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An analysis on the challenges to gender balance in the African Union standby force:

A case of the SADC Brigade 2003-2017

BY

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Grace M. Mwarweye

Date: 09 June 2018

Dedications

I dedicate this dissertation to my late mother may her soul continue to rest in peace and also to my uncle and aunt, cousins Rufaro, Tafadzwa, Gabriel and Sarah for the endless support throughout my education.

Table of Contents

Approval Form.....	i
Release Form	ii
Declaration.....	iii
Dedications	iv
Acknowledgements	viii
List of Abbreviations.....	ix
Abstract.....	xii
CHAPTER ONE	1
INTRODUCTION.....	1
Introduction.....	1
Background to the study	1
Role of female military in peacekeeping operations	3
Gender balance in the African Standby Force.....	6
Gender balance in the SADC Brigade	9
Statement of the problem	11
Research Assumptions	11
Preliminary literature review.....	11
Significance and justification of the study	13
Research Methodology	14
Research Design	14
Population	15
Sample and sampling procedures	16
Sampling Procedures	16
Purposive Sampling.....	16
Sample Size.....	17
Sources of Data	18
Research Instruments.....	18
Questionnaires.....	18
Secondary Sources.....	18
Research objectives	19
Research Questions	19

Sources of data:	19
Limitations	20
Delimitations	21
Outline of chapters	21
Summary	21
Chapter Two: Feminist Paradigm: Liberal Feminism and the Concept of Patriarchy on the Lack of Gender Balance in Military Forces.....	22
Introduction.....	22
Theoretical paradigm.....	22
Liberal Feminism	23
Basic tenets of liberal feminism	25
Concept of patriarchy	26
Background to the concept of patriarchy	27
The Three Abrahamic Faiths.....	29
Types of Patriarchy.....	30
Characteristics of Patriarchy	32
Chapter Three: Tracking gender mainstreaming in the peacekeeping forces	34
Introduction.....	34
Background on gender balance in the peacekeeping forces.....	34
Females in the United Nations Peacekeeping	37
Gender balance in the African Standby Force (ASF).....	45
Summary	52
Chapter Four: Challenges to Gender Balance in the SADC Brigade	53
Introduction.....	53
Challenges of gender balance in the SADC Standby Force.....	53
Dynamics surrounding the challenges on gender balance in the SADC SF.....	61
Summary	66
Chapter 5: Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations	67
Introduction.....	67
Summary	67
Conclusion	69
Recommendations	69
Policy recommendations.....	69
Scholarly recommendations	70

Reference List	71
Appendices.....	79
Appendix 7: Research Questionnaire	80

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List of Abbreviations

ACIRC	African Capacity for Immediate Response to Crisis
BC	Before Christ
CADSP	Common Africa Defence Policy
CEDAW	Convention of the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
DDR	Disarmament Demobilization Reintegration
DOD	Department of Defence
DPKO	Department of Peacekeeping Operations
EAC	East African Community
ECCAS	Economic Community of Central African States
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
FAA	Angola Armed Forces
GPSP	Gender Peace and Security Programme
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
LOGBASE	African Union Continental Logistics Base
MDF	Malawi Defence Forces
MINURSO	United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara
MINUSTAH	United Nations Stabilization Mission In Haiti
MONUSCO	United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo

MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
NDF	Namibian Defence Forces
NEPAD	The New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NIV	New International Version
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
PSC	Peace and Security Council
RDC	Rapid Deployment Capability
REC's	Regional Economic Communities
RM's	Regional Mechanisms
SADC	Southern Africa Development Community
SADCC	Southern African Development Coordination Conference
SADC RPTC	Southern Africa Development Community Regional Peace Training Centre
SANDF	South African National Defence Forces
SARDC	Southern African Research and Documentation Centre
SEA	Sexual Abuse and Exploitation
SDGEA	Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa
TCC	Troop Contributing Countries
UN	United Nations
UNAMA	United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan
UNAMID	United Nations–African Union Mission in Darfur
UNFICYP	United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus
UNIOGBIS	United Nations Integrated Peacebuilding Office in Guinea-Bissau

UNISFA	United Nations Interim Security Force for Abyei
UNMIK	United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo
UNMIL	United Nations Mission in Liberia
UNMIS	United Nations Mission in the Sudan
UNSCR 1325	United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325
UNSOM	United Nations Assistance Mission in Somalia
UN TAG	United Nations Transition Assistance Group
WPS	Women Peace and Security
ZMA	Zimbabwe Military Academy

Abstract

This study analyses the challenges of gender balance in the African Standby Force with specific reference to the SADC Standby Force from the period of 2003 to 2017. Gender balance in other peacekeeping forces is also noted in this paper. The African Standby Force was established for the reason of solving Africa's problems that is African solutions to Africa's problems. As per Article 13 of the Protocol relating to the establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union, the ASF is based on standby arrangements with Africa's five sub-regions. This supports the Pan African ideology raised by African heads' of states. The Standby Force consists of three components which are the civilian, police and military and it is also there for peacemaking and peacekeeping but it lacks gender balance. A low number of women are recruited in national defence forces leading to non or few women deployed to the standby force. This is due to several reasons which are societal norms, patriarchy, religion, women being afraid of being abused and gender based roles. Long before colonialism women would take part in battles some would actually lead without any problems and would also conquer. Everything changed when Christianity was introduced in Africa. Patriarchy has always been there and to a certain extent it controlled women. Qualitative research method was used in order to gather data for the research paper. Primary and secondary sources were used as sources of information. Primary sources used were interview and questionnaire and secondary sources used were books, credible websites and journal articles. On the other hand liberal feminism and the concept of patriarchy were used to get a deeper understanding of the research topic and as a theoretical framework analysis. Liberal feminism illustrates that men and women should work side by side equally. The concept of patriarchy notes that because of the patriarchal society there is gender inequality in peacekeeping operations. This study recommends that there should be both equality and equity in the SADC Standby Force. Policies that have been put into place should be taken into action in order to have gender balance.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Introduction

Mainstreaming women in military forces has become a mainstay of peace and security. This research focuses on the challenges of gender balance in the SADC Standby Force since the formation of the standby force in 2003 to 2017. Background to the study, statement of the problem, research assumption, preliminary literature review, significance of the study, research objectives are outlined in this chapter. This chapter also consisted of research questions, sources of data, limitations, delimitations and an outline of chapters.

Background to the study

Gender balance in the United Nations

In 1999, the Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan of Action⁸ called for the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (UN-DPKO) to undertake a series of measures to advance the gender balance and gender equality at all levels of peacekeeping missions (Bertolazzi 2010). The Plan of Action emphasized the importance of the participation of women in all stages of a peace process, from negotiations to international withdrawal (Bertolazzi 2010). It spelled out the steps the UN and Member States should take to mainstream gender, including providing gender training to all peacekeeping personnel and recruiting a higher number of women in high-level, decision-making positions. The target of achieving 50/50 representation by 2015 was set (Bertolazzi 2010). This was in recognition that the history, concept and practice of peace keeping was male- dominated, yet modern day peace-keeping has become complex and gendered with different effects on women and men hence requiring joint efforts from both (IPSTC 2015).

The United Nations Transitional Assistance Group in Namibia (UNTAG) was the first mission to implement these policy guidelines amidst an environment that combined traditional peacekeeping activities with peace-building functions (Bertolazzi 2010). On October 2000, the United Nations Security Council unanimously approved Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (Bertolazzi 2010). United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 was the first time that the Security Council recognized that women and girls

are affected by conflicts in a different way than men and boys and therefore have an essential role in participatory peace processes (Bertolazzi 2010). The Resolution built on previous international legal mechanisms such as the Windhoek Declaration or Namibia Plan of Action in its provision for a stronger gender mainstreaming component within peacekeeping missions (Bertolazzi 2010). Since its passage, Resolution 1325 has served as a milestone towards better integration of women's perspectives in peace processes. Resolution 1325 emphasizes the importance of women's participation in all steps of a peace process, from negotiations to the signature of a peace agreement, emphasizing the necessity for pre-deployment, gender and sexual abuse and exploitation (SEA) training for all military, police and civilian staff being deployed to missions (Bertolazzi 2010).

In many peacekeeping missions, Gender Units, Gender Advisors, and Gender Focal Points have been created to ensure that gender mainstreaming programmes and mechanisms are regularly implemented and coordinated with a mission's activities. Resolution 1325 and the Namibia Plan of Action have been integrated by guidelines prepared by the UN DPKO aimed at helping the Mission's Gender Advisor in their implementation efforts (Bertolazzi 2010). Gender units oversee the coordination of gender activities inside and outside of the mission. The partnerships that the Gender Unit forms with local actors such as civil society organizations, women's associations, ministries of the host countries, as well as international NGOs and other UN agencies on the ground have shown to be an important method for implementation. Where it is possible to liaise with all of these different actors effectively, the inclusiveness of these programmes is well-acknowledged (Bertolazzi 2010).

Gender units have also initiated and supported the inclusion of a gender perspective into programmes such as disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) initiatives; police or security sector reforms, including organizing gender trainings and devising gender sensitive policies; disseminating information materials on Resolution 1325; responding to sexual exploitation and abuse; and justice and human rights (Bertolazzi 2010). All of these activities can be performed only if all the components of a peacekeeping mission, including the military, the police and the civilian side, collaborate in a cross-cutting manner.

The United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO) experienced difficulties in regard to compliance with Resolution 1325 and the Namibia Plan of Action (Bertolazzi 2010). At the time of writing, there was no Gender Advisor and all the gender-related work was undertaken by the Gender Focal Point. This results in very little

consideration being given to Resolution 1325 and the Namibia Plan of Action (Bertolazzi 2010). Lack of funding, understaffing and an overwhelming number of other tasks also hinder the mission's implementation of gender-specific policies. Because of limited resources, the Gender Focal Point's main tasks consist of arranging and organizing the International Women's Day and releasing public announcements (Bertolazzi 2010). In general, the mission does not accommodate the special needs of women peacekeepers, for example, by modifying the accommodation provided by the host government, and there are no special provisions for females regarding the special security needs of women (Bertolazzi 2010).

Women's recruitment and inclusion in peace support operations has slowly improved over the years. Between 1957 and 1979, only five out of 6,250 peacekeeping soldiers were women (Bertolazzi 2010). During the period 1957 and 1989, only 20 out of about 20,000 military personnel involved in peacekeeping were women (Bertolazzi 2010). The seven missions with the lowest female participation rate were established before 1980. In contrast, the twelve missions with the highest participation rate of women were established after 1990 (Bertolazzi 2010). By 1993, 11 out of the 19 UN peacekeeping missions had significant civilian components, and women constituted one third of the international UN civilian staff (Bertolazzi 2010). While women have increasingly been involved, in the current twenty-one peacekeeping operations, military female personnel are only 1,734 out of a total of 77,057 staff (in 2007 there were 1,034 women out of 71,673 and in 2006 there were 1,235 women in peacekeeping out of 65,555 militaries) (Bertolazzi 2010).

Security Council Resolution 1325 urges equal participation of women at all sectors of peacekeeping operations, including the military. This is also reinforced in the policy on gender equality by the Departments of Peacekeeping Operations and Field Support and the guidelines for integrating gender perspective into the works of the UN Military (2010) (Peacekeeping 2017).

Role of female military in peacekeeping operations

Female soldiers are not only able to perform in the same functions and capacities as their male counterparts, from command to frontline roles; they also bring an added value to military operations (Peacekeeping 2017). Female soldiers bring an additional perspective in planning operations and in making key decisions, especially those affecting civilians, particularly women and girls (Peacekeeping 2017). This is a critical consideration for a

mission as it provides a holistic approach to meet its mandate in today's complex and evolving peacekeeping environment.

Female military also serve as role models in the local environment, encouraging women in host countries to consider security sector as a career option. Some unique tactical skills female military bring to this field include screening of female civilians and conducting of house searches in areas where it is not culturally appropriate for men to enter private spaces (Peacekeeping 2017). Local populations in host countries often feel more comfortable liaising and sharing information with military troops that include women alongside men. By obtaining better information, we are able to better protect these communities (Peacekeeping 2017).

The Female Military Peacekeepers Network was created in April 2015 and so far about one hundred former and currently serving female military peacekeepers have joined the network. The network is an initiative of the Office of Military Affairs, with the aim of uniting female military that currently serve or have served in UN peacekeeping operations (Peacekeeping 2017).

The network promotes, strengthens and advances the profile of female military peacekeepers, and creates a space of mutual support, mentoring, training and advocacy for UN female military personnel. It allows women to share their experiences and encourages the participation of female military across all ranks in UN peace operations (Peacekeeping 2017).

In 2009, the Office of Military Affairs and the Gender Unit of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) initiated a process to develop for the first time guidelines for Integrating a Gender Perspective into the Work of the United Nations Military in Peacekeeping Operations (UNDPKO and DFS 2010). The guidelines are intended to enhance the operational effectiveness of United Nations peacekeeping operations by serving as a tool to guide practical translation of existing Security Council mandates on women, peace and security in the work of military components. They aim to support military personnel in recognizing and addressing the security priorities of all sectors of the local population—women, men, boys and girls—in a peacekeeping context. They will further inform the content of training activities targeted at military peacekeeping personnel.

To enhance the role played by women in the maintenance of international peace and security, the UN Security Council has to date adopted four specific resolutions on women, peace and

security: Resolution 1325 (2000), Resolution 1820 (2008), Resolution 1888 (2009) and Resolution 1889 (2009) (UNDPKO and DFS 2010). These mandates, inter alia, require that peacekeeping missions boost women's participation in post-conflict decision-making processes, prevent sexual violence, protect individuals, including women and girls, increase the presence of female peacekeeping personnel, and systematically train all peacekeepers to address gender issues in their work.

In 2014, then UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon appointed Maj. Gen. Kristin Lund of Norway to command the U.N. Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNNEWS 2014). This achievement made Lund the highest-ranking female peacekeeper in the world. Increasing the number of women in UN missions is also critical to ending a scourge of sexual exploitation and abuse by peacekeeping forces that causes tremendous suffering for its victims and diminishes the credibility UN peace operations globally (UNNEWS 2014).

Despite these advantages, women comprise of a small proportion peacekeeping forces less than 4 percent of soldiers and 10 percent of police deployed to UN missions (UNNEWS 2014). And the pace of change is achingly slow: ten years ago the comparable figures were 2 and 6 percent respectively (UNNEWS 2014). Women make up a greater proportion of the UN's deployed civilian staff, though at 22 percent, they are still underrepresented, particularly at senior levels (UNNEWS 2014). The United Nations has repeatedly failed to meet its own pledges to achieve gender parity.

The issue came to the fore in last year's (2014) race to become the next secretary, when candidates pledged to increase representation of women throughout the world body. Although the outcome disappointed those who had hoped for the first female secretary-general, Guterres himself won plaudits by quickly appointing three women to important positions, including Amina Mohammed of Nigeria as his deputy (UNNEWS 2014). Further, he pledged to appoint equal numbers of women and men to senior positions and committed to achieving gender parity in senior appointments by 2021 (UNNEWS 2014). Work by the Centre on International Cooperation suggests he is living up to his pledges (UNNEWS 2014). Guterres also issued a global call for nominations for candidates to lead peace operations, strongly encouraging member states to put forward women.

Gender balance in the African Standby Force

The Organisation for African Unity (OAU) adopted the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (African Charter) in 1981³³, which entered into force in October 1986. Although the AU replaced the OAU, and the African Charter continues to have legal effect, Article 18(3) of the African Charter obligates states to eliminate any form of discrimination against women and ensure the protection of their rights, as stipulated in international declarations and conventions.

The Maputo Protocol demands increased participation of women in conflict prevention, management and resolution, and in post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation processes. The African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights is mandated to monitor implementation of the Maputo Protocol through Member States' submission of periodic reports under the African Charter, with the African Court of Human and Peoples' Rights being responsible for matters of interpretation arising from the application or implementation of the Protocol.

Having failed to reach agreement on the structure of an inter-African force for the military aspects of conflict management, the Organisation for African Unity (OAU) occasionally undertook or endorsed less complex ceasefire monitoring missions such as the Bamako Ceasefire Commission (1963). The Bamako Ceasefire Commission had 192 delegates but only few women were part of the delegation (Lotze 2015). Gender balance even in the OAU peace operations they were not fully represented. The Pan-African peacekeeping force that operated in Shaba Province of Congo (Kinshasa) in 1978–79 was the first OAU peace support undertaking; followed by the Chadian operation (1979–82), which was also the only OAU peacekeeping venture of a complex nature during this period (Lotze 2015). In the immediate aftermath of the fall of the Berlin Wall, the OAU re-examined its security and peace agenda. It recognised the prevalence of destabilising conflicts that would seriously impede collective and individual efforts to realise the continent's political and socioeconomic objectives. The outcome of the 1990 summit was the "Declaration of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organisation of African Unity on the Political and Socio-Economic Situation in Africa and the Fundamental Changes Taking Place in the World", according to which leaders agreed to work together towards the peaceful and rapid resolution of all conflicts on the continent (Lotze 2015).

The OAU was formally transformed into the African Union (AU) in Durban in 2002. Pursuant to Article 5(2) of the Constitutive Act of the African Union, the Protocol on the Peace and Security Council (PSC) was established as a collective security and early warning arrangement to facilitate timely and efficient response to conflict and crisis situations in Africa, replacing the OAU Mechanism (Lotze 2015). The AU Commission is mandated to form an African Standby Force which is in the framework of Article 13 of the PSC Protocol.

The African Standby Force is part of the Peace and Security Council (PSC). The African Union decided to establish its own regional peace and security force which is the African Standby Force (ASF) more than a decade ago. This led to the establishment of regional brigades as well that would be deployed in their regions or across the continent. This was according to the growing political goals of African states to form their own multi-dimensional and rapidly deployable peace operations capability (Lotze 2015). The AU's commitments, goals and objectives as regards women, women's participation and gender equality are embedded in a number of key documents and decisions. Some experts argue that while the AU has a strong normative framework on governance, peace and security, it lacked an implementation strategy to guide the AU's work in conflict and post-conflict situations³¹ and a dedicated action plan for the implementation of UNSCR 1325. The AU has supported UNSCR 1325 by embedding its principles and pillars in a range of policies and commitments.

Even though there was and has been significant progress made, the development of the ASF has been uneven over the course of the past decade. Unsatisfied with these delays, African states through the African Union (AU) Assembly in 2013 went ahead with the formation of the African Capacity for Immediate Response to Crises (ACIRC). The ACIRC was intended to provide the AU with a quick reaction force, as a temporary stop-gap until the ASF was ready (Lotze 2015). Neither the ASF nor the ACIRC however was able to provide Africa sufficiently with the peace support operations capabilities it requires. What is needed therefore is an adjustment of the operational design for African peace support operations which better corresponds to the realities and needs of the African continent (Lotze 2015).

Established in 2003 through the adoption of the "Policy Framework for the Establishment of the African Standby Force and the Military Staff Committee", the ASF was to consist of five regional standby capabilities (Lotze 2015). The regional standby capabilities comprised of approximately 5,000 personnel each, which would be on standby in their regions of origin

and be made available to the AU for deployment when mandated to do so by the AU Peace and Security Council (PSC) (SADC 2007). The development of a *Rapid Deployment Capability* (RDC) of 2,500 personnel per region was also envisioned, which allowed for the more rapid deployment of an operation in emergency situations (Lotze 2015). The development of these five standby capabilities was entrusted to three Regional Economic Communities (RECs) and two new Regional Mechanisms (RMs) which were established specifically for the purposes of developing the ASF.

Between 2004 and 2015 the AU authorised regional deployments to Darfur, Somalia, the Comoros, against the Lord's Resistance Army in Eastern Central Africa, to Mali, to the Central African Republic and against Boko Haram in West Africa (Lotze 2015). Between 2013 and 2015, an average of 30,000 to 40,000 uniformed personnel was serving in African-led peace support operations per year (Lotze 2015). In addition, African contributions of uniformed personnel to United Nations (UN) peacekeeping operations have increased from around 10,000 personnel per annum in 2003 to over 35,000 by 2013, the vast majority of which are males and are deployed in operations on the African continent (Lotze 2015).

The African Union's approach to the improvement of women's rights and gender equality has been informed by the UN frameworks and specific needs of the continent, in particular the UNSC Resolution 1325. This is a landmark step that politically legitimises women's role in peace, security in conflict and post conflict management. The resolution contains actions for gender mainstreaming in humanitarian operations and disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR). It also stresses the importance of inclusion and collaboration by UN organs, civil society and the Commission on Status of Women (Mutisi 2016). Resolution 1325 (2000) has emerged as an all inclusive resolution to address gender perspectives and women's specific issues in terms of peace, conflict resolution and post conflict management and has already become a powerful tool which has already been domesticated by the AU (Mutisi 2016). The current era has witnessed the increasing need by the African Union (AU) and sub-regional organisations to be more involved as first responders to conflict situations in the region. Increasing the deployment of female peacekeepers to peace operations significantly, contributes to achieving sustainable peace and the improved wellbeing of women and girls in conflict-affected regions.

These standby forces are equipped for humanitarian intervention and include experts on political affairs, human rights, elections and gender issues (The Africa-EU Partnership 2017).

They stand ready to be called on either within their own region or elsewhere across the continent. Each force should be made up of six thousand man and women on standby at any one moment; a large amount of training is underway (The Africa-EU Partnership 2017).

The ASF is not intended to be a standing army but rather is a standby arrangement that is constituted through pledges from AU member states and the regional Economic Communities (RECs) and Regional Mechanisms (RMs) (De.Coning and Kasumba 2010). Addis Ababa, Ethiopia is the Force's Headquarters is situated and Douala, Cameroon, was in 2011 selected as the site of the AU's Continental Logistics Base (LOGBASE). Different regions have also opted to adopt varying forms in terms of their standby forces (De.Coning and Kasumba 2010). Thus, for instance, the SADC region has opted not to establish a permanent brigade headquarters, but instead only to establish one when the brigade is called upon to deploy (De.Coning and Kasumba 2010).

The Constitutive Act gives the AU the right to intervene in a Member State in grave circumstances, namely war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity. As per Article 13 of the Protocol Relating to the Establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union, the African Standby Force is based on standby arrangements with Africa's five sub-regions (African Union 2015). The African Standby Force (ASF) is an international, continental African, and multidisciplinary peacekeeping force with military, police and civilian contingents that acts under the direction of the African Union. The ASF is to be deployed in times of crisis in Africa (African Union 2014). Council stressed the need for renewed efforts towards the implementation of these instruments, as well as of the Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa (2004) and the UN Resolution 1325 (2000) on women, peace and security (African Union 2015). In particular, the policy framework highlights the importance of ensuring that the recruitment and management processes of the ASF strive to attain gender mainstreaming and gender sensitivity, to facilitate the realization of the AU principle of gender equality and to enhance the operational impact of African Peace Support Operations (Kasumba and Debrah 2010).

Gender balance in the SADC Brigade

The SADC's roots can be traced back to when the leaders of independent states and national liberation movements rallied collectively politically, diplomatically and militarily in the 1960's and 1970's (Lotze 2015). As Frontline States (FLS) the national liberation movements united against apartheid South Africa's expansionism and to support further decolonisation

(Mutisi 2016). The SADC Brigade was launched in Lusaka, Zambia in the year 2007 during the SADC Summit. The SADC Brigade was created under the African Standby Force framework and is also a regional multidimensional peace support operations (Lotze 2015). The brigade was signed by Southern African leaders through a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) (Lotze 2015). The SADC Brigade was formed to make sure that the region has security, peace and political stability which are a necessity for development in the region. The regional brigade consists of civilian, police and military components and also relies on promised resources from member states on the arrangement of the standby force. Logistical and medical services are other forms of support mechanisms that can be pledged by member states (Lotze 2015).

In 1980, with the main goal of managing development projects in the region, the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) was born as further consolidation of the FLS (Mutisi 2016). The SADCC was changed to the SADC because of the change in the political environment in 1992. Since the change the mandate was broadened to focus also on pursuing peace and security goals (Mutisi 2016).

The brigade has a Planning Element at the SADC Secretariat in Botswana, which is its only permanent structure. The Planning Element operates on a daily basis as a tool of the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation, taking instructions from the SADC Committee of Chiefs of Defence Staff and the Committee of SADC Police Chiefs (SADC 2007). The training of personnel is done by the member states of the personnel with the SADC standardising training objectives at all levels of the brigade to ensure compatibility and interoperability of systems and equipment respectively (SADC 2007). Such standards should also be compatible with those already developed by the UN. The Regional Peace Training Centre (SADC RPTC) located in Zimbabwe and other national peace support training institutions will play a pivotal role in training military commanders, police officers and civilian officials at various levels while at the same time acting as the clearinghouse for all peace support operations and training activities in the region (SADC 2007). SADC member states have also agreed to establish the Main Logistics Depot in Botswana to support the operations of the force from a central point (SADC TODAY). Just like the ASF as a whole there was unevenness on gender in the SADC Brigade. The focal basis of this study is to bring out the challenges on the practices of gender mainstreaming within the standby force.

Statement of the problem

The problem is that there are challenges to gender balance in the African Standby Force. Different regional organisations and member states apply different laws and processes to integrating gender in their peacekeeping processes that are unique to their context. The ideal is that there should be gender equality in the African Standby Force. Patriarchal society prevents the goal of having gender balance within Institutions. Thus, the application of international frameworks such as United Nations Security Council (UNSC) resolutions, international humanitarian law, and protocols and conventions on women, peace and security further add to the coordination challenges among actors and processes. While there are many provisions for gender mainstreaming in Africa's peace operations, these have mostly remained as strategies on paper, lacking the requisite political will and financial support for them to be translated into action for impact. In response to this problem, this study proposes to analyse the challenges and dynamics to gender inequality in the African Standby Force.

Research Assumptions

The assumption of this study is that the African Union Standby Force lacks gender mainstreaming. The lack of gender balance in the African Union Standby Force undermines women's capability in taking part in the standby force which would result in present and future challenges. Male chauvinistic ideologies continue to be primary obstacles to the main cause of gender equality in the standby force.

Preliminary literature review

Over the past two decades, the subject of feminist and gender studies has changed rapidly as fields of difference, power, knowledge production and representation are contested, negotiated, and analyzed from multiple and shifting sites of feminist identities. In the field of gender studies it is now clearly understood that theorizing women's experiences from these multiple angles of vision generates new questions, issues, and interpretations.

Gender is defined as the social attributes, opportunities and relationships associated with being male and female. These attributes, opportunities and relationships are socially constructed and learned through socialization (UNDPKO and DFS 2010). Gender defines power relations in society and determines what is expected, allowed and valued in a woman or a man in a given context (UNDPKO and DFS 2010). This has led to sidelining women when it comes to being part of peace operations in peace and security missions. The society

tends to decide one's role that is classifying what men do and what women are ought to do. Sex refers to the biological characteristics of males and females. These characteristics are inborn and their differences are limited to physiological reproductive functions (UNDPKO and DFS 2010).

On the other hand there is a difference between gender balance and gender equality. Gender equality, which is equality between women and men means having equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities of women and men as well as girls and boys. Equality does not mean that women and men will become the same, but rather that women's and men's rights, responsibilities and opportunities will not depend on whether they are born male or female (UNDPKO and DFS 2010). Gender equality implies that the interests, needs and priorities of both women and men are taken into consideration, recognizing the diversity of different groups of women and men. Gender equality is not a women's issue; it should concern men as well. Equality between women and men is seen as both a human rights issue and as a precondition for, and an indicator of, sustainable people centred development (UNDPKO and DFS 2010).

The equal representation of females and males at all levels of employment is referred to as gender balance. The United Nations General Assembly has confirmed the urgent goal of achieving 50/50 gender distribution in all categories of positions within the organization this includes the peace and security. The United Nations acknowledges that there is no gender within the organisation. Achieving a balance in staffing patterns and creating a working environment that is conducive to a diverse workforce improves the effectiveness of policies and programmes and enhances the UN's capacity to serve better the entire population (UNDPKO and DFS 2010).

In relation to the research topic Liberal Feminism is based on the traditionally liberal feeling that individuals should be free to develop their own talents and follow their own interests. Feminists accept organizations of our society but seek to develop the rights and opportunities of women. Both women and men, through their individual achievement, are capable of improving their lives if society simply ends legal and cultural barriers rooted in gender.

The concept of patriarchy is another theory looked at in relation to the gender balance in the African Standby Force, the SADC to be precise. Patriarchy has been around for many years and it rules what is to be done in the society. Patriarchy does not allow women to take part in

roles that men have but liberal feminism argues that women are able to do these roles and should be left doing these so called male jobs or male roles.

Susan Okin criticizes John Rawls's 'political liberalism' because it does not apply principles of justice directly to gender relations. Liberal feminists argue that society holds the false belief that women are, by nature, less intellectually and physically capable than men (Tong 1989). The social construction on gender holds back the progress of having gender balance and gender equality within institution and the society at large. Whereas in ancient Greece, Plato, built his argument on women that they are as capable as men to be rulers in society. Women are also capable of taking part in peace operations and leading armies. Plato goes on to stipulate that the same teaching which makes a man a good protector will make a woman also a good protector (Blythe 2001). After all is said and done Plato does not look on the other side if women have the courage to be rulers of the society. A few women take part in peacemaking and peace keeping due to the stereotyping that is in the society that women are not able to take part in the peacekeeping processes.

A clear vision and mandate on the issue of women and peace and security in the continent has been established in the African Union and stresses gender balance at all levels of the institution. At a United Nations conference Ambassador Lamamra emphasised the need to strengthen the involvement of women in the peace processes in the future. The Security Council Resolution 1325 pushes regional institutions in increasing gender balance. Resolutions and conferences might be there to address and push on issues of inequality in regional forces but they are not looking at the root cause of the problem this is why the policies are just in paper and not yet implemented physically.

On the other hand some authors' view these institutions have not lived up to their standards on gender balance. Gender balance seems to have begun in the western world. The dominant views on gender balance are that it is lacking at the national, regional, continental and international level. Resolutions and protocols on gender issues are there but these institutions are not practising what is on the paper.

Significance and justification of the study

This research will try to find the challenges to gender balance in the African Union Standby Force. There is an absence of in-depth study on gender balance in the African Union Standby Force. However there are challenges ranging from internal resistance within institutions and organizations where gender advocates work, sidelining of gender issues within the media,

lack of awareness, and lack of gender responsive policies (Mutume 2005). In Africa specifically, women have made significant strides in the political arena over the past few years. The continental political body, the African Union (AU), took a major step by promoting gender parity in its top decision making positions (Mutume 2005). In 2003 five women and five men were elected as AU commissioners (Mutume 2005). It has been more than ten years after Beijing, this review called attention to the many areas where women's equality is still not a reality (Mutume 2005). This research will try to show that the African Union Standby Force lacks gender balance and there are challenges in implementing gender balance in the African Union Standby Force. This research would influence policy were gender is made reality were it is not. The research is significant in giving contribution to the academia and also the recommendations can be extended to other African Union Standby Force brigades.

Research Methodology

The term 'methodology', particularly when employed in the social sciences, does not just mean method, but also the governing philosophy behind the methods employed.

Whether you use qualitative or quantitative methods, or whether the data consist of surveys, interviews, observations, documents or texts, considerations must be described that led the researcher from the research questions to the applicable method by which those questions may be studied (Furseth and Everett 2013). This means that a coherent research design has a logical relationship between the research questions and the method (Furseth and Everett 2013).

Research Design

A research design is described as a blueprint for carrying out the study in a way that total control will be exercised over factors that could hinder the legitimacy of the research results (Polit and Hungler 1999). On the other hand research design is defined as a plan that guides the collection of data to attain the research objectives, that is generating new data based on existing ones (Pennings, Keman and Kleinnijenhuis 2006).

The research design approach that was used was qualitative and quantitative research methods. Strauss and Cobin (1990, p.11) in Rahman (2017) stated that the term qualitative research, means any type of research that generates findings not reached at by statistical measures or other means of quantification. This shows that qualitative research is not statistical and it includes multiple relations. Qualitative method shows a different approach to

scholarly investigation than quantitative research methods. Even though the processes are alike, qualitative methods depend on text and image data only and there are distinctive steps in data analysis, and also draw on diverse designs (Creswell 2014).

Quantitative research is defined as research strategy that emphasises quantification in the collection and analysis of data (Bryman 2012). This means that quantitative research denotes amounting something (Bryman 2012). This research method attempts to investigate the answers to the questions starting with how many, how much, to what extent (Rasinger 2013). Tables showing the gender differences showing that there is no gender balance in the SADC Standby Force over the years will be included in the research. The research design is the researcher's overall plan for obtaining answers to the research questions guiding the study.

Therefore, the two research designs were used in this study because they allow for a deeper understanding of issues from both descriptive and numerical standpoints. The methods will also give a clear picture that there are challenges to gender balance in the SADC Standby Force. Justification to the use of both methods lies on the assumption that the research needs both descriptive or qualitative information and some scale of measurement of the data which is qualitative.

Population

Population is defined by Polit and Hungler (1999) as the sum of all subjects that conform to a set of terms, involving the entire group of people that would be of interest to whom the research outcome can be comprehended (Polit and Hungler 1999). In addition the group of people would also be to the interest of the researcher (Polit and Hungler 1999). Levy and Lemeshow (2013) also define population as an entire set of individuals to which the findings of the survey are to be gathered from. The research population for this study is comprised of the SADC Regional Peace Training Centre (SADC RPTC), Southern African Research and Documentation (SARDC), SADC Standby Force, Zimbabwe Defence Forces in the SADC and academia's on the SADC Standby Force.

Sample and sampling procedures

A sample can be characterised as a subset of a particular population Raj 1968 in (Lim and Ting 2013). Sample is a subset of the population that is selected for a study. Not every individual of the research population is sent a questionnaire; a few individuals from these departments are the sample of this research. Frequently a sample gives a reasonable means to researchers for gathering such useful decision making information that might be beyond the researcher's reach and unaffordable (Black, Asafu-Ajaye, Khan, Perera, Edwards, and Harris 2009) in (Lim and Ting 2013).

Sampling Procedures

Sampling is extensively used in academic researches as a way of gathering useful data about a population (Lim and Ting 2013). According to Zikmund, Ward, Lowe and Winzar (2007), the process of sampling involves using a small number of items or parts of the population in an effort to make conclusions about the whole population (Lim and Ting 2013). Sampling is a process of choosing a representative portion of the entire population. Identifying the target population, the subject or responded population, specifying the criterion for subject or responded selection, identifying the sampling design and recruiting the subjects are the steps involved in sampling (Ray 2012).

The process of sampling enables the researcher to estimate some unknown characteristic of a target population Lohr 1999 (Lim and Ting 2013). Sampling is an important part of research methodology involving a group of people selected using an eligibility criterion which the researcher chooses the description to define elements that should be part of or removed from the population (Ray 2012). Qualitative research is usually concerned with non-probabilistic sampling such as purposive sampling which will be used as a sampling method.

Purposive Sampling

Purposive sampling also known as judgment, selective or subjective sampling is a sampling technique in which researcher relies on his or her own judgment when choosing members of population to participate in the study (Ray 2012). For this study the researcher chose to work with a few from the Defence Forces from the SADC countries, the SADC Standby Force, the SADC RPTC and academia's in the peace and security within the SADC region. These were chosen because they would have information on the SADC regional brigade since some maybe deployed on missions for the brigade.

Purposive sampling is a non probability sampling method that occurs when subjects selected for the sample are chosen due to the researcher's judgment (Ray 2012). Researchers believe that they can obtain a representative sample by using a sound judgment, which will help in saving time and money" (Ray 2012). Guarte and Barrios (2006) in Alexandra (2014) stipulate that purposive sampling was originally a probabilistic sampling method describing a random selection of sampling units within a particular population that has the most information on the chosen field of interest.

There are two types of purposive sampling which are for typical instances and for heterogeneous instances (Shadish et al. 2002) in (Alexandra 2014). For typical instances it is based on defining and randomly selecting typical cases and their characteristics (Alexandra 2014). In this case generalization is possible only for elements that share the chosen description. On the other hand as for heterogeneous instances, it is based on defining typical cases and randomly selecting elements in order to obtain the widest difference probable for the sample (Alexandra 2014). The logic of this type of sampling is that if relationships are authentic despite the wide sample variation, then the relationships will be considered very strong (Alexandra 2014). In general this type of sampling differs from the one performed for quantitative researches in that it seeks to imitate the mode of the desired population within a sample with the widest variation, instead of imitating the mean of the population in the sample (Alexandra 2014). In qualitative sampling this method is usually performed without random selection from the population with the most amount of knowledge (Alexandra 2014).

Sample Size

Whereas quantitative research requires sufficiently large sample sizes to produce statistically precise quantitative estimates, smaller samples are used in qualitative research (Alexandra 2014). This is because the general aim of sampling in qualitative research is to acquire data that is useful for understanding the complexity, depth, variation, or context adjacent to a phenomenon, rather than to represent populations as in quantitative research. The generally projected criterion for determining when sufficient sample size has been reached in qualitative research is saturation as noted by Glaser and Stauss (1967); Lincoln and Guba (1985); Charmaz, 2003; Glaser (1992); Merriam, (2009) and Morse (1995) in Alexandra (2014).

Several authors, however, have argued this can be problematic given researchers' tendency to by chance claim saturation in mitigating early conclusion of their data collection activities

(Alexandra 2014). Saturation is not the only level, however, because for Cohen (2000, p. 56) as noted in Alexandra (2014) he stipulates that the scientifically important criterion for determining sample size for the researcher is the strength of the contact needed to gather enough information regarding an experience. Such strength is calculated in both length of time it takes for an event to occur and how often a contributor should be contacted to be aware of the changes undergone (Alexandra 2014). Qualitative methods authors usually agree on the fact that it is impossible to stipulate ahead of a study to define the sufficient sample size (Alexandra 2014). Regardless of this, a number of authors are aware of the practical need to provide sample size estimates in funding proposals (Cohen et al., 2000; Glaser, 1998) in (Alexandra 2014).

Sources of Data

Data can be defined as the quantitative or qualitative values of variables of a variable (Hamilton 2005). Data is plural of datum which plainly means to give or something given and also data sources are generally classified into primary and secondary data (Hamilton 2005). It is the most important aspect of any study and it is objective and authentic. Primary data collection uses surveys, experiments or direct observation (Hamilton 2005). Secondary data collection may be carried out by collecting data from a various source of documents or electronically stored data (Hamilton 2005). Sources of data include where the researcher got their information from in order to finish off the research.

Research Instruments

Research instruments are the tools used to collect data in order to answer the researcher's research question from the respondents (Zohrabi 2013). This research used secondary sources which include books, journal articles. These were used to collect information on the gender balance in the SADC Standby Force. The researcher also used primary source which is a questionnaire as an instrument for collecting first hand information from respondents.

Questionnaires

Questionnaires are without a doubt one of the primary sources of attaining data in any research attempt. On the other hand, the critical point when designing a questionnaire is that the researcher should make sure that it is valid, reliable and unambiguous (Zohrabi 2013).

Secondary Sources

Hamilton (2005) defines secondary sources as research that another researcher has already conducted on a particular subject matter. Secondary sources are a step further away from an occurrence than primary sources (Hamilton 2005). As researchers we depend on conclusions

made by experts on a certain topic. Some secondary sources may be biased but as a researcher it would be your duty to cover the gaps left by authors or experts. Every information is ought to be questioned not taking everything as it is without assessing it. Examples of secondary sources are books, journal articles, newspapers and online documents. Secondary sources interpret and analyze primary sources and they also include quotes and pictures of primary sources (Hamilton 2005).

Research objectives

The objectives of this study are as follows:

- a) To analyse the challenges to gender balance in the SADC African standby force
- b) To examine the dynamics surrounding the challenges on gender balance in the SADC African Standby Force
- c) To proffer scholarly and policy recommendations on the challenges to gender balance in the SADC African Union standby force

Research Questions

- a) What are the effects of the challenges to gender balance in the SADC African Standby Force?
- b) What are the dynamics of gender balance in the SADC African Standby Force?
- c) Which recommendations can be made in solving the challenges to gender balance in the SADC African Standby Force?

Sources of data:

Sources of data to be used for the study are secondary and primary sources. Primary sources will include questionnaire and interviews. Secondary sources will include journals, books, unpublished thesis, internet papers and seminar papers.

Secondary sources are defined as second hand, non original materials or gathered where primary materials have been worked on or with described, discussed or interpreted (Cohen, Manian and Morrison 2013). Primary sources are produced as a direct record of an event or process by a witness or subject involved in it (Cohen, et al 2013). This study will use questionnaire as its primary source. The sampling method to be used is purposive sampling. The notion of purposive sampling is sometimes used to indicate that interviewees or participants are selected on the basis of their knowledge and verbal eloquence to describe a group or (sub) culture to which they belong (Alexandra 2014).

Limitations

These are the shortcomings, conditions or influences that cannot be controlled and this places restrictions on the methodology and conclusions. Any limitations that might influence the results will be mentioned.

The nature of self reporting is limited by the fact that it rarely can be independently verified whether there is reliance on pre-existing data or you are conducting a qualitative research study and gathering the data yourself (Bradely 2013). However, self-reported data can contain several potential sources of bias that one should be alert to and note as limitations. These biases become apparent if they are incongruent with data from other sources. These are:

- Selective memory remembering or not remembering experiences or events that occurred at some point in the past
- Recalling events that occurred at one time as if they occurred at another time
- The act of attributing positive events and outcomes to one's own agency but attributing negative events and outcomes to external forces
- Exaggeration that is by an act of representing outcomes as more significant than is actually suggested from other data.

Instruments used to collect the data; sometimes it is the case that, after completing interpretation of the findings, you discover that the way in which you gathered data limited the ability to conduct a thorough analysis of the results. An acknowledgement of the deficiency would be provided by stating a need for future researchers to revise the specific method for gathering data.

The sample size is the number of the units of analysis used in the research which is dictated by the type of research problem to be investigated. If the sample size is too small, it will be difficult to find significant relationships from the data, as statistical tests normally require a larger sample size to ensure a representative distribution of the population and to be considered representative of groups of people to whom results will be generalized or transferred.

Time constraints having to balance the research and work might lead not to fully do the research.

Delimitations

These are choices made by the researcher which should be mentioned.

- The research has a timeframe from 2003 to 2017 and Zimbabwe was chosen to be researched on not all SADC Brigade member states
- Might be restricted to enter the standby force offices in Harare for interviews and also key informants might not be available at all times.

Outline of chapters

Chapter One is the introduction of the study which as noted includes a general background and outline of the research topic, the research hypotheses, preliminary literature review, research justification, research objectives, research problems, questions, theoretical framework, research methodology and the clarification of concepts used in the study.

Chapter Two consists of the feminist paradigm giving a detailed contextualisation of liberal feminism and the concept of patriarchy in relation to the research.

Chapter Three outlines the tracking of gender balance in the African Standby Force and the SADC brigade.

Chapter Four provides the challenges of gender balance in the African Standby Force particularly the SADC brigade. This would bring out the research objectives and research questions.

Chapter five consists of the summary, conclusion and scholarly and policy recommendations to the study.

Summary

The outline of this chapter has given a preamble of what the research is all about and the ways in which the data was founded. The background to the study was presented to give the origins of the African Standby Force. The challenges and importance of the study were presented in order to have a better understanding of why this study is being carried out. Even though this chapter gave a preliminary literature review the following chapter will give the literature review and theoretical framework in full.

Chapter Two: Feminist Paradigm: Liberal Feminism and the Concept of Patriarchy on the Lack of Gender Balance in Military Forces

Introduction

The goal of this chapter is to unpack the feminist view on the gender imbalance in the armed forces. Liberal feminism and the concept of patriarchy are the two theories that will be used in looking at the challenges of gender balance in the military forces. These theories argue that there are challenges to gender balance and they bring out the root causes of gender inequality. Feminism is defined as a movement to end sexist oppression and enabling girls and boys, women and men, to play a part equally in revolutionary struggle (Hooks 2000). “...*Male supremacy is the oldest, most basic form of domination,*” (Hooks 2000), this even dates back to biblical times.

Theoretical paradigm

In order to investigate the chosen object of analysis a theoretical paradigm that would be of great use has to be found. Theoretical paradigm holds or supports a theory of a study (O'Leary 2010). Eisenhart's (1991, p.205) definition of theoretical paradigm is that it is, “*A structure that guides research by relying on a formal theory...constructed by using an established, coherent explanation of certain phenomena and relationships*” (Politano, Walton and Roberts 2017). Liberal feminism and the concept of patriarchy are the two theories that will be used as tools of analysis. In developing a grounded theory qualitative data is to be collected where general themes would be identified (Oliver 2014). The identified themes would happen to be more focused and additional data is collected, resulting in a theory which brings out the relationships between the themes (Oliver 2014). Theorising gives shape and structure to one's research (Fisher 2010). This means credibility and depth will be added to the study by having a theory or theories. Theoretical paradigm gives precise theorists and theories upon which past research is grounded and to which the researcher's new study will put in (Politano, Walton and Roberts 2017). Theoretical paradigm encompasses not only clarification on the research questions but also includes information on the related variables with an exact emphasis on the basis of choosing these in light of existing theoretical construct (Politano, Walton and Roberts 2017). Theoretical paradigm introduces and describes the theory that explains why the research problem exists and also assists in shaping and guiding research effort.

Liberal Feminism

Liberal feminism is used to explain how there is no gender balance in the SADC Standby Force. The main thrust of liberal feminism is that women should be able to establish their social role with as much freedom as man does (Shukla 2007) . Liberal feminism is the variety of feminism that works within the structure of mainstream society to integrate women into structures within institutions (Woolf 1997). Its roots stretch back to the social contract theory of government instituted by the American Revolution. Abigail Adams and Mary Wollstonecraft were there from the First Wave Feminism, proposing equality for women (Woolf 1997). Moreover all power situations throughout the past have been male oriented and dominated as stated by Hooks (2000). Betty Friedan is one of the liberal feminist of Second Wave Feminism and the mother of feminism is Mary Wollstonecraft (Shukla 2007).

Liberal feminism's primary goal is gender equality in the public sphere meaning equal access to education, equal pay, ending job sex segregation (White, Klein and Martin 2014). All men are created as equal is pictured extending to both genders. Liberal feminists support the inclusion of women in the armed forces (White, Klein and Martin 2014). This shows the relevance to the topic to be researched on. There should be gender balance in all institutions; women should be part of the African Standby Force. All political, economic, and cultural institutions have been controlled by men and physical force is used to back up this control (Hooks 2000). This theory is being used because it seeks women's integration into mainstream society. Liberal feminism tries to eliminate sexist discrimination and advocates that women are capable warriors (Goldstein 2003).

Women equal men in ability as argued by liberal feminists, moreover the gendering of war reflect male discrimination against women that is sexism (Goldstein 2003). Liberal feminism often shows gender inequalities in terms of a classical liberal emphasis on individual rights (Goldstein 2003). Women have the right to participate in all social and political roles including war roles without facing discrimination (Goldstein 2003). Since women were seen as physically weak they were made to feel inferior and taken advantage of. Men have used their power to make women remain in an inferior position (Hooks 2000). Such actions have led to some women not wanting to take part in male dominated roles because they feel inferior to men. Liberal feminism does not fight for the total exclusion of men but fights for men and women to be given the same opportunity within armed forces and work side by side on the battle ground. The segregation of women from positions of power in international

relations both is unjust to women and prevents more than half the population of women from making their best contribution to the force and society at large (Goldstein 2003).

Liberal feminist scholars often include women as subjects of study that is women as state leaders, women soldiers, and other women operating outside the traditional gender roles in international relations (Goldstein 2003). This strand of gives respect to women who succeeded well in non traditional positions, despite the challenges they faced in sexist societies (Goldstein 2003). War is not treated in a different way from other aspects of social life by liberal feminism in which men have full control over the high paying and advantaged roles (Goldstein 2003). Soldiering as a job provides a potential for future high paying political and military leadership roles (Goldstein 2003). From a perspective of a liberal feminist, the exclusion of women as soldiers justifies their exclusion throughout history as politicians, and other high status professionals (Goldstein 2003).

Women are the same as men moreover women who desire to be in the military have the same motivation as men. Sexist cultures devalue "*feminine*" qualities instead of valuing, celebrating, and promoting them (Goldstein 2003). Feminist theorists have established the ways that peacekeeping as security seeking conduct, is formed by masculine concepts of militarised security (Smith 2018). Liberal feminism seeks to challenge gender stereotyping, promote equal opportunities legislation, remove the insubstantial obstacle, critiques the private or public division that add force to gender roles (Goldstein 2003). Moreover liberal feminism emphasises that women and men are biologically different but the differences should not be used to discriminate females (Goldstein 2003). Masculinity is not a biological category as much as a social construct subject to change, revision and multiple representations; that masculinity is not fixed (Short 1996). In military biological difference is used on females seeing them as incapable of being part of any military force. Masculinity is a relational, constantly shifting attribute defined in relation to the feminine; that masculinity is a site of interrelationship and tension with other sources of social differentiation; that masculinity is both lived and imagined desires; and that masculinity is not only socially constructed and reconstructed, it is spatially grounded (Short 1996). Masculinity has found its roots within the society and was allowed to take control by belittling women in the society and peacekeeping and security institutions.

Most people think of feminists as strong minded, fist fighters and man haters because they advocate for what they believe is right which is being treated as equal in the armed forces. According to liberal feminists calls for the inclusion of women and the end of gender discrimination are not radical challenges to the existing state of affairs (Goldstein 2003). Feminists advocating for equality in the military force and society at large does not mean they hate men, equal opportunity in society is just being asked without being judged of one's physical capability or sex. The concerns with liberal feminists are not focusing particularly on male dominance but more on the devaluation of the work of women their homes and in the workplace in the society (Shukla 2007). The society clings to the ignorant ideology that women by nature they are less physically competent and less intelligent than men as argued by liberal feminists (Goldstein 2003). Patriarchy therefore expresses the belief that the pattern of male domination and female subordination that characterises society at large is, essentially, a reflection of the power structures that operate within domestic life (Goldstein 2003). However liberals unlike the radical feminist are eager to work within the system to bring change by working with men side by side. Liberal feminists use the term, drawing attention to the imbalanced allocation to rights and power in the society in addition giving emphasis to the equal opportunity of men and women through political and legal restructuring (Goldstein 2003).

Basic tenets of liberal feminism

The basic tenets of liberal feminism are as follows. The first one is the support for "*formal equality*" within the current social, cultural, political, and legal structure (Gruber, et al. 2010). Women want equality in all spheres of life and this would be possible if men are in support of the equality. As long as there is friction between the two sexes, gender balance in armed forces will take time to prevail. Not every man is in support of the gender balance. Some do support but only on paper, showing lack of commitment. Culture seems to draw back the equality that liberal feminists are fighting for because it does not give women the opportunity to take part in male dominated institutions.

The second tenet is commitment to women's "*rights*" as vehicle of empowerment (Gruber, et al. 2010). Many policies and resolutions have been made but they have not yet been put into practice. This shows that there is lack of commitment when it comes to issues concerning women taking part in peacekeeping and peacemaking roles in armed forces. It is all written on papers that women should be given equal opportunity in peacekeeping and peacemaking forces but this seems to be a way to make feminists quiet. International, continental and

regional organisations lack commitment towards the equal involvement of women in the armed forces. Gender balance is there on paper but in actual reality there is none, encouragement of women to take part in the peacekeeping and security is low.

The fourth tenet is the assumption that once women are granted rights or opportunities, they can freely choose to or not to exercise those rights or take those opportunities (Gruber, et al. 2010). The essential perspective near individual components attest the lack of women in compelling positions as credited to the psychosocial properties, including character qualities, perspective and behavioural capacities of women themselves. Mcfadden (1997) asserts that women do not see themselves as political agents of development and movement. Gender based roles taught at a younger age are a challenge to women joining the standby force. It is eluded that despite the undisputable effort made by institutions and individuals to promote gender equality, women act passively and at the end men take the lead (Mcfadden 1997). In addition it is clearly pointed out that women require understanding of the legitimate way of governance so as to alter it or make an impact, significant change within it (Mcfadden 1997). On the other hand by giving women the opportunity in taking part in as time goes on they will get to understand the ways of governance in different institutions.

Lastly the acceptance of public or private distinction and support for privacy that is freedom from governmental regulation as a “right”, (Gruber, et al. 2010). Liberal feminists have seen that only through legally recognized and political reforms is when men and women can be seen equal (Gruber, et al. 2010). Change in all spheres of life is given by liberal feminists be it political, social or economic aspects. The preposition of liberal feminism was therefore important in assessing the inclusion of females in the SADC regional brigade. In policies and resolutions women are seen equal to men on paper, practically gender balance still lacks.

Concept of patriarchy

In Bell Hook’s book *The Will to Change*, she gives a definition of patriarchy. Bell Hook defines patriarchy as a political social system that is adamant on males being naturally superior and dominating to everything and everyone believed to be weak, especially females (Babcock 2012). Bell Hook goes on to stipulate that patriarchy is endowed with the right to dictate and rule over the weak and to maintain dominance through various forms of mental terrorism and violence (Babcock 2012). Hook, (2004 p.25), later calls patriarchy a “*system of institutionalized gender roles*” (Babcock 2012). A definition of patriarchy given by Lerner (1986:217) states that, “*patriarchy refers to the system historically derived from Greek and*

Roman Law, in which the male head of household had absolute legal and economic power over his dependent female and male family members”, (Akgul 2017). Lerner’s definition shows that the concept of patriarchy developed many years ago. Although the concept of patriarchy is rooted in Simone de Beauvoir, Kate Millett’s “Sexual Politics” was the book that popularized the theory of patriarchy in 1970 (Mirkin 1984). A patriarchy is considered the head of the household within the family he controls productive resources, labour force, and reproductive capacities based on the notions of superiority and inferiority and legitimised by differences in gender and generation. Masculinism is the masculine ideology and that justifies and naturalises male domination (Brittan 1989).

Broader terms such as male dominance and male supremacy are terms that feminists prefer to use in illustrating gender relations in the society as a whole. Feminists believe that male dominance is presented by the father’s authority within the family (Brittan 1989). Moreover the patriarchal family lies at the core of a systematic process of male domination, in that it reproduces male dominance in all other walks of life such as education, at work and in politics. Patriarchy is therefore commonly used in a broader sense to simply mean rule by men, both in the family and the society at large. Africans are characterised by and through a patriarchal model which categorizes Africa through recognising males first. The basis of reality for African women has to turn into a central guideline of the African Women's Movement in the 21st century. Women do not need to conclude or mirror Africans through any male. From this light the research built on that to realize the need for promotion and upholding of gender equality within regional peacemaking and peacekeeping forces. Patriarchy supports the sexual division of labour, and it sanctions the political and dominant role of men in the public and private spheres (Brittan 1989).

Background to the concept of patriarchy

Lerner (1989) emphasises the significance of women history in women’s struggle for equality and opposing patriarchy (Sultana 2010-2011). Patriarchy was a developing process not just one event from approximately 3100 BC to 600 BC that is over a period of nearly 2500 years and several forces and factors that led to the beginning of male dominance as seen in present day according to Lerner (1989) in Sultana (2010-2011). Feminists describe the relationship between men and women by the use of the concept of patriarchy. Using the concept of patriarchy will be looking at African patriarchy to be precise and how it shaped the worldview of African women even as long as pre-colonial times into colonial and post colonial then how it got into liberation struggles and independence. The Middle East religious

like the three Abrahamic faiths which are all patriarchs will be looked at especially the roots they have had in Africa.

Ashanti of Ghana, Nzinga of Angolan, Kandake of Sudan and Zazzau of Nigeria to mention a few were pre-capitalist, matriarchal civilisations in Africa. The matriarchal system in Africa was most enduring and evident in black ancient Egypt (Chengu 2015). The African matriarchal system started fading when Europeans brought colonial Christianity (Chengu 2015). David Livingstone the Christian missionary and colonial explorer, in the 1860's, wrote of meeting female chiefs in the Congo and in the most of the monarchical systems of traditional Africa (Chengu 2015). It was either one or two women of the top rank who had a post same level with the king or complementary to it (Chengu 2015). Christianity was not present before colonisation so Africans were open to matriarchy but on the other hand colonial Christianity perceived matriarchy as taboo.

In the years just before colonisation, African women were largely equal to men. There was gender balance in all spheres of society before the continent was colonised. Due to women being at the central to production in these pre-class societies, systematic inequality between the sexes was nonexistent and elder women in particular enjoyed a relatively high status. The reality is evident that every corner of power is completely in male hands such as the military, political office, technology, universities, finance and the coercive force of the police (Mirkin 1984). With the advent of colonial Christianity, the marginalisation of women came in several ways and in all social spheres, among others (Chengu 2015).

In addition it is stated that patriarchal theorists view males greatly as Marxists view the ruling class (Mirkin 1984). Access to institutional power, the shaping of ideology, philosophy, art and religion is controlled by males to go well with what they deem necessary (Mirkin 1984). Patriarchy does not allow women to be heard in the society. The exercise of male power is viewed as against the wishes of women, and women no matter which economic status one belongs to they are recognized as an oppressed class (Mirkin 1984). Patriarchy would make sure women remain under the rule of men by not giving the equal opportunity to take part in the peacekeeping and security institutions. The significant value of African women's productive labour in producing and processing food created and maintained their rights in domestic, political, cultural, economic, religion (Chengu 2015). Patriarchy tends to be thorough than class classification, more uniform and in addition it is mentioned to more

enduring (Mirkin 1984). The society at large, just like all other historical civilizations, is a patriarchy.

Women are considered as a subgroup in a man's world and on the other hand patriarchy is said to be equal to culture and culture is patriarchy (Mirkin 1984). This leads to women being required to teach and maintain the culture. Women who religiously follow culture in their society support patriarchy and do not allow young growing females to express themselves when it come to taking the lead or joining the male dominated institutions. This is a challenge that will take time to evolve within the society because culture and patriarchy are deep rooted in all spheres of life. The struggle for gender equality is a key challenge in both domestic and international affairs (Banda and Joffe 2016). Regardless of the framing of the state's relationship to religion secular or devout, religion still manages to permeate public discourse and to regulate behaviour (Banda and Joffe 2016).

The great or liberalizing epochs of history are said to have been the same for women and men, children (Mirkin 1984). Patriarchal gender roles are learned at a younger age as children and the roles are constantly reinforced as people grow (Millet 2016). It is only when people grow up notice that women are ruled by patriarchy and they have no say when it comes to important matters to be solved in the family. Some females remain passive when it comes to changing the patriarchal rule. This is so because they have been made to feel inferior to patriarchy. Patriarchal beliefs are said to be the explanation for societal wide male domination and that the reason for patriarchal ideology is deep rooted in the family (Millet 2016). Millet (2016) argues that these ideologies were important to the overall sustainability of societal patriarchy.

The Three Abrahamic Faiths

The three Abrahamic faiths have had an impact on gender balance in Africa on all aspects of life including peacekeeping and security on the continent. The three Abrahamic faiths are Islam, Christianity and Judaism. Religion, gender and equality are said to be the fault lines of the 21st century (Banda and Joffe 2016). While the right to acknowledge and follow a religion and the right to live one's life free from sex discrimination are acknowledged in international and regional human rights, gender and its interpretation is more contested (Banda and Joffe 2016).

Gender imbalance has not washed out in the religion perspective to the same extent. There is still gender differentiation on many of the rituals and rites that are associated with religious

practice. Accordingly, areas of life that are regulated by religious norms continue to generate conflicts between gender equality and religious doctrine and to provide occasions for working out how changing notions of appropriate gender relations can be meshed with religious values (Banda and Joffe 2016). When it comes to religion it affects the way people live, their actions and women are more at risk of being segregated because of religion. The United Nations Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against women (1979) (CEDAW) is the most consistently reserved instrument with reference to religion.

The formal legal position is that the religious reservations contravene article 27 of the Vienna convention on the Law of treatise, which states that national law must give in to international obligations (Banda and Joffe 2016). Religious observers would note that, “*God is bigger than any state*”, so that one is required or it is a must to obey one’s religion rather than the state or international law (Banda and Joffe 2016). In the bible it is written the man is the head of the house and women should be submissive, which has been used by the patriarchal society to rule over women by using religion. This on the other hand puts women of faith in a difficult position and they would end up not taking part in peacekeeping operations because of religion. The three Abrahamic faiths all originate from deeply patriarchal roots and integrate similar customs above women, such as women’s inherent subordination (Jeffreys 2013).

Types of Patriarchy

There are two types of patriarchy, which are private patriarchy and public patriarchy. Private patriarchy is based upon household production, with a patriarch controlling women individually and directly in the relatively private sphere of the home (Walby 1990). Public patriarchy is based on structures other than the household, although this may still be a significant patriarchal site (Walby 1990). Rather, institutions conventionally regarded as part of the public domain are central in the maintenance of patriarchy (Walby 1990). In addition it is asserted that patriarchy has two manifestations which are the unequal control of the father in family or clans secondly the extension, the organisation of an entire society in ways that exclude women from community positions (Meyers 2014). The first manifestation relates to the nineteenth century origins of the concept, and the second is part of twentieth century developments (Meyers 2014). Patriarchy might be regarded as a role that is socially performed enacted and reproduced through discourse.

Roland de Vaux in his work *Ancient Israel* asserts that “*there is no doubt that...the Israelite family is patriarchal*” (Meyers 2014). Moreover men are masters of their wives and had total

authority over their children as well even to the extent of having at times the “*power of life and death*” (Meyers 2014). Martin North in his book *Geschichte Israelis*’ (1950) which turned to be a standard book on Israelite history for generations has the same notion as Roland de Vaux. Martin North asserts that the, “*...family was subject to the patria potestas...*” meaning that the family was under the paternal power and also that the “*...social order in Israel was patriarchal...*” (Meyers 2014). This example uses patriarchy in reference to the family and also to society at large. Looking at Africa’s patriarchal structure, it is an obstacle to the empowerment of women, women are said to be inferior to the men. In Africa, the patriarchal society, the man is supreme, over and above, and the household head, and is the one who makes most important decisions. Patriarchy is everywhere and its culture needs to be addressed in order to gain equality in all spheres of life.

On the other hand, in the public form but no longer being the chief site, the household does not cease being a patriarchal structure. In private patriarchy the taking advantage of women’s labour happens mainly by individual patriarchs in the domestic environment, while on the other hand in the public form it is a more combined commandeering. The principle patriarchal strategy in public patriarchy is subordinating and segregationist while in the private patriarchy it is exclusionary. Men take the power of patriarchy to armed forces by not allowing the military to have gender balance or making most women work in the administration not on the battle field. Most of all the state is bias towards patriarchal interests in actions and policies Walby (1990:21) in Sultana (2010-2011). This shows that nothing can ever be achieved because of the bias towards patriarchy, policies will be made but no action takes place, women remain inferior to men.

A United Nations study by Radhuka Coomaraswamy (2015) found that gender in peacekeeping continues to be deprived financially and politically (Smith 2018). Moreover the gendered elements of post conflict resolution are still sidelined in operations (Smith 2018). Women are marginalised from disarmament programmes because of gender norms produced in the patriarchal society (Smith 2018). Patriarchy is the prime obstacle to women’s advancement and development (Sultana 2010-2011). In spite of the differences in levels of supremacy the general principles still remain the same that is men are the ones’ in control (Sultana 2010-2011).

The phrase ‘patriarchy’ plainly means the rule of the father or the ‘patriarch’, and also originally it was used illustrate a precise type of ‘male dominated family’ (Sultana 2010-

2011). This also includes the large household of the patriarch which included women, junior men, children and domestic servants all ruled by the dominant male (Sultana 2010-2011). Therefore, patriarchy is more than just a term; it is used like a concept by feminists, and like all other concepts it is an instrument like all other concepts to assist in getting a better understanding on women's reality (Sultana 2010-2011).

Moreover the term patriarchy implies that all important institutions in the society men hold power over them and that women are marginalised in having access to such control" (Sultana 2010-2011). Nowadays it is used more generally in reference to male supremacy, to the power relations where women are dictated by men, and to characterise a structure where women are kept inferior in several ways (Bhasin 2006:3) (Sultana 2010-2011). Patriarchy is constructed through a gradual, timely and orderly process, of socially prescribed, family centred and community related roles and responsibilities.

Characteristics of Patriarchy

The patriarchal ideology is powerful to the extent that men are generally able to secure the apparent approval of all women they oppress (Sultana 2010-2011). Millet (1977:35) asserts that women would be oppressed through institutions like the family, church and the academy thereby reinforces and justifies subordination from women towards men (Sultana 2010-2011). Power, competition, dominance and hierarchy are the characteristics of the patriarchal system. For that reason patriarchy is a structure of social systems and practices, in which men oppress, exploit and dominate women (Sultana 2010-2011).

Aristotle brought forward related theories and mentioned males' active, females passive (Sultana 2010-2011). In Lerner (1989:8-11) according to Aristotle females are a "mutilated male", meaning one who does not have a soul (Sultana 2010-2011). Women are seen inferior by Aristotle with such derogatory phrases to belittle women. In Aristotle's view, the biological weakness of women makes them inferior in their capacities as well that is their ability to reason and in addition the ability of making decisions. Aristotle goes on to state that men are superior and women inferior, thus men are born to rule and women to be ruled Lerner 1989:8-11 in (Sultana 2010-2011). Having such mentality shows that it is difficult to change the patriarchal mentality in the SADC brigade and African Standby Force at large. This is also one of the reasons why it is all talk when it comes to gender issues in the armed forces. In addition Aristotle said, "*The courage of man is shown in commanding of a woman in obeying*" (Lerner 1989:8-11) in (Sultana 2010-2011). African women continue to instil this

thought by Aristotle in their young daughters and sons on the other hand by their fathers. In the SADC brigade women will continue being given administrative roles and a few excel in being on the battle ground.

There are a few reasons that point out why patriarchy is hard to dismantle in the African Standby Force. The first one is that patriarchy is so deep rooted in most African set ups that trying to separate it from our humanity is incomprehensible for most but also a very complicated process (Chengu 2015). The second reason why patriarchy has been particularly difficult to dismantle in the African armed forces is because it has managed to be as deeply deep rooted as it is by using women as its guardian (Chengu 2015). Patriarchy has used women, older women mostly, to be its keeper and maintain its systems functioning (Chengu 2015). With this most females would not have the courage to be part of the standby force they would rather do the administrative jobs. For patriarchy to keep going it uses women to hold back and subjugate other women (Chengu 2015). Women are taught at a tender age that men are leaders, they are superior because of this it is hard for most women to remove such mentality and make them equal on the battle ground.

Chapter Three: Tracking gender mainstreaming in the peacekeeping forces

Introduction

This chapter looks at the progress made by the African Standby Force and its brigades. Not only will the African Standby Force be tracked but also the United Nations Peacekeeping. This gives an over view on how the gender balance in the peacekeeping operations began and how they have been progressing since the issue of gender balance for military forces began. A detailed contextualisation of existing literature relating to the progress on gender balance in the African Standby Force the case of the SADC standby force is given. The African Charter on Human and People's Rights, adopted in 1981, acknowledged that discrimination against women should be removed but was ineffective in addressing women's rights (Sigsworth and Kumalo 2016). Gender equality attracted the attention of scholars and other stakeholders because of the perceived notion over time that women have played a second role in relation to men. This chapter presents sections on gender balance which are the representation of females in military organisations in general, African Standby Force (ASF) as a whole that is all the five brigades of the ASF.

Background on gender balance in the peacekeeping forces

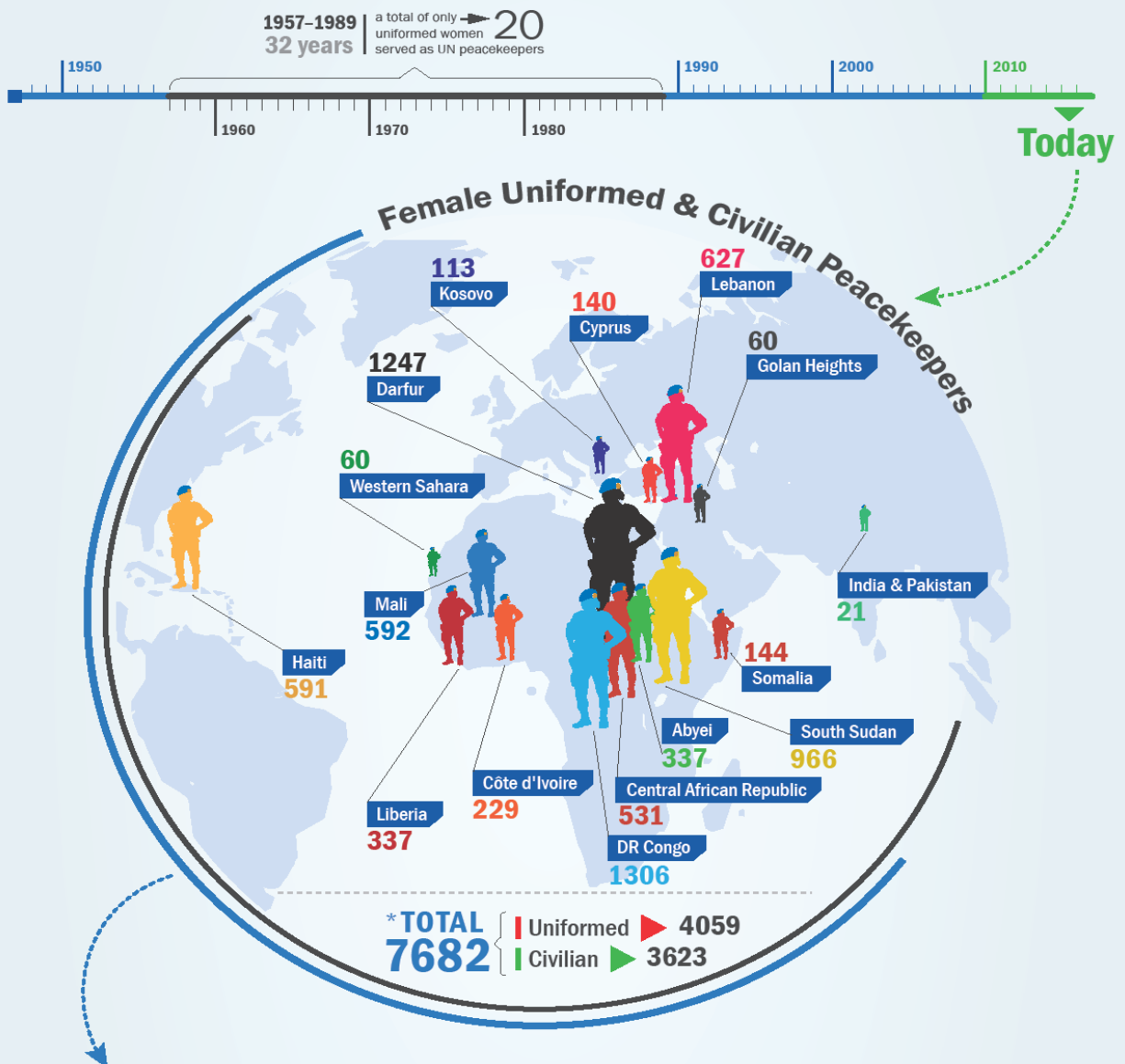
These perceived inequalities have been discussed extensively in all spheres of life namely religion, economy and employment. Tracing the history of gender and origins of gender equality from Aristotle's perspective, it was Pythagoras in the fifth century BC who first created the ideas like masculine, feminine and neuter (Fletcher 2011). However, before this era, it has been shown in the studies that Africa has a deep-rooted description of gender balance. The world was viewed as a complete duality of male and female by ancient Egyptians as revealed by history. It was believed that the female goddess Ma'at which is the symbol of harmony gave order and balance to the sexes (Fletcher 2011). Therefore, pharaoh had no option but to rule based on the Maat's instruction and description (Fletcher 2011). This becomes clearer in terms of gender balance, that is gender difference was only aimed at distinguishing between male and female not on the roles to be taken in the society. However, as era's passed by the distinction brought a social construction joined with responsibilities and roles attached to the social construct of each sex.

In modern epoch, based on the arrival of westernization, explanations regarding gender was seen and discussed as imbalance; generally described through religion, society and culture and physiology (Fletcher 2011). For example, while explaining gender imbalance from religious viewpoint; Christian literature (Holy Bible: Eph. 5: 22-24 (NIV)) describes the

relationships existing between male and female as thus: “*wives, submit yourselves unto your own husband as unto the lord... for the husband is the head of the wife... so let the wives be to their husbands in everything*”. This has led to the segregation of women in the political, social and economic life. Religion has proven that women cannot be on the same level as men, according to the Christian bible they are to be submissive to their husbands. Already gender imbalance has been created and women are seen as inferior. Feminists have also argued about the disadvantaged position women find themselves. Much of these explanations about women oppression have also been popularized by anthropologists (Omotosho 2015). The assumption behind these explanations is that women are seen weaker in terms of physical strength compared to men. This is the assertion put forward by Levi Strauss as put together by (Smith 1997):

“human society...is primarily a masculine society, the exchange of women is practically universal feature of human society, in which men obtain women from other men-from fathers, brothers and other male relatives. The deep polygamous tendency, which exists among all men, always makes the number of available women seem insufficient. Therefore, the most desirable women must form a ministry. Because of this, the demand for women is an actual fact, or to all intent and purposes always in a state of disequilibrium and tension.” (Sexist Neanderthals?, para. 4)

WOMEN IN PEACEKEEPING: A GROWING FORCE



WOMEN CONSTITUTE

22% of the

16,507 civilians working in peacekeeping missions

“ Women can and must play a leading role in political participation, conflict resolution and the transition from conflict to peace. ”

—Hervé Ladsous, Head of UN Peacekeeping



* Statistics from Civilian November 2016
Statistics from Military January 2017

From **Appendix 1** above female uniformed and civilian peacekeepers have increased in the United Nations peacekeeping force. The force consisted of only 20 females in the period of 1957 to 1989, since 1990 the number of females deployed increased across the world. This is the time when feminist groups were fighting for the equality of men and women in all institutions. The numbers drastically changed in 26 years that is from 1990 to 2016 protocols, pacts and agendas were being drafted.

Equality between men and women was officially recognized as a global issue in the charter of the United Nations (1995). Subsequently, it was confirmed in several treaties, conventions agreements. One of the notable agreements was the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women, Beijing Platform for Action, endorsed at the fourth World Conference on Women: Equality Development and Peace, which was held in 1995 (United Nations, 1995) (Omosho 2015). It was believed that gender balance is a human right and there are implications on development. In 2000, an effort to deal with gender issues became more prominent when for the first time in the history of the United Nations, a special conference of the Security Council came up with the theme: “Women, Peace and Security” (Omosho 2015).

Females in the United Nations Peacekeeping

At the global level, the environment is changing in favour of more commitment to increased and improved participation of women in the military forces following the implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) (Makina and DrJuma 2008). On the other hand analysts, state that the focus should change from simply adding more females in the security sector to making the structures more acquiescent to women (Louw-Vaudran 2015). This would pave way for more thoughts that are not male chauvinistic and removing derogatory ideas. More women around the world would not be hesitant in taking part in the peace operations. While allowances do play a role, gender analysts’ state that there should be political will at the highest level to take issues of gender equality further than a mere representation (Louw-Vaudran 2015). While there are more and more women in the security forces, they are often allocated to the supporting role and offices not in the frontline (Louw-Vaudran 2015).

Women in the military still go through negative stereotyping and struggle against them being included, particularly in decision-making positions. Having not enough years of experience

also restrains them on their advancement to go up the ranks (Louw-Vaudran 2015). Women's immense effort for being represented equally in the armed forces, however, continues to face resistance from male counterparts. In the armed forces women are excluded on the basis of biological and physical reasons (Makina and DrJuma 2008). This shows that male chauvinistic mentality portray women as weak because of their biological build up believing that they are not able to take up arms like men. In the context of an already complex peacekeeping discourse and the immense underrepresentation of gender issues in this area, combining the two variables invariable raises the question whether gender can in any way promote the resolution of some of the many unsettled issues (Hudson 2010).

The United Nations has little or no influence over the personnel recruited for peace operations by the different troop-contributing countries (Hudson 2010). The UNSCR 1325 can be there to encourage security and peace in all continents but it has no authority on who the peace and security organisations recruit. Attempts at establishing self-reliance in this area have been met with numerous challenges related to the lack of competence and political determination to act constructively under suboptimal conditions (Hudson 2010). Security has long been a male-dominated sphere of influence, with a focus on masculinised responses to threats, conflict resolution and post-conflict development, with the objective protecting nation state territories (Sigsworth and Kumalo 2016). The gender policies and resolutions are just there on paper so that women feel that there is at least some acknowledgement on gender inequity within these peace and security forces.

The United Nation Peacekeeping has the components which are the civilian, police and military. In **Appendix 2** shown below consists of the military and police components of the UN peacekeeping. In **Appendix 3** above selected mission are provided to show the numbers of women that are deployed in peace operations. Most of them can be seen that they are deployed in Africa. Even though this is a UN Peacekeeping Operation not so many women are deployed despite the drastic change in the numbers since 1990. This shows that the UN Peacekeeping cannot dictate on the number of women to be contributed by the contributing countries. Another reason for low numbers is that the contributing countries themselves do not have gender balance within their forces so they cannot provide the same number as men to the peacekeeping forces.

Only 70 countries contributed women troops to 15 UN Peacekeeping missions. The number of women taking part is still low thus both contributing and non-contributing countries do not have gender balance in their armed forces. This is due to the reasons stated in this research.

Appendix 2 gives data on the female police that were deployed on missions by the UN Peacekeeping. The total number is 1 187 of those deployed as of June 2017 and most of them are from Africa. Despite the numbers being more they are still low, it seems like the growth that was there in the 90's remained stagnant. This falls far short of gender equality in peacekeeping missions. Ivanovic (2014) states that Sahana Dharmapuri in her article published by the International Peace Institute argues that the reason for this is threefold. Firstly there is the lack of understanding among member states about the Resolution 1325 and the UN policy on gender equality in peace operations (Ivanovic 2014). This shows that not all countries are in agreement with having equal number of females as males in peace forces thereby having few women as shown in the image.

Police Women in Peace Operations

1,187 police women from **70** countries
are serving in **15** UN peace operations¹

Police women act as role models for gender equality, inspiring women and girls to advocate for their own rights and pursue careers in law enforcement

Police women in Leadership positions²

- ▶ UNAMID, Sudan (Zimbabwe)
- ▶ UNMISS, South Sudan (Fiji)
- ▶ Standing Police Capacity, Italy (Sweden)

All-female Formed Police Units were deployed in

- ▶ MONUSCO, DR Congo (Bangladesh)
- ▶ MINUSTAH, Haiti (Bangladesh)
- ▶ UNMIL, Liberia (India)

Police women deployed around the world



Top 10 Female Police Contributors³

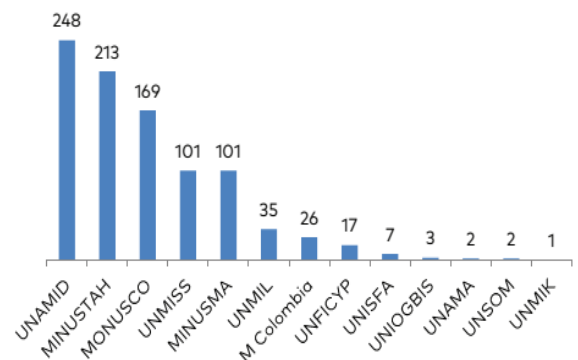


Female police officers

- ▶ Provide a greater sense of security to women and children
- ▶ Improve access and support from law enforcement agencies to local women
- ▶ Help the UN address and respond to sexual exploitation and abuse

in addition to fulfilling the full spectrum of regular police activities

Police women by mission³



¹ Figures are as of June 2017

² Ranks included: Police Commissioner, Deputy Commissioner or equivalent senior leadership position at Director level

³ Figures are as of June 2017

Gendered power discrepancy means that women and girls experience human insecurity differently to men (Sigsworth and Kumalo 2016). This means that their subordinate societal status renders them less able to show their ability to act upon their security needs, which makes their insecurity worse (Sigsworth and Kumalo 2016). Gender equality is one of the foundations on which human security can be attained in the daily lives of women and men but it seems to be difficult to attain (Sigsworth and Kumalo 2016). The Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda has been developed as a global response to the discrepancy effects of conflict and violence and focuses on promoting the involvement of women in peace and security institutions, processes and decision-making structures (Sigsworth and Kumalo 2016).

According to Koen (2006:7), if women are to play an equal part in security and maintaining peace, they must be empowered politically and economically, and represented fully enough at all levels of decision making (Olonisakin and Okech 2011). The levels of decision making are before the conflict stage, during conflict and at the point of peacekeeping, peace building, reconciliation and reconstruction (Olonisakin and Okech 2011). If women are to be empowered politically and economically and represented well at all levels of decision making then peace operations would take a new turn. Striving for gender equality amongst the UN staff is the main concern for the UN Secretary-General. At the UN Headquarters in 2012, 48 per cent of staff were women and 52 per cent men, with the most disproportion showing at the mid and senior levels (United Nations 2017). In peacekeeping operation and special political missions, the numbers are more on the lower side, with women making up to only 29 percent of international and 17 per cent of national staff (United Nations 2017). These statistics have remained basically the same over the past few years. During 2013, the Departments of Field Support, Peacekeeping Operations and Political Affairs undertook a project called *"Bridging the Civilian Gap in Peace Operation"* to better understand the barriers to attracting, retaining and advancing female staff in the field (United Nations 2017).



DPKO/OMA Statistical Report on Female Military and Police Personnel in UN Peacekeeping Operations Prepared for the 10th Anniversary of the SCR 1325



CATEGORIES		2000	2001	2002 (1)	2003	2004	2005 (2)	2006	2007	2008	2009 (3)	2010
UN Military Experts on Mission (UNMEM) (Includes Military Observers, Military Liaison Officers and Military Advisers)	Total UNMEM	1,490	1,749	1,808	1,708	2,099	2,139	2,686	2,557	2,361	2,300	2,321
	Female	-	-	-	-	-	43	62	89	89	86	96
	%	-	-	-	-	-	2.01%	2.31%	3.48%	3.77%	3.74%	4.14%
TROOPS (Includes Staff Officers)	Total Cont	28,739	37,774	35,698	30,805	53,130	59,677	62,865	71,391	74,696	80,907	83,635
	Female	-	-	-	-	-	973	1,173	1,397	1,645	1,956	2,021
	%	-	-	-	-	-	1.83%	1.87%	1.93%	2.20%	2.42%	2.42%
POLICE (Includes Individual Police and Police Formed Units)	Total Police	7,194	7,628	6,754	4,435	5,516	5,991	8,055	9,380	11,519	12,212	13,970
	Female	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	887	1,215
	%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7.26%	8.70%
SUBTOTAL MILITARY/POLICE		37,423	47,151	44,260	36,948	60,745	67,807	74,841	83,328	88,576	95,419	99,926
TOTAL FEMALE		-	-	-	-	-	1,016	1,235	1,486	1,734	2,929	3,332
PERCENTAGE OF FEMALE/TOTAL		-	-	-	-	-	1.50%	1.65%	1.78%	1.96%	3.07%	3.33%

Remarks:

-- UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security was adopted on 31 October 2000

-- The above data was extracted from the "Monthly Strength Report" (FGS/OMA/DPKO)

Milestones towards a gender reporting in UN peacekeeping operations:

(1) August 2002 -- First Monthly Strength Report is released

(2) 2005 -- First gender disaggregated statistics is made available for the military personnel

(3) 2009 -- First gender disaggregated statistics is made available for the police personnel

Appendix 3 Source: (United Nations 2010)

Sahana Dharmapuri states that there is a gap in data and analysis about women's participation in national security institutions globally, and in UN peacekeeping in particular (Ivanova 2014). In addition it is stipulated that there is the prevalence of social norms and biases that perpetuate gender inequality within the security sector (Ivanovic 2014). Gender and conflict is also concerned with whether women are being deliberately excluded from the political spectrum and decision-making processes in general (Tickner and Sjoberg 2013). By the look

of things women are deliberately left out from the political field and armed forces spectrum. Patriarchal society is the cause of all these exclusions. In **Appendix 3** the total percentage of females is by far low. The gender equality in peacekeeping will take more time that anyone would imagine. The participation of women in the police component is starting in the year 2005 whereas from 2000 to 2004 there were no females in the police component.

Year	Military Male	Military Females	Police Male	Police Females
Dec-2011	80 528	2 202	7 399	477
Dec-2012	77 520	2 230	6 409	378
Dec-2013	80 941	2 338	7 293	483
Dec-2014	87 116	2 732	7 920	494
Dec-2015	88 401	2 982	8 801	669
Dec-2016	82 685	2 766	8 801	669
Dec-2017	78 454	3 145	9 953	1 130
April 2018	77 255	3 212	9 557	1 141

Appendix 4 Source: (United Nations 2011-2018)

Noted obstacles of women being excluded in the process of making decisions include stereotypical attitudes, men being reluctant on sharing power, competing work and family responsibilities, and insufficient education and training (Porter 2013). When it comes to peace building and post-conflict reconstruction, it can be difficult to identify women, who could contribute to peace building processes (Gizelil, 2009). This is due to the fact that women are primarily acting at the grassroots level, meaning that it is more difficult for the UN and intergovernmental bodies to notice their efforts (Gizelil, 2009).

Even though **Appendix 4** the numbers are increasing in the police and military components, women are marginalised and excluded from military labour markets. Women are mainly recruited in jobs at middle and lower ranks and they are also underrepresented in police and military forces (Stachowitsch 2013). The marginalisation of women in the military workforce results in the privatisation of the military leading to the emphasis of historical institutionalism of masculine cultures (Stachowitsch 2013). This shows that there is be a negative impact on

the inclusion of women in the armed forces due to male military culture. The extent of the gender based roles is, to a large extent, primary socialization takes place.

Moreover the resistance by male soldiers towards changing their mindset about working with women is due to the presence of females in the military, which on the other hand is being found problematic as stated by Patel and Tripodi (2007). Male soldiers find women as incapable and weak to be part of the forces. According to military tradition and culture, the recruitment in the military depends strongly on male ideals (Patel and Tripodi 2007). This is particularly in the use of the term 'warrior' to attract young men, something which is used both to hold back females who would want to take part, and give explanation for sexual misbehaviour by males (Patel and Tripodi 2007). Military men perceive the inclusion of women in armed battle posts as an indication of feminisation and emasculation of the armed forces (Woodward and Winter 2004). In **Appendix 4** the margin is too much between males and females. The military's organisational culture opposes women moreover sees the integration of females in armed battles posts as a risk to the armed forces solidity (Woodward and Winter 2004). For instance the military culture exaggerates the significance of gender differences, in so doing justify the clear division on gender roles and policies that are exclusionary towards females within the armed forces (Woodward and Winter 2004).

Women's participation is important because it promotes diversity in keeping with the military's official stance about gender inclusion. Gender mainstreaming may include international and local non-governmental organisations, national governments, and intergovernmental bodies such as the European Union and the United Nations. In the past female warriors have fought, led troops into battle and conquered. An example of warrior queens and other female warriors can see them from famous Amazons who were warriors from the Steppes to the Syrian queen of Palmyra, Zenobia (Jones 2005). Since these female warriors were there long back it seems like along the way tables turned men were not accepting females to be part of the armies leading the battle. Unfortunately, nothing much is known about these female warriors who faced powerful male leaders during their era due to history being written by the conqueror (Jones 2005).

Plato and Socrates stipulated that females are ought to be given the same military training as males and get an equal part in combating (Blythe 2001). Plato was in support of men being naturally superior and was in favour of women being subordinates in general but on the other hand for realistic reasons Plato argued for women's inclusion as guardians in his ideal polity

(Blythe 2001). Moreover Plato goes on to state that even though men are better, some women are capable for all occupations and a few of them can be better than a majority of men in a given occupation (Blythe 2001). This closes the gap by patriarchal authors that women who can be better or are better than men are there. In life there those who are better than others no matter what sex one is, so women cannot be inferior in all aspects of life when they can be part of peacekeeping forces and lead just like men. It would be a loss preventing women from using their abilities for society and the world at large, women deserve equal training opportunities.

Speaking of biological make up, according to Aristotle behaviour can change the qualities somewhat to bring them closer to the best balance (Blythe 2001). Women and boys are very moist (Blythe 2001). Boys outgrow this but for women it is permanent, whose bodies aim to balance by getting rid of moisture through menstruation (Blythe 2001). Movement such as exercising also flushes out moisture. Boys outgrow this, but it is permanent for women, whose bodies try to compensate by eliminate moisture through menstruation. Motion, such as exercise, also purges moisture. For example female birds and beasts are ferocious mainly because they are so active (Blythe 2001). Ptolemy concludes that women ought to take part in battles to decrease their moisture and in so doing enhance their virtue (Blythe 2001).

Gender balance in the African Standby Force (ASF)

To stop the persistent conflicts such as civil wars and coups on the continent, the African Union has adopted the Common Africa Defence and Security Policy (CADSP) and set up the African Standby Force, made up of five regional brigades. **Appendix 2** shows that more conflicts are on the African continent. Even though these security forces have been adopted, women remain on the outer edge of this regional military structure (Makina and DrJuma 2008). In the 1990's the concept of having a standby force gained the attention of the African leaders again and the ASF was established in 2002 (The Africa-EUPartnership 2016). The idea of continental armed force may perhaps date back to the 1960's; the Cold War logic undermined the efforts of having the force (The Africa-EUPartnership 2016). The African Standby Force is equipped for humanitarian involvement and that is specialists on human rights, gender issues, political affairs and elections (TheAfrica-EUPartnership 2016). The standby force stands prepared to be called on either within their own region or elsewhere across the continent (The Africa-EUPartnership 2016).

In Africa, several efforts are being made to address gender balance in all regions of the continent. NEPAD (The New Partnership for Africa's Development) is one of the agencies that have made serious efforts in looking at gender balance on the continent (Omotosho 2015). The efforts and actions done by NEPAD have reflected in regions across the continent. For example, IGAD (Intergovernmental Authority on Development), COMESA (Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa), SADC (Southern African Development Community), ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States), ECCAS (Economic Community of Central African States), EAC (East African Community), at the regional level the adoption of gender policies and declarations has been made in their policies and issue of human rights of women has been taken seriously (Omotosho 2015). The issue of gender balance can be taken seriously by these regional organisations but are they putting what is on paper to practice. The implementation of these policies is taking too long because research topics on gender imbalance are still being made including this research.

The main organisation for the continent AU (African Union) is not giving up in its efforts in looking at gender balance as well. AU has set up different policies and legal documents promoting the right of the woman in the continent (Olga 2013). For example, 53 member states in the continent have ratified the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and most of these countries have included these policies into their national legislations (Olga 2013). In addition, some of the AU's policies and protocols addressing women and their rights in social, political and economical include the African Women's Protocol that was adopted in 2003 The Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of the Women in Africa (Omotosho 2015). This legal document looks at the issues relating to women in the areas of harmful practices like girl child, widows, elderly; unequal rights in marriage, unequal treatment of women in land distribution, exclusion from peacekeeping forces, decision making among others (Omotosho 2015). Apart from this, the AU Head summit adopted a Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa (SDGGEA) in order to support and develop gender parity principle (Omotosho 2015).

Nkosazana Dhlamini Zuma stated, *"As a continent, we have embedded UNSCR 1325 in our continental, regional, and national legal and policy instruments and programs and have provided for an annual reporting mechanism on women's empowerment and equality through the Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa,"* (Diop, Jean-Bosco and Col.Shaanika 2016).

Summary of Troop Contribution to the UN Operations December 2015

Country	Individual Force					Experts on Mission					Contingent Troops					Country Total
	Total	Women		Men		Total	Women		Men		Total	Women		Men		
		No.	%	No.	%		No.	%	No.	%		No.	%	No.	%	
DRC	17	1	5.8	16	94.1	-	-	-	-	-	801	2	0.24	799	99.7	818
Lesotho	-	-	-	-	-	2	0	-	2	100	-	-	-	-	-	2
Madagascar	45	8	17.7	37	82.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	45
Malawi	90	44	48.8	46	51.2	13	0	-	13	100	858	44	5.1	814	94.9	961
Namibia	52	18	34.6	34	65.4	10	3	30	7	70	12	0	-	12	100	74
South Africa	-	-	-	-	-	17	4	23.5	13	76.5	2 114	35	16.2	1 762	83.4	2 131
Tanzania	66	10	15.1	56	84.9	18	2	11.1	16	88.9	2 239	10	4.5	2 138	95.6	2 323
Zambia	122	20	16.6	102	83.4	40	8	20	32	80	776	2	0.25	774	99.7	938
Zimbabwe	22	5	22.7	17	77.3	6	0	-	6	100	3	1	33.3	2	66.6	31

Appendix 5 Source UN Peacekeeping (SADC and SARDC, 2016)

(SADC and SARDC and

No statistics available for Angola, Botswana, Mauritius, Mozambique, Seychelles and Swaziland.

Referring to Nkosazana Dhlamini Zuma, there is a need to give attention to the specific fears and priorities of women of Africa on matters of peace and security (Diop, Jean-Bosco and Col.Shaanika 2016). The former chair of the AU assembly for 2004-05, the former President Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria, noted that the majority of African countries like many other parts of the world, still held negative attitudes towards women and excluded them from social, economic and political affairs that affected them (Olonisakin and Okech 2011). This is an example of patriarchy being deep rooted in the African society. Only a few females would have the courage and stand to be part of the African Standby Force.

However, the process of implementation of the UNSCR 1325 in the African Standby Force has been slow and needs the development of a system of accountability urgently both at the national and regional ASF organisational levels as seen in **Appendix 5** (Limo 2016). This shows that it is not being taken seriously by those in power. A lot needs to be done in regional organizations like the East African Standby Force (EASF). For example, making it possible for women to take top roles in formal talks and being part of the cooperation of key stakeholders in the organisation (Limo 2016). Women cannot only fight to be on the frontline on the battlefield but also being part of the decision making. Everything starts from the top, the top level affects what happens on other levels. Strong leadership and political will is needed at AU level to set specific quotas on equitable gender representation in national forces and the African Standby Force (Makina and DrJuma 2008).

Makina and Dr Juma (2008) mention that the role of women in the African military has changed significantly in the past 50years. Female soldiers have been limited to prescribed gender roles as nurses, cooks, secretaries and officers in personal units (Makina and Dr Juma 2008). During the liberation wars women were given these roles preventing them from holding the gun. Even though long back these prescribed gender roles were there, the rate has considerably increased with women being in few numbers on the battlefield. Having these perceptions on gender, studies in the military in Africa have constantly portrayed women as victims and men as perpetrators of violence or protectors of women (Makina and Dr.Juma 2008). Yet women have been part and parcel of warrior class in Africa, they have taken part in the liberation struggles across the continent. Various authors do agree that women very often face cultural obstacles and chauvinism when it comes to joining the military (Louw-Vaudran 2015). Most women would end up not taking part in joining the military. There is no clear strategy in the demobilisation process after the liberation wars in Africa, and no specific provision was made for female combatants (Louw-Vaudran 2015).

In the SADC Standby Force Brigade, some countries do not have operational items which are suitable for women (Makina and DrJuma 2008). Equipment as basic as bullet proof vests is not designed for women with large bust and in addition, some fighter jet seats do not have enough space for large-hipped females (Makina and DrJuma 2008). Despite the encouragement on gender policies within military forces equipment for women in different sizes is not catered for. This shows that it is a long way to gender balance in the SADC Standby Force and African Standby Force as a whole. There is lack of consideration for basic necessities for women in the standby force.

Moreover there is a new emphasis on electronic technology and strategy. The frontline has moved away notably with less dependence on physical force and presence in the battlefields (Makina and DrJuma 2008). Women military personnel do not, therefore, have to take part in combat (Makina and DrJuma 2008). Those who have the technical know-how and appropriate strategic knowledge can still be involved in the new system of warfare (Makina and DrJuma 2008). Since there are challenges of having operational items for women of different sizes, women should be equally involved in the new emphasis on strategy and electronic technology. Cultural norms on women being part of the military and their body built would not be used against them.

On the other hand with Africa's continued heavy dependence on the physical form of defence and low technology, females are likely to remain in the military office blocks doing the administration work (Makina and DrJuma 2008). Notably, following the adoption of the Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality (SDGE) (2003) and the implementation of the principle with all structures, this proportion has been revised upwards to 50:50 (Makina and DrJuma 2008). However Africa has to walk the talk by implementing what is written in these documents. Removing the gap by bridging rhetoric and reality is vital to improving the position of women in the national, regional and international forces (Makina and DrJuma 2008). On papers there is gender equality but it lacks on practise. With the low level of technology in Africa the plea of gender balance in the ASF will remain the same.

Given such many challenges in Africa, it is not certain whether the proportion of females in peace operations in Africa is likely to increase in the near future unless serious efforts are made to bring to light gender issues (Hudson 2010). The political, economic and social chaos on the continent further does not generate conditions favourable to gender mainstreaming in

the society, in general (Hudson 2010). It will be a long and difficult struggle, however, which would necessarily have to take cognisance of the lessons learned by the UN (Hudson 2010).

The WPS agenda in Africa is based on a number of international and regional conventions, treaties and protocols intended at protecting women and girls, concentrating on gender inequity and doing away with discrimination (Sigsworth and Kumalo 2016). The AU's Solemn Declaration on gender equality in Africa (2004) and Gender Policy (2009) reaffirm the union's obligation to increase and develop efforts to promote gender equality (Sigsworth and Kumalo 2016). In 2013, the AU took on the Aide-Memoire for the Consideration of Issues Pertaining to the protection of Civilians in Africa to supplement its draft guidelines on the protection of Civilians in drafted in 2012 (Sigsworth and Kumalo 2016). The aide-memoire includes a section on specific protection concerns related to women that comes together with the UNSCR's on WPS (Sigsworth and Kumalo 2016). The question will remain the same, are these policies ever going to work in bringing gender balance. More and more of these policies continue to be drafted but to no avail.

In order to increase and implement these strategies and systems for the increased participation of females in promoting peace and security, the AU started the Gender, Peace and Security Programme (GPSP) in 2014 (Sigsworth and Kumalo 2016). Regional protocols and mechanisms also rally behind this continental agenda. The SADC, for example, recognises the significance of gender mainstreaming for sustainable development through its protocol on Gender and Development but nothing much has been done in practising what is being preached in the Gender, Peace and Security Programme (Sigsworth and Kumalo 2016). With all these programmes and protocols on gender brings out the question, what are the challenges that are hindering gender balance in the African Standby Force? Clearly these protocols are not being put into practise it seems like they are just for display for regional brigades to point out that they do acknowledge that there needs to be gender balance in the ASF. This is partly due to deeply held cultural beliefs and practices; the fact that the majority of decision makers at the level of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, the Executive Council of ministers and the Permanent Representatives Committee of Ambassadors are still overwhelmingly men (Olonisakin and Okech 2011).

The AU's initiatives of mainstreaming gender in security governance have been largely top-down and there is need for it to take more tangible steps to actualise its normative claims (Olonisakin and Okech 2011). Despite the more than five years of its existence, and in view

of the various policy documents advocating the importance of gender mainstreaming, PSC has not yet implemented a gender lens in its work (Olonisakin and Okech 2011). The council hardly ever makes reference to ensuring gender equity and promoting gendered decisions on the crisis situations that it assesses (Olonisakin and Okech 2011). This shows that there is lack of interest by the council to ensure that there is gender balance within the ASF unless women continue to push for gender equality in their large numbers. Furthermore, the reality does not join with the African Union's rhetoric in its declaration and protocol (Olonisakin and Okech 2011). Specifically, women continue to be sidelined from the high-level peace talks and they are not represented well enough as AU special delegation to conflict situations (Olonisakin and Okech 2011).

Despite the fact that increasingly more women have served in AU peace operations, for example in Darfur there were few leadership positions in these missions (Olonisakin and Okech 2011). The AU does not have the ability to support capacity development for women across the continent because of the internal political dynamics, administrative and bureaucratic incompetency (Olonisakin and Okech 2011). Due to the lack of competency within the organisation gender balance will be difficult to attain. The African Union is therefore no different from other intergovernmental organisations in the laid-back approach that it takes to implementing its declarations and protocols (Olonisakin and Okech 2011). Olonisakin and Okech (2011) state that the African Union has adopted the declaration on gender equality and the protocol on women's rights, and five of the organisation's commissioners are women. There is still reluctance to bring key tenets of gender equality into operation as well as internalizing the principles of UNSCR 1325 (Olonisakin and Okech 2011).

The way the different authors bring out how there is no gender balance in the African Standby Force is as if women never led armies. As noted earlier in the theoretical framework, during pre-colonial times women led armies in battle and they conquered. As much as the patriarchal system is mainly blamed colonialism is also to be blamed as much as patriarchy. Gender roles were there during the pre-colonial times but they were not to the extent of not having women leaders in peacekeeping and peacemaking. Along the way things changed and women ended up being sidelined, seen as inferior and were given specific gender roles to carry. The other problem to these changes was that women accepted to be inferior and this went on for generation. A few women would try to stand up for themselves but when it comes to ranking they remain inferior they are not put in leading roles.

Summary

There are challenges to gender balance in the African Standby Force and the peacekeeping forces around the world. The majority of the authors are on the side that the patriarchy is the cause of gender balance in peacekeeping forces. A few authors like Aristotle a philosopher of his time believes that women are also capable of what men can do even though he acknowledges that males are stronger than females. During pre-colonial times women were also part of the armed forces without being deterred by men. Women led and conquered during those times even David Livingstone acknowledged it. During the liberation struggle a few women were on the battle ground, majority of them were given gender roles such as cooking, sweeping and washing. Most women end up seeing themselves inferior thereby leaving the armed forces to men. In the society men are seen as more superior than women and on the other hand women are seen as the weaker sex. The task of liberal feminism is to help both genders to coexist in the peacekeeping and security institutions. The following chapter looks at the methods that were used in collecting data for the research.

Chapter Four: Challenges to Gender Balance in the SADC Brigade

Introduction

This chapter gives an analysis of the challenges of gender balance in the SADC SF. Data will be presented, analysed and interpreted. Information gotten for objectives and research questions of the study are the ones to be presented, analysed and interpreted. Patriarchal society is not only to blame for the lack of gender balance in the SADC Standby Force. Women are also to blame for this lack of gender back in the armed force. Societal norms also lead to the lack of gender balance in these armed forces. Data presented in this chapter comes from primary sources which were interviews and questionnaires sent through emails and also secondary sources that were answering the research questions and objections in relation to the research topic. National defence forces are hesitant in giving statistics on the gender balance within their force because of national security.

Challenges of gender balance in the SADC Standby Force

There are challenges to gender balance in the SADC Standby Force. The respondents mentioned that there are challenges to gender balance in the SADC regional brigade. Societal norms are one of the challenges mentioned by a respondent. Societal norms are behaviours or ways in which one is expected to act on in the society, what the society deems right. This shows that women have no freewill of taking part in what to do because of the negativity one would face. These norms are negative towards women who wish to be part of the peacekeeping forces. The respondent noted that women would be labelled as prostitutes because unanswered questions for example, what would they be doing when they are sent on missions for months or years without their spouses? Already such a question would be denoting that the woman would be cheating without her husband around, which will discourage women joining the peacekeeping force. As long as women are burdened with gender based roles they can never be devoted in taking part in joining the SADC brigade.

Another challenge gotten from a respondent is that women suffer more during wars and they are afraid of being sexually abused. Male soldiers tend to use female soldiers for their sexual desires. This would lead them into being labelled as loose yet it would be abuse. Some women would rather not want to partake in armed forces because they fear being abused. Military planning activities should also be mindful of the nature of gender relations in the area of operation, including the different security concerns of women and men. Planning processes must avoid stereotyping women as victims; instead. They must assess creatively how women and men's contributions to consolidating peace can be strengthened. Mothers do

not want to be displaced from their families is another challenge as noted by the respondent. Care by the mothers leads to fear of who would take care of their children. Going for missions that have a long duration might lead them into thinking that their children will not turn out the way they want them too due to lack of motherly love and care. As much as some women would want to be part of the peacekeeping forces they think of their families first.

It has come to be understood that balance or equality may go beyond the areas listed above. This is because there are certain constraints making the conditions of women different from that of men. This may be due to factors relating to physiology (like child bearing responsibilities which are solely handled by women) and it is believed that this impact on the living conditions of women. Thus, the main thrust as far as gender equality is concerned is that while differences exist between men and women, it should not be a factor limiting or discriminating against women or on their living conditions. Rather, it should contribute to an equal power sharing economically, socially, and politically and in other spheres of human influence

A responded noted that gender balance is still a challenge in the three components in the SADC SF. The three components of the SADC Standby Force are civilian, police and military components (De.Coning and Kasumba 2010). It will take a lot of efforts and political commitment to ensure that the Troops Contributing Countries (TCC) adhere to the gender balance rules in the SADC region, the AU and UN at large as stated by the responded. However, the SADC has always remained committed to try balancing the genders in a given opportunity. In every mission Member States are usually reminded to ensure a balance of gender among their troops.

A Responded stipulates that the main challenges in ensuring gender balance is the political will by the TCC's and lack of understanding or awareness amongst the civilian experts who make up the Civilian Component of the SADC SF. Historically, peace missions have been male dominated and thus creating a notion that "it is a man's job". However, with the changing dynamics of conflicts it is now obvious that female too have a major role to play in peace missions. Feminists have argued that in any of the historical forms that patriarchal takes, whether it is feudal, capitalist or socialist, a sex gender system and a system of economic discrimination operate simultaneously.

Religion is another challenge to gender balance in the SADC brigade. Women of many faiths across the world have been marginalised and systematically denied access to legitimate

leadership roles (Schaaf and Lindahl 2016). Religion is the foundation to the ideology of women's inferiority in all patriarchal systems. Southern Africa is also a religious region and men continue to lead most religious or sacred ceremonies. Whether the faith is African traditional religions, Christianity, Islam, Catholicism or Christian Zionism, the notion that the 'supreme god' is a man or male figure creates a gendered hierarchy that gives more authority to men (Mabuza 2013).

While there are country and region-specific challenges to greater implementation of the women, peace and security agenda, Member States and REC's share a number of cross-cutting issues and challenges. The most referred to challenge is the issue of sustainable and adequate funding for implementation and monitoring of the women, peace and security agenda. Others include a lack of strong systems for capturing lessons learnt and statistical capacity for enhanced reporting and accountability; coordination and leadership at the national level including the imperative of bringing the Ministries of Gender and Defence closer together (Diop, Jean-Bosco and Col.Shaanika 2016). In addition also address emerging issues such as violent extremism, climate change, and irregular migration and displacement as part of a broader women, peace, and security agenda (Diop, Jean-Bosco and Col.Shaanika 2016). It must be added that many governments in Africa have lacked the political will, resources and accountability structures even to implement their own legislated quotas and do not make active efforts to recruit women into the military.

In addition a respondent mentions that undesirable impact of conflict is also seen a challenge to gender balance in the SADC brigade. Few Member States are faced with a fragile peace, ongoing conflict or threat of decline. This may be widespread or localized - such as specific land or territorial disputes (Diop, Jean-Bosco and Col.Shaanika 2016). This not only threatens the security of women, broadly defined, but also provides poor conditions to continue programs and initiatives to advance the agenda. Indeed, it can result in the roll back of gains made previously. Operationally, it may mean the unavailability of government funding for initiatives and/ or suspension of funding by partners for programming; poor conditions for women's public participation; weak institutional leadership or prioritization to drive the agenda, among others. In some instances, this is compounded by the emergence of new security challenges such as violent extremism, public health emergencies, electoral violence and constitutional crisis, and climate change, among others. The rise of violent extremism, and its impact on the enjoyment of women's rights, movement, and security is of particular concern. These new security challenges were not envisaged at the time most of the

NAPs were formulated, and not only affect women's security adversely, but also necessitates new thinking and action by all actors.

Lasting harmful stereotypes and attitudes around gender roles: Despite the normative and institutional measures put in place by Member States, impact, practice change, and broader societal transformation is hampered by persistent attitudes and cultural beliefs and structural conditions which are not conducive to the agenda and maintain women's insecurity. While there is increasing recognition of the need to engage men, there is still very little in the way of broadening the agenda to tackle and discuss issues of masculinities as well as inadequate attention to the need to address institutional cultures and deeply embedded patriarchal attitudes (Diop, Jean-Bosco and Col.Shaanika 2016).

Another challenge to gender balance is that women are hesitant in joining the armed forces because of the training. The responded indicated that when it comes to training in the armies the training is the same for both men and women. Women see this as harsh training and end up not wanting to take because of their biological build up. Men are seen as more stronger than women in physical capabilities. Another responded stated that those who wish to take part will endure the same physical standards as men which are strength and fitness tests. Most women are said to drop during this process or fail these tests. The responded added that women lack the physical strength basing on their biological difference from men. Moreover women are not seen as equals even if they are able to meet the military standards by passing the strength and fitness tests. Women are perceived to be incapable of being in the armed forces.

Even though there are a variety of approaches towards bringing gender balance in the SADC regional brigade, to women it still seems like it is only meant for men and not women. Women already judge their physical abilities when it comes to the training and tests to be part of the military force. A responded stipulated that this remains a debatable subject given that females in general do not have the endurance and bodily strength to serve in the armed forces. This is mentioned another reason why women have been discriminated from being part of the battle and more top positions. However, the gap between aspiration and implementation remains extremely wide. Protocols and framework documents are in place, and institutional structures are being built, but operational capacity remains limited in the face of rising demands and expectations.

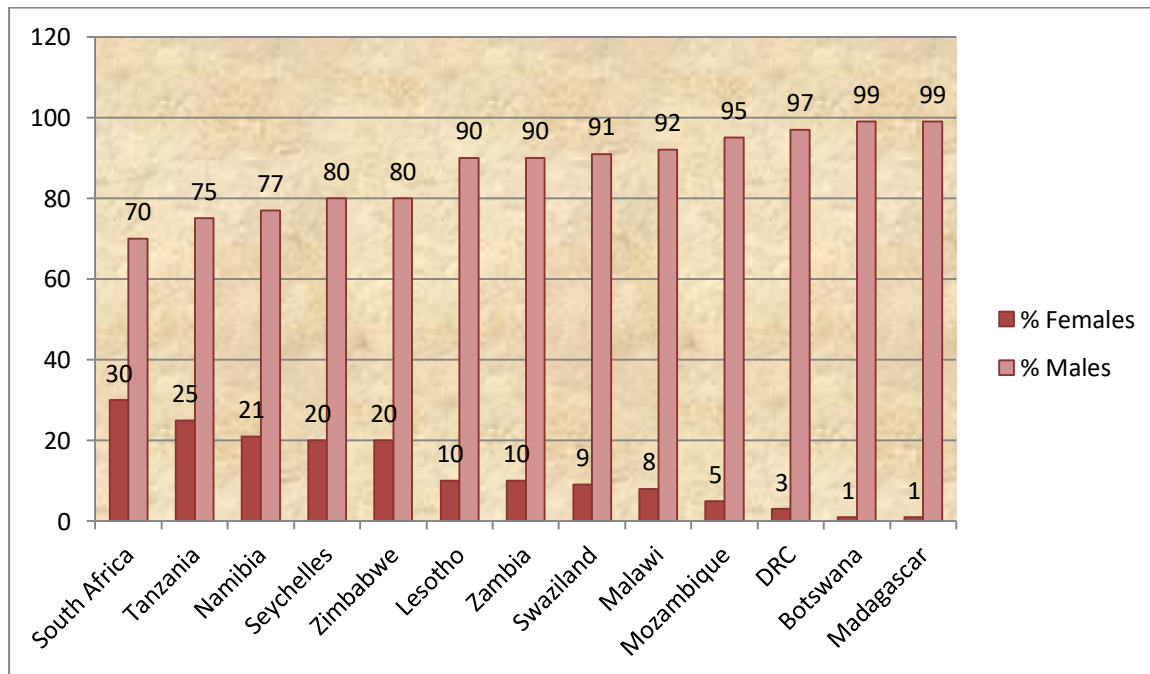
On the other hand, while there is acknowledgment of women being able to serve in the military, women continue to face challenges on gender differences. A respondent noted that this is due to masculinity being on each level of the military and it has led to pressure when it comes to gender integration being managed.

There is a huge distinction concerning the level of how women have been integrated in armed forces in different countries. The distinctions range from rank limitation, total absence, separated training and severe functional restrictions to relatively open career patterns and access to combat roles (Carreiras 2006). It is noted that the military has challenges in supporting innovation. Armed forces are change resistant; militaries only change when they are threatened or when there are global systems and technology that force the institution to change (Carreiras 2006). Structural systems, procedures and norms standards cause armed forces to resist change. Due to the resistance to change the integration of women in the armed forces to be 50/50 will take much longer.

Another challenge noted by a respondent is that the main sex in the military chooses what is to be done and how it should be done in the armed forces. Roles that challenge this essence will be rejected unless they enhance the importance and influence of the organisation. The military resists changes that impact on stability.

The gender differences in the Troop Contributing Countries (TCC's)

The defence sector



Appendix 6 Source: Cheryl Hendricks in (Morna and Makamure 2017)

The **Appendix 6** shows the percentage of women in the defence forces of 13 SADC countries. Mauritius does not have a standing army or defence force that is why its statistics is not shown on the graph. The data given above on the TCC's might have changed. The graph shows country by country the differences of male and female soldiers. The contributing state has an effect on the 50:50 ratios on gender balance for the SADC Standby Force. All TCC's are below 50%. The countries with the lowest percentage will delay by far the gender balance aim of the SADC Standby Force.

The percentage of women in the DRC defence is very low having 3% female soldiers and 97% male soldiers. The DRC's defence force has of late been blamed of killing civilians, which consisted of a lot of women and children (Morna and Makamure 2017). This supports what has been noted earlier that women and children suffer more during civil wars. Angola's existing data which was not shown on graph indicates that women constitute 2.6% of Angola's Armed Forces (FAA) (Morna and Makamure 2017). It has been noted in news reports that in the FAA women play a key role (Morna and Makamure 2017). There was a significant increase of women in the FAA of late as seen by the head of the Combative Division of the South Military Region (Morna and Makamure 2017). Comparing with the

percentage give on female participants, this does not add up because the number is too low to be seen as a figure that would reach gender balance in the standby force. As mentioned in the literature review, that women are given gender based roles when it comes to armed forces. In the FAA women are mostly given social areas such as education, health and operational areas (Morna and Makamure 2017). On the other hand, although women are mainly given social areas it is stated that some of them do serve in some of the senior ranks (Morna and Makamure 2017). For instance four women military personnel inaugurated to brigadier general in the Angolan Forces in 2012 (Morna and Makamure 2017).

The security sector of Madagascar is in the process of being restructured. Madagascar drew up their new policy for peace and security in 2016 (Morna and Makamure 2017). The approval of the national security policy statement was approved and is on its way of being adopted (Morna and Makamure 2017).

There has been some progress towards gender equality in the South African National Defence Force (SANDF). In the years 1994-95, 12% women were part of the SANDF but by the year 2015 the number rose significantly to 30% (Morna and Makamure 2017). The Minister of defence Nosiviwe Mapisa-Nqakula stated that there has been a steady progress concerning women taking senior positions in the defence forces during the Defence and Military Veterans Department Vote 2017/2018 (Morna and Makamure 2017). It has been reported that the Department of Defence (DOD) by the end of January 2017, women got command positions 40 out of 225 (17%) (Morna and Makamure 2017). This has shown a gradual increase in percentage of female generals from 16% in 2013 to 19% in 2017 (Morna and Makamure 2017).

In Malawi women constitute 8% of the Malawi Defence Forces (MDF). The MDF stipulates that it has a shortage of housing as the main reason for not taking more females (Morna and Makamure 2017). It was not put into mind that the forces will increase by having more females joining the force hence the housing challenge came. 25% of females are part of Tanzania's Defence Force. Tanzania is halfway through in having gender equality in its armed forces. It is a big contributor of its defence forces to peace support operations and has never shied away from this responsibility (Morna and Makamure 2017).

In Namibia women constitute of 23% of the Namibia Defence Force. Namibian women were implored in joining the Namibian Defence Force (NDF) by the Namibian Minister of

Defence Penda ya Ndakolo in April 2017 (Morna and Makamure 2017). If women are encouraged to joining the defence forces the number would increase for gender balance.

10% women are part of the Zambia's Defence Force. The Zambian Defence Force has made little progress in reaching its 30% quota in recruiting women showing its failure in reaching the target (Morna and Makamure 2017). This is a challenge of having gender balance in the SADC Standby Force because the contributing countries are not able to reach their targets. It is difficult and there is limited information on the data of women serving in the Zimbabwean military. During the graduation ceremonies of the Zimbabwe Military Academy (ZMA) 19 out of 108 officer cadets were females who graduated (Morna and Makamure 2017). On the graph 20% females are part of the Zimbabwean Defence Forces. The difference in the number of women and men enrolled in for the training indicate that gender imbalances still exist in the military (Morna and Makamure 2017).

Only a few women thrive to conquer the segregation and discrimination when it comes to peace and security forces. Women are able to do the same training as men during the military training. Liberal feminists call for having equal opportunities on all levels in the society. Wars are pictured as masculine not feminine by the society. The lack of gender balance in the military force or peace and security institutions is what makes liberal feminists push for gender balance. Women are restricted to gender based roles such as washing cooking and taking care of the children. The masculine concept of militarised security is a way of segregating females. The few women in the military were able to do the masculine concepts of militarised security meaning that more women can also train using the same concepts.

As noted earlier in this research that colonialism came with gender inequality. The challenge to gender balance is that the African society has adopted the European gender based roles that was imposed during the colonial era. Colonial political economy severely transformed gender relations and the role of women when it comes to security, channelling women to the household sphere mostly (Juma 2008). Even during the pre-colonial era women still did not have the equal opportunity in being included in the armies. It is noted that the European gender based roles were forced on African women and they were relegated to the household and some of their rights were removed (Juma 2008).

No matter the extent to which the peacekeeping and security institutions promote gender balance in the region the fact still remains the same that the participation of women in the peacekeeping and security forces in the SADC brigade remains low. In the SADC brigade,

South Africa leads with 30% female representation in the South African National Defence Force (SANDF), followed by Namibia which had 23% female representation in Namibia and Zimbabwe with 20% female representation in 2014 (Gender Links 2015).

Gender-neutral policies and guiding documents are also a challenge to gender balance in the regional brigade. The moment women have been recruited into the armed forces the guiding documents and gender-neutral policies cause significant challenges for female personnel (Juma 2008). A respondent to the study noted that women do not rise equally through the ranks in the armies. The respondent added on stipulating that women are still seen as inferior and not having the abilities to rise up the army ranks or even taking part in the army. Too much pressure is put on women because of such stereotyping due to the masculinisation of females in the armed forces (Juma 2008).

Another challenge is the issue females getting pregnant. A respondent noted that this is a challenge because females are entitled to maternity leave and they have to breastfeed, some women consider the nature being in the military and child bearing stage. It was added that most females end up not joining the military. This should not be used against females wanting to join the military especially young adult females discriminating them because some do not have children yet or they still want to have more children.

Dynamics surrounding the challenges on gender balance in the SADC SF

The growing recognition in the past half-century of the importance of gender equality to prosperous and peaceful societies began to find traction in the peace and security sector towards the end of the 20th century. The inclusion of women in the security sector and an expansion of their roles were crucial first steps, and the focus of many of the UN Security Council resolutions on the issue (Olonisakin and Hendricks 2013).

From the time when Resolution 1325 was approved, African states have had different extents of successes in promoting the integration of women in the peace and security forces as stipulated by a respondent. There are always reports on sexual exploitation and abuse by troops who are would be taking part in the peacekeeping missions across Africa. The respondent stated that female peacekeeping and security personnel deployed in conflict environments can assist in engaging with communities particularly women and increasing measures on civilian protection.

The ideologies of the UNSC Resolution 1325 were integrated in the pillars of different continental and regional peacekeeping institutions across the continent. Institutional and legislative measures were required by the AU Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights and Rights of Women in Africa on Troop Contributing Countries (TCC's) to fight inequity against women as noted by a responded. National defence forces in all regions of the continent are required by the African Union to follow its structure on the empowerment and equality of women in the security sector. The responded added on that women should be included in all activities without any discrimination be it physical or strength fitness and that there should be a notable transformation within the national defence forces and the SADC brigade as a whole.

In 2014 the African Union launched its five year plan on gender the Gender, Peace and Security Programme (2015-2020). The responded stated that this five year plan is to work on the development of strategies that increase the participation of females in the peace and security. This would automatically assist with the protection of women in conflict and post conflict situations in the SADC and Africa as a whole. Regional and national action plans on Resolution 1325 are the primary tools for its implementation, as well as the primary source of evidence for measuring progress against commitments to the resolution. It is noted that in 2016, 18 countries in Africa had devised national action plans on women, peace and security.

The integration issues in militaries the world over have revolved mainly around the changing role of women in the armed forces, whereas traditionally, women have served mostly in non-combat roles of administration and nursing and recently have been included in combat roles. In spite of the increased participation of women in the military, gender representation continues to be a debate of great significance. Arguments against allowing women include physical and emotional differences, sexual behaviour, impact on unit cohesion and morale, and the basic moral position that women should be protected from death, injury, capture or torture.

Currently the approach has been positive, more Troops Contributing Countries (TCC's) and civilians have come to understand the importance of having gender balance in a peace mission. The SADC has continued to remind and encourage TCC's to ensure that both genders are considered fairly depending on the mission. Furthermore, in trainings it has also been emphasized the need to balance the genders in order to have a pool of trained personnel from both genders who are ready to take part in a peace mission when a need arise.

There is not much influence of the African policies in enhancing gender balance in the SADC SF as noted by responded. The responded stated that policies have had their influence in ensuring gender balance however there is a lack of follow-up mechanisms to ensure that Member States adhere to those polices. Also there is no equity and an action plan is needed to make sure there is equity (SARDC).

The UN Resolution 1325 has amplified to a greater extent the importance of gender balance in a mission as noted by the responded (Sultana 2010-2011). The responded continues to add that leaders and planners are now more aware and conscious of gender equality. This has led to the formation of different policies that state that women should be part of the peacekeeping forces. Practising what is on the paper is now the challenge, the equal inclusion of women in the standby force is taking time to be put into action. A report on the SADC Regional Strategy on Women and Peace Security (2018-2022) states that Ministers recalled that at their meeting held in Gaborone, Republic of Botswana, in June 2016, the secretariat reported that it was in the process of developing a Regional Strategy and Action Plan on the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and its associated resolution (SARDC 2017). This was in consultation with relevant stakeholders in member states, and that the Women, Peace and Security Agenda would be presented at their meeting in 2017 for their review and adoption (SARDC 2017).

In Article 28 Peace Building and Conflict Resolution, stipulates that States Parties shall endeavour to put in place measures to ensure that women have equal representation and participation in key decision-making positions in conflict resolution and peace building processes by 2015 in accordance with United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (SADC and SARDC 2016). This shows the UN Resolution 1325's effect on the African Standby Force. Policies were put in place in line with Resolution 1325 on gender balance. In addition States Parties shall, during times of armed and other forms of conflict take such steps as are necessary to prevent and eliminate incidences of human rights abuses, especially of women and children, and ensure that the perpetrators of such abuses are brought to justice before a court of competent jurisdiction (SADC, SARDC 2016).

There are effects of the challenges to gender balance in the SADC SF. The major effect as noted by a responded is having an unbalanced force which is mostly male dominated and hence failing to effectively perform some of their responsibilities in a mission which are well

suites to be performed by the female gender. Women are confined to gender based roles and segregated from societal institutions. Men find women as a weaker sex thereby removing the notion that both sexes are equal.

Through PSGG, SADC was able to facilitate the development of a Regional Action Plan in response to UNSCR 1325 which was endorsed by 15 SADC member states (Sophia 2018). The means that give direction for the empowerment of women and gender equality was established by the SADC secretariat (Sophia 2018). This led to constructive actions taken ensuring that women actively take part and contribute to peace in the region as a result 30% of all partakers of SADC trainings for civilians and mediation trainings were females (Sophia 2018). Therefore, women's share of negotiation experts, who play a part in the SADC, led regional and national negotiation processes, stands at 30% now (Sophia 2018).

Women's empowerment and gender equality in the peace support operations is boosted by female civilians taking part in the SADC Standby Force and it makes sure that the wishes and demands of women in preventive diplomacy are stood for and attended to (Sophia 2018). The SADC concedes that Gender Based Violence (GBV) is one of the worst forms of human rights violation in the SADC on the basis of a regional analysis of GBV (Sophia 2018). The SADC commits itself to develop an action plan against GBV in post-conflict situations (Sophia 2018). All plans have a direct impact on the role of women and gender equality on national and regional levels (Sophia 2018).

The AU Commission's Article 13 on standby armies encourages the formation of a standby force which requires a minimum of 4 000 peacekeeper from each of the five African regions (SADC and SARDC 2016). SADC states partake in peacekeeping operations on the continent and all over the world by deploying military and police unit under the AU or UN frameworks (SADC and SARDC 2016). Early peace-building, political and security support are delivered through peacekeeping operations which are made up of civilian, police and military personnel (SADC and SARDC 2016). The role of women in peace-building, peacekeeping and support is progressively more recognised leading to more women being part of peacekeeping troops deployed in the UN and regional peacekeeping missions (SADC and SARDC 2016).

In 2015, Malawi had a contribution made up of women almost 50% of the individual force which 48.8%, and Namibia its percentage was lower from 70.7% in 2012 to 34.6% in 2015 (SADC and SARDC 2016). Zimbabwe consisted of 22.7% females in the individual force (SADC and SARDC 2016). Experts on missions Namibia constitutes of 30%, South Africa

23% and Zambia 20% females, showing that experts on missions are mostly dominated by males (SADC and SARDC 2016). Male ideology has been instilled in women such that most of them hesitate to take part in peace and security institutions. Women have allowed this ideology to take over and now it is difficult to convince other females that women are capable of taking part in the SADC brigade moreover being on the battle ground.

Some member states' ministers responsible for Gender and Women Affairs of the SADC region supported the development of a training course for peacekeeping missions on Sexual and Gender Based Violence (SGBV) during their meeting in 2015, since the region still faces GBV (SADC and SARDC 2016). The training course is conducted by the SADC Regional Peacekeeping Training Centre (RPTC) (SADC and SARDC 2016). SADC members were advised to embark on activities to deal with GBV in conflict and post conflict situation (SADC and SARDC 2016).

Five of the thirty SADC peacekeepers who finished a three week training course in March 2006 at the Harare SADC RPTC were the first civilians trained in conflict resolution support (SADC and SARDC 2016). The group consisted of five women, two were military personal and three were civilians (SADC and SARDC 2016). These civilians were taken from humanitarian organisations and government department in the following countries Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe (SADC and SARDC 2016). The civilians assist in the smooth changeover from war situations to peace which is an important role in peace support operations (SADC and SARDC 2016). During the transition civilians give the essential support services to armed forces personnel and put down the foundation for the establishment of vital infrastructure to make sure there is a smooth return to normalcy (SADC and SARDC 2016).

An official of the SADC RPTC stated that, *“Civilians are key in peace support missions because they manage the political and humanitarian offices and their role is to advise other players on how to handle the whole process,”* (SADC and SARDC 2016). In the first decade of operations that is from 1995-2005 the peacekeepers that were trained at the SADC RPTC were a total of 1, 330 with the aim of having a strong standby force by 2010 totalling to 4 000-5 000 that can respond to requests of the SADC region, parts of the continent or around the world for peacekeeping duties (SADC and SARDC 2016).

Summary

Gender integration in Africa, particularly with peace support operations, is an anomaly, given the many challenges experienced politically, socially and economically. Despite a sound policy framework the implementation of these resolutions, pacts and protocols has been slow and patchy. Patriarchy has continued to control what has to be done in the peacekeeping force. The reality is that the theory of women's propensity for peace ignores their historical involvement in warfare, the examples of which have been outlined in the research. Indeed, a focus on women's 'natural' capacities silences the diversity of female characteristics and negates the experiences of women who have played important and active roles in warfare. It is therefore not surprising that in spite of the ideals of equal opportunities in the security sector women feel pressured to engage in more traditional careers in the military. The pressure is due to questions about women's place in and ability to contribute to the security sector, gender neutral policies and conditions of services, combat deployment challenges and promotion roadblocks

Chapter 5: Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

Introduction

Chapter five focuses mainly on summarising the whole study. How the study was conducted and the findings will be summarised. The conclusion is based on the findings of the research. The recommendations bring out what needs to be done by troop contributing countries, the SADC Standby Force and the African Union at large in order to close the gap of gender imbalance in the SADC Standby Force.

Summary

The research was concerned mainly on the challenges of gender balance in the SADC Standby Force. The researcher aimed at analysing the gender imbalances looking at the causes why gender balance is not improving.

Chapter one assisted by giving the structure of the research and also how information was obtained and analysed. The AU's headquarters is in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The African Union Standby Force has five regional brigades. There is no permanent headquarters for the SADC Standby Force. The five brigades stand to be called for humanitarian intervention either in their region or elsewhere across the continent. The Constitutive Act gives the AU the right to intervene in a member state in serious situations such as genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes. Policy framework highlights the importance of ensuring that the recruitment and management processes of the ASF strive to attain gender balance and gender sensitivity, to facilitate the realisation of the AU principle of gender equality and to enhance the operational impact of African Peace Support Operations. The researcher used secondary and primary sources in getting information for the study. The primary sources used for gathering data were conducting interviews and questionnaires. Journal articles, reports, books and websites are the secondary sources that the researcher used. Purposive sampling was used as a sampling method. Participants were selected on the basis of their knowledge on gender in armed forces and the standby force.

Second chapter reviewed literature that revealed that there are challenges to gender balance in the African Standby Force. Two theories were used which are liberal feminism and the concept of patriarchy. Several challenges to gender balance in the African Standby Force such as societal norms, patriarchy, not having military gears that fit well with women with busts or hips. The ASF and UN peacekeeping forces were also looked at, to give a broader understanding of the challenges to gender balance.

Chapter Three illustrates the tracking of gender balance in the United Nations Peacekeeping Operations, African Standby Force and the SADC brigade. The number of women deployed on peacekeeping missions increase but at a lower rate. The charts presented in chapter three show the numbers of the military and police components. In the 90's most women started participating in the UN Peacekeeping Operations but as time moved not many women were joining these forces, the numbers were increasing at a slower rate. The increase in the 90's might have been caused by feminist movements that advocated for gender equality in all institutions. More protocols and agendas have been made but the inclusion of women on missions remains low without any drastic changes.

In the fourth chapter findings on the SADC Standby Force was presented, analysed and interpreted. Findings have shown that gender balance in the SADC Standby Force is going to take a lot of time for it to be implemented. Societal norms are one of the challenges to gender balance in the armed forces. Deployment of females is questioned by the society and it is perceived that they would be cheating on their husbands since they would not be with them. Women suffer more during wars and they are afraid of being sexually abused. This discourages other women in wanting to join the standby force. Other women do not want to be displaced from their families; they worry about who is going to take care of their families.

Even though the SADC is committed in ensuring that there is gender balance there is still a challenge in the three components of the SADC Standby Force which are civilian, police and military. There is lack of political will by troop contributing countries. There is a low percentage of female troops and a high percentage of males. It is labelled that being in the armed forces is a man's job. This is where the challenge of patriarchy comes in. Patriarchy deems itself superior and females' inferior.

No troop contributing countries has reached 50% females deployment as seen in table 1. SADC continues to encourage and remind its member states to ensure that both genders are considered equally. When it comes to African policies in enhancing gender balance in the

SADC Standby Force there is not much influence. There is lack of follow-up mechanisms in ensuring that member states are adhering to policies on gender. The UN Resolution 1325 has amplified to a greater extent the importance of gender balance in a mission. Leaders are now more aware of gender equality but practising what is on the paper remains a challenge. The secretariat of the SADC stated that it was in the process of developing a Regional Strategy and Action Plan on the implementation of UNSCR 1325.

Conclusion

In conclusion there are challenges of gender balance in the SADC Standby Force. Patriarchy, societal norms, not following up on gender policies are some of the challenges to gender balance in the standby force. Some women are scared of being sexually abused if they join the armed forces also fear being displaced from their families. Patriarchal society cannot be given all the blame why there is no gender balance in the SADC Standby Force; women themselves have their own reasons besides patriarchy for not joining the armed forces. Women are seen as inferior and cannot take part in peace making and peacekeeping missions. Women have once taken leadership roles in the past and conquered in battles. With changing times they were given gender based roles such as washing and cleaning. Policies and resolutions seem to be all talk but no action. Despite the challenges to gender balance in the SADC Standby Force the African Union Standby Force is trying to ensure that in all its five brigades there is gender balance.

Recommendations

In order for the SADC Standby Force to have gender balance the following recommendations have been proffered:

Policy recommendations

- ❖ The SADC Secretariat should encourage Member States (Troops Contributing Countries) to ensure gender balance when contributing their personnel for a peace mission.
- ❖ In the case of Civilian Component, to continue to raise more awareness and understanding on the role of civilian in a peace mission will help to reduce the fears among experts especially the female experts with regards to their security while working in peace missions and hence encourage their participation.
- ❖ Boys and girls should be taught they are equal at a tender age.
- ❖ Social norms should be addressed. This would help in removing gender based roles and no sex would be seen as inferior.

- ❖ Address the issues of the rape cases this is one of the challenges that some women fear.
- ❖ During training they should also be trained that they are brothers and sisters so there would be no cases of male soldiers sexually abusing female soldiers.

Scholarly recommendations

- ❖ More research articles on the challenges to gender balance in the African Union Standby Force.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Appendix 2

Appendix 3

Appendix 4

Appendix 5

Appendix 6

Appendix 7

Appendix 7: Research Questionnaire



Dear Sir/Madam

My name is Grace Mazviita Mwarweye, a student at the Midlands State University at the faculty of Politics and Public Management. I am studying for a Master of Science in International Affairs. In partial fulfilment of this degree I am carrying out research on, "The challenges to Gender Balance in the African Union Standby Force: SADC".

The success of this survey depends on the information which I am requesting from you through this questionnaire. Kindly find an attached Questionnaire with closed and open ended questions. The data collected will be used only for this study. To ensure data privacy, integrity and confidentiality, names will not be used.

My contact details are as follows cell phone: 0779 530 669; email address: grace.mwarweye17@gmail.com

Please tick where applicable

Section A

Personal details/ Demographics

1.1. What is your gender?

Female Male

1.2. What is your age group?

18-25 years

26-33 years

34-41 years

42 years and above

1.3. Marital Status

Single

Married

Widow

Section B

2. Challenges of gender balance in the SADC African Standby Force

2.1. To what extent has the African Standby Force resolved the issue of gender balance?

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2.2. What are the challenges faced by the African Standby Force in ensuring that there is gender balance?

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Section C

3. Dynamics surrounding the challenges on gender balance in the SADC ASF

3.1. What are the approaches to gender balance in the African Standby Force?

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3.2. In your own view what is the influence of African Policies in enhancing gender balance in the African Standby Force?

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3.3. What effect does the United Nations Resolution 1325 have on the African Standby Force?

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3.4. What are the effects of the challenges to gender balance in the SADC African Standby Force?

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3.5. What are the dynamics of gender balance in the SADC African Standby Force

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Section D

4. Scholarly and policy recommendations on the challenges to gender balance in the SADC ASF

4.1. Are there any implementations towards gender equality in the African Standby Force?

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4.2. Which recommendations can be made in solving the challenges to gender balance in the SADC African Standby Force

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Thank you for cooperation

