, Windhoek.

Manuh, T. (1998). Women in Africa's Development: Overcoming Obstacles, Pushing for progress. Retrieved June 3, 2011 from http://www.un.org/ecosocdev/genifo/afrec/bpaper/grl 12 enlg.gif.

Maykut, P. & Morehouse, R. (2000). *Beginning Qualitative Research: A philosophic and practical guide*. RoutledgeFalmer, Taylor &Francis Inc., 325 Chestnut Street, 8th Floor, Philadelphia, London.

Ministry of Defence (1994). The Namibian Defence Force Policy. Windhoek, Namibia.

Mwange, V. (2004). *Namibia's demobilisation and social reintegration experience*. Unpublished research paper.

Namakalu, O. O. (2004). The armed liberation struggle. Some accounts of PLAN's combat operation. Windhoek: Gamsberg Macmillan.

Nevo, B. & Shur, Y. (2003). Women in the Israel Defence Forces. A symposium held on 21 November 2002 at the Israel Democracy Institute.

Nghidinwa, M.N.(2008). Women Journalism in Namibia's Liberation Struggle 1985-1990. John Meinert Printing (PTY) Ltd. Windhoek, Namibia.

Republic of Namibia, (2010). Ministry of Gender Equality Statistical Profile on Women & Men in Namibia.

Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary. (2003). (4thed.). Oxford University Press.

Potter, W. J. (1996). *A qualitative Analysis Research*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Preston, R. (1997). *Integrating Fighters after War: Reflection on the Namibian Experience* 1989-1993. International Centre for Education in Development, University of Warwick. Journal of Southern Africa Studies, Vol 23, No.3.

Republic of Namibia. Ministry of Defence.NDF General Regulations (No. 189 of 2010).

Republic of Namibia Affirmative Action (Employment) Action Act No. 29. (1998). Government Gazette of the Republic of Namibia. Republic of Namibia. Constitution of the Republic of Namibia. (3rd Amendment, 2010).Office of the Ombudsman and Konrad-Adenauer- Stiftung.

Republic of Namibia. Defence Act (Act No 1. of 2002). Government Gazette of the Republic of Namibia.

Robson, C. (1993). Real world research. A source for social scientistics and practitioner-researchers. Oxford: Blackwell.

Robinson, V. (2008). *Introducing Gender and Women's Studies* (3rde.d). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Republic of Namibia. Ministry of Defence, Defence Policy (2011).Mannax& Designing: Windhoek, Namibia.

Republic of Namibia. Ministry of Labour and Social Services.(1997). Government Gazette of the Republic of Namibia.

SADC Protocol on Gender and Development. A declaration by Heads of States of SADC Member States. (2008). Blantyre, Malawi.

Shaanika, T. (2007). Gender and Military Professionalism: Case study of the Namibian Defence Force. Windhoek.

Struwig, F. W., & Stead, G.B. (2003). *Planning designing and reporting research*. Cape Town: Hanli Venter.

Squires, J. (2004). *Gender in Political Theory*. Marston Book Services Limited. Great Britain.

Swanepoel, B., Erasmus, B., VanWyk, M., & Schenk. (Eds)(2005). (3rded.). *South Africa Human Resource Management. Theory&Practice*. Juta& Co Ltd. Formeset, Epping: Cape Town. South Africa.

Thomson, R, G. (2008). Integrating disability, transforming feminist theory. Retrieved March 15, 2012, from http://www.iupress.indiana.ed/journals/nws/nwsl6-3html

Tjingaete, R.E. (1995). Guerrilla movements' influence on the growth of the new Social Movements in the Periphery: A study of the SWAPO women. In Namnet Digest, Vol 95, no. 11 of 28 February 1995. <a href="http://...

Walby, S. (1990). Theorizing Patriarchy. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Wikipedia. (2011). Battle and operations of the South African Border War.

Operation Protea. Retrieved November 24 2011 from http://wikipedia.org/wiki/operation_Protea.

Appendix 1

QUESTIONNAIRES 1

This questionnaire is designed to analyze women representation in strategic decision making and command positions in the NDF and to establish reasons why women are under or over represented in the executive structures and command positions in DHQ, Army and Air Force. The questionnaire is to be completed by all participants in this study including other ranks.

<u>Please note:</u> The information provided is for research purpose only and will be treated confidentially. The questionnaire consists of eight sections and you are humbly requested to answer all questions in each section.

SECTION 1: PERSONAL DATA

-1	1 1		T 1	••				α	
J	[. 1	L.	Inc	l1C	ate	y(ou	rS	ex

Female	
Male	

1.2 Do you have any objection to indicate your rank and age in this research?

Objection	
No objection	

1.3 If no objection, kindly indicate your rank and age. Tick the appropriate block

General Officer	
Staff Officer	
Junior Officer	
Warrant officer	
Age: 18 - 29	
30 - 39	
40- 49	
50 - 60	

1.4 Were you integrated or recruited?

1.5 What was your appointment at inception, and what is your current appointment?

Appointment	At inception	Current
Chief of Defence Force		
Service Commander		
Chief of Staff (COS)		

Brigade Commander	
Senior Staff Officer	
Unit Commander	
Unit 2IC	

1.6 For how long have you been in the NDF?

Period	
2 -5 yrs	
6-10 yrs	
11-15 yrs	
16 and above	

1.7 For how long have you been at current position?

Years	
1 yr	
2-5 yrs	
6-10	
11 and above	

SECTION 2: EDUCATION

2.1 What is your highest academic qualification? Indicate Grade completed Diploma, B-Tech, Bachelors, Master or PHD obtained, as well as military qualification e.g., JSC, SSC or War College.

Level	Tick	Grade or standard completed
Primary		
Secondary		
University/College		
Military Qualification		
Basic military training		
Junior Staff Course		
Senior Staff Course		
War College		
Others Specify		

SECTION 3: CRITERIA USED TO APPOINT OFFICERS AT INCEPTION 3.1 What were the criteria followed to ensure gender representation in decisionmaking structures at inception of the NDF? Please specify ------______ 3.2 What challenges, if any, were experienced that mostly affected women's representation in decision making and command positions? 3.3 What are your personal opinions with regard to either under representation of women in strategic decision making and Command positions in the NDF? Please elaborate -----

SECTION 4: TRAINING AND CAREER PROGRESSION

4.1		According to NDF Human Resource Policy (2010) the strategy to e women for appointment is through internal and external training. Do n receive such training before appointment to position of authority? Yes No
	b. 	Give reasons for your response
4.2	a. progre	Were you, throughout your career, considered for appropriate career ssion training and/or education? Yes No
b.	If no, 6	elaborate
4.3	a. women the NI	In your view is there equal opportunities and treatment between and men with regard to career progression, training or education in OF?

Yes No

After specific	c internal or external training, how many female or	fficers w
appointed to	the following posts?	
	Management position	
	Service Command position	
	Chief of Staff level (COS)	
	Brigade/Formation Command position	
	Defence Attachés (DAs)	
	Senior Staff level	
	Unit Command level	
	Company Command level	
	Platoon Command level	
officers were	e promoted to? Management Cadre position	
officers were	Management Cadre position Service Command position	
officers were	Management Cadre position Service Command position Chief of Staff level (COS)	
officers were	Management Cadre position Service Command position Chief of Staff level (COS) Brigade /Formation Command position	
officers were	Management Cadre position Service Command position Chief of Staff level (COS) Brigade /Formation Command position Unit Command position	
officers were	Management Cadre position Service Command position Chief of Staff level (COS) Brigade /Formation Command position Unit Command position Company Command	
officers were	Management Cadre position Service Command position Chief of Staff level (COS) Brigade /Formation Command position Unit Command position Company Command Platoon Command	
officers were	Management Cadre position Service Command position Chief of Staff level (COS) Brigade /Formation Command position Unit Command position Company Command Platoon Command Military Observer	
officers were	Management Cadre position Service Command position Chief of Staff level (COS) Brigade /Formation Command position Unit Command position Company Command Platoon Command	
officers were	Management Cadre position Service Command position Chief of Staff level (COS) Brigade /Formation Command position Unit Command position Company Command Platoon Command Military Observer	
officers were	Management Cadre position Service Command position Chief of Staff level (COS) Brigade /Formation Command position Unit Command position Company Command Platoon Command Military Observer	
	Management Cadre position Service Command position Chief of Staff level (COS) Brigade /Formation Command position Unit Command position Company Command Platoon Command Military Observer Peace mediators	
	Management Cadre position Service Command position Chief of Staff level (COS) Brigade /Formation Command position Unit Command position Company Command Platoon Command Military Observer	5
<u>ΓΙΟΝ 5:</u> PER	Management Cadre position Service Command position Chief of Staff level (COS) Brigade /Formation Command position Unit Command position Company Command Platoon Command Military Observer Peace mediators	

decision-makir	· moditions and command positions?	
	g positions and command positions?	
	Inadequate military	ÿ
	training	
	Limited combat	
	experience	
	A No confident iss	ue
	Lack of trust	
	Physical	
	strength/fitness	
	Unwillingness from	n
	women	
	Others (specify)	
	ENGES	
<u>ΓΙΟΝ 6</u> : CHAL		
a. In your	view, are there military restrictions that presitions in the NDF?	event women a
a. In your		
a. In your		Ye
a. In your		
a. In your		Ye

5.4	a. NDF had participated in international Peace-keeping mission there any women appointed to lead any of the contingents?	ons, was
		Yes No
	b. Give reasons for your response	
SECT	TON 7: POLICY FRAMEWORK AND STATUTORY OBLIGA	ATION
	According to the National Gender Policy (2010), the Namibian Gitted itself to achieve 50% representation of women in decisions by 2015 in all institutions. In your view is this practically possessed in the practical possessed in the prac	on making
		Yes No
If no,	state reasons why?	
	YON F. DYGGDD YDY AND DYAG	
	<u>ION 7</u> : DISCRIMINATION AND BIAS	
7.1	Are there military specializations that exclude women?	
	Ye	
	If yes, list them and state why	
		·

SECTION 8: STRATEGIES

8.1 In your view, what would be the most effective way NDF could put in place to support women in their military career?

What measures did NDF put in place to ensure that women are repressivategic decision-making and command level? Please list them			
			n are repres
Any other comment or suggestion to improve the current status quo?	 		
	 ment or suggestion to i	mprove the current s	status quo?

QUESTIONAIRE 2

THIS QUESTIONNAIRE IS TO BE COMPLETED BY THE CHIEF OF THE NAMIBIAN DEFENCE FORCE.

<u>Please note</u>: The information provided is for research purpose only and will be treated confidentially. Thus you are humbly requested to answer all questions in each section.

SECTION 1: PERSONAL DATA

1.1 Indicate your sex

Female	
Male	

1.2 Do you have any objection to indicate your rank and age in this research?

Objection	
No objection	

1.3 If no objection, kindly indicate your rank and age. Tick the appropriate block

General Officer	
Age: 50 - 55	
56 - 60	

1.4 Were you integrated or recruited?

Integrated	
Recruited	
Professional	
(qualification)	
Consideration	
Quartermaster	
commissioning	
Years: 1990 - 1995	
1996 - 1999	
2000 - 2005	
2000 -2010	

1.5 What was your appointment at inception, and what is your current appointment?

Appointment	At inception	Current
Chief of Defence Force		
Service Commander		
Chief of Staff (COS)		
Brigade Commander		
Senior Staff Officer		
Unit Commander		
Unit 21C		

1.6 For how long have you been in the NDF?

Period	
2 -5 yrs	
6-10 yrs	
11-15 yrs	
16 and above	

1.7 For how long have you been at current position?

Years	
1 yr	
2-5 yrs	
6-10	
11 and above	

SECTION 2: EDUCATION

2.1 What is your highest academic qualification? Indicate Grade completed Diploma, B-Tech, Bachelors, Master or PHD obtained, as well as military qualification e.g., JSC, SSC or War College.

Level	Tick	Grade or standard completed
Primary		
Secondary		
University/College		
Military Qualification		
Basic military training		
Junior Staff Course		
Senior Staff Course		
War College		
Others Specify		

SECTION3: CONSTITUTIONAL MANDATE

3.1 You are constitutionally mandated to ensure a balanced structuring and equitable representation in the NDF, what measures are in place to implement this mandate and how effective are they?

According to the National Gender Policy (2010), the Namibian Govern committed itself to achieve 50% representation of women in decision m positions by 2015 in all institutions. In your view is this practically point the NDF?
Yes No
If no, state reasons why?
Similarly, through ISDSC, SADC Defence Forces are called upon to ac 30% representation in their national Defence Forces by 2015. How pre or ready is the NDF in meeting these targeted percentages? Please elaborate
ION 4: STRATEGIES TO OVERCOME UNDERREPRESENTA' OFDECISION-MAKING AND COMMAND POSITIONS
In your view, what would be the most effective way that NDF women c exploit to get to decision making level?

4.2	Any other comment or suggestion Sir, to improve the status quo?
,	