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INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS IN AFRICA: A CASE OF THE DARFUR CONFLICT, 2008-2016

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DEDICATION

This research project is dedicated to my family and especially to my husband, who has supported

in whatever I do to ensure that I always give out the best. Also, my brother Issa, who empowered

me to reach where I am today.

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For the knowledge and wisdom, strength and good health, I owe them to the Almighty God; to Him I give the Glory.

My sincere appreciation goes to my supervisor, Prof Amb Maria Nzomo for the selfless and professional guidance she accorded me throughout the project despite her tight work schedule.

I hereby acknowledge my best friends Phyllis, Bertha, Margaret, James among others for their support in one way or another towards the triumphant conclusion of this research project.

ABSTRACT

The aim of this study is to analyze the role and challenges of women in peacekeeping operations in reference to the case of Darfur 2008-2016. Three specific objectives guided the study; to establish the role played by both states and non-state actors in combat missions and specifically in peacekeeping operations in Africa; to examine the role played by women in peace keeping operations and to identify the challenges encountered by women in peace keeping operations in the Darfur Conflict. The study employed a descriptive research design approach. The researcher used primary and secondary data as the main source of the information. Primary data was obtained from questionnaire obtained from former officials who had previously served in UNAMID in Darfur. Secondary data was obtained through in-depth study of the findings of previous scholars who have ventured in this topic of women and peacekeeping operations especially in Darfur. The target population comprised of 20 former officials from UNAMID. In addition, a documentary analysis on reviewed documents on women peacekeepers in the Darfur conflict especially information on those that served in the military and police roles in UN peacekeeping missions in this conflict was targeted. The data collected on the findings of other scholars was used as the foundations of the findings of this study. The study made inferences from these findings though tabulating and discussions based on the three objectives of this study. The findings were that state actors like the IGAD, EAC, United Nations and African Union have been involved in peacekeeping mission in Darfur. Similarly, non-state actors like for example intergovernmental organizations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), statesmen and community and national leaders have also been involved. State and non-state actors play various roles in Darfur conflict. State actors such as the United Nations, African Union, European Union, East African Community, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), national and international humanitarian agencies have always been in the forefront arbitrating on the Darfur conflicts in an effort at peace-building. On the other hand, non-state actors like the Community Based Organizations (CBOs) and religious bodies played a key role in arbitrating and managing the Darfur conflict. The study established that women peacekeepers play important roles in peacekeeping in Darfur. They are key in identifying of early warning signs of conflicts and conflict prevention, peacekeeping and peace support operations, peace processes like peace talks, mediation and signing of peace treaties and post-conflict processes like peace building activities. The study established that numerous challenges were encountered by women peacekeepers in their peacekeeping role in the Darfur conflict. Women peacekeepers suffer from suspicion and mistrust from the local community. The local women are suspicious of the women peacekeepers since the contingents from South Africa, Burundi and Rwanda mostly comprise of dark-skinned and predominantly Christian soldiers while the Darfuri women are Arabs. The locals have mistrust on women peace keepers based on the perception of religion, language and colour. Despite the challenges faced by women peacekeepers, their inclusion in peacekeeping operations is vital and cannot be overlooked. Being part of the world's population, women cannot be isolated and therefore should form part of the work force. It is therefore recommended that the UN should continue calling for the increase of women peacekeepers in order to fully integrate a gender perspective in its operations. Equally, specific posts must be set aside for women in order to increase the number. Further, to ensure that women occupy senior posts within a mission, these posts must be identified and advertised for only qualified women to apply. The UN member states should also encourage women empowerment and deployment in peacekeeping missions. Military and police for all member states should be encouraged to recruit women in good numbers, train and deploy them whenever required in peacekeeping missions.

LIST OF ABBRIVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

CAR: Central African Republic

COOPI: Cooperation Internationale

DRC: Democratic Republic of Congo

DPKO: Department of Peacekeeping Operation

FAWE: Forum for African Women Educationalists

NGOs: Non-Governmental Organizations

NPFL: National Patriotic Front of Liberia

PKO: Peace Keeping Operation

UNAMID: African Union United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur

UNSC: United Nations Security Council

UNSCR: United Nations Security Council Resolutions

UNAMSIL: United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone

UNICEF: United Nations Children Education Fund.

UN: United Nations

RUF: Revolutionary United Front

SEA: Sexual Exploitation and Abuse

SG: Secretary General

SPSS: Statistical Packages for Social Sciences

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1   Background

Having been created in 1945 after the collapse of the League of Nations and the end of the Second World War, the United Nations (UN) has continuously faced global conflicts. Such conflicts include the war in Vietnam, the Korean war, the massacre in Rwanda in 1994, the ethnic cleansing atrocities in Bosnia and Kosovo from 1997-1999, the conflict in DRC, Darfur and South Sudan conflicts among many others. The numerous conflicts have forced the UN to devote enormous resources to peacekeeping efforts to resolve them.[1]

Initially, peacekeeping efforts were aimed at observing ceasefires between states like the case of Israel and Syria and Greece and Cyprus. However, due to the emergence of new conflicts like the case of Somalia, Darfur and Congo, the mandate has developed into nation-building. The United Nations peacekeeping efforts have shifted from the initial focus on cold war related conflicts to the aspects causing human insecurity like political violence and instability, human rights violations, war, poverty or disease has promoted a spurt in UN peacekeeping operations since the 1990s to subdue catalysts of instability.[2]

With emergence of new and dynamic conflicts such as the case in Darfur, DRC and Somalia, the focus of the UN peacekeeping missions has again shifted to the need to focus on gender related aspects such as rape and sexual exploitation of civilian population. The Darfur crisis is among some of the most complicated scenario to face the United Nations. Indeed, gang rape, abduction

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[1] Inanovich, Acovich,. *Need for more female peacekeepers in the United Nations. Human Security, Peace and Gender Initiative.* New York, United States University, 2014.
[2] Anderholt, C. *Female Participation in Formed Police Units.* New York: Peacekeeping & Stability Operations Institute, 2012.

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and sexual slavery are all prevalent forms of sexual violence in Darfur and DRC conflicts. Since the early 2000s, the Darfurian population has been subjected to a massive campaign of ethnic violence that has claimed the lives of almost 400,000 civilians, and has created nearly 2 million internally-displaced persons or refugees that have fled to camps in neighboring Chad. Humanitarian crisis in Darfur presents one of the greatest challenges to the international community since the coordinated massacre of over 800,000 people in Rwanda in one-hundred days in 1994.[3]

The government of Sudan has complicated the situation by failing to intervene or assist the UN to seek for a permanent resolution. The mass murder of national, ethnic and tribal groups at the hands of the predominantly Arab Sudanese government and the pro-Arab, government-backed militias, known as the Janjaweed, is deemed responsible for the deaths of tens of thousands of black Sudanese in the region. The Janjaweed militiamen in Darfur have employed rape and other acts of sexual violence as systematic weapons of genocide and ethnic cleansing. Women, from young girls to grandmothers are raped and brutally assaulted during attacks on their villages.[4] The conflict has given rise to violations and abuses of rights of the victims leading to mass displacement of entire populations.

The United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID) was formed as a joint African Union (AU) and United Nations (UN) peacekeeping mission formally approved by United Nations Security Council Resolution 1769 on 31 July 2007. The mission aimed at bringing stability to the war-torn Darfur region of Sudan while peace talks on a final settlement

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[3] United Nations. 'Women Peacekeepers in Conflict Zones: A Growing Force". UN: New York, 2017.
[4] Batiste, Lelaini. Crisis in Darfur: an opportunity for the United Nations to reclaim its lost status for sake of peace and security of the international community. *Dissertation Paper 9*, 2012.

continued.[5] Initially, its force of about 26,000 personnel began to deploy to the region in October 2007. The 9,000-strong African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS), which was previously responsible for peacekeeping, had completely merged into this new force by 31 December 2007. The mandate was for a force of up to 19,555 military personnel and 3,772 police, as well as additional 19 uniformed police contingencies with conscriptions of about 140 police officers in each unit.[7] .However, the UNAMID mission has currently reduced its strength. The peacekeepers are allowed to use force as a last resort to protect civilians and humanitarian operations.

The Darfur conflict has a gender related dimension since women and girls form most of the victims. The United Nation in 2000, responded by adopting the formulated United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) to cater for the role of peace and security for women (UNSCR) 1325 of 2000 which advocated for constituting women is issues dealing with conflict resolution, peace keeping operation and decision making process. This resolution has been followed by other subsequent resolution on women, peace and security and they include UNSCRs 1820 (2008), 1888(2009), 1889 (2009), 2106 (2013), 2122 (2015).[6]

The adoption of Resolution 1325(2000) has created the awareness of the role of women in peacekeeping operations, giving it substantial attention and recognition. Indeed, women have and continue to play different roles in the processes of solving conflicts. They have participated in identifying early warning signs of conflicts and conflict prevention, peacekeeping and peace

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[5] OCHA, Darfur Humanitarian Overview, 1 January 2017.
[6] Inanovich, Acovich,. *Need for more female peacekeepers in the United Nations. Human Security, Peace and Gender Initiative.* New York, United States University, 2014.

support operations, peace processes like peace talks, mediation and signing of peace treaties and post-conflict processes like peace building activities.[7]

Based on the UN statistics, the participation of women in peacekeeping operations has slowly increased since the adoption of UNSCR 1325 (2000). The first women on peacekeeping operation were deployed in 1957. There were only five women out of the six thousand two hundred and fifty soldiers who directly participated in UN peacekeeping operations during the period of 1957 and 1979. This number increased to twenty out of the two thousand military officers by 1989. As of 2012, women peacekeepers had increased to between 7-10 % of the population of military officers. The number has continued to increase at the same rate up to today.[8]

UN Peacekeeping operations in Darfur have and continue to extend logistic, technical and programmatic support to the government of Sudan to increase the awareness and improve the protective environment for vulnerable populations like women and children. In addition, as from 2009, UNAMID has increased the number of women officers in its operations while promoting the recruitment in local police services through the police women networks. By February 2009, UN peacekeeping operation in Darfur contained more than three hundred female police advisers from ninety-one countries. Women peacekeepers in Darfur serve in various roles in all parts of Darfur hence facilitating the peace processes. The presence and effectiveness of women peacekeepers remains lethal in Darfur since the most affected people by the ongoing conflict are women and children.

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[7]Dyan Mazurana, Adssew Garragher and Heiss Walkmann. '*Conflict and Women Peacekeeping Force'*. New York, Routedge Publishers, 2005.
[8]Fumni, Masser, Femmi, Assa, and Gerger, Masser. '*Women Peacekeepers in Peace and Security: Policy and Practice'.* New Jersey, McGraw, 2010.

1.1.   Statement of the Problem

The prolongation of the Darfur conflict has led to displacement of 2.6 million IDPs where women and girls are continuously exposed to sexual and gender-based violence. From January 2014 to December 2016, UNAMID documented 297 cases of sexual violence involving 533 victims, comprising of 530 girls and three boys.[9]

This has led to the integration of more female peacekeepers in the mission and the shifting of the peacekeeping mandate from purely a military operations to a multi-dimensional and integrated missions with key priorities as restructuring state institutions, capacity development of national security organs, supporting transition and electoral processes protecting local population through improved understanding of local context and application of a gendered approach to adequately respond to the needs of women and girls affected by the conflict.[10]

Amidst many challenges, women peacekeepers are deployed in all areas from the police, military to civilian roles, both in supporting the role of women in building peace and protecting women's rights.[11] In a peacekeeping operation, with women and children as the main victims of violence, particularly sexual violence, it is often difficult for male soldiers to cross social and cultural boundaries required in building this trust. This is where female peacekeepers are expected to fill the gap by not only providing women and children with a greater sense of security, but also by fostering their trust and in the process gathering valuable information for the

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[9] United Nations. 'Women Peacekeepers in Conflict Zones: A Growing Force". UN: New York, 2017.
[10] Inanovich, Acovich,. *Need for more female peacekeepers in the United Nations. Human Security, Peace and Gender Initiative.* New York, United States University, 2014.
[11] Heathcote, Mary, Diana Heslop and Garry Magner. 'Gender in Peacekeeping: Rethinking Equality and Security'. New York, McGraw, 2014.

mission.[12] However, sexual violence and gender related atrocities against women have continued to be documented.

Inanovich[13], in a study conducted by the UN in support of resolution 1325, and from experience in operations in Cambodia, Kosovo, Timor-Leste, Afghanistan, Liberia and the DRC, has demonstrated that female soldiers do not face the same cultural restrictions as their male counterparts, and are able to gain information from affected women and children.[14] Scholars such as Garner and Enns have illustrated that women have an impact on peacekeeping operations through various roles they play.[15] However, they have not fully highlighted the specific peacekeeping roles played by these women.

Anderson[16] on the other hand argued that the masculine military environment suppress the women rather than utilize their potential. This has hindered the roles played by women during peacekeeping operations and is difficult to define clearly the role of female peacekeepers in such operations and specifically in Darfur.[17] Equally, Gardam and Jarvis stated that a mere increase in the number of women will not address problems of women in conflict but these authors failed to give a way forward of resolving the related conflicts[18]. Similarly, few studies have been conducted on the role played by women in peacekeeping operations in Africa and specifically on the Darfur conflict.

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[12] United Nations. 'Women Peacekeepers in Conflict Zones: A Growing Force". UN: New York, 2017.

[13] Inanovich, Acovich,. *Need for more female peacekeepers in the United Nations. Human Security, Peace and Gender Initiative.* New York, United States University, 2014.

[14] Heathcote, Mary, Diana Heslop and Garry Magner. 'Gender in Peacekeeping: Rethinking Equality and Security'. New York, McGraw, 2014.

[15] Garner, John, Adolf, Hun, and Thomas Higge. *The Feminism theory and Practice: Diversity and Origin.* New York: Rutledge, 2012.

[16] Anderson, Johnson, *United Nations Peace Operations Year in Review.* New York: United Nations Publications, 2013.

[17] Anderson, Johnson, *United Nations Peace Operations Year in Review.* New York: United Nations Publications, 2013.

[18] Judith Gad, Gardam Mary and Harry Mark. *'Armed conflict and the role of international law'.* Netherlands, 2001.

1.2   Research Questions

This study sought to provide answers to the following questions:

1.   What is the role played by both states and non-state actors in combat missions and specifically in peacekeeping operations in Africa?

2.   What is the role played by women in peace keeping operations in reference to the Darfur conflict in 2008-2016?

3.   What challenges do women encounter in peacekeeping operations in the Darfur conflict?

1.3   General Research Objective

The research objective of this study is to examine and analyze on role and challenges of women in peacekeeping operations in reference to the case of Darfur 2008-2016.

1.4   Specific Research Objectives

The study comprised of the following specific objectives:

1.   To establish and evaluate role played by both states and non-state actors in combat missions and specifically in peacekeeping operations in Africa.

2.   To examine and analyze the role played by women in peace keeping operations in reference to the Darfur conflict, 2008-2016.

3.   To identify and assess the challenges encountered by women in peace keeping operations in the Darfur Conflict, 2008-2016.

1.5   Literature Review
1.5.1   Introduction

This section will provide an overview of the literature concerning the roles of women in peacekeeping operations. It illustrates a need for more evidence to demonstrate the actual roles of women in UN peacekeeping operations. The entire review is based on the objectives of the

study. Therefore, the review discusses the roles of women in peacekeeping operations hence identifying the gaps that the study seeks to fill.

It is important to note that women play various roles in peacekeeping operations and an argument exist that war affects women and men differently. There is also the belief that women have the ability to improve operational effectiveness by playing various roles during the peace processes. Nevertheless, the two arguments are based on subjective rather than objective evidence and the illustration is that women play important roles in peacekeeping and furthering the goal of human security.

1.5.2   Role of Women in Peace Keeping Operations

Over the last few decades, the UN has witnessed a radical change from a realist perspective of security that dominated during the Cold War period. The realist perspective state is at the middle of the security debate, along with the law of sovereignty. Therefore, the Cold War serves as the point of change on issues of security.[19] The change from the state related security to the individual related ones has increased in the security literature resulting in human security discourse that focuses more on development rather than military and arms. Human security may be defined as the safety from the global threats such as disease, hunger, repression and crime. Globalization has resulted in the shift of focus towards the individual as the integration of international political and economic systems took place. In addition, the determination that actions of people in one state might affect those in another has encouraged leaders to perceive security and address it differently.[20]

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[19] United Nations. 'Women Peacekeepers in Conflict Zones: A Growing Force". UN: New York, 2017.
[20] Kumar, Rathman. 'Research Methodology: Stepwise for starters'. New York: Ranjiv Publishers, 2010.

Despite the fact that the shift in focus from states related security to the individual related one is proving to have beneficial effects to susceptible populations like children and women, the available literature has failed to focus on the correlation between gender and security. It is for this reason that feminist scholars have raised enough consciousness on the difference between men and women in ensuring peace in conflict-ridden areas. The scholars argue that women have unique contribution in peacekeeping operations, but the limited presence of women in peacekeeping operations hinders peace operations.[21]

The link between women, peace and security in ancient times categorizes women as victims and men as belligerents hence ignoring the fact that women could also serve as belligerents in war or remain active throughout the peacekeeping process by playing various roles. The scholar reveals how the security paradigm has changed since the cold war and how the issues of peace and security have ignored the inclusion of women by viewing them as victims and not belligerents of war.[22] In addition, the scholar has mentioned that women could participate on peacekeeping process, but failed to outline the actual roles of women in peacekeeping processes hence creating a knowledge gap that this study seeks to fill.

Anderson argues that with the increase of peacekeeping operations since 1990, the perception on the operations changed, thus resulting in more qualitative studies on the effect of war on women and children.[23] Most scholars have emphasized on the effects of peacekeeping operations on women and children on the host state, but most have ignored the issue of women roles on peace and security. Mazurana has put more emphasis on armed conflict and gender relations. Others

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[21] Lorentzen, Thierry, Hylik, Egaland Munsen Olof. '*Women in War'*. New York, Rutledge Publishers, 1988.
[22] Lorentzen, Thierry, Hylik, Egaland Munsen Olof. '*Women in War'*. New York, Rutledge Publishers, 1988.
[23] Anderson, Johnson, *United Nations Peace Operations Year in Review.* New York: United Nations Publications, 2013.

have focused on gender inequality in peacekeeping operations.[24] Few scholars have focused on the actual roles of women in peacekeeping operations thus formulating a knowledge gap that this study seeks to fill.

Anderson also added that peacekeeping operations since 1992 have witnessed increased sexual exploitation as well as child prostitution.[25] Such grievances have resulted in the lobbying by various feminist scholars such as Olsson and Torunn to increase the number of women peacekeepers in UN peacekeeping operations.[26] Increasing the number of women on UN peacekeeping missions demonstrates that women have exceptional roles that they play to enhance peace in conflict-ridden areas. Olsson and Torunn have further identified the need to increase the number of women in UN peacekeeping operations.[27] However, the scholars have failed to identify the role of women in the peacekeeping operations hence creating a knowledge gap that this study seeks to fill.

The United Nations Security Council Resolutions (UNSCR) 1325 of 2000 argues that women are not just victims of war, but also play decisive roles in peace processes. The resolution proposes for the implementation of gender mainstreaming in all peacekeeping operations and mandates. This proposals aim in expanding the role and contribution of women in peacekeeping nations. Karim and Kyle argue that the contribution of women in peacekeeping has an over-all influence on security since women contribute to long-term stability.[28] In addition, increased levels of gender equality correlate with the levels of global militarism. In this case, societies with more

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[24] Dyan Mazurana, Adssew Garragher and Heiss Walkmann. '*Conflict and Women Peacekeeping Force'*. New York, Routedge Publishers, 2005.
[25] Anderson, Johnson, *United Nations Peace Operations Year in Review.* New York: United Nations Publications, 2013.
[26] Olsson, Goss and Fanuel Bay. *Women and International Peacekeeping.* New York: Psychology Press 2001.
[27] Olsson, Goss and Fanuel Bay. *Women and International Peacekeeping.* New York: Psychology Press 2001.
[28] Karim, Ali and Rahim Rail. *Peacekeeping Concept: role of women Peacekeepers in conflict and security.* New York, Routledge, 2017.

gender equality remain less likely to utilize military force to resolve or settle disputes. This link on the relationship between peace and security from the gendered perspective has motivated the United Nations in collaboration with other bodies formulated a number of gender supporting equality principles that have resulted in the increased number of women in its peacekeeping operations.

Increase in the number of women in UN peacekeeping missions demonstrates that women have a role they play during the peace processes hence triggering the research on the role of women on peacekeeping operations[29]. Mary and Elisabeth (2009) pointed out there is a link between resolutions that advocated for the increased number of women on UN peacekeeping operations and the link between women, peace and security. However, the authors have failed to pinpoint the roles that women play in peacekeeping operations hence demonstrating a knowledge gap that this study seeks to fill.

1.5.3   Challenges Women Face in Peace Keeping Operations

The issue on the role of women in peacekeeping operations begs the question why women struggle in peacekeeping operations.[30] Women struggle in the operation due to various challenges they face within the military and in the battlefield. Such challenges include the hegemonic masculinity embedded in military culture and the soldier identity that both genders aspire that lacks feminine traits.[31]

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[29]Mary Karith, and Gadden Ashman. *Global governance and gender politics in peacekeeping.* NewJersey, McGraw Publishers, 2009.

[30] Anderholt, C. *Female Participation in Formed Police Units.* New York: Peacekeeping & Stability Operations Institute, 2012.

[31] Munson Alley, Judith Adson and Zerwiski, Higgins. *Role of Feminism Theory in Social Work.* London, Routledge, 2014.

1.5.4 Masculine Military Culture

The military forms one of the most masculine institutions in the world today, not only subjugated by men in terms of numbers, but also by the hegemonic masculinity espoused by the institution itself.[32] Within the military as an institution is where concentrated socialization of masculinity occurs and where masculine characteristics remain promoted and celebrated. Masculinity might take place in various ways. Hegemonic masculinity is the kind of masculinity practiced and celebrated in the military as an institution across the globe. Anderson states that hegemonic masculinity enables for the subordination of non-hegemonic masculinities hence any subordinate masculinity and any kind of femininity.[33]

Such masculinity enables continuous domination of men over women. This form of masculinity embodies the honored way of being a man and the need for all men to position themselves to it. In addition, such masculinity legalizes the international subordination of women to men. In this argument, the Munson and Saulnier have named hegemonic masculinity as the main challenge women peacekeepers face. The authors have not explained how this type of masculinity hinders specific roles of women in peacekeeping operations.

Research demonstrates that military training fosters violent masculinity commonly known as militarized masculinity. The masculinity promotes violence, courage, sacrifice and aggression. Such form of masculinity results in various forms of discrimination, sexual violence, and general violence targeted on women.[34] Therefore, the role women play is not an issue, but the militarized

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[32] Munson Alley, Judith Adson and Zerwiski, Higgins. *Role of Feminism Theory in Social Work.* London, Routledge, 2014.

[33] O'Connor Davis Kendith. '*Women and Gender in Peacekeeping'.* New York McGraw, 2010.

[34] Ray Addot Murphy. '*United Nations Peacekkeping: Case of Lebanon, Kosovo and Somalia*. New York, SAGE, 2007.

and masculine culture within military institutions and battlefield is the main challenge. This creates a knowledge gap that this research seeks to fill.

1.6   Justification of the Study

1.6.1   Academic Justification

This study attempted to analyze the role and challenges of women in peacekeeping operations in reference to the case of Darfur 2008-2016. The findings were crucial to the military establishment and the peacekeeping missions since establishing the role both women and men in uniform play during the operations are of great importance to enhance their availability and effectiveness. Therefore, this study had various values to both the UN and governments of conflicting states. In this case, by pinpointing and comprehending the roles of women in peacekeeping operations would give the UN and various governments to increase and advocate for their increase in peacekeeping operations in conflict ridden areas. The study provided evidence-based from scholarly articles and research on the role of women in peacekeeping operations and consequently encourage more focus on these roles, thus enhancing their utilization in the military. This might not only improve the preparation of peacekeepers, but also enhance the security of the host society.

1.6.2   Policy Justification

It is true to state that there is generally invaluable contribution made by women in UN peacekeeping operations and their effectiveness has increased continuously. Women are currently involved in peacekeeping initiatives throughout the globe in attempt to enhance peace and security for the civilian population in war torn regions of the world.[35] Whether or not the United Nations has lived up to the expectations of being a leading organ in the world in

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[35] O'Connor Davis Kendith. '*Women and Gender in Peacekeeping'.* New York McGraw, 2010.

maintaining and promoting peace and security, it remains as a significant organ that sanctions and approves UN peacekeeping operations in conflicting states in the world.[36] In addition, by pinpointing the challenges hindering women in playing their roles in peacekeeping operations, the study gave the UN an opportunity to handle the challenges directly and realistically through various policy formulation and implementations. The study increased the attention of policy makers on the active participation of women peacekeepers in delicate peacekeeping missions like in the case of Darfur and the need to support them to effective in their endevour.

1.7   Theoretical Framework

1.7.1   Feminist Theory

Feminist theories have numerous variants; they include the Marxist theory, Radical and Liberal theories. The linkage of these variants is usually dependent on the explanations on each structure of domination in regard to race, gender, age, class, sexuality and nationality.[37] The feminist theory as proposed by Jean Bethke Elshtain in 2000 is a way of looking at the social, economic and political worlds through the lens of gender inequality. The focus is on male and female 'power.' Feminist theoretical perspectives address the differential roles women and men play in society and the women specific challenges that threaten their performance levels. Most importantly, this way of thinking about the social economic and political world focuses on the rights of women, including: economic, sexual, reproductive, property, and voting rights.[38]

In a male dominated world the connotation of power means being aggressive and physically strong. Engaging in aggressive behavior, such as military action, suggests to onlookers that the person engaged in such activity is powerful. At present in the military world, there is a gendered

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[36] O'Connor Davis Kendith. '*Women and Gender in Peacekeeping'.* New York McGraw, 2010.
[37] Squires Dann Juness. Mainstreaming in the context of politics of diversity and deliberation. *Journal of International Studies in State and* Society, 12 (2), 367, 2005.
[38] Manelik, Zalewski. '*Feminism Theory in Post-Modern Era: Theory and Practice'.* New York, McGraw Publishers.

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division of labor where women are not allowed to fight on the front lines but are, instead, relegated to subordinate and support roles of the males. This gendered division of labor is often justified with claims like, the following, 'Since women are perceived to be "life-givers," it is hard to visualize them as life-takers.'[39] This argument suggests women are not innately violent. Another argument given for the gendered division of labor in the military is that the presence of women on the battlefield may serve as a distraction to men, leading men to focus on sexual rather than military conquest. A third justification provided for this division of labor is that men naturally feel a compulsion to protect women, both on and off the battlefield. Additionally if men are fixated on protecting women at all costs, they may be less effective as soldiers.[40]

Thus, through the support of this mentality, while women participate in the military peace keeping missions, they are not at the centre of the conflict since their role is to support the male soldiers and work for defense contractors building the weapons of war, and at the same time not fully involved in actual fighting. As a result, women are disempowered; they are unable to actually exert control over others, since the mere presence of women at war is viewed as potentially disabling the men's capacity in the war effort. To address this problem, the UN Security Council Resolution 2122, 2242 to support Resolution 1325 emphasized on gender-mainstreaming as a strategy in all sphere of peace and security, including military decision-making and combat action.

From this context, the study attempted at interrogating the extent to which women and men hold and share the full range of positions in the military as an institution. Since gender equality advocates that men and women should have equal rights, opportunities and responsibilities, how

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[39] Manelik, Zalewski. '*Feminism Theory in Post-Modern Era: Theory and Practice*'. New York, McGraw Publishers.

[40] United Nations Development Fund. *'Sexual violence in conflicts: Addressing related sexual violence in context'*. An Inventory of Peacekeeping Practice, United Nations, New York, 2010.

is this belief expressed in peacekeeping spheres. Therefore, the feminist theory guided the entire study in establishing the women roles in peacekeeping operations in reference to the case of Darfur 2008-2016

1.8   Hypotheses of the Study

The study seeks to test the research hypotheses below:

H_{01}: There is significant role played by both state and non-state actors in combat missions and specifically in peacekeeping operations in Africa.

H_{02}: There is significant role of women in peace keeping operations in the Darfur conflict.

H_{03}: There are no significant challenges encountered by women in peace keeping operations in the Darfur Conflict.

1.9   METHODOLOGY

1.9.1   Introduction

This section contains the research approaches that the researcher sought to utilize. The section states the sources of information used by the researcher to assemble the information that answers the research questions. Lastly, it contains the techniques utilized by the researcher to present the data that is contained in this study.

1.9.2   Research Design

The major role of the research design is to give a plan that the study utilizes to answer the research questions. Therefore, it entails the overall strategy that demonstrates the plans that the researcher employs to develop precise, objective and interpretative information. The study employed a descriptive research design approach. The study used questionnaires, documents analysis and findings from other scholarly works as sources of information. Descriptive research

design enabled the researcher to use observations and information presented by other scholars to present the true information that is sought by this study. [41]

1.9.3   Sources of Information

The researcher used primary and secondary data as the main source of the information. Primary data was obtained from questionnaire obtained from former officials from UNAMID. Secondary data was obtained through in-depth study of the findings of previous scholars who have ventured in this topic of women and peacekeeping operations especially in Darfur. The secondary source of information was also obtained from credible websites such as the United Nations based on the research variables that include number of women in UN peacekeeping operations, number of successful UN peacekeeping missions where women have played various roles and the number of women in the Darfur peacekeeping operation in 2008-2016. Other secondary sources of information that the researcher used included journals, books and case studies.[42] However, it's worth noting that the researcher did not visit Darfur, Sudan during the entire period of the research.

1.9.4   Target Population

Kombo and Tromp define the target population as a group of individuals, objects or items from which samples are taken for measurement.[43] The target population comprised of 20 former officials from UNAMID. In addition, a documentary analysis on reviewed documents on women peacekeepers in the Darfur conflict especially information on those that served in the military and police roles in UN peacekeeping missions in this conflict was targeted.

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[41]Kumar, Rathman. 'Research Methodology: Stepwise for starters'. New York: Ranjiv Publishers, 2010.

[42]Kumar, Rathman. 'Research Methodology: Stepwise for starters'. New York: Ranjiv Publishers, 2010.

[43] Kombo Donald and Tromp Davis. *An introduction to Proposal and Thesis Writing*. Dob Bosco Printing Press, 2009.

1.9.5   Data Analysis Techniques

Mugenda and Mugenda, data obtained from the field in raw form is difficult to interpret. Such data must be cleaned, coded, punched into a computer and analyzed.[44] The data collected on the findings of other scholars was used as the foundations of the findings of this study. The study made inferences from these findings though tabulating and discussions based on the three objectives of this study.

1.10   Chapter Outlines

Chapter one: This chapter contains introduction, background of study, problem statement, objectives of the study, research questions, and literature review. Other components include justification of study and the research design and methodology.

Chapter two: In this chapter, the roles played by both state and non-state actors in Peace Keeping combat missions in Africa will be outlined.

Chapter three: It specifically highlights the roles women play in peacekeeping mission in the Darfur conflict.

Chapter four: It highlights the challenges faced by women peacekeepers in Darfur conflict. In this chapter, the focus is on the identification of the challenges encountered by women peacekeepers in the Darfur conflict.

Chapter five: This chapter outlines the information collected from various people.

Chapter six: This chapter will give a brief summary, conclusion and recommendations of areas required for further study.

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[44]Mugenda Elvin and Mugenda George. *Qualitative and quantitative methods in research methods.* Nairobi, Acts Publishers, 2002.

CHAPTER TWO

ROLE OF STATE AND NON STATE ACTORS IN PEACE KEEPING OPERATIONS IN AFRICA

2.1 Introduction

The chapter has highlighted role of both state and non-state actors in combat missions specifically in combat operations in Africa and specifically in the Darfur conflict. It highlights a number of conflicts in the African continent, state and non-state actors involved in the conflict and the Darfur conflict.

2.2 Conflicts in Africa

According to a report by the United Kingdom Department for International Development, diverse conflicts have characterized the situation in Africa and especially so after the end of the Cold War era. The conflicts in Africa range from interstate to intra state conflicts[45]. The boundaries drawn by the colonizers demarcating the various African countries has been one of the earliest sources of conflicts in the African continent. During the Berlin Conference, the European Nations laid down rules on how they would partition Africa among themselves.

The end of colonialism in Africa came after the European countries depleted their economic power through the world wars (First and Second World Wars). The effect of the end of colonialism witnessed the newly independent African countries inheriting the colonial boundaries that often divided people of the same ethnic background and identities that eventually erupted into conflicts among different countries. The boundaries related conflicts presented the first phase of conflicts for the newly-independent African countries. For example the Ogaden

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[45] United Nations. 'Women Peacekeepers in Conflict Zones: A Growing Force". UN: New York, 2017.

conflict pitting Somalia and Ethiopia was due to the separation of the Somali community by the colonial boundaries.

Secondly, after colonialism, the upcoming independent countries in the African continent had economic, political and social imbalance that eventually escalated into conflicts resulting into inter-state and intra-state civil wars that escalated the ethnic tensions of their populations. Various independent African countries experience these conflicts immediately after independence although inter-state conflicts were not as numerous as the intra-state ones. Examples of the inter-state wars witnessed in Africa include Ethiopia and Eritrea, Libya and Egypt, Ethiopia and Somalia, Djibouti and Eritrea among others[46].

This state of conflict eventually called for intervention from international mediation teams like the United Nations to attempt at arbitrating the tensions. Currently, there are many ongoing peacekeeping missions in Africa to attempt at de-escalation of the various conflicts.[47]. During war, men, women and children are affected. However, it is worth noting that women and children suffer more than their male counterparts. The historical indifference to women and their particular experiences in armed conflicts is well noted. There is however increasing recognition of the burden borne by women in armed conflicts.[48]

To highlight the consequences of women sufferings in conflicts, the United Nations has continuously emphasized on the need for women in peacekeeping efforts. This is aimed at addressing the gender biasness especially on the need for women peacekeepers to protect women

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[46] Adebajo, Adekele, Sunday Adje and Adegueme Issa. *Building Peace in West Africa, 'The politics and diplomacy of peacekeeping in West Africa.'* Lagos, 2013.
[47] Audit of the UNAMID. In Vines and Middleton, 'options of European Union in support of UNAMID mission, 2012. Accessed 29 March. 2017.
[48] Christopher Caritos. '*Africa in the modern world order'* International Tutelage and Formation of Liberal States, London, 2011.

and children who are the main victims in conflicts. Participation of women in peacekeeping efforts is also aimed at addressing the issue of gender inclusivity in conflict resolutions.[49]

2.3   State and Non-State Actors in Peacekeeping Operations in Africa

International peacekeeping has largely been associated with states, most notably the major world powers and regional powers.[50] This perception of international peacekeeping as being primarily a state action stems from the fact that the legal and military actions that underpin peacekeeping operations are undertaken by states, either unilaterally, as part of a coalition, or through intergovernmental organizations such as UN, NATO, EU among many others.

By the very nature of civil wars, clear categories of involvement (government forces, armed opposition, mercenaries, foreign troops, perpetrators of war crimes, victims, multinational corporations, etc.) emerge in the course of the violence.[51] While each of the categories can be lumped into what is generally referred to as state actors, non-state actors and victims, such a distinction does not provide sufficient clarity for examining the peacekeeping dimension of civil wars. Peacekeeping and its concomitant peace building process involve many actors whose roles are often not well-defined.

Such actors include not only states and intergovernmental organizations, but also non-governmental organizations (NGOs), statesmen, and community and national leaders, who seek to alleviate humanitarian crisis, end the fighting, peacefully resolve the conflict, or address the

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[49] Adebajo, Adekele, Sunday Adje and Adegueme Issa. *Building Peace in West Africa, 'The politics and diplomacy of peacekeeping in West Africa.'* Lagos, 2013.
[50] Walker Nicholas. Role of international Community in Humanitarian Intervention in Conflict Zones. African Initiative of Conflict and Peace Building Review, 1(1), 2011.
[51] Sara, Marley. *Rape and Warfare: Globalization and Women Welfare in Wartime Violence.* African Initiative of Conflict and Peace Building Review, 1(1), 2011.

root causes of war.[52] This patchwork of actors produces the various categories of state and non-state actors in peacekeeping and its associated peace building process. While the category of state actors refers to states and intergovernmental organizations, the category of non-state actors tends to be a generalization for international NGOs and civil society.[53]

In the context of peacekeeping, non-state actors largely refer to international NGOs working to provide humanitarian relief and promote post-war reconstruction.[54] This ambiguity of what constitutes non-state actors persists in the literature on security, civil society and development. The most vivid distinction in the literature is between armed non-state actors waging wars and unarmed non-state actors working as civil society organizations. While the notion of armed non-state actors is well developed, there are critical gaps in conceptualizing civil (i.e. unarmed) non-state actors. Civil non-state actors in peacekeeping have been largely reduced to international NGOs.[55]

Susanne and Masood suggested that non-state actors included strongmen militia, criminal networks, private security contractors, Taliban insurgents, terrorist groups, and tribal police.[56] As Davis noted that the relation between states and armed non-state actors is complicated by the issue of sovereignty. In some cases, states see armed non-state actors as a threat to authority,

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[52] Tanja, Simon. Humanitarians in Conflict: Role of Britain in in Sierra Leone. London, MacMillan Publishers, 2008.

[53] Susanne, Shirley and Moham Masood Karim. *'Non-state actors in community policing: Arbakai Tribal Police in Afghanistan'.* Contemporary Security Policy Review, 2009.

[54] Carey, Hoffman. "Privatizing the Democratic Peace: Use of Non-state armed groups in Peace building and Humanitarian Action", 2014.

[55] Carey, Hoffman. "Privatizing the Democratic Peace: Use of Non-state armed groups in Peace building and Humanitarian Action", 2014.

[56] Susanne, Shirley and Moham Masood Karim. *'Non-state actors in community policing: Arbakai Tribal Police in Afghanistan'.* Contemporary Security Policy Review, 2009.

while in other cases they call upon armed non-state actors to help them reinforce and exert state authority.[57]

Most of the civil society and development literature focuses on civil non-state actors, especially international NGOs.[58] As with armed non-state actors, civil non-state actors include a variety of organizations that are not entirely separated from the state. Moreover, civil non-state actors may include groups that do not neatly fall within the domain of civil society. Non-state actors (e.g., for-profit corporations or non-profit trade associations) and nationalist groups (e.g., violent terrorists and revolutionary cells) are excluded from this definition. An opposite conception of NGOs includes any association, liberal and civil or illiberal and uncivil, that is not part of the government but influences society (excludes states and parties). As with armed non-state actors, civil non-state actors have a dialectical relation with state actors. Civil non-state actors often find themselves dependent on states, while trying to maintain their autonomy and hold states accountable.[59]

2.4   Categories of State and Non-State Actors

The peacekeeping processes in Sierra Leone, Liberia and Darfur reveal three kinds of state and non-state actors that perform a wide range of activities to promote human security and human development in war-torn countries: the government in power and the government-backed organizations, international NGOs and community-based NGOs and finally ad hoc community organizations.

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[57] Davis Simon. Non-state armed actors in new communities and shifting patterns of sovereignty and insecurity in the modern world", *International Studies in Gender*, 2011.

[58] Annemarie Gorette. 'Beyond standards before status: Democratic Governance and Non-state actors,' *Review of International Studies, 34* (3), 2008.

[59] Annemarie Gorette. 'Beyond standards before status: Democratic Governance and Non-state actors,' *Review of International Studies, 34* (3), 2008.

International NGOs have huge budgets and are transnational corporate civil society organizations with a clearly defined mission, in most cases aimed at enhancing human security and human development. Their mission can focus on all persons, with organizations such as the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) or Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) – or a particular demographic group – with organizations such as Save the Children. The defining features of these kinds of civil non-state actors are their transnational and corporate characters.

Community-based NGOs are registered civil society organizations with a clearly stated mission to promote human security and human development and a formal leadership and management structure. In contrast to international NGOs, community-based NGOs operate at the local or national levels. Moreover, they are small both in terms of budget and staff. Such organizations include Campaign for Good Governance (CGG) in Sierra Leone, Ligue Ivoirienne des Droits de l'Homme (LIDH), and the Liberian Council of Churches (LCC). While community-based NGOs have missions and stated objectives, they are mostly defined by the activities they carry out.[60]

As such, community-based NGOs typically have a membership base and clear beneficiary group who actively participate in their activities. Local based NGOs have the responsibility of interacting with members of the community to ensure that they make attempt at understanding their problems. They also make attempts at understanding their challenges and in the process offer solutions to objectively solve the stated problems. Through understanding their needs and offering plausible solutions, they are able to ensure the progressive de-escalation of the population from issues of poverty and desperation. At the end of the day community based

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[60] Adebajo, Adekele, Sunday Adje and Adegueme Issa. *Building Peace in West Africa, 'The politics and diplomacy of peacekeeping in West Africa.'* Lagos, 2013.

organization usually forge better and closer relations with their target local populations and are able to address their problems in a holistic and objective manner.[61]

However, community-based NGOs typically depend on international NGOs, foreign governments, and national governments for funding. Most of their funding comes in the form of contracts and grants to implement specific projects to enhance human development.[26] Ad hoc community organizations are informal groups established by local or national leaders to address a specific urgent problem within a community or the country at large. Their membership tends to be selective, but fairly representative of the collective will of the people. They are temporary bodies that may or may not evolve into a community-based NGO. Ad hoc community organizations engage in troubleshooting rather than program implementation. They rely heavily on the cultural and social capital of the members to accomplish their tasks. While most ad hoc community organizations are established to address local problems (sanitation, family feuds, water management, etc.) there are a few that address national issues. Ad hoc community organizations at the national level tend to emerge during times of major national crisis such as civil war.

After the end of Second World War and thereafter the end of the cold war, the international community has set its sight in negotiating for the resettlement of intra state conflicts that are sometimes violent. They have also attempted mediations for violent conflicts and humanitarian crises that have sometimes engulfed entire countries, regions and sometimes involving the attention of entire continents.[62] Global stakeholders involved in mediations efforts for various post-cold war conflicts have used different approaches that have involved the use of state and

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[61] Kamat, Ahmed.'The Privatization of Public Interest', 2012, pp. 159-160.
[62] Rahma, Islam and Chakma, Ayub. "Obstacles to peace implementation in Chittagong Hills Bangladesh. Review of Peace and Conflict Initiative, 7 (2), 2013.

non-state actors in an effort to inculcate peace and security to the affected population. These conflicts often afflict the targeted populations in different dimensions.[63]

The various effects of these endemic conflicts lead to death of members of affected population, displacement and evictions of entire populations, psychological trauma to the victims as well as loss and destruction of invaluable property and livelihoods. Sometimes, forced disappearances of individuals as well as torture and other forms of physical injuries are common realities of social and civil strives. The mediations of violent conflicts have seen the engagement of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO's), both from the local community and other international ones striving to ensure peace and security for the affected populations is restored, post-conflict interventions and peace-building efforts.[64] There are also other groups involved that are involved in mediation efforts at the grass root level. They include the international NGO's, Community Based Organizations (CBO's), religious bodies and other such informal groups whose work is specifically geared towards informal management of conflicts.

The specified non-state actors make use of a number of conflict management methodologies such as employment of mediation, non-official facilitation of seminars, problem-solving workshops, and employment of civilian peace monitors, cultural exchanges and application of non-violent peace campaigns.[65] Similarly, state actors make use of diplomatic approaches that are official in nature and status such as use of mediation, conciliatory approaches, negotiation of

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[63] Schueemann Johanne and Cilliers Mark. Focus on the Future of Intrastate Conflicts in Africa: More Violence or Peace? *Institute for Security Studies,* Pretoria, 2013.

[64] Adedeji, Uzuegubuman. 'Management of conflict and peace building in Nigeria through mechanisms from local actors'. Open Journal of Philosophy, 3 (1), 2013.

[65] Wilkenfield, Dunn, Quinn, Davis, Erap Mook and Mclauchlin, Edgar. '*Management of the crises in Africa: mediation of intrastate ethnic conflicts*, 2013.

conflicts and other formal related approaches that are aimed at enhancement of peaceful approaches to restore peace and security.[66]

All the players participating in the process of mediation efforts are involved in activities related to development and war prevention in order to secure peace and security in war torn regions. Non-state actors for example International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), Save the Children, Oxfam and Brethren Service Committee among many others usually concentrate their efforts in prevention of war, development initiatives as well as reconstruction of war-torn regions.[67] Whenever state actors face challenges or are unable to safeguard the interests of the minority and threatened population, external interventions to enhance peace and security ids often the best solution. This usually takes the initiative of the United Nations to provide and fund the external intervention measures[68].the best example is the Bakassi Peninsula involving Cameroon and Nigeria or the Darfur crises where the United Nations and the African Union have been in the forefront in organization for mediation initiatives. However, in most of these mediation efforts, the legitimacy of the international state actors like the UN, AU, World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF) has been eroded since these actors have the interest of global powers like USA.[69]

A good case in point is the use of force by the UN in resolving and escalating the conflict in Libya, Sudan, Iraq and Syria whereas it allowed Israel and Democratic Republic of Congo to ignore the resolutions of the Security Council since the later countries had an alliance with

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[66] Wilkenfield, Dunn, Quinn, Davis, Erap Mook and Mclauchlin, Edgar. '*Management of the crises in Africa: mediation of intrastate ethnic conflicts*, 2013.
[67] Adedeji, Uzuegubuman. 'Management of conflict and peace building in Nigeria through mechanisms from local actors'. Open Journal of Philosophy, 3 (1), 2013.
[68] Adedeji, Uzuegubuman. 'Management of conflict and peace building in Nigeria through mechanisms from local actors'. Open Journal of Philosophy, 3 (1), 2013.
[69] Adedeji, Uzuegubuman. 'Management of conflict and peace building in Nigeria through mechanisms from local actors'. Open Journal of Philosophy, 3 (1), 2013.

western countries.[70] For there to be success in peace-keeping initiatives, there is need for the mediators to offer support to locally based negotiation efforts rather than only supporting the foreign–based peacekeeping efforts. There is the tendency of international peacemakers to make use of top-down approach which has challenges and is a barrier to peacemaking since it does not provide inclusion of all the players.[71]

The African Union (AU) is the body that was created and given the mandate of mediating for peace and security in the continent. It has been active in peace-making and peace-building efforts in countries experiencing conflicts like South Sudan, Sudan, Chad, DRC and Somalia among many others. In Kenya, following the post-election violence experienced in 2007/2008, the AU successfully mediating for peaceful resettlement of the conflict, where other local bodies like the East African Community (EAC) had failed.[72] Throughout the African continent, the AU has been active in peace-making and peace-building initiatives in effort to create stability in war-torn countries. However, the AU has had minimal success in the cases of conflicts in Great Lakes region especially in South Sudan, Darfur, DRC and Northern Uganda. Due to incapacitation of skilled negotiators and finances as well as the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of member countries, the AU has been challenged in mediating the stated conflicts.[73]

The lack of tangible success in mediating the conflicts in the Great Lake region and specifically in Darfur has led to critics opposing the efforts of the AU. The critics often argue that the AU should embrace a holistic approach in mediation of conflicts instead of sticking with the state-

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[70] Okoth Godhia and Ogot Bethwell. '*Conflict in the modern Africa.* Jomo Kenyatta Foundations, Nairobi, 2008-2009.

[71] Salif Babaud and Ndung'u John. Early warning and conflict prevention methods by European Union: lessons from the Post-Election violence in Kenya in 2008. *Peace Building Initiative*, 2012.

[72] Republic of Kenya. *Report on the national conflict mapping and analysis: Initiatives and recommendations.* National Security Secretariat, Nairobi, 2012.

[73] Republic of Kenya. *Report on the national conflict mapping and analysis: Initiatives and recommendations.* National Security Secretariat, Nairobi, 2012.

centred approach that is usually popular with AU. The criticism has so often been solidified by the fact that other regional bodies have seen and witnessed some success in mediation efforts in South Sudan and in Northern Sudan[74].

Regional state actors especially in Africa encounter considerable challenges in mediation efforts in the continent. These challenges emanate from the fact that supremacy battles pitting various regional bodies are often occurring. There exist conflicts over regional supremacies by various bodies like East African Community and Inter-Governmental Agency on Development (IGAD) over control of the region affairs. In other areas like in South and Western region wants to remain supreme in all the affairs of the region.[75]

2.5   Peace Keeping Operations in Africa

The current status of global security is different from when the United Nations was formed in 1945. In the period after the formation of UN, the major security threatens facing humanity were interstate conflicts. However, the current threats are global in nature and they include the threat of international terrorism, human rights violations and specters of regional conflicts as well as phenomenon of failed states. With such changes in global peace and security, there is necessity of undertaking requisite changes to the approaches of mediating global conflicts.

Since conflicts inflict much suffering to women and children, the discourse on women and peacekeeping efforts has attracted scholarly research.[76] This has ushered in the necessity and specter on involving women in peacekeeping initiatives in the arena global conflicts. The UN's

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[74] Adedeji, Uzuegubuman. 'Management of conflict and peace building in Nigeria through mechanisms from local actors'. Open Journal of Philosophy, 3 (1), 2013.

[75] Schueemann Johanne and Cilliers Mark. Focus on the Future of Intrastate Conflicts in Africa: More Violence or Peace? *Institute for Security Studies,* Pretoria, 2013.

[76] Pirozzi, Antonio. 'Strengthening the European Union and Africa partnership in security and peace initiatives. *Institute of International Affairs, Rome*, 2013.

in its role of ensuring international peace and security has also captured the function of women in peacekeeping through establishing the division of women peacekeepers in conflict zones like Darfur.[77]

2.6   United Nations Peacekeeping strategies in Africa

Currently, there are number of conflicts going on in Africa while others have ended through reconciliations and mediations. Some of the ranging conflicts in Africa include the conflicts in Central African Republic, Mali conflict, DRC conflict, South Sudan conflict, Darfur conflict and the Siera Leone conflict. In all the aforementioned conflicts, the United Nations was and is still being involved in mediation works to resolve the conflicts.

2.6.1   Sierra Leone Conflict and Peacekeeping Operation

The Sierra Leonean conflict commenced in 1991 and continued up to the year 2002. The conflict pitied the forces of Revolutionary United Front (RUF) led by assistance from the troops under Charles Taylor party of National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL). These forces in unison fought against the Sierra Leonean government forces with the aim of overthrowing former President Joseph Momoh[78]. The causes of this conflict included the nature of politics in Sierra Leone, corruption, mismanagement of the economy and widespread electoral violence that heightened collapse of the system of education as well as the civil society.

Other causes included the mining and subsequent prizes of diamond; a resource curse that characterize many African conflicts. The demographics of rebel recruitment in Sierra Leone and the Libyan arms dealing with Sierra Leone, where the late leader of Libya, Colonel Muammar

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[77] Stein Kathryn and Haman Alissatou. *Peace and Security in the context of the African Union: From reality to design.* Addis Ababa, Farnham and Ashgate Publishers, 2010.
[78] Carey, Hoffman. "Privatizing the Democratic Peace: Use of Non-state armed groups in Peace building and Humanitarian Action", 2014.

Gadaffi was accused of training and arming Charles Taylor's rebel group in Sierra Leone[79]. The situation could have been controlled within the first year of the conflict; however the Sierra Leone Armed forces were unable to do so due to poor strategies and leadership failures. Many civilians and even some government soldiers joined rebel groups making the conflict even worse.

On 7 July 1999, after various international intervention efforts, the Lome Peace Accord was signed. The resolutions of Lome Peace Accord varied from agreements to cease hostilities, need to re-introduce Commission for the Consolidation of peace, disarmament, re-integration of warring parties into the society, demobilization as well as disarmament of combatants. It also called for granting of amnesty to Fondy Sankoh plus other rebel fighters as well as permission to reinvent RUF into a political party[80]. Following this agreement, in October 1999, the UN passed UNSCR (1270) (1999) to establish the UN Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL). UNAMSIL was mandated with moving the efforts at disarmament and fully ensure the total compliance of the Lome Peace Accord by all the parties. This is what eventually led to the deployment of UNAMSIL forces in Sierra Leone in December 1999. Initially, UNAMSIL HAD 600 active troops which was later surged to 17, 500; which was the largest such UN force by then.

Among the war crimes reported during the conflict were mass killings of civilians, recruitment of child soldier and mass raping of women. In the course of the war in Sierra Leone, there was widespread violation of gender-related war crimes like rape, forced marriages as well as sexual slavery that mostly affected women and girls. The RUF committed most of these crimes followed by the national army. RUF was the most afflicted in these crimes since they committed

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[79] Pirozzi, Antonio. 'Strengthening the European Union and Africa partnership in security and peace initiatives. *Institute of International Affairs, Rome*, 2013.

[80] Olsson, Goss and Fanuel Bay. *Women and International Peacekeeping in Sierra Leone.* New York: Psychology Press 2001.

atrocities even to non-combatants[81]. For the women and girls, sexual violence as well as gang and individual rapes were some of the atrocities that were meted on them.

Though these acts were committed during the war period, there was scarcity of documented evidence on the total number of girls and women who were affected by these cases of sexual abuses. This phenomenon was occasioned by issues to do with under-reporting of the atrocities as wells as cultural issues that created barriers for the victims. Fear of reprisals, lack of faith on the Sierra Leonean justice system and scarcity of financial and other logistics meant that many cases went without reporting and investigation. Though most of the women victims clearly know and recognized the perpetrators of those heinous crimes, few had the courage of divulging the information to the responsible authorities for fear of reprisals of both themselves and immediate family members[82].

Eventually, international actors had to respond to distress call after the infamous offensive that occurred in January 1999 where thousands of women and girls were abducted by RUF combatants. Organizations such as Medecine Sans Frontieres, UNICEF, Forum for African Women Educationists and Cooperation Internationale (COOPI) reacted by intervening to save the abducted women and girls. This led to the creation of a taskforce to deal with sexual violence related cases that came up with numerous counseling centres as well as groups of medical personnel to give medication to the victims.

However, these services were only restricted to the city and remained sorely lacking in the provinces. Although women were deployed in peacekeeping missions, the number was

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[81] Christopher Caritos. '*Africa in the modern world order'* International Tutelage and Formation of Liberal States, London, 2011.
[82] Wilkenfield, Dunn, Quinn, Davis, Erap Mook and Mclauchlin, Edgar. '*Management of the crises in Africa: mediation of intrastate ethnic conflicts*, 2013.

inadequate to successfully deal with issues of insecurity and suffering affecting women. At the same time the contingence of peacekeeping force had very few women peacekeepers deployed in UNAMSIL since only few women were recruited both in the military and police[83]. Additionally, the few deployed mostly undertook their day to day duties within UN camps rather than going out to meet with the locals.[84]

2.6.2 Central Africa Republic (CAR) Conflict and Peacekeeping Operation

In Central Africa Republic (CAR), the civil war pitied the government forces, *Séléka* coalition as well as the anti-balaka militias. In this conflict, the government of President François Bozizé was fighting the rebel militias until the peace accord of 2007. The genesis of this conflict was when the coalition of rebel groups and other militia, popularly called *Séléka* accused the government of violating the peace accord and the rebels went ahead to capture many towns towards the end of 2012 and eventually overran the Bangui, in March 2012. The president fled the capital resulting in the rebel leader Michel Djotodia declared himself as president[85].

Renewed fighting began between *Séléka* and militias called anti-balaka. In September 2013, President Djotodia disbanded the Seleka coalition which had lost its unity after taking power and in January 2014, Djotodia resigned and was replaced by Catherine Samba-Panza, but the conflict continued. In July 2014, Ex-Séléka factions and anti-balaka representatives signed a ceasefire agreement in Brazzaville Congo. By the end of 2014, the country was de facto partitioned with

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[83] Dyan Mazurana, Adssew Garragher and Heiss Walkmann. '*Conflict and Women Peacekeeping Force'*. New York, Routedge Publishers, 2005.

[84] Sheikh Kai. 'Partnership of Africa and European Union Peace Initiative for African regional organizations.' Institute of International Affairs. Rome, 2012.

[85] United Nations Development Programme. *Report on Human Development.* New York; UNDP, 2006.

the anti-Balaka in the south and west, with most of its Muslims evacuated, and ex-Seleka in the north and east. By 2015, there was little government control outside of the capital, Bangui[86].

Concerned with the security situation, the humanitarian organizations, human rights and political groups intervened to mediate the crisis. The UN Security Council authorized on 10th April 2014 deployment of a Multi-dimensional United Nations peacekeeping operation (MINUSCA) with the protection of civilians as its core mandate. Its other initial tasks included support for the transition process; facilitating humanitarian assistance; promotion and protection of human rights; support for justice and the rule of law; and disarmament, demobilization, reintegration and repatriation processes[87].

2.6.3 Darfur Conflict

The Darfur conflict has been one of the most violent conflicts in Africa in the recent past. The history of the Darfur region may be traced to the Fur sultanate which constituted the first Muslim state in the region of Darfur in the modern day Sudan. The term Darfur means the homeland of the Fur community of northern Sudan. The sultanate was made up of non-Arab farmers who made attempts at alienating Arab herders who practiced nomadic lifestyle. The Darfur region has been sub-divided into three administrative regions or federal states. Other communities in the Darfur region include the Baggara who are nomad herders as well as the Masalit and Fur communities.   The focus in this analysis was the three stated ethnic groups.[88]

Just as reflected in the African continent, many of the African countries still follow the colonial boundaries drawn by the colonizers. These boundaries had little or no regard for ethnic

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[86] United Nations Development Programme. *Report on Human Development.* New York; UNDP, 2008.
[87] OCHA, Darfur Humanitarian Overview, 1 January 2017.
[88] Sheikh Kai. 'Partnership of Africa and European Union Peace Initiative for African regional organizations.' Institute of International Affairs. Rome, 2012.

composition of the African communities that they subjected to separation. They forcefully brought together communities that had no common linkages thus forcing them to pretend to be one country. In Darfur, the Keiya dynasty ruled the region from the 17th century up to 1874 when the Ottoman Empire did away over the ruling dynasty. The Turco-Egyptian Empire briefly controlled the region and their occupation was characterized by a number of revolts from the Baggara and Fur communities. The Mahdist succeeded in overthrowing and annexing Darfur from the Turco-Egyptian Empire in 1885 and in the process attempting to spread Islam in the region.[89]

The control of the Mahdist went on until 1898 when the region was captured by Ali Dinar, who was a Fur tribesman who later on handed power to the sultanate dynasty of Keira. The period of Turco-Egyptian Empire and Mahdist rule that lasted for 24 years eventually came to be regarded as the era of misery, burning and banditry. The results of the 24 year annexation of Darfur left behind famine, weak economy and endemic conflicts. However, the Fur sultanate finally ended after the start of World War 1. Ali Dinar was eventually assassinated by the British colonizers since they viewed him as closely linked to the Ottoman Empire.

Finally, Darfur was made part of the Anglo-Egyptian territory and was labeled as Anglo-Egyptian Sudan in the period 1898-1956. Since Darfur had little exploitable minerals, the British had no interest in occupying it. Again, due to the fact that impoverished communities. Darfur was therefore neglected with little or no development undertaken by the British colonizers. They

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[89] United Nations. 'Women Peacekeepers in Conflict Zones: A Growing Force". UN: New York, 2017.

had very few officers on the ground and the daily governance of the region was left to local rulers and chiefs.[90]

2.6.4 Current Conflict in Darfur

Since independence of Sudan in 1956, Darfur has seen little direct rule by the Sudanese government in Khartoum. The region has been neglected by the government which has failed to over any serious development of infrastructures. Crucial infrastructures such as roads, hospitals and schools are inexistence in the region heightening the perception of neglect. The Sudan Armed Forces is the only institution that the colonial masters as well as the independent government strengthened in Darfur. Since independence the Sudanese armed forces has been in the forefront in conducting several coups against democratically-elected civilian government which it has viewed as corrupt and incompetent to govern the country. However, the alternative military government has likewise been incompetent, tyrannical and endemically corrupt and dictatorial.[91]

To successfully place the genesis of the current conflict in Darfur is a little difficult though a number of causes have been stated. The major cause of the conflict is discrimination of the Darfur region by the Khartoum government as well as disputes related to pastures. The ethnic conflict pitting farmers comprising on non-Arabs and African tribes against nomad herders constituted by Arab and Baggara community has always simmered over pastures and water[92].

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[90] Stein Kathryn and Haman Alissatou. *Peace and Security in the context of the African Union: From reality to design.* Addis Ababa, Farnham and Ashgate Publishers, 2010.

[91] Sheikh Kai. 'Partnership of Africa and European Union Peace Initiative for African regional organizations.' Institute of International Affairs. Rome, 2012.

[92] Stein Kathryn and Haman Alissatou. *Peace and Security in the context of the African Union: From reality to design.* Addis Ababa, Farnham and Ashgate Publishers, 2010.

However, the situation was gravely aggravated by the droughts and famines that wiped out resources for the Darfurian in the late 1970s specifically in northern and central Darfur. In retrospect, the region has witnessed doubling of the population leading to stiff competition for the ever diminishing resources. The population has grown from 3.6 million in 1973 to over 8.5 in 2010.[93] The situation of drought and famine was exacerbated in 1970s when the government in Khartoum started a systematic campaign of so called political reforms that aimed at destroying any perceived political opposition in Darfur. Initially, the region was divided into two provinces in 1974 that were later on in 2003 made into three separate states thus further weakening the already weak ethnic communities. Through this campaign, the traditional local leaders lost their power over their people.[94]

The introduction of Arabic culture Islamist ideology by the Khartoum government further escalated the tension in the 1990s. The introduction of the two was done even with the knowledge that the Arabs in the region were the minority in Darfur. The ideology attempted to make identification of the Arabs and black people in Darfur further heightening the tension[95].due to the conflict between the Baggara Arabs, Fur and Masalit communities, the government armed the Baggara with automatic weapons. The recourse for the Fur and Masalit was to seek for self defence with weapons from the neighbouring countries thus escalating the conflict to dangerous and new levels[96].

Thus the Fur and Masalit tribesmen, equipped with modern weapons rebels against the government and they commenced assault on government installation. They also attempted to

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[93] Stein Kathryn and Haman Alissatou. *Peace and Security in the context of the African Union: From reality to design.* Addis Ababa, Farnham and Ashgate Publishers, 2010.
[94] UNICEF. Report on Sudan: Humanitarian Situation as of January 2017.
[95] Stein Kathryn and Haman Alissatou. *Peace and Security in the context of the African Union: From reality to design.* Addis Ababa, Farnham and Ashgate Publishers, 2010.
[96] UNICEF. Report on Sudan: Humanitarian Situation as of January 2017.

seek for more power from Khartoum after many years of discrimination. The government feared of losing control of Darfur to the rebels due to its proximity to Khartoum. Thus, the fear led the government to employ the use of Arab militias as recourse to eliminate the threat of the rebels and also to fight back the rebels.[97] The Arab militias had the order not only to suppress the rebels but also to kill and exterminate the black population in Darfur. They thus continuously attacked the local population with recklessness and abandon leading to wanton deaths and displacement of innocent civilians. The conflict escalated since the government feared total disenfranchisement of Darfur region since it had a weak military capability over the rebels. The government thus in retaliation organized genocide campaigns led by the militias to retain control over the Darfur region.[98]

Since the government viewed the Darfurian rebels as a threat to its control over the region, it feared for the failure of the Arabization campaign and thus escalated the conflict.[99] Thus, the only alternative to suppress the threat was sustained ethnic cleansing of the rebellious communities in Darfur, an act that the government and the Arab militias perfected. They aimed at permanently crippling the ability of the rebels to organize them politically and militarily.[100]

South Sudan had already ceased to be a territory of Sudan. The call by Sudan Liberation Army (SLA) and Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) for more autonomy and representation in Darfur created fear of loss of more authority and control for the Khartoum government. The government felt that loss of Darfur would further weaken its ability to control the country with

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[97] United Nations. 'Women Peacekeepers in Conflict Zones: A Growing Force". UN: New York, 2017.
[98] UNICEF. Report on Sudan: Humanitarian Situation as of January 2017.
[99] Sheikh Karim and Stein Beardsley. 'Gender Balancing in Female Peacekeepers: International Gestures. *Journal of International Interaction, 39*(4) 488, 2015.
[100] United Nations. 'Women Peacekeepers in Conflict Zones: A Growing Force". UN: New York, 2017.

results being loss of economic and political legitimacy.[101] The loss of more ground to the Darfurian rebels would signal the end of Arab leadership and legitimacy to power over Sudanese territory.[102] Maintenance of Khartoum's control over Darfur would contribute national wealth to the government as well as political control over all the population of Sudan, hence the need to totally decimate the rebellion in Darfur.[103]

2.7   State and Non-State Actors in Darfur

In the conflict in Darfur the state and non-state actors include the Khartoum government as well as the Arab militias supporting it and its other security apparatus like the army and supporting groups like the Janjaweed militia. The non-state actors include the Sudan Liberation Movement/Army (SLM/A) and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) who took up arms against the government of Sudan. The civilians especially in the conflict zones are the victims of this conflict. The composition of state and non-state actors has led to a vicious war.

The conflict is characterized by counter-offensive by government forces supported by the Janjaweed, a militia drawn primarily from camel breeders of North Darfur who operated in North and West Darfur with the support of the Sudanese government. The militia was established and formed into a full paramilitary wing that undertook joint operations with the government's Popular Defence Forces (PDF), another paramilitary force. Civilians are the primary target of these attacks and villages were burned, people killed and women raped with the apparent aim of driving civilians off their land.[104]

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[101] UNICEF. Report on Sudan: Humanitarian Situation as of January 2017.
[102] UNICEF. Report on Sudan: Humanitarian Situation as of January 2017.
[103] UNICEF. Report on Sudan: Humanitarian Situation as of January 2018.
[104] United Nations. 'Women Peacekeepers in Conflict Zones: A Growing Force". UN: New York, 2017.

2.8 Chapter Summary

Objective one is to establish the role played by both states and non-state actors in combat missions and specifically in peacekeeping operations in Africa. The alternate hypothesis was that there is significant role played by various actors in combat missions and specifically in peacekeeping operations in Africa. The alternate hypothesis was confirmed since the study established that state actors like the IGAD, EAC, United Nations and African Union have been involved in peacekeeping mission in Darfur. Similarly, non-state actors including intergovernmental organizations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), statesmen, Sudan Liberation Movement/Army (SLM/A), the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) and community and national leaders have also been involved.

State actors such as the United Nations, African Union, European Union, East African Community, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), national and international humanitarian agencies have always been in the forefront arbitrating on the Darfur conflicts in an effort at peace-building. On the other hand, non-state actors like the Community Based Organizations (CBOs) and religious bodies have been busy at the grassroots levels arbitrating and managing the Darfur conflict. The state and non-state actors use various conflict management and resolutions tactics like non-official facilitation, mediation and problem solving workshops to the use of civilian peace monitors, non-violent campaigns and cultural exchanges. Additionally, state actors usually apply the use of diplomacy, negotiations, reconciliation and mediation as forms of management of Darfur conflict.

In this context the application of the feminist theory is supported by the fact that both the state and non-state actors in the Darfur conflict have a gendered outlook in the conflict. For both the state and non-state actors, there is a gendered division of labor where women are not allowed to

engage in the activities related to the front lines of the conflict but are, instead, relegated to subordinate and support roles of the males. Thus, through the support of this mentality, while women participate in the peace keeping mission in Darfur, they are not at the centre of the conflict since their role is to support the males.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ROLE OF WOMEN PEACEKEEPERS IN DARFUR

3.1   Introduction

Peacekeeping Operations have the mandate of implementing the resolutions of the UNSC across all missions. The United Nations has realized that understanding of the concept of peacekeeping has different connotation for both the male and female gender. Actually, the concept of peace is interpreted different by both genders.[105] This reality led to the adoption of the UNSC resolutions on women, peace and security which has been integrated into the UN peacekeeping operations and is quite essential for some of the outstanding successes. These resolutions made a distinct attempt of addressing the necessity for including women peacekeepers that would be embedded in the peacekeeping programme in various conflicts in the world.[106]

In the same breath, these resolutions were meant to address such issues as participation of women to safeguard peace and security,   focusing on gender violence perpetrated at women and attempts to deal with such menace. They also attempted to incorporate women as monitors of peace and security and symbols of safeguarding against gender related violence especially during such cases of civil strife. Equally, they aim at creating gender awareness of sexual violence through capacity building of women security observers to deal with such challenges. Engagement of civil society and other players in issues affecting the women population in war-torn regions was also another sector covered by the resolutions.[107] The Security Council made use of gender advisers to provide essential council on the gender side of the conflicts in areas

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[105] Dyan Mazurana, Adssew Garragher and Heiss Walkmann. '*Conflict and Women Peacekeeping Force'*. New York, Routedge Publishers, 2005.

[106] Olson Simic. *Integrating women in peacekeeping initiatives: Moving beyond numbers.* Oslo, Centre Policy Brief, 2013

[107] Unite Nations. *Report from panel of experts on Sudan Conflict: Pursuant to Resolution 1591 of UN,* 2015.

where the women peacekeepers were deployed and also to ensure that gender-related challenges are addressed in various peacekeeping endevour.[108]

The UN has attempted to create a balance of gender representation in its various missions globally resulting from the resolutions on gender perspectives. Even at the UN employees this concept and perspective has been tackled in different ways. In terms of its staffing, the UN Headquarters in New York had 53 percent of employees as women as of 2015. However, in the mid and senior cadres of its employees, gender disparity is notable with more male than female workers. Moreover, in sectors like peacekeeping missions and other sensitive operations like political missions, women comprise of only 29% and 17% respectively.[109]

There is the need to address the gender gap in sensitive missions of the UN like the peacekeeping areas to include more sizeable women representation. This is due to the fact that women play a crucial role in deescalating the gender related violence that is common during the period of social upheavals since they understand the problems afflicting their fellow women better that their male colleagues. An increase in the numbers of women peacekeepers will go a long way in offering solutions to the numerous challenges that affect the female gender and create more success and effectiveness in peacekeeping missions globally especially from the perspective of the female gender.[110] Though the UN has attempted to create a surge in the number of women peacekeepers in its various missions globally, the onus of ensuring this goal is successful lies with individual member countries that must make haste in ensuring that they contribute more contingents of women peacekeepers to ensure successful deployment. This is due to the fact that

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[108] Olson Simic. *Integrating women in peacekeeping initiatives: Moving beyond numbers.* Oslo, Centre Policy Brief, 2013

[109] Cordell, Kelly. Liberia Women Peacekeepers and Human Security. *Op-Ed. Open Democracy, 2009*.

[110] Henry, Mark. "*Indian and Uruguayan Peacekeepers: Labour Hierarchies and Global Sisterhood*". *Journal of Globalization, 7* (5), 585, 2014.

individual countries bears the responsibility of contributing troops since the UN has no contingencies of its own in its ranks.

3.2   Peace Keeping Operations in Darfur

In an effort to mediate the conflict in Darfur, the African Union attempted to forge a peacekeeping mission to the region through the auspices of its member countries in 2004. This endevour cleared the way for the formation of African Union Mission in Sudan which was the first force to have such a mandate in the Darfur region. The mission had the backing of the European Union who offered logistics and finances to ensure its successful deployment and de-escalation of the conflict. The mission attempted to monitor the peace accord signed to end the Darfur crisis in April 2004.

By August of the same year, the AU sent 150 peacekeepers from Rwanda who was later joined by another contingent of 150 peacekeepers from Nigeria.[111] By the terms of the accord involving the government of Sudan and Sudanese People Liberation Army (SPLA) in April 2005, the mission was expanded to contain a contingent of 600 peacekeepers as well as 80 military monitors. And by July 2005 there was a further surge of the force to comprise 3,300 peacekeepers.

By January of 2007 the peacekeeping force had approximately 7,000 personnel. The force mostly operated in the Darfur region in an attempt to manage the conflict.[112] Until the creation of UNAMID in December 2007, AMIS was the only peacekeeping force in Darfur primarily comprising of African troops. UNAMID is a more funded, equipped and sizeable peacekeeping

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[111] Stein Kathryn and Haman Alissatou. *Peace and Security in the context of the African Union: From reality to design.* Addis Ababa, Farnham and Ashgate Publishers, 2010.
[112] Christopher Caritos. '*Africa in the modern world order'* International Tutelage and Formation of Liberal States, London, 2011.

force. However, the situation in Darfur has been a litmus test for the African Union in its endevour to secure peace and stability in the continent.[113]

3.3   Importance of Women Peacekeepers

The UN adopted Resolution 1325 in 2000 which helped in integrating the awareness of the important roles performed by women peacekeepers in peacekeeping operations. Women peacekeepers have participated in identifying early warning signs of conflicts and conflict prevention, peacekeeping and peace support operations, peace processes like peace talks, mediation and signing of peace treaties and post-conflict processes like peace building activities.[114]

The first women on peacekeeping operation were deployed in 1957. There were only five women out of the six thousand two hundred and fifty soldiers who directly participated in UN peacekeeping operations during the period of 1957 and 1979. This number increased to twenty out of the two thousand military officers by 1989. As of 2010, women peacekeepers had increased to between 7-10 % of the population of military officers in 2012. The number has continued to increase at the same rate up to today.[115]

One of the supreme duties of United Nation's women peacekeepers is to perform the role of ensuring they are ambassadors of peace and security specifically in the local environment, inspiring the local female gender in often male-dominated societies to push for their own rights

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[113] Sheikh Kai. 'Partnership of Africa and European Union Peace Initiative for African regional organizations.' Institute of International Affairs. Rome, 2012.
[114]Dyan Mazurana, Adssew Garragher and Heiss Walkmann. '*Conflict and Women Peacekeeping Force'*. New York, Routedge Publishers, 2005.
[115]Fumni, Masser, Femmi, Assa, and Gerger, Masser. '*Women Peacekeepers in Peace and Security: Policy and Practice'*. New Jersey, McGraw, 2010.

and for participation in peace processes.[116] The UN has continuously increased the recruitment of women since this is an effort at empowering the women specifically in the host community. The recruitment of women peacekeepers assist in addressing the needs of former women fighters particularly those that had committed atrocities during and after the process of demobilization and reintegration into civilian roles and lifestyle.[117]

Female peacekeepers assist in making the UN peacekeeping missions and force approachable to the local women especially those afflicted by conflicts.[118] This is sometimes through interviewing of victims of gender-based violence, counseling and documenting their cases. The process of mentoring female cadets at police and military academies is the role of women peacekeepers. UNAMID: In Darfur, UNAMID peacekeeping mission has a contingent basically addressing the resolution of gender based atrocities and how the member countries are domesticating the various resolutions of the UN especially those aimed at ensuring peace and security for the affected communities. The contingent has the mandate of integrate the experience of women peacekeepers and the victims of gender based violence in the peacekeeping implementations. At the MONUSCO peacekeeping mission in DRC, the women peacekeepers have the duty of ensuring that initiatives aimed at protection of women at the grass root level is undertaken in order to safeguard peace and security for female gender at this crucial level.[119]

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[116] Carreiras Homes: peace keeping operations: The gendered culture. *International Peacekeeping Initiative, 17* (4) 472, 2010.
[117] Henry, Mark. "*Indian and Uruguayan Peacekeepers: Labour Hierarchies and Global Sisterhood". Journal of Globalization, 7* (5), 585, 2014.
[118] Leonad Sion. Peacekeeping: Gender Regime among Dutch Peacekeepers in Kosovo and Bosnia. *Journal of Ethnology, 37*, (5), 585, 2008.
[119] Sheikh Karim and Stein Beardsley. 'Gender Balancing in Female Peacekeepers: International Gestures. *Journal of International Interaction, 39*(4) 488, 2015.

3.4   Role of Women Peacekeepers in Darfur Conflict

Since the beginning of the ongoing conflict in Darfur, women peacekeepers have become increasingly involved in the peace process. Women peacekeepers have inspired the Darfuri women, to enact active roles as agents of peace, occupying influential positions within their communities and at the state and national levels. The noble actions of women peacekeepers in the Darfur conflict has prompted the actors in the conflict such as the Khartoum authorities, UNAMID as well as other players involved in the conflict like NGOs and religious bodies to make a clarion call for the need for women empowerment at the local levels. This has seen the players involved in peacekeeping efforts such as the civil societies organizing workshops and seminars to ensure capacity building of the local female population with the aim of equipping them with requisite knowledge of safeguarding their peace and security.

Karim and Beardsley stated that the Darfur conflict is a gender based conflict with women and girls suffering from the perpetration of atrocities by all the sides involved.[120] Women and girls are usually targeted by both the government forces and the Janjaweed militiamen. Ivanovich has documented that, the Janjaweed militiamen in Darfur have employed rape, forced marriages, abductions of women and girls and other such acts to perpetrate the acts of ethnic cleansing and genocide leaning atrocities to force exterminate the population in Darfur.[121] The conflict has given rise to violations and abuses of rights of the females leading to mass displacement of entire populations.[122]

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[120] Sheikh Karim and Stein Beardsley. 'Gender Balancing in Female Peacekeepers: International Gestures. *Journal of International Interaction, 39*(4) 488, 2015.
[121] Batiste, Lelaini. Crisis in Darfur: an opportunity for the United Nations to reclaim its lost status for sake of peace and security of the international community. *Dissertation Paper 9*, 2012.
[122] [122] Inanovich, Acovich,. *Need for more female peacekeepers in the United Nations. Human Security, Peace and Gender Initiative.* New York, United States University, 2014.

These atrocities necessitated the inclusion of female peacekeepers in Darfur just like any other mission. The women peacekeepers in Darfur played the role of extending logistic, technical and programmatic support to the government of Sudan. This has led to the increasing in awareness and improvement of the need for protective environment for vulnerable populations like women and children in Darfur. Since the year 2009, UNAMID has increased the number of women officers in its operations while promoting the recruitment of women in local police services through the police women networks.[123] The women peace keepers also help in building trust between the mission and the local community in the essence that they take part in patrols to access the local population and get the information required.[124]

By February 2009, UN peacekeeping operation in Darfur contained more than three hundred female police advisers from ninety-one countries. Women peacekeepers in Darfur serve in various roles in all parts of Darfur hence facilitating the peace processes. The presence and effectiveness of women peacekeepers remains lethal in Darfur since the most affected people by the ongoing conflict are women and children.[125]

In keeping with its mandated aims, UNAMID through the women peacekeepers has continuously worked towards encouraging the active participation of women and youth in peace building, conflict resolution, and human rights at the local, regional and international level. The Mission regularly extends technical, logistic and programmatic support to the Government of Sudan and

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[123] Sheikh Karim and Stein Beardsley. 'Gender Balancing in Female Peacekeepers: International Gestures. *Journal of International Interaction, 39*(4) 488, 2015.
[124] Munson Courrier and Cathrin Saulnier. *"Applications and approaches of feminism theories in social work"*. London, SAGE, 2014.
[125] Henry, Mark. *"Indian and Uruguayan Peacekeepers: Labour Hierarchies and Global Sisterhood". Journal of Globalization, 7* (5), 585, 2014.

traditional institutions to raise awareness and improve the protective environment for vulnerable populations, especially women, youth and children, in Darfur.[126]

In addition to this, since 2009, UNAMID has increased the number of female police officers in its on-ground operations, while, at the same time, encouraging the recruitment of women in local police services. As of February 2015, the Mission's Police component includes more than 300 Women Police Advisers representing 91 countries.[127] Lukunka added that Women Police Advisers serve in many roles and work in all parts of Darfur, patrolling villages and camps for displaced people, assisting in addressing sexual and gender-based violence, building trust among Darfur is and promoting the rule of law. On a daily basis, Women Police Advisers accompany their male counterparts on patrol in and around displaced persons camps and villages. While on patrol, peacekeepers assess the security situation in the area as well as interact with the local community and authorities on the ground.[128]

3.5   Chapter Summary

Objective two was on the role played by women in peace keeping operations in reference to the Darfur conflict, 2008-2016. The alternate hypothesis was that there is significant role of women in peace keeping operations in the Darfur conflict. The hypothesis was confirmed since the study established that women peacekeepers play important roles in peacekeeping in Darfur. Women peacekeepers are active in identification of early warning signs of conflicts and conflict prevention, peacekeeping and peace support operations, peace processes like peace talks, mediation and signing of peace treaties and post-conflict processes like peace building activities.

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[128] Sheikh Karim and Stein Beardsley. 'Gender Balancing in Female Peacekeepers: International Gestures. *Journal of International Interaction, 39*(4) 488, 2015.

Additionally, women peacekeepers are role models for women and girls in the local environment. They inspire the local women and girls to strive for their own rights in the male dominated societies and to actively engage in peace processes. Women peacekeepers help in making the UN peacekeeping missions and force approachable to the local women especially those afflicted by conflicts. They have also inspired the Darfuri women, to play active roles as agents of peace, occupying influential positions within their communities and at the state and national levels. Finally, women peacekeepers have created awareness to the government of Sudan on the need to improve the environment for vulnerable populations like women and children in Darfur to survive.

The feminist theory is supported in this objective since women peacekeepers form only a fraction of the entire peacekeeping contingency in the Darfur conflict. Women peacekeepers in Darfur serve in various roles supporting the male peacekeepers. For example, they are assigned the role of safeguarding women and girls while their male counterparts are engaged in direct contact with rebel combatants like Janjaweed among others.

CHAPTER FOUR

CHALLENGES FACED BY WOMEN PEACEKEEPERS IN DARFUR CONFLICT

4.1   Introduction

UNAMID has played its peacekeeping responsibilities in Darfur based on its mandate that involves the implementation of the peace agreement, protection and deliverance of humanitarian relief, taking part in demobilization efforts of former fighters, supervising and conducting elections, monitoring respect of human rights by the involved parties in the conflict among many such roles.[129]

The women peacekeepers in UNAMID have continued its role of pacifying the conflict in Darfur. The motivation to establish this mission was due to the belief that women peacekeepers have the capability to better enhance the participation of the local women in resolving the conflicts, enhance the relations existing in the community and reduce the case of sexual and gender abuse and related atrocities on women.

There was also the feeling incorporating women peacekeepers in UNAMID would increase the capacity and potential of the local women to scale down the traditional stereotypes that lead to marginalization and discrimination of women especially in conflict zones like Darfur.[130] UNAMID with women peacekeepers has been active in encouraging the participation of women and youths in the process of peace building, conflict resolution and promotion of human rights in Darfur. Through UNAMID women peacekeepers have been in the forefront in supporting the

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[129] Audit of the UNAMID. In Vines and Middleton, 'options of European Union in support of UNAMID mission, 2012. Accessed 29 March. 2017.
[130] Cordell, Kelly. Liberia Women Peacekeepers and Human Security. *Op-Ed. Open Democracy, 2009*.

Government of Sudan in creating awareness and attempting to improve an enhance environment especially for the vulnerable women and children in Darfur.[131]

4.2   Success of peacekeeping mission in Darfur

The UNAMID has had positive achievement in its mission in Darfur. Firstly, UNAMID has been effective in physical protection of displaced people especially in and around the displacement centres. Though the protection has at time been criticized as ineffective on prevention of attacks on civilians inside the camps, the mission has been largely effective in its protection of civilian duties. A number of displaced have attested to the fact that UNAMID has been effective in reporting cases of atrocities to the outside world and this has assisted greatly in highlighting the situation in Darfur to the international community.[132]

The UNAMID has been effective is pacifying the security situation around the displacement people camps. UNAMID has even managed to scale down cases of insecurity such as cattle rustling and even managed to capture stolen livestock and given them back to owners. UNAMID has even managed to repulse in a number of occasions, government militia on their missions to attack the displaced persons camps. UNAMID human rights centres in Darfur have accorded easy access to the locals to report cases of human rights violations especially abductions and killings by the government-backed militias.

UNAMID has successfully managed to mediate in tribal conflicts involving members of the community and in the process deterring the tendencies of occurring of widespread violence. The UNAMID forces have greatly assisted in the delivery of humanitarian assistance, constructed schools and even provided paramedics in emergency situations. Despite the many achievements

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[131] Stein Kathryn and Haman Alissatou. *Peace and Security in the context of the African Union: From reality to design.* Addis Ababa, Farnham and Ashgate Publishers, 2010.
[132] Dyan Mazurana, Adssew Garragher and Heiss Walkmann. '*Conflict and Women Peacekeeping Force*'. New York, Routedge Publishers, 2005.

of the women peacekeepers in UNAMID, a number of notable challenges have continued to envelope the force that have at times deemed its success in carrying out its mandate in Darfur. These challenges have sometimes originated from the nature of the responsibilities given to the force; others are from the nature of the composition of the force while some are from external environment that the force operates.

4.3   Challenges Faced by Women Peacekeepers in Darfur

4.3.1   Suspicion from the local community

Whereas the general belief is that women peacekeepers are more likely to gain support from the local community especially local women and children, the situation in Darfur has at sometimes been opposite. The local population in Darfur and specifically the women had the tendencies of showing fear to both the male and female peacekeepers.[133]

This was seen to emanate from the fact that the local women considered the women peacekeepers to be different from them since they mostly hailed from South Africa, Burundi and Rwanda among other countries which are predominantly black African while the Darfurian women are Arabs. The peace keepers were therefore untrustworthy to the local women based on the perception of religion and skin texture and from the fact that they could not communicate in the local languages.[134]

Because of the few numbers of the women peacekeepers the local women population did not see the force giving them adequate protection. The fact that the identities of the women peacekeepers were often hidden behind their helmets brought in misgivings from the local population who

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[133] Stein Kathryn and Haman Alissatou. *Peace and Security in the context of the African Union: From reality to design.* Addis Ababa, Farnham and Ashgate Publishers, 2010.
[134] Elizabeth Bolly, Holly Calvin, Devin Gain and Saige Saint. Challenges in Darfur peacekeeping Initiative: Role of UNAMID. *Review,* June, 2015.

could not fully confide in their ability to offer protection. The cultural difference of the women peacekeepers and the local women also created a barrier that was challenging in terms of interactions and gaining and receiving confidence on each other.[135]

4.3.2 Mistrust from the local population

Female peacekeepers had the challenge of mistrust from the local population in Darfur who tended to have more faith on the male peacekeepers in terms of offering security and protection to their people and property. The male soldiers were viewed as more trustworthy by the community in terms of giving protection to the local women and children. To break the barriers of mistrust was therefore a hefty task to the female peacekeepers. The female peacekeepers were also sometimes not certain of the security concerns of the local women population since there was little or no emphasis on issues related to gender in the retinue of peacekeepers-mission readiness training. This therefore made the female peacekeepers to have little knowledge on the issue of gender power relations in peacekeeping.[136]

The women peacekeepers had little knowledge on the methods of dealing and assisting the various women and girls who were victims of sexual violence in Darfur conflict. Most of the peacekeepers had little knowledge on the gender and cultural dynamics as far as sexual violence incidences were concerned. This largely contributed to their inability to competently identify the various security necessities of the women victims, how to offer protection and how to summarily tackle the cases of sexual violence.[137]

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[135] Sharin Luqman and Fuhr Omede Aghast. AMIS to UNAMID: Challenges of African Union and United Nations in Darfur. *Journal of Canadian Social Sciences, 8*(1), 33, 2012.
[136] Ahmat Jibril. UNAMID: *Past and Future: Failures And Success*. Human Rights Advocacy Network for Democracy, 2010.
[137] Ahmat Jibril. UNAMID: *Past and Future: Failures And Success*. Human Rights Advocacy Network for Democracy, 2010.

4.3.3 Masculine Military Culture

The military is one of the most masculine institutions in the world as noted Munson and Saulnier.[138] The implication is that for female peacekeepers to make a difference in their assignments, they have to overcome inferiority complex imposed by the institution itself. This is well noticeable by the fact that after deployment for a mission, female peacekeepers have to bear the same equipment, work in similar environment and encounter similar adversaries in the work environment just like the male colleagues. The female peacekeepers have to withstand the treatment of being viewed as outsiders by the male counterparts.[139]

For one, female peacekeepers are physically ridiculed for lack of endurance as well as physical strength like their male counterparts particularly when undertaking foot patrols. Physically, they are ridiculed for their lack of physical strength and endurance, especially on foot patrols. The operation environment in which the female peacekeepers operate in is sometimes emotionally and psychologically challenging. They also face the danger of being viewed as a 'gendered' security risk, and as sexual objects to be dominated. This is especially so when the women peacekeepers seem to threaten the status quo of the existing gender power relations that may interfere with the male dominance.[140]

The end result is that female peacekeepers are generally denigrated by these gender and sexual harassments and treatments. Some peacekeepers who had previously been in positions of authority have given confessions of not being accorded due respect on numerous occasions, sometimes ignored, undermined and even encountered sexual advances. Occasionally, they came

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[138] Munson Courrier and Cathrin Saulnier. *"Applications and approaches of feminism theories in social work"*. London, SAGE, 2014.
[139] Sharr Dunne. Hope for UNAMID in Darfur: Overcoming Historical Challenges. (*Doctoral dissertation*), 2015.
[140] Munson Courrier and Cathrin Saulnier. *"Applications and approaches of feminism theories in social work"*. London, SAGE, 2014.

across open hostility from government officials and even from the local community since in Sudan, it is disrespecting and looking down at the existing culture for women to be soldiers leave a lone carry rifles and wear trousers.[141] Female peacekeepers even faced the threat of being raped and this especially eroded their confidence and willingness to perform their activities fully. The female peacekeepers were excluded from operations deemed to be too risky by their commanders. This way, the old gender stereotypes were resurrected and used to propagate any possibility of equality and partnership between male and female peacekeepers in Darfur.[142] This is a statement to the fact that even in such institutions like the national armed forces and the peacekeeping mission like UNAMID, gender equality is still a mirage to females.

4.3.4   Incidences of sexual and gender-related violence against displaced people

Despite the presence of the women peacekeepers in UNAMID, the displaced women and girls are vulnerable and are usually exposed to sexual and gender-related violence. On numerous occasions, the women peacekeepers have received reports on these cases affecting the women and girls in Darfur. These cases are normally in the form of rape, attempted rape, and sexual harassment which are common in and around the displaced people's camps and the adjacent farmlands.[143]

Indeed, between January 2014 to December 2016 297 cases of sexual violence involving 533 victims majority of them (530) being girls had been reported. The victims were aged between 2-70 years and at least six women were killed for resisting attempted rape and at the same time

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[141] Sharr Dunne. Hope for UNAMID in Darfur: Overcoming Historical Challenges. (*Doctoral dissertation*), 2015.
[142] Heinecken, L. Challenges Facing Women in Peacekeeping. *International Journal of Peacekeeping, 1 (2), 23, 2016.*
[143] Aicha Elbasri, "We cannot say all that we see in Darfur," Foreign Policy 9th April 2014. (Accessed on 17th April, 2018).

43% of the rape victims' sustained serious bodily injuries.[144] Even after getting medical attention in hospital around the IDPs camps, the victims never received any form of psychosocial care. There are cases documented of young girls who are rape victims and who are forced into marriages with the perpetrators as a form of community settlement of rape cases. Of all the cases documented of gender violence, rape constituted 83% of all the cases with 30% of these cases taking place during the displacement phase of the violence.

UNAMID report indicated that the first and the second phases of the military campaign in 2014-2015 the serious insecurity conditions were totally precarious and numerous cases of rape were documented. Many of the victims cited that lack of security personnel, the stigma associated with rape, lack of trust on the authorities and fear of reprisals from the perpetrators dissuaded them from volunteering information to the relevant authorities.[145] The victims also reported that the police seemed disinterested in investigating the numerous cases of rape reported to them. The security official blamed lack of adequate law enforcers and capacity to undertake effective investigations as the chief cause of their inability to fully assist the victims. Despite the presence of the peacekeepers, no proper documentation of the magnitude of the rape cases was made and the victims blamed the unclear mandate of the peacekeepers and communication barriers as some of the reason behind this scenario.[146]

4.3.5   Inability to fully protect the IDPs

The situation in Jebel Marra in 2016 highlighted the dangerous conditions that IDPs were experiencing in the Darfur conflict despite the presence of peacekeepers. Over 97,000 civilians

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[144] Audit of the UNAMID. In Vines and Middleton, 'options of European Union in support of UNAMID mission, 2012. Accessed 29 March. 2017.

[145] Adedeji, Uzuegubuman. 'Management of conflict and peace building in Nigeria through mechanisms from local actors'. Open Journal of Philosophy, 3 (1), 2013.

had been displaced by the state of insecurity perpetrated by the government and the various government supported militia. Most of the displacement of the IDPs occurred in South, Central and North Darfur states which are on the Jebel Marra corridor. There were constant aerial bombardment by the government forces leading to massive displacement and movement of refugees in January and February 2006. The displaced civilians were housed by the UNAMID force in Sortoni base and large number at one time was more than the force and the humanitarian agencies operating in the area could handle in terms of security and relief.[147]

Throughout the fighting, UNAMID continued with attempts to engagement and negotiate with officials of the Khartoum government to make it clear to them on the consequences of violations of human rights. They also informed them of the escalation of hostilities between the warring parties and the implication to peace accord and especially on the need to halt attacks of innocent civilians by the government and its militias. As stated in the international laws relating to protection of rights of civilians, UNAMID made it clear on the need for the Khartoum government to safeguard the security of the civilians in Darfur from atrocities committed by its forces and the Arab militias. UNAMID particularly made it clear through regular communication on the need for the government to keep its side of the bargain as stipulated under the peace accord especially on reference for ensuring security for the civilians and the displaced population in Darfur. However, cases of continued attacks on the civilians continued unabated leading to more violence against the victims.

4.4   Chapter Summary

Objective three was to identify the challenges encountered by women in peace keeping operations in the Darfur Conflict, 2008-2016. The null hypothesis was that no significant

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[147] United Nations Development Programme. *Report on Human Development in Sudan.* New York; UNDP, 2016.

challenges encountered by women in peace keeping operations in the Darfur Conflict. The null hypothesis was rejected. This is due to the fact that, numerous challenges were established that encountered women peacekeepers in their peacekeeping role in the Darfur conflict. The first challenge is that women peacekeepers suffer from suspicion and mistrust from the local community. The local women are suspicious of the women peacekeepers since the contingents from South Africa, Burundi and Rwanda mostly comprise of dark-skinned and predominantly Christian soldiers while the Darfurian women are Arabs. The locals have mistrust on women peace keepers based on the perception of religion, language and colour. The small number of women peacekeepers does not inspire confidence on the local women and girls that they are well secured.

The fact that the identities of the women peacekeepers are often hidden behind their helmets has made the locals to have disbelief on their capacity to maintain security. Lack of knowledge and techniques of assisting the local women affected by sexual violence is a handicap on the side of the peacekeepers. Most of the peacekeepers have little knowledge on the gender and cultural dynamics as far as sexual violence incidences were concerned. Women peacekeepers have to work hard to overcome the inferiority complex imposed by the military institution itself. Women peacekeepers have to bear the same equipment, work in similar environment and encounter similar adversaries in the work environment just like the male colleagues.

Again, the prominent support of feminist theory is identified by the fact of the mentality of viewing women peacekeepers as weaker than the male counterpart. This is notable from the fact that while women participate in the military peace keeping missions, they are not at the centre of the conflict since their role is to support the male soldiers. Women peacekeepers have to overcome gender and sexual harassments and treatments from the male counterparts. Female

peacekeepers like the local civilian population face the risk of rape from the militia and government forces. Finally, women peacekeepers have not fully been able to protect the local women and girls from sexual violence. Despite the presence of the women peacekeepers in UNAMID, the displaced population specifically the female victims are severely exposed to gender-based violence.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

This study aimed at analyzing the roles and challenges of women in peacekeeping operations in Darfur 2008-2016. The analysis was based on establishment and evaluation of the role played by both states and non-state actors in combat missions and specifically in peacekeeping operations in Africa. It was followed by an examination of the roles played by women in peace keeping operations in reference to the Darfur conflict, 2008-2016. Finally, it attempted at identifying and assessing the challenges encountered by women in peace keeping operations in the Darfur Conflict. This chapter has examined the results of the data analyzed based on the objectives of the study and finally providing the key findings.

5.2 Results of Data Analyzed

The study targeted officials from the African Union United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID). From these officials, interviews were conducted. The study targeted 20 officials who had previously served in UNAMID. Results shows that 75% response rate was achieved which is ideal for this study.

Table 5. 1Response rate

Country	Targeted Respondents	Actual Responses	Total (%)
UNAMID officials	20	15	**75**
Total	**20**	**15**	**75**

5.2.1 Role of UNAMID in Peacekeeping Effort in Darfur

The respondents stated that UNAMID has played a significant role in peacekeeping effort in Darfur. Majority 66% argued that UNAMID has prepared the ground for peace talks, while 64%

stated that UNAMID has created stability in Darfur region. Finally, 58% had the opinion that

UNAMID is creating a platform of settlement of Darfur conflict.

Table 5. 2 Role of UNAMID

Role of UNAMID	Percentage
UNAMID has created stability in Darfur region.	64
UNAMID has prepared the ground for peace talks.	66
UNAMID is creating a platform for a final settlement of the Darfur conflict.	58

n =15

5.2.2 Importance of Deployment of Women Peacekeepers in Darfur

Results on the importance of deploying women peacekeepers in Darfur showed that 78% stated

that the conflict had a gendered dimension. In addition, 66% stated that UNSCR has called for

participation of women in decision making. Similarly, 65% stated that UNSCR has called for

participation of women peacekeepers in conflict resolution. Further, 64% showed that UNSCR

has called for participation of women in conflict resolution in Darfur. Finally, 56% indicated that

women and girls are main victims of violence.

Table 5. 3 Importance of women peacekeepers

Comments	Percentage
Darfur conflict has a gender related dimension.	78
Women and girls are main victims of the violence.	56
The United Nation through United Nations Security Council Resolutions (UNSCR) has called for the participation of women in conflict resolution in Darfur.	65
UNSCR has called for the participation of women in peace keeping operation.	64
UNSCR has called for the participation of women in decision making process.	66

n=15

5.2.3 Key State Actors Active in Darfur Conflict

The results showed that the main state actors in the Darfur conflict are the United Nations, African Union, Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), IGAD, East African Community and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

Table 5. 4 State actors in Darfur conflict

State actors	Percentage
United Nations	100
African Union	100
ECOWAS	100
IGAD	100
EAC	100
NATO	100

5.2.4 Main Non State Actors in the Darfur Conflict

Results showed that Justice and Equality Movement (JEM), Sudan Liberation Movement/Army (SLM/A), Janjaweed militia and Popular Defence Force (PDF) are the main non state actors in the Darfur conflict.

Table 5. 5 Non-state actors in Darfur conflict

Non state actors	Percentage
Sudan Liberation Movement/Army (SLM/A)	100
Justice and Equality Movement (JEM)	100
Janjaweed militia	100
Popular Defence Forces (PDF)	100

5.2.5 Role of State and Non-State Actors in Darfur

From the results, it is imperative that 87% of respondents stated that state and non-state actors played an active role in mediating conflicts. Additionally, 80% argued that they addressed humanitarian crisis in Darfur crisis with 73% indicating that they contributed military forces and addressed the root causes of the war. Further, 67% stated that they financed peacekeeping

activities and also were involved in peaceful resolution of conflicts. Finally, 60% indicated that they took legal and military actions in peacekeeping operations and also laid out rules of operations during peacekeeping operations as stated by 53% of respondents.

Table 5. 6 Role of state actors

Role of state actors	Frequency	Percentage
They play an active role in mediating conflicts.	13	87
They undertake legal and military actions for peacekeeping operations.	9	60
They contribute military forces in peacekeeping efforts.	11	73
They lay out the rules of operations in peacekeeping activities.	8	53
They finance the peacekeeping activities.	10	67
They address the root causes of war.	11	73
They are involved in peaceful resolution of conflict.	10	67
They address the humanitarian crisis during conflicts	12	80

n-15

5.2.6   Role of Women Peacekeepers in Darfur

Results showed that 87% of respondents stated that women peacekeepers are active in peacekeeping and peace support operations. In addition, 87% argued that women peacekeepers inspire the local women and girls to strive for their own rights in Darfur. Further, 80% suggested that women peacekeepers are active in identification of early warning signs of conflicts and conflict prevention in Darfur while 80% opined that women peacekeepers have inspired the Darfuri women, to play active roles as agents of peace. Additionally, 80% argued that women peacekeepers organize events to highlight women's issues in Darfur while 73% stated that they positively enhance UN peacekeeping missions a force approachable to the local women in Darfur. Finally, 73% stated that they participate in peace processes like peace talks and mediations.

Table 5. 7 Role of women peacekeepers

Role of women peacekeepers	Frequency	Percentage
Women peacekeepers are active in identification of early warning signs of conflicts and conflict prevention in Darfur	12	80
Women are active in peacekeeping and peace support operations.	13	87
They participate in peace processes like peace talks and mediations.	11	73
They are active in signing of peace treaties and post-conflict processes like peace building activities.	8	53
Women peacekeepers have acted as role models for the women and girls in Darfur.	10	67
Women peacekeepers inspire the local women and girls to strive for their own rights in Darfur.	13	87
They positively enhance UN peacekeeping missions a force approachable to the local women in Darfur.	11	73
Women peacekeepers have inspired the Darfuri women, to play active roles as agents of peace. Women peacekeepers organize "Open Days" events as a key mechanism to highlight women's issues in Darfur.	12	80
Women peacekeepers have created awareness of the need for protective environment for vulnerable populations like women and children in Darfur.	10	67

n=15

5.2.7   Challenges Facing Women Peacekeepers in Darfur Conflict

Results showed that female peacekeepers like the local women and girls face the risk of rape from the militia and government forces. Additionally, 80% stated that women peacekeepers continue to suffer from suspicion and mistrust from the local community while 80% argued that masculine military cultures suppress women peacekeepers and they have to work hard to overcome the imposed inferiority complex. Moreover, 73% suggested that women peacekeepers are physically ridiculed for lack of endurance as well as physical strength like their male

counterparts. Further, 67% stated that women peacekeepers have not fully been able to protect the local women and girls from sexual violence. Similarly, 67% suggested that local women and girls have mistrust on women peace keepers based on the perception of religion and colour. Again, 67% argued that the contingence of women peacekeepers is small and does not inspire confidence on the local women and girls. Finally, 67% stated that women peacekeepers sometimes encounter sexual violence that undermines their working capacity.

Table 5. 8 Challenges facing women peacekeepers

Challenges	Frequency	Percentage
Women peacekeepers continue to suffer from suspicion and mistrust from the local community.	12	80
Local women and girls have mistrust on women peace keepers based on the perception of religion and colour.	10	67
The contingence of women peacekeepers is small and does not inspire confidence on the local women and girls.	10	67
The identities of the women peacekeepers are often hidden behind their helmets creating disbelief from the local population.	8	53
The cultural difference of the women peacekeepers and the local women is an interaction barrier.	9	60
Women peacekeepers lack knowledge on gender and cultural dynamics as far as sexual violence incidences are concerned.	9	60
The masculine military cultures suppress women peacekeepers and they have to work hard to overcome the imposed inferiority complex.	12	80
Women peacekeepers are physically ridiculed for lack of endurance as well as physical strength like their male counterparts.	11	73
They are sometimes viewed as a 'gendered' security risk, and as sexual objects to be dominated.	9	60
Women peacekeepers sometimes encounter sexual violence that undermines their working capacity.	10	67
Women peacekeepers encounter open hostility from government officials and even from the local community.	9	60
Female peacekeepers like the local women and girls face the risk of rape from the militia and government forces.	13	87
Women peacekeepers have not fully been able to protect the local women and girls from sexual violence.	10	67

n=15

5.3   Key Findings of the Study

The study confirmed the first two hypotheses and rejected the third one on the basis that women peacekeepers encounter challenges as they deliver their mandates in peace keeping environments. It is therefore significantly correct to state that:

a) There is significant role played by both state and non-state actors in combat missions and specifically in peacekeeping operations in Africa.

b) There is significant role of women in peace keeping operations in the Darfur conflict.

c) There are challenges encountered by women in peace keeping operations in the Darfur Conflict.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1   Summary of the Study

The aim of the study was to analyze the roles and challenges of women in peacekeeping operations in Darfur 2008-2016. Three specific objectives informed the study; to establish and evaluate the role played by both states and non-state actors in peacekeeping operations in Africa; to examine the role played by women in peace keeping operations in reference to the Darfur conflict, 2008-2016 and to assess the challenges encountered by women in peace keeping operations in the Darfur Conflict.

The respondents stated that UNAMID has played a significant role in peacekeeping effort in Darfur. It has prepared the ground for peace talks and created stability in Darfur region. The importance of deploying women peacekeepers in Darfur is that the conflict has a gendered dimension. In addition, UNSCR has called for participation of women in decision making, conflict resolution and also since women and girls are main victims of violence. The main state actors in the Darfur conflict are the United Nations, African Union, Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), IGAD, East African Community and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). While the non-actors included Justice and Equality Movement (JEM), Sudan Liberation Movement/Army (SLM/A), Janjaweed militia and Popular Defence Force (PDF).

In addition, state and non-state actors played an active role in mediating conflicts, they addressed humanitarian crisis, contributed military forces and addressed the root causes of the war. Further, they financed peacekeeping activities and also were involved in peaceful resolution of conflicts. Results showed that women peacekeepers are active in peacekeeping and peace support

operations. They also inspire the local women and girls to strive for their own rights in Darfur. Women peacekeepers are active in identification of early warning signs of conflicts and conflict prevention in Darfur and they have inspired the Darfuri women, to play active roles as agents of peace. Additionally, women peacekeepers organize events to highlight women's issues in Darfur. Finally, they participate in peace processes like peace talks and mediations.

On challenges facing women peacekeepers, results showed that female peacekeepers like the local women and girls face the risk of rape from the militia and government forces. Additionally, women peacekeepers continue to suffer from suspicion and mistrust from the local community. They are also suppressed by masculine military cultures and have to work hard to overcome the imposed inferiority complex. Moreover, women peacekeepers are physically ridiculed for lack of endurance as well as physical strength like their male counterparts. Finally, women peacekeepers have not fully been able to protect the local women and girls from sexual violence.

Finally, the study confirmed two hypotheses and rejected the last one. It is therefore significantly correct to state that: there is significant role played by both state and non-state actors in combat missions and specifically in peacekeeping operations in Africa; there is significant role of women in peace keeping operations in the Darfur conflict; and there are challenges encountered by women in peace keeping operations in the Darfur Conflict.

6.2   Conclusions of the Study

The study concluded that the inclusion of the women peacekeepers in the Darfur conflict has changed the peacekeeping mandate from purely military operations to multi-dimensional and integrated missions with adequate response to the needs of women and girls affected by the conflict. The various state and non-state actors especially international humanitarian agencies have played a significant role in the attempt to highlight the situation of the conflict in Darfur.

From the study, it is clear that women play major roles in peacekeeping operations. Women, being part of the world's population cannot be isolated and thus form part of the workforce. When deployed as peacekeepers, women act as role models to the local women and girls. They also assist in building trust between the mission and the local population mostly when they take part in patrols and mingle with the local population. Women enhance the access to the local community and are able to collect as much information as possible since the majority in IDP camps are women and children. Women peacekeepers also interview victims of Sexual and Gender Based Violence (SGBV) both men and women. Male victims of SGBV find it easier to confide with women since they shy off from sharing the same with men to avoid mockery.

Women peacekeepers have encountered significant challenges, efforts should be put in place to mitigate the challenges to allow their free participation in peacekeeping operations.

6.3   Recommendations of the Study

6.3.1   Academic recommendations

By analyzing the roles and challenges of women in peacekeeping operations in reference to the case of Darfur 2008-2016, the results are vital in informing the state and non-state actors on the important role played by women peacekeepers in Darfur. By highlighting the roles of women in peacekeeping operations, the findings create an advocacy for their doubling the effort in achieving the mandated roles especially protection of women and girls like in the case of Darfur. By highlighting on the challenges facing women peacekeepers in Darfur, the study cascades vital information to state and non-state actors on improvement and preparation measures related to better functioning in peacekeeping operations.

6.3.2   Policy recommendations

To enhance the role of women peacekeepers in peacekeeping operations,   it is recommended that the state and non-state actors should continue enhancing the skills of the women peacekeepers to ensure that they are well prepared to inspire confidence on the local women and girls. For enhancing the capacity of women peacekeepers, state and non-state actors should institute training workshops for the force on the expected local culture so that they are well prepared to assist the victims of the conflict.

The UN should continue calling for the increase of women peacekeepers. Equally, specific posts should be set aside for women in order to increase the number. Further, to ensure that women also occupy senior posts within a mission, these posts should be identified and advertised for only qualified women to apply.

The UN member states should also encourage women empowerment and deployment in peacekeeping missions. Military and police for all member states should be encouraged to recruit women in good numbers, train and deploy them when required in peacekeeping missions. Career progression of these women should also be put in consideration to allow them grow in the system and be able to fill senior posts when called upon to do so.

The mission leadership should also follow up closely with the UN DPKO to remind them on the need of the women peacekeepers within the mission. Military and police leadership in mission areas can also engage senior visiting delegations from various countries to consider the deployment of female peacekeepers.

The women peacekeepers should attempt at understanding and integrating in the culture of the local community so that they have the ability to offer the requisite assistance to the girls and women.

To overcome the challenges facing women peacekeepers, efforts of inclusion of women peacekeepers and increasing the number tremendously in the Darfur conflict will play a significant role. This will also assist in eroding the masculine culture that has continued to slow down the participation of women in peacekeeping missions. To overcome the inferiority complex internally engrossed by the women peacekeepers, positions of authority in the peacekeeping missions should be based on merit with equal opportunities for both the male and female officers. Women peacekeepers should also strive to competently compete with their male colleagues and should continuously challenge for leadership positions.

6.4   Area for Further Research

Areas for further studies are; a study should be undertaken on the achievement of women peacekeeping operations in Darfur 2008-2016. In addition, a study on the role and challenges of men in peacekeeping operations in Darfur conflict should be undertaken.

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APPENDIX A: QUESTIONNAIRE

1. **Explain the played by Role of UNAMID in peacekeeping effort in Darfur.**

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   …………………………………………………………………………………
   …………………………………………………………………………………
   ………………………………………………………………………………

2. **State the importance of deployment of women peacekeepers in Darfur (Tick appropriately).**

Comments	Percentage
Darfur conflict has a gender related dimension.	
Women and girls are main victims of the violence.	
The United Nation through United Nations Security Council Resolutions (UNSCR) has called for the participation of women in conflict resolution.	
UNSCR on Women, Peace and Security (UNSCR) 1325 of 2000 has called for the participation of women in peace keeping operation.	
UNSCR has called for the participation of women in decision making process.	

3. **Mention the key state actor's active in Darfur conflict**

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4. **State the main non state actors in the Darfur conflict**

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5. **State and non-state actors have a major role in peacekeeping efforts in Darfur conflict. By ticking in the spaces provided (√) state the extent of your agreement or disagreement.**

Role of state actors	Percentage
They play an active role in mediating conflicts.	
They undertake legal and military actions that underpin peacekeeping operations.	
They contribute military forces in peacekeeping efforts.	
They lay out the rules of operations in peacekeeping activities.	
They finance the peacekeeping activities.	
They address the root causes of war.	

They are involved in peaceful resolution of conflict.	
They address the humanitarian crisis during conflicts	

6. **Women peacekeepers have a critical role in peacekeeping in Darfur. State the level of agreement by ticking appropriately.**

Role of women peacekeepers	Percentage
Women peacekeepers are active in identification of early warning signs of conflicts and conflict prevention in Darfur	
Women are active in peacekeeping and peace support operations.	
They participate in peace processes like peace talks and mediations.	
They are active in signing of peace treaties and post-conflict processes like peace building activities.	
Women peacekeepers have acted as role models for the women and girls in Darfur.	
Women peacekeepers inspire the local women and girls to strive for their own rights in Darfur.	
They positively enhance UN peacekeeping missions a force approachable to the local women in Darfur.	
Women peacekeepers have inspired the Darfuri women, to play active roles as agents of peace. Women peacekeepers organize "Open Days" events as a key mechanism to highlight women's issues in Darfur.	
Women peacekeepers have created awareness of the need for protective environment for vulnerable populations like women and children in Darfur.	

7. **Women peacekeepers face numerous challenges in Darfur conflict. State the level of agreement by ticking appropriately.**

Challenges	Percentage
Women peacekeepers continue to suffer from suspicion and mistrust from the local community.	
Local women and girls therefore have mistrust on women peace keepers based on the perception of religion and colour.	
The contingence of women peacekeepers is small and does not inspire confidence on the local women and girls.	
The identities of the women peacekeepers are often hidden behind their helmets creating disbelief from the local population.	
The cultural difference of the women peacekeepers and the local women is an interaction barrier.	
Women peacekeepers lack knowledge on gender and cultural dynamics as far as sexual violence incidences are concerned.	

The masculine military cultures suppress women peacekeepers and they have to work hard to overcome the imposed inferiority complex.	
Women peacekeepers are physically ridiculed for lack of endurance as well as physical strength like their male counterparts.	
They are sometimes viewed as a 'gendered' security risk, and as sexual objects to be dominated.	
Women peacekeepers sometimes encounter sexual violence that undermines their working capacity.	
Women peacekeepers encounter open hostility from government officials and even from the local community.	
Female peacekeepers like the local women and girls face the risk of rape from the militia and government forces.	
Finally, women peacekeepers have not fully been able to protect the local women and girls from sexual violence.	