WOMEN’S REPRESENTATION IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL DEFENCE
FORCE: A CASE STUDY OF THE LIMPOPO PROVINCE, SOUTH AFRICA

By

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DECLARATION

I, Knightingale Mmakola, declare that the Women’s Representation in the South African National Defence Force: A Case Study Of The Limpopo Province, South Africa is hereby submitted to the University of Limpopo for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology has not been previously submitted by me for a degree at this or any other university, that it is my own original work in design and execution and that all material contained herewith has been duly acknowledged.

________________________________________  __________________________
Surname, Initial (title)  Date
I would like to extend my sincerest gratitude to the following people:

- To my Heavenly Father, for his provision, protection, grace and mercy, his faithfulness, favour and love, without whom I believe I would have never made it to this point;
- My Supervisor, Prof S Sithole, for his professional assistance, motivation, guidance, I will never forget your efforts and kindness;
- The financial assistance of the National Institute for the Humanities and Social Sciences, in collaboration with the South African Humanities Deans Association towards this research is hereby acknowledged. Opinions expressed and conclusions arrived at are those of the author and are not necessarily to be attributed to the NIHSS and SAHUDA.
- My Mother, Princess Mmakola, for her continuous support in my studies and social life, I am what I am because she was;
- My father, Motselpe Knight Mmakola, I know you are super proud of me. Thank you for always taking and standing on my side through thick and thin. This one is for you;
- My sister, Phumzile Dikeledi Mmakola, and brother, Pule Brian Mmakola, for being my rock and best friends
- To all my friends and friends who became family, without you my world and living experiences would be dull.
DEDICATION

My beloved and sweetest children, Oratilwe, Sibusiso and Nyiko Mmakola, this one is for you and our future together.
ABSTRACT

The aim of this study was to explore women representation in the South African National Defence Forces in the Limpopo Province. The Liberal Feminist perspective was employed as the prism through which the objectives of the study were achieved. In that regard, it was established that Sociology offers a distinctive way of seeing and explaining the social world within which we live in, as well as the events and institutions that shape it. Having noted the contribution and participation of women in the defence forces across the globe, the Liberal Feminists’ argument is that women have performed well, when under military necessity but still face persistent discrimination including the dismissal after war. The study employed a qualitative method and an exploratory design and data were collected through six in-depth interviews and one focus group discussion female military officers in different military ranks and analysed through Thematic Content Analysis. The study found that there are efforts that have been put in place to address issues pertaining to woman representation advocacy. The study also revealed that there are fewer women in the SANDF compared to men and some of the reasons posed include patriarchy and the command element that exist in the military. The study also found that there are also challenges and opportunities associated with women representation in the SANDF. Nevertheless, based on the findings of the study, the researcher developed a conceptual model for women representation in the SANDF. The study concludes that the dynamics around women representation, which includes the consequence of low representation of women; the dominance of men in the institution; the prevalence of patriarchy; and the incidence of institutional culture, are of paramount importance in understanding the challenges that women face in the military. Moreover, the study proposed areas for future research that emphasized the need to measure the impact of the influence of women compared to that of men. The study concluded by providing recommendations such as the need for the SANDF to embark on outreaches, the importance of information and provision of capacity building to the SANDF by the government.

Keywords: Military, Feminism, Limpopo Province, South African National Defence Force
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<tr>
<td>SANDF-</td>
<td>South African National Defence Force</td>
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<td>SAA-</td>
<td>South African Army</td>
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<td>US -</td>
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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction
This chapter presents the introduction of the study. The chapter begins by laying out the background which focuses on the role of women and composition of the South African National Defence Forces (SANDF). The chapter goes on to discuss the problem statement which identifies the research gap which informed the researcher to conduct the study. Furthermore, the study presents the purpose of the study which is composed of the aim and objectives of the study. The significance of the study follows in order to highlight the proposed contributions of the study. Lastly, the chapter presents the layout of the chapters.

1.2 Background
This study explores the representation of women in combat roles in the SANDF in the Limpopo Province of South Africa. Literature shows that women like men have been playing significant roles in the military as combatants since World War I, but nevertheless they are continuously marginalised and highly unrecognised if not underrepresented. Monethi (2013) asserts that the integration of women in the military around the world has revolved around the changing role of women in the armed forces. This suggests that, whereas traditionally women held administrative and nursing roles, recently there has been a shift that is aimed at including them in the mainstream military where they hold guns and take part in the same missions that men take part in which are referred to as combat roles. Similarly, Menon and Kotze (2007) are of the opinion that, over the years, the SANDF has made numerous efforts to incorporate women in combat roles. Efforts have also been made by encouraging them to enlist as the government was committed to building a working environment free of all forms of discrimination which includes gender.

Nevertheless, despite the increased participation of women in the military, gender representation remains a serious issue and a debate of great significance. Scholars like Caprioli (2000) and Carreiras (2006) contend that the reason for the low representation of women in the military is due to the challenges that women face in
executing their combat duties which significantly discourages them. Also, it has been argued that arguments against allowing them to join the armed forces include physical and emotional differences, sexual behaviour and issues pertaining to morality, which suggests that women should be protected from death, injury or torture which are largely associated with being in the military. Moreover, Caprioli (2000) contends that there is also need to focus on issues pertaining to gender equity and the evaluation of women’s social, political and economic equality in relation to that of men. This suggests that if those issues are addressed, then issues of women representation in the military will also be addressed with ease.

Furthermore, the presence of women in the military has resulted in women emancipation and the negation of stereotypes which identify men as warriors and women as non-combatants and weak (Monethi, 2013). Moreover, Carreiras (2006) introduces another limitation that is associated with the recruitment of women in the military. According to Carreiras (2000), lesser women are recruited into the military due to gender discrimination and the fact that the military has long since been perceived as a masculine terrain. Also, notions of gendered identity (which, speaks to the social construction what constitutes to what is considered to being a women or a man) and gendered orientations, which are social and cultural construction for how a man ought to behave and conduct themselves also plays a role in the inability for women to be accepted or represented in a much masculine terrain. These debates demonstrate that the representation of women in the military is a cause for concern around the world. Nuciari (2003) contends that the quest to provide an explanation for female participation in the military relies heavily on the fact that their participation is necessity during war times. This is because women provide essential services in the military that range from participation in the combat to their role as nurses and other administrative work. Hence, that demonstrates the need to consider women essential in the military and acknowledge their participation in order to address the low representation that exists. Therefore, this thesis seeks to add to the debate on women’s representation in the SANDF with particular focus on the Limpopo Province of South Africa.
1.2.1 The Field of Military Sociology

Military sociology is a subfield of the armed forces and society study that focuses on the relationships between military organizations and the larger society (Malešević, 2010). It is a broad term to describe the academic field that studies the individual within the military institution, and the military profession within its wider society (Walby, 2012). Throughout history, war have resulted in periods of social change that transformed the face of human society. It is also important to note that even when there is relative peace, violent conflict and war remain omnipresent. This therefore provides explain why most nation states continue to have their own armed forces. If there was no threat of violence, why spend vast amounts of scarce resources on an institution trained to inflict lethal force against others for security and protection? In essence, this is can be ascribed to the fact that human beings are prone to conflict, evidenced by the on-going violent conflicts in today’s world. This results in untold misery for those affected, as societies become ripped apart and those affected are left to rebuild their lives (Malešević, 2010). This raises the question why sociology as a discipline, with its strong conflict analysis tradition and focus on humankind, has not given the study of war much prominence. In fact, some claim that the study of war and collective violence is “the Achilles heel of sociology” and by implication, a disciplinary weakness (Walby, 2012).

This is indeed a shortcoming if one considers the catastrophic effect that war and violent conflict have on society. While some sociologists have paid attention to military matters, this has been mostly in an interdisciplinary or a specialist area applied to a specific issue (Walby, 2012). Few use the conceptual tools provided by the discipline of sociology to analyse the military and violent conflict, and the effect this has on society. As Siebold(2001:68) points out, “their focus has been more of a continuing dialogue than an accumulation of theoretical and practical evidence that one might call the knowledge of the sub-field”. Sociology, in fact, has been an invisible discipline in the study of war and society, as reflected in its absence from key sociological textbooks (Ender & Gibson, 2005).

Despite the pervasiveness of war and violent conflict in the world today, sociologists in general have failed to engage with it, which has contributed to its marginalisation. Heinecken (2015) is of the view that sociological enquiry is not only necessary but also
essential to understand violent conflict and the underlying causes of war today. To start the debate, reference is made to the contributions of the founding fathers of sociology to our understanding of violence and war. Thereafter, reference is made to some of the work of leading social theorists and sociologists who inform our understanding of the causes and consequences of violence and war for society.

1.3 Problem Statement and Significance of Thesis

Women representation in the military has always been a cause for concern. Drawing from the background of misrepresentation of women due to stereotypes and lack of interest among women, this section problematizes the representation of women in the SADF. Boyce and Herd (2003) are of the opinion that the military structures of organisational authority are dominated in general by masculine principles and bureaucracy and often the relationship between masculinity and militarism is portrayed in the literature as harmonious and mutually affirming. This suggests that the military is identified as a site for the construction of masculinities which by definition results in the decline of woman participation (Woodward, 2000).

Furthermore, the nature of the army institution was constructed as a male dominant institution. This argument is not only substantiated by the fact that the military is populated by men and there exist a major arena for the construction of masculine identities. Rather, it is believed to be an arena for men because men play a primary role in shaping images of masculinity in the broader society (Barrett, 2006; Connel, 1992; and Woodward, 2000). This is evident in that, to date, the gender composition in the SADF, is 73.4% males and 26.6% females, which implies that the incorporation of women in the SANDF is significantly lower than that of their male counterparts (Parliamentary Monitoring Group (PMG) 2016). The inability to equalize women’s opportunities in military ranks may also reflect lack of gender sensitive policies or their implementation, as well as the extent of gender blindness and bias in the SANDF policies.

The United Nations Resolutions (UNR) of 1995 state this gender blindness is in spite of the need to place a global emphasis on the need to mainstream gender in peace and security structures and processes (United Nations Resolutions, 1995). Since the adoption of the UNR (1995) it became clear that there was need for the recognition
and realization of gender balance in the military, from that moment attention was
turned to South Africa, when there was a serious need to search for role models and
best practice for gender mainstreaming into the security sector. Memela-Motumi
(2011), the Chief Director of Transformation Management in the Department of
Defence maintains that, despite the best practice in gender mainstreaming in South
Africa post 1994, questions and arguments about the nature and extent of
transformation in the security sector have been raised.

Memela-Motumi (2011) emphasised on several worrying issues relating to the
misrepresentation of women. The arguments by the author include the fact that women
in the SANDF are continuously placed in support roles such as administrative,
secretarial and nursing roles regardless of the fact that their training is rigorous with
many aspects unrelated to the actual roles that they would occupy in the military. The
other argument posed by the author was to the effect that few women in the military
are in the decision-making rank which demonstrates the manner in which women are
undermined. A fair representation in the decision making roles would account for the
recognition of women’s intellectual capacities. Furthermore, numerous scholars have
also established that a few women occupy positions that are not in support roles, for
example combat roles. Even outside combat roles women still face the challenge of
being marginalized and discriminated against (Memela-Motumi, 2011; Fastig & Sand,
2010; Widschut, 2008; and Hendricks, 2008).

The former Minister of Defence and Military Veterans, Ms. Lindiwe Sisulu, released the
draft South African Defence Review on April 2012, which showed that the current
South African policy is premised on the 1996 White Paper on Defence and the 1998
Defence Review which, according to Le Roux (2012:1), “were developed in very
participative processes in the early post-apartheid years and were internationally
acclaimed for their transparency and comprehensive coverage of the subject of
defence policy”. Nonetheless, it became evident that some of the premises on which
these documents were based were overly optimistic and had not yet fully materialised.

One of the major and disturbing issues found in these documents is the failure to
mainstream gender into the South African defence policy. For example, the South
African defence review of April 2012 draft, states that the Defence Force will strive to
be a representative and trusted non-partisan national asset”, and there are references to women households, the feminization of poverty and gender based violence (White Paper on Defence, 1996).

The 1996 White Paper on Defence also affirms the democratic values of human dignity, equality and freedom and refers to the constitutional principle of non-racism and non-sexism. The White Paper also acknowledges the right of women to serve in all ranks and positions, and mandated the Minister of Defence to oversee the design and implementation of the affirmative action and equal opportunity programme (White Paper on Defence, 1996). However, there are no references to the UN Security Council Resolution 1325, gender equality, gender representation, gender sensitivity or gender responsiveness in the draft therefore suggesting that the document is ostensibly gender blind. This contests the perception that the SANDF has adequately and sufficiently addressed gender-related issues within the organization, be it in recruitment, retention of jobs, gender-sensitive policies, training and combat (White Paper on Defence, 1996).

Furthermore, sexism is continually highlighted as a challenge to ensuring that women are included in military roles. The Commission for Gender Equality (2000) declared that the increased rate of sexism in the SANDF, allows for the perception of women as the weaker sex, who need to be protected and defended by strong men. Sexism also poses a challenge for women during their identity formation as soldiers and the entire community (Clarke, 2008; Heinecken & van der Waag-Colig, 2009; and Simic, 2010).

In other words, women who choose to join the military forces have to fight against both patriarchy, which is a system of society or government in which men hold the power and women are largely excluded from it and the patriarchal attitudes and actions that support or perpetuate the subordination of women, as well as condoning acts of abuse towards women by their male counterparts within the military itself. These ideologies and notions also need to be explicated in order to understand the position of women in the military and why these positions are mostly based on feminine qualities, for example, such qualities as women being supportive, nurturing and home makers (Scott, 2002).
There seems to be consensus that patriarchy and patriarchal attitudes, often affect women soldiers negatively in that they are often excluded if not underrepresented from and in combat positions because of their perceived physical inferiority and unsuitability for fighting (Memela-Motumi, 2011; and Sisulu, 2011). According to Memela-Motumi (2011) and Sisulu (2011), such statements are chauvinistic and sexist in nature, and lead to the undermining and misrecognition of the roles that women have played and continue to play in the military. The Army Research Institute of Environmental Medicine (2013) challenged the validity of these misogynous positions, by proving that with extra training, a large portion of women entering the military, could be brought up to the same physical standards as men.

The draft *White Paper on Defence* of 1996 states that the lack of specific reference to the continued inclusion of women and mainstreaming of gender and the creation of a Defence Force that promotes gender equality raises the question of how the achievements to date are to be merged and regression avoided, especially as far as the inclusion or the incorporation of women into combat roles is concerned. Therefore, this thesis seeks to examine the extent of women’s representation in combat roles in the SANDF with focus on the South African Army (SAA). The thesis aims at showing originality of the area under study through undertaking imperial research in the SANDF by providing a true reflection on participant views and experiences from participant’s standpoint. Therefore, the thesis is the researchers own original work.

### 1.4 Purpose of Study

1.4.1 Aim

The aim of this study is to explore women’s representation in combat roles within the SANDF, Limpopo Province, South Africa.

1.4.2 Objectives

The following are the objectives of the study:

- To examine the extent to which women in the SANDF are represented in combat roles and positions;
• To describe the challenges faced by SANDF in the inclusion of women in combat roles;
• To determine the opportunities available for women in combat roles; and
• To develop a model for gender mainstreaming within the SANDF.

1.5 Operational Definitions

1.5.1 ‘Representation’ means to constitution of a thing or an amount of a thing (*Word Power Dictionary*, 2012). In this study, representation speaks to the number of women constituted in combat roles compared to men. It further speaks to the ways to which women’s issues are considered and constituted within the SANDF.

1.5.2 ‘Combat means’ “active fighting in a war” (*Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, 2013:56). In this study, combat refers to infantry, which describes soldiers who engage in battle ground wars by fighting face to face with the enemy using firearms.

1.5.3 ‘Gender mainstreaming’ ‘is a strategy for making women as well as men’s concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. “The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality” (United Nations, 2002:5). In this study, gender mainstreaming includes processes of inclusion and adequate representation of women in combat roles within the SANDF.

1.5.4 ‘The Army’ is a unit capable of independent action and consisting usually of a headquarters, two or more corps, and auxiliary troops (*Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, 2013:56).

1.5.6 ‘Military’: of or relating to ground or sometimes ground and air forces as opposed to naval forces(*Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, 2013:56).
1.6 Thesis structure

**Chapter One** presents the introduction of the study. The chapter begins by laying out the background that focuses on the role of women and composition of the South African Defence Forces (SANDF). The chapter goes on to discuss the problem statement which identifies the research gap which informed the researcher to conduct the study. Furthermore, the study presents the purpose of the study which is composed of the aim and objectives of the study. The significance of the study follows in order to highlight the proposed contributions of the study. Then, lastly, the chapter presents the layout of the chapters.

**Chapter Two** explores literature on women in combat. In so doing, the chapter takes a look at the experiences of countries on the African continent and the world at large on women representation in the military. Such an exposé is informed by the fact that South Africa is part of the global village and a signatory to conventions such as peace-keeping missions, gender and development, poverty alleviations, and human right movement. The chapter begins by providing the background of the SANDF, which was created in 1994 following South Africa's first post-apartheid national elections and the adoption of a new constitution. Furthermore, the chapter goes on to assess the characteristics and components of the institution from the perspectives of other scholars.

**Chapter three** presents the theoretical framework of the study. The study was conducted through the theoretical specs of the Liberal Feminist perspective. In that regard, it was established that Sociology offers a distinctive way of seeing and explaining the social world, within which we live in, as well as the events and institutions that shape it. Although the military institution is believed to be a neglected, if not a closed and private institution, this study seeks to explore and investigate the extent of women’s representation in the military. Liberal Feminist Theory is relevant to the study because the researcher believes like many other Liberal Feminists and liberal politicians that women like men have the right to participate in all political and social roles (including war roles). The belief is based on the premise that excluding women from positions of power in international relations and issues of war is unfair to women and prevents half the population from making its best contribution to the society. Having noted the contribution and participation of women in the defence
forces across the globe, the Liberal Feminist's argument is that women have performed well, when under military necessity but still face persistent discrimination including the dismissal after war.

Chapter Four focuses on the ways in which feminist methodologies have been used to understand women's representation in combat roles. The chapter provides an in-depth presentation of the processes of research undertaken for this research. Furthermore, this chapter provides a link between the research objectives and the research questions of the study. Thirdly, the chapter also engages with different research approaches and data collection methods. Lastly, the chapter highlights some of the reasons why conventional approaches for research method were not used in this study.

Chapter Five presents the presentation of findings, analysis and discussion. The emphasis of the chapter is on efforts that have been put in place to address issues pertaining to woman representation advocacy, the trends in women representation and the changes that have been recorded thus far. The first section of the chapter presents the findings in relation to what has been done thus far in terms of women representation. Liberal Feminism was employed as the theoretical lances through which the dynamics of women representation was presented. The aspects covered in this chapter include the allocation of women in the military. This refers to the manner in which women view the military and the reasons for the low number of women military personnel. Having established the circumstances around the allocation of women, the chapter goes on to deal with the dominance of men in the institution. The second section of the chapter presents the challenges and opportunities associated with women representation in the SANDF. The major challenges established include fulfilling the basic military training, issues pertaining to femininity versus masculinity, the command and control environment in the military, women's reluctance to join the military, lack of information about the military and exclusion in decision-making processes. Nevertheless, the study also found some opportunities that women army personnel were satisfied with which stood as motivation for other women to join the military. Based on the findings of the two empirical chapters (Chapters Five and Six) the researcher developed a conceptual model for women representation in the SANDF. The main components of the model were the government and society which
are expected to play a pivotal role in encouraging women through different means to join the military.

**Chapter Six** presents the summary, conclusions and recommendations of the thesis. The conclusions of the thesis were categorized in two sections namely the dynamics of women representation as a consequence of women representation and the challenges and opportunities as a motivation for women representation in the military. Under the dynamics of women representation, the following conclusions were arrived at; the consequence of low representation of women in the military, the dominance of men in general and in the highest ranks of the institution, the prevalence of patriarchy and the incidence of institutional culture. Moreover, under challenges and opportunities, the following conclusions were reached; the honour of serving in a department that is male dominated and opportunities to further studies. The other conclusions that were arrived at were that the challenges women face in attempting to penetrate successfully in the historically male-dominated work environments emanate from traditional gender hierarchies and norms that prevail in the family and society.

**1.7 Summary**

This chapter presented the introduction of the study. The chapter took off by a laying out the background which focuses on the role of women and composition of the South African Defence Force. The chapter went on to discuss the problem statement which identified the research gap which informed the researcher to conduct the study. Moreover, the study presented the purpose of the study which is composed of the aim and objectives of the study. The significance of the study followed in order to highlight the proposed contributions of the study. Then, lastly, the chapter presented the layout of the chapters which gave hint on the content of each chapter.
2.1 Introduction
This chapter explores some literature on women in the military. The chapter also looks at the experiences of countries on the African continent and the world at large on women representation in the military. Such an exposé is informed by the fact that South Africa is part of the global village and a signatory to conventions such as peace-keeping missions, gender and development, poverty alleviations, and human right movement. The chapter begins by providing the background of the SANDF which was created in 1994, following South Africa's first post-apartheid national elections and the adoption of a new constitution. Furthermore, the chapter goes on to assess the characteristics and components of the institution from the perspectives of other scholars.

2.2 The History of the South African National Defence Force
The military as it exists today was created in 1994, following South Africa's first post-apartheid national elections and the adoption of a new constitution. It replaced the South African Defence Force and also integrated uMkhonto we Sizwe guerrilla forces. Transformations in the SANDF took place as early as South Africa’s transition from an apartheid government system to a democratic state. The SANDF, formerly known as the South African Defence Force (SADF), was introduced as an integration of the SADF which was aligned to the South African government policies before integration, Umkhonto we Sizwe, which was aligned to the African National Congress, Azania’s People’s Liberation Army (APLA) which was aligned to the Pan Africanist Congress, the Transkei Defence Force (TDF), Bophuthatswana Defence Force (BDF), Venda Defence Force and the Ciskei Defence Force (Jackson & Koetzee, 2005). The unit was integrated to seven armed forces to form a unified defence force. This was due to the general consensus that all segments of the population are represented which was based on the *White Paper on Defence* which is committed to the goal of overcoming the legacy of racial and gender discrimination and that will seek to create a “Defence force that is professional, efficient, effective and broadly representative” (*White Paper on Defence*, 1996:32).
With the change of the SADF to the SANDF, issues of gender also became significant to the transformation. This was due to the fact that women particularly African women were oppressed and discriminated against, regarded as dependents, inferior to men or either confined to domestic chores as housewives and not given equal opportunities as their male counterparts (Jackson & Koetzee, 2005). This chapter is a synopsis of events that led to the current understanding of women in the military, the role of women in the struggle for liberation in South Africa. Furthermore, the chapter takes a look at the South African National Defence Force, and its challenges or opportunities available in the inclusion of women in combat and military roles. The chapter also reviews John P Kotter’s 8 stages of development and its relevance to the South African military context. The chapter also discusses whether the above mentioned model could be used to effect the necessary change as far as the inclusion of women is concerned.

2.2.1 Sociology of the Military
Military sociologists focus on specific issues relating to how the institution of the military relate to the wider society. Military sociologists conduct their research at military academies or research institutions that require or push them to do empirical research on specific issues that affect the functioning of the military (Heinecken, 2015). After World War II, a so-called ‘second generation of sociologists’ began to conduct social research on the armed forces, which was of a more applied nature (Mkandawire, 2013). This commenced with the empirical sociological research conducted by Samuel A. Stouffer on the military establishment and military life, which provided the foundation for many leading works that followed (Siebold, 2001).

This included the work of Morris Janowitz, which remains one of the seminal works in the area of civil military relations (Heinecken, 2015). This is a subject that has straddled the sociological debate, as reflected in the exchange between Samuel P. Huntington and Janowitz on this subject. Many of these works focus on specific challenges facing the military and they are often interdisciplinary in nature (Heinecken, 2015). All these studies used sociology as a lens to study the military, but largely failed at theory building. This remains one of the criticisms of this sub-field of sociology which, according to Siebold (2001) has meant that military sociology has never had a clear theoretical or issue-driven centre.
2.2.1.1 Gender and Military Sociology
Over the years the armed forces has been predominantly male such that early military sociology rarely questioned the way that male social roles were conditioned by the social construct of the male heterosexual warrior (Winslow, 2008). Gender studies are still not taught at military academies such as the ones found in Sweden, where the emphasis is on analysing and using different perspectives on war and conflict (Winslow, 2008). Liberal Feminists argue for equality under the law, equal standards and opportunities for men and women in the military. This is the track that the Canadian military was forced to follow with the passing of the Canadian Human Rights Act (Winslow & Dunn, 2002). Physical fitness tests are now gender neutral and all military occupations are open to women (Winslow, 2008). New kit has been developed for the female physique.

Cultural feminism is used as an approach for peace support operations. Here the difference between men and women is emphasized and women are to be valued for the softer style that they bring to such an operation. The military can benefit from the feminization of certain occupations such as policing. Critics of cultural feminism find that it only reinforces gender stereotypes. Both Liberal and Cultural approaches have been criticized by radical feminists who want to free women from all subordinate roles resulting from patriarchy. This group has done most to highlight the impact of sexual harassment of women in the military. The use of sexual intimidation is much more than an awkward moment. It deprives women of jobs, status and self-respect. Its effects are as much psychological as physical (Zeigler & Gunderson, 2005). Many militaries have now adopted a zero-tolerance policy towards sexual harassment and violence. Paradoxically, Harrison (2002) tells us that zero tolerance has pushed violence against women even further underground for fear that seeking help will adversely affect a member’s career and chance of receiving a pension.

2.2.2 The South African Army
The South African Army is a military wing of South Africa. It was first formed or developed after the Union of South Africa (which is the historic predecessor to the present day republic of South Africa) in the year 1910. The army evolved within the tradition of frontier warfare which was then fought by Boer commanders. Its role was
changed by the upheavals of the 1990’s. Then after in 1994, the army was transformed to the new South African Defence Force. The South African Army is now largely involved in peacekeeping missions and efforts in Southern Africa often as part of the wider African Union operations. It is composed of an estimated 40100 regular uniformed personnel, augmented by 12300 reserve forced personnel. Women in the South African Army, for two centuries, worked as nurses in the different medical corps. The South African Military Nursing Service (SAMNS) was established in 1914 and became the first women’s service in the Union Defence Forces. In 1970, the former South African Defence Force Council decided to appoint women in the military, in order to release men for operational duties. The Army Women’s College in George (Western Cape) was later established in 1971 to separately train White women for support units within the South African Defence Force (SADF) (Jackson & Koetzee, 2005).

The participation of women in the armed forces changed significantly at the end of apartheid. In fact, in 1994, the SADF was amalgamated with the formerly independent Bantustan security forces: Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK, African National Congress’ armed wing), PAC’s Azanian People’s Liberation Army (APLA) and the ‘self-protection units’ of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) to form the SANDF. It is at this moment, following months of negotiations within the Joint Military Co-ordinating Committee, that the SANDF started recruiting a very small number of women into the military in April 1994.

2.2.3 Traditional Military Roles
It has been reported that traditional military roles, were mostly young occupied by, locally trained recruits, who did not receive the overseas training like their male counterparts. Although having received infantry training alongside men, MK women were not sent abroad for officer training, contrary to several hundred MK men. Moreover, these women were initially barred from access to the infantry in the new SANDF. This reflects women’s political disadvantage before the integration process began. It is not unusual for women to have entered the army via nursing roles. In most of the important world Armed Forces, women have served as nurses before being allowed to serve as soldiers in combat units most of the times during wartime, when a high number of recruits were necessary, for example, in 1914 in Russia and in 1939
in France. However, even if some countries have an important military culture, the presence of women in their ranks and their career opportunities are still difficult. This is the case for the United States Armed Forces, which recruited women since 1917, but just allowed them to serve in combat units in 2015.

In South Africa, while women constituted the majority in the country, they were inadequately represented by the SANDF, especially in decision-making structures to effect policy changes. Moreover, women were restricted to roles within the army that did not involve close combat or positions of high foreign exposure. In 2013, 40% of the new recruits were women. The Department of Defence wants to increase this figure to 50%. The racial profiles also changed significantly, with former MK supporters making up the majority of the African women in the SANDF in 1994. However, according to the SANDF’s Chief Director of Transformation and Management and former MK’s sniper Brigadier-General Ghandi Mohole: “Only five of 52 current major-generals are women, and the numbers are similar in other high-ranking posts. There are no female lieutenant-generals, only 35% of the brigadier-generals are women and out of 940 colonels, 158 are women”. Women officers, who were previously excluded from studying at the Military Academy, now comprise almost a third of the student body, and in 1999 the predominantly male student body elected the first female to the prestigious position of student captain. The first female and Coloured students were respectively admitted to the Military Academy in 1978 and 1979 (Magadla, 2015).

As for women in the front lines, Lieutenant Colonel NO Mkhwanazi stated that:

“When military women were asked whether they would go into frontline combat if given the chance, most Black African women (75%) and Coloured women (58%) said they would compare to 34% of Whites. What is apparent is that White women’s views are similar to western trends in that they want the choice to serve in combat roles, while African women appear more prepared to serve in the frontline.”

(Survey conducted by the SANDF’s Equal Opportunities Chief Directorate (EOCD) in February/March 2013 among all military personnel).

“A lot of women with high matric results who could do medicine or industrial psychology, even to honours level, instead choose to join the military,” Brigadier-General Ghandi Mohole explained. “They want to prove women can also do it. Many love adventure and the opportunities available in the army’ (Mkele, 2014). Nowadays,
evidence shows that women are as capable as their male colleagues. Furthermore, the SANDF has the highest number of women in Africa within its ranks.

Thus, even if patriotism is one of the motivating factors for people to join the SANDF, Ghandi Mohole also said that women were increasingly attracted to the military because they saw themselves as equal to their male counterparts. To date, evidence and studies have revealed that women are just as capable as their male colleagues. Furthermore, the SANDF has the highest number of women in Africa within its ranks. The 2014 South African Defence Review solemnly declares that: “The future soldier will be a skilled, healthy, fit and highly disciplined military imbued with a high level of morale and sense of duty. The Defence Force will be an equitable, broadly representative and gender-aligned national asset.”

2.3 South Africa and Women in the Military

According to the 3rd sustainable millennium development goal, promoting gender equality and empowerment of women is necessary for women’s enhancement in society and the workplace (UNDP, 2013). Looking at Goal 3 of the Millennium Development Goals, it is essential to take a look into how gender equality and women empowerment is being practised in military organizations in the United States, West Africa and South Africa. This approach is essential to the study as the study focus on the extent to which women are underrepresented in the SANDF. Perhaps searching literature on other countries outside of South Africa may shed light into the similarities and differences of the problems associated with the inclusion of women within the SANDF.

2.3.1 The History of South African Women in Underground Struggles

In South Africa, factors such as age, socialisation, sexual orientation and one’s ability to leave the country affected whether women could participate in combat as ‘guerrilla girls’ or if it limited them to fighting apartheid violence from home, or if there were women who can be defined as having fallen somewhere in between these categories (Magadla, 2015). According to Magadla (2015), these categories, are used to theorize women’s combat roles in the anti-apartheid struggle, thus broadening and challenging the dominant notions of combat that often hide women’s contribution in war. The history of women’s involvement in underground organizations did not begin with the
banning of the ANC, but stretches back to the early years of the twentieth century when women were amongst groups who trained in Comintern\(^1\) universities, learning underground methods (Suttner, no date; and Davidson et al., 2003). The decades that followed witnessed many underground activities of communists with the hosting of Comintern agents or arranging of visits of individuals or delegations to Moscow. “Women like Ray Alexander were very involved in such activities (Suttner, 2004).

Furthermore, according to Suttner (no date), the ANC prepared for underground from the moment of the communist party’s dissolution in 1950 and implementation of the M-Plan in the 1950’s. Even in these stages women were very much involved and very active at various stages of its illegal existence, inside and later outside the country or in units that were formed after the Rivonia reverses (Suttner, 2005; Lyons, 2004; and Middleton, 1998). Although, the early formations of the Mkhonto we Sizwe (MK) in 1961 may have comprised mainly of men, women were to be amongst the earliest trainees. Women like Jacqueline Molefe (Sedibe) were included in this process. Also, women who were not formally connected to MK were often involved throughout the period of illegality in ensuring the success of various military operations (Houston, 2004; and Suttner, 2004). Moreover, the crushing of the ANC leadership in Rivonia, leading to imprisonment and exile, left a difficult task for those who remained under various forms of restrictions.

Women like Albertina Sisulu, Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, Joyce Sikhakhane, Shantie Naidoo and others, slowly rebuilt the underground in the Soweto area. According to Houston (2004), it is not clear to what extent women in the underground provided logistical support for the Mk groups who entered the country (South Africa) in the late 1960’s. Dorothy Nyembe was part of those women who were convicted for assisting MK soldiers who reached South Africa after the Wankie campaign. It was then that, after 1976, larger numbers of women joined and got involved in various types of underground units throughout this period; some from inside and others sent into particular missions.

\(^{1}\)A Comintern refers to the communist international, a worldwide organization, a worldwide organization of communist parties that operated from Moscow from 1919 until 1943. Each member party was referred to as a section of the communist international (Davidson et al. 2003)
Regardless of women’s efforts during the apartheid struggle, existing historiography has from an early stage dismissed and downplayed women’s involvement in the political struggle for entering as ‘mothers’ or supportive of the roles of men thus performing conventional roles. These notions suggest that struggle autobiographies mainly by males are cast into the mould of a notion of ‘heroic masculinity’, where men are the performers of heroic deeds (Unterhalter, 2007; Akala, 2018; and Sultana 2011). These notions build bonds of solidarity between men, thus depicting that the home is a place of comfort for men and a private domain reserved for and preserved by women. Therefore, the role of the women is seen or reserved as being primarily supportive to their husbands whilst they embark on their heroic missions. According to Suttner (2005), notions of heroic masculinities were drawn from theories of masculinity and applied to the South African situation, but women disrupted this heroic male project by embarking on heroic projects, which included working underground and going to war against the apartheid regime. Women lived in the same camps as men. They took up exactly the same training as the men, such as hand drilling, handling weapons, topography and everything else (Gwendoline Sello, in Berstein, 1994:149; Cock, 1991; and von den Stein, 1999).

2.3.2 Developing an Environment Conducive for Women in Combat

Development is a process of bringing about change to the lives of people particularly those in poorer countries (Chamber, 1993). It is therefore a process that suggests that all human beings have the right of equal access to resources be they political, economic and social (Nussbaum, 2000). In this way, women may have equal ground for participation, in the SANDF. In the same vein, development strives to eliminate all sorts of discrimination and abuses of power which often negatively impact on the most vulnerable members of society (Anand & Sen, 2000). Development thus recognizes the input of all members of society regardless of their characteristics of sex, race and any others (Sen, 1995).

In this sense, development champions the creation effective and efficient social structure that allow equal opportunity for all. Such social structures in turn help the alleviation of gender-based imbalances that are formed during social interactions. It advocates for an equal distribution of wealth and power amongst women and does not subject women and men to their culturally ascribed roles within the public sphere.
Development, when clearly defined and practiced, should take into consideration the ways in which power is exercised in the management of economic and social resources for development. Therefore, the study argues that good development and change could take place when women are treated as equal citizens to their male counterparts even in the military. This entails that women’s political and economic rights must be recognized to ensure full participation in development initiatives particularly in peace-keeping and peace-building.

The quality of human life obtained from attaining greater political freedom and social welfare for women is therefore embedded in choosing development methods that are auto-centred (people-centred) - that is, development methods which are for and by the people (Sen, 1990; and Chambers, 1995). And therefore, by incorporating human development approaches into gender policy and discourse, a more serious emphasis on the need to extend human choices is made which could lead to the enhancement of women’s capabilities (UNDP, 2004; and Burch & Moro, 2012, Ramatex, 2013). In which case, gender development and equality treated in conjunction with human rights make it more possible for women to achieve various forms of freedom (UNDP, 2004). Human rights are thus a means to enhanced human capabilities through the creation of the ability and room to exercise various types of freedom in politics, economy and society generally (Sen., 1995:57).

2.3.3 Gender Mainstreaming in the SANDF

Military structures of organisational authority are dominated in general by masculine principles and bureaucracy and often the relationship between masculinity and militarism is portrayed in the literature as harmonious and mutually affirming (Boyce &Herd, 2003). Therefore, militaries have long been identified and recognised as important sites for the construction of masculinities (Woodward, 2000). Barrett (2006);Connell (1992); and Woodward (2000) have argued that militaries were constructed as male dominant, this not only resulting from the fact that the military is populated by men or that they constitute a major arena for the construction of masculine identities, but also because men play a primary role in shaping images of masculinity in the broader society. This is evident in that, to date, the gender composition in the South African National Defence Force, is 73.4% males and 26.6% females, which implies that the incorporation of women in the SANDF is significantly
lower than that of their male counterparts (Parliamentary Monitoring Group, 2011). The inability to equalize women's opportunities in the military also reflects lack of gender sensitive policies and their implementation.

2.3.4 Gender Mainstreaming into Defence Policies
The former Minister of Defence and Military Veterans, Ms. Lindiwe Sisulu, released the draft South African Defence Review on April 2012 which showed that the current South African policy is premised on the 1996 White Paper on Defence and the 1998 Defence review which, according to Roux (2012:1), “were developed in very participative processes in the early post-apartheid years and were internationally acclaimed for their transparency and comprehensive coverage of the subject of defence policy”. Nonetheless, it became evident that some of the premises on which these documents were based were overly optimistic and had not yet fully materialised. One of the major issues found in these documents is the failure to mainstream gender into the South African defence policy. For example, the draft states that the Defence Force will strive to be a representative and trusted non-partisan national asset”, and there are references to women households, the feminization of poverty and gender based violence (White Paper on Defense, 1996).

The 1996 White Paper on Defence also affirms the democratic values of human dignity, equality and freedom and refers to the constitutional principle of non-racism and non-sexism. The White Paper, acknowledged the right of women to serve in all ranks and positions, including combat roles and mandated the Minister of Defence to oversee the design and implementation of the affirmative action and equal opportunity programme (White Paper on Defence, 1996). However, there are no references to the UN Security Council Resolution 1325, gender equality, gender representation, gender sensitivity or gender responsiveness in the draft therefore suggesting that the document is arguable gender blind. Therefore, this contests the perception that the SANDF has adequately and sufficiently addressed gender-related issues within the organization, be it in recruitment, retention of jobs, gender-sensitive policies, training and combat (White Paper on Defence, 1996).

Sexism is also continually highlighted as a challenge to ensuring that women are included in combat. The Commission for Gender Equality (2000) declared that the
increased rate of sexism in the SANDF, allows for the perception of women as the weaker sex, who need to be protected and defended by strong men. Sexism also poses a challenge for women during their identity formation as soldiers and the entire community (Clarke, 2008; Heinecken and van der Waag-Colig, 2009; and Simic, 2010).

In other words, women who choose to join the military forces have to fight against both patriarchy, which is a system of society or government in which men hold the power and women are largely excluded from it and the patriarchal attitudes and actions that support or perpetuate the subordination of women, as well as condoning acts of abuse towards women by their male counterparts within the military itself. These ideologies and notions also need to be explicated in order to understand the position of women in the military and why these positions are mostly based on feminine qualities (for example, such as women being supportive, nurturers and home makers) (Scott, 2002).

There seems to be consensus that patriarchy and patriarchal attitudes, often negatively affect women soldiers in that they are excluded from combat positions because of their perceived physical inferiority and unsuitability for fighting (Memela-Motumi, 2011 and Sisulu, 2011). According to Memela-Motumi (2011) and Sisulu (2011), such statements are chauvinistic and sexist in nature, and lead to the undermining and misrecognition of the roles that women have played and continue to play in the military. The Army Research Institute of Environmental Medicine (2013) challenged the validity of these misogynous positions, by proving that with extra training, a large portion of women entering the military, could be brought up to the same physical standards as men.

The draft *White Paper on Defence* (1996) states that the lack of specific reference to the continued inclusion of women and mainstreaming of gender and the creation of a Defence Force that promotes gender equality raises the question of how the achievements to date are to be merged and regression avoided, especially as far as the inclusion or the incorporation of women into combat roles is concerned (Memela-Motumi, 2011). In South Africa, the utilisation of women in combat roles is still an issue which has not been widely canvasses. It remains topical and conversational. The
Institute for Defence Policy reported in 1995 on a survey conducted to ascertain the public’s response to women in combat (Skaine, 2011).

According to the survey, there was also a strong opposition to it, but at the same time, respondents did not which women to be relegated to position of inferiority. Furthermore, although women are encouraged to join operations, the vast majority are still located within the administration and health services. According to Skaine(2011), South Africa, went through an intense period of militarization, mobilized the resources of war and made defence force central to the state decision-making. When it comes to women South Africa demonstrated that women are active contributors to and are not marginalized from militarization (Skaine, 2011). Secondly, the positions of was similar in conventional and guerrilla armies. Thirdly, women’s gain during the war does not withstand patriarchy (Skaine, 2011).

The armies of the South African Defence Force (SADF) and the ANC, increasingly included women, but excluded them from combat roles. This exclusion, may serve as an account for the representation of women in positions of leadership. According to Skaine (2011), men justified excluding women on the basis that menstruation made women less able to serve. Moreover, the SADF assigned women to auxiliary roles in the World War I and World War II and to active combat duties after 1990. In the same year, South Africa made transition to democracy during which questions such as whether women should serve in combat were asked. Later on, in 1995, the SANDF, incorporated women of all races and expanded roles for women largely because of the pressure from the campaign for equal opportunity for women in employment. Nonetheless, even though legislation had removed discrimination, culture did not.

2.4 Challenges Faced by Women in the Military

2.4.1 Patriarchy

According to Sultana (2010), patriarchy is the prime obstacle to women's advancement and development. This is due to the reasons that despite the differences in levels of domination, men are in control. Therefore, a patriarchal society or
institution, gives priority to men and to some extent limits women’s’ human rights too. Furthermore, Christ (2013) defines patriarchy as a system of male dominance, rooted in the ethos of war, which legitimates violence, sanctified by religious symbols in which men dominate women through the control of female sexuality. Christ (2003) argues that patriarchy is practiced with the intent of passing property to male heirs and in which men who are heroes of war kill men, and are permitted to rape women to seize land and treasures, to exploit resources and to own or otherwise dominate conquered people (Christ, 2013).

Bell (2013), argues that patriarchy further mystifies women’s roles in the military in that women are described as objects rather than subjects. It depicts women not as labourers and activists who like men, make political choices, but as passive observers who have taken no responsibility for actively maintaining and perpetuating the current value system of the society which privileges violence and domination as the most effective tool of coercive control in human interaction (Molekane, 1996). Moreover, patriarchal practices lead to the control of female sexuality by males, as well as gender inequality and subordination of women to the extent that woman have no control over their lives and sexuality.

Radical feminist defines patriarchy as a social system in which men appropriate all social roles and keep women in subordinate positions (Mohanty, 1940; and Moser, 1993). Radical feminists further argue that the social system has managed to survive for so long because its chief psychological weapon is its universality and longevity. Its origins, (patriarchal attitudes) are bred in the family through the socialization process, were young boys are taught to take up masculine duties such as holding guns and shooting guns whilst young girls are taught to play with dolls therefore suggesting appropriate behaviours and roles for the different genders (Walby, 1990; and Hooks, 2013).

These patriarchal notions have been brought about by the influence of the historical ideologies of patriarchy and colonialism in Africa which have led to the perpetuation of inequalities existing between men and women, especially in economic terms (Brown &Haddad, 1995). The patriarchal system empowered men in designing cultural expectations that required the male to possess wealth and own resources so he could
be the ‘breadwinner’ within the new context. Also, these cultural ideologies suggested that women are subordinate to men because women could only be taken care of by their husbands. This systematic exclusion of women prevented them from becoming active participants in the economy or decision-making processes of the societies they lived in (Mohanty, 1940; and Moser, 1993). However, with the gradual shifts that are taking place in many societies, ideas around what it means to be male or female are also being challenged and changed.

Patterns of gender relations between men and women also vary among societies. For instance, women in more traditional societies particularly in rural areas experience greater expectations to conform to cultural ideologies of patriarchy that lessen their personal freedom and limit their access resources. Furthermore, they are largely denied involvement in decision-making processes that influence their societies and lives (Jackson, 2005; and Brown, 1994). Gender relations are thus “like any other form of relations are structured by ideologies and belief practices, property and resource access and ownership, legal codes and so on” (Imam, 1994:40). The interactions between men and women are therefore largely governed by cultural norms that standardize material possessions into a ranking order that places men higher than women even within the military.

2.4.2 Sexism and the Gendered Divisions of Labour
Different from patriarchy, sexism denotes a gendered discrimination or discrimination based on a person’s sex or gender (McDonald, 2012; Kwandawire, 2013; and Ramaite, 2014). Sexism may stem from traditional stereotypes of gender role and may include the belief that a person of one sex is intrinsically superior to a person of another (Mitchell, 1998). According to Molekane (1996), patriarchy and sexism serve to place women at the bottom of the hierarchy and men in a hierarchal structure of domination. This is reflected in the ways that men have to prove their manhood, they have to show traits of strength, bravery and aggressiveness, whilst women construct their femininity as being weak, passive and in need of protection.

Monethi (2013) argues that due to the dominance of sexist and patriarchal ideologies in the defence forces, occupations and positions in the military are highly gendered (Monethi, 2013). For example, more women than men occupy administrative positions.
This is due to the fact that women are perceived as nurturers, child bearers and caregivers. Their ‘soft nature’ and weakness, is perceived as on the reasons as to why they need to be protected from danger zones such as battles and wars (Mitchell, 1998). This in itself becomes a problem as it limits women’s chances of being better soldiers or even pursuing careers of their choice. Placing women in positions of subordination, limits their ability to form part of the decision-making boards, therefore, helping to perpetuate the gender stereotype that serves to say women are the weaker sex and are passive.

2.4.3 Socio-Cultural Factors

The society to which one belongs plays a significant role in how the individual perceives herself or himself. Members of a society co-exist and cooperate by conforming to the cultural norms of their society (Schalkwyk, 1996; and Carbajal, 2017). In other words, their ability to participate in the social interactions of the society is reliant on their compliance to prescribed rules (norms) for socializing with others. As such, it is out of the learned ways of behaving that power relations are formed which find their expression in the access and allocation of community and societal resources.

In this section of the chapter, socio-cultural factors are highlighted in order to show the effects of norms, values and cultural ideologies on the ways women perceive themselves and their participation in agricultural development.

According to Schalkwyk et al. (1996), “culture shapes the way in which things are done and our understanding of why this should be so”. Similarly, values and beliefs which are culturally derived serve as norms that determines when certain behaviours are appropriate and when they are not which allow for a wide range of situational and individual difference (Schalkwyk et al., 1996). Thus culturally derived values, beliefs and norms can also operate as important constraints to social change and social transformation, especially for women (Wasti & Cortina, 2002:1).

Gender is thus related to culture because gender roles and definitions are culturally defined. As Wasti et al., (2002:1) put it, “the behaviours, the expectations of attributes as well as the relations between men and women are shaped by culture”. Therefore, women are most likely to be underrepresented in the military since their role in the military is often associated with being a ‘helper’ to her male counterparts, even though
they both play the same role. Thus suggesting the military is a male only domain. These roles are then reproduced through acts of gender performance (Butler, 1988). In other words, men continue to perform their culturally derived ‘masculine’ duties which require them to perform the hard labour and own the means of production. While, on the other hand, women continue to perform ‘light’ duties such as nursing wounded soldiers and playing administrative roles.

Masculinities, femininities and other gender relations are important aspects of culture because they shape the ways to which daily life between men and women is lived in the family, the wider community and the workplace (Brown, 1995). The degree and extent to which women and men come to have knowledge and understanding about themselves is in many ways shaped by the socio-cultural norms and values of the societies in which they belong. Their ability to know who they are and what they do in their respective societies is governed by their socio-cultural norms and values.

These socio-cultural norms also ascribe men and women to different levels of power, duties, responsibility and ability to become active members in their communities and the broader society (Brown, 1995). In other words, culture may also plays a role in dictating or shaping the amount of power that one has in a particular societal structure. The status of men and women within their society also informs the types of roles or duties that men and women play in the military (Quisumbing, 2003).

2.4.4 Effects of Status on the Perceptions of Women as Soldiers

Status, is defined as a classification or a position which significantly determinants of how people are defined and treated (Macionis & Plummer, 2008:150). Max Weber identified status as among the more prominent social structures that inform the organization of social interaction (Macionis & Plummer, 2008). For example, women acquire statuses in her society from being employed, married, single or divorced which impact on how others treat, relate and even define them. In this manner, gender roles are socially reproduced through processes in which women are expected to maintain the same cultural or social status throughout their entire lives making it difficult for them to achieve a different status to the ones they possess. And since workplaces and other social institutions have not been modified in meaningful ways to accommodate
and account for the new statuses of women, their range of acceptable behaviour is severely restricted (Breen & Rottman, 1995).

Status is therefore essential to understanding social stratification and persistent inequalities between men and women. Max Weber (1949) identified two types of status namely, achieved statuses and ascribed statuses. Achieved statuses are acquired through effort and merit while ascribed statuses are imposed at birth, requiring individuals to carry out certain roles in order to maintain them (Weber, 1949). For example, from birth and onwards, a girl is raised into the traditional role of a woman which involves cooking, cleaning, fetching of water and other related activities. She is expected to perform those roles in order to be considered a woman. In contrast, a boy is raised into the role of a man which might involve herding cattle in pastoral and agrarian societies, pursuing and acquiring wealth, and heading his household in order to pass on his legacy to his sons. According to Weber, such ideology subjects women to caste-like circumstances that deny them the same rewards that men for their efforts (Macionis & Plummer, 2008). The same can be seen in the SANDF which is largely perceived as a male only domain, therefore, creating an imagery that side-lines women, or even seem as though it is not for women.

2.5 Militarism and Peacekeeping as a Male Affair

The military has a deep rooted masculine culture. One of the aspects of the masculinity, which is hegemonic in its cultural dominance, is the perspective on and perception of femininity. The masculine behaviour resents the weak, therefore, soldiers are trained not to complain or project any feminine traits (caring, nurturing, soft etc.). They need to be able to be without emotions like empathy or show motions of regret in order to be able to function as appropriate soldiers. Feminine attributes are looked upon as “weak” or “soft”, attributes such as sensitivity and compassion for instance are deemed to be in contrast to the military culture (Karner, 1998: 207-208). Therefore, the social practice of resenting attributes that are seen as feminine silently locks women out of combat roles (front lines) and into administrative and clerical duties.

Masculinity and femininity have a pole relation, seen as total opposites of each other. Masculinity favours skills and emotions and femininity others. Since there is a total
domination of masculinity due to the training and uniformly construction the solder, femininity and things perceived not to be masculine is a disruption. Some examples of the masculinity versus femininity opposites are war and peace, death and life, strong and weak, defenders and defended and military and civilian (Kovitz, 2003:9). Some argues that men can get confused when they are fighting alongside women. Men can become distracted and lose focus of their mission which would be devastating. The representation of women in the fighting forces is therefore seen as dangerous and problematic. Women are sexual distractions in field which leads to sexual jealousness that could be bad for the operational effectiveness (Kovitz, 2003:2). This is a very controversial way to look at it since the blame for women sexuality lies at them, they get victimized. The men do not have to take responsibility for their libido, and seems unable to control it.

Even though Sweden has come a far way in integrating women into the Swedish Army, there is a problem with the roles of men and women are. Women are often victimized and seen as they need to mark when something is done to them. The official view is that women need to say 'stop' and this is a way to rob men of their responsibility for sexual desires. With being a man comes an uncontrollable lust for sex. It is seen as totally normal to be attracted to women and that the norm of sexuality is heterosexual. The gender power relation illuminates military reality; men and heterosexuality is the normal and primal. Women bodies are not normal but different.

Winnow (n.d) argued that because armed forces have been predominantly male, early military sociology rarely questioned the way that male social roles were conditioned by the social construct of the male heterosexual warrior. An affirming example of this was noted by Woodward (2004:641) which showed the ways in which the concept of the military masculinity is modelled:

The warrior hero is physically fit and powerful. He is mentally strong and unemotional. He is capable of both solidarity, individual pursuits of his goals and self-denying contribution towards the work of his team. He is also a bit of a hero with a knack of picking up girls and is resolutely heterosexual. He is brave, adventurous and prepared to take risks. Crucially, he possesses the abilities to conquer hostile environments, to cross unfamiliar terrain and to lay claim to dangerous ground.
From these conceptions of the war hero, one is able to deduce, why women are most likely to be excluded and underrepresented in military zones. As shown from the above quote, there is limited space for women in the military, as the warrior is referred to as a ‘He’ and is set apart from the rest by his ability to pick up girls and his sexuality, which could serve as one of the reasons that male soldiers are most likely to abuse female soldiers, physically and sexually (Conell, 2000; and Business Day Newspaper, 2011).

2.5.1 Men’s Reaction towards Women as Soldiers
With the repeal of the ban on women serving in combat units in 1994 and 2013 some women and feminists have questioned whether or if current standards in the military should be kept in place, reviewed or modified (Burelli, 2013, Conell, 2000; and Le Roux, 2012). Many women’s supporters contended that the former policies or standards prevent women from gaining leadership positions and view expanding the roles of women as a matter of civil rights. Similarly, critics view such changes as politically damaging to military readiness. According to Gouws and Koetze (2007), it is common for stereotypes ideas about women’s abilities to perform well in leadership positions to inform people’s perceptions about women. The inability to accept women as combatants in the military further places women in a position of exploitation and subordination; with women bearing feelings of underrepresentation and inadequacy, while men continue to feel superior to women, which often leads to more men, adopting aggressive behaviours to maintain their position within the military.

Burhart, Fromuth, Mosher and Anderson (1991) argue that the socialisation of the hyper masculine man results in an overvaluing of toughness, violence and lack of empathetic response, as well as the development of a personality with proclivities towards coercive sexual conduct and a need to risk danger for excitement. Furthermore, they argued that sexual aggression validates and affirms this notion of masculinity because of its association with power (Burhart, Fromuth, Moser &Anderson, 1991). Malmuth (1997) also added by noting that certain subcultures, and societies that regard qualities such as toughness, dominance, aggressiveness and competitiveness as masculinities may breed individuals’ hostile to women and characteristics associated with femininity. Therefore, supporting the view that men in the military are most likely to be hostile to women or hold negative perceptions about
women in the military, due to the fact they were socialised into believing that the military is only for tough, aggressive and dominant individuals (who happen to be male).

Cock (1991) argues that some women heard that the wearing of military fatigues led to their losing their femininity, by this she referred to the SADF as maintaining a hierarchical ideology of gender roles and cultivating a subordinate and decorative notion of femininity. She goes on to argue that, ‘the egalitarian ideology of the MK sometimes involved a denial of femininity which in turn evoked feeling of resentment from some men in the military, especially in cases where women did what was required to succeed in the army. Therefore, this suggested that the role played by women in the underground and MK was crucially dependent on the attitude of male soldiers and other cadres, as well as the extent to which the MK model of a soldier and underground models could encompass women as well as men.

2.5.2 Sexual Harassment and Armed Conflict

Sexual harassment has over the years been reported as one of the most serious social problems, faced by the military. History has shown that women in the military have fallen prey and victim to their male colleagues due to their sexuality and femininity. Some of these sexual harassment crimes were fuelled by the need for their male counterparts to feel superior and also to prove the extent of women’s weakness and vulnerability. According to the Oxford Dictionary, sexual harassment is an “unwelcome sexual advance, request for favour and other physical conduct of a sexual nature that tends to create a hostile or offensive work environment” (Oxford Dictionary, 2014:645). Sexual harassment can also be referred to as a form of sex discrimination that occurs in the workplace.

Heinecken (2002) argues that sexual harassment is another issues associated with female integration, thus is a serious concern within the military. The causes of sexual harassment within the military are often associated with male domination, the traditional roles of men and women in society, as well as unequal power relations between men and women (Bender, Leone, Szumski, Haugen &Gerdes, 1999). Therefore, suggesting that there is a serious need to ensure that even though women are included in the military, their human rights are protected and considered to ensure
that they function just as effectively as their male counterparts. The commitment to fight against harassment on the field and in the workplace should not be only emphasized through verbal speeches but also action against such should be taken; otherwise female soldiers will find themselves intimidated by their male counterparts or subject to performing sexual favours in order to be deemed employable within the military.

2.6 Kotter’s 8 Step Chance Process and the SANDF

The SANDF as an institution has considerably put effort into ensuring that women are included in roles/ranks within the military. To date, the institution remains open to women. Although this is so, the SANDF is still found wanting as far as representation of women in combat roles is concerned. This is could be due to many unknown and known factors such as patriarchy which favours male domination, as well as the current societal structure in systems in operation in South Africa whereby women are perceived as inferior to men. Although the Kotter’s model of change may have been relevant to the United States Army, the SANDF, on the other hand, may not find the model of great significance. This is mainly because South Africa has a long history of oppression that resulted from colonialism and apartheid which have led to thinking of women as mere subjects of male domination.

Furthermore, issues of racial class have also led to Black women inferiority to the White women who is perceived to be more privileged. Therefore, creating a sense of urgency (Step 1) should be founded upon the premise that there are other issues (race and class) that needs to be taken into consideration. Unlike White women (who are known to occupy many seniority ranks in the military), Black women are most likely to occupy ‘unwanted’ positions due to the lack or delay of opportunities during the colonial period.

The question then, is not whether inclusion is possible but whether inclusion is sustainable and is acted out in a way that will display equal gender representation. The Kotter’s model of change was only necessary during the initial stages of including women in ground combat roles and lifting the ban of women in combat roles but not so much in ensuring that there is equal representation. In addition, the model is purely founded upon Eurocentric principles and therefore may have been blind to the needs
of many Black women soldiers. Therefore, the Kotter’s model may not be sufficient to the African context. South Africa is still a developing country with many political and economic challenges and socio-cultural norms that may result in men thinking negatively about female soldiers, as well as female soldiers feeling subjected to mimicking masculinity in order to be considered a true warrior. It is from this angle that the study seeks to develop a model for gender mainstreaming in the SANDF.

2.7 Women’s Role in the US Army
The role of women in society has been limited by quite a considerable number of factors, amongst which patriarchy is dominant. One area that has been constrained by patriarchy is the army, in which women’s participation has been limited. For example, women in the United States (US) have not been traditionally thought of as combat soldiers, because of mere perceptions that describe the military unit as a predominantly masculine terrain, where men exercise their masculine traits (Wan, undated). These perceptions, (driven by physiological difference, gender stereotypes, and cultural norms), also contributed to the announcement made by the former president of the United States, George W Bush, that that there should be “no women in combat” (Wan, n.d:116). Feminist movements and feminist theorists have debunked these notions by highlighting the unfairness and discriminatory nature of these statements made by the former president George W Bush which could be resulting perhaps from a conservative political ideology.

One of the reasons for this was informed by the US Department of Defense statement which highlighted “the department recognizes there are practical barriers (i.e., structural barriers, lack of practicality toward gender mainstreaming) that require time to resolve to ensure the services maximize the safety and privacy of all service members while maintaining military readiness” (Moritz, undated). On a similar note, the discovery news, noted that traditional attitudes make many people both uncomfortable with the idea of women fighting and unable to handle the image of mothers coming home in body bags (Discovery News, 2012). They also noted that “there are also concerns that women will interfere with group bonding and cohesion the same arguments that long interfered with the integration of African Americans and gay people into the military” (Discovery News, 2012). For obvious reasons Liberal Feminists are in no way in agreement with such statements and beliefs, due to their
standpoint which argues that women should be afforded equal opportunities to men and should be perceived as individuals who are capable to perform any duties prescribed to them whether feminine or masculine in nature.

Moreover, to the contestations of activist and women who believed in equal rights for women, new developments which led to women being allowed in to serve in the US Military but were only allowed to serve in the military as voluntary nurses during the civil war in 1861 to 1865. Thereafter, in 1901, the US Army, established the Army nurses corps, (a branch responsible for promotion of the wellness of warriors and their families, through the delivery of warrior and family health care) allowing women an official position in the military, this was perceived as one of the ways to which women could contribute according to their feminine qualities in the military, as it was deemed as safer (Karmarck, 2015; and Carbajal, 2017). Furthermore, during World War II, the military recruited women to fill man power positions, but only in clerical and secretarial work, this was unfair according liberalists and Liberal Feminists like Air Force Captain Kristen Franke (2010) who argued that if the military was to open and fill up positions, they should do so in all positions within the institution.

Irrespective of their efforts to ensure full inclusion of women in the military, women participating in war as ground soldiers, were demilitarized and returned to traditional civilian roles. This explains why women are to some extent often excluded from playing roles that are perceived to be contradictory to their socially prescribed roles prescribed by a patriarchal societal system. Nonetheless, since the fight against the nature to which women were included in the military, a lot of developments took place. These developments were to a large extent driven by the Women’s Armed Forces Integration Act PL 80-625 of 1948 which is a United States law that enabled women to serve as permanent, regular members of the armed forces in the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and the recently formed Air Force (Public Law CHS 447-449, 1948). The said act, according to Wan (undated), opened many doors for women in the military. In the very same year (i.e., 1948), the 1948 Public Law 80-625, gave women a permanent place, as actives (soldiers who serve in the army on a full time basis, often deployed on a two to–six-year basis) and reserves (soldiers who are to be available when a nation mobilizes for total war or defend against invasion), within all military services. This marked a period to which Liberal Feminists saw some of the restrictions on women
soldiers being reduced. However, as good a this sounded, women felt that this law still placed restrictions on women, in the sense that a two percent limit on the proposition on women to men were allowed to enlist and only ten percent enlisted could become officers, therefore, implying that the number of men in officer ranks would always exceed the number of women appointed for officer ranks.

In addition:

the 1994 Department of Defense (DOD) Policy also prevented women from being assigned to units below brigade level (a major tactical military formation that is composed of three to six battalions which is a military unit that consist of 300 to 800 soldiers divided into companies), where the units’ primary mission was to engage directly in ground combat.  
(Karmarck, 2015)

The policy, barred women from serving in infantry, artillery, amour, combat engineers and special operations units of battalion size or smaller.

2.7.1 Women and the Military in the US Army

When it came to the servitude of women in the military, Campbell (2013), felt that women were the ‘invisible’ (behind the scenes) combatants of World War II. Hundreds of thousands of women engaged in combat thus served every front. Likewise, the Soviet and British women fought bravely. Unlike Soviet and British women, American women were not sent into combat. This raised questions amongst feminist scholars as well as military sociologists who advocated for women’s rights and women’s participation in the military (Sule, 2002; and Coates, 1995). Questions were based on the inclusion of women in the military and the type's position they filled. These questions also led to an investigation into gender roles within the US Army during the Second World War. It was found that the general consensus is that on the home front women (women who managed their households whilst working in defence plants) temporarily assumed new roles, but no permanent or radical transformation took place. Campbell (2013) further argued that putting American women soldiers into combat was the most dramatic experiment in changing the traditional roles of women as the passive sweetheart or wife or sex object whose ultimate mission was to wait for their virile men folk to return from their masculine mission of fighting and dying for traditional social roles.
While some time was still needed towards obliterate stereotyping, women in the US, served with courage and continue to serve on combat aircraft, naval vessels, and in support of ground combat operations. This evolution came about in the early days of the military when women were constrained by law and policy from serving in certain occupations and units within the military (Kohn, 2009; Campbell, 2013; and Carbajal, 2017). After much consideration and efforts to mainstream women into the military, the then Secretary of Defence Leon Panetta rescinded the rule that restricted women from serving in combat units on January 24, 2013, and directed the military departments to review their occupational standards and assignment policies for implementation no later than January 1, 2016 (Campbell, 2013; Winslow & Dunn, 2002; and Cox, 2016).

On December 3, 2015, Secretary of Defence Ashton Carter ordered the military to open all combat jobs to women with no exceptions (Campbell, 2013). This most recent policy change followed extensive studies that were completed by the military departments and by the Special Operations Command (SOCOM) on issues such as unit cohesion, women’s health, equipment, facilities modifications, propensity to serve, and international experiences with women in combat (Campbell, 2013; Kohn, 2009; and Carbajal, 2017). Findings of the study suggested that women were more than (a) willing to serve in combat positions; (b) more training would improve women’s ability to serve in the military (SOCOM, 2010).

Those in favour of keeping restrictions (such as women should not be allowed to participate in combat roles) on women in combat units mentioned physiological differences (strength, menstruation, pregnancy and physical appearance) between men and women that could potentially affect military readiness and unit effectiveness. Some also argued that social and cultural barriers exist to the successful integration of women into combat occupations and all-male units. Those who advocate for opening all military occupations to women emphasized equal rights and argued it is more difficult for service members to advance to top-ranking positions in the armed services without combat experience. In their view, modern weapons have equalized the potential for women in combat since wars are less likely to be fought on a hand to hand basis. In this regard, properly trained women would be able to perform
successfully in combat and exempting them from serving in combat is unfair to men (Campbell, 2013).

2.7.2 Gender Mainstreaming in the US Army
2.7.2.1 Opening Opportunities for Women in the Military

Opening opportunities for women in the United States Army has proven to be a rather controversial journey that eventually led to new developments and changes. These developments and changes were noted upon the creation of the Army Nurses Corp in 1901 (a branch responsible for promotion of the wellness of warriors and their families, through the delivery of warrior and family health care), which officially established the first opportunities for women in the military (Haring, 2015; and Cox, 2016). Though women served in both World War I and World War II, it is not until the passage of the Army Navy Nurses Act in 1947 (PL.80-36) that women achieved the rank and pay afforded to their male counterparts (Haring, 2015; and Cox, 2016). Furthermore, while the “1947 admission of women” to the service academies proved to be a turning point in the role of women in the military, substantial limitations remained. The Combat Exclusion Policy still barred women from serving in combat positions.

After much confrontations from ‘right to fight’ feminists (Liberal Feminist and civil republicans), in opposition to the placement of laws that served to limit women’s service in military, the former Secretary of Defence (SECDEF) Leon Panetta (1994), made a historic decision to eliminate ground combat exclusion. In his address to the US military, he stated that “only future decisions to exclude women will be made as an exception rather than the rule”, shifting the paradigm from one of automatic exclusion to one of automatic inclusion (Haring, 2015). In addition to the decision, a command of three years to figure out how to successfully integrate women into previously closed position was issued (Haring, 2015; and Patten & Kim Parker, 2011).

One of the models used for this integration of women in the military was the Dr John P. Kotter’s 8 Stage Change Process (Kotter, 1995). The model mainly chosen from a point of familiarity with the model as it is taught in the Army’s professional school as an organizational change model. Furthermore, the model was used in hopes of organizational change in the military by the Secretary of Defence. The model lays out
a recommended step-by-step process for effecting large scale, systemic organizational change. The model state is unpacked below.

2.7.2.1.1 Step 1: Establishing a sense of urgency

According to this model, in order to mobilise human capital and resource, leaders in the military must overcome not just active resistance but a multitude of sources that contribute to complacency and impede change efforts. To this resolve, Kotter (1995; 2004) argued that creating urgency and momentum for change requires bold or risky action. An example of this action was made by the Secretary of Defense and Chairman Dempsey, when he announced publicly that in order to integrate women into the military, women must be allowed to serve in all previously closed specialties, in this a sense of urgency is created (Kotter, 1995, 2004; Cohen, 2002; and Haring, 2015).

2.7.2.1.2 Step 2: Creating a guiding coalition

This step asserts that guiding coalitions must include people who have power, expertise, credibility and good leadership skills (Kotter, 1995, 2004; and Cohen, 2002). For example, when the Secretary of Defence and the Chairman announced their decision to withdraw the policy, they placed responsibility for implementing the change on the Service Military Chiefs and designated the personnel and readiness office within the office of the Secretary of Defence to oversee implementation. Unfortunately, this action arguably violated some of the key principles for creating a good guiding coalition. First, at the Occupation Specific Dispensation (OSD) level the overseeing organization is an administrative staff with no authority to direct the actions of the military departments (Haring, 2015; and Patten & Kim Parker, 2011).

Second, the OSD staff office lacks credibility for understanding the operational requirements faced by the various services. Finally, Haring (2015); Patten and Kim Parker (2011) argued that, the service military and personnel have little expertise in overseeing an integration effort of this nature. Therefore, future practices of the principles and steps of the model require that the necessary staff assigned to the tasks possess the appropriate power and skills to see the process through; which could also trickle down to the empowerment of women, as well as increasing their participation. This will assist to demolish the idea and misconceptions of women being passive members in peace-keeping missions as well as ground combat missions. In this way,
the liberalist endeavours are met and adhered to in ensuring that women are incorporated into the military and are able to serve in positions based on their skills and capabilities and not on attributes of femininity.

2.7.2.1.3 Step 3: Develop a vision and strategy

A vision and strategy is of key significance in any organisation because a “vision tells people where the organisation needs to go and why it needs to go there, while strategy provides a way to get there” (Haring, 2015:12). According to Haring (2015) and Cohen (2002), the best visions and strategies include some degree of member participation to buy in. In this case, the military had a very mixed approach that failed to incorporate best practices. When the Secretary of Defence made the announcement that he was rescinding the exclusionary policy, he clearly told the services where they needed to go with full integration, but he failed to fully explain why it was in the best interest of the military to go there. In addition, he gave the services a limited chance to affect the final outcome, which they took as an opportunity to challenge the entire decision (Cohen, 2002).

Leon Panneta (2013) told the Services that if “they found that areas of their organizations could not fully integrate then they could request an exception to policy, cautioning them that any exception would have to be ‘narrowly tailored’” and based on a “rigorous analysis of the factual data regarding the knowledge, skills, and abilities needed for the position” (Cohen, 2000; and Harring, 2015). Therefore, while this change was directive in nature, it allowed for a degree of participatory decision making relative to the final outcome. As to strategy, the way to get to the end, states Leon Panneta (1994), is largely left up to the military services. He provided some guiding principles, as well as benchmarked dates but how they reached the end was completely up to the military services. By so doing, the Secretary of Defence expected each service to have its own strategies. Leon Panneta (1994) opened room to the slow implementation of policy and an inaccurate integration of women in the Defence Force. Seemingly, he left the inclusion of women at the mercy of those who possessed power, regardless of the knowledge of their reservations about women serving in the army.
2.7.2.1.4 Step 4: Communicating the change vision

Educating the public as well as the organisation about the benefits of changing the current structure to suit women and include women, could serve as a stepping stone in the right direction. According to Kotter (1994), a shared sense of a desirable future, can help motivate, and coordinate the kinds of actions, that lead to transformation" (Kotter, 1994; 2004). This was illustrated when the Secretary of Defence and the Chairmen announced this policy change. They did so at a Pentagon news conference that lasted for 38 minutes and included a question and answer period. At that press conference the Secretary of Defence stated that, “The time has come for our policies to recognise that reality” (Haring, 2015:15). He further stated that the Chairman and the Joint Chiefs of Staff and himself believe that they must open up service possibilities for women as fully as possible" (Haring, 2015). Throughout that briefing and in subsequent statements the military leadership used qualifying language like “as fully as possible” to create a less than clear vision (Haring, 2015).

Since then, the Marine Corps’ professional journal and The Gazette, subsequently engaged in a very public debate about the merits of opening up many units and specialties to women (The Gazzette, 2013). They published numerous articles challenging the efficacy of the decision. Most of the challenges argued that, for a myriad of reasons, it is simply not possible to open the infantry to women. Although the SECDEF and the Chairmen had issued a directive, the Marines thought it was acceptable to debate the merits of the directive itself rather than get to the task of figuring out how to implement it. This was, according to Karmack (2016), mainly because “assigning women to submarine duty were not related to the dangers of combat, but instead related to privacy and habitability issues in cramped spaces and cost concerns for retrofitting submarines to accommodate both men and women” (Karmarck, 2016:9).

To the Liberal Feminist theories, such concerns should not be deemed to be relevant as the theory argues that, in order for equality to be achieved, there is need for transformation. Which therefore suggests that, if opening combat positions for women means a transformation of spaces to better accommodate women is necessary, then that is the practice that needs to be followed to. Therefore, communicating these
changes to the relevant military services propels much more effective measures to the mainstreaming and the integration of women in combat positions.

2.7.2.1.5 Step 5: Empowering employees for broad based action
Removing barriers gives employees both the power and resources to effect change (Kotter, 1994; 2004). Structural barriers, obstinate leaders, and lack of training are all potential barriers to change. In the military, many barriers have hindered the change process. One of the structural barriers lies in the joint nature of the military services, which is mostly embedded in hegemonic masculinities and patriarchy. Today, all of the Services cross-support each other to varying degrees, and all provide personnel to Special Operations Command (SOCOM).

As some Services have moved forward, they have found themselves blocked by slower moving Services. For example, the Army trains Armor officers for both the Army and the Marine Corps. The Marines have said that, because the Army has not opened up Armor school, they cannot conduct any research on women in Armor specialties (Harring 2015:15). Similarly, all of the Services say that until Special Operations Command begins accepting women they cannot open their elite specialties to women because women's assignment and promotion opportunities would be limited if they are not ultimately allowed to be assigned to SOCOM. In particular, the Air Force, whose only remaining closed specialties require cross assignment to SOCOM, has been waiting for SOCOM to accept women as combat airmen before they put women through their training pipeline.

Another barrier has been senior military leaders who have made public statements that erect barriers to full integration. Shortly after the policy was lifted, the Marine Corps Commandant said that “if there aren’t enough women officers who are interested or who qualify for the Marine Corps infantry then is not worth the effort to allow any of them to serve in the infantry” (Neller, 2015:16). The Commandant’s remarks clearly indicate a lack of senior leader support for this change. However, over time the Commandant changed his tone and his level of support. His March 2014 White Letter, was a marked change to earlier comments made to the press. Thereafter, the Marine Corps made a more concerted effort to overcome organizational resistance and barriers by holding a series of “town hall” style meetings at units and installations.
2.7.2.1.6 Step 6: Generating Short term wins
In this step, Kotter (1994) argues that in order for an organization to thrive whilst making its changes and transformation, it is necessary to highlight the benefits of the change and transformation. In this way, those who seem to be sceptical of the change are educated and thereof unable to challenge the changes taking place. To this recommendation, the US Army, made it a point that they celebrated and communicated with the public about their early success in opening up positions that were previously closed to women, in particular combat units. For example, both the Army and the Marine Corps opened combat units positions that were previously closed to women by allowing them to serve in combat units. According to Haring (2015), in 2013, the first enlisted women were allowed to attend Marine Corps infantry (a general branch of an army that engages in military combat on foot) training and their success was celebrated with what has come to be called an “iconic photo” of the young women.

2.7.2.1.7 Step 7: Consolidating gains and producing change
Resistance to change is “always waiting to reassert itself.” Hard-core resisters continue to look for opportunities to undermine the change process, and short-term gains are not enough to transform the entire system. The interdependent nature of complex social systems means that change must be widespread across all systems before long-term change and true transformation is realized. While the military is in the early stages of this change process, they have already identified mid and long-term challenges to fully realizing this change. For example, in order to accommodate women in the Navy, many ships are being modified to provide separate landing for men and women. Although the Navy has redesigned future ships, some of their older ships were deemed prohibitively expensive to modify. The Navy decided that it will let some of the older ships be decommissioned over time rather than modified to accommodate women. While this seems logical, it will potentially provide pockets of resistance to the overall transformation effort. Additionally, if any of the services is granted an exception to policy that keeps any units or specialties closed, it will undermine the entire transformation effort.
2.7.2.1.8 Stage 8: Anchoring new approaches in the culture

According to organizational psychologists Sarris and Kirby (2010), culture is arguably “the most difficult element to change in an organization”. Kotter (1996; 2004) agrees that, noting that not only is culture hard to change but that it should be the last area of focus of any organizational change effort. He asserts that “culture changes only after you have successfully altered people’s actions, after the new behaviour produces some group benefit for a period of time.” Kotter’s rule of thumb is that any organizational change plan that sets out to change culture as a first step is doomed to failure from the start (Kotter, 2004). This is mainly because, regardless of how hard or when culture is tackled, it is clear that culture develops slowly, over time, and it is hard to see and understand, even perhaps most particularly for those who are embedded within the culture. Some aspects of culture are visible while others are hidden deeply within the subconscious of the organization.

Most definitions of organizational culture refer to an organization’s shared values, norms, rituals, stories, and expectations. Culture is sometimes referred to as the software that invisibly guides all aspects of an organization’s functioning (Sarris & Kirby, 2010). Certainly, the military stands as an example of an institution comprised of organizations steeped in tradition and an enduring culture that rests on centuries of “the universal gendering of war” where women have rarely served, officially, as combatants. For this change to take root in the military, it will require a sustained effort on the part of leaders and change activists to highlight improved capabilities and cement new beliefs and new normative behaviours in the organizations. It will likely take decades to realize full integration.

2.8 Women’s Role in the Liberation Armies in Sub-Sahara

2.8.1 The Algerian War of Independence

Leonhart (2013:7) argued that “after nearly a 130-year regime of violence and oppression under French colonialism, Algeria began their struggle for independence in 1954”. The war was described as one of those moments in which, gendered, religious and ethnic identities were challenged. This is because nearly one million people were killed, centuries old traditions were broken and the country was torn apart (Cooke, 1989). The Algerian War of Independence started on the 1 November 1954
to 1962 between France and the Algerian National Liberation Front (FLN). The war led to Algeria gaining her independence from France in the year 1962.

Traditional accounts of war define it as a masculine enterprise and war narratives thus as the work of men. These accounts or notions are used to justify the special roles played by men within the nation, as wartime makes men eminently qualified to be not only military but also civilian leaders (Helie-Lucas, 1990; and Schneider, 2015). Furthermore, Natalya (2010) and Leonhart (2015), argue that although many women suffered and risked their lives in the war against French occupation, their contribution to an Algerian victory did not help them achieve equal rights once independence was declared in 1962. This is mainly due to the reasons that the French believed appealing to women by improving their status would break up the independence movement, since women were seen as symbols of Algerian national identity and culture.

The war of independence was not the first in which women participated actively as combatants, spies, fundraisers and couriers, as well as nurses, laundered and cooks, but the Algerian war set a precedent for African women in the liberation movements (Turshen, 2004). The ministry of veterans, according to Turshen (2004), reported in 1974 that 11,000 Algerian women had fought for the liberation of their country (which was about three percent (3%) of all fighters. To date, feminist authors, argue that the three percent was a serious underestimation of women’s participation (Minne, 1993:231; and Mackkinon, 1989). Minne (1993) continued to report that, of the eleven thousand (11,000), twenty-two percent (22%) were urbanites, whilst seventy-eight percent (78%) were from rural areas.

Women militants, participated in war by not only taking up arms to fight for the independence from France but by also using political weapons to free women from ignorance and servitude. Educated women from urban areas joined forces which went by the name Maquis (the rebel forces operating in the mountains) whilst the rest of women in the in the villages, taught illiterate peasant women about their social roles and explained colonialism, the revolution and the reasons for the independence struggle. Nonetheless, despite Algerian women’s courageous acts during the war of independence, the French military and police did not spare women participants who were captured, close to two thousand two hundred (2,200) Mujahidat (women
combatants) were arrested and tortured (Turshen & Twagiramariyai, 1998). After eight (8) years (1962-1970) and more than one million deaths, Algeria won its independence, thus resulting with women gaining secured citizenship, equal rights to co-education and health services and equal entry to the professions. By 1994-95, forty-six percent (46%) of primary and fifty percent (50%) of secondary school students were girls; half of universities graduates were women, fifty percent (50%) of doctors, one third of judges and thirty (30%) percent of lawyers were women (Turshen & Twagiramariyai, 1998).

2.8.2 West Africa and the Empowerment of Women in the Military

Recent wars in West Africa have introduced a phenomenon that is not popular in the history and mythology of West Africa (Ekiyor, 2013). Ekiyor (2013) also stated that the voices of women, stereotypically known to be romantic, affective, and soothing, now echo with the masculinity and monstrosity common among warriors of old. In other words, gone are those days when women sang praises of warrior men, because women too are warriors, who are capable of defending their nations and ideals. As illustrated in the opening quote of the chapter by Ekiyor (2013), Liberian women were in the forefront of Taylor’s rebellion (which was a rebellion against the taxation of poorer classes insofar as it prevented further levying of the poll tax).

In support of women’s participation in the rebellion, Aning (1998) further stipulated that during the early stages of Taylor’s rebellion, women joined and played various roles in the process and they also provided a primary infrastructure of resistance. Women played destructive roles in the civil wars that destroyed some of the states in West Africa, as well as facilitated the war efforts of the government and the rebels (Augustine, 2000; Vidal, 2002; and Physics for Human Rights, 2002). Large numbers of women were active in the wars in Sierra Leone and Liberia (1901-2002), with some rising to the ranks of commanders, generals and senior intelligent officers. Moreover, women were also in the forefront in the peace processes that eventually ended the wars in Sierra Leone and Liberia (Augustine, 2000; Vidal, 2002; and Physics for Human Rights, 2002).

This greatly removed the stereotypes associated with women being seen as only nurturers, homemakers and life givers. Regardless of this shift or turnaround in the
West African military, women are still less in regular armies, with their numbers increasing in illegal armies, rebels or revolutionary movements (Ekiyor, 2013; and Alaga, 2010). Private armies and rebel movements have discovered the unique roles women and only women can assume on battle fields. At one time in the Liberian civil war, the majority of Charles Taylor’s, as well as Maummar Gadhafi’s bodyguards were women (Anning, 1998). This is because Charles Taylor, believed that women could easily be trusted than men and that women can easily devote their lives to a cause once they are convinced that it is noble and in the defence of life and human dignity.

2.8.3 Eritria
In the horn of Africa, the Eritrean People’s Liberation Army, in the year 1970, was said to have comprised of approximately 33% of women fighters (Frankel, 2000). The Eritrean People’s Liberation Army was an armed organization that fought for the independence of Eritrea from Ethiopia. It emerged in 1970 as an intellectual left-wing group that split from the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF). After achieving Eritrean independence in 1991, it transformed into the People's Front for Democracy and Justice (PFDJ), which serves as Eritrea’s only legal political organization. The EPLF was an egalitarian movement in which 33% of the fighters were women (Rena, 2007).

The women fighters’ influence in the patriarchal and quite conservative Eritrean society was significant. Their role in the war brought about major changes that represent the demography and economy of the country (Rena, 2007). In addition, women also participated in local and regional political structures, both in liberated areas and behind the enemy lines. According to Rena (2007), women served in the EPLF alongside men in all capacities except the top ranks of leadership. As guerrilla fighters, women fought side by side with men in mixed units and marched to victory with their male comrades (James & Stuart, 1985). To date, women fighters signify Eritrean’s determination to fight on the last man and beyond him to the last woman.

2.8.4 Kenya’s Mau Mau Uprising
tenants from settler farms, loss of land to White settlers, poverty, and lack of true political representation for Africans provided the impetus for the revolt (Anderson & Branch, 2013). During the eight-year uprising, 32 White settlers and about 200 British police and army soldiers were killed. Over 1,800 African civilians (non-Mau Mau rebels) were killed and some put the number of Mau Mau rebels killed at around 20,000 (Anderson & Branch, 2013; Anderson, 2005; and Daniel, 2009).

Although the Uprising was directed primarily against British colonial forces and the White settler community, much of the violence took place between rebel and loyalist Africans. Thus the uprising often had the appearance of a civil war with atrocities on both sides. The uprising, which involved mostly Kikuyu people, the largest ethnic group in the colony, began to take shape when more radical Kikuyu militants were invited in to the nationalist KAU (Kenya African Union) named Muhimu (Anderson & Branch, 2013; Anderson, 2005; and Daniel, 2009). These activists replaced a more moderate, constitutional agenda with a militant one. The Muhimu began widespread Kikuyu oathing, often through intimidation and threats. Traditional oath taking ceremonies were believed to bind people to the cause, with dire consequences like death resulting on the breaking of such oaths. The British responded with de-oathing ceremonies. Additionally, the Muhimu attacked loyalists and White settlers (Odhiambo, 2003; and Bennett, 2012).

In October 1952, when an emergency was declared and British troops were sent to Kenya, the British response to the uprising entailed massive round-ups of suspected Mau Mau and supporters, with large numbers of people hanged and up to 150,000 Kikuyu held in detention camps. Many Mau Mau rebels and armies based themselves in forest areas of Mt. Kenya and Aberdares (Anderson & Branch, 2013; Anderson, 2005; and Daniel, 2009). Urban militants, however, waged the struggle in Nairobi and other Kenyan cities. The largest single massacre of the uprising took place in Lari on March 26, 1953, with attacks by Mau Mau on loyalist Home Guard families. Approximately 74 people were killed and about 50 wounded (Anderson & Branch, 2013; Anderson, 2005; and Daniel, 2009). The massacre generated retaliatory attacks by Home Guard, settler, and colonial forces. The initial massacre and retaliatory attacks resulted in the deaths of around 400 people, although there is no official number and the reality of people killed may have been much higher. The Lari
Massacre was a turning point in the uprising where many Kikuyu were forced to choose sides in this resistance struggle (Odhiambo, 2003; and Anderson, 2005).

2.8.5 Women and Kenya’s Mau Mau Uprising
From the beginning of the nationalist movement until the final release of detainees in 1959, women were very much involved in the nationalist movement and its more militant arm, the Mau Mau movement (Anderson & Branch, 2013; Anderson, 2005; and Daniel, 2009). Their involvement had begun in the 1930s when they established the Mumbi Central Association, a women’s nationalist organization. Mumbi Central was created because male nationalists excluded women from participating in the most prominent nationalist organization, the Kikuyu Central Association. After 1933, the Mumbi Central Association merged with the Kikuyu Central Association; this set a precedent that is still visible in Kenya’s political parties of having a women’s wing and prominent women members of political organizations (Odhiambo, 2003; and Bennett, 2012). In the 1950s, women who fought in the independence movement laid the groundwork for the subsequent involvement of women, such as Wangari Maathai, a noted environmentalist and activist in Kenya and winner of the 2004 Nobel Peace Prize for her work in national and local politics.

From the 1950s, women participated in all phases of the anti-colonial war. They joined the secret Mau Mau organization that emerged after 1948. The new recruits were required to take an oath of loyalty (Odhiambo, 2003; and Anderson & Branch, 2013). Though swearing to abide by a solemn promise was traditionally reserved for males, when the Mau Mau movement began, women also took oaths and were often able to administer oaths to male and female recruits. Female Mau Mau adherents, by giving and taking oaths, were therefore breaking an important gender barrier from their introduction to the movement (Daniel & Cheeseman, 2006). Gender barriers were also broken in the area of leadership roles and combat roles.

The women’s wing of Mau Mau had a prominent female leader, Rebecca Njeri Kari. Another leader, Wambui-Waiyaki (later Otieno), developed a network of women spies who gathered data on British installations and operations. At the district and village level, women also emerged as leaders. During the rebellion, British political and military forces arrested, imprisoned, and detained Mau Mau leadership and rank-and-
file members (Daniel & Cheeseman, 2006). Women were among those who were arrested and detained. Prominent women leaders, including Kari, Waiyaki, and Wambui Wan-garama, spent years in prison for their political beliefs (Odhiambo, 2003; and Kandawire, 2013).

2.8.6 Zimbabwe
Zimbabwe’s former Vice President, Joice Mujuru, who went by the nom de guerre Teurai-Ropa (spill blood), is hailed as a ferocious warrior who brought down a colonial military helicopter with an AK-47 assault rifle (Frankel, 2000). Despite the courageous acts and contribution of women during the liberation struggle, most women soldiers are still restricted to prescribed gender roles as nurses, cooks, secretaries and officers in personnel units, with only a few women participating in combat roles (Frankel, 2000). This, according to Meyers (a Liberal Feminist) and the author of Personal Autonomy and the Paradox of Feminine Socialization, results from the fact that women’s efforts usually go unnoticed due to the fact that she is often perceived as a ‘traditional woman’; one who is strongly socialized to feminine norms and devotes herself primarily to the care of the family, and thus unable to practise personal autonomy due to her role as a caregiver. As such, the assumption is, a traditional woman often puts others needs before her own and may not be able to pursue her own goals.

2.9 Summary
This chapter presented the literature review of the study. This chapter explored literature on women in combat around the world, that is, in the West and on the African continent. This was done to provide a comparative analysis of the experiences of woman combatants around the world. The reason for this was that South Africa is part of the global village and a signatory to conventions such as peace-keeping missions, gender and development, poverty alleviations, and human right movement. Hence, any analysis of the internal military operations cannot be successfully explored without taking a look at the activities in the neighbouring countries and the world at large with whom the country has a lot in common.
CHAPTER THREE
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction
This chapter presents the theoretical framework of the study. The study was conducted through the theoretical specs of the Liberal Feminist perspective. In that regard, it was established that Sociology offers a distinctive way of seeing and explaining the social world, within which we live in, as well as the events and institutions that shape it. Although the military institution is believed to be a neglected, if not a closed and private institution, this study seeks to explore and investigate the extent of women’s representation in the military. Winslow (2010) states that, because armed forces have been predominantly male, early military sociologists rarely questioned the way that male social roles were conditioned. This is rather surprising since war has led to epochs of social change that have changed the face of human society (Heinecken, 2015).

Liberal Feminist Theory is relevant to the study because the researcher believes like many other Liberal Feminists and liberal politicians that women like men have the right to participate in all political and social roles (including war roles). The belief is based on the premise that excluding women from positions of power in international relations and issues of war is unfair to women and prevents half the population from making its best contribution to the society. Having noted the contribution and participation of women in the defence forces across the globe, the Liberal Feminist’s argument is that women have performed well, when under military necessity but still face persistent discrimination including the dismissal after war. In South Africa, the SANDF has made considerable progress in integrating women into the military, but the institution is found wanting as far as their integration policies are concerned, as well as consideration of women’s equal rights within the military. Therefore, this chapter takes into consideration, the contributions made by sociologist and feminist theorist in uncovering the mysteries aligned with women in military institutions.
3.2 Understanding Feminism

There are various forms of feminism discussed and debated by sociologists and other philosophers from other disciplines in academia. An example of these theories of feminism, are radical feminism, which accounts for women’s oppression and subordination as largely rooted in patriarchy, which is perceived by radical feminists as a system of power upon which human relationships in society are arranged (Walehan, 1996). Radical feminism challenges this patriarchal arrangement by rejecting standard gender roles and male oppression. Women’s oppression, according to radical feminism, is more of a result of patriarchal gender relations as opposed to legal systems or class conflict.

Although the researcher likes to believe that patriarchy is a central issue in understanding women's issues, in the military, patriarchy and its nature as a system of gender relations, is not enough to understand women’s issues, let alone suggest ways forward in dealing with women’s representation. This is mainly because there are vast reasons to women’s underrepresentation, as well as it is a known fact that patriarchy continues to exist as a barrier and as glass ceiling which prohibits women’s personal autonomy in society. To fight the injustices of a system, one needs to take into account the persons within the systems, their ability to practice personal autonomy. In other words, freedom of choice, as well as their freedom to social mobility. Therefore, the theory is somewhat incompatible with what the study aims to achieve.

Another type of feminism often used to account for women’s oppression in society is the Marxist Feminism, which denies that women’s subordination is rooted in male and female biology. In Marx’s 1884 classic work, titled: *The Origins of the Family: Private property and the state*, his co-author, Frederick Engels, hypothesized that:

> With the development of agriculture, which was far more efficient and productive means of subsistence, than the previous system of hunting and gathering, a relatively few men seized control of the main productive resources, transforming them into their own private property and thereby established the first class property.

(Marx &Engels, 1884:48)
In other words, women were then immediately subordinated in order to guarantee the paternity of property owning men, ensuring that those who inherited would be those of men's own biological offspring. It is for this reason that the Radical Feminist theory cannot be used for this particular study.

Lober (2010) further clarifies that not only do classical Marxists claim that the establishment of class society was the original cause for women’s subordination, but they go on to argue that it is capitalism, the contemporary form of class society, which today perpetuates the subordination of women by enforcing their economic dependence on men. Marxist Feminists therefore, argue that keeping women subordinate is functional to the capitalist system in a variety of ways from getting a large amount of socially necessary work done at a very low cost to providing a reserve pool of low-paid labour which exerts a continuing downward pressure on wages. The theory, although seeming relevant to the study, accounts for women’s subordination as a result of a capitalist system. Even though this might be true to a certain extent, the theory is found wanting. The main issue here is not whether women receive unfair wages or whether women are subordinated by men who hold the will to have women dependant on them, but rather that women should be perceived as autonomous beings, that are able to make rational choices about their own future and destiny.

Furthermore, that woman should be able to exercise their power regardless of the nature of the system. Hence solutions should be made in such a way that women alongside men are granted equal rights upon entering into available job opportunities. The Marxist Feminism then can and will, to a certain extent, misinterpret women’s representation in the military.

Moreover, other dominant theories often used to study women, are theories of social exclusion. Social exclusion refers to ways in which individuals may become cut off or marginalized from full involvement in the wider society. It focuses attention on a broad range of factors that prevent individuals or groups from having opportunities open to the majority of the population. Social exclusion is not accidental but systematic; it is a result of structural features of society. The social exclusion is involuntary, that is exclusion is practiced regardless of the wishes of those who are excluded.
For example, many women, were excluded from labour, with aims to adhere to the perceived social norms at the time. The history of women’s social exclusion from the labour force and other sectors such as housing, civic engagement and democratic participation or the pursuit for leaders, has somewhat to date hampered their social progression. Women, especially in the military, fall risk to be perceived as deviant due to the fact that the military has always been perceived as a domain for men, thus may find themselves excluded from combat positions (Lober, 2010).

Social exclusion and its practiced is therefore unfair as it limits women from pursuing careers of their choice due to their feminine attributes that depicts them as weak and only as nurturers and not strong or masculine (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007). In consideration of the idea that social exclusion is not accidental but systematic, and also a structural feature of society, it then becomes necessary to view issues facing women in society as a result of perceived norms, traditions, the failure to accept women as capable of demonstrating sufficient and efficient skills in combat role positions within the SANDF and the community at large. Although the Theory of Social Exclusion is able to explain women’s issues in the SANDF as a result of social exclusion and discrimination, it is often appropriate to use a feminist lens (which in this study is Liberal Feminism) in studying and seeking to resolve some of the issues pertinent to the inclusion of women into the military. Additionally, studying is advisable that women are studied or analysed with a lens that speaks directly to women’s need and does not refer to women as the general population (Le Roux, 2003).

3.3 Liberal Feminism

This study primarily lenses into Liberal Feminism with hopes to explore issues affecting women in military services regardless of their race, class, sexual orientations age and influence. This chapter therefore, explores the foundations of Liberal Feminism, its accounts for the representation of women in society, as well as its standpoint on gender equality. Furthermore, the chapter takes a glance into women and the military, and the views of Liberal Feminist on the appropriate ways to which gender mainstreaming could be practiced to ensure an equal representation at all levels for women in the SANDF. Lastly, and most crucial, this chapter aims to show the relevance of Liberal Feminism to the study.
3.3.1 The Origins and Foundations of Liberal Feminism

Lober (2010:20) argues that “the feminism of the 1960’s and 1970’s was the beginning of the second wave feminism”. Similar, to the first wave of feminism, which sought after equal rights as citizens for women, in the western societies, Liberal Feminists developed the idea of individual rights (Woolf, 1929; and Wing, 2000). The question that Liberal Feminists ask is why women’s rights are not part of these individual human rights. Since the beginning of the second wave, the goals and vision of gender reforms were mainly gender equality, which stood for legal treatment of women and men alike, even though they are biologically different (Warhol & Herndl, 1991). Moreover, these liberal theories were distinguished from previous political theories in part by their insistence that all reforms of social domination or authority need to be justified. Liberal theories, postulated the importance of equality for all men based on their allegedly equal potential for reason and promoted the social ideals of liberty and equality.

Almost, as soon as the new liberal ideals of liberty and equality were developed and sustained, women also began to demand that they too should be free and equal. This, therefore, lead to the first western feminist theory by Mary Wollstonecraft’s *Vindication of the rights of women*, inspired by the French Revolution to be published in 1792. In her book, Wollenstonecraft (1792) pointed the direction for later Liberal Feminism, by arguing that biological sex differences were entirely irrelevant to granting social rights. Wollenstonecraft (1792) argued that women’s capacity to reason was equal with that of men. She continued to claim that the inferiority of the female intellect, was due to women’s inferior education and should be interpreted as the results of women’s social inequality rather than as a justification of it.

Wollenstoncraft’s (1992) distinction, between biological facts and social norms, foreshadowed the distinction, made by early twentieth century Liberal Feminists. Twentieth Century feminists distinguished gender and sex conceptually by arguing that sex is regarded as a socially invariant biological difference between male and females, and thus should be a property of nonhumans and human beings. Whilst, on the other hand, gender is to be perceived or defined as a historical variable set of social norms and expectations which prescribe appropriate behaviour for men and women, and thus should be attributed on to human beings. According to Lobner (2010), Liberal Feminists perceive women’s subordination as a consequence of
gendered norms rather than biological sex. In other words, women are subordinated due to the socially prescribed roles and behaviours, such as women are caregivers, nurturers and home keepers. Thus, explaining why women are to some extent often excluded from playing roles that are contradictory to their socially prescribed roles. Such roles in the study are combat roles within the military. This, in itself, also serves as an explanation to an extent as to why women are often underrepresented in leadership roles, but often overrepresented in roles such as health care and administrative roles in military institutions in the SANDF. Therefore, the main tenets, of Liberal Feminist Theory are directed towards criticizing the injustice of these norms and working towards changing them.

Liberal Feminism also is part of and rooted in the larger tradition of political philosophy, inspired by the works of Immanuel Kant, John Stuart Mills and John Rawls. This study adopts some features from John Stuarts Mill’s accounts on Liberal Feminism. In his work, *The Subjection of Women*, Mill (1984) argues that “the principle which regulates the existing social relations between men and women, the legal subordination of one sex to the other, is wrong in itself and is now one of the chief hindrances to human improvement and ought to be replaced by the principle of perfect equality, admitting no power of privilege on the one side, nor disability on the other (Mill, 1984:261). For example, the representation of women on the basis of their physiology serves as one of the legal subordination that women seeking to serve in combat roles are subjected to. It further serves to impede on women’s human rights and capabilities to further develop themselves as combat soldiers within military institutions and outside. The Liberal Feminist Theory can be used to give an account as to why South Africa and other countries worldwide, still struggle to ensure a full if not equal integration of women in previously male deemed positions.

3.4 Liberal Feminism and Representation of Women in the Military

3.4.1 Lack of Personal and Political Autonomy

Individual or personal autonomy is an idea that is generally understood to refer to the capacity to be one’s own person, to live one’s life according to reasons and motives that are taken as one’s own and not the product of manipulative or distorting external forces (*Stanford’s Encyclopaedia of Philosophy*, 2015). It is a central value in the Kantian tradition of moral philosophy but it is also given fundamental status in John
Stuart Mill's version of utilitarian liberalism (Kant 1785-1983, Mill 1859-1975). According to Mill (1859-1975), examination of the concept of autonomy also figures centrally in debates over education policy, biomedical ethics, various legal freedoms and rights (such as freedom of speech and the right to privacy), as well as moral and political theory more broadly. Feminists like Diane Meyers (1989) and Katherine MacKinnon (1987) also argued that women are somewhat unable to practice personal autonomy, each feminist made their own contributions as to why.

Meyers (1989) the author of *Personal Autonomy and the Paradox of Feminine Socialization*, defines the ‘traditional woman’, as “one who is strongly socialized to feminine norms and devotes herself primarily to the care of the family, she is unable to practice personal autonomy due to her role as a caregiver, the traditional woman often puts others needs before her own and may not be able to pursue her own goals. Furthermore, Meyer (1989) argues that the traditional woman’s choice to fulfil the role of caregiver may have been a product of socialization that dictated which roles were appropriate or valuable for women. As a result, the traditional woman’s goals and motivation may not be her own and to that extent she does not have autonomy. However, Meyers (1989) notes that it is better to understand women’s autonomy as being restricted or qualified as opposed to non-existent.

Different to Meyers (1989), MacKinnon (1983), the founder of Radical feminism, argues that the illumination of masculine power structures has vast implications for women’s autonomy. She further argues that “women’s place in society is not only different but inferior, and that gender differences are social not natural or individual” (Mackinnon, 1983:635-639). In other words, women do not choose their social role as second class citizens but rather, that their social role is enforced upon them. Although, this is so, Mackinnon, does not say that women lack the capacity for autonomous choice but rather that actual conditions in society have a way of inhibiting women’s ability to exercise their autonomy. Mackinnon (1987) also believes that opportunities to exercise autonomy are not available to most under current societal conditions but rather available to those in power, more particularly men.

It is easier to note that the issues pointed out by Meyers (1989) and Mackinnon (1987) could be a direct result of why it is difficult for some to accept women as soldiers, bothin
the military and combat roles. The idea being that putting women in direct combat increases the risk to other soldiers in the battlefield is also contributed by the fact that women have always been perceived as care givers. Their roles have already been defined, and therefore, seen as a deviation should they wish to join military forces. The role that society plays in the ways to which women are perceived also governs their ability to exercise personal autonomy in pursuit of serving in combat roles.

To a certain extent, these notions also serve to explain why accepting or putting appropriate structures to accommodate women in the military or combat zones is also a difficult task to implement. Therefore, it is on these grounds that exclusion and discrimination, as well as unfair treatment of women in combat units can be held responsible for perpetuating inequalities between men and women. Also choosing for women the roles they should play in the military without involving them in the decision making process further restricts them in exercising their autonomy as individuals and as a group, thus resulting to systematic oppression.

3.4.2 Patriarchal Systems of Domination
Lerner (1986:5), in her ground-breaking work on patriarchy, states that nowhere in history is evidence to be found of an overthrow of power from female to male. Patriarchy was not an event, but developed over a period of nearly 2500 years at different times and places, from China, Mesopotamia, Egypt, India, Mesoamerica, Africa, Europe and Malaysia (Lerner, 1986:54), and was formed by both men and women (Lerner, 1986:212). The creation of patriarchal concepts, according to Lerner (1993:3), was built into all mental constructs of societies and remained invisible over the centuries. These concepts projected men as whole and powerful and females as deviant, incomplete, physically mutilated and emotionally dependent.

This understanding was founded on the fact that men and women were created differently, and therefore their biology, respective needs, capacities and functions are not the same (Lerner, 1993:4). In a patriarchal society, men are viewed as naturally superior, stronger and more rational, whereas women are viewed as naturally weaker, intellectually and rationally inferior, emotionally unstable and incapable of being involved in policymaking. The same applies when in the military armed forced; men
are viewed as more superior and stronger than women. Men are viewed as ones who
are able to make rational decisions, as far as shooting-to-kill is involved.

3.4.3 Unequal Rights
Achieving equality between men and women has not always been a priority in South
Africa till post 1994, measures and fundamental frameworks and mechanism has been
put in place to ensure that equality between men and women is attained. This is
because attaining equality between men and women, as well as eliminating all of
discrimination against women are fundamental to human rights. Nevertheless, women
around the world suffer violations of their human rights throughout their lives. For
example, although with efforts of the SANDF, to incorporate women into combat roles,
there is still much persistence in accepting women as combat soldiers, which could be
a result of the perceptions that women hold of themselves, as well as the society as a
whole.

Women still suffer from sexual harassment, discrimination based on gender, as well
as discriminations often based on their femininity. These discriminations, put women
on the firing line due to the fact that they do not possess any masculine traits that are
essential to staying in combat. The mere fact that women, have to do away with their
feminine attributes to satisfy the requirements of the military, shows the level of
discrimination and inability to accept women as soldiers within the SANDF, therefore,
perpetuating inequalities between both men and women.

It is at this point that Liberal Feminist step in to bring about gender equality through
the reformation of existing social order. To their belief, using the democratic system
could be essential to reforming political, economic and social systems that perpetuate
sexism and discrimination against women (Meyers, 1989; MacKinnon,
1987; Wollenstonecraft, 1792; and Mill, 1859:175). This, according to the Liberal
Feminist perspective could be achieved through stressing women’s rights to
achievement, power and opportunity, as well as the right to make both money and
war. They further encourage that for the fullest inclusion of men and women in the
military, traditional linkages between men and women in war should be alleviated.
Alleviating the notion that women are much peaceful than men, could also serve as
useful, to the full inclusion of women in armed forces. Women should be seen as just
as capable as men to serve in armed forces. In no way should physical differences be considered in debates on women’s participation in armed forces as this will divert the importance of mainstreaming women into armed forces. Furthermore, the sexual divisions of labour in the military should not be based on the on-going traditions concerning the proper areas of labour for females as this will be used to reinforce the image of men as soldiers and women as nurturers.

3.4.4 Liberal Feminism and Gender Mainstreaming

Gender mainstreaming is intended as a way of improving the affectivity of mainline policies, making visible the gendered nature of assumptions processes and outcomes (Walby, 2003:2). As a form of theory, gender mainstreaming is a process of revision of key concepts in order to grasp more adequately a world that is gendered, rather than the establishment of separatist gender theory (Walby, 2003:2). It also captures many of the tensions and dilemmas in feminist theory and practice over the last decade and provides a new focus debates on how to proceed on issues pertaining to women (Walby, 2003). It is imperative to note the recurrent opposition to gender mainstreaming in order to comprehend the dualism between gender equality and mainstream programmes. Elgström (2000) suggests that new or modern norms need to ‘fight their way into institutional thinking’ in competition with traditional norms. Other established goals may compete with the prioritizing of gender equality even if they are not directly opposed, such as that of economic growth. This means that the process is contested and often involves ‘negotiation’ and ‘translation’ rather than simple adoption or ‘imitation’ of new policies.

3.5 Summary

This chapter presented the theoretical framework of the study and the Liberal Feminist perspective was considered appropriate for the study. In that regard, it was established that Sociology offers a distinctive way of seeing and explaining the social world, within which we live in, as well as the events and institutions that shape it. The chapter also established that Liberal Feminism is relevant to the study because the researcher believes like many other Liberal Feminists and liberal politicians that women like men have the right to participate in all political and social roles (including war roles). The belief is based on the premise that excluding women from positions of power in
international relations and issues of war is unfair to women and prevents half the population from making its best contribution to the society.
CHAPTER FOUR
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction
This chapter focuses on the ways in which feminist methodologies have been used to understand women’s representation in combat roles. The chapter provides an in-depth presentation of the processes of research undertaken for this research. Furthermore, this chapter provides a link between the research objectives and the research questions of the study. Thirdly, the chapter also engages with different research approaches and data collection methods. Lastly, the chapter highlights some of the reasons why conventional approaches for research methods were not used in this study.

4.2 Feminist Paradigms
Qualitative and quantitative research methodologies are usually guided by different research paradigms (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; and Parahoo, 2006). Five paradigms which can be identified in research are, namely: Positivism, Post-Positivism, Interpretivism, Critical Theory, Modernism and Post-Modernism (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; and Parahoo, 2006). In this study, Critical Theory is discussed in relation to feminist research methodology. This is because the study aims to understand the subtle reasons for women’s underrepresentation in combat roles in the SANDF. The research foundations of the feminist approach used in this study are drawn from Critical Theory. This is because the research model seeks to address inequality, perceive reality, science and research within a particular social or cultural context (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; and Parahoo, 2006).

Through the use of feminist research, this study seeks to highlight gendered constraints that if addressed would lead women’s empowerment. In this way, the researcher plays the role of a facilitator during participant interviews. Participants are allowed to identify their own challenges in combat roles and also identify the ways in which these challenges can be addressed to best suit their needs.
Furthermore, the aim is to ensure that women’s issues and needs in combat roles within the SANDF are documented. One way through which change could be brought about is by looking deeper into the issues affecting women in development.

Feminist ideology, presupposes that women are subjected to male domination and oppression on a daily basis and this is evident in their relations to males in and outside of the household. In this regard, Critical Theory which emerged from Marxism “seeks to explore a wide range of power relationships, such as those of gender, race and ethnicity”. Critical theorists argue that “critical research assumes the necessity of critique of the current ideology, seeking to expose dominating or oppressive structures in society” (Denzin& Lincoln, 2005; and Parahoo, 2006). Critical research illuminates power relationships between individuals and groups of individuals enabling the research and participants to critique commonly-held values and assumptions. This type of research requires the researcher and participant to be willing to become aware of how unrealistic expectations and understandings in society contribute to oppression and resistance (Parahoo, 2006).

In other words, critical research is essential to feminist research as it emphasizes relationships that involve inequities and power. Hence critical research is a significant tool to empowerment because helps those without power to acquire empowerment. When put into appropriate practice critical research can equip researchers with the knowledge or the ability to figure out how the current social conditions came into existence with historic and empirical analysis (Guba& Lincoln, 2005; Denzin& Lincoln, 2005; and Parahoo, 2006). The findings from critical research could contribute to the ways in which knowledge about women in the military and combat roles is constructed, as well as the ways in which resources are distributed.

Lawson (2011) argued that critical research should always begin with the identification of an organization of people whose needs are not adequately met within the current system and who are willing to put research findings into practice. The researcher’s role was thus to enter the participant’s world to gain an interpretive understanding of their intersubjective meanings which is the product of the culture that had been created by all groups of actors in their world. It is from this point that the researcher figures out how the current social conditions came to exist. Although Critical Theorists carry out
research that creates awareness of issues such as gender bias in the work place through corporate government or policy planning and practice, Critical Theorists argue that it is not only enough to point out problems. Rather the research exercise itself should empower the oppressed. According to Smith (1993), critical research with an educational enquiry should integrate theory and practice in such a way that not only gives awareness to people about the distortion and contradictions of their social and educational lives but to empower and emancipate themselves. This can be achieved through the overturning and overcoming the oppression experienced.

Critical Theory paradigms are set apart from the [post-] positivist, and other constructivist and interpretivist paradigms, because they are not limited to a narrow range of methods. For example, they are not bounded by the objective and value-free methods of [post-] positivism. Part of the reason for their broad range of methods lies in the perception that the whole process of research itself is not a value free process. This is because each step of the research process is influenced by the values and beliefs of the researcher. As such, there cannot be, according to Critical Theorists, objective research.

4.2.1 Feminist Ontologies
According to Campbell and Wasco (2000), many researchers and philosophers in the social sciences understand ontology as a term concerned with the nature of being, as well as the nature of reality. The debates on ontology in feminist research are ongoing. This is largely so because researchers and theorists find it challenging to determine how to arrive at any truth in feminist research. To date, the nature in which knowledge or truth is realized in feminist research is closely tied to realism, which is founded on quantitative paradigms which is also governed by positivist ideology. Realism, according to Campbell and Wasco (2000), is the belief that there is a world that exists independent of our knowledge of it. This position or belief consequently implies that there is an objective reality which researchers and scientist are unable to capture accurately. Furthermore, realism seems to suggest that truth is static, objective and generalizable, because it exists separate from human beings. For example, it may be argued from a realist perspective that there could be an unknown reality that exists which determines the ways in which women perceive themselves in society and development.
Similarly, there could be a reality that orders the ways in which policy designers and implementer’s in the inclusion of women in combat roles fail to recognize women’s participation in war and development. To that extent, using realist ontology to gain knowledge about women in combat roles and their needs to develop may not be appropriate. Rather, this study has taken a more contextual, holistic and qualitative stance than it has a quantitative one.

Relative ontology is thus deemed to be more appropriate even for the eventual discussions following the analysis of the data collected. The choice for relativism is encouraged by the nature in which relativist ontology appropriates the matters of truth and reality. It sees truth as ideologically instituted upon the multiple perspectives of reality, in which case reality becomes the subjective, contextual and dynamic, as well as evolving perception of individuals (Campbell & Wasco, 2000). In other words, reality is seen as not existing independently but as being constructed by all members and parties involved in knowledge construction. By extension, reality cannot be generalizable because it evolves even as society changes. This is similar to the ideas of social constructivists who argue that “reality is constructed through human activity” (Kim, 2001:3).

4.2.2 Feminist Epistemologies
Feminists are very concerned with epistemology. Epistemology is concerned with questions about who knows what, and about whom, and how this knowledge is legitimated. This concern is apparent in the writings of early feminists such as Sandra Harding who were critical of those researchers who simply conducted their studies of women within already existing frameworks (Harding, 1999). In response, standpoint epistemology was developed in order to make the meaning of women’s lives more visible. This bringing up of women’s lives into higher visibility was considered necessary to analysing the lives of women from their point of view. Further still, standpoint epistemology offers the possibility of new and more reliable insights into women’s lives because it is grounded on women’s experiences, including emotions and embodiments (Hartsock, 1998; and Harding, 1999).
Standpoint epistemology has not escaped criticism. Postmodern thinkers have argued against its inclination towards generalizations and universalization categories. Moreover, they dispute the existence of a stable and coherent self, the implied transparency of language, and the thinking that scientific rationality can produce truth (Harding, 1999). In support of their own views, postmodern thinkers further argue that:

Because social phenomena are only to be apprehended through the use of discourse and because the very practice of discourse serves to invoke forms of sociality, it is therefore impossible to understand the social world without also simultaneously constructing it.

(Lewis-Beck et al., 2000)

4.2.3 Positivism and Feminist Research

In the beginning of the 1970s, and after the second wave of feminism, feminist scholars contested against traditional methodologies such as positivist scientific methods due to their inability to capture women’s experiences. The belief was that these methodologies “led to reducing women’s experiences to a sequence of incoherent variables that failed to do justice to the intricacies of social life” (Naples, 2003:50). Such research, according to Lewis-Beck et al. (2000), was established as means of responding to two failures related to western social sciences. The first was propelled by the relative invisibility of women and the inability to apprehend the gender specific issues that affect women’s lives. The second was the concern with the practice of social research and the process through which knowledge is created (Lewis-Beck et al., 2000). In general, feminism rejected positivism and objectivism, which argued that the researcher should be detached from his or her research subjects. The underlying arguments highlighted that the social world had been over the years, studied from the perspectives of male interest and concerns and in ignorance of the different pictures that emerged when focusing on women’s lives and ways of seeing (Lewis-Beck et al, 2000; Naples, 2003; and O’Brien, 2009).

Feminists therefore proposed and advocated for the importance of “attachment” to the research process and the role of personal experience particularly when gathering data on women’s experiences. Attachment was to be a central aspect of feminist research endeavours (Hesse-Biber et al., 2004). According to Lewis-Beck et al.(2000), Naples (2003) and O’Brien (2009), knowledge which was presented as neutral, objective and value-free was instead gender partial
which could not contribute effectively to the understanding of women’s plight in research and practice. The purpose of these contestations and advocacy for feminist research was to bring women’s experiences more fully into view in research, policy and social practice (Hesse-Biber et al., 2004). This would challenge conventional research practices and radically review the taken for granted assumptions about the nature of social sciences. It would also allow for the better understanding of the nature of gender inequalities.

4.2.4 Feminist Methodology and Research
The term methodology refers to “a system of broad principles or rules from which specific methods or procedures may be derived to interpret or solve different problems within the scope of a particular discipline” (Cambridge Dictionary, 2013). In other words, methodology is concerned with how the techniques and tools in conducting research are operationalized and put into practice (Lewis-Beck et al., 2000).

[Likewise] feminist methodology is an approach to research that has been developed in response to the concerns by feminist scholars on the limitations of traditional methodology to capture the experiences of women and others who have been marginalized in academic research. (Naples, 2003:1701)

It is therefore a methodology whose approach is concerned with collecting information through research that analyses traditional or patriarchal understandings of how knowledge is produced and subsequently accepted as legitimate by peers in the academy, feminist activists, policy makers and the general public (O’Brien, 2009).

Feminist methodology and research often focuses on research questions that are rooted in women’s lives and women’s everyday existence. Feminists using the standpoint theory argue that a hierarchal society produces different standpoints from which social life is experienced. According to Hesse-Biber et al., (2004), “these findings are based on the Hegelian idea that the oppressed develop a dual perspective made up of their personal and oppressor’s perspective in order to survive”. What this entails is that the structure and societal system to which one belongs plays a crucial role in the way they perceive things, as well as experience social life.
Furthermore, Hartsock (1983), also drawing from Hegelian and Marxist theories of the master/slave relationship, posits that “because of women’s location within the sexual division of labour and their experience of oppression, women would be able to give greater insights as researchers in to the lives of other women”. Hence, feminist methodology is considered as ‘research by women for women’.

In a related manner, standpoint feminism holds that members of the dominant group have only a partial viewpoint based on their privileged position. This might serve as important to the free flow of participation from women in decision making, as well as their involvement in their own development. More so, Africa, for many years, was subjected to colonial rule and still faces the challenges of breaking free from patriarchal and traditional ideologies of how society ought to function. Some of these challenges can be perceived as poverty, high rates of class subordination and economic marginalization. Although South Africa seems to be better off than it was in 1980’s regarding women’s empowerment, not much has been done to listen to the voice of Black women soldiers. African and South African policy still requires further engagement with women’s issues particularly in the military. Doing so may help a better the understanding of women’s struggles and experiences in their own social setting and thus enabling the free flow of insight of women’s issues across the society. It is with regard to the broader come that feminist methodologies are seen as a good starting point for the inclusion of women in war and development thinking and their subsequent recognition and visibility in Africa and South Africa specifically.

4.2.5 Feminist Standpoint and Military Research
Feminism has always blown an uncertain trumpet in the matter of women in war (Elshtain, 2000). Since the advent of feminism debates over women’s inclusion in the military, particularly combat roles, has led to a lesser focus on whether women are capable and well suited to performing military roles, than on whether women should seek for inclusion. According to Duncanson and Woodward (2016), from the 1970s, the debate has been conducted between two rather different political positions, (a) arguments on the ‘right to fight’ emphasizing women’s equality to men and (b) anti-militarist feminists arguing that women’s military participation merely legitimises an institution that is hostile to the goals of feminism.
This study takes the stance of ‘right to fight’ feminism, by upholding that women should have the right of access to military participation equal to those of men. As far as direct combat positions are concerned, right to fight feminist argue that preventing women from holding combat roles, limits women’s opportunities (e.g., promotions), which then translates to maintaining women’s inferior military and social status. In instances where women are denied access to combat roles for whatever reasons, they are thus denied the chance to reach the highest level of command (Duncanson & Woodward, 2016; and Cockburn, 2010).

Taking a feminist standpoint in military research and gender mainstreaming, is therefore necessary to the deconstruction of discourses and practices that continue to perpetuate the image of women as the inferior sex and incapable of performing military duties. To ensure successful mainstreaming of gender in the military, feminism research agenda, proposes that to ensure an appropriate theorizing of military, there is need to ask three important questions.

Firstly, feminists need to pay close attention to empirical evidence around the numbers and proportions of women personnel employed and deployed in the armed forces. In this way, by engaging with some seemingly straightforward question about the recruitment, retention and promotion of women personnel, in the context of wider personnel strategies for armed forces. Also there is need to ask what factors promote or inhibit women’s military participation? Considering the aims and objectives of the study underway, such question have potent to informed the research agenda in the social sciences, as well as in the military. The identified challenge, is not whether the military includes women, but rather the practice of including women, which also poses as a threat to the development of many other institutions and organization.

The second question that needs focus and consideration is whether shifts in soldiers and wider military’s self-understanding can be identified– self-understandings in terms of both their gendered subjectivities and their positions with gendered organizations. The task of integrating women into combat roles, should be considered as a route to identifying transformation to ensure that attention is also payed to the wider military context, and not only just combat roles.
Thirdly, the key agenda is to ensure that it includes the extent to which the trend towards the focus on peacekeeping operations is likely to continue, as well as a shift or change in personnel strategies. The feminist standpoint informs that, although there is need for answers and other considerations to the abovementioned questions, it is also important to note that structures also have the potential of influencing the ways in which society is understood, thus, deeming it necessary to engage both the ruling the class: in this case, the SANDF (as an organization) and the working class (as women in combat roles). This study therefore envisions taking into consideration both world views in answering some of the predominant question in feminist research and the study.

4.3 Research Methods
4.3.1 Research Design
This thesis employed a qualitative method and an exploratory research design. Rahman (2016) asserts that a qualitative method is conducted to explore people’s lives, lived experiences, behaviours, emotions, social movements and cultural phenomena. Shields and Rangarjan (2013) assert that exploratory research is conducted for a research problem that has not been clearly studied. In that regard, the indication of the researcher was that the field of women representation in the SANDF was not sufficiently explored.

4.3.2 Sampling and Data Collection
4.3.2.1 Sampling
The population of the study comprised of female military officers in the Limpopo Province. Snowballing sampling was used to identify the research participants. A total of 6 female military officers within different ranks were selected to take part in in-depth interviews. Out of the six participants for the in-depth interviews, two were ex-combatants in the SANDF. The researcher sought female military officers who were available and booked an appointment for the interviews. Six female military officers took part in the interviews which took approximately one hour thirty minutes each.
4.3.2.1.1 Data Collection

The interviews were conducted in places where the interviewees were comfortable such as office places and common rooms. An audio-recorder was used to record all the interviews. Apart from in-depth interviews, the researcher also employed one Focus Group discussions. In addition, Focus Group discussion was conducted at the South African Air force Base with 9 female officers of different ranks within the military. After the Focus Group the researcher reached saturation as the responses were similar to those from the six (6) in depth interviews. Therefore, only one session of Focus Group discussion was conducted. The interviews were English as a preferred language by participants. The researcher used an in depth interview guide as well as a focus group interview guide. These methods are often used by feminists because these methods give room for critical reflections and engagements on issues and concerns raised by participants.

These methods complement feminist methodologies to the large extent that they are founded on interpretivist epistemology using sensitive, flexible and open-ended approaches to data generation. Additionally, there is a stronger focus on the meanings and interpretations of people participating in the research that enables the researcher to see the social world through their eyes.

4.3.3 Data Analysis

In this study, the researcher used Braun and Clarke’s (2006) model of Thematic Analysis. Thematic Analysis is a data analysis technique commonly used in qualitative research. Furthermore, thematic analysis was used to analyse data collected through interviews with SANDF officials, as well as women in combat units. For data derived from policy documents and annual reports on women’s engagement, inclusion and participation in combat and military roles, a feminist critical discourse analysis was used.
The researcher followed the following steps in the analysis of transcribed interviews:

**Step 1: Familiarisation with data and data transcription**
After the collection of data the researcher transcribed the data from interviews collected from participants. After transcription, the researcher took some time to go through the data over and again in order to immerse herself within the data. This was important for the purpose of understanding in-depth the trends and patterns in the data.

**Step 2: Generation of initial codes**
The researcher generated initial codes from documents and participants responses with relevance to the research objectives. This was done after a careful assessment of the responses that were given by the participants and the trends that were established in the data.

**Step 3: Searching of themes**
After generating of initial codes, the researcher searched for themes that were emerging from the data. This was applied for both data from documents and participants' interviews.

**Step 4: Reviewing of themes**
After the searching of themes, the researcher reviewed themes in order to ensure that they are in correspondence with the research aim and objectives.

**Step 5: Defining and naming of themes**
After the searching and naming of themes, the researcher then embarked on defining and naming of themes. This was important because common themes were grouped under the same category.

**Step 6: Discussion of findings**
When the various themes were named, the researcher discussed and interpreted findings in order to produce a report.

4.3.4 Ethical Considerations

4.3.4.1 Permission to Conduct Study
The researcher has observed all ethical issues relevant to the study. A letter and proposal was sent to the SANDF Military Base in Polokwane as a request to conduct in depth interviews and Focus Group discussion. Unfortunately, after two years of waiting, the researcher was contacted by one of the officials (who asked to remain
anonymous, for his own’s sake and future in the military), stating that due to the sensitivity of the research topic and the privacy of the military. The request could not be granted. The official then advised that the study should be conducted on personal and individual capacity. The researcher had to therefore request female military officers on own accord, with consent from participants. Therefore, the researcher would like to reiterate that the views in the study do not represent those of the military institution but those of participants in the study.

4.3.4.2 Informed Consent and Voluntary Participation
The purpose and significance of the study, and data collection procedure were all well explained to the participants. The participants were assured that participation is voluntary and that they had the right to withdraw from the study at any point without penalty. The researcher ensured that all information shared during the interactions was be treated as strictly confidential. To ensure the participants’ anonymity, the researcher did not ask for their names. Instead, the researcher all participants were assigned numbers ranging from one to twenty. All participants were asked to give their written informed consent and sign before the interviews commenced. In order to give voice to the participants, the researcher used numerous quotations from participants which were transcribed verbatim in the presentation of findings. However, not everything that was captured on tape was used and recorded given that some parts were left out because they were not of particular relevance to the objectives of the study.

4.3.4.3 Trustworthiness and Credibility
To ensure trustworthiness and credibility, the researcher remained objective during the conduct of interviews and did not coerce participants into responding in ways that would are in agreement with the researchers standpoint. Furthermore, the researcher did not lead participants’ response to ensure credibility.

4.4 Summary
This chapter presented the manner in which feminist methodologies have been used to understand women’s representation in combat roles. The chapter also presented an in-depth presentation of the processes of research undertaken for this research. Furthermore, a link was established between the research objectives and the research
questions of the study. The chapter engaged with different research approaches and data collection methods and provided some of the reasons why conventional approaches for research method were not used in this study.
CHAPTER FIVE
PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction
This chapter presents, analyses and interprets findings on women representation in the South African National Defence Force (SANDF). The findings which are presented in two sections, namely, Sections A and B, place emphasis on efforts that have been put in place to address issues pertaining to women representation, advocacy, the trends in women representation and the changes that have been recorded thus far. This is the first empirical chapter of the thesis and it presents the findings in relation to what has been done in terms of women representation. Liberal Feminism was employed as the theoretical lens through which the issue of women representation could be understood.

The aspects covered in this chapter include the allocation of women to posts/positions in the military. As such, the allocation of positions impacts women perceptions of the military, as well as the reasons for the low number of women military personnel. Having established the circumstances around the allocation of women to positions in the military, the chapter goes on to present, analyse and interpret themes on dominance of men in the institution. The chapter also revealed that representation of women in the military is influenced by patriarchy which was argued to be one of the major reasons for a very low representation of women in the military.

Furthermore, the institutional culture of the military was also assessed in an effort to establish the circumstances around the low representation of women in the military. This also pointed to the issue of male dominance which was argued to be one of the major reasons behind the low representation of women in the military. This was established as a long standing state of affairs in the military and the state of male-dominated work environments emanate from traditional gender hierarchies and norms that prevail in the family and society. Lastly, the thesis established that the findings presented in this study are amongst the major reasons for the reluctance of women to join the military.
5.1.1 Description of the Sample
The study sample comprised of female military personnel from the Limpopo Province. Data for the study were collected through six in-depth interviews and a Focus Group discussion consisting of nine participants each, thus totalling the sample size to 15. The findings of this thesis are a product of a qualitative method and an exploratory research design. In-depth interviews were conducted with fifteen female military officers of different ranks. Apart from in-depth interviews and focus group, the researcher also employed observations. The table below shows a description of the sample.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Years of service</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Major</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Lieutenant</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Lieutenant</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Lieutenant</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Lieutenant</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Lieutenant</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Warrant Officer Class 2</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Warrant Officer Class 2</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Lieutenant</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Warrant Officer Class 1</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Warrant Officer Class 1</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Lieutenant</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Ex combatant</td>
<td>1 year and 5months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Ex combatant</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Operative Communications</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.2 Thematic Analysis
Thematic Content Analysis was used to analyse data. Six steps that are prescribed by Braun and Clarke (2006) were adopted in the analysis process. These are as follows;

**Step 1:** Familiarisation with data and data transcription. After data collection, the researcher transcribed the data from interviews collected from participants and policy documents

**Step 2:** The researcher generated initial codes from documents and participant’s responses with relevance to the research objectives
Step 3: The researcher investigated for themes emerging from documents and participants’ interviews

Step 4: The researcher reviewed themes to ensure that they are in correspondence with the research aim and objectives.

Step 5: The researcher defined and named the themes accordingly.

Step 6: The researcher discussed and interpreted findings in order to produce a report.

The themes that emerged from the analysis process were converted into headings and subheadings that are presented in the findings chapter.

**Table 2: Table of Study Themes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>Subthemes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Representation of women the SANDF</td>
<td>Fewer women in the military</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reasons for under representation of women</td>
<td>• Patriarchy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Institutional culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Recruitment of women in the SANDF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Women’s reluctance to join the SANDF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Lack of information about the military</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Culture race, and ethnicity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Challenges faced by women in the military</td>
<td>Military training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Reconstruction of feminine identities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• The incidence of command and control</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Participation in decision making</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opportunities for women in the SANDF</td>
<td>Opportunities between men and women in the military</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The military and women’s needs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.3 Trends in Women Representation

The first theme that was derived from the findings focuses on the allocation of women in the SANDF. This refers to the manner in which women view the military and the reasons for the low number of women military personnel. The section begins by interrogating the concerns about fewer women in the military and it goes on to tackle issues about patriarchy, as well as how it is a barrier to the enrolment and participation of women in the SANDF. Furthermore, the section presents institutional culture and the military with the aim to understand how the specific institutional culture in the military is a barrier to the involvement of women as military officers. These are some of the important dynamics that need interrogation and they are discussed with the aid of the feminist perspective.

5.3.1 Fewer Women in the Military

The findings of this study show that there are fewer women compared to men in the SANDF. Also, it has been established that the dominance of men in the SANDF is widespread from the lower to the highest ranks of the institution. The significance of the finding is that the fewer women who are represented in the military occupy very low ranks of less influence. One of the participants had this to say:

...in terms of representation I feel the ladies are still few, it's mostly men, so we can say it is male dominated, more so in the higher ranks, which I think in some way the defence is in the process of balancing. I'm not sure if it's theoretically, or in practice, but it's what we are hearing that they are trying to push ladies forward and currently women are still less in the whole Defence Force. In terms of management and leadership women are still less. Majority of the ladies are at the bottom doing the work, up there, there is only few, so there is no balance or representation in leadership and management.

[Participant 1 In-depth interviews, May 2019]

The participant in the military personnel in the SANDF revealed the challenges that they are facing as women in terms of representation. The narrative of Participant 1 is in agreement with other two participants who revealed that:

...women are not equally represented, no not completely, there is still that male dominance.

[Participant 9 Focus Group, June 2019]
Another participant concurred with Participant 9 and had this to say:

...there are not enough women in the Defence Force, there’s not enough, especially when you look at the rank groups, at the senior ranks it’s still men.

[Participant 8 Focus Group, May 2019]

The narratives of the participants demonstrate that the concerns about representation go beyond just representation as army personnel to representation in leadership positions. This implies that the participants are impressed by the efforts put in place by the government in order to lure more women to join the military such that the major concern has now shifted to occupying positions of influence which are high military ranks such as those of major or colonel. One can argue that despite the fact that the SANDF has publicly declared its intentions/plans to include more women in the military, the issues of the representation of women is still immensely problematic (Heinecken, 2015). This is because there are still fewer women compared to men in military ranks. This dominance of men in the military can be attributed to the general belief that the military is a masculine terrain (Mkandawire, 2013).

Nevertheless, in response to the calls for equality, the South African government through The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996 asserts that the government has continued pushing for equality and equal employment for women which is evident in policies like the Employment Equity Act of 1998, the Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment Act of 2003 and its amendments, and the National Policy Framework for Women’s Empowerment and Gender Equality of 2000. Hence, it can be argued that South Africa has adopted legislative directives in order to embrace a new and broader agenda for equal employment opportunities for women in an attempt to improve women’s standing in the workplace which include in the military. Sarwar and Abbasi (2013) contend that employment is essential for individual and collective well-being. This is because it enhances the quality of life, not only to the employee but also to related people. Therefore, investing in women’s employment is essential for economic growth and the development of human resources.

Despite government’s claims about the progress made to better women’s employment position, it is revealed through literature that progress towards parity in the workplace in South Africa is insufficient and slow such that there is still widespread poverty and
extreme inequality (Heinecken, 2015; and Hess & Feree, 1987:531). Furthermore, the United Nations (UN) (2015) supports this and contends that, although it is more than 20 years since the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, several pledges remain unfulfilled and gender equality progress in the workplace has been slow in many countries, including South Africa (RSA, 2015).

Hess and Ferree (1987) argue that one of the striking characteristic of militaries is that they are almost exclusively male. They argue that militaries are composed of males as a result of quite self-conscious policies, thus suggesting that state officials, themselves primarily male, explicitly link presumed properties of maleness and institutional needs of the military (Hess & Ferree, 1987:531). Regardless of this, women are still largely underrepresented in military roles. The representation of women is a problem across all fields of work in South Africa, with the military being no exception. Consequently, Lober (2010) asserts that Liberal Feminists perceive women’s subordination as a consequence of gendered norms rather than biological sex. This implies that women are subordinated due to the socially prescribed roles and behaviours, such as women are caregivers, nurturers and home keepers. Hence, it becomes difficult for them to break the barrier in the male dominated institution.

Moreover the study has also found that patriarchal ideology also constitutes to the lower numbers of women in the military. The current study has established that patriarchy is one of the major reasons why there is misrepresentation of women in the military. Patriarchy refers to “…male domination, to the power relationships by which men dominate women, and to characterise a system whereby women are kept subordinate in a number of ways” (Bhasin, 2006:3). This demonstrates that the dominance of men in the SANDF is a symbol of patriarchy that results from the power relationships that exist in families and in the military itself. The narratives of participants show that patriarchy is a major concern. Accordingly, feminists argue that gender representation has always been a problem in many countries, particularly countries that operate under patriarchal rules. Sultana, (2011) in a study on “Patriarchy and Women’s Subordination: A Theoretical Analysis” argues that patriarchy is the prime obstacle to women’s advancement and development.
Moreover, Sultana argues that, a patriarchal society gives absolute priority to men and to some extent limits women’s human rights also. From this standpoint, one can argue that the military seems to operate from a patriarchal perspective, which seems to prefer male dominance over female dominance. With the above mentioned, women’s views in the SANDF also support the notion that the institution is mostly dominated by men, which makes the absorption of women even more difficult. Participant 1 had this to say about this:

“…..the military is not for women. It is not made for women,”

It is thus visible from this participants’ view that women will remain underrepresented because the military is simply not made for women. In other words, it is not suitable for women. This is problematic because it shows that even women themselves see the military as not suited or rather made to accommodate their femininities. It is not designed to make the woman to feel comfortable or at ease. More so it is not designed in a way that women will feel as autonomous beings in the system. The problem of autonomy is emphasized by Liberal Feminists which argue for women to feel as integrated members of society they should be given the right and freedom to be who they want to be without their femininity as an overshadowing object to their representation. Liberal feminist therefore, would argue that in order to eliminate or reduce the challenge of patriarchy, there is a need to ensure that women are given equal opportunity when it comes to decision making, as well as equal part takers in military activities without considering or questioning their abilities as soldiers mainly because their women. It would suggest for an environment in which women can equally thrive the same way their male counterparts do.

5.3.2 Culture of the Military

The findings of this study have revealed that the military like any other institution has a formal culture, which guides the day to day operations of the institution itself. Institutional culture speaks to the values, norms, and patterns of action that characterize the social relationships within formal organizations (Cranefield College, 2017). Institutional culture is shared and understood by everyone involved in the institution. It is implemented to allow the 40 hours spent in the workplace to be productive and satisfying for all by adhering to certain practices and processes which also apply in the military institution; it is the ‘social glue’ holding the institution together.
It educates the staff members on how to think, behave and what processes to follow in certain situations.

Institutional culture is firmly rooted in the behaviour of the employees and is very difficult to change – this is the ‘personality’ of the organization (Cranefield College, 2017). When employees acknowledge the values and beliefs of an institution, there is a certain brand image or identity that is formed which society can see and relate to. The company’s image is significant, and how one communicate publicly and internally is crucial to the success or otherwise of the organization.

Jaques (1951) first described the changing culture of a factory, defining it as the customary or traditional ways of doing things, which are shared to a greater or lesser extent by all members of the organization and which new members must learn and at least partially accept in order to be accepted into the service of the firm. According to Turner (1971), part of the effectiveness of organizations lies in the way in which they are able to bring together large numbers of people and imbue them for a sufficient time with a sufficient similarity of approach, outlook, and priorities to enable them to achieve collective, sustained responses which would be impossible if a group of unorganized individuals were to face the same problem.

From Turner and Jacques’ definition of what organizational culture is, it brings one to question military organizational culture. Military culture is embedded in its own set of moral codes (Kushner, 2013) such as honour, courage and strength, which affect the service members’ personal and professional outlook (Kushner, 2012; and Lindergger, Morell &Jewkes, 2012).Kuehner’s (2013) explanation of the military moral codes, which is honour, courage and strength, can be seen as one of reasons for the military’s reasons for subtle discrimination of women.

Hierarchy is another important visible, surface-level cultural aspect of the military community. Rank and order are rigid in the military, with service members expected to show respect for and obedience to their superiors (Martins & Lopes, 2012). Furthermore, the rigidity of the hierarchal structure of the military, as put by Martin and Lopes (2012), combined with moral codes as sated above, may make it difficult for women to penetrate into senior ranks.
Honour, courage and strength are attributes that have from long never been associated with femininity. Honour is for kings; and courage and strength for warriors and heroes, all of which historically have largely been roles played by men and a few women (Kushner, 2013). Although the expression bears no reference to gender, culturally women have always been presented as the weaker sex because they are physically weaker as compared to men.

Accordingly, one of the participants indicated that:

…If you understand the military, you don’t have your input, I tell you, and you do as I tell you and I was getting somehow tired of I tell you and I don’t have my views. Because I am one person who is very vocal and I think with the political background it was actually working to my disadvantage, because you can’t say to them, I feel or want things to be done a certain way. It is so rank orientated. A colonel is a colonel, you can’t say “but how did you see this things”.

[Participant 14 In-Depth Interviews, May 2019]

As shown by the narrative of Participant 14, the military is more of a command and control environment with junior military officers having little say in decision-making processes as far as daily activities in the workplace is concerned. This might not affect women only but it is an important factor that should be taken into consideration when assessing the challenges faced by women in military. The environment does not allow for personal and political autonomy that is encouraged and advocated for by Liberal Feminist, thus discouraging the notion of equality. In such an environment women are most likely to feel alienated from the labour production processes itself. In the case of the SANDF, production is unlike in any other organisations. Hence, the process of production in that regard refers to the ultimate goals and objectives of the institution.

Alienation from production itself is described by Karl Marx (1857-1858) as occurring because of workers not having control over their products of labour. What this implies is that one also does not have control over the process of production that produced the commodities. This alienation also emerges from the lack of control over the means of production and the work activity that one is involved in.
As alluded to earlier that production in the military is unlike production in some other organization where tangible items are produced. In the military, the form of production they have is the service they provide, of which there are forms of alienation in the sense that some military operations have women soldiers excluded.

This sense of alienation is further reinforced through a worker’s lack of control in their job function. It is also formed from the reality that workers do not own the means of production and so are forced to sell their labour for survival, the one thing they do own, their labour-power, as presented by Karl Marx (1857-1858). Alienation can therefore also be perceived as a form of subordination. In an environment where alienation is prominent, workers are most likely to experience feeling of hopeless-ness and disinterest in the nature of work they are performing but according to the women in the study military work has become their greatest achievement. Should the military fail to ensure that women are equally represented to men and that their voices are heard the organization is most likely to fail to include more women in senior and higher military roles.

The military will remain male dominant and under question at all times. Nevertheless, it is imperative to note that alienation is a concept that does not affect women only. Rather, it affects both men and women but in this thesis it is used as one of the aspects that explains the challenges that women face insofar as representation is concerned. Hence, this form of alienation can be described as ‘women’s alienation.

The problem of not giving women a say in a lot of the military work, is not anything new. This is argued to be a common phenomenon around the world. Women all over the world have to go through the same (Heinecken, 2015). This, according to sociologists, came about as a result of societal and cultural roles which contributed to the organization of labour and the ways in which labour was divided in the households and at work (Afshar, 1998; Delaat, 2007; and Heinecken, 2015). Elgström (2000) suggests that new or modern norms need to ‘fight their way into institutional thinking’ in competition with traditional norms.

Other established goals may compete with the prioritizing of gender equality even if they are not directly opposed, such as that of economic growth. This implies that the
process is contested and often involves ‘negotiation’ and ‘translation’ rather than simple adoption or ‘imitation’ of new policies. The military culture seems to be largely influenced by socio-cultural norms that often dictate that males possess strength, vigour, virility/powerful courage, self-confidence and the ability to meet the outside world that is, animal and human intruders head on and deal with effectively (Asiyanbola, 2005; and Delaat, 2007), thereby, reflecting on the kinds of work men do in the military.

By contrast, cultural norms for women in a patriarchal society dictate that women are soft, kind, caring, loving and nurturing, non-violent and less powerful, thus suggesting that women can only operate in environments where such qualities are enforced. Because the military is a unit that requires that all members and employees, possess strength and vigour, automatically due to these cultural norms and perceptions often embedded in patriarchy, women are left with no space in such an environment. What these perceptions, do is to ignore that not all women possess feminine traits, and not all women are suited for household work or work that is suitable to their feminine attributes (Ender & Gibson, 2005; Heinecken & Visser, 2008; and Kilby, 2013). For example, nursing, teaching, and secretarial work.

The mere fact that there are less women in senior ranks as expressed by participant one and eight, shows that women’s abilities to rule in a male dominated field is undermined, thus opening room for question whether social mobility for women is possible in the military. Social mobility refers to the movement of an individual or group from one social position to another over time (Lunmen, 2017). The study therefore assumes that women’s social mobility is threatened, due to the preference of males over females. The notion is derived from the Liberal Feminists ‘view which argues that patriarchal rule and male dominated fields often strip women of their personal and political autonomy(Walby, 2003; and Lober, 2010). Consequently, women in the military are somewhat denied an opportunity to grow from junior to senior ranks which results in reduced social mobility.

Due to the structure of the Defence Force and lack of social mobility, women will remain in the same position for long periods of times therefore also preventing them from getting out of their current social and employment status. Clearly, there is still
much room for improvement as far as the recruitment and promotion of women to senior ranks is concerned.

Liberal Feminism assumes that people are autonomous individuals who make decisions in their own self-interest in light of their individual preferences (Lober, 2010). Human well-being therefore should increase as individuals have more choices. Sexism operates by pressuring or requiring, sometimes by law, individuals to fulfil male and female roles regardless of their individual preferences. According to the Liberal Feminism Theory, the solution to inequality between women and men is to offer individuals the same choices regardless of sex. The problem with this kind of arrangement of offering individuals the same choices regardless of sexes that, patriarchy then readily accommodates some women into positions of power, provided that the women are male-identified, male-centred and act according to patriarchal values, which is the case in a male-dominated unit like the SANDF (Afshar, 1998; Heinecken, 2015; and Turshen & Twagiramariya, 1998).

Furthermore, the current study has revealed that the incidence of command and control is a huge challenge that is faced by female army personnel in the Limpopo Province. This is largely, due to the fact that women in the military are found with no option but to comply and complain later. This, in itself, limits their ability to have and to own a voice about their own well-being in the military. The Liberal Feminist argues for women’s agency and voice as a sign of empowerment and equality in the workplace. A command and control environment renders women as voiceless and helpless. Voicelessness refers to the inability for one to have an opinion or contribute to any decision-making processes regarding to their own development. Similarly, a command and control environment infringes on the women’s rights to be who they want to be. In addition, a lack of agency (freedom/autonomy) and voice, creates an image that in a military institution women, are considered as equals and in the absence of equality there is bound to be room for exploitation and oppression.

The mere fact that, women seldom occupy positions of influence, suggests that they are considered inferior and have to abide by the control exerted on them by their male counterparts. This was considered to be a huge challenge because, in most cases,
they just have to respond to instructions without questioning the reason or the motive. Here is what one of the participants had to say:

*The problem, because it seems the higher you go with ranks the more you become like a flower pot, you can't make decisions, like I am one person if you tell me to do something, I don't like to be told how to do my job, it's like the more you go up, they tend to want to tell you how to do your job, so that thing I don't like it, I am my own individual, the more you tell how to do some things, I won't do it, I will do it in the way I see fit, because if I do it your way I feel stupid and I'm going to need that you tell me how to get every single step done because it's your idea.*

[Participant 5 in-depth interviews May 2019]

The participant revealed that she would feel more comfortable if she is given a platform to exercise her freedom without being harassed and commanded by the male counterpart generally because they are believed to be superior to the female counterparts. Similarly, another participant shared the same sentiments and added that the expectation that female army personnel are supposed to obey instructions without questioning; which is disturbing, especially if you have knowledge about what you are supposed to do. Here is what she had to say:

*...so I realised that if I stay here, there is no goal, these people are just messing us around, they are taking us for granted in a way. Also the command and control environment is also very difficult, especially if you are an academic. Also, especially for me because I was from transformation. I know a lot of rules and challenges, especially in basic military training. So I started questioning a lot of things like why are they doing this because you supposed to do this, the minute you start questioning things in a command environment it becomes a problem for you, it's like you can't contribute. So yours is to obey, they say obey and complain later. But that's not an environment for me cos mina I talk. (chuckles) I am very opinionated. I need to understand what I am doing, why am I doing it, how am I going to benefit. That is why I say I used, I was kinda like I'm done.*

[Participant 1 In-depth interviews, May 2019]

Moreover, another participant argued that the quest for women to be respected does not mean that they should receive special treatment. But rather it means that they should be given the same treatment as normal human beings who know what they are doing and what they should do at any given time. Here is what the participant had to say:

*...women must be allowed to play their role. We’re not saying women must get special treatment. If my role is to be on the frontline, then let me be in
Generally, the military as guided by control and command environment in the SANDF is another huge challenge that women face in the military. The role of women in the military should not in any way be considered inferior since they are equally competent. However, the command and control environment has a tendency of treating labourers as lacking capacities, with women suffering the most in such institutions. This finding is backed by Sjoberg and Gentry (2007); and Heinecken (2015) who argue that the command element in the military is strong, especially among men towards women and, in some cases, it is men to men. The argument was that the fact that women in the military are usually denied access to higher ranks in the military roles shows that they are denied the chance to reach the highest levels of command.

5.4 Reasons for Women Underrepresentation in the SANDF

This section, takes a look at some of the reasons women remain underrepresented in the military as perceived by participants in the study. Based on in-depth interviews, the responses were a result of participants being asked on what they thought the reasons for underrepresentation of women is. This was done in accordance to the feminist methodology which prescribes that knowledge about women’s experiences is better derived from women themselves, as opposed to assumptions about women’s lived experienced.

5.4.1 Recruitment

The South African female labour force has been growing because of equity legislation, improved access to education and work opportunities (Mostert, 2009; and Van den Berg & Van Zyl, 2008). However, progress with gender transformation and in the South African workplace is a huge challenge (Du Plessis & Barkhuizen, 2012; and Hicks, 2012). There are powerful economic incentives for women to move into historically male-dominated occupations (England, 2010). Yet women who defy conventional female career patterns and choose to pursue careers in male-dominated occupations often return to careers that accommodate their roles as primary caregivers better (Cha, 2013; and Danziger& Eden, 2007). This suggests that there is need for gender
transformation in most male-dominated institutions such that both male and female workers are equally represented.

The challenges women face in attempting to penetrate successfully and persevere in historically male-dominated work environments emanate from traditional gender hierarchies and norms that prevail in the family and society. Despite gender equality and empowerment, the household unit has a traditional structure that makes males the dominant gender (Hartmann, 2010).

Likewise, one participant revealed that:

Well I can tell the reasons, recruitment wise, they still need a lot of women, but from the outside, when you are a civilian, when you look at it, the military is not for women. It is not made for women, but the moment you are in the system you get used to it, and you find the ways and means of living in such conditions. But, while you are civilian, during the recruitment, there are still stereotypes that the military is not for women and the jobs that they do. But there are also jobs that cater for women, jobs that need women, but if you from the outside, you going to be scared to come because you don't have that information. The numbers are not good.

[Participant 1 In-depth interviews, June 2019]

The above participant’s response resonates with the views of Barnard (2013) in her study on the experiences of women in male-dominated occupations – a Constructivist’s Grounded Theory, which found that formal and covert organizational practices, which uphold gender discrimination and bias, were the main challenges that women face. These practices included the inadequate accommodation of women’s unique physical, and work-life balance needs. Therefore, women continue to be underrepresented. From the previous participant’s response one can tell that the military is perceived as an environment only for men, with women less likely to be hired or recruited. This goes to such an extent that women themselves do not see themselves as belonging to such an environment. This leads to women feeling the need to conform and to adapt in order to prove a point that they can also do what men do. But one can question, to what extent are these women willing to adapt and to conform to a system that subtly discriminates against women, by not meeting their needs and not taking into consideration women’s lived experiences.
Moreover, the inability to take into account women’s needs such as training and working conditions that are attractive for women in the military, has led to the military being unattractive to female civilians in the country. Sticking to patriarchal notions and ideologies in the military environment, has somewhat led to the rejection of feminine attributes and the changes around what femininity means to women. More women, find themselves having to let go of their feminine attributes in order to keep up with the system. Cultural norms and stereotypes also keep women subordinated and kept in the same position for long. Perhaps, if gender mainstreaming policies, such as The National Gender Policy Framework, are improved within the military, more women would be interested in joining the army. In that way, the military would also be attractive to the outside community.

5.4.2 Gender Discrimination in the Military

Gender discrimination can be defined in a variety of ways, but is most commonly identified as making decisions based on aesthetic or ascriptive perceptions of one’s sex of sex. In the workforce, discrimination can be analysed and recognized in any decision related to wages, terminations, promotions, hiring, leaves and benefits. Any of these major decisions made on the basis of sex or gender are illegal under both state and law, with past trials and case law building their strength. There is still, however, a significant amount of inequality of opportunity and discrimination that women face today as they strive to not only become a part of the workforce, but to advance within it. Many of these issues are much more deeply rooted in societal norms and acculturation.

The issue of gender discrimination in the workplace is also not new around the world. Women have always been discriminated against in the workplaces by conforming to cultural roles predetermined by the societal system (Hays & Morrows, 2013). Due to this, women still face discrimination in their different work spaces. The military as a unit and organization with its culture, has always been known to be exclusive to public civilians, meaning that it holds its own cultural values and organizational norms.

In such an institution that has been known to be for men, women may find it extremely hard to be part of decision-making processes, as well as members of the senior ranks.
Although wishing to grow to greater heights, these women are somewhat forced to conform to what is made available to the

Moreover, what gender discrimination does to women is keep them in the same position, with the same wages that are bound to be significantly lower to their male counterparts. This does not in any way encourage women empowerment but rather introduces the ‘glass ceiling’ effect. The glass ceiling is a metaphor used to describe the phenomenon of women having equal opportunities and abilities to move to upper ranks but are likely to face more difficulty than their male counterparts (Hays & Morrows, 2013).

Liberal Feminists, have been for years trying to fight against the discrimination of women in the workplace by contesting for equal rights for women. Their argument has always been that attaining equality between men and women, as well as eliminating all forms of discrimination against women are fundamental to human rights. Human rights include the acknowledgement of women’s labour, giving women equal rights to men, fair wages and contribution to decision-making processes. Women have every right to be elevated and promoted to more senior ranks if they have the same capabilities to men, as well as to maintain their position.

To comprehend the intensity of discrimination among women in the military, Participant 11 had this to say:

*I think this discrimination thing that has been going on, is too hard to break now, or change it, it’s like they are trying it but remember, if on top is still a man in a senior rank, he still sees men like as the breadwinner, even if he want to promote or do what, he will still look at the men, instead of the women, they will never give a 50/50 chance, you see, so that is what I think is actually happening, let’s look at the president himself, he is male, for him to get balanced members to the parliament is still taking him long, but if you put a women president, I think there women will increase, well that what I think, it’s my opinion. We never had a lady who was chief of nay service, they are all men, the chiefs of all the arms services. Let’s start with the chief of the SANDF himself. He is male, chief of the army is a male, chief of the air force is a male, chief of the navy is male, even in the military services, it is male. So, yes, there is no female there.*

[Participant 11 Focus Group, June 2019]
In support of this observation, Hays and Morrows (2013) contend that gender discrimination can be defined in a variety of ways, but is most commonly identified as making decisions based on aesthetic perceptions of one’s sex. Looking at the above response, women to also see themselves as being discriminated against, from their male counterparts because of their sex. In other words, these women feel empowerment or the eradication of discrimination in their workplace is farfetched since the political sphere itself is dominated by men. Although these women wish to have a fair change and equal opportunity being a woman for them serves as a disadvantage more so in a male-dominated field (Hays & Morrows, 2013).

It is at this point that Liberal Feminists step in to bring about gender equality through the reformation of existing social order. To their belief, using the democratic system could be essential to reforming political, economic and social systems that perpetuate sexism and discrimination against women (Heinecken, 2015). This according to the Liberal Feminist perspective could be achieved through stressing women’s rights to achievement, power and opportunity, as well as the right to make both money and war.

They further encourage that for the fullest inclusion of men and women in the military, traditional linkages between men and women in war should be alleviated. Alleviating the notion that women are much peaceful than men, could also serve as useful, to the full inclusion of women in armed forces. Women should be seen as just as capable as men to serve in armed forces. In no way should physical differences be considered in debates on women’s participation in armed forces as this will divert the importance of mainstreaming women into armed forces. Furthermore, the sexual divisions of labour in the military should not be based on the ongoing traditions concerning the proper areas of labour for females as this will be used to reinforce the image of men as soldiers and women as nurturers.

5.4.2.1 Women’s Reluctance to Join the Military

Generally, the current study has found that due to the aforementioned instances of discrimination, women become reluctant to join the military. One of the participants opined that women are reluctant to join the military mainly because they believe it is for men. In a way, discrimination in this instance is not direct but it comes in a way
whereby belief systems are instilled into people that this form of activity is for a specific group of people in society. The participants had this to say:

...when it comes to the military, it seems women are not interested. For example, if we were to go around this area and asked if women would like to join the army, you will find only a few women will be interested in going, maybe because some movie interested them or they want to learn to shoot a gun. I think men have strong feelings about going to the army, as compared to us. And then, also I think the administration in the army itself gets tired. You know, like hiring someone and then you spend certain amount of money on them. In the process they resign. So, you see, they won't be motivated to employ them. Let's say we recruit ten women and then at the end of the day 5 after 3months they resign, and you find that the army has already spent a lot of money. And then, eventually, the following year they recruit less, because they plan from that. Another, problem is even their gender programmes. They talk to male soldiers, they emphasize more on career guidance and career development, showcasing how the army operates, but when they do that they hardly talk about issues of women.

[Participant 13 In-Depth Interviews, June 2019]

The narrative by the above participant indicates that the reason for the low representation of women in the military is because of the fact that women are reluctant to join the military. The participant also indicated that the few that have the courage to join are most likely to lose hope along the way such that within a few months of training they opt out. This gives the institution a negative attitude about women because a lot of resources would have been used. Hence, the following recruitment would be aimed at reducing the number of women so as to avoid such inconveniences.

5.4.2.2 Lack of Information about the Military

The challenge around discrimination of women in the military can be attributed to lack of information from the SANDF about the role women can play in the military. The reason why individuals in institutions external to the military believe that men are better off than women is because of lack information about the military. Also, in communities the information that people are provided with could also result in disinterest/indifference. For example, if people are made to believe that the military is all about hard labour and war, a majority of women are likely not to be interested and not to take part. Moreover, if women communities are not encouraged to form part and parcel of the military they are mostly likely to remain unaware of the opportunities
available for them in the SANDF. In an institution like the SANDF, lack of transparency does not come as a surprise since security is a crucial aspect of the military terrain.

Nonetheless, it is also important that public civilians are informed about the process of militarization. In other words, the day to day processes and activities that informs the SANDF, such that women are able to see themselves as an equal member of the society and within the capacities of becoming a soldier. According to Carlson (2010), access to information and the ability to share information empowers people, regardless of who they are and where they are. Moreover, information can mobilize, increase transparency and accountability, as well as stimulate participation, activate citizenship and social change (Carlson, 2010:1). This goes hand in glove with the Liberal Feminism manifesto, which encourages, agency and personal autonomy, as well as equality between members of society particularly men and female. Information creates an autonomous environment for women, and provided in the manner to which is provided, can ensure easy access and inclusion for women in to the SANDF.

This is vehemently supported by one participant who argued thus:

"I could say people don’t have much information about the defence force, how it operates and all that. And at the end of the day, some try their luck to join the defence force, but they are not determined to stay. Like maybe they’re just there because of they feel it’s a job, but to some of us it’s not just a job, we pledge to defend our country, and you believe and stand by those pledges, but some of the people they might try to join the defence force. But because of the code that we live by they can’t handle it and that’s when they back off, it’s not everyone who can handle, especially the training. So you find that at the training, there is more women who would quit than the males, even if we look at the race, you will find there isles Indians, even Whites they are few, mostly there are Black. I believe some people can’t handle the code, that we live by, that’s why we have fewer women at the training. Sometimes I look back and just laugh, because I don’t believe I have come to this point, like I did leopard craws, running with a gun, running in the mud, like it’s so nice, and all that, at the end its fun, I can’t believe I can be pushed to that point."

[Participant 14 Focus Group, June 2019]

Participant 14 indicated that apart from lack of information about the military prior-joining, there is also lack of information post-joining. This is where by people, especially women, join the military for the wrong reasons. These reasons could be to make a living. Nevertheless, the initial motive behind joining the army should not be
about making a living but rather to serve one’s country. This implies that if one gets in with the motive to serve one’s country it will not be easy to opt out because of harsh and strict training. As such, there is need for members of the military to possess the information that is required of them in order to serve with the best intentions.

This suggests that information is important in explaining the low representation of women in the military. Also from the participants’ responses, if information about joining the military was shared appropriately perhaps there would less drop outs from women within the military. Again, information sharing remains key factor for the SANDF, women should also be informed about the rigorous training and the needs for physical strength for these training. The lack of information creates an idea that the SANDF is, to a certain extent, not ready to absorb or retain women within the defence force. Moreover, this shows that the SANDF is most likely to ignore capacity building for women to ensure sustainability of gender mainstreaming within the defence.

5.4.3 Socio-Cultural Factors Hamper Women’s Inclusion in the SANDF
Sociologists argue that culture consists of the values, beliefs, systems of language, communication, and practices that people share in common and that can be used to define them as a collective (Durkheim, 1951; Fulcher & Scott, 2011; and Ritzer & Guppy, 2014). Culture includes the material objects that are common to a group or society. Culture is distinct from social structure and economic aspects of society, but it is connected to them both continuously informing them and being informed by them. Culture is important to sociologists because it plays a significant and important role in the production of social order. The social order refers to the stability of society based on the collective agreement to rules and norms that allow us to cooperate, function as a society, and live together (ideally) in peace and harmony (Durkheim, 1951; and Marx, 1970). For sociologists, there are both good and bad aspects of social order. According to one of the participants in the study, culture has a role in the underrepresentation of women in the military. One of the participants indicated that:

*I think it also has to do with the culture, because I’ve spoken to one woman, and I congratulated her saying wow! The navy is getting women, because the first lady was the commander of the marine, so she said, yes but the person in charge of her is a male. So you understand what I mean. With me, I am the only Coloured warrant officer in that mastering I am in, and there is another Black female in front of me. So to promote me in order to become class one, they must first promote her to be the first class one in*
Participant 7 disclosed that culture and race still limit women from joining the military terrain. Culture limits women from entering higher ranks whilst race creates room for discrimination. Also, it is evident that even though women are given an opportunity to ascend to higher ranks, they still somehow find themselves under the leadership of men. In the South African context where culture is highly valued like many other African countries, one can imagine the amount of stereotyping and marginalization that takes place on the basis of gender.

This is mainly because in a patriarchal society, men are heads of the family with women, being support structures of the head of the family. Therefore, even at work, although unfair, women are subjected to the same notion, with men less interested in the approval of the leadership of women. This results from gendered stereotypes that men are independent and women are interdependent, as such excluding women from decision-making processes that could lead to change and development.

Also from the response, there seems to be an outcry from women in the military for change, to have the opportunity to be led by fellow women, to have the same opportunity as men. The mere fact that when one woman was congratulating the other, the other responded by saying that “yes but the person in charge of me is male”, shows that the military still holds male leadership as key. This gives women a sense of hopelessness, as far as change of leadership roles is concerned. It may still be challenging for the military to accept women in leadership since such conduct is taught and learned from a young age with men finding it difficult to accept women’s need for empowerment and self-growth. One participant had this to say:

Yes, I agree with her, because the men would say you wanted equal rights but you don’t want to do this and that, and I said we are women, we are not robots.
The above statement also shows that men in this environment can be very
ingconsiderate to women, by insinuating that equal rights are gained and not
given freely as human rights. This may also suggests that in order for women to receive
equal rights they need to work twice as much. The fact that men in higher positions
usually require favours to offer women what they need makes one to wonder: what
exactly is it that women need to do in order to be pushed to higher ranks? The latter
statement is supported by Participant 1 who had the following to say about promotion
being a result of sexual favours:

…The other thing is that, if you are a woman and you get promoted, it
becomes a problem to most of the men. Because apparently there are
women who date or sleep with men to get promotions, then comes you
who didn’t do that, you become painted with the same brush. Once such
mentalities are created and rumours are spread, they won’t respect you.
It is not easy to respect such a person. So, those are some of the
challenges that women face.

[Participant 1 In-depth Interviews, June 2019]

To this point, the Liberal Feminist Theory is used to argue that judging women based
on their gender and not their capabilities sets the agenda for equality and women’s
inclusion backwards. The quest for recognition of women should not be on the basis
of their natural or feminine attributes. Women should not be viewed as men’s objects
who have to perform as they are told. This then runs against personal and political
autonomy. Women in this organization, although some are elevated, they still do not
have the power to do as they see fit for the organization. The famous Prussian social
theorist and activist Karl Marx(1844) is a proponent of the critical approach to culture
in the Social Sciences. According to Marx, it is in the realm of non-material culture,
which are things that do not include physical objects or cultural artefacts, such as
beliefs, ideas, norms and values that may assist in the shaping of society.

Karl Marx further argues that non-material culture is used by the minority to maintain
unjust power over the majority (Toscano, 2007). Using his analysis of the non-material
culture to the responses given by the above participant, the military as a unit can be
seen as grounded on the values and beliefs within the society. The challenge that Karl
Marx pointed out in his theory on non-material culture is that subscribing to
mainstream values, norms, and beliefs keep people invested in unequal social systems that do not work in their best interests, but rather, benefit the powerful minority (Toscano, 2007).

5.4.4 Racial Discrimination in the SANDF

South Africa has a long history of racial segregation, which came was preceded by apartheid. During this period, White rule was the supreme whilst Black South Africans were under the White rule. This apartheid regime gave rise to racial discrimination in the workplace, not only for men but also for women. Despite the 1994 democratic government’s attempts to end this injustice, it introduced policies and practices to combat racial discrimination that the Black majority may have an equal share in economic contribution, racism persists in the workplace. The South African National Defence Force, formerly known as the SADF (South African Defence Force), was known for being under White supremacy prior to the 1994 elections, thus the dominance of White officers. Blacks, Coloureds and Blacks never really had a place in the military. In other words, these racial groups were underrepresented within the SADF. Only post 1994, with the introduction of the Affirmative Action Policy, did the military try to absorb more Blacks. Needless to say, as seen by Participant 7’s response, the Coloured community is somewhat excluded from military service, which does not speak to the human rights commission agenda against racial discrimination.

> When you are in the military, you need to be strong because of like, especially because they used to have that thing that Blacks cannot be pilots. Blacks cannot be air traffic controllers, we had a few. If we were attending a course they would make sure that only two Whites passed. The area that build me and made me strong is Hoedspruit because I had to say I know I am not a submissive person and now this now had to come out, I had to say if I die I die, I was at that point. Even where I stayed, in the military isn’t it you get a house, if you have a kid, it was a hassle to get a house where I was staying, because this street belong to White people.  
> [Participant 2 In-depth Interviews, June 2019]

The SADF was notorious for the level of violence projected, both within the borders of South Africa and regionally, by a predominantly White-male cops defending White-male superiority. This institution, operating under the ideology of apartheid, symbolised White oppression: it was a powerful governing and regulating institution within state structures and society at large, making South Africa a highly militarised society.
5.5 Summary
This chapter has presented the dynamics of women representation in the SANDF which is synonymous of the military in general around the world. The chapter emphasised on efforts that have been put in place to address issues pertaining to woman representation advocacy, the trends in women representation and the changes that have been recorded thus far. The dynamics established in this chapter focused largely on issues pertaining to the allocation of women in the military, institutional culture and the dominance of men which has been argued to affect the ambitions of women to explore their dreams of becoming military personnel. Based on these dynamics, the chapter revealed that the dynamics of women in the military revolves around issues pertaining to patriarchy; which was argued to be one of the major reasons why there is misrepresentation of women in the military. The chapter has established that the dynamics presented in this study are the major reason for the reluctance of women to join the military.
Section B
WOMEN REPRESENTATION IN THE SOUTH AFRICA NATIONAL DEFENCE FORCE: A FOCUS ON CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

5.5 Introduction
This section presents the challenges and opportunities associated with women representation in the SANDF. This is the second empirical section of the thesis and the major challenges established include, fulfilling the basic military training, issues pertaining to femininity versus masculinity, the command and control environment in the military. Nevertheless, the study also found some opportunities that women army personnel were happy with which stood as motivation for other women to join the military. Based on the findings of the two empirical sections A and B, the researcher developed a model for women representation in the SANDF. The main components of the model are the government and society which are expected to play a pivotal role in encouraging women through different means to join the military. The model addresses issues of representation of women as well as their mainstreaming into the SANDF.

5.6 Challenges Faced by Women in the Military
The participation of women in the military has been found to be dominated by challenges that present the institution as a male club. For many years, the military has been known to be a field explored and endured by men due to their physical strength and masculine traits (Walby, 2003). Therefore, accepting women as soldiers has also posed as a great challenge to the SANDF. Amongst many of the challenges faced by women, common themes on challenges that are experienced by women in the military are stated in this section. Some of these challenges include, training, surviving a control and command environment, skills utilization, inability to make decisions, as well as the lack of trust in women’s capabilities.
The following section answers the question the researcher asked about the challenges women faced whilst in the military.

5.6.1 Basic Military Training

Basic military training is a pre-requisite for both males and females in the military as it prepares soldiers for war situations. It is put in place to ensure that all soldiers are physically fit and are able to cope with all the strenuous activities that come with going to war. Military personnel take an oath that requires them to serve and protect the country at all costs. Some participants disclosed that fulfilling the requirements of the basic training as a huge challenge. The argument made by participants during in depth and Focus Group discussions was that women felt that they are not as strong as men such that they are not in most cases able to fulfil the requirements of the vigorous training.

Also, the physical make-up of women, in most cases, does not allow them to endure the requirements of the training. Moreover, the instructors were said to be men in most cases; which makes it more difficult because they have little understanding women’s biological function. Hence, the basic training into the military becomes a huge challenge. To comprehend this, one of the participants had this to say:

*Firstly, I would say training, mostly for me it was the training. I feel like people don’t understand, you find that you would be really sickly having women sicknesses (refers to menstruations), and you find that most of the instructors are men. So they don’t understand, and sometimes some women use it as an excuse not to do certain things, so this men take it as if it’s a trend for women not to do certain things, so they don’t know if we’re telling the truth or we lying, they can’t differentiate. So I think that it disadvantages women a lot. When it comes to the field it’s something, but I think they are trying to ensure that women are in all units and mastering.*

[Participant 2 In-depth interviews, May 2019]

The narrative by the participant revealed that one of the greatest challenges that numerous women in the military face is the basic training due to its nature and intensity. Another important aspect that was revealed was the ‘sicknesses’ experienced by women which refers to conditions like menstrual cycles, which is often accompanied by period pains. It has been established that during this period of the month, female army personnel feel misunderstood mostly by their male counterparts, since they (male soldiers) are mostly put in position to serve as training instructors.
The condition also makes it very difficult to fulfil the vigorous training that they are expected to take part in. However, the participant also brought in an important contribution to the effect that the insensitivity of men towards menstruations is perpetuated by females who use this ‘sickness’ as an excuse not to train.

The finding of the in-depth interview with Participant 2 were also somewhat similar to those of another participant from Focus Group interviews. The participant revealed the challenges of having to participate in manual training as a huge challenge. Another important contribution was that some of the activities that women embark on are not really important because they do not use them anywhere in the profession they are just anticipated to make one strong as anticipated by the participant. This is what the participant had to say:

*To be honest, I hated it, but I understood that the training is just to take you through the military life and line, what needs to be done and how to salute. For me it’s about having to be too rigid on more of your physical training and I found it to be very out because you are now doing officers. They expect you to be a manager, and you would do subjects that are related to grooming you, knowing the environment even more. But then why must I be tired running around, having to run in the mud, for what? You know, so I was really not cooperative to that, so I would be punished a thousand times, because they would say, “you will have my time” if we have to sit here the whole day. So I would run while I still have to study and they will make you run and sweat and you still have to go and study.*  

[Participant 14 Focus Group discussions, May 2019]

In agreement with Participant 2, Participant 14 expressed a strong feeling of hate for the training, which was a bit more intense to the previous participant, who only spoke about it only as a challenge. Even though the participant hated the training, she associated it with a way in which one is trained to be vigilant in life since they learn about commands and its hierarchies.

For Participant 14, although it was to introduce one to military aspects such as saluting, marching and holding a gun, when she started growing more into the military, the training became an unnecessary aspect. In essence, this is understandable because all members of the SANDF have to undergo that training regardless of the rank or position that they may hold. Whether the trainee is training for office work or not, basic military training is a pre-requisite hence the feeling by the participant that it is not really
necessary. This then suggests that the military tends to focus on areas that are not relevant to the field or position that its employees are mean to take. It is insensitive to the needs of its employees. The military culture therefore, totally shuts out the idea or fact that its employees could be more interested in their line of services rather than their physical strength.

Participant1 revealed that generally the military is not for women due to the hectic and vigorous training that they have to go through. The argument was that the training is not suitable for women considering the fact that most of the activities are generalized such that they do not take into consideration that men and women are not the same in terms of their capabilities. The participant had this to say:

The military is not for women, it is not made for women, because even in the training, it is not comfortable for ladies, because you find that they throw you in the mud, whilst you are on your periods. And also when you go for operations, you stay in the bushes for too long and it is not comfortable for us yet. But the moment you are in the system, you get used to it, and you find the ways and means of living in such conditions. [Participant 1 in-depth interviews May 2019]

Participant 1 concurred with the others on many issues such as the menstrual cycle challenges; which seem to be the most common challenge faced by women during training. It has also been revealed that it is the most misunderstood concept by male instructors. In essence, it then creates the impression that the military is not for women, making it uncomfortable for them. The understanding is that women also do not see the military as conducive and fit for them, hence they do not have a sense of belonging. One cannot perform to their outmost best in an organization to which they feel they do not belong. Clearly, the SANDF is not doing much to ensure that women feel safe and comfortable at work.

Although the nature of work is one that brings one out of their comfort zones, through the learning of new culture and new principles, it is also important to note that without appropriate measure in place to ensure full participation with ease, the military would be failing to respond to these outcries from women. This finding is supported by Cohn(2000) and MacKaye (2008) who argued that the physical training of military personnel produces the physical fitness required by the military and usually the demands of the training are on masculinity which makes it difficult for women.
Consequently, Liberal Feminism relates this to the principle which regulates the existing social relations between men and women to the effect that not much attention is paid on the requirements of women and at the end of the day they fail to achieve some of their intended goals in life.

5.6.2 Masculine Femininities in the SANDF

The delusion of femininity and masculinity is another important challenges that woman in the military face. The current study revealed that there is a misconception that women are less capable than men when it comes to the military profession. This misconception is a challenge that seriously affects the representation of women in the military because of the misconception that most ambitious women are most likely to get quickly discouraged. Therefore, in order for women to prove their ambition, they end up having to abandon their feminine traits and quickly resume masculine traits that emphasize strength in order to fit in.

This is also attributed to various cultural and religious beliefs which influence society on how they should view the relations and roles of men and women. To clarify this, one of the participants had this to say:

In terms of challenges, I will speak of my own, the ones I have faced when you are a woman. It is like you’re not smart, to men, because there are some men who belong to other churches and cultures that still believe that a woman is a woman. Whether you are a general or whatever, they have a ‘you can’t tell me attitude’, whether he is below you in terms of ranking, it’s difficult to have to deal with such people because now you have to now start exercising your power on them. Because you are unable to work with this person on a humane basis, you are forced to exercise power on them or your rank so that this person can understand we are at work and not at home, where you can say I am the husband and you are the wife.

[Participant 2 in-depth interviews, June 2019]

The participant revealed the numerous effects of the general misconceptions of masculinity and femininity some of which are abusive. A good example is the fact that some male counterparts are made to treat their female counterparts as their subjects at work. There are numerous power relations that were revealed some of which are perpetuated by religious beliefs that place a woman under the direct control of a man. In that regard, some male counterparts take it too personal such that at the end of the
day it does not seem to be a work relationship but rather a social or family affair where a woman is obliged to be under a male figure and be submissive.

Foucault (1975) explains this as a dynamic that is brought to power or existence by discourse. Discourse in text and in language often tends to prescribe or construct power relations. Religious beliefs are mostly founded on text and language often used in religious institutions which others the woman. Therefore, the subject is found in a position where their position in society is controlled and constructed by external forces that are beyond them.

Another participant reported that the request for sexual favours is a huge challenge of being in the male-dominated military environment. It has been established that women, in most cases, are considered to be sex slaves for men, especially those in high ranks and failure to provide sexual gratification they are punished. Here is what one of the participants had to say in that regard:

…I would like to comment on this as well, they are telling the truth, I have had such encounters, remember the military is a male-dominated environment. And then, number two, with us women who are always surrounded by men, they make us feel like we owe them comfort sexually, you understand, they always feel that. Well, I am not sure about others, but some of us grew up in the defence force. After matriculating, I joined the following year towards the end, I matriculated in 2003, I joined the military in 2004. So I can say I know the life here. When you are surrounded by males, they always want something from you. They always want you to understand and accommodate; no strings attached. I am so used to hearing statements like “stop acting like a child, it’s not like we will be running after each other after this….“And those who are used to it, they will even go to the extent of saying, “you have to be generous, with your body”, “we just looking out for each other”, “it’s deployment, we looking out for each other” and so on. They will say things like “My wife is not here”. Married or not married, they still expect you to be accommodative.

And one thing that I ended up developing, I ended up trying to behave like them. Like when you are with them, you are a guy, but you know you are straight. I wanted to make them feel like I am not “baby” “when I am with you, I am a colleague, we are here for one plain purpose”. And if I become everyone’s baby, I will end up being confused as to who I should say ‘yes’ to or ‘no’ to, you understand, and I am not here for that.

[Participant11 Focus Group discussion, June 2019]
The construction and the deconstruction of masculinity and femininity can be considered as one of the major challenges that women face in the military. Women are persuaded in subtle conversations on how they can make it to top positions in the military. Women are required to use their bodies as instruments to appease their male leaders who seem to sell the idea that all other women in higher ranks had to give away their bodies. This can be perceived as a form of sexual harassment. This is a huge challenge because most of the abusive actions go unreported because the perpetrators in most cases are in positions of influence and they are the ones who make important decision such as hiring and firing.

Hence, due to such factors women personnel end up complying and that stands as a discouragement for women who intend to join the military. Hence, the delusion of masculinity and femininity significantly contributes to the underrepresentation of women in the military. This finding is supported by Squires (2005) and Woodward (2015) who argue that the emphasis on masculinity and femininity require women to assimilate to the dominant gender norm of masculinity which they are deemed to never quite manage. Hence, they are not treated as equal, and, moreover, masculine norms remain unchallenged.

Moreover, Liberal Feminism, according to Meyers (1989) and MacKinnon (1983), who are some of the major proponents of the theory suggest that that the illumination of masculine power structures has vast implications for women’s autonomy. In other words, women do not choose their social role as second class citizens but rather, that their social role is enforced upon them. Although, this is so, Mackinnon (1983) does not say that women lack the capacity for autonomous choice but rather that actual conditions in society have a way of inhibiting women's ability to exercise their autonomy. Mackinnon (1987) also believes that opportunities to exercise autonomy are not available to most under current societal conditions but rather available to those in power, more particularly men. Hence, the current study establishes that issues of femininity and masculinity are some of the major challenges that hinder women representation in the military.
5.6.3 Participation in Decision Making

Participation in decision making is another challenge that women face in the military. The finding from the current study confirms that, even though women rarely occupy positions where they are entitled to make important decisions, in instances where they should make decisions they are not taken seriously simply because they are women. Accordingly, one of the participants had this to say:

> I remember I was lieutenant, so I was second-in-charge to the colonel, so if the colonel was away, I would be the one to call the orders, and I remember people had a problem with that, telling me I was not a colonel. I would capitalize such times, because then I would submit my views, and they did not like that. Firstly, I must say, I worked in a White dominated environment at that time the environment was very White, they expected Blacks to be quiet. They wanted me to say colonel yes colonel yes colonel, and that did not fly well with me, you know I felt like if I am going to have to suppress myself, they will suppress me, so I am going to stand up here. Hence with my students, I would tell them guys we are not going and they say we must go. If they have a problem they will have to come back to me, remember this week I am taking decisions.

[Participant 3In-depth interviews, May 2019]

Moreover, the participant added that as Black women they also face double challenges if the environment is dominated by White males. Hence, the issue of race and ethnicity also comes in and it is one of the most important issues that should be taken into consideration insofar as women representation is concerned in the military. In support of that, one participant had this to say:

> When you are in the military, you need to be strong, because they used to have that thing, that Blacks cannot be pilots, Blacks cannot be air traffic controllers, we had a few. If we were attending a course they would make sure that only two Whites passed. The area that built me and made me strong is Hoedspruit because I had to say I know I am not a submissive person and now, this now had to come out, I had to say if I die I die, I was at that point. Even where I stayed, in the military isn’t it you get a house if you have a kid; it was a hassle to get a house where I was staying, because this street belongs to White people.

[Participant 14Focus Group discussion, May 2019]

Participant 3 concurred that decisions making is largely believed to be a male role such that even where as women they are expected to make decisions they are expected to get approval from a male. Here is what the participant had to say:

> Another challenge would be that sometimes you have to make decisions, you have to go through a male leader. So we find that the defence force
can’t change a person completely, those values that this person is a man, he is older. So, sometimes you have to consider such things. So it becomes difficult.

[Participant 3 In-depth interviews, May 2019]

The current study has shown that participation in decision making in the military is a male privilege. That can be said to be the reason why the representation of women in the military is low. It is important to note that failure to exercise decision making roles by women demonstrates that they are not taken seriously and it is a huge source of discouragement. Liberal Feminism heavily criticises the exclusion of women in decision making process.

Consequently, notable feminists Meyers (1989) and Mackinnon (1987) assert that it has always been difficult for some to accept women as soldiers in the military which means it is more difficult to consider them for more senior positions where they take part in decision making. The idea being that putting women in decision making roles increases the risk for other soldiers in the military. Women’s roles have already been defined, and therefore, seen as a deviation should they wish to join military forces. Therefore, it is on these grounds that exclusion and discrimination, as well as unfair treatment of women in the military can be held responsible for perpetuating inequalities between men and women which ultimately result in the low representation of women in the SANDF.

5.7 Opportunities for Women in the SANDF

The current study has shown that apart from challenges there are also numerous opportunities that women in the military do cherish. One of the participants reported that she feels honoured to be in the air force, a field dominated by males. For her, being in the air force is a huge opportunity that should be treasured. Here is what the participant had to say:

For me being in the air force is one of the privileges I’ve had as a woman. This is because in the air force we have a lot of mastering, the mastering that I am in command and control, its kind, is scarce and is not known that well, and we don’t have a lot of females. It is much more dominated by men, and White people, so to be Black and a woman in that kind of an environment. It’s an honour. I’m privileged to be here.

[Participant 5 In-depth interviews, June 2019]
Another participant who supported serving in the air force as a privilege had this to say:

…I feel very privileged, even for me, I did not have any idea of the existence of this organization, my uncle brought an Application Form for me, I didn’t even know where I was going, I just applied because I trusted that he wouldn’t throw his sisters child to the dogs, but being a woman in this field, is much of a privilege, I never imagined myself here but here I am.

[Participant 8 Focus Group discussions, June 2019]

Furthermore, one of the participants revealed that she feels honoured to be in the military because of the fact that it is largely viewed as a male territory. Also the fact that when she walks around people recognize her courage makes her feel happy to serve her country in the military. Here is what she had to say:

With me, I am here and I am proud to be in the South African Air Force as a woman. I joined because of my sister, because I would see my sister, when she was doing her training, their training was a bit different, she joined a long time ago, when it was still dominated by Afrikaans speaking people. So during that time, it was hard, they would get punished because they were Black. So I saw her struggling, and looking thin but I never had that thing of being fearful. Instead, I had that thing to say one day I want to be like my sister, then I started working elsewhere, but my heart was always on wanting to wear the military uniform one day and I’ll see the challenges when I get there. I am very proud to be in the air force, and it makes me more proud, when I bump into people, and they will give compliments and say I’m looking beautiful, admiring my uniform and asking where I am working, so it’s nice, and also bringing in that small change, also makes it all worth it.

[Participant 11 Focus Group discussion, June 2019]

Another participant who concurred with Participant 11 revealed that it is a good experience to be in the military because of the spirit of endurance that one acquires. The other opportunity that the participant revealed is the travelling that they are subjected to which allows them to go to different places. Here is what the participant had to say:

Yoh!, I have been exposed to a lot of opportunities, Defence Force will teach you a lot, at times it will hurt and be painful when they do things, but when you are alone you realize that if these people had not forced me to do those things I would have never done them and anyway it was worth it. Like now, when I joined the Defence force, I didn’t know that one day I would fly, you see to other places. I don’t know had I not joined the
defence, would I have known places like Cape Town. So, defence force will make you travel, depending on the type of job you do, because others have been in the defence and have worked here forever and they’ve never been anywhere, but for me it has worked for me, I know a lot of places because of the defence force. Had it not been for that, I wouldn’t even know Hoedspruit since I am from Vereeniging.

[Participant 8 Focus Group discussion, June 2019]

Another participant suggested that one of the most important opportunities that the army provides is access to further education. It has been established that any academic programme that a member wishes to enrol in is fully funded such that those who never had the opportunity to go to school will have to utilize this opportunity and enhance their qualifications. Here is what the participant had to say:

*I think I was lucky, when it comes to opportunities. I am from KZN villages, I only knew the army. So when I got here I didn’t know anything, and was lucky to get to the aviation side of it. And I would say, there is a lot of opportunities in the air force as long as you are willing to play your part; as long as you want to study, learn and grow in your field, you learn every day because you go on deployment, and operations. We learn every day. If you want to go to school, they also give you money to go to school. I think you can be anything you want to be whilst you are in the defence force, they don’t restrict you by saying, because you are in HR, you will stay in HR. If you want to move from HR to another field, they allow you to do that, as long as you are willing to learn.*

[Participant 12 Focus Group discussion, June 2019]

Another participant who cherishes the platform provided in the military for further learning had this to say:

*I think everyone here can agree that, although we experienced a lot of challenges, we have also been exposed to a lot. Some of us came here with just a matric, but the defence allowed us to acquire more qualifications, through re-mastering. I mean we are better people, we know things that people from where we come from do not know, and there is still room to do to more, if you want. Like, she said, earlier, it depends on the individual, if you want it badly, you will go for it.*

[Participant 10 Focus Group discussion, June 2019]

Participant 1 agreed with many other participants and added that, as long as one is not lazy to learn, they can significantly benefit from the education provided by the military. Here is what she had to say:

*Opportunities are there. I have also been exposed to various fields that I would have not have ever known. The opportunities include studying. You*
are allowed to study and the institution pays for you. They can develop you functionally as well, where you can get course allowances for course that actually benefit you. So opportunities are there for real as long one is not lazy to study

[Participant 1 In-depth interviews, June 2019]

Another participant who concurred with Participant 10 had this to say:

I have had a lot of opportunities. I first started at the MESS (military dining hall). I couldn’t cook or do anything. They taught me how to cook, and I loved it. They sent me on civilian courses, to do events planning and everything like that. The opportunity that I would have never got if I had not joined the air force. I don’t regret it, because I have met wonderful people, even if we don’t talk every day.

[Participant 7 In-depth interviews, June 2019]

From the narratives of the participants, this study has established that apart from the aforementioned challenges faced by women in the military, there are also many opportunities that should be acknowledged. The major opportunity that has been reported is the platform to pursue further learning through the provision of funding to study for different courses. As such, it can be argued that there are opportunities inasmuch as there are challenges in the military. The indication of the researcher was that there is no research that covers the opportunities presented by the SANDF for women in the military. Even so, it seems to the researcher that the opportunities in the army are seen as a privilege to women, whereas it is the responsibility of every government institution to ensure equal participation by its members.

The worry is these women like as mentioned by Participants11 and 12 from the Focus Group discussion, associate their employment with the SANDF as ‘luck’ and not as a result of their hard work or skill possession. This kind of thinking, therefore, place women in a place to which they become vulnerable to abuse and oppression in the army. It is also not the researcher’s intention to dismiss that women in the military may fell this way due to the fact that the military is known to be a masculine terrain and to be part of such an institution to them may be less about deserving to be but rather an honour. As such, this stands as one of the major findings of this thesis. Nevertheless, Stachowitsch(2013) is of the view that anti-militarist feminists contend that women are being duped through what seems to be benefits of being in the military. This is so
considering the absence of full institutional commitment to accommodation of female army personnel.

5.7.1 Opportunities between Men and Women

The current study also sought to assess the nature of opportunities available for men and women in the SANDF. In order to establish how favourable, the opportunities available for women are, one needs to establish the distinct opportunities that are available for women in order to lure them to join the SANDF. One participant had this to say:

> Well, I was lucky to have had the opportunity to do certain things, even though I would have loved to do more of the things that men were doing, not that they were denying me any opportunity, they were thinking because I am a woman, they would try to treat me special, until a certain member said no, you're not going to do this with this lady, she needs to learn what men are doing, deploying outside, in our environment, they used to put us ladies in the office to operate things that are already installed, so for going out to the field to start the installation from the beginning alone, it was mostly done by men, until that guy came, and said no, I am going to teach you, because in future, when these guys are no longer here and you have to manage people, how are you going to do it. He gave me the car and said take the tools, sent me to Bochum, to the bush said I will find a tent there and people there who will show me how it is done, and said should I need anything so.

[Participant 11In-depth interviews, June 2019]

Another participant who concurred that women are at times given preferential treatment compared to men had this to say:

> Yes, I totally agree that opportunities for women are different compared to those of men. I will give you an example, I was a VIP caterer, then the VIP flying squadron, then the colonel came to me and said, don't you want to do air hostess, so I said yes, its fine, so they sent me to do the courses, then the opportunity came for me to go and fly with the president and then I fell in-love. The opportunity was there, he came to me and said go for it, apply for it, and I was very shy, but the confidence the defence force gave me by telling me that now that you are a soldier and the uniform that you wear, you must be proud and I know there are certain ladies who are not proud of their uniform, but truly for me, and the other thing just to deviate, if they can just design uniform for pregnant ladies, because I know in other governments overseas, they do have uniform for pregnant ladies, but the opportunities I was given I grabbed with both hands, like she said it depends on the individual, you must take the opportunities with both hands.

[Participant 12In-depth interviews, June 2019]
However, other participants did not agree that there is preferential treatment for women. The argument posed was that the requirements to get into the military are the same and the training is the same, as well as the expectations in executing their duties. Hence, one cannot distinguish the opportunities for men and women. Looking at the extract from Participant 12, the opportunity for this participant came in the form of catering, which is often presumed to be a female duty. Again the sexual division of labour comes to play here. Opportunities for this particular participant were as according to the prescribed gendered roles, for example cooking, cleaning and nurturing. The participant who ascribe to this had the following to say:

I think it’s the same, because there is nothing that a man can do in my mastering that I cannot do, and whenever they are signals for deployment they don’t specify and say men, then we are given the same opportunities, so the opportunities are the same.

[Participant 9In-depth interviews, June 2019]

Another participant who concurred that the opportunities are similar between men and women had this to say:

…Yes, the way I see it the opportunities are the same, like they said that, it’s always up to the individual. Some people are always shy, and look down on themselves. From my experience what I have actually learnt, as we are given equal opportunities, there were times when I was doing courses, and I was the only lady on that course, and the guys were using the opportunity for abusing the system of ladies first so they could learn through me. So they could learn from my mistakes, it taught me to act like a man because somehow they’re going to beat me and outdo me, so I realized this and decided to wise up, and started to refuse to go first, and somehow miraculously, I came first in that course, with them having to use me to get ahead or to pass. So we are given equal opportunities, and if you are strong and say come what may, I am not going to step back and let them forward.

[Participant 8In-depth interviews, June 2019]

The current study has established that there are mixed thoughts/interpretations/ideas, as well as contradictions on the varying opportunities for women and men. Some participants believed that they are given preferential treatment, whereas some believe that there is equal treatment between both men and women. This is a subject of debate and increasing contestation. Generally, the current study argues that there is lack of a clear cut preferential treatment for women which the researcher proposes is the
reason for the low representation of women in the SANDF. This is despite the fact that preferential treatment for women would be discriminatory against men. Nevertheless, the argument is that if women are given options and preferences that are unique to them that was going to inspire many women to join the force. This should be taken from a consideration that the physical makeup of men and women is different as established earlier in this chapter men are stronger than women. Hence, if they are expected to accomplish the same of hard labour very few women will be interested.

5.8 Men-Women Relationship in the Military

In order to assess the representation of women in the SANDF, it was important to understand the nature of men and women relationships. This is because, if men are hostile to women, the work environment for women will become unfavourable such that a few women will be interested in joining the military. In essence, men dominate the industry such that their reception towards women is of paramount importance. To that effect, most participants revealed that they have a good relationship with women. One of the participants had this to say:

I think that has to do much with an individual and their values. But in the environment we are working in, it is mostly male, so we relate better with males. If it was a different environment, where we are playing, like sports, netball and ladies sports, I guess I would relate better with ladies. But I am not too much into sport, my sport is too much into running, and male kinda sports, so at my work place mostly males, I have my sisters here but I don’t work with them in the same space, but we do get along very well feel more comfortable with males, and I had to come with ways to fit in there, I have to be a male even though I know I am not a male, I had to make it work for myself.

[Participant 10In-depth interviews, June 2019]

The participant suggests that relating better with men is due to the fact that they are the people she works with on a daily basis. Hence, it can be established that they do not have an option than to relate well with their male counterparts in order to accomplish their work related goals.

Similarly, another participant who concurred with participant 10 had this to say:

With me as well, in my office we are three, I am the only woman there, so I can say I relate better with men because they are the only people I spend most of the times with, the other females we do talk, 5 minutes a chat, like they said, so I am comfortable with males and it’s working for me.
Nevertheless, another participant established that she prefers working with women compared to men. However, there are certain times she feels like working with men due to the fact that with women, conflicts easily arise unlike with men. The participant had this to say:

_I don’t actually like working with ladies, it’s a difficult thing because they are very emotional and at some stages of that time of the month, in most cases it’s like we were fighting, I can relate to men easily, because I grew up like a tomboy, I was everywhere with my brother and his friends. I can say whatever to them but with a woman you have to think can I say this to her._

[Participant 7In-depth interviews, June 2019]

Another participant concurred that it is better to work with men compared to women. The participant gave an example of leadership roles within the military and established that being led by men is better than being led by women considering the fact that most men are mature in approach and they do not personalize issues like women do. This suggests that men are committed and goal oriented. The participant had this to say:

_I think with this question, most of the women, especially here in the defence force, relate better with men, than with other women, maybe the reason is that when we join, we find men more than ladies. As much as we want the management to be women, we also sometimes say it’s better to be managed by men, because we saw how the management by women could be and maybe it’s because we are used to being managed by men. It’s happening and we get used to it, it becomes our life, the minute you get that opportunity to change things you say no, no, it’s better we go back to the way things were. Ladies are full of drama. Men don’t really care whether your hair is blue, purple or yellow, if you come with your small pony tail they will admire and say “wow you look beautiful”. But with ladies, we will say what happened, you should have cut it there and then by so saying you busy marking me down, why can’t they say what you doing is nice. You come with your nails they will be like “oh where did you do them, aye! This person is not good, you should have done them at so and so she is doing them better”. I mean it’s my choice, why do they have to always say something, but we women we always have that thing of always looking somebody down. So that is the problem I have with ladies, even at work, we like to prove a point, if I put something to put on the table, we want people to know we did it the best, but with men as long as we get the positive results._

[Participant 8 Focus Group interviews, June 2019]
The current study has established that the relationship between men and women in the military is of paramount importance since men dominate the institution. Hence, the manner in which they treat women and the manner women perceive them is important because it influences that nature of relationship that exists between the two. Nevertheless, it has been established that the relationship, in most cases, is cordial and most women feel comfortable to work with men and having men as their leaders as opposed to women. These responses by women create, to a certain extent, the promotion of male leadership at the expense of female leadership in the military. The mere fact that they feel male leadership is better, it discourages and slows down the full integration of women.

In other words, apart from refusing other women, this shows that these participants themselves somewhat do not trust their own judgment and those of their female colleagues judgments when it comes to providing or their needs in the army. More so, from the above participants view, it is quite evident that the reason for not wanting women in leadership positions, is mainly because women fail to encourage and support one another at work and in appreciate each other’s feminine attribute. Femininity is therefore important to them such that they fell that men understand beauty female beauty more than their female colleagues do. Furthermore, in an institution that is predominantly male, women, may feel that men are more favourable than women, as well that men are more understanding than women. This exactly how a patriarchal institutes maintains its masculine tenets through its discourse.

5.8.1 The Military’s Ability to Respond to Women’s Needs
Another factor that can influence women to take part in the military is the institution’s ability to provide them with their needs. This suggests that if women’s needs are catered for it becomes easy to lure them to join the force and there would be a competitive representation that will be close to men. Nonetheless, it has been established that the ability of the institution to respond to the needs depends on people who occupy positions of influence since some are willing to acknowledge the special needs of women, whereas others do not even care at all.

One participant who subscribes to this contention had this to say:

*On that matter I wouldn’t say it depends who you talk to, with the experience of a person being in the defence, you must know who to talk*
to, same applies, to like, I am an instructor at the commands and control school, we have four arms of service but you will find a learner from a certain wing, will say I don’t want to speak to a certain person? I want to speak to a warrant officer so and so, because I know she will listen to me. Some people are just at the position, just to feel important. You get there and ask for something, or you expect things to be sorted or whatsoever, but they don’t come back to you, so it depends on the person.

[Participant 11 Focus Group interviews June 2019]

Another participant who concurred with Participant 11 established that there are projects that are meant for women such as seminars that are meant to equip them to manage in a male dominated environment. The participant had this to say:

Yes, recently we had a seminar about and for women, they are trying, we had one general in 1997/999. She was in charge of the equal opportunities, every year they had a woman’s breakfast that time it was, the Southern Sun Hotel, they had breakfast there, and they spoke about the women in the defence force, and about how tough it is and so, but I think they are trying their outmost best.

[Participant 7 In-depth interviews June 2019]

Moreover, another participant established that the recognition of women’s needs is seems not an institutional mandate but rather it is an individual officer commanders’ responsibility. In other words, although the SANDF may try to put initiatives in place towards the an equal integration of women, the initiative lies in the mercy of the one in control of the unit to which it is meant to be implemented. This then suggests that in the military there is no collective consciousness. According to Durkheim (1858-1917), collective consciousness is based on the set of beliefs shared by society, organizations, as well as individuals. Collective consciousness is a good thing because if all workers in the SANDF share the belief that women should be given equal opportunity and treated equally to their male counterparts during work hours, then there would be no discrimination or subordination of women in the military.

The argument was that the commanders who are progressive initiate more programmes for women in order to accommodate women in a male dominated institution. Here is what she had to say:

They are trying I agree, and also that it depends on the officer commanding, some units have ladies forum, some do not have and then also the other thing, is for individuals to learn to accept and to know when to draw the lines, because sometimes you find you don’t get along very
well after hours. For example, if you go to other women in other units who don’t have ladies forum and you ask them, why they don’t have ladies forum, they will tell you arrgh! Let’s just leave it at that, because of issues. There is support anyway; it’s a matter of being professional.  
[Participant 12 Focus Group interviews June 2019]  
The current study has established that it is important for women’s needs to be acknowledged and observed because it equips them to manage in an environment that is male dominated like the SANDF. However, the challenge is that there are no clearly spelt out programmes and specific needs that are designed for women by the institution. Rather, the initiatives are developed by individual commanders and other people in positions of leadership. This makes it difficult because when the available leaders are not considerate of the challenges faced by women, they will not initiate any program such that it is women who suffer the most.
5.9 Model of Women Representation in the SANDF

**Figure 6.1:** Conceptual Model of Women Representation in the SANDF  
*Source: Author*  
5.9.1 An Overview of the Conceptual Model  

5.9.1.1 SANDF  

In the model, the SANDF is central because all efforts made by the organs represented in the model are aimed at enabling women to develop interest in enrolling with the SANDF. The model suggests that the SANDF has a mandate to increase the number of community outreaches in order to encourage women to enrol in the military, as well as to ensure that women are constantly updated about the military. This is because the current study has established from participants’ responses that people in communities are misinformed about what takes place in the military. In other words, they have little knowledge about what the military stands for and what it takes to be a soldier. The general perception of the military, as presented by the participants, was that the military is a male and masculine territory where women find it difficult to cope.
Hence, that tends to automatically discourage women to enrol. Therefore, if the SANDF takes initiative to correct this misconception, chances are that women representation in the military would improve.

Furthermore, the SANDF as a government institution could also create a sense of urgency to all the units in the quest to ensure equal representation of women. Creating a sense of urgency not only will ensure that more women can be part of the military, but will also create an awareness of the necessity for women to join the army. Essentially, policies and machineries for change in the organization will serve to be helpful. These machineries should be those that penetrate through social cultural norms and patriarchal ideologies that tend to impede on the progress of women. The policies and machineries should be formulated in a way that they are transparent and speak directly to women’s needs to avoid gender blindness. Moreover, partnering with community organizations, for example, schools, religious institutes and political institutes, would further decrease the proximity between gender education and the army.

5.9.1.2 The Government

The model for women’s representation suggests that the government plays an important role in enhancing women participation in the SANDF. The model suggests that the government has the mandate to provide institutional support and capacity building to the SANDF so that they will create an enabling environment to attract as many women as possible to enrol for military training. The study’s model also suggests that the government should work at providing information to women via programmes that are aimed at instilling the spirit of patriotism, which will encourage as many women as possible to enrol for military training with the aim to serve their country. Institutional support and capacity building could also be in the form of attractive remuneration packages that will inspire women to enrol for training in the SANDF.

The findings of the current study revealed that lack of information about the importance of being in the SANDF results in lack of interest among women which, in most cases, results in them dropping out before they complete the training. Hence, if women possess the right information, it will be easy for them to understand the importance of
enrolling in the military and that will encourage as many women as possible to develop interest in the SANDF.

Financial support from the government could also be essential at this juncture, as it will increase the military's capacity to increase the number of gatherings and workshops in which women can convene and share their experiences, challenges and solutions to their problems. Working together with other gender institutions would be beneficial to the SANDF in implementation and the evaluation of gender mainstreaming in the defence.

5.9.1.3 Women
Women just like the SANDF are also at the centre of the model. This is because the main objective of the conceptual model was to reveal ways in which the representation of women in the SANDF could be enhanced. This suggests that all organs represented in the model are aimed at supporting women to enrol with the SANDF. For instance, the government is there to provide institutional support and capacity building to the SANDF so that their conditions could be competitively attractive for women. The same applies to the society whose mandate is to provide social support and motivation to women so that they enrol for military training.

It is also necessary that women in the military, share knowledge about the military to other women in the communities wishing they join the military, as well as to share opportunities with other women should there be any. In addition, women in the military should be encouraged to banish the fear of openness about their day to day experiences with their male counterparts. By creating an environment that is conducive for women, by opening platforms where women in higher ranks can mentor and encourage women of lower ranks will reduce the glass ceiling effect on women in lower ranks.

Moreover, it is only necessary that women also see themselves as useful in the military and as capable of being soldiers in the same way men are viewed. Femininity should not be mistaken for weakness in anyway; in a conducive environment women can also exercise their feminine attributes without having to adopt any masculine attributes. Women also have a responsibility to form a collective in which they share same ideas
and beliefs when it comes to their integration in the army in order to reach their goals quickly. The notion of preferring men over women in leadership overthrows the invention of women empowerment and equal representation in the military.

5.9.1.4 Society
The model suggests that the society plays an important role in enhancing the representation of women in the SANDF. The major role that should be played by the society is to provide motivation and support to women so that they develop interest in joining the SANDF. The current study has revealed that there are numerous misconceptions about the nature of treatment that women get when they enrol in the military. Hence, the same society could demystify the same misconceptions and motivate women to be patriotic and serve their country. The ultimate goal of all the processes indicated in the conceptual model was aimed at motivating women to enrol in the SANDF.

5.10 Summary of Chapter
This chapter presented the challenges and opportunities associated with women representation in the SANDF. The major challenges that were established include fulfilling the basic military training, issues pertaining to femininity versus masculinity, the command and control environment in the military, women’s reluctance to join the military, lack of information about the military and exclusion in decision-making processes. The study has established that opportunities that women army personnel were happy with are in essence a motivation for other women to join the military.

Nevertheless, the study has established that antimilitary feminists take the opportunities as a way used by men in the military to oppress women by making them feel to be benefiting yet in actual sense they are not benefiting but rather exploited. Based on the findings of the study, the researcher developed a conceptual model for women representation in the SANDF whose components are the government and society which are expected to play a pivotal role in encouraging women through different means to join the military.
CHAPTER SIX
SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction
This chapter presents the summary of the study, the key findings, conclusions and recommendations of the thesis.

6.2 Summary
The motivation of this thesis was that women representation in the military has always been a cause for concern. This was drawn from the background of misrepresentation of women due to stereotypes and lack of interest among women in the SANDF. The study was conducted through the theoretical specs of the Liberal Feminist perspective. It was established that Sociology offers a distinctive way of seeing and explaining the social world, within which we live in, as well as the events and institutions that shape it. Although the military institution is believed to be a neglected, if not a closed and private institution, this study explored the extent of women's representation in the military.

The population of the study comprised all female military officers in the Limpopo Province. Purposive sampling was used to identify the research participants. A total of 20 female military officers was selected to take part in in-depth interviews. Apart from in-depth interviews, the researcher also employed a Focus Group and Thematic Content Analysis was used to analyse data.

6.3 Major Findings and Objectives of Study
It was established in this thesis that the military structures of organisational authority are dominated in general by masculine principles and bureaucracy and often the relationship between masculinity and militarism is portrayed in the literature as harmonious and mutually affirming.

This suggests that the military is identified as a site for the construction of masculinities which by definition results in the decline of woman participation. Furthermore, the nature of the military institution was constructed as a male dominant institution.
This thesis has established that there are considerably few women as compared to women in the SANDF. The thesis as also been established that the dominance of men in military is widespread from the lower ranks to the highest ranks in the institution. This suggests that women are not fully represented and at the same time the few that are represented are usually not considered for promotion. Several reasons that were suggested by the participants include, inter alia, lack of motivation among women to join the military, and the general belief that the military is a dominantly male institution. The fact that women in society are generally considered to be weak is also considered to be a reason for the low representation of women in the SANDF. Thus, despite the fact that the SANDF has publicly declared to include more women in the military, the matter of women representation continues to be problematic. This is because there are still fewer women compared to men in military ranks. This explicit dominance of men in the military maybe attributed to the general perception that the military is a masculine terrain. Also, the rumours that are spread around communities about the military institution continue to discourage women from joining the institution.

The key findings of the study are categorized according to the following study objectives:

- To examine the extent to which women in the SANDF are represented in the military;
- To describe the challenges faced by SANDF in the inclusion of women in the military;
- To determine the opportunities available for women in the military; and
- To develop a model for gender representation within the SANDF.

The conclusions of the study are categorized in two sections, namely, the dynamics of women representation as a consequence of women representation, and the challenges and opportunities as a motivation for women representation in the military. Under the dynamics of women representation, the following conclusions were established; the consequence of low representation of women in the military, the dominance of men in general and in the highest ranks of the institution, the prevalence of patriarchy and the incidence of institutional culture. Moreover, under challenges and opportunities, the following conclusions were arrived at; the honour of serving in a
department that is male dominated and opportunities to further studies. The other conclusion that was arrived at was that the challenges women face in attempting to penetrate successfully in the historically male-dominated work environments emanate from traditional gender hierarchies and norms that prevail in the family and society.

The conclusions drawn from the findings of the key findings of the thesis reveal that the representation of women in the military is affected by numerous direct and indirect factors. These factors are within the direct dynamics that were mentioned in Chapter Five and the challenges that were established in Chapter Six. The indication of the study was that there is no single factor that can be blamed for the low representation of women in the military, rather, the reasons need to be treated as a combination of factors as presented in this thesis. Further, in order to clearly comprehend the dynamics and challenges of women representation in the military, as well as addressing the issue of low representation, this researcher developed a conceptual model of women representation. The model provides the key actors needed in order to encourage women to enrol in the military, as well as the key areas that need to be addressed in order to demystify the low representation of women in the military. Lastly, the chapter provided areas for future research and recommendations of the study.

6.3.1 The Extent to Which Women are Represented in the SANDF

This thesis established that there are considerably few women in the SANDF. Moreover, it has also been established that the dominance of men in military is widespread from the lower ranks to the highest ranks in the institution. This suggests that women are not fully represented and at the same time the few that are represented are usually not considered for promotion. Several reasons were suggested by the participants, which include lack of motivation among women to join the military and the general belief that the military is a predominantly male institution. The fact that women are generally considered to be weak is also considered to be a reason for the low representation of women in the SANDF. Consequently, the current study has established that despite the fact that the SANDF has publicly declared to include more women in the military, the matter of women representation continues to be problematic. This is because there are still fewer women compared to men in military ranks. This dominance of men in the military can be attributed to the general belief that the military is a masculine terrain. Also, the myths that are spread around
6.3.2 The Prevalence of Patriarchy
The findings of the current study have established that patriarchy is one of the major reasons why the representation of women in the SANDF is considerably low. The study found that men tend to undermine women at work the same way they undermine them at home and in society in general in the name of patriarchy. Moreover, it has also been established that the dominance of men in the SANDF is a symbol of patriarchy which result from the power relationships that exist in families and in the military itself. Consequently, feminists argue that gender representation has always been a problem in many countries, particularly countries that operate under patriarchal rules. The argument is that in many communities, there are institutions that are considered to be predominantly male institutions such that if a woman attempts to enter such institutions, they get discouraged. Hence, current study has established that the manner in which the military has been portrayed over the years is an indication that it is a dominantly male institution.

6.3.3 The Contribution of Institutional Culture
Institutional culture has been considered to be another reason why there is low representation of women in the SANDF. Other factors such as patriarchy are outside factors that influence the activities of the military. However, there are also internal factors that affect the operations of the military. In that regard, institutional culture is one immediate example of this. The current study has established that the military like any other institution also has an institutional culture, which guides the day to day operations of the institution itself. It has also been established that institutional culture is largely concerned about values, norms and patterns of action that characterize the social relationships within formal organizations.

Moreover, institutional culture was found to be shared and understood by everyone involved in the institution such that if the institutional culture considers men fit for the military it will be difficult to reverse that and try to adopt policies like gender equity. As such, the current study revealed that the institutional culture in the SANDF has numerous patriarchal tendencies to the effect that even when a woman holds a
position of leadership in the military, they are usually disrespected by men who should serve under them because, generally, men believe that they are entitled to hold influential positions in the institution.

The study has also established that institutional culture also educates staff members about how they should think, behave and act in certain situations. Institutional culture is firmly rooted in the behaviour of the employees and is very difficult to change. This is because when employees acknowledge the values and beliefs of an institution, there is a certain brand image or identity that is formed which society can see and relate to. Hence, the institutional culture that exist in the SANDF is such that the belief systems, values and conceptions are biased toward men and against women.

6.3.4 Recruitment as a Reason for Women Underrepresentation
The current study has established that low recruitment of women by the SANDF could be regarded to be one of the reasons why women are underrepresented. The study has also found that the challenges women face in attempting to successfully penetrate in the historically male-dominated work environments emanate from traditional gender hierarchies and norms that prevail in the family and society. This was considered to have a direct influence on the recruitment of women into the SANDF. Moreover, another important key finding of the study was discrimination of women which is closely associated with recruitment. Also it is important to note that low recruitment is to some extent influenced by discrimination. Another key finding of the study was that women for a long time were discriminated from workplaces and spaces by conforming to cultural roles predetermined by the societal system.

The study has also found that the military as a unit and organization has its unique culture that has always been known to be exclusive to public civilians, meaning that it holds its own cultural norms and organizational norms. The other key finding of the study with regards to discrimination was that the military institution has been known to be for men, and women often find it extremely difficult to be part of decision-making processes as well as members of the senior ranks in the event that they have been incorporated in the institution.
Moreover, current study has also established that gender discrimination keeps women in the same position, with the same wages that are bound to be significantly lower to their male counterparts. This does not in any way encourage women empowerment but rather introduces the ‘glass ceiling’ effect. In that regard, Liberal Feminists have been for years trying to fight against the discrimination of women in the workplace by contesting for equal rights for women. Their argument has been that attaining equality between men and women, as well as eliminating all of discrimination against women are fundamental to human rights. Human rights include the acknowledgement of women’s labour, giving women equal rights to men, fair wages and contribution to decision-making processes. Women have every right to be elevated and promoted to more senior ranks if they have the same capabilities to men, as well as to maintain their position.

6.3.5 Women’s Reluctance to Join the Military and Lack of Information

Women’s reluctance to join the military is one of the reasons established in this study to provide an explanation for the low representation of women in the SANDF. In that regard, another key finding of this thesis was that due to discrimination, women become reluctant to join the military. It has been found that women are reluctant to join the military mainly because they believe it is for men. Consequently, discrimination is channelled through the belief systems that are instilled into people that this form of activity is for a specific group of people in society. In that regard, the study has revealed that a few women would have the courage to join the military and even when they attempt they are most likely to lose hope along the way such that within a few months of training they opt out. Moreover, apart from reluctance to join the military, the current study has established that lack of information is another huge barrier that affects the full participation and representation of women in the military. The study made a conclusion that one of the reasons why individuals believe that men are better off than women is because of lack information about the military. Also, in communities the information that people are fed with could also result in them lacking interest.

6.3.6 Culture, Race and Ethnicity as a Determinant of Low Representation

Another key finding of the study was that culture, race and ethnicity significantly contributes to the low representation of women in the military. Sociologists argue that culture consists of the values, beliefs, systems of language, communication and
practices that people share in common and that can be used to define them as a collective. It has also been established that culture is distinct from social structure and economic aspects of society. Culture plays a significant role in the production of social order. The social order refers to the stability of society based on the collective agreement to rules and norms that allow communities to cooperate, function and live together in peace and harmony. To that effect, the study established that culture plays a huge role in the representation of women in the military.

6.3.7 Challenges as a Source of Motivation

This study has established that there are numerous challenges that female combatants face in the military. The indication of the study was that participation of women in the military is largely dominated by challenges that present the institution as a male club. It has been revealed that, for many years, the military has always been known to be a field explored and endured by men due to their physical strength and masculine traits. As such, accepting women as soldiers has also been posed as a great challenge to the organization, as well as the society at large. The challenges experienced by women include training, surviving a control and command environment, inability to make decisions and the lack of trust in women’s capabilities. Based on the nature of challenges that women army personnel face, this study has concluded that the challenges could be channelled into a source of motivation for women to overcome the barrier of getting into the military.

6.3.8 Basic Military Training

Another important key finding arrived at by this study was that importance of accommodating the needs of women in the basic training. This is because basic military training is regarded to be a pre-requisite for both males and females in the military as it prepares soldiers for war situations. Nevertheless, despite the basic military training being a prerequisite, it was established to be vigorous and not friendly for women who are not as strong as their male counterparts. This is considering the fact that the physical makeup of women in most cases does not allow them to endure the requirements of the training. Also, the study found that the instructors in most case are men which makes it more difficult because they have little understanding of how women function. Therefore, on basic training, the current study concludes that there is need to revise the training manual in order to address the unique needs of women.
6.3.9 Demystifying the Delusion of Femininity and Masculinity
The current study has found that the delusion of femininity and masculinity is a serious challenge that negatively impacts women representation in the military. It was revealed that there is a misconception that women are less capable than men when it comes to the military profession. This misconception is a challenge that seriously affects the representation of women in the military because most ambitious women are quickly discouraged. This was also blamed on various cultural and religious beliefs which influence society on how they should view the relations and roles of men and women. As such, this thesis concludes that there is need to demystify the delusion of masculinity and femininity in the military. The argument is that the moment the military as a profession is regarded as a masculine territory that is not accommodative of the feminine it discourages women from enrolling. Hence, by demystifying the delusion the institution will be treated like any other institution that equally accommodates men and women.

6.3.10 The Command Element and Decision Making
The current study has revealed what it terms the ‘command element’ which makes it difficult for women to establish themselves in the military. The incidence of command and control was established to be a huge challenge that is faced by female army personnel in the Limpopo Province. The command element is pushed and championed by men in that they are at the top of the system and command the manner in which the institution should operate. On the same note, the study established that women often do not occupy positions of influence and they are considered inferior and have to abide by the control exerted on them by their male counterparts.

The current study therefore concluded that this is a huge challenge considering the fact that, in most cases, women are only expected respond to instructions without questioning the reason the motive. That also demonstrate another challenge which was established in this study is the challenge of decision making among women in the top ranks of the institution. Moreover, participation in decision making was found to be crucial because it instills a sense of control in women and the feeling of inferiority based on gender will be eliminated. As such, it was established that, even though women rarely occupy positions where they are entitled to make important decisions, in
instances where they should make decisions they are not taken serious simply because they are women. This is because participation in decision making in the military is considered to be a male privilege. As such, the representation of women in the military becomes low.

6.3.11 Embracing Opportunities for Women in the SANDF
One of the key findings of the study was that, apart from the many challenges faced by women in the SANDF, there are also numerous opportunities that ought to be cherished. This study has concluded that the opportunities that are presented to women in the army should be a source of motivation that if they are embraced women will be in a position to enrol without a sense of inferiority. It was established that these opportunities are equally presented to both men and women, which is an indication that, to some extent, in the SANDF, men and women are given equal treatment. To that effect, the equal treatment should be considered to be a huge source of motivation to pave way for many women to join the military.

6.3.12 The Military’s Ability to Respond to Women’s Needs
One of the major key findings of this study was that the special needs of women should be acknowledged accordingly in order to encourage more women to join the military. The current study therefore concludes that, if women’s needs are catered for, it becomes easy to lure them to join the force and there would be a competitive representation that will be close to men. Nonetheless, it has been established that the ability of the institution to respond to the needs depends on people who occupy positions of influence since some are willing to acknowledge the special needs of women, whereas others do not even care at all. Moreover, the study also concludes that there should be a set of clearly spelt out programs in place to address the special needs of women in the military.

6.4 Conceptual Model of Women Representation in the SANDF
Base on the key findings of the current study some of the conclusions for the study are presented in the conceptual model that was developed by the researcher. The conclusions made through the model include the fact that the SANDF has a mandate to do community outreach in order to encourage women to enrol in the military. This is because the current study has established that people in communities are
misinformed about what takes place in the military. The general perception of the military as presented by the participants was that the military is a male and masculine territory where women could hardly cope.

Moreover, the study through the model also concludes that the government has the mandate provide the communities with relevant information and the SANDF with the appropriate institutional support in order to give them a springboard from which to leap forward insofar as accommodating women is concerned. The study concluded that institutional support and capacity building could also be in the form of attractive remuneration packages that will inspire women to enrol for training in the SANDF. Hence, if women possess the right information, it will be easy for them to understand the importance of enrolling in the military and that will encourage as many women as possible to take develop interest in the SANDF.

The study through the conceptual model also concluded that women just like the SANDF are at the centre of the conceptual model. This is because the main objective of the conceptual model was to reveal ways in which the representation of women in the SANDF could be enhanced. This suggests that all organs represented in the model are aimed at supporting women to enrol with the SANDF. The current study through the model also concluded that society plays an important role in enhancing the representation of women in the SANDF. This is so considering the fact that the major role that should be played by the society is provision of motivation and support to women so that they develop in interest in joining the SANDF. This is because there are numerous misconceptions about the nature of treatment that women get when they enrol in the military. As such, the society has the ability to demystify the same misconceptions and motivate women to be patriotic and serve their country.

6.5 Areas for Future Research

Based on the findings of this study, the researcher identified some aspects that future studies on women representation in the military should take into consideration. The researcher suggests that there is need for future studies to move beyond women representation and inclusion of women to the differences between men and women, as well as what they can offer. In essence, future studies need to measure the contribution of women no matter how few they are, and compare the effectiveness of
women cadres and leaders in the military vis-à-vis men in order to demystify the misconception of weakens among women.

6.6 Limitation of Study
One of the major limitations of the study was finding the right participants to take part of the study at the prescribed research time allocated. Secondly, getting access into the military to conduct the study was also a hassle; the institution is highly beauracratic and private. To a greater extent, the Liberal Feminist Theory, although relevant in the early foundation phases of the study, it proved to seem redundant in further unpacking the discourse of women’s representation and the challenges of representations. Marxist Feminism in this regard would have been ideal in unpacking inequalities at work, oppression and the subordination of women in a highly masculine terrain such as the SANDF.

6.7 Recommendations
Based on the findings of the study, the researcher has proposed recommendations that could enhance the representation of women in the SANDF. These recommendations are as follows:

- The Importance of Outreach
From the findings of the study it was established that communities have misconceptions about the role of women in the military. The study revealed many unfounded and baseless myths around the inclusion of women in the military. Hence, in order to undo the widespread misconceptions there is need for the SANDF to embark on community outreach in order to encourage women to enrol in the military. This will help in changing the perceptions of communities and encourage young South African women to take part in the patriotic duty of serving their country in the military.

- The Provision of Information
The study established that one of the reasons why women are underrepresented in the military is lack of information. This comes in as some sections believe that military is a male occupation since it is predicated on masculinity. As such, in order to undo such misconceptions there is need for the government to provide the information to
communities through incorporating such issues in the syllabuses in schools in order
to prepare young girls to develop interest in serving their country.

- **Institutional support and capacity building**

  The current study has established that women are underrepresented in the military
due to the fact that the SANDF does not have appropriate mechanisms to support the
needs of women. As such, there is a need for the government to provide the SANDF
with appropriate institutional support and capacity building in order to give them a
springboard from which to leap forward insofar as accommodating women is
concerned. In that regard, women will be given preferential treatment such that their
training will not be as hectic as men training such that as many women as possible will
be inspired to join the military.

### 6.8 Conclusion

The chapter presented the summary, conclusions and recommendations of the study.
The conclusions were categorized into two sections namely the dynamics of women
representation as a consequence of women representation and the challenges and
opportunities as a motivation for women representation in the military. Under the
dynamics of women representation, the following conclusions were established; the
consequence of low representation of women in the military, the dominance of men in
general and in the highest ranks of the institution, the prevalence of patriarchy and the
incidence of institutional culture. Moreover, under challenges and opportunities, the
following conclusions were arrived at; the honour of serving in a department that is
male dominated and opportunities to further studies.

The conclusions drawn from the findings of the thesis reveal that the representation of
women in the military is affected by numerous direct and indirect factors. These factors
are within the direct dynamics that were mentioned in Chapter Five and the challenges
that were established in Chapter Six. The indication of the study was that there is no
single factor that can be blamed for the low representation of women in the military,
rather, the reasons need to be treated as a combination of factors as presented in this
thesis. Further, in order to clearly comprehend the dynamics and challenges of women
representation in the military, as well as addressing the issue of low representation,
this researcher developed a conceptual model of women representation. The model
provides the key actors needed in order to encourage women to enrol in the military, as well as the key areas that need to be addressed in order to demystify the low representation of women in the military. Lastly, the chapter provided areas for future research and recommendations of the study.
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ANNEXURES
Annexure A: Interview Schedule for Senior Officers
1. **Demographic Questions**

1.1 How long have you been of service to the SANDF?
1.2 What rank do you hold?
1.3 How long have you been in this rank?

1.2 **About the department**

1.2.1 Do you have a policy that targets women representation in the SANDF?
1.2.2 How many women do you have in your combat units? What are the reasons for this?
1.2.3 Do you have a policy that targets equal representation of women in combat units? Which ones are those?
1.2.4 Does your department/unit have specific policies that you refer to during the process of gender mainstreaming? Which ones are those?
1.2.5 Are there specific procedures for including women into combat roles? Outline the procedure
1.2.6 In what ways does your department/unit ensure that both men and women have an equal chance of being represented in combat roles?

1.3 **Women in combat**

1.3.1 What opportunities are there for women to be included in combat?
1.3.2 Are there specific requirements for women to be recruited for combat? Can you name a few?
1.3.3 Are these requirements similar to those of men? Explain
1.3.4 What is your take on the under-representation of women in combat roles? Explain
1.3.5 Do you think women are interested in forming part of combat? Explain
1.3.6 In what ways do these reasons affect the ways in which the SANDF would like to operate?
1.4 Conclusion

1.4.1 Is there anything you would like to add before we stop the interview?

Thank you for your participation in the study, the information that you have given is very useful, please be reminded that any information that you have given will not be used against you or the development of the SANDF.
Annexure B: Interview Schedule for Women in Combat

Project title: Women’s Representation the SANDF: A Case Study of the Limpopo Province, South Africa

1.1 Demographic Questions
1.1.1 How long have you been of service to the SANDF?
1.1.2 What rank do you hold?
1.1.3 How long have you been in this rank?
1.1.4 What are your career goals as a female (employee) soldier the SANDF? Where do you see yourself in the next 5 to 10 years?
1.1.5 What are your views on inclusion of women in combat within the SANDF?

1.2 Challenges/Opportunities
1.2.1 Describe challenges that you have faced during your years of service to the SANDF as a female soldier in combat
1.2.2 Describe your feelings about serving in combat.
1.2.3 What opportunities have you been exposed to since your service to the SANDF as a woman? Explain
1.2.4 Describe your relationship with your male colleagues.
1.2.5 Describe your relationship with female colleagues.
1.2.6 How does the SANDF combat unit respond to woman’s needs?
1.2.7 What advice can you give to other women wishing to combat?

1.3 Conclusion
1.3.1 Is there anything else you would like to add to what we have discussed?

Thank you for your participation in the study, the information that you have given is very useful, please be reminded that any information that you have given will not be used against you or the development of the SANDF.
Annexure C: Request for Permission to Conduct the Study

FROM: Ms LK Mmakola
Department of Sociology & Anthropology
University of Limpopo, Private Bag X1106,
Sovenga, 0727

10 February 2015

TO: The General
South African National Defence Force
Capricorn District
Polokwane
0700

Dear Madam/Sir

Request for Permission to conduct a study titled: Women’s representation in SANDF: A Case Study of the South African Defence Force, Limpopo Province, South Africa

My name is Lulu K. Mmakola from the University of Limpopo. I am a PhD student in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology. I would like to request your permission to conduct my study in your organization. May I also request your departmental assistance in collecting data for my study, through access to some documents that will assist me in determining the methods used in the inclusion of women in combat, the number of women in combat positions, as well as policy documents that govern the process of including women in combat positions.

I attach my as yet preliminary (yet to be approved) proposal for your information.

I would also like to conduct in-depth interviews as well your female staff members, (in combat).

Your assistance in this regard will be of great value to this research.

Sincerely
Mmakola L

Contact Details:
Cell: 0712834685
Email: lulu.mmakola@ul.ac.za
For any queries please contact my supervisor Professor S.L Sithole on the following: Office number: 015 268 2930/2683, Email: Sello.Sithole@ul.ac.za
Annexure D: Consent Form

I …………………………………………voluntarily participate in the project about: Women’s Representation in the SANDF: A Case Study of the South African Defence Force, Limpopo Province, South Africa. Please read the information below and sign if you would like to participate.

Participation in the study is completely voluntary. If you decide to withdraw there will be no negative consequences. Should you wish to participate, please answer all questions as honestly as possible. You will be asked to answer questions about the women’s representation in combat roles in the SANDF: A Case Study of the Limpopo Province, South Africa. Other general questions pertaining to this matter will be asked from you.

PARTICIPANT
By signing this form, I agree that I have read and understood the information above and I freely give my consent to participate in this project.

Signatures:
Participant…………………………………. Date………………………
Witness…………………………………….. Date………………………
Researcher………………………………… Date………………………
Annexure E: Editor’s Letter

Mr MM Mohlake
University of Limpopo
Turfloop Campus
Private Bag x 1106
Sovenga
0727

06 July 2020

To Whom It May Concern

EDITING CONFIRMATION: Ms KL Mmakola’s STUDY

This letter is meant to acknowledge that I, M.M. Mohlake, as a professional editor, have meticulously edited the main doctoral thesis of Ms Knightingale Lulu Mmakola entitled “Women’s Representation in the South African National Defence Force: A Case Study of the Limpopo Province, South Africa”.

Thus I confirm that the readability of the work in question is of a high standard.

For any enquiries please contact me.

Regards

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Disclaimer: Any subsequent typos/errors by student and/or preferences of the supervisor remain the responsibility of such, respectively.