GENDER INTEGRATION AND INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING:

The Case of the Ghana Armed Forces

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ABSTRACT

The participation of women in peacekeeping remains limited in spite of efforts by the United Nations to encourage the involvement of women in all aspect of peace operations (Rehn and Johnson Sirleaf, 2002:65; Stiehm, 2002:47). Some Scholars have explained the situation by arguing that military institutions limit the involvement of females in operations mainly due to concerns for operational effectiveness (Heinecken, 2005, 715; Rehn and Johnson Sirleaf, 2002: 67). This study specifically attempts to map out the extent to which concerns for operational effectiveness accounts for the limited integration of female personnel in peacekeeping operations of the Ghana Armed Forces. It utilized varied sources of data including a general survey among randomly selected experienced peacekeepers, in-depth interviews with officers of the Ghana Armed Forces, personal observations, data from the United Nations, the peacekeeping magazine of the Ghana Armed Forces and other supporting documents. It suggests that within the context of the Ghana Armed Forces, it is perceived to be empirically feasible to open up all military duties in peacekeeping environments to both male and female personnel. Two main factors were found to account for this. Military personnel are professionally disciplined to be loyal to command such that it is possible for both male and female officers to lead the military for peace operations. Recruitment procedure into the armed Forces is strict and certifies that any person accepted into the military is capable of performing military tasks in peacekeeping environments. But the study found a disjuncture between how the capabilities of females in peacekeeping are perceived, being favorable, and the actual involvement of women in peacekeeping being limited. In search for alternative explanation, it suggests for further study the possibility that to some extent the limited integration of females in peacekeeping operations may also be an outcome of learning by observation among the military institutions. The study supports other researchers such as Hyde (2005:715) who have found that males and females possess similar capabilities and do not need to be differentiated in playing roles in society.
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Abbreviations and Acronyms

AE     Armed Elements
AFRC   Armed Forces Revolutionary Council
Army HQ Army Headquarters
CO     Officer Commanding
COY    Company of Soldiers
CSO    Chief Staff Officer
CEDAR  Peacekeeping Magazine of Ghana Armed Forces
DI     Defence Intelligence
DPKO   Directorate of Peacekeeping Operations
ECOMOG ECOWAS Monitoring Group
EOCD   Equal Opportunities Chief Directorate
EC     Force Commandant
GAF    Ghana Armed Forces
GCC    Gold Coast Constabulary
GDI    German Development Institute
GETFund Ghana Education Trust Fund
GDP    Gross Domestic Product
GHANBATT Ghana Battalion
KAIPTC Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Centre
MOWAC  Ministry of Women and Children’s Affairs
NWM    National Women’s Machinery
OC     Officer Commanding
OECD   Equal Opportunities Chief Directorate
ONUC   United Nations Operations in Congo
PA     Military Personnel Administration
PSO    Peace Support Operations
SC     Security Council
SANDF  South African National Defence Force
UNAMIR United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda
UNEF   United Nations Emergency Force
UNIFIL United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon
UNOMIL United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia
UNTAC  United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia
UN Info Centre United Nations Information Centre, Accra
UNDPKO United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations
WAC    Women’s Auxiliary Corps
WAFF   West African Frontier Force
WRAC   Women’s Royal Auxiliary Corps
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.0 General Introduction

In recent years it is felt that the capabilities of both men and women should be integrated into peace processes (UN, 2002:5). In spite of efforts by the United Nations to rid the peacekeeping system of gender inequalities most participating institutions especially the military remain male-dominated (Mazurana et al 2005:15; Rehn and Johnson Sirleaf, 2002:66; Stiehm, 2002:47; UN, 2002:78). Data from the United Nations Department for Peacekeeping Operations shown that the percentage of military personnel in peacekeeping being women declined from 3% in year 2000 to 1.2% in 2005 and 1% in early 2006.

Like Marlowe (1983:80) it is often argued that the participation of women in military operations should be limited. This reflects the functionalist argument that for society to work effectively, roles and functions must be differentiated on gender basis because males and females are entirely different in capabilities (Hughes et al, 2002:246; Lindesmith et al, 1999: 359; Mann, 1994:193). Skjelsbaek (2001:64-65) warns against ascribing particular capabilities to a gender type and others argue that perceptions of gender differences place undue limitations on the participation of women in vital activities in society (DiClemente et al, 2002:314; Lindesmith et al, 1999: 359). Scholars seemingly drew on the gender differences notion to point out that concern that the participation of women will affect military operational effectiveness is the main motivation behind the low involvement of women in peacekeeping (Heinecken, 2002:715; Rehn and Johnson Sirleaf, 2002:67).

This study looks at gender integration among the peacekeeping personnel of the Ghana Armed Forces in an attempt to find the extent to which concern for operational effectiveness limits the deployment of female personnel for peacekeeping operations. It derives from the suggestions by Segal (1995:758) that the participation of women in military operations should be looked at in ‘objective reality’ and Gierycz (2001:29) that the concept of gender differences should be proven through scientific research. It provides empirical contribution to the discourse on involving women in military peacekeeping by utilizing the peacekeeping experiences of the Ghana Armed Forces.
1.1 Problem Clarification

Over one million troops have served in UN peacekeeping in the last fifty-six years. By February 2006, more than seventy-three thousand (73,034) troops were serving in ongoing UN peacekeeping operations.\(^1\) More than $2.80 billion\(^2\) was spent on UN peace operations in 2004 and 2005. Within the past few years there have been 2,171 fatalities.\(^3\) Thus, the costs incurred in peacekeeping are relatively high. Empirical evidences suggest that full integration of women at all levels of peace processes is essential to the success of peace processes\(^4\) (Carey, 2002:55; Olsson, 2002:97; Karame, 2002:89; Rehn & Johnson Sirleaf, 2002:66). It builds confidence in local population and makes work with civil society easier (UN, 2002:78). It is important for peacekeepers to handle female combatants in rebel groups ethically as well as to reduce aggression in peacekeeping (ibid). In spite of efforts especially by the United Nations to fully integrate the capabilities of men and women in global peace efforts most national peacekeeping institutions still do not fully involve women in the peacekeeping efforts. (Rehn and Johnson Sirleaf, 2002:66; UN, 2002:78). Considering the commendable efforts especially by the military as noted above at improving the outcomes of peace operations one wonders why gender integration remains an acute problem.

1.2 Aims and Objectives

The aims and objectives of this study are:

1. To find out the extent to which the Ghana Armed Forces involves female personnel in peacekeeping operations.
2. To map out the perceived effect of gender integration on the effectiveness of peacekeeping operations as far as personnel of the Ghana Armed Forces are concerned.
3. To explore the extent to which concern for operational effectiveness accounts for limited involvement of female personnel or male dominance in the peacekeeping operations of the Ghana Armed Forces.

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\(^{1}\) See data by the UNDPKO at [www.un.org/Depts/dpko/contributors/2006/feb06](http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/contributors/2006/feb06)

\(^{2}\) Figures derived from the UN budget found at [http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/faq](http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/faq) 13/01/06

\(^{3}\) See data updated by UNDPKO at [www.un.org/Depts/dpko/fatalities/StatsByYear](http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/fatalities/StatsByYear) 13/01/06

\(^{4}\) See also statements by the UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan on [www.un.org/Depts/dpko/gender/gender](http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/gender/gender) 2/3/06
1.3 Research Questions

1. To what extent does the Ghana Armed Forces integrate female personnel in peacekeeping operations?
2. How is gender integration perceived to affect the ability of the military to carry out peacekeeping operations effectively as far as personnel of the Ghana Armed Forces are concerned?
3. To what extent does concern for operational effectiveness limit the involvement of female personnel in the peacekeeping activities of the Ghana Armed Forces?

1.4 Scope and Measurement

This study is basically exploratory but has a definite limit. It tries to assess the perceived effect of gender integration on operational effectiveness. It is outlined in the methodology section below that the focus is on operational areas in military operations where women are not fairly involved. Differences in favorable and unfavorable views about the integration of females in the areas identified as well as empirical data from various sources are used to assess how gender integration is perceived to affect operational effectiveness. The outcome of this process is compared with functionalist view of how the low involvement of females, male dominance or gender stratification of roles in peacekeeping is explained by concerns for operational effectiveness (Heinecken, 2002:715; Rehn and Johnson Sirleaf, 2002:67). The method adopts both simple quantitative survey and in-depth qualitative interviews among GAF personnel to ensure the validity of observations (Passer and Smith, 2004:39-41; Yin, 1994:6). For purposes of clarity, this study takes peacekeeping as a composite activity which may change in different contexts. It is limited to the context of the Ghana Armed Forces as the unit of analysis. The only phenomenon of interest is the involvement of both males and females in normal peacekeeping environments under the auspices and regulations of the United Nations and not military activities in war time.

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5 It describes the full involvement or equal participation of men and women in all aspect of peace operations. Since the involvement of females is limited gender integration demands expanded participation of females in peacekeeping.
6 By operational effectiveness is meant the ability of the military to carry out peacekeeping operations effectively.
1.5 Justification of the study

Why focus this study on the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF)? Malan et al (1997:70) finds that peacekeeping doctrine and approach varies between militaries of different states. GAF has rich experience in peacekeeping since 1960 (Aboagye, 1999:267) and is still among the top-ten contributors of troops to United Nations peace operations. Ghana is known internationally in making extra efforts for the success of peace operations (ibid). For instance GAF has once continued peacekeeping in Rwanda when other nations withdrew troops (ibid). Also, Ghana has a reputation of contributing troops to several ongoing peace operations at the same time (Malan et al, 1997:70). Segal (1995:757-773) states that internal peace among other factors enhances the involvement of females in military operations. With a long experience in and an extra commitment to UN peacekeeping as well as favorable contextual factors including internal peace, GAF is expected to provide rich input into the discourse on gender integration in military peacekeeping operations.

1.6 The Motivation and Relevance of study

“We can no longer afford to minimize or ignore the contributions of women to all stages of conflict resolution, peacemaking, peace-building, peacekeeping and reconstruction processes. Sustainable peace will not be achieved without full and equal participation of women and men”- KOFI ANNAN (2004)-UN Secretary General.

The UN requires that the potentials of men and women should be integrated into all levels of peace processes including the military components of peacekeeping. The military is often described as most masculine of all social institutions (Segal, 1995:758; Heinecken, 2002:715). This conception portrays the military as resistant to gender equality. I am interested in finding out how a military institution could re-adjust to the UN requirement of gender equality or full involvement of women in all aspects of peacekeeping. The observation by Malan et al (1997:70) that military institutions differ in experience, doctrine and approach to peacekeeping and that contextual factors produce different outcomes of

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7 Ghana is among the top ten contributors of troop to UN peace operations world wide.
phenomena (Hyde, 2005) prompted me to contextualize the study on GAF. Academically, the study shows a possibility that researchers might be putting too much emphasis on the notion that females are not fully integrated in military peace operations for fear it might affect operational effectiveness. The case of the Ghana Armed Forces depicts a situation where perceptions are fairly favorable for gender integration but females are still not fully integrated in performing key military duties in peace operations. In trying to find alternative explanation for the situation this study suggests for further research the possibility that learning by observation and modeling (Bandura and Walters, 1963) might be one of the many factors contributing to gender-based stratification of roles and male-dominance in peacekeeping especially among personnel of GAF.

1.7 Background to the study
On October 31 2000 the United Nations Security Council adopts Resolution 1325 (2000) on women, peace and security to mainstream gender perspectives into peace processes (UN, 2002:1). Paragraph one (1) of this resolution “urges UN member states to increase the representation of women at all levels of decision-making; national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management and resolution of conflicts”. Paragraph Four (4) seeks to “expand the role and contribution of women in all United Nations field-based operations especially among military observers, Civilian Police, Human Rights and Humanitarian personnel”. Thus all institutions including the military are required to integrate the potentials of both males and females in all aspects of peace operations including decision-making and participation in conflict prevention, peacekeeping and post conflict peace-building.

The scope of the resolution extends beyond expansion of the role of women involved in UN peace operations. It incorporates gender perspectives into the activities of the local populations affected by conflict as is provided for in paragraph (8) of the resolution. The

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9 Gender Mainstreaming is defined by the UN as the process of assessing the implications for men and women of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels (Olsson, 2002:98). In terms of peace operations, this is a broad term. My study looks only at the involvement of women in peacekeeping.

The scope of this study is limited to the integration of the potentials of military men and women deployed for peacekeeping. The stipulations of the resolution are broad and do not specify duties in peacekeeping demanding gender integration but it has specific aims. Analysts agree that it requires member states and institutions to adopt gender equality approaches in assigning personnel to all levels of peace operations (Mazurana et al 2005:13; Rehn and Johnson Sirleaf, 2002:65).

The Webster’s Comprehensive Dictionary explains equality as “a state of being equal” or simply a condition of “uniformity”. Gender Equality therefore implies a uniform treatment of males and females. Two levels of gender equality are discernible from the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000). It involves gender balance to gradually equate the number of females participating in all aspects of peace processes to the number of males (Mazurana et al 2005:13; Stiehm, 2002:42). This is quite easy to measure in numerical terms but it does not necessarily have significant impact on gender sensitivity if women are not actually allowed to participate in all levels of peace processes (ibid). Treating peacekeepers ‘equal’ requires that the experiences of females and males are fully integrated or mainstreamed into all aspects of peace processes (ibid). In a press conference on 26th March 2006 the United Nations Permanent Gender Advisor, Comfort Lamptey, explained that the idea of expanding the participation of women in peace operations “is to involve ‘women-in-uniform’ in the whole spectrum of peacekeeping activities”12. Peacekeeping roles or duties, opportunities and responsibilities should no more be stratified on gender bases. Male and female personnel deployed on peace missions have the same chance to participate in all that go into peace processes (UN, 2002:78).

The adoption of UN SC Resolution 1325 was just the end-product of preceding efforts aimed at expanding the participation of women in global peace processes (Olsson and Tryggestad, 2002:1). The 1949 Geneva Conventions made provisions for the full respect

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11 Gender Mainstreaming is defined by the UN as the process of assessing the implications for men and women of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels (Olsson, 2002:98). In terms of peace operations, this is a broad term. My study looks only at the involvement of women in peacekeeping.

for the rights and protection of women and children. In 1979 there was the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women. In September 1995 the Beijing Conference on ‘Equality, Development and Peace’ was held in Beijing, China to push forward recognition for the rights of women. Also, a study titled ‘Mainstreaming Gender Perspectives in Multi-dimensional Peace Support Operations was initiated by the Department of Peacekeeping Operations in 1999 (ibid, 2). That study gave birth to the Windhoek Declaration and Namibian Plan of Action which contributed to placing gender and peacekeeping on the agenda of the United Nations (ibid). The Beijing +5 General Assembly meeting held in New York in June 2000 considered the need to mainstream gender perspectives in peace operations, leading to the adoption of Security Council Resolution 1325 on 31 October 2000.

Although the United Nations supervises the implementation of gender equality in peace operations (UN, 2002:77) much rests on the prerogatives of troop contributing states to enforce it (Rehn and Sirleaf, 2002:67; UN, 2004:113). As long as the United Nations does not have its own standing peacekeeping force, it relies on the member states to mobilize forces for peace operations (Bellamy et al, 2004:162, Boutros-Ghali, 1992: 30). This has brought variations in implementation of the resolution.

Quite a few states and institutions are making efforts to implement the resolution (Rehn and Sirleaf, 2002:65). Some states have actually developed and launched action plans to fully implement the recommendations of the resolution.\textsuperscript{13} At the state level, current statistics released by the Department for Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) in July 2005 shows that women made up about 1.2\% of military personnel in peacekeeping operations.\textsuperscript{14} But the figure had dropped to 1\% by early 2006. Regarding gender balance this gradual decline in the numerical involvement of women in peace operations is not a general trend in all troop contributing states. At the end of 2005 UN statistics shows that most states contributed an average of two female military personnel to military peace operations.

\textsuperscript{13} Norway launched the action plan on 8\textsuperscript{th} March 2006, see full version at http://odin.dep.no/ud

\textsuperscript{14} Data derived from file name gender_in_field_missions_2004_and_2005.xls_YF.xls2.xls of DPKO.
Others do not present any women at all. Some other states however improved in this regard. South Africa, Ghana, Namibia, Kenya, Nigeria and Ireland were among the exceptional cases as they respectively featured 122, 107, 57, 40, 41 and 29 female military personnel in 2005 peace operations.  

When the military engages in peace operations the extent to which female soldiers are given the chance to perform all military duties has become a phenomenon that can not be generalized across different military institutions. It is acknowledged that various forms of contextual experiences and limitations determine the progress of particular military institutions in assigning males and females to peacekeeping duties (Segal, 1995:759). My study is more or less a follow-up on UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) into the Ghana Armed Forces looking at what the situation of gender integration looks like when deploying personnel for peacekeeping. As mentioned earlier, practical peacekeeping experiences of GAF personnel are expected to influence their perceptions of gender integration in peacekeeping operations.

1:8 Concepts Clarification

To ensure clarity on issues concerning measurement in this study (Sternberg, 2004:8) I operationalize key concepts that may have different meanings across various situations (Adcock & Collier, 2001:531). I clarify peacekeeping, gender; equality, integration, balance, stratification of roles as well as male dominance and operational effectiveness.

Peacekeeping

Boutros-Ghali (1992:11) defines peacekeeping as the “deployment of UN presence in the field, hitherto with the consent of all the parties concerned, normally involving UN military and or police personnel and frequently civilians as well”. Peacekeeping has associated concepts. Preventive Diplomacy prevents disputes from arising or escalating into conflicts (ibid). Peacemaking uses peaceful means to bring hostile parties to agreement and Post-Conflict Peace-building identifies and supports structures to solidify
peace to avoid a relapse into conflict (ibid; Paris, 1997:54). Bellamy et al (2004:1-2) note that the concept of peacekeeping “defies simple categorization” but denotes international management of political violence to limit the scourge of war (ibid: 4).

Boutros-Ghali (1992:11) takes peacekeeping as a unified activity and simplifies it as “a technique that expands the possibilities for both the prevention of conflict and the making of peace”. This suggests that peacekeeping is an activity but changes form and operations in response to specific problems (Bellamy et al, 2004:4) because the mandates determine the nature and scope of peacekeeping (UN, 2002:74-75). As captured in the Windhoek Declaration UN peacekeeping has evolved into a multi-dimensional form in which various activities may come to play (Olsson & Tryggestad, 2002:115). As used in this study peacekeeping is taken as a unified set of activities. It is how the military involves women in peacekeeping that is looked at within the context of the Ghana Armed Forces.

**Gender Equality / Gender Integration vs. Gender Stratification / Male-Dominance**

Scholars maintain that the term ‘gender’ should not be confused with the term ‘sex’ (Hawkesworth, 1997:650). Sex gives a genetic or biological description of a person (Segal, 1995:768). Gender has various meanings and uses in different contexts (ibid, 651). Some use it in place of human differences (Vetterling-Braggen, 1982; Hawkesworth, 1990; Shanley & Patemen, 1991). Yet others use gender to analyze the social organization of relationship between men and women (Barrett, 1980; MacKinnon, 1987; Rubin, 1975). Segal (1995:768) notes that gender is socially constructed to make sense of and deal with sex differences. The Webster’s Comprehensive Dictionary accepts the different meanings of gender in different contexts. It however states that gender naturally corresponds with sex. This study therefore uses males and females, men and women interchangeably. Gender integration as used in this study is the full involvement of males and females in doing things. Gender equality and gender integration are central to the idea of expanding the participation of females in peace operations. Gender stratification of roles is a reverse concept to gender integration, describing the situation where society distinguishes between males and females in assigning roles. This often leads to male-dominance.
**Operational effectiveness**

This simply involves the ability of the military to carry out peace operations effectively so as to achieve mandates (Karame, 2002:89). In this study two tasks are linked to the success of the military in peacekeeping. The troops need a leader and they must be prepared to provide security (Ibid; Boutros-Ghali, 1992:25). Military leadership as used here relates to who gives command and takes responsibility of what the troops do in specific assignments in peacekeeping. Combat involves the firing of weapons (Segal, 1995: 760). Combat related or frontline duties are duties more likely to spark rebel attacks on peacekeepers. These may include patrolling, disarmament and the protection of key interests.

1.9 Structure of the thesis

This chapter so far spelt out the problem, objectives, research questions, background and clarification of concepts. Chapter two gives a comprehensive review of the literature relevant for my thesis. In part one of chapter two I provide the analytical framework reviewing some theories explaining why the role of females may be limited in society. Functionalism, Conflict Theory as well as Learning by Observation are presented. In section two of chapter two I review previous works of other researchers on gender differences and similarities that relate to my investigation. In chapter three I describe the methods I used for the enquiry and problems encountered that may guide further research. Chapter four follows with a presentation of factors within the context of the Ghana Armed Forces that may influence general perceptions of gender integration in peacekeeping. I have devoted chapter five for presentation of simple qualitative and quantitative analysis of data. Here I made illustrations to simplify the observations for easy understanding in the discussion. In chapter six I discuss the findings in relation to existing literature. Finally in chapter seven I conclude the study and provide implications and suggestions for further research.
CHAPTER TWO: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND RELATED STUDIES

2.0 Introduction to Literature Review

This chapter is organized into two sections. In the first section I present the conceptual framework of theories that have been used in various ways to explain why gender stratification of roles and male dominance persists in society (Passer and Smith, 2004:4). In building the conceptual frame I focus on one core perspective and alternative explanations. In section two I present a summary of previous studies related to mine.

2.1 Conceptual Framework

In Chapter one the problem was introduced that males currently dominate in military peacekeeping activities. I presented the views of some researchers that females in the military are not fully integrated in peacekeeping operations mainly due to perceptions that doing so may hinder operational effectiveness (Heinecken, 2002:715; Rehn and Johnson Sirleaf, 2002:67). It was noted that this theoretically reflects the functionalist perspective. My study is designed mainly to test this notion within the context of the Ghana Armed Forces making my choice of conceptual framework virtually pre-determined.

A theory is a statement of some general principles explaining particular events (Sternberg, 2004: 35). It presents a systematic way of understanding events or situations (Weinstein 2002) and represents an interrelated set of propositions that serve to explain behavior (DiClemente et al, 2002:8). A theory must be applicable to a broad variety of situations because by nature, “theory is abstract and does not have specific content or topic area (Maibach et al, 1995:11). I have chosen to make the theoretical frame look a bit multi-disciplinary because gender issues are multi-disciplinary (Chafetz, 1999:223). Below I review the functionalist perspective being tested, followed by observational learning (Bandura and Walters, 1963) used as the core alternative theory. Other perspectives will also be introduced briefly although not applied in this thesis.
2.1.1 Functionalist Perspective on Male Dominance

The core assumption of the functionalist perspective is that for society to function successfully, males and females must be differentiated into normative categories suitable for specific functions (Hughes et al 2002: 273). This is based on the idea that males and females are entirely different to the extent that specific functions in society are better done by either males or females but not both (Boudon, 1986; ibid). Functionalists argue that it is functional and beneficial for the survival of society to differentiate between males and females in assigning roles (ibid). Functionalists argue that a division of labor originally arose between men and women because of the reproductive role of women (ibid). They contend that because women were often pregnant or nursing society assigned domestic and child-rearing tasks to women, whereas men were assigned defense tasks because of their larger body sizes and muscular strengths (ibid). They argue that this idealized structure was necessary for the survival of the human species and so it was retained in society. Parsons and Bales (1955) refined this perspective by claiming that men should specialize in instrumental tasks such as making decisions, organizing and leading people to solve problems. Females should play supportive roles (ibid).

Functionalism justifies sexist processes; policies, practices and procedure which portray one sex as superior to the other (ibid, 246). Functionalist ideas make social organization take the form of patriarchy in which men have disproportionate share of power over women. Most analysts trace this to cultural and legal systems that historically gave fathers authority in family and clan matters and made mothers dependent on husbands through inheritance (ibid). Functionalism makes a stack distinction between males and females regarding what they could do in society; males should play dominant roles and females play supportive roles. Functionalists look at men as the more powerful actors and women as dependent actors and argue that this is necessary for the survival of the society (ibid).

Between the 1950s and 1980s the functionalist perspective was heavily criticized by conflict theorists as just offering rationale for male dominance (ibid). Goldstein (2001:59) for instance cites historical evidences to argue that women throughout history have had
military and social powers that were simply ignored. The issue at stake in this thesis is to explain why females are not fully integrated in military peacekeeping activities. I would like to find out to what extent the military follows the functionalist ideas in assigning roles in peacekeeping. The extent to which functionalism accounts for male dominance among the peacekeeping personnel of the Ghana Armed Forces is determined by the perceptions regarding the integration of females in peacekeeping.

2.1.2 Alternative Perspectives on Male Dominance

Although functionalist theory is the core theoretical perspective to be tested in this thesis there are other theories that could provide alternative explanations of why the participation of females in military peacekeeping remains limited. The social learning theory of observation and modeling or simply learning by observation (Bandura and Walters, 1963) is the key alternative theory that is borrowed to be explored in this regard.

2.1.2.1 Learning by Observation and Modeling

The psychology of learning has a broad scope dealing with learning and learned behaviors in all types of creatures (Mazur, 1994:3). Psychologists agree that learning is a process of change that occurs as a result of experience (Mazur, 1994:2). The Webster’ Comprehensive Dictionary defines experience as “knowledge derived from one’s own actions, practice, perception, enjoyment or suffering”. This suggests that psychologists take any behavior that is shown as a learned outcome of practice or ‘trail and error’. Bandura and Walters (1963) in their work “Social Learning and Personality Development” argued that traditional learning theory which emphasizes direct personal experience and practice for learning to take place was inadequate to explain all types of behaviors. They added that a good deal of learning occurs by observing other persons rather than through direct personal experiences. The core of learning by observation therefore is that we as humans observe the behavior of others or third parties or models, observe the consequences that follow from their behaviors and later we may imitate their behaviors without necessarily performing some behaviors to learn from the consequences (ibid).
Several researchers have studied this process of learning and confirmed that learning takes place as one observes other person(s) behave in a defined way (Mazur, 1994:288). While some researchers claim that learning by observation is inborn others see it as an operant response (Mazur, 1994:288). Learning by observation is not disputed but rather acclaimed as a sophisticated skill of learning (Mazur, 1994:307). In the discussion of this study I seek to show by way of practical peacekeeping experiences of respondents the possibility that learning by observation might contribute to male dominance among GHANBATT peacekeepers. My attempt in this dimension is relatively new since it seems not explored by other researchers in explaining male dominance in society. In the discussion this aspect is left for further research.

2.1.2.2 Other Alternative Perspectives

The conflict perspective explains gender stratification of roles as a social vehicle devised by men to ensure for themselves privileges, prestige and power in their relationship with women (Hughes et al, 2002: 273). Conflict theorists present a number of explanations of why men perpetuate gender inequality including that men lust for power over women (Bradley, 1989; Chafetz, 1990; Collier, 1988; Vogel, 1983). Some argue that the fundamental motive for gender stratification of roles is to make women available for sexual gratification or to gain economic advantages over women. This perspective blames gender inequality in society on the selfish interests of men (Hughes et al, 2002: 273).

Interactionists argue that gender is socially constructed and takes the meaning ascribed to social phenomena as the basis of change (Hughes et al, 2002: 273). This perspective argues that the use by society of traditionally masculinist terms such as ‘he’ can imply that women are less competent or less powerful compared to men and this really explains how society behaves to women to enforce gender inequality.

Feminism has also been considered. “Feminist perspectives develop understanding of gender inequality that could be used to transform society and women’s lives” (Hughes et al, 2002:275). Heinecken (2002:716) identifies a split between different feminists on gender integration in the armed forces. Radical feminists are oriented in the patriarchal
tradition ascribing the exploitation of women to men (ibid). Socialist and Marxist feminists name capitalism rather than patriarchy as the main source of women’s oppression and gender inequality in society (Haralambos and Holborn, 1995: 593).

**Conclusion**

As noted above, a single perspective, functionalism, is chosen to be tested because it reflects the explanation other researchers have offered about male-dominance in peacekeeping. Observational learning is chosen as the prime alternative explanation. I do not assume that alternative theories are exhausted. Neither do I claim that learning by observation is completely covered. Other theories are not meant for discussion for lack of supporting data.

**2:2 Related Studies**

As noted in the conceptual framework the functionalist perspective has drawn a clear line between the roles males and females play in society. The distinction made between males and females in assigning roles is based on the concept of gender differences which suggests that men and women are completely different (Hughes et al, 2002: 246). This idea of gender differences leads to gender stratification of roles and male dominance. It directly opposes gender equality or expanded participation of females in activities such as peacekeeping. Several researchers have already investigated whether males and females possess significantly different capabilities and that they should play different roles in society as the functionalists suggest. Below I review some of those research findings.

**2.2.1 Useful Laboratory Studies**

Studies reviewed in this section include those that have used purely controlled experimental and laboratory based methods with complex statistical manipulations. Others used meta-analyses of previous findings. They are useful for analysis though the method adopted for this study differs. Myers (1994:13) believes that social scientists should draw data from laboratory experiments for application to real-life social problems as gender and peace. Janet Hyde (2005:581) reviewed forty-six meta-analyses on gender differences and
concluded that males and females are similar on most psychological variables. Meta-analysis is a statistical method for aggregating research findings across many studies of the same question, providing overall estimate of all findings (Eysenck, 2004:874; Hedges and Becker, 1986). Hyde (2005) proposes “the gender similarity hypothesis” which holds that “males and females are more similar than different”. This challenges the gender differences hypothesis or the functionalist argument (ibid).

Epstein (1988), Hyde (1985) and Hyde & Plant (1995) all support the finding that males and females are similar though not the same. To proof her case Hyde (2005) clarifies that most psychological gender differences are in the close-to zero range (d<0.10) or small range (0.11<d<0.35) range of significance. A few are in the moderate range (0.36<d<0.65) and very few are in the large (d<0.66-1.00) or very large (d>1.00) ranges. From these she states that 78% of previously known gender differences are in the small or close to zero ranges of significance. This means that they are insignificant bases for gender stratification within social systems. The variables analysed in Hyde’s study are many but those related to my study are noteworthy. She found that gender differences in leadership skills, perceptual abilities and social variables fall within the insignificant range (ibid). These suggest that the potentials of males and females are not extremely different and could be integrated effectively in leadership to achieve goals in peacekeeping.

Hyde (2005) however points out that aggression and motor performance have repeatedly shown gender differences that are moderately significant in magnitude across several meta-analyses in favour of males. She cautions that the significance of gender differences in aggressive behaviour depend on the context. Whether males and females differ on any variable depends on the context or domain under consideration (Hyde, 2005:587, 588 and 590; Bussey & Bandura, 1999). Lightdale and Prentice (1994) used a process of de-individuation to demonstrate that gender differences in aggression depend on the context in which aggressive behaviour is displayed. De-individuation refers to a situation in which a person has lost his or her individual identity and has become anonymous such as in crowds

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16 The other dimension on which men and women differ significantly is sexuality which is not relevant for this study.
or mobs (Eysenck, 2004:755). The participants were assigned to an experimental group of gender mixed de-individuated persons and a control group of gender-mixed individuated persons. They were asked to throw bombs in a video game and the number of bombs thrown measured the level of aggression. In the de-individuated context the researchers found no significant gender differences in aggressive behaviours. It was though realised that women threw more bombs and showed more aggressive behaviours than men. This is useful for analysing the argument against women in combat related duties in peacekeeping.

Steele and Aronsen (1995: 797-811) found out that in a context where stereotypes exist, gender differences in performance could be created especially in the cognitive domain. Based on this they formed the stereotype threat theory which “proposes that stereotypes create self-consciousness among stereotyped group members and a fear that they will not live up to other people’s stereotypes” (Passer and Smith, 2004:620). To test that stereotypes create gender differences in performance Spencer et al (1999) conducted an experiment testing males and females with equivalent math backgrounds. In one condition, participants were told that the math test had shown gender differences in the past but the other group was told that males and females previously performed equally on it. They confirmed that a simple manipulation of context could create or erase gender differences (Hyde, 2005:589).

In another study Eagly and Crowley (1986) conducted a meta-analysis on research findings related to gender differences in helping behaviour. They found that gender differences in helping behaviour could be large or close to zero depending on the social context in which helping takes place. This suggests that it is not gender but rather social context that creates differences in helping behaviour. In a related study Eagly et al (1992) performed meta-analysis of research findings on gender differences in leadership. Others have found males as good as females in leadership (Klenke, 1996:160; Eagly et al, 1992).

Some other researchers have answered different questions directly related to gender, peace and conflict. In trying to explore if gender affects conflict resolution style, Papa and Natalie (1989) observed 108 employees and managers as they resolved a conflict situation
created for them by the researchers. Seven conflict resolution styles including bargaining, reason, friendliness, assertiveness, coalition, appeal to higher authority and use of sanctions were of interest to the researchers. After careful analysis, they found insignificant and inconsistent gender effects on conflict resolution style. Thus males and females did not differ in their choice of conflict resolution styles (Korabik et al, 1993). Ira and Bianca (1999:7) and Chusmir and Mills (1989) had similar findings.

Another issue investigated by researchers is whether the sex of a person affects the satisfaction that others have with outcomes of resolved conflicts. Jurma and Powell (1994) reported that employees were satisfied with managers who acted as “androgynous” i.e. a combination of masculinity and femininity, than those they perceived as masculine or feminine. Thus sex does not necessarily affect the satisfaction others have with resolved conflicts but rather the person’s ability to interchangeably adopt masculine or feminine postures when resolving conflict (Ira and Bianca, 1999:8). Ira and Bianca (1999) reviewed research by Heen (1996) and Halpen and Parks (1996) and had an observation suggesting that a gender mixed peacekeeping force is salient to the local population.

In a study Halpen and Parks (1996) found that females were more concerned with community integration and interpersonal relations, whereas males were more concerned with cost and liabilities. Heen (1996) also studied 19 professionals from seven countries on a negotiation course and made findings that blend with the findings by Halpen and Parks (1996) to suggest that single-sex interactions may heighten sex differences in conflict and negotiation situations. In a related study, Matheson (1991) found that participants were fairer in their negotiating behaviours when told their negotiating partners were females because they expected females to be more fair and co-operative than male negotiators (Ira and Bianca, 1999:8).
2.2.2 A Useful Case Study

In a case study of the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) Heinecken (2002) demonstrated that racial issues rather than gender probably accounts for unfavourable perceptions of the military utilization of women for peace operations (Heinecken, 2002:722). Describing the background of SANDF to form the context of her study Heinecken (2002) notes that “constitutional reforms compelled the military to acknowledge the right of women to serve in all ranks and positions including combat roles. It was made known in the study that the SANDF has a mixed racial composition of Whites, Africans, Coloured, Indians and others as a result of Apartheid.

The case study by Heinecken (2002) considered whether females of SANDF should serve in all combat specialties and the effect this may have on force cohesion, morale and operational effectiveness of the military. It was found that expanded participation of females was actually perceived to hinder overall operational effectiveness of the military. This has been a major concern in deploying personnel for among other things, peacekeeping operations (Heinecken, 2002:715). An aspect of her study was to test the perception of military officers on whether women should serve on combat roles. It was found that perceptions were slightly unfavourable as 40 percent agreed, 12 percent were unsure and 48 percent disagreed (Heinecken, 2002: 721). When military women were asked if they would like to go on frontline combat if given the chance, 75 percent of black African women, 58 percent of Coloured Women and 34 percent Whites agreed. And when asked whether deployment on combat duties should be compulsory or voluntary, 41 percent made up mainly of women with white background supported the volunteer option, 47 percent made up of mainly black women supported the compulsory option.

The researcher explains the responses with differences in racial backgrounds of the respondents noting that responses from the White Women reflected Western trends that they want to choose and not to be forced for combat assignments (ibid). Again the racial differences affected the perceptions of military personnel regarding the capabilities of women to serve on combat roles. Whereas nearly 70 percent of Whites and 63 percent of
Coloured perceived women as capable of effective combating, less than 48 percent of Blacks held that view. Again, more men (41%) than women (28%) had the perception that women did not have the capability to perform well in combat duties. This sentiment was felt most among African men than among White or Coloured men (ibid).

A general survey by the Equal Opportunities Chief Directorate of the South African Defence National Force tested if the inclusion of women in combat units could have negative impact on force cohesion, morale and operational effectiveness. The results showed that 56 percent of males and 47 percent of females supported the view that the integration of women would have detrimental effects on unit cohesion, morale and operational effectiveness. In general Africans (56 percent) felt more strongly than Whites (49 percent) that this was so (Heinecken, 2002: 722). The researcher explains the findings with a unique contextual issue within the new South African National Defence Force, namely, that the men lacked previous exposure to the military capabilities of women. Also, the researcher observes that racial issues rather than gender issues determined social and task cohesion of SANDF (ibid).

2.2.3 Conclusion on Related Studies

In all the studies reviewed so far, almost none seems to support any significant gender differences in capabilities that might be significant for effective peace operations. There seems to be context specific effects on gender differences. What is important is that the related studies reviewed reject the core assumption in the functionalist perspective that for society to function effectively, males and females must be distinguished. In the next chapter, I describe how I gathered data for my study which will later be compared with some of issues reviewed in this chapter.
CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction to Methodology

This study explores gender integration in the context of the Ghana Armed Forces in relation to participation in peacekeeping. Three specific tasks have been defined in chapter one. I try to find out the extent to which females are involved in peacekeeping. I attempt to map out how gender integration is perceived to affect operational effectiveness. And also to explore the extent to which concerns for operational effectiveness accounts for limited involvement of female personnel in peacekeeping. In this chapter I describe the simple qualitative and quantitative methods used in collecting data to answers these inter-related questions.

Quantitative research is defined as the numerical representation and manipulation of observations for the purpose of describing and explaining phenomenon (Jensen and Jankowski, 1991; Bryman, 2004). Manipulation of observations involves the use of statistical procedures to make sense of observations. On the other hand, qualitative research is the non-numerical examination of observations for the purpose of discovering underlying meanings of patterns and relationships (ibid.).

In choosing the appropriate research strategy I took into consideration the comment by King et al (1994:5) that most researches do not fit discretely into a qualitative or quantitative categories but rather some best known researchers have combined both strategies. George (1979) argues that many political scientists adopt both qualitative and quantitative methods to develop theory and knowledge. The nature of the research questions determined the kind of research strategy chosen (Yin, 1994:4-5). My study finds a trend in the involvement of females in peacekeeping and this is best answered with qualitative data (ibid). However, the assessment of perceived effect of gender equality on the ability of the military to engage in effective peace operations is instantaneous and fits quantitative survey (Yin, 1994:5).
Describing what makes a good scientific research King et al (1994:8, 9) note that the 'procedure of the research is 'public' and 'the content is the method’. Mitchell and Jolley (1996:277) explain this clearer by noting that a scientific research must be subject to replication. Thus the procedure in doing a study must be made clear to the extent that it becomes possible for interested researchers to verify the outcomes of the study. Consistent with these requirements I have taken pains to present a step by step description of the methods I followed to arrive at the outcomes in this study. To do this as accurate as possible I followed the structure provided by Mitchell and Jolley (1997:487-490) on writing the methods section of a study. This chapter presents information on among other things the ethical considerations, participants, the apparatus and materials, scoring of data and general procedure in conducting the study.

3.1 General Research Design
The design of a study is the plan and structure of investigation so as to gain answers to the research questions (Mitchell & Jolly, 1996:489). Hinkle et al (2003:496) point out that the research design must identify and control the independent variable. Yin (1994:20) notes that the design may include five important issues; the study question, propositions, unit of analysis, the logic linking data to propositions and the criteria for interpretation. Consistent with these requirements I describe the study framework.

The core of my design is to test if expanded participation of females or gender integration is perceived to hinder operational effectiveness. This is done in the context of the Ghana Armed Forces as the unit of analysis. Security Council Resolution 1325(2000) suggests the full involvement of females in all peacekeeping duties. My interest is in what is perceived to happen to the ability of the military to carry out effective peace operations if the roles of females were expanded to include all duties hitherto reserved for males. Gender integration is the independent variable in this context. I test its perceived effect on operational effectiveness being the corresponding dependent variable. The results in this survey will be enforced with qualitative data to make detail measurement decision on the

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17 I determined this in a pilot discussion with some military officers.
whole spectrum of military operations. The ultimate goal is to determine if the roles of females are limited due to concerns that their involvement may reduce operational effectiveness. Most importantly I designed this study to make practical peacekeeping experiences influence the views of respondents. Statistical manipulation is done by simply comparing favourable and unfavourable responses regarding full involvement of women in aspects of peacekeeping from which they were hitherto excluded. The second part of the design is to fit the empirical observations into the theoretical frame chosen for this thesis.

3.2 Research Validity

The combination of qualitative and quantitative strategies works for the reliability and validity of answers to the questions in this study. Most researchers refer to this way of using more than one method or source of data in the study as triangulation of methods (Bryman, 2004: 275). Patton (1990:187) notes that the shortcomings associated with one method may be compensated for by the other in a study. I therefore assembled qualitative data from multiple sources including magazines, existing literature, interviews and observations to augment the survey responses. To ensure that the study measures what it was supposed to measure (Bollen, 1989:184) I needed to control some possible extraneous variables (ibid). One factor controlled for was peacekeeping experience. The study was designed in such a manner that military personnel without peacekeeping experience and those I had preliminary contacts with did not participate in it. In the survey respondents were asked to take peacekeeping as a composite activity since peacekeeping activities may vary with time (Bellamy et al, 2004:95). They were asked to separate peacekeeping from military warfare in defence of national security.18 As will be seen later random sampling was also used to make the selection of respondents as valid as possible.

The qualitative aspect of the study was designed to trace the trend of how far gender equality has come within the context of the Ghana Armed Forces in relation to peacekeeping. This was more interactive and less controlled than the quantitative aspect. However, both approaches were designed for respondents themselves to report on their

18 Warfare may involve much more intense combat than what is the case in most peace operations.
experiences in peacekeeping. In this case, the design partly took the form of self-reporting. Parghi and Bianca (1999:3) stated that studies designed on self-reporting are suitable when the researcher is interested in perceptions and views.

3.3 Ethical Considerations
Scientific research must conform to ethical standards (Passer and Smith, 2004:55). The American Psychological Association emphasises the principle of informed consent in human research. This requires that target respondents must agree to participate in the research. This involves giving respondents prior information on what the research is all about, the procedure and possible risks that might be involved. An option to withdraw at any stage of the study must also be provided (ibid). I considered research ethics as well.

At the institutional level, I began with a formal application for permission to conduct an academic study in the military institution. The application showed full details of my intended study and this was circulated to key administrative units of the Ghana Armed Forces. In the preamble to the sample questionnaire, the interview guide and in the formal letter I spelt out my obligations and the obligations of the participants. Though in the beginning I was frustrated with a long delay in getting a feedback to my application, I realised that it was healthy to the ethical demands of my study because key administrative heads had enough time to vet and approve my study.

The application finally reached the Headquarters of Military Defence Intelligence (DI). After requesting that I should delete a question regarding the staff strength of the military, the (DI) approved the research application. It was demanded that enough time and planning must be allowed to ensure that the study reasonably represented the entire military set-up. The Directorate of Defence Intelligence (DI) then asked the Army Headquarters (Army HQ) to assist me in the rest of the research activity. The approval to do research was shown to respondents before contributing information to the study. This created a framework for my study to be focused (Passer and Smith, 2004:56). I had the opportunity to interact formally and informally with key respondents to the semi-structured interviews. For nearly
two months of interaction with personnel of GAF I observed how the military personnel reacted to male and female military officers. These would not have been possible within the military without informed consent.

3.4.0 Quantitative Research Process

A survey study is one of many ways to do quantitative research (Passer and Smith, 2004:39-41; Yin, 1994:6). In describing a survey research, Passer and Smith (2004:39-41) note that information about a topic is obtained by administering questionnaires to or conducting interviews with many people. Yin (1994:6) likens survey to opinion polls among research participants (ibid). It involves the construction of questionnaires.

3.4.1 The Pilot study and Questionnaire Construction.

The main advantage of a survey research is that it makes it possible to gather responses from a large number of respondents and especially when the focus is on a contemporary issue (Yin, 1994:6). Constructing questionnaires for such purposes must however be done cautiously. The validity of measurement must be taken into consideration. Adcock and Collier (2001:530) explain that measurement validity is achieved when scores meaningfully capture the ideas contained in the corresponding concept. Bollen (1989:184) conceives measurement validity as “whether a variable measures what it is supposed to measure”. Using the questionnaire as the main instrument in the quantitative aspect of this study meant that it must assess the issues of study interest. This is important noting that the questionnaire used was not a secondary questionnaire but a self-constructed one. Mitchell and Jolley (1996:111) suggest that a researcher must do a pilot study to test all measures on a few participants before the actual study is conducted to find consistencies and mistakes that might bias the actual study.

I have taken these standards also into consideration when constructing the questionnaires. It has been fairly straightforward to construct the questionnaires since Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) was taken as the main framework within which the questions for this study were structured. Thus the document has been in principle the standard against
which the perceptions of the research participants on the subject matter were measured. I had a pilot discussion with some officers to find out the duties in peacekeeping that women were not given fair opportunity to perform alongside men. I came out with leadership and combat-related or frontline duties. Women participate in all other duties in peacekeeping. Based on the standards of the resolution I formulated some questions.

With those questions, I held discussions with two military officers as a pilot study to restructure the questionnaires for the main study. This helped me put in terminologies that were familiar with the respondents. For instance, they preferred the use of ‘coy’ (company of soldiers) instead of group of soldiers. They also wanted to use the words men and women rather than male and female soldiers. It also helped me include useful issues that were excluded and to eliminate unnecessary contents. The questions posted were positive and focused. To help me trace consistencies and inconsistencies in the responses, a number of questions were presented more than once but with different sentences. However care was taken to avoid direct repetition of sentences which might introduce boredom and bias into the responses. In order to ensure measurement validity and to eliminate confounding variables, terms such as gender and peacekeeping that might look ambiguous to respondents were explained to them. The language in the questionnaire was simple and without negative questions.

### 3.4.2 Sampling Procedures

It is often not realistic to include everybody within the defined area as participants in the study. Thus, it is recommended that a sample of the population should be selected for the study in question instead of the entire population. Mitchell and Jolley (1996:610) define sampling as “the science of inferring the characteristics of the population from the sample”. The sample, instead of the population, provides the data on which conclusions are made (Hinkle et al, 2003:141). However, the sample must reasonably represent the population. There are several procedures for doing scientific sampling, but these are basically grouped into probability and non-probability sampling. Probability sampling gives every individual of the population an equal chance of being selected to participate in
the study (Wimmer and Dominick, 1997: 62). Probability sampling techniques are many but those used in this study include the simple random and cluster sampling. The quota sampling was also helpful though it belongs to the non-probability category. In simple random sampling all members of the population have the same chance of being selected and independent of the selection of all other members (Hinkle et al, 2003:141). Cluster sampling involves the random selection of clusters (groups) in the population instead of individuals (ibid: 145). Quota sampling ensures that the sample match the population on certain characteristics (Mitchell and Jolley, 1996:462).

Deciding which of these techniques to use at particular stages of selecting participants for this study has been carefully done though it was stressful. The military is well organized for specific tasks and this influenced how participants were selected. However, the selection process combined most of these sampling procedures instead of one. Hinkle et al (2003:145) acknowledge that social science research often involves multi-stage sampling, where one sampling procedure is used after another until the desired representative sample is derived from the population. After the research approval had been granted, the Army Headquarters was asked to help with sampling the respondents to the study. I was involved in deciding which sampling technique could be used at particular stages of sampling. The selection team decided that personnel selected must have experience from participating in peacekeeping operations and the number of male and female participants must be equal. That was to ensure validity and to eliminate intervening variables. The Defence Intelligence indicated that Army headquarters should make sure that the respondents were fairly drawn from important areas of the military set-up.

The Ghana Armed Forces basically consists of the Army, the Navy and the Air Force. Each of these has numerous sub-units but in terms of peacekeeping they all form GHANBATT. Using quota sampling, it was decided that 80%, 10% and 10% of respondents should be allocated respectively to Army, Navy and Air Force since the Army by far contributes the largest peacekeeping force. Next the military peacekeeping training centre at Bundase, a suburb of Accra was chosen as the main point where most military
personnel with the desired peacekeeping experience would be found. The sampling date was scheduled to coincide with a massive training programme for peacekeeping personnel. According to officials at the Army Headquarters, participants in the training program had been invited from the various units of the Ghana Armed Forces. This delayed the timing of the sampling process but it offered a good opportunity to get a fair representation of participants for the study. Army Chief Staff Officer (CSO) supervised the sampling. A simple random selection process was carried out to get 60% of respondents in the first attempt. A similar activity was scheduled for another training period which yielded 30% of respondents to the questionnaire. A convenience sampling technique was used to sample the remaining 10% of respondents who were persons believed to have special experiences to contribute to the study. These included persons from the Directorate of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) and others not well covered in the first sampling schedule.

3.4.3 Participants Description
In all one hundred (100) participants; fifty males and fifty females were selected to respond to the questionnaires. GAF had a large population but the desired population for this study was limited to personnel with peacekeeping experiences. Most of them were away for peacekeeping and other assignments at the time of the study. The number of females who have actually been on peacekeeping, I was told, was also very small. To have equal number of males and females with the desired experiences I wanted meant that the sample size as stated above was probably the best we could get. But since this study was designed such that interviews and other sources of data would augment the quantitative data before decisions were made, I still chose to work with the sample size granted me. However care was taken in sampling the respondents for fair representation. To do this within such a disproportionate population of males and females meant that some formula must be used (Mitchell and Jolly, 1996:459). The Army headquarters determined how respondents were selected since the Directorate of Defence Intelligence denied me access to the total number of males and females in the military. Participants had a mean age of forty-two (42) years and an average peacekeeping experience of three (3) trips.

\[\text{Data from these participants were augmented by interview with ten top-officers to arrive at findings in the study.}\]
3.4.4 Procedure for Questionnaire Administration

Having constructed the questionnaires and the participants selected, the next step was to do the actual administration of the questionnaires. Eysenck (2004:741) notes that people tend to behave differently when in groups due to group polarisation. It was more likely for participants to respond in socially acceptable ways instead of giving independent views if the questionnaires were administered in groups. To reduce the extent to which social desirability could bias the study, participation was individually based (Passer & Smith, 2004:36, 41). Questionnaires were given as take home assignments to respondents. A time span of two weeks was originally allowed for respondents to hand in the answered questionnaires into a box stationed at the Army Headquarters.

Respondents were asked to strictly follow the instructions in the preamble to the questionnaires which required respondents not to provide any personal information such as names or residential numbers which might serve to show personal identities. This was done to satisfy the ethical requirement that the identity of individual research participants and information provided must be held confidential (Sternberg, 2004:55; Eysenck, 2004:881-882). The research assistant, also a military person, was prepared to be contacted by respondents in case they needed clarifications on some issues. Respondents were reminded to focus on normal peacekeeping experiences and not actual warfare.

3.4.5 Scoring the Quantitative responses

The questionnaires were constructed mostly on interval scale to show continuity in response options as a requirement for quantitative data manipulation (Hinkle et al 2003:11). For example, a typical question asked how participants would agree if a male or female was selected to lead a peace operation. A five-point response scale had strongly agreed, agreed, uncertain, disagreed and strongly disagreed as the options. Depending on how consistent the responses fitted into favourable, unfavourable and uncertain categories they were tabulated into raw scores to be tested with a Chi Square for statistical significance. The special comments after the response options also played significant roles in determining which category a respondent belonged.
3.5.0 The Qualitative Process
This study is designed in such a manner that responses from the quantitative aspects would be validated by qualitative findings before taking decisions. A case study derives evidences from many different sources (Sternberg, 2004:43; Yin, 1994, 13). The sources of data in this study have been quite extensive. Much of the qualitative data was derived from the same questionnaires used for quantitative analysis. Others were based on interviews, personal observations, magazines, newspapers and policy documents. Most documents were obtained in hard copy, while others were downloaded from the internet.

3.5.1 The Interview Guide and In-depth Interviews
According to Rubin and Rubin (1995:43) the researcher listens to and hears the meaning of data by way of interviews. Mitchell and Jolley (1996:442-443) indicate that in-depth interviews provide detailed and rich answers to the questions. In-depth interviews provide so much flexibility that the researcher could depart significantly from schedules and ask interesting questions emanating from interviewees’ responses (ibid). Semi-structured interview guides were constructed through the same process used to construct the questionnaires. The interview guide was drafted and submitted together with the questionnaires to the Directorate of Defence Intelligence for approval. It must be mentioned here that the qualitative aspect of this study has much in common with the quantitative aspect. The interview guide was based on the questionnaires. However, the questions were made open for discussing issues raised in the questionnaires.

In this study, direct interview, interview by proxy and telephone interviews were used. In all, ten (10) military officers were identified for interviews. These included five females and five males. Participants were drawn from the Directorates of Peacekeeping Operations, Personnel Administration (PA), Education, Air Force, Army Headquarters (Army HQ), Navy, Pay Office, Signals, Legal Directorate and the Infantry. For ethical considerations, the identities of respondents are withheld. However, they were nominated on the basis of having rich experiences to clarify issues and to contribute technicalities to the research. They were key informants to the study. The nomination was done in collaboration with
officers at the Personnel Administration (PA), Army HQ and Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPKTC) in Accra. Letters were written and attached to copies of the research clearance issued by the Defence Intelligence (DI). After circulating the letters among those nominated, most of them were able to fix interview appointments with me. I made sure to stick to the schedules. Two persons who could not allow an interview schedule in time were re-scheduled for interview with the research assistant on my behalf. In both cases, the same interview guide drafted by the researcher and approved by Defence Intelligence was used. Due to the distance between Ghana and Norway, telephone interview and e-mails were used to mop up some details that needed clarification. Apart from the interviews the same questionnaires from which quantitative statistics were derived had provisions for qualitative data. The questionnaires had normative questions and response options such as yes or no. No numerical scoring was done on such responses. They were simply treated as raw normative observations. Again there were spaces for respondents to explain why they chose certain responses. These provisions made it possible for respondents to express their personal views and rich experiences which were useful for qualitative assessments.

3.5.2 Document Analyses

Most of the generic data used for this study were derived from existing documents. Some of the documents were magazines, journals and published books. CEDAR, the Ghanaian contingent’s quarterly news magazine published by the Public Relations Detachment of GHANBATT, has been very useful. Information was derived from the internet especially data from the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations. Documents of the Ministry of Women and Children Affairs (Ghana) and the Ghanaian constitution were used.

3.5.3 Personal Observations

A qualitative study also involves some elements of naturalistic observations, meaning that the researcher observes behaviour as it occurs in a natural setting (Eysenck, 2004:8; Passer& Smith, 2004:39). For nearly two months I was at Burma Camp, the Headquarters of the Ghana Armed Forces interacting informally with the soldiers and officers. I was
particularly interested in observing how male soldiers would respond to the presence of female military officers. I was interested in knowing whether the male and female soldiers would change the way they recognised the presence of a male or female senior officer. This helped me form an impression of what may happen if a female officer was to lead in peace operations. I was also looking for how the male soldiers were behaving towards their female counterparts. This also gave me some insight into what will happen to force cohesion if a coy deployed in peacekeeping was composed of both male and female soldiers. I was observing the armed female soldiers at sentry duty posts. On several occasions I went through specific duty posts trying to interact with female soldiers at post. Most observations confirmed the responses provided in the questionnaires.

3.4.4 Making Sense of the Qualitative Data
Scores from the questionnaires were standardised and easy to manipulate. However, making sense of qualitative data involved identification of significant patterns and construction of framework for communicating the essence of what the data tells about the study (Patton, 1990: 371-2). Doing this was a real challenge especially when it involved massive amounts of data from different sources (ibid). Univariate analysis is usually recommended in such situations. This is the analysis of one variable at a time (Bryman, 2004: 227). I was interested in looking into two specific variables; leadership and combat related duties. Fixing the research within that framework helped me to isolate the significant responses to put weight on the quantitative data derived above.

3.5.5 Problem Encountered and Solution
The main problem encountered in collecting data for my research relates to delays in getting approval for the study. Further it took me a long time to establish the necessary contacts with key respondents to the study, who were all busy military officers with management responsibilities. The questionnaires took several months to be completed. The delays, however, worked rather well for the validity of the study, because it offered me enough time to interact with the military officers. Delays were beyond my control and there was little I could do in terms of suggesting solutions except to wait for instructions.
3.5.6 Conclusion on Methodology

This chapter presented the step-by-step description of the methods used in collecting data for this study. It was noted that the research combined qualitative and quantitative methods. In view of the fact that any research method has its own advantages and disadvantages, the combined methodology made it possible to offset the shortcomings usually associated with single method studies. The quantitative aspect enabled me to identify what could be defined as a trend in the perception among the peacekeeping personnel regarding gender integration in peacekeeping activities. The qualitative aspect provided detailed information to throw more light on the quantitative responses. For instance the officers interviewed for the study explained matters in more details.
CHAPTER FOUR: THE GHANA ARMED FORCES IN CONTEXT

4.0 Introduction to the Context
In trying to identify a trend in perceptions regarding the involvement of women in all aspects of peacekeeping, I considered that perceptions may not exist or change in a vacuum but be influenced by the context (Hyde, 2005). The context within which the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF) operates therefore matters in this study. This chapter is divided into two sections; the national and international contexts. Section one provides some short accounts of factors within the Ghanaian society at large that are likely to influence the perceptions within the Ghana Armed Forces regarding gender equality and peace operations. Section two of this chapter gives a brief review of the changing nature of peacekeeping and conceptual developments internationally – including gender mainstreaming – that are likely to have similar influence on perceptions among Ghanaian peacekeepers regarding gender equality and peace operations.

4.1. The National Context
The national context provides some factors which are unique to Ghanaians and the Ghana Armed Forces in particular. In the national context I look at Ghana at a glance and government initiatives on gender equality. Women and gender equality in the formal sector as well as gender issues in the traditional sector are considered. The formation and background of the Ghana Armed Forces, their participation in peacekeeping as well as women in the Armed Forces are presented as well.

4.1.1 Ghana at a Glance
A West African State, Ghana borders the Gulf of Guinea, Cote d’Ivoire, Togo and Burkina Faso. Ghana has a total land and water area of 239,460 square kilometres. Currently the Ghanaian population is approximately twenty-one million (21m) with an annual population growth rate of 1.25%. In economic terms, Ghana is relatively poor. The 2005 estimate of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was $51.8 billion, GDP per capita income of $2500 and

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20 Economic figures derived from CIA Fact book-Ghana at http://www.indexmundi.com/g/
real GDP growth rate of 4.3%. Inflation rate was estimated in 2005 at 15%, a 1999 Gini index of 30 and unemployment rate of 20% as at 1997. In terms of literacy, the 2003 estimate puts 74.8% of the total population as literate. There is a slight gender gap in literacy with 82.7% of males against 67.1% of females being literate. Ghana is multi-religious with Christians dominating.²¹

In military terms, the minimum age at which a Ghanaian is accepted into the military is 18 years. The 2005 national statistics estimates that 250,782 males reach the military age annually. More than four million (4,761,222) males are available for military service and 2,721,239 are estimated in 2005 as fit for military service.²² In 2004, Ghana budgeted for military expenditures at $49.2 million. This figure was 0.6% of National Gross Domestic Product. This low expenditure on the military has implications for peacekeeping.²³

Politically, Ghana practices constitutional democracy. On 6th March 1957, Ghana, then Gold Coast, became the first country in colonial Africa to gain independence.²⁴ As will be seen in the discussion, events surrounding Ghana’s premiership to African independence have implications for gender equality and peacekeeping. The Ghanaian Constitution recognizes a president who also is the Commander-in Chief of the Ghana Armed Forces. Since 1981 Ghana has been stable in political terms. Ten years after independence the first president of Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah was overthrown in 1966. Several of such political unrests occurred until 1981 when the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council led by Flt Lt Jerry John Rawlings took over the administration of the state. In 1992 Ghana returned to constitutional rule and has since not witnessed military take over.²⁵

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²² Economic figures derived from CIA Fact book-Ghana at http://www.indexmundi.com/g/
²³ This will be treated in details in the discussion aspect of the study.
²⁴ See Nneka’s peace corps adventure in Ghana at http://pennstatepeanut.tripod.com/id11.html
²⁵ The experiences of the Ghana Armed Forces in the previous political unrests and the length of internal peace after 1981, have much to tell about Ghana’s role in peacekeeping. This is treated in details in the discussion chapter.
4.1.2 The Ghanaian Government and Gender Equality

I) A major step the Government of Ghana has taken to promote gender equality was that it has set the legislative basis for it in the National Constitution. Article (17) clause (1) of The 1992 Ghanaian Constitution states that “all persons shall be equal before the law”. Clause (2) goes further to specify that “a person shall not be discriminated against on grounds of gender...” ‘Discrimination’ as used in the constitution is explained in clause (3) of the same article referring to the situation where different treatment is given to different persons attributable only or mainly to their respective description by gender...” State institutions, including the Armed Forces, are guided by the Ghanaian Constitution in matters concerning the rights and status of women.

II) Another major political initiative to strengthen gender equality in the Ghanaian society was the establishment of the Ministry of Women and Children’s Affairs (MOWAC) in January 2001. MOWAC is the Ghana National Women’s Machinery (NWM) to address issues on women’s advancement. This ministry is backed by the Executive Instrument (EI 18) of 26th October 2001 Civil Service Instrument of Ghana. The mission of this ministry includes the formulation and monitoring of gender and child specific policies and guidelines for all identifiable institutions namely; government ministries, departments and agencies including the Ministry of Defence. It works in collaboration with the United Nations, NGOs and other institutions interested in gender issues.

The ministry has drawn a Strategic Plan of Action (SPA) in line with the National Gender and Children’s Policy. This is aimed at mainstreaming gender issues into the national development processes. In drawing the strategic plan of action MOWAC took into consideration the international standards on gender. The Beijing Declaration and Platform of Action and Beijing +5 and +10 Outcome Documents and Political Declarations form part of such standards. The United Nations Convention on the Elimination of all forms of

26 Full details of their mission and activities www.mowac.gov.gh
27 The UN defines NWM as ‘a single body or complex organized system of bodies recognized by the government as the institution dealing with the promotion of the status of women’ (ibid).
28 Ibid
Discrimination against Women is another. MOWAC is further guided by the International Millennium Development Goal of promoting gender equality and empowerment of women. On October 29, 2004, the Government launched the National Gender and Children’s Policy drawn by MOWAC. During the launch the government made it known that it has achieved 50% of female representation in the National District Assemblies. MOWAC provides regular progress reports to the UN on Ghanaian policy for the enhancement of gender equality.

III) Among the most significant initiatives of the Ghanaian Government to enhance the status of women in the society was the establishment of the Women and Juvenile Unit (WAJU) in 1988. WAJU is a constitutional structure attached to the Ghana Police Force to protect the rights of women and children against all forms of abuse and discrimination. WAJU is mandated to investigate and prosecute issues of discrimination, rape, torture and violence against women and children. Though the activities of WAJU may not be seen as direct advocacy of gender equality it improves public view of women and their rights. WAJU works in collaboration with women’s NGOs and gender advocacy institutions.

IV) Women NGOs. Non-governmental organizations have been instrumental in the process of mainstreaming gender equality into national programmes. In September 1995, the Ex-First Lady, Nana Konadu Agyemang-Rawlings led a Ghanaian delegation to the Beijing Conference on ‘Equality, Development and Peace’ held in Beijing, China. Soon after the conference, the 31st December Women’s Movement (DWM) a women’s NGO under the presidency of the Ex-First Lady, intensified campaigns for gender equality throughout Ghana. DWM played an influential role in incorporating gender concerns into the Ghana National Poverty Reduction Strategy as indicated in a case study by The German Development Institute (GDI). Presently many women NGOs operate in Ghana.

29 Visit www.ghanapolice.org/waju for more information of WAJU.
30 GDI, Integrating Gender into the National Poverty Reduction Strategies
4.1.3 Women and Gender Equality in the Formal Sector

In the Ghanaian political history more than ninety (90) women have served as Ministers and Deputy Ministers from the time of independence to the year 2005. Data presented by the Worldwide Guide to Women in Leadership shows that no woman has ever served as Minister or Deputy Minister at the ministry of Defence. However, a woman Gloria Akuffo (2000-2005) served as the Deputy Minister of Justice and Attorney General. As of March 2006 Ghana has about fifteen women serving as Ministers and Deputy Ministers. There are women as heads of departments in the Ghana Armed Forces as well. Since 2001 Ghana promotes girls education through the Ghana Education Trust Fund.

4.1.4 Gender Issues in the Ghanaian Traditional Sector

Ghana is a multi-ethnic state with about six major ethnic groups. The Akans make up the largest ethnic group in Ghana (Schott and Henley, 1996:250). Akans constitute 44% of the total Ghanaian population. This ethnic group traditionally practices maternal inheritance (Quisumbing et al, 2001:60). This implies that children trace their lineage to and inherit properties from the maternal uncle. In a study in 2004 by the International Food Policy Research Institute, gender discrimination in wealth transfers including land ownership within the Akan region of Ghana has been fairly small. Akans more likely make up the largest work force of Ghana and the Ghana Armed Forces. Most personnel of the Ghana Armed Forces likely have cultural backgrounds that de-emphasise male dominance. Non-Akan ethnic groups practice patrilineal inheritance (Quisumbing et al, 2001:60). These trace lineage to the paternal family and make men dominant in family.

4.1.5 Formation and Background of the Ghana Armed Forces

The history of the Ghana Armed Forces is traced to the Portuguese militia before the Dutch took over the administration of the Gold Coast, now Ghana, in 1637. For purposes of simplicity, events during British Colonial Administration are noted here. Before 6th March

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31 See data at www.guide2womenleaders.com/Ghana.htm
32 All five women interviewed for this study have management responsibilities in the Ghana Armed Forces.
33 See www.ghan.gov.gh/studying/education
34 See www.ifpri.org/divs/fcnd/dp/papers
1957 when Ghana gained independence from British rule, the Gold Coast Constabulary (GCC)\(^{35}\) was the state military apparatus. In the military history of the Gold Coast, it was a woman, Yaa Asantewaa, who first led an armed uprising against the British colonial administration.\(^{36}\) The Yaa Asantewaa war led to the formation of the West African Frontier Force (WAFF) in 1901 by the British Colonial Administration. The Gold Coast Constabulary was amalgamated with other military units in the British colonies to form the WAFF. WAFF was a regular military unit established to defend the British Colonial frontiers (Aboagye, 1999:1, 28). The Ghana Military Force was formed from the Gold Coast Constabulary and was structured after British regular units (ibid).

At independence, the Ghana Military Force was to maintain internal security, defend the sovereign and territorial integrity of Ghana and also to take part in regional and international peace operations subject to national objectives (Aboagye, 1999:1; 28). The 1992 Constitution of Ghana extended these roles to include assistance in national development and the provision of disaster relief and humanitarian assistance during national disasters (ibid, 31). The Army has six combat units organized from the 1 Infantry Battalions to the 6 Infantry Battalion. There are several combat support units. The Ghana Air Force and the Ghana Navy were established in May 1959 and June 1959 respectively as allied services to the Ghana Army. These together form the Ghana Armed Forces.

### 4.1.6 The Ghana Armed Forces and International Peace Operations

For centuries before independence Ghana (Gold Coast) was under British Colonial Rule. In 1945, Dr Kwame Nkrumah, organized the Pan-African Conference in Manchester, England\(^{37}\). Pan-Africanism was meant to restore Independence to all African States. Events following this led to Ghana becoming the first black African state to gain independence from colonial rule in 1957. Historical accounts have it that Dr. Kwame Nkrumah had a plan to rule the entire African continent. He said in 1957 “the independence of Ghana was

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\(^{35}\) The constabulary, earlier called the Gold coast Regiment, amalgamated with other West Coast Units to form the West African Frontier Force (Aboagye, 1999:1).

\(^{36}\) Yaa Asantewaa (1900-1901) was a Queen Mother of the Asantes, the largest ethnic group in Ghana. Her war is remarkable in the Ghanaian history.

\(^{37}\) See www.worldwrite.org.uk/ghanahistory.html 26/02/06
meaningless unless it led to the total liberation of the entire African continent”. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah thought Ghana had the primary responsibility for peacekeeping on the African Continent (Aboagye, 1999:1). This began a historical trend of extra commitment of the Ghana Armed Forces to peacekeeping operations (ibid).

The Ghana Armed Forces began participation in United Nations Peacekeeping in 1960.\(^{38}\) GHANBATT\(^{39}\) contributed a total of 8,800 troops to the United Nations Operations in the Congo (July 1960 – June 1964). This was 44% of 19,928 being the peak number of troops contributed by over thirty-five (35) countries (Aboagye, 1999:270). Before the United Nations began deploying troops to Congo in 1960, Ghana had already dispatched soldiers in an operation named ‘Operation Full Cock’ to begin peacekeeping in Congo (ibid, 273; UN Info Centre, 2000:3). Ghana and Senegal were the only African countries which participated in the Second United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF II) in the Sinai, Egypt from October 1973 to July 1979 (Aboagye, 1999:275). UNEF II was established to supervise a ceasefire between Israel and Egypt. It stabilized the Suez Canal and Sinai, supervised disengagements of forces and formed buffer zones. Ghana contributed 11 battalions with 8,862 men. A Ghanaian General Erskine served as a commander in UNEF II (UN Info Centre, 2000: 5). Ghana has been part of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon since 1978. General Erskine and Major General Seth K.Obeng all had commanding responsibilities in UNIFIL. By the year 2000, about 45, 496 Ghanaian soldiers had served under UNIFIL (UN Info Centre, 2000: 5).

Ghana contributed considerably to ECOWAS Monitoring Group and the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) from 1990 to 1999. During these operations, Ghanaian soldiers took responsibilities for disarming militants, rescue and escorting operations as well as delivering humanitarian supplies. Ghana was a major player in ECOMOG in Sierra Leone as well. Ghana Contributed 3,359 soldiers and 283 police personnel to the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC 1992–

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\(^{38}\) To be revisited in-depth in the contextual background in later pages.

\(^{39}\) Ghana Battalion (GHANBATT) refers to Ghanaian military contingents in peace operations.
1993). The UNTAC mandate involved human rights, military and civil administration, policing, repatriation, electoral assistance and mine-clearing (ibid).

From 1993 to 1996, Ghana contributed more than half of the total troops to the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda, (UNAMIR). In the heat of the genocide in Rwanda when all participating troops withdrew, Ghana was the only country which kept her troops to continue the peacekeeping operation (UN Info Centre, 2000: 9). The Ghanaian troops were left alone protecting the airport, treating the injured, doing mass burials, protecting the displaced and delivering humanitarian assistance. They suffered casualties and had little resources but prevailed until calm was restored to Rwanda (ibid).

For over four decades Ghana participated in other peacekeeping operations both in the sub-region and beyond. The peacekeeping experiences indicate that the Ghanaian soldiers played several roles including humanitarian services, border patrols, ceasefire monitoring, disarmaments, electoral assistance, command responsibilities and several other functions. What has been the place of women – or female peacekeepers - in all these endeavors?

4.1.7 Women in the Ghana Armed Forces
The first woman was accepted into the Ghana Armed Forces on January 1 1958. She was a female nurse. Hitherto military activities of the Ghana Armed Forces were strictly male affairs (Aboagye, 1999:72). In 1964 the first President of Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, took an important step to promote gender equality in the Armed Forces by establishing the Directorate of Women’s Auxiliary Corps (WAC). This unit was named after the first Ghanaian female warrior, Yaa Asantewaa, and was designed to take charge of women’s affairs in the Armed Forces. Structured after the Women’s Royal Auxiliary Corps (WRAC) in the United Kingdom, WAC was designed to increase the representation of women in the Ghana Armed Forces. In a statement before a presidential trip in 1966 president Nkrumah was quoted as saying “when I return, I want to see the Women’s Auxiliary Corps as I see the Army, the Navy and the Air Force” (ibid, 227). He was overthrown by the Armed Forces when he was still on that trip. Following his overthrow the Women’s Auxiliary
Corps was disbanded from the Ghana Armed Forces and no effort has since been made to create a women’s desk in the Ghana Armed Forces (ibid). Between 1958 and 1964, the few women accepted into the Armed Forces were nurses (ibid, 73). Women of other ranks were accepted in January 1964 as telephonists and signalers. Presently women serve in support services in almost all units except in the Infantry.

Female personnel of the Ghana Armed Forces did not participate in peacekeeping until November 1984 when the first female soldier, a nurse, participated in the United Nations peace operations in Lebanon (UNIFIL). She served with GHANBATT 23 (Aboagye, 1999). The participation of women in peace operations was banned in 1986 and resumed in late 1994 with the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) peace operations. In 1994 Ghana sent a gender-mixed infantry company of rifle soldiers to serve in the refugee camps with UNAMIR (Hudson, 2005:115). Statistics from the United Nations Department for Peacekeeping Operations (UNDPKO) shows that Ghana contributed 107 female military personnel for peace operations in 2005. The largest number of females deployed for a single peace operation was fifty two (52). They served with GHANBATT 61 in UNIFIL operations from November 2004 to May 2005 (CEDAR, 2005:17).

4.2 The International Context

The Ghanaian contribution to peacekeeping happens within an international context. Developments and initiatives in the international scene are thus likely to influence the way GHANBATT personnel view gender integration in peacekeeping activities. A few of such developments and initiatives are reviewed below.

4. 2.1 The International Legislative Framework for Gender Equality

The 1995 Beijing conference is one of the landmark international initiatives to promote gender equality in peace processes. It was mostly through the hard work of women that the international community began taking steps to improve the status of women to that of their male counterparts (Stiehm, 2002:42). The climax of major efforts to promote gender

40 Ghanaian Female soldiers are affectionately called Yaa Asantewaa in peacekeeping circles (CEDAR, 2005:17).
equality in relation to peace and security was the adoption of Security Council Resolution 1325 on 31 October 2000 (Olsson and Tryggestad, 2002:2). Further, the promotion of gender equality and empowerment of women is also one of the International Millennium Development Goals.\textsuperscript{41} Currently there are only two women serving as heads of mission out of the 17 ongoing peacekeeping operations.\textsuperscript{42} Some member states of the UN have launched action plans for the implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000), or are in the process of developing such plans.\textsuperscript{43} Most of these states have traditionally been strong supporters of the UN and peacekeeping operations.

### 4.2.2. Changing Nature of Peacekeeping

In the introduction to this study an explanation of the concept of peacekeeping was attempted. Peacekeeping usually changes form to suit what a particular mission aims to achieve (UN, 2002:74-75; Bellamy et al, 2004:2; Diehl, 1994:1). It forms part of the international management of politically violent conflicts and is meant to “change the direction of the flow of conflict events (Wallensteen, 2002:76). It is one of instruments at the disposal of the United Nations for the promotion of peace (Boutros-Ghali, 1992:3).

Bellamy et al (2004:5-6) identify five forms of peacekeeping similar to that of William Durch (1997:8). Traditional peacekeeping takes place in the space between ceasefire agreements and political settlement of disputes. It works on the consent of the feuding factions and deals impartially with the parties and strictly limits the use of military force. It may include activities such as physical inter-positioning of peacekeepers between conflicting factions, patrol of buffer zones, de-militarization and monitoring of compliance. When peacekeeping aims at managing processes of change from violence to stable peace such as the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (1991-1993) (UNTAC) it becomes managing transitions as peacekeeping (Bellamy et al 2004:111-127).

\textsuperscript{41} See [www.unmillenniumproject.org/goals](http://www.unmillenniumproject.org/goals)

\textsuperscript{42} For more information see the homepage of the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom [www.peacewomen.org/un/pkwatch](http://www.peacewomen.org/un/pkwatch)

\textsuperscript{43} Norway launched her Action Plan on 8\textsuperscript{th} March 2006 and is among the first states to do so. See [http://odin.dep.no/ud](http://http://odin.dep.no/ud) for more details.
Sometimes peacekeeping may aim at promoting security and peace in situations of actual conflict. This is often referred to as chapter 61/2 peacekeeping because it combines the pacific provisions in chapter six and the enforcement provisions in chapter seven of the UN charter. This form of peacekeeping like that of The United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR1993-1994) is wider peacekeeping (ibid, 129-145). The peacekeeping may comprise of humanitarian assistance as well.

As recommended in the Brahimi Report Peacekeeping may take the form of peace enforcement as provided for in Article 41 and Article 42 of Chapter VII of the UN Charter. These respectively recommend the use of economic and military sanctions to enforce the will of the Security Council in keeping peace in particular conflict situation (Boutros-Ghali, 1992:24-25) Military force could be authorised to restore international peace and security, enforce sanctions and protect personnel in peacekeeping operations. It protects innocent civilians and humanitarian service personnel as it happened with the United Nations Operations in Congo (ONUC1960-1964) (Bellamy et al 2004:147-164). Peacekeeping often takes a multi-faceted form of peace support operations (PSOs) which combine robust military force with significant civilian component (ibid, 165). These involve an extensive expansion of peacekeeping functions to include civilian policing, institution building, infrastructure reconstruction and national reconciliation (ibid).

**Conclusion on the Context**

Issues within the local and international context of the Ghana Armed Forces that are likely to influence the way gender integration in peacekeeping is perceived, have been reviewed. Among these it has been emphasised that peacekeeping often changes form into multi-dimensional activities in which the military may take part in diverse activities with the use of force regulated. In the next chapter, I present the results for this study in which some of the issues raised in this chapter are revisited at fitting places.
CHAPTER FIVE: PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

5.0 Introduction to the Findings
As referred to in chapter one UN SC Resolution 1325 (2000) has been the point of departure for this study. According to this resolution the experiences of both men and women are required at all levels so as to improve the outcome of peace processes. The problem identified for this study was that most military institutions still do not expand the role of women in peacekeeping operations. I designed this study to look into this situation in the context of the Ghana Armed Forces. This chapter presents the study findings.

Mitchell and Jolley (1996:496) suggest that the result section of a study should give the reader a quick idea of what the researcher has found out and whether the hypotheses were supported. To do this effectively, it is suggested that the way responses were analysed into results must be shown (ibid). It must indicate what statistical tests were used for analyses, why they must be used and what happens after using them. Some statistical summaries on actual scores such as means and percentages may be included to make the analysis clear (ibid). In the design section, it was outlined that the study looks specifically at expanding the participation of females in leadership and frontline duties for peacekeeping. Presentation of the results follows a pattern; I first present and expand the main finding in quantitative terms and use qualitative data to throw more light on it.

5.1 The Main Findings
For the quantitative aspect of this study, I predicted that ‘there would be significant differences in perception among personnel of the Ghana Armed Forces on how gender integration may affect operational effectiveness in peacekeeping’. The corresponding null hypothesis tested was that ‘there would be no differences in perception among GAF personnel on how gender integration may affect operational effectiveness in peacekeeping’. The research hypothesis was put in a non-directional form considering the nature of the problem under investigation. The literature available and the focus of the study were also considered in setting the hypothesis to make measurement flexible and
fair. As noted in the methodology responses were coded into favourable, unfavourable and uncertain categories. A Chi Square based on a one sample case was used to test for statistical significance of the differences between these categories. The Chi Square was used particularly because the final observations were put in normative categories in line with my objectives (Hinkle et al, 2004: 546). This helped me to avoid possible violations of the assumptions of normality and homogeneity of variances for complex parametric tests (ibid). The result supported my proposition as is illustrated below.

Table1: Chi Square Computation of Overall Perceived Effect of Gender Integration on Operational Effectiveness in Peacekeeping

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Overall Responses</th>
<th>Observed Freq. (O)⁴⁴</th>
<th>Expected Freq. (E)⁴⁵</th>
<th>O-E</th>
<th>(O-E)²</th>
<th>(O-E)²/E</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Favourable</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>33.33</td>
<td>23.67</td>
<td>560.27</td>
<td>16.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unfavourable</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>33.33</td>
<td>-1.33</td>
<td>1.77</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncertain</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>33.33</td>
<td>-22.33</td>
<td>498.63</td>
<td>14.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square Formula used in deriving the values above: \( X^2 = \sum \frac{(E-O)^2}{E} \)⁴⁶

Table 1: \( X^2 \) Observed Value = 31.82; \( X^2 \) Crit. Value = 5.99; d/f (k-1) =2; &=.05. \( X^2 \) Observed Value = 31.82 > \( X^2 \) Critical Value = 5.99 at .05 level of significance with 2 d/f. The Chi Square value observed was significantly greater in statistical terms than the Chi Square critical value. This means that the difference between favourable, unfavourable and uncertain perceptions regarding gender integration in military peacekeeping was too large to be attributed to chance fluctuations. The null hypothesis was rejected in favour of the research hypothesis.

⁴⁴ The observed frequencies are the overall observations made after categorizing responses in the quantitative data into frequencies of favorable, unfavorable and uncertain perceptions of gender integration in peacekeeping.
⁴⁵ The nature of the null hypothesis gave the categories equal expected frequencies. 3/100 (sample size) = 33.33
⁴⁶ Computation of Chi Square value was based on formula adopted from Hinkle et al (2003:547). The formula was adopted because my data needed a direct computation of one sample case and did not demand a two by two Chi Square table.
Hinkle et al (2003:552) caution that “a significant Chi Square ($X^2$) value does not specify which variable category has been major contributor to the statistical significance. The appropriate action recommended is to compute the Standardized Residual (R) with Formula: $R = \frac{O - E}{\sqrt{E}}$ (Hinkle et al, 2003:552).

Residual values greater than 2.00 are the major contributors to the statistical significance (ibid). Computations for the categories ‘favourable’, ‘unfavourable’ and ‘uncertain’ yielded Standard Residual Values (R) of 4.10, -0.23 and -0.25 respectively. This shows that the category for favourable responses has been the major contributor to the statistical significance of the Chi Square computations since its R value (4.10) exceeds 2.00 (Hinkle et al, 2003:552). The categories for unfavourable and uncertain responses were not significant in statistical terms since the (R) value for each of them was less than 2.00. The pie chart below throws more light on this result.

![Pie Chart](image)

**Fig 1: Pie Chart for Overall Perceived Effect of Gender Integration on Operational Effectiveness in Peacekeeping**

The pie chart shows that 57% of respondents supported the integration of women in combat and leadership duties in peacekeeping. On the other hand 32 % of total respondents did not support this position and 11% of total number of respondents was uncertain about
whether women should be integrated in leadership and combat duties in peace operations. This implies that if women were given leadership and combat responsibilities in peace operations, it is not perceived to have any significant negative effects on the ability of the military to engage effectively in peacekeeping. This finding does not support what other researchers have emphasised in explaining why the military remains male-dominated. Heinecken (2002:716) emphasizes that the motivation for limiting the roles of women in military operations stems mainly from concerns that the expanded integration of women will affect operational effectiveness as observed in the South African National Defence Force. Segal (1995: 758) also notes that many people are of the view that “for women to participate in the military either the military has to be perceived as transformed to make it more compatible with how women are or women have to be perceived as changing in ways that make them seemingly suitable for military service”. The result did not reveal so.

The difference in what I found and what other researchers emphasised may be explained in different ways. As suggested by Skjelsbaek and Smith (2001:8) and Segal (1995) my study considers for practical experiences in peacekeeping and objectivity to find out if females empirically differ from males in carrying out essential peacekeeping duties. The statements of the other researchers were generalized and did not specify which duties in the military are most difficult to be assigned to women. My study specifically looked at leadership and combat duties for peace operations. Leadership and combat duties in peacekeeping were found in my interviews to be the only areas of operation where the involvement of female personnel of the Ghana Armed Forces is limited. The difference might also be due to change in context. The factors in the context of the Ghana Armed Forces as described in chapter four may differ from those of other military institutions. The finding suggests that concerns for operational effectiveness may not be so important in assigning personnel of the Ghana Armed Forces to peacekeeping duties.

The above observation suggests that respondents did not perceive significant gender difference in capabilities in peacekeeping. In other words they suggest that in an environment of peacekeeping, males and females possess comparable capabilities.
Researchers such as Hyde (2005:587, 588, 590) as well as Bussey & Bandura (1999) all give support in one way or the other to the result arrived at in my study. Hyde (2005:581) reviewed forty-six meta-analyses on gender differences and concluded that males and females are similar on most, but not all, psychological variables. Epstein (1988), Hyde (1985) and Hyde & Plant (1995) are some researchers who made previous statements consistent with the findings that males and females are more similar than different. Respondents have shown better perception of gender integration in leadership duties than in combat-related duties.

**Fig (II) Bar chart showing participants’ view on how females may be integrated in leadership and combat duties in peacekeeping**

Figure II above reveals the following observations. Seventy percent (70%) of respondents were optimistic that women could take leadership duties in peace operations. Only 20% of respondents did not take this position and as low as 10% of respondent were uncertain of whether women should be given leadership positions or not. In terms of including women on combat duties, 44% of respondents were sure that this will not have any negative effects on the ability of the military to defend itself during peace operations. Another 44% of respondents did not favour women in combat responsibilities and 12% were uncertain.
Some differences in response also occurred between men and women regarding the assignment of women to military combat and leadership duties in peacekeeping. Below I present an overview of these variations in pictorial forms. The differences have not been put to statistical tests of significance since gender variation on those parameters has not been key factor I sought to examine. They form part of unexpected results for discussion.

**Fig. III Gender Variations in Support for Gender Integration in Combat duties in Peacekeeping**

**Fig. IV Gender Variations in Support for Gender Integration in Leadership duties in Peacekeeping**
Fig III above shows that 30% of males were optimistic that females could be effective in combat duties if they were given the same training and motivation like males. 58% of males disagreed that females should be included on combat duties and 12% of males are neutral. In sharp contrast, 68% of females were optimistic that they could be effective in combat duties as their male counterparts if they were given the training and motivation.

In terms of gender equality in leadership roles Figure IV shows that 54% of males and 88% of females perceived no differences in the ability of the military to engage effectively in peace operations if qualified women were given leadership roles. By this they among other things agreed that military leadership in peace operations should be opened to females as well. They did not perceive the gender of the leader to have any negative effects on their motivation and efficiency in peace operation. Further they were ready to respect the authority of a female military leader in peacekeeping. They therefore perceived that a qualified female leader was just as capable of achieving absolute force cohesion for the purposes of effective peace operations as a male leader would normally achieve. The most frequent reason cited for this was that a dedicated soldier looks to the source of command for action and not the gender of the one in command. However, 32% of males and 8% of females did not agree with a female leader in peacekeeping and 14% of males and 4% of females were not sure. Their reasons did not reflect perceived gender differences but other factors. For instance to some of them the present training of females is inadequate and females lack motivation to join in combat.

It is not possible to say certainly that the observed variations in perceptions among men and women regarding the involvement of women on combat and leadership duties for peace operations did not reflect the gender similarities hypothesis by Janet Hyde (2005). According to her, men and women do not differ much on most psychological variables such as perceptions. Although there were gender variations in the responses, the differences have not been put to rigorous tests of statistical significance as Hyde (2005) used meta-analysis to do. Hyde (2000) attributes gender differences on most psychological variables to contextual factors. That could also be the case for this study.
The pattern of variations among men and women in their responses to the inclusion of women in military combat and leadership duties differs slightly from what Heinecken (2002) found of the South African National Defence Force (SANDF). Heinecken (2002:721) reports that in a survey in 1999 among officers of the SANDF as to whether women should be allowed to do combat duties in the frontline, 40% agreed, 12% were unsure and 48% disagreed. Another survey by the Equal Opportunities Chief Directorate (EOCD) of the SANDF showed that 75% of African women said they would go into frontline combat duties. This comparison is useful for discussion in chapter six. The above statistical presentations were used in conjunction with other observations to establish the key finding in this study. Next I present some useful qualitative observations from varied sources useful to throw more light on the statistical findings.

5.2 Some Qualitative Observations

Presentation of qualitative observations is abridged. I have chosen to do so to avoid too much repetition in the discussion chapter. I therefore decided to make some few remarks here and to reserve most observations to the next chapter. One important observation was that none of the participants in the interviews suggested that gender integration would have any negative effective on operational effectiveness. It has been noted in chapter four that the Ghana Armed Forces are strongly determined to make extraordinary impact in peacekeeping. For instance Malan et al (1997:61) reports that the Ghana Armed Forces have been committed to peacekeeping to the extent that at one stage (1992-1993) they contributed battalion-strength contingents to three major on-going peace operations simultaneously (UNIFIL, UNTAC and ECOMOG). He notes that this has been uncharacteristic of the manner in which troops are contributed to peacekeeping. This extraordinary commitment to peacekeeping takes a historical trend as described in chapter four. What motivates this extra commitment to peacekeeping is discussed in chapter six. The interviewees confirmed that the Ghana Armed Forces enshrined it as a doctrine never to give up to failure in any operations including peacekeeping (CEDAR, 2005:20). All soldiers are expected to display utmost discipline in this regard as enshrined in the
Anthems of the various Infantry Battalions (Aboagye, 1999:150-168). It is also observed that the Ghana Armed Forces lack commensurate logistics but substitute this with extra training (Malan et al, 1997:65; 70; UN Info Centre Accra, 2000: 33). This happened during UNIFIL operations in Lebanon when Charlie Coy of GHANBATT was attack (CEDAR, 2005:20). Some interviewees said females are at times assigned to combat duties.

In the interviews it appeared the Ghana Armed Forces are highly aware of the nature of international peacekeeping, and that it does not require extensive combat except the amount of force that may be required for protection of personnel to achieve a mandate (Malan et al, 1997:70). From personal observation, military personnel, both males and females do not behave differently in the presence of senior male or female military officers. They salute and do the same pattern of obeisance to both sexes of military officers. It has also been observed from supporting statements to responses in the questionnaires that most of those who did not support the idea of including women in leadership and combat responsibilities have externalised their reasons of saying so. Most often they referred to the Bible and other external sources to claim that women are not made to lead or fight. It was stated in chapter four that Ghana is a multi-religious state with dominated by Christians. Some responses reflected religious beliefs in their views.

5.3 Concluding Remarks on Findings
This chapter outlined the main findings of this study both in quantitative and qualitative terms. The presentation of results has been abridged especially in relation to the qualitative observations. This is done to avoid too many repetitions in discussing the findings in chapter six. It is shown that as far as the peacekeeping personnel of the Ghana Armed Forces are concerned, gender integration is perceived to be feasible in all aspects of peacekeeping operations. However, male personnel of GAF do dominate in leadership and combat related duties in peacekeeping. The problem is not likely to be due to concerns that an expanded participation of females will affect operational effectiveness as most researchers believe is the case (Heinecken, 2002:758; Rehn and Sirleaf, 2002:66). Next I discuss the findings of the study in more details.
CHAPTER SIX: GENERAL DISCUSSION

6.0 Introduction to Discussion

This study addresses three interrelated questions about gender integration and peacekeeping the context of the Ghana Armed Forces. In chapter five I presented the observations made in this study. I proceed in this chapter to put the observations and literature reviewed so far into a meaningful package. To do this effectively Mitchell and Jolley (1996: 496-497) suggest that the discussion component of a study must include review of the research questions and hypotheses. The result must be summarized in relation to the hypothesis and the results must be interpreted in light of the key argument and alternative explanations (ibid). There must be some speculation of unexpected results as well as theoretical and practical implication of the study (ibid). For purposes of clarity in discussing and answering the questions, I organize this chapter into sections according to the questions of interest. First I re-state the question and major finding, present the works of other researchers, relate my finding to theory and include personal views.

In section one I briefly address the question regarding the nature and extent of gender integration among the peacekeeping personnel of the Ghana Armed Forces. In section two I deal with the core question for this study, and try to explain the status of gender equality within the context of the Ghana Armed Forces. Due to issues brought out in the discussion an attempt is made to look into the prospects for improving the nature of gender integration among the peacekeeping personnel of the Ghana Armed Forces.

6.1 The Nature and Extent of Gender Integration in GHANBATT Peacekeeping

It has been an aim of this study to establish a trend of the nature and extent of gender integration in GHANBATT peacekeeping activities. This attempts to outline the extent to which the Ghana Armed Forces involves female personnel in peacekeeping operations. Attention is given to numerical and actual involvement of women in the performance of peacekeeping duties. As stated in the design this is not the core objective of this study and therefore only sufficient details are covered to establish a pattern.
This study has found that the Ghana Armed Forces moves quite progressively towards gender balance in terms of the numerical involvement of female personnel when it comes to deployment for peace operations. It is mentioned that the Ghana Armed Forces did not accept any women into the military until January 1958 (Aboagye, 1999:72). After the first President of Ghana, Dr. Nkrumah sought to increase the number of women in the military by establishing the Directorate of the Women’s Auxiliary Corps (WAC) in 1963, the number of women began to increase steadily (ibid, 227). However it was only in 1984 that one woman was deployed for international peacekeeping (Aboagye, 1999:75). Accepting women in peacekeeping was stopped in 1984 and resumed in 1994 during ECOMOG operations in Liberia when one woman was deployed (ibid). From then onwards the numerical representation of female personnel on peace missions began to increase. In 2005, Ghana contributed one hundred and seven (107) female military personnel to UN field operations.47

This number looks impressive considering the generally low numerical representation of women in military peace operations as noted in chapter one. It was confirmed by most interviewees in this study that the number of females accepted into the Ghana Armed Forces and those deployed for peacekeeping increases yearly. Currently women make up nine percent (9%) of the military personnel of the Ghana Armed Forces. Nana Effah Appenteng, Ghana’s Representative to the UN made this known during a press conference on 29th March 2006 organized by the UN Peacekeeping Gender Advisor in New York. According to Nana Appenteng the Ghana Armed Forces still has the capacity to increase the number of women in peacekeeping since at present many female soldiers have never been deployed for peacekeeping.

What about gender integration or full involvement among those deployed for peacekeeping in terms of the performance of duties? Among the peacekeeping personnel of the Ghana Armed Forces, leadership and combat related duties present a challenge to the participation of females and the need to expand the participation of females in terms of gender equality

47 The UN statistics is provided in chapter one
is most felt on these operational areas. Thus the phenomenon of gender stratification of roles (Hughes et al, 2002:80, 173, 272) or male dominance is reflected in leadership and combat related duties as far as personnel of GAF are concerned. As narrated by key informants, together with their male counterparts female peacekeepers of GHANBATT perform all other duties including signalling, administration, nursing, electoral monitoring and humanitarian services.

It is deduced from the above that if any military institution should be cited in terms of progress towards the United Nations goal of balancing the number of men and women in peace operations to a 50:50 ratios as noted in the general introduction, the Ghana Armed Forces may be a sterling example. But this study indicates that the Ghana Armed Forces has not yet opened all military duties in peacekeeping to equal participation of male and female soldiers. There remains much to be done in terms of assigning females to leadership and combat-related or frontline duties in peacekeeping. In this regard the problem of gender stratification of roles or male dominance exists to some extent among GHANBATT peacekeepers. The question ‘to what extent does the Ghana Armed Forces integrate female personnel in peacekeeping operations’ is answered in this study that to some extent, the involvement of female personnel increases in numerical terms. However in terms of actual participation in peacekeeping, the roles of females are limited in terms of leadership and combat-related duties. One this basis there is to a large extent male dominance in GHANBATT peacekeeping activities. But what explains the situation?

6.2 Explaining Gender Integration among the Peacekeeping Personnel of GAF

The preceding section shows the nature and extent of gender integration among the personnel of the Ghana Armed Forces as one that depicts gender stratification of roles and male-dominance in participation in peacekeeping. The key task of the study is to explore why the problem exists. In chapter one I stated that most researchers in various ways have

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48 Information derived from preliminary interviews for data collection.
49 Leadership and combat related duties are addressed in more details in the next section.
emphasised that the integration of females in military operations is limited due to concerns for operational effectiveness (Heinecken, 2002:715; Rehn and Johnson Sirleaf, 2002:65). In chapter two I linked this form of explanation to the functionalist perspective on male dominance which holds that for society to function effectively males and females must be differentiated when it comes to assigning roles and functions (Hughes et al, 2002:273). This is taken as the core explanatory variable and is treated in details. I proceed to examine with empirical data (Segal, 1995:758) from the Ghana Armed Forces the extent to which role differentiation is perceived as necessary for peacekeeping operations to be effective.

I mentioned in chapter one and in the design that this study does not look at all aspects of military duties in peacekeeping. The style adopted has been to identify areas where the integration of females in peacekeeping has been most limited. This study then focuses on leadership and combat-related or frontline duties. The perceived effect of expanded participation of females on the ability of the military to carry out effective peace operations is inferred from how it is perceived to affect leadership and combat related duties. Below I discuss the finding and later go into specific details. Apart from the core explanation suggesting that males dominate in peacekeeping because expanded participation of females is perceived to affect operational effectiveness, other alternative explanations are considered. Among these ‘learning by observation and modelling’ (Bandura and Walters 1963) is given priority for exploration and recommended for further research.

**6.2.1 GAF, Gender Integration and Perceived Operational Effectiveness**

I sought to answer a question on how gender integration is perceived to affect operational effectiveness as far as personnel of the Ghana Armed Forces are concerned. This question was set to make a trend for the major question. As noted in chapter five, it has been found in this study that as far as the Ghana Armed Forces is concerned, an expanded participation or integration of females in peacekeeping operations is not perceived to hinder the ability of the military to carry out peacekeeping operations effectively.\(^{51}\) In other words general

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\(^{50}\) This does not imply that the researchers cited support the functionalist position. They assume the military follows the functionalist perspective and that accounts for why the role of females in peacekeeping is limited.

\(^{51}\) Refer to Fig 1 and Table 1 in Chapter Five
perceptions among personnel of the Ghana Armed Forces are significantly favorable for an expanded participation of females in all aspects of peace operations including the areas where they are currently limited. The Ghana Armed Forces has not yet achieved gender equality in terms of leadership and combat related duties in peace operations. Empirical data in this study suggest that the problem is not likely to be due to concerns that expanded integration of females may hinder operational effectiveness unlike what others have emphasized (Heinecken, 2002:715; Rehn and Johnson Sirleaf, 2002:65) and as observed within the SANDF(Heinecken, 2002:715).

Theoretically it seems not a widespread believe among personnel of the Ghana Armed Forces that females and males must be differentiated in terms of functions for peacekeeping to be effective. This basically challenges the core assumption in the functionalist explanation of male dominance. In the context of the Ghana Armed Forces it is perceived that both males and females could be assigned to any roles and peacekeeping operations may still be effective. By practical implication this observation shows that the quest for gender integration in UN peacekeeping operations is largely justified and possible. Likewise this position reflects what other researchers found about gender equality in peace related contexts. The findings by Janet Hyde (2005:581), Epstein (1988), Hyde (1985) and Hyde and Plant (1995) that females and males are very similar in capabilities have been reflected in what participants in this study perceived gender integration.

My study supports the finding that males may not differ much from females when it concerns psychological capabilities that might make someone an effective leader in normal peacekeeping environments (Eagly et al, 1992). In terms of military dispositions necessary for effective combat in peacekeeping males and females are not perceived to differ much in controlled contexts (Hyde, 2005:589). The works of researchers such as Parghi and Bianca (1999:7), Heen (1996), Halpen and Parks (1996), Korabik et al (1993) support in many ways the observation made of the Ghana Armed Forces.

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52 Inferred from the responses in the interviews and answered questionnaires
53 Details of supporting researches are listed as related studies in the literature review
In my personal view, the way personnel of the Ghana Armed Forces view the extent to which females could be integrated in military operations might be influenced by practical factors within the context in which they operate (Segal, 1995:758). In chapter four, I reviewed several factors that might influence how women are looked at in the military.\textsuperscript{54} I stated the initiatives of the Ghanaian Government in promoting gender equality including constitutional provisions, establishment of a ministry (MOWAC) and a law enforcement agency (WAJU). Even among GAF personnel the combat activities of an ancient female warrior of Ghana, Yaa Asantewaa (1900), is still fresh in mind as long as female soldiers are nick-named after her (CEDAR, 2005:20). The changing nature of peacekeeping with regulations on the use of force and aggression as well as international activities promoting gender equality might have contributed to favourable perceptions of female capabilities.

The observation made of the Ghana Armed Forces is not surprising if one agrees that the context within which an event takes place has power to determine the cause of events. In a similar manner the study by Heinecken (2002) reflected the unique multi-racial context of the South African National Defence Force. To throw more light on why the observations turns out this way I look closely at what has been reported on gender equality in leadership and combat related duties being the two facets of operations considered.

\textbf{6.2.1.1 Gender Integration in Leadership for GHANBATT Peacekeeping}

From interviews, spotted answers in the questionnaires and secondary data it is observed that no female peacekeeper among the personnel of the Ghana Armed Forces has ever been deployed to lead the military for peace operations. In a sense this deviates considerably from the requirement of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) that female military personnel be allowed to participate in all aspects of peace operations (Stiehm, 2002:42).

Troops of the Ghana Armed Forces are usually organised into Battalions\textsuperscript{55} led by Commanding Officers (C.O)\textsuperscript{56} when engaged in peace operations. The Battalions are

\textsuperscript{54} Refer to chapter four for a complete list of the contextual factors that might influence perceptions in GAF about the capabilities of females.

\textsuperscript{55} Battalion is the main group of soldiers deployed for peacekeeping. Battalions from Ghana form GHANBATT.
organised into companies or ‘coys’ of soldiers for specific assignments under the Officer(s) Commanding (O.C). Sometimes the coy could be split into camps under the leadership of Camp Commandant(s) (C.C). My focus has been on persons who lead the major groups such as the Battalion, Coy, Camps and other sub-divisions within which both male and female personnel serve. In other words, who gives command that is binding on all and takes responsibility for what the group does. What has been observed is that women were assigned leadership duties when exclusively female soldiers embarked on an activity. For instance Lt Abena Acheampong, a woman, led an all-female contingent on the Medal Day in 2005 (CEDAR, 2005:24). What would happen to the effectiveness of operations or the ability of the military to do effective peacekeeping if female personnel with the requisite experience and motivation were assigned to lead the Battalion, the ‘Coy’, or the Camp?

In the functionalist perspective it could be expected that operations would be hindered since males are expected to lead and females to be lead (Hughes et al, 2002: 273). I stated in chapter four that the gender of the person who leads the Ghana Armed Forces may not practically affect the effectiveness of peace operations. Based on practical experiences 70% of respondents answered several questions suggesting that qualified female personnel could also take the lead in any aspects of peace operations and the efficiency of the military in such endeavours may not be hindered. Supporting interview responses also reflected similar views. This also challenges the functionalist assumptions as noted earlier.

Respondents have cited practical reasons why they perceive GHANBATT to be friendly to female leadership in peacekeeping. The reasons given were many but the relevant ones are noted. Most frequently respondents drew attention to the practical codes of discipline in the military to which all personnel must abide while on peacekeeping operations. A great number of respondents were very confident that female and male personnel alike could be assigned leadership duties and the soldiers could still carry out peace operations affectively. Different synonyms were used by respondents to refer to the same issue of

56 Examples of such grouping are found in CEDAR (2005:nn)
military discipline. Some of them call it ‘command’; others refer to it as ‘loyalty’ or ‘dedication’ to command and others simply said ‘military training’ or ‘military doctrine’.

According to the respondents military personnel are thought, trained and expected to respect the authority of the leader irrespective of gender. Some officers noted that loyalty to ‘command’ does not depend on the gender of the leader but it is a professional act of ethics. Some emphasized that a soldier who declines to accord respect for authority is not just dismissed from service but severely punished as well. Most of them mentioned that discipline is the ‘basic tool’ for the survival of the military institution. In this case “all military persons react to the ‘uniform’ as the source of command and never the sex of the person giving command”, notes a key informant. With military discipline female leaders could equally harness force cohesion to achieve targets in peace operations because no soldier has the choice to decline obedience.

Some respondents stated that the modalities and principles of military command or leadership for any duties are already spelt out clearly. The chosen leader only draws on the existing principles to lead the soldiers. There seems to be little room for a chosen leader to bring in tendencies which others might perceive as masculine or feminine in the performance of leadership duties. Some other respondents cited practical examples of female officers in domestic duties at the military camp as a clear case suggesting that females could also take leadership roles in peacekeeping. “No one challenges their authority”, said one key informant. Based on these “gender equality in leadership is not likely to affect the ability of GAF to do its duties effectively”, he noted. Other respondents stated that they saw female military personnel from other countries such as “Denmark, Holland and Norway” doing all that their male counterparts were doing and so they were confident that females of GHANBATT could also be effective.

Other sources of evidence confirmed the strong emphasis respondents put on military discipline as a key factor that can practically neutralise any perceived differences in male and female leadership capabilities. In the various slogans of the Infantries of GAF, the
soldiers are often reminded to live up to the expectation of discipline and loyalty in all they do (Aboagye, 1999:151-174). These slogans are rehearsed when embarking on operations, including peacekeeping (ibid). During the two months I interacted with the soldiers for data collection, I observed that the military personnel were indeed well disciplined and loyal to command. I observed that male and female personnel did not differ in acknowledging the presence of male or female senior officers. For instance at the sight of an officer’s vehicle the soldiers would do acts of respect in honour of the officer until the senior officer passed bye. Senior officers were identified with the type of uniforms they wore. An officer reiterated that with respect for authority, the military could be extremely friendly or hostile. “Once command comes from above, irrespective of gender, action takes place”, he emphasised. Military discipline therefore becomes a key mechanism that can help any leader, male or female, to achieve desired results in military peacekeeping.

In chapter five I indicated that 20% of respondents did not favour the idea of female leader in peace operations and 10% were uncertain. At a glance it seems these other respondents reflect the functionalist view that certain duties should not be opened to females so that performance will be effective. But a closer look at their responses showed otherwise. Most of these respondents said they have never seen a woman leading a peace operation and that is why they disagree with a female leader for GHANBATT. Others said the Ghana Armed Forces does not train females for leadership in peace operations and they wonder if it will ever happen that a female should lead a battalion deployed in peace operation. A few respondents did refer to the Bible to say that women were not created to lead. Cross examination of their responses did reveal that almost all respondents would be loyal to command, irrespective of gender, in all aspects of peacekeeping. Discipline makes other factors insignificant to make a woman ineffective leader in peacekeeping.

In a nutshell, males within the Ghana Armed Forces dominate in leadership duties for peace operations. However this study shows that the problem is not likely to be mainly due to concerns that female leadership capabilities may affect operational effectiveness. Empirical data in this study show that females in principle are regarded just as suitable as
males to lead. Respondents have not reported anything inherent in females that make them unfit to lead military operations in peacekeeping. It suggests that as far as the Ghana Armed Forces is concerned, if the roles of female peacekeepers were expanded to include leadership duties, the military could still carry out peacekeeping operations effectively making the functionalist perspective inadequate to explain male dominance in terms of leadership for GHANBATT leadership. What about frontline duties in peacekeeping?

6.2.1.2 Gender Integration in Frontline Duties for GHANBATT Peacekeeping

At present combat related or frontline duties also pose a challenge to gender equality among members of the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF). Unlike females in SANDF (Heinecken, 2002:719), female personnel of GAF are not fully integrated in all combat related duties in peace operations. Segal (1995:760) states that the difference between a combatant and a non-combatant involves the firing of weapons. Boutros-Ghali (1992:24) notes that the availability of armed forces is a means of deterring potential aggressors so as to keep peace. Combat related duties or frontline duties as used here include operations likely to involve the firing of weapons (Segal, 1995:760) but do not necessarily imply that the peacekeepers are out for war fighting with rebels. Some respondents referred to such situations as ‘volatile’ or ‘hot spots’. Some operational duties reported to be usually volatile include patrols especially in the night, field operations to repel advancing rebels, monitoring of buffer zones, protection of key interests, disarmament, disengagements, road blocks, de-mining, checking and physical separation of combatants.

Most respondents agreed that the peacekeeping ethics does not allow a peacekeeper to fire weapons “until all peaceful means fail” (Boutros-Ghali, 1992:24). But consistent with what Malan et al (1997:70) found about the Ghana Armed Forces, most respondents indicated that they would be more comfortable with a peacekeeping mandate that allows them some combat discretion to protect themselves, property and others in peace operations. In terms of training for frontline duties in peacekeeping, the Ghana Armed Forces does not

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57 This is inferred from phrases like “if only we were trained and assigned to frontline duties” and “if only females were allowed to participate in combat duties” used by female and male respondents to several questions on combat.

58 Key informant. To classify any of these activities as volatile depends on the situation.
discriminate among males and females since training for peacekeeping forms part of the general training of the Ghanaian Soldier (ibid). However a key informant hinted that during some training sessions demanding extreme physical stress such as ‘obstacle climbing’ some women may be excused. Why do GAF personnel have to train extensively before peacekeeping operations?

According to respondents they usually face attacks or threat of attack by ‘armed elements’. One such incidence of attacks on GHANBATT personnel was reported in CEDAR (2005:20). On December 2 2004, armed elements (AE) attacked the Coy Mobile Reserve of the ‘Charlie Coy’ of GHANBATT 62 operations in Lebanon. The AE threatened and opened fire but the peacekeepers in the ‘Charlie Coy’ had to avoid combat. With consistent threats, the troops had no option but to intensify training in contingency drills and alarm schemes (ibid). This demonstrates that in the performance of peacekeeping duties, the troops are likely to face threats of combat. However with limitations usually ascribed to peacekeepers on the use of force (Boutros-Ghali, 1992:24), the troops adopt several other skills to protect themselves, property, and other persons and to deter attackers so as to achieve desired results. Nonetheless, they must be heavily prepared for combat while on peace operations (ibid).

Why are female personnel not fully involved in duties that are likely to involve combat? The problem begins with selection for peacekeeping operations. From the onset, only few women are selected into specific role categories. The mostly male contingents selected for frontline duties are given extra training for combat, but the females are given extra training in their designated duties. The key question is ‘if the roles of females were expanded to include all combat related duties, how do personnel of GAF view the effect that this may have on the ability of the military to carry out effective peace operations’?

59 The military uses the term ‘armed elements’ to describe armed combatants of dissidents that attack peacekeepers.
60 Coy Mobile Reserve is a special force that patrols and assists the various companies of soldiers in need of help.
Respondents in the survey were equally divided on the issue of expanding the role of females in combat related duties. Forty-four percent of total respondents (44%) answered various questions in favour of including more women in combat duties. Their responses readily reject the functionalist view on male dominance. This resembles what Heinecken (2002: 721) finds in a similar study on the issue of inclusion or not of South African female soldiers in combat duties. In her study 40% of respondents were in favour of women in combat (ibid). My study found that 44% of respondents showed some reservations against expanding the role of females in GAF to include combat duties virtually supporting the functionalist perspective. I found also that 12% were uncertain about what will happen if women’s role in combat were expanded. Compared to the study by Heinecken (2002:721) of the SANDF in which case 48% and 12% of respondents respectively disfavoured and uncertain of including females in combat duties, my study shows a slight improvement. Due to contextual variations this comparison is not critical.

Among those who favour an expanded participation of females in combat duties, some claim to have seen women in frontline operations in Congo, Liberia and Sierra Leone. This demonstrates that what is going on in the international context might have influenced their perceptions. Others were confident that if women were trained at par with men they could equally be effective for combat duties saying some women are very ‘adventurous’. Most often they cited Yaa Asantewaa as an example. In this case historical events within the context of GAF personnel seem to have influenced their perceptions. Some also say it is the basic right of women to be allowed to do what they can do and would like to do. This is probably a reflection of how the various gender advocacy activities undertaken both within the local and international context have influenced GAF personnel and their perceptions of women’s rights.61

Among those who disfavour an expanded participation of females in frontline duties some mentioned that their main concern was that the training provided to female soldiers in GAF

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61 In chapter four I listed several contextual factors that might influence the way GAF personnel view the role of women in the military. The Government initiatives on gender equality and international activities all count.
currently is not well enough focused on volatile situations. But cross-examination of further responses showed that with comparable training, females were perceived to be fit for frontline operations. Some respondents referred to the Bible to claim that women were created weak. A few others also claim that women are biologically unsuitable for combat. One respondent who disfavoured gender integration in peacekeeping with reference to biology did not have empirical facts suggesting that the integration of women will affect their ability to do peacekeeping effectively. Since the study is partly based on empirical findings I found the biology explanation less convincing.

One person recounted an incidence where a female soldier menstruated unexpectedly when she came face to face with the horrors of war in Liberia. He however did not explain if the forced menstruation obstructed the peacekeeping duties of the soldier. Though the respondent agreed he had not seen such a situation in any other female soldiers he considered it as a sign of weakness in the female soldiers. An incidence involving one female soldier was not sufficient ground for excluding many women from combat duties. Psychologists confirm that all humans are capable of showing physiological symptoms at frightening sights (Sternberg, 2004:98). Frequently most of these respondents contradicted their responses in favour of the view that if GAF intensifies combat training for females they will cope with the demands of frontline duties in peace operations.

So far the respondents have not been able to identify significant inherent weaknesses in females that should justify their exclusion from frontline duties. In interviews with key informants at levels of decision making in deploying GAF personnel for peace operations, the issue of limiting the participation of females in frontline duties was discussed. Respondents dismiss the idea that expanded participation of females in frontline duties will affect operational effectiveness. According to the officers selecting personnel into the Ghana Armed Forces is done through extremely harsh test for physical fitness. Most men as well as women withdraw from training before final confirmation of soldiers is done. It was noted that any person confirmed as a soldier, male or female, is capable of doing satisfactory frontline operations. Throwing more light on why females were not deployed
in volatile situations in peace operations, an officer notes that one reason was the notion that including many women in the frontline may spark attacks from rebels.\textsuperscript{62}

The officer explained this further. He confirmed that the current peacekeeping doctrine does not permit peacekeepers to open fire until all peaceful means are exhausted (Boutros-Ghali, 1992:24). He hinted that peacekeepers often adopt tactics to deter rebels and not to fight them. One way the trick of deterrence works better is by equipping the troops with heavy armour or weapons (ibid). According to this informant, GHANBATT personnel coming from a poor country lack weapons that may deter rebels and have to use other skills to deter rebels. Most often training for such purposes may be physically challenging to an extent that could be perceived to be beyond the scope of many women.

He argued that it was not usual for military institutions to include females in the battlefield. He states that previously there was the fear that a battalion with many women might be perceived by the rebels as weak. It was thought that this could send the signal to rebels that the peacekeepers were easy targets and most of them might venture fighting through the peacekeeping line so as to achieve their aims of being rebels. Such situations may put more pressure on the peacekeeping personnel to open fire against the peacekeeping doctrine. In other interviews some officers confirm that the idea that expanded participation of females in the frontline might spark off rebel attacks is currently unimportant in deciding if females should be integrated in frontline duties in peacekeeping. They argued that rebel groups especially in Africa now comprise of many female combatants. Several empirical evidences show that females are becoming increasingly involved in rebel activities (Mazurana & Carlson, 2004:22; Barth, 2002:11). In Sri Lanka for instance females make up about 30% of the Tamil Tigres (Rajasingham-Senanayake, 2001). As noted earlier this trend demands an expanded participation of females in peacekeeping operations so that female rebels could be handled ethically by female peacekeepers (Gierycz, 2001:27). On this basis, the lack of expansion in female roles in peacekeeping is not attributed to perceived gender differences. Though it has taken long for GHANBATT to put more

\textsuperscript{62} Key informant at DPKO, Burma Camp Same officer makes further analysis below.
women in combat positions, there are evidences that GHANBATT begun putting females in frontline duties for peacekeeping.

A GHANBATT 61 (GH61) operation in South Lebanon from October 2004 to May 2005 was one instance when the participation of females in frontline operations was permitted (CEDAR, 2005:17). GH61 deployed the largest number of females (52) in a single operation (ibid). The female soldiers within the Headquarters Company (HQ Coy) of GHANBATT 61 mounted twenty-four hour guard duties at the main gate and at the ‘Obeng Camp’ which were considered ‘hot or volatile spots’ (ibid). The female soldiers, affectionately called Yaa Asantewaa, were nicknamed ‘German Soldiers’ for excellent performance of frontline duties (ibid). Although female soldiers of GAF had been mounting guard or sentry duties in ordinary settings, their deployment at Coy HQ was considered volatile (ibid). In 1994 Ghana sent a gender-mixed infantry company of rifle soldiers to serve in the refugee camps with UNAMIR (Hudson, 2005:115). However majority of participants in this study have not seen female personnel deployed in frontline duties suggesting that female deployment might be sparingly done.

Consistent with Hyde (2005) this study has not found empirical evidences showing that females are unfit for frontline duties for peacekeeping. Theoretically this also challenges the functionalist perspective. As noted in Chapter four 9% force strength of the Ghana Armed Forces is made up of female soldiers and officers. Being primarily a defense institution this would seem unlikely if functionalist ideas pervade the institution. On the domestic front females participate in all activities that the military engages in as an institution though it is not known if the participation of females in war situations might still be limited since Ghana is internally peaceful at present. The preceding discourse suggests that there is no duty in GHANBATT peacekeeping believed to be reserved for males in order to operate effectively. It now appears concerns for operational effectiveness does not account for the limited involvement of female personnel in GHANBATT peacekeeping.

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63 One of the Camps under the HQ Coy of Ghanbatt 61
64 Analysis by a key informant in this study
6.2.2 A New Point of Departure

It is noted that in terms of leadership and combat-related duties in peacekeeping the participation or integration of females among the personnel of the Ghana Armed Forces is limited. On this basis there is gender stratification of roles, male-dominance or gender inequality (Hughes et al, 2002:80, 173, 272). A careful examination of the practical peacekeeping experiences of the Ghana Armed Forces and responses from key informants did suggest in the preceding discourse that to a large extent the problem is not necessarily due to concerns that full integration of female capabilities may hinder operational effectiveness (Heinecken, 2002:715; Rehn and Sirleaf, 2002:65).

The functionalist perspective which holds that males and females must be fully distinguished in playing roles in order to be effective is challenged in the context of the Ghana Armed Forces. Empirical evidences suggest that GHANBATT personnel may still be able to carry out effective peacekeeping operations even if the role of females were equitably expanded to include leadership and combat related duties. The military has practically in-built mechanisms that could make soldiers loyal and obedient to a female leader as they would do to a male leader. In similar manner any personnel confirmed as a soldier might have gone through all tests of physical fitness that may be necessary for deployment for frontline duties in peacekeeping. These suggest that full gender integration is perceived to be feasible in GHANBATT peacekeeping. Thus concerns for operational effectiveness (Heinecken, 2002:715; Rehn and Sirleaf, 2002:65) which highlights the functionalist explanation of why males dominate in certain spheres of society seem insufficient to explain why the participation of females in GHANBATT peacekeeping operations remains limited. This sets another point of departure looking for alternative explanations why the integration of females in peacekeeping remains limited.

6.3 Exploring Alternative Explanations of Male Dominance among GAF Personnel

In chapter four I assembled several theories that might help explain why gender stratification of roles exists in social systems. The scheme adopted for this study does not give extensive attention to most of these theories. One single study can not cover
everything. However, I have attempted to explore alternative theories. Could it be explained by the conflict theory? The conflict theory suggests that men stratify social roles to ensure for themselves privileges, prestige and power in their relationship with women (Hughes et al, 2002: 273; Chafetz, 1990; Bradley, 1989). By implication this theory suggests that males of the Ghana Armed Forces limit the participation of females in peacekeeping for interests that could range from economic, social, personal or institutional motivations. This position is not empirically supported in this study. No empirical evidences were observed to suggest that men reserve the females for sexual gratification or any other personal interest. The conflict theory is therefore not explored further in this study. I have chosen to look a bit into the social learning theory of observation and modelling to begin a fresh discourse in understanding why the military may still stratify peacekeeping roles though expanded participation of females is not perceived to affect operational effectiveness.

6.3.1 Learning by Observation and Male-dominance among GAF Personnel

In chapter two I reviewed learning theories. Considering available information I have chosen to use the social learning theory of observation and modeling or simply learning by observation to explore why gender stratification of roles still persists in spite of the fact that perceptions are generally favorable for an expanded participation of females in peacekeeping. This study however is not designed to go in details on this dimension. It is rather recommended as a point of departure for further study.

It is stated that traditional learning theories emphasize learning by direct personal experience through practice (Sternberg, 2004: 214; Freedheim& Weiner, 2003:112; Mazur, 1994:286). Thus one learns by directly experiencing the consequences of behavior. It is also called trial and error learning because one has to first perform an action, experience the consequences and learn to behave in ways consistent with the pleasantness or unpleasantness of the consequences (ibid). Learning by observation on the other hand adds that behavior is also acquired through vicarious sources apart from direct personal experience (Mazur, 1994:286). The core of learning by observation therefore is that we
observe the behaviors of others or third parties referred to as models, observe the consequences that follow their behaviors and later we may imitate their behaviors (ibid). A person may acquire a behavior not by experiencing a stimulus personally but simply learning from the behaviors of significant others. I seek to show that to some extent the pattern of limiting the participation of females in peacekeeping as observed among the peacekeeping personnel of the Ghana Armed Forces may be a result of observation and modeling between peer military institutions. In all social systems such as the military institution the behaviors of significant others may influence the behaviors of observers (Sternberg, 2004: 214; Mazur, 1994:286).

As noted this study has found significant empirical data suggesting that female personnel of GAF have not actually been assigned to leadership duties in peacekeeping environments. Their capabilities in terms of leadership and frontline duties in a peacekeeping environment have logically not been directly observed or experienced by GHANBATT peacekeepers. How might GAF personnel acquire the optimism that female soldiers could be effective or otherwise in combat and leadership duties in peacekeeping? I noticed that most of their experiences were most likely acquired by observing the behaviours in other military institution. Some data suggesting that the military might probably be modelling after other military institutions regarding the extent to which females were integrated in peacekeeping.

One of such data was deduced from the responses of some military officers interviewed for this report and echoed by some others. They explained that military personnel when engaged in peacekeeping operations have a lot of opportunities through which they learn from other military institutions. One of these arrangements is the Mobile Reserve Force. The Mobile Reserve Force puts together military personnel from different countries to execute designated duties. Learning takes place among the troops in this arrangement.

65 The mobile reserve force is a special military task force involving personnel from different military institutions with the responsibility of giving assistance to the main different ‘coys’.
During peacekeeping operations, the various troops organize various inter-battalion social activities including games and sports and medal day celebrations (CEDAR, 2005:24-25). These as well offer extensive opportunities for learning and sharing ideas among the troops. Through these systems, personnel may acquire new views about the role of females in military operations.

The question was put directly to some officers if the military actually treats its female personnel in line with what peer military institutions do in this regard. The answers provided suggest that they do so. One officer said “we are in an international society of peacekeepers. We must try to play our cards to what is happening around us”. His comments suggest that the extent to which the Ghana Armed Forces assign women to peacekeeping duties goes in line with what other military institutions do with gender equality in peacekeeping. The extent to which this takes place is not certain since different military institutions have different approaches to peacekeeping (Malan et al, 1997:70). However his comment and similar ones from other interviewees did indicate that GAF learns in one way or the other from how other military institutions operate. The core assumption is that the role differentiation as observed may be an outcome of such processes of learning through observation and modelling.

I decided to look further into this possibility by examining the nature of responses from respondents who favour an expanded participation of females in peacekeeping for evidences of observational learning. From the special comments supplied by respondents in the answered questionnaires, I gathered that most respondents who expressed favourable views for expanding the participation of women in peacekeeping mentioned that they observed female soldiers from other military institutions of states such as “Denmark, Holland, Sweden, Norway and Belgium and others performing similar roles as their male counterparts. To the extent that these respondents were strongly optimistic that females of GHANBATT could be equally effective if they were assigned leadership and combat related roles in peacekeeping is an indication that their experiences were influenced by what they observed from others. This demonstrates learning by observation at the
international level of interaction in peacekeeping. It has been reported earlier that most respondents have never seen females of GHANBATT engaged in combat related and leadership roles in a peacekeeping environment and therefore their experiences did not depict direct personal experience through practice to indicate direct ‘traditional learning’ (Sternberg, 2004: 214; Freedheim & Weiner, 2003:112; Mazur, 1994:286).

There have been instances in the domestic context of the Ghana Armed Forces which provided opportunities for learning by observation for the peacekeeping personnel. In the responses to the questionnaires, some respondents expressed support for expanded female participation in peacekeeping noting that “it is their right”. This may be interpreted as an outcome of learning derived from sources other than activities of the personnel at the military camp. Most likely such sources might derive from gender advocacy activities of the Government of Ghana, the NGOs and other gender related institutions. Learning by observation was reflected in responses that seemingly disfavoured the involvement of females in military peacekeeping operations as well. In some of the responses participants did indicate that their perceptions were influenced by religious ideologies instead of direct personal experience. A few respondents referred to the bible and other sources to back their views that female soldiers are created weak and unsuitable for military service.

It is deduced from the above that the peacekeeping institution seems to be a complex social system within which military institutions learn from other military institutions. Learning by observation is more likely to be one of the processes that may be contributing to limitations on the participation of females in peacekeeping operations. In the case of the Ghana Armed Forces this is particularly relevant since Ghana contributes to peacekeeping in close collaboration with mostly African military institutions. Most African countries probably limit the participation of women in peacekeeping than Ghana. Data in this study, however, suggest that the Ghana Armed Forces may not wait for peer institutions to the take the lead in full gender integration so as to learn from their behaviours. This leads the discussion into exploring a question derived from the discourse namely, “what shows that the Ghana Armed Forces may fully integrate female personnel in all aspects of peacekeeping?”
6.3.2 Improving the Status of Gender Equality among Ghanbatt Personnel

This section assembles data that may indicate prospects for the Ghana Armed Forces to improve the status of gender equality among the peacekeeping personnel. It is noted that a prime aim of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) is to achieve gender equality among peacekeepers (Rehn and Johnson-Sirleaf, 2002:60). This implies that each peacekeeping institution including the military must comply with gender equality in peacekeeping operations. To what extent is it possible for GHANBATT to fully come to terms with UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000). Factors that may improve or hinder a process of change on this dimension are considered.

Researchers such as Hyde (2005:587-588; 590) and Bussey & Bandura (1999) have emphasised the importance of context in understanding a phenomena. For instance the extent to which racial differences contribute to gender inequalities in the South African National Defence Force (Heinecken, 2002) may not reflect in any other military institution. The guiding questions is what contextual resources does GAF have to improve the status of gender equality among the peacekeeping personnel so as to fully come to terms with the requirements UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000)?

In an interview with some officers they stressed what they term as Ghana’s extraordinary commitment to peacekeeping as one clear indication that GAF is more likely to improve the status of gender equality among its peacekeepers. With their narratives and existing records, the Ghana Armed Forces has historically shown an extraordinary commitment to achieve peacekeeping result. Ghana has a long tradition of contributing to UN peacekeeping that goes way back to the early 1960s and the first UN operation ever in Congo. In this particular operation Ghana alone contributed 44% of all troops (Aboagye, 1999:270). Even before the UN established the peacekeeping operation in Congo, Ghana had already deployed personnel to that country (ibid, 273; UN Info Centre, 2000:3). Ever since Ghana has continued to provide peacekeepers in fairly high numbers, and has for years been among the major troop contributors to UN peace operations. What keeps motivating the Ghana Armed Forces to be so committed to UN peace operations?
In a panel discussion held in Accra in year 2000 officers of the Ghana Armed Forces with decades of experience in peacekeeping provided their views concerning the past and future perspectives of Ghana’s role in UN peacekeeping (UN Info Centre Accra, 2000:30). During the discussion, Brigadier Adu-Amanfoh, Director General of Defence Intelligence explained why GAF is so committed to UN peacekeeping. He traced the history to Ghana being the first African state to gain independence and that the first president, Dr Kwame Nkrumah was committed to the total liberation of the entire African Continent (ibid). According to Brigadier Adu-Amanfoh, this was the reason why Ghana did so much in the UN peacekeeping in Congo in the 1960s (ibid). Similarly, Colonel Debrah, also a panel member of the aforementioned discussion, emphasized that because Ghana was the first African State to gain independence from colonial rule, Ghana is more or less leading the liberation struggle (ibid). Ghanaian peacekeepers consider it the responsibility of Ghana to ensure peace, especially in the sub-region.

Van der Westhuizen (2001:64-73) observes that most often states that do not have ‘tangible or hard power’ such as military or economic strength try to excel in some special endeavors to acquire ‘soft power’ so as to increase visibility or recognition in the international scene. In view of the above, it could be said that to some extent, the extreme commitment observed in Ghanaian troops in terms of peacekeeping has much to do with building reputation and increasing Ghanaian ‘visibility’ in international relations. If this is the case, then the prospect of the Ghana Armed Forces fully coming to terms with the UN requirement of gender equality in peacekeeping looks good.

Another factor noted to be propelling Ghanaian troops to do much in peace operations relates to the successes they have been achieving in peace activities (UN Info Centre Accra, 2000:30). Because of the successes that the Ghanaian troops achieved in Congo, it has become almost a tradition for Ghanaian troops to be deployed in all new peace operations (ibid). Psychologists confirm that a person’s previous achievement on a given task improves one’s self-efficacy or one’s belief about personal capabilities (Passer and
The achievement of Ghanaian troops in external peacekeeping has to do with past successes.

Another factor suggesting that GAF may expand the participation of females in peace operations relates to a dire need to sustain the internal peace of Ghana as a liberal state. Brigadier Adu-Amanfoh of the Ghana Armed Forces noted that external peacekeeping is a good training ground for the Ghanaian soldiers (UN Info Centre Accra, 2000:33). Thus experiences gained in peacekeeping usually broadens the outlook of the Ghanaian soldier (ibid). In like manner Colonel Debrah said that external peacekeeping brings the Ghanaian soldiers face to face with the consequences of civil war (ibid). This makes the soldiers repugnant of civil war (ibid). Thus peacekeeping is taken as a mechanism to sustain the internal peace of Ghana. In chapter four I stated that Ghana had a series of military unrest since 1966 until 1983. Inferring from the statements of these officers it seems the internal peace of Ghana since 1983 to date has much to do with the external peacekeeping activities of the Ghana Armed Forces. With the number of women accepted into the Ghana Armed Forces growing yearly, a growing number of women will also be exposed to the realities of war. This provides a good prospect for gender equality since gradually the international community is moving towards gender equality in peace processes. Several officers interviewed for this study indicated that GAF is keen on sustaining its status on the international scene regarding peacekeeping and this gives reason that GAF must fully comply with the requirements of gender equality as well.

However the Ghana Armed Forces as an institution faces some material constraints in the process of fully complying with gender equality in deploying personnel for peacekeeping. One important factor identified is lack of logistics. In 2004, Ghana estimated $ 49.2 million for military expenditures. This figure forms 0.6% of National Gross Domestic Product. This shows that state expenditure on the military is very limited. According to Boutros-Ghali (1992:31) “not all governments can provide their battalions with the equipments needed for service abroad” and the United Nation’s attempts to patch-up these gaps “create a number of difficulties”. Ghana being a developing country commendably
commits much resource to deploying troops to peacekeeping. According to Malan et al (1997:70) the Ghana Armed Forces faced serious problems when attempting to use its own resources for participation in ECOMOG peacekeeping operations.

Some officers interviewed for this study noted that the lack of enough funds and logistics reflects directly on efforts to include more women in peace operations. An officer hinted that it was lack of resources that resulted in the Ghana Armed Forces not including females on some peace operations in Liberia and Sierra Leone. According to this officer, the United Nations could not provide facilities needed for exclusive use by women. Since the Ghana Armed Forces could not provide these from internal resources, they had to exclude the female soldiers. Although some officers also argued that those operations were so volatile and that was why female soldiers were excluded, the officers at the hem of affairs said it was mainly a problem related to lack of logistics.

Lack of sufficient logistics also reflects on the kind of military training offered the peacekeeping personnel before and throughout peace operations. Most often the preparatory training for peacekeeping is discriminatory against what the females could generally withstand. It is noted earlier that it is common for armed elements to attack or threaten to attack the peacekeepers. Peacekeepers are not supposed to open fire at ease and according to some respondents the peacekeepers are often trained in several tactics to outwit rebels without necessarily combating. Most often ‘obstacle climbing’ and other such training become too extreme for an average woman. Though most men also fall out on such training the majority of women are excluded reducing their participation in combat related duties. Segal (1995:762) rightly observes that military technology and sophisticated logistics improves the participation of females in military service. Lack of logistics really limits the participation of females in GHANBATT operations. Comments by top officers of the Ghana Armed Forces threw light on the extent to which the lack of logistics hinders GHANBATT operations:
“The political will is high in Ghana, we have the troops, and we have the expertise. Our major problem has been, and continues to be, logistics” Brigadier Adu-Amanfoh, Director-General of Defence Intelligence, GAF.  

On this basis it seems efforts by the Ghana Armed Forces to include more women on peace operations and to expand their roles has much to do with improvement in the logistic base. With improved logistics GAF can provide needed facilities for female personnel and may not need to rely on extremely intensive physical activities to do successful peacekeeping. This will open all peacekeeping roles in GHANBATT peacekeeping to fairer participation of both males and females within the service. However, one can not certainly attribute the limited integration of females in GHANBATT peacekeeping to lack of logistics until further research is done on it.

6.4 Summary of the Discussion

So far this chapter discussed that to a large extent the Ghana Armed Forces integrates female personnel in peacekeeping but this is limited in terms of playing leadership and combat-related roles. The discussion also shown that general views about full integration of females in all aspects of peacekeeping is fairly favourable, suggesting that females are as capable as males to perform any activities in peacekeeping environments. The strict nature of military discipline and loyalty to command as well as the strict selection procedure into the Ghana Armed Forces have been found as among empirical factors that make it possible for male and female personnel to perform any duties in peacekeeping effectively. There has not been found any evidences suggesting that peacekeeping duties need to be stratified on gender basis for the sake of effective operations. To this end, the functionalist argument as explained earlier is challenged in the context of the Ghana Armed Forces. But this sets another point of departure to look then for why females are still not assigned to combat and leadership duties as their male counterparts. Could it be due to learning by observation and modelling? Future research may help resolve it. In the next chapter, I conclude the study and suggest implications for practice and future study.

66 Several of such comment including this one are recorded by the UN Info Centre Accra (2000:31)
CHAPTER SEVEN: GENERAL CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

7.0 General Conclusion

This study suggests a key observation as far as personnel of the Ghana Armed Forces are concerned that gender integration or involving females in all aspects of peacekeeping may not affect their ability to carry out peacekeeping operations effectively. A number of issues emerged from my study. First the question regarding the extent to which the Ghana Armed Forces integrates female personnel in peacekeeping has been considered. It was found out that in terms of numerical representation of females in peacekeeping, data from the United Nations and supported by respondents in the study indicate that the Ghana Armed Forces is quite progressive in this regard. However, general views among the personnel did show that female personnel do not get fair chance to participate in combat-related duties and are not assigned to leadership duties in peacekeeping. In this sense male-dominance or gender stratification of roles exists.

In further attempt to find explanation for why males dominate or why females get limited roles in peacekeeping, this study examined the argument brought by scholars as noted earlier that military institutions limit the integration of females in peacekeeping mainly due to concerns for operational effectiveness. (Heinecken, 2005, 715; Rehn and Johnson Sirleaf, 2002: 67). After doing a simple survey among the personnel and interviews with officers of GHANBATT, it was found that general perceptions were favorable for involving females in all aspects of peacekeeping, including leadership and combat-related duties.

It was observed that female personnel were perceived as capable as their male counterparts to lead the military for peace operations. According to respondents, it is possible for females to lead the military in peacekeeping environments due to the strict code of discipline expected of the soldiers. That is, they have to obey command irrespective of gender. In a similar manner, females were perceived to be capable of engaging in combat-related duties in peacekeeping environment because by virtue of being accepted into the
Ghana Armed Forces meant that all female personnel must have passed the necessary tests for physical fitness suitable for combat duties in peacekeeping environments.

On the basis of the foregoing, I deduced that if the roles of female personnel of the Ghana Armed Forces were expanded to include leadership and combat-related duties, it may not reduce their ability to carry out peacekeeping operations effectively. In other words, it is not likely that concern for operational effectiveness is the main motivation behind the inability of the Ghana Armed Forces to fully involve female personnel in combat and leadership duties in peacekeeping. As has been noted in chapter five and six, the core task of my study has been accomplished at this stage. The idea that females are not fully involved in military operations due to concerns of operational effectiveness seems inadequate to explain the situation in the context of the Ghana Armed Forces. Therefore, the functionalist explanation of male dominance is challenged.


However, the observation in my study sets a new point of departure for looking into alternative explanations of why the involvement of female personnel of the Ghana Armed Forces is limited in terms of leadership and combat related duties in peacekeeping. The observations made in this study seem to suggest a possibility that the Ghana Armed Forces might be practicing the limitation on female involvement as a result of observational learning from peer military institutions. As noted in the discussion, some participants did indicate that the Ghana Armed Forces practices peacekeeping among other military institutions. It looks likely that GAF does certain things in line with what other institutions do in terms of peacekeeping. The peacekeeping personnel have a lot of opportunities such as the mobile reserve force and inter-battalion sports activities through which they observe
and learn some behaviors from other military personnel. What this implies is the likelihood that decision makers in the Ghana Armed Forces might be assigning personnel to peacekeeping in line with what is done in peer military institutions around them. However, this study is not designed to go into details on this dimension and is recommended for further research.

On the other hand, some data seem to suggest that the Ghana Armed Forces may not wait for other military institutions to fully comply with gender integration to serve as model for learning through observation. The discourse so far suggests that GAF may progress rapidly in terms of integrating the potentials of males and females in peacekeeping. In chapter six, I discussed that Ghana is strongly committed to peacekeeping, that peacekeeping impacts positively on the internal peace of Ghana and some other issues suggesting that the Ghana Armed Forces may not relent on enforcing gender equality in peacekeeping. However, reaching this goal means strengthening the logistics base of GAF.

**7.1 Implications for Practice**

Practically this study suggests that the United Nation’s quest for gender equality in all aspects of peacekeeping is applicable in the context of the Ghana Armed Forces. It specifically notes that the potentials of both male and female personnel could be integrated in performing any activities in peacekeeping without hindering the ability of the military to achieve set targets. Findings in this study could serve as a first step in a process of policy reform within the Ghana Armed Forces when it comes to opening up leadership and combat related duties in peacekeeping environments to equal participation of males and females. This study may not be applicable in situations of war. My study was not designed to look into gender integration in an environment where the Ghana Armed Forces has to engage in war fighting against an enemy. I looked at gender integration in peacekeeping environments under the auspices of the United Nations.
7.2 Implications for Further Research

Theoretically this study implies that the functionalist explanation of male dominance in the areas of military peacekeeping operations -if at all relevant- must be contextualized. Therefore the general view among scholars that the military limits the participation of females in peacekeeping mainly due to concerns of operational effectiveness (Heinecken, 2002:715; Rehn and Johnson Sirleaf, 2002:65) does not apply in the context of the Ghana Armed Forces. The discourse above implies that the search for why the involvement of female personnel in military peacekeeping operations remains limited needs extensive research. This study may be replicated in the Ghana Armed Forces and other military contexts to either refute or confirm the findings. Such replication may be interesting to the Ghana Armed Forces in particular. Also, other researchers interested in the gender differences argument in the context of the armed forces and students in the area of peace and conflict issues may find the study interesting for replication. This will strengthen the discourse on gender integration in all aspects of peacekeeping operations.
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APPENDIXES

Questionnaire on Gender Integration and International Peacekeeping

Preamble
The following questions are intended to assess some parameters on Gender Integration and International Peacekeeping. This is purely a social academic research and therefore very confidential. Please, do not provide any indication of your identity such as name or signature apart from the biographical details required in section A. Feel free to provide your opinion as accurate as possible based on your experience in international peacekeeping and do not disclose your responses to a third party. Your responses exclusively make-up your personal opinion needed for the accuracy of this research. You will not be held liable for any statements you make herein. Try as much as possible to express your views on each question. Tick one option from a five or two point scale for each question and provide short explanations where applicable for your choice.

Thank you for cooperation.

Section A: Biographical Data
Sex: Male……Male Female……Age: …………………
How many times have you been on international peacekeeping? …………………
Department in the military………………………………………………..
How long have you served in the Military ……………………………….  

Section B: Perceived of gender differences in military peacekeeping
1. During some peacekeeping missions, personnel may face critical situations that may need active defense. Are both men and women given the same training for such situations? Yes… No… How would you agree that if women were given the same level of motivation, guidance and training they would perform equally effective as men in such volatile peacekeeping situations?
   Strongly agree…… Agree……Uncertain……..Disagree………..Strongly disagree………..

2. Do you feel the men and women are given equal opportunities to lead in peacekeeping? Yes…NO…
Do you agree that women should be given equal leadership opportunities as men in peacekeeping activities?
   Strongly agree……Agree……….Uncertain……..Disagree………..Strongly disagree……..
   Why? ..............................................................................................................................

3. How do you agree that deploying as many women as men on peacekeeping missions could have any good effect on the total effectiveness of peacekeeping activities?
   Strongly Agree….Agree…Uncertain……..Disagree………..Strongly Disagree…..

4. With your experience in peace keeping, choose the gender mix that you think could be best for peacekeeping activities.
   Many men + few women…….. Many women +few men……..Equal number of men to women…….. Uncertain……..
   Why? ..............................................................................................................................
5. With your experience in peacekeeping, kindly list at least five major operations/activities that are carried out for effective peacekeeping.

6. From the activities stated above kindly indicate those that are best performed by
   A) Men only
   b) Women only
   c) Both men and women

7. Are there some activities in peacekeeping that you think women should not be allowed to perform on equal terms as men?
   Yes
   No
   If yes, list those activities
   Give short reasons why you say so

8. Are there other special functions in peacekeeping that you think only women should be allowed to perform?
   Yes
   No
   If yes, list those functions
   Give short reasons for your opinion

9. Would you suggest that the increased involvement of females on peacekeeping activities could pose some special limitations to effective peacekeeping operations?
   Very likely
   Likely
   Uncertain
   Unlikely
   Why?

10. Would you suggest that modern peacekeeping provides equal opportunities for men and women in peacekeeping operations?
    Yes
    No

11. How would you feel if you were deployed on peacekeeping missions under the leadership of:
    I) A woman? Very happy…Happy…Uncertain…Unhappy…..Very Unhappy…
    II) A man? Very happy …Happy …Uncertain Unhappy…Very Unhappy……
    Why?

12. In your opinion, do you feel that you are given equal opportunities as the opposite sex in peacekeeping activities?
    Yes
    No

13. Could a gender difference in leadership, thus whether the leader is a man or woman, affect your motivation and efficiency in any way during peacekeeping operations?
    Very likely…likely…uncertain…unlikely…very unlikely
    Why?

14. To what extent do your male colleagues accept, respect and cooperate with you as equal partner to them in all aspects of peacekeeping operations?
    Very often…often…uncertain …not always…never before 

15. To what extent do your female colleagues accept, respect and cooperate with you as equal partner to them in all aspects of peacekeeping operations?
    Very often…often…uncertain …not always…never before 

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16. In your opinion, which group best accepts, respects and cooperates with you as equal partner to them in all aspects peacekeeping operations?  
Men ………….Women …………

17. If you were given a leadership position in peacekeeping operations, who do you think would give you the greatest problems?  
Men ………….Women …………

18. Peacekeeping requires leadership in all aspects of operations. In your opinion, do you think that the sex of the leader, thus whether man or woman, matters so much for the person to be an effective leader in peacekeeping operations?  
Yes…………..No……………

19. Taken that your leader in peacekeeping operations were a woman do you foresee any special problems that are likely to emerge just because the person is a woman?  
Yes…………..No……………
If yes, briefly state some examples.  
…………………………………………………………………………………………

20. Do you think such problems would not emerge if the leader were a man?  
Yes……………..No………………
If yes, kindly explain why.  
…………………………………………………………………………………………

21. With your experience in peacekeeping, do you have any special issues you would like to share with us on gender integration in peacekeeping?  
…………………………………………………………………………………………

22. Some cultures permit women to do whatever men could do whereas other cultures do not permit women to do certain things. How appropriate do you view a woman in active defense during volatile situations in peacekeeping operations?  
Highly appropriate…..appropriate…Uncertain…Inappropriate…Highly inappropriate…

23. How convinced are you that a woman who is well trained in military skills could perform very effectively as a man in all peacekeeping situations including fluid or volatile situations?  
Highly convinced….Slightly convinced…..uncertain…Slightly unconvinced…Highly unconvinced. Why.................................................................................................................

24. It is being said that the more women that are deployed in peacekeeping operations the more likely it is that the concerns and needs of local women and children in wore-torn countries would be catered for. How far do you agree with this statement?  
Strongly agree…Agree…Uncertain……Disagree…Strongly disagree …….  
Why? .......................................................................................................................

25. It is being advocated that women should take comparative leadership positions such as commanders etc in all spheres of peacekeeping operations just as men are permitted to do. How likely do you think that they will be as effective as men in those positions?  
Very likely…..Likely…..Uncertain….Unlikely…….Very unlikely………..  
Why? .....................................................................................................................

26. How ready are you to respect the authority of a woman leading you in peacekeeping operations?  
Completely ready….Partially ready…..Uncertain….not ready…..Completely not ready…
27. Would you be differently ready to respect the authority of a man in similar regard as in question 22?
Yes…….No…….Why? .....................................................................................................

28. Today women form less than 1% of personnel deployed for peacekeeping operations. How would you agree that the increased number of women to the number of men would enhance the overall peacekeeping operations?
Strongly agree…Agree…..Uncertain…disagree…….Strongly disagree……
Why? .................................................................................................................................

29. It is said that women and children are more vulnerable during conflict situations. Kindly state any known reasons why you think women within the military could better help those vulnerable people during peacekeeping operations.
........................................................................................................................................

30. With your experience in peacekeeping, do you think that women are generally ready to accept all duties in peacekeeping?
Yes………….No………………
If no, state the areas that you know that women do not generally want to be deployed in.
........................................................................................................................................
End of questionnaire. Thank you

A Sample Interview Guide for Officers in the Military

1. To what extent does the Ghanaian Army enhance equal opportunities and representation of men and women in peacekeeping operations?

2. In your opinion, do you think it is really possible for the military to open up all roles in peacekeeping to both men and women on equal terms?

3. In case the military decides to open up all roles and duties on equal terms to both men and women on peacekeeping, what likely good effects do you think that could have on the total effectiveness of peacekeeping?

4. In case the military decides to open up all roles and duties on equal terms to both men and women on peacekeeping, what likely limitations do you think that could have on the total effectiveness of peacekeeping?

5. Would you suggest that the increased representation of females on peacekeeping activities could pose some special limitation to effective peacekeeping activities? Why?

6. Are there any duties in peacekeeping operations that you think women are currently not allowed to participate in? Which duties do you should not be allowed to perform on equal bases as men?

7. Are there any special advantages that you think the increased representation of women in peacekeeping could bring to the total effectiveness of peacekeeping operations?
8. Looking at modern peacekeeping, do you consider physical strength as more important in active combat situations than tactics and skills?

9. Do you think women are significantly different from men in acquiring the tactics and skills necessary in fluid or volatile peacekeeping situations?

10. What are the identifiable leadership roles relative to international military peacekeeping?

11. How many women are leaders in these positions? What is the ratio of men to women?

12. Do you think women could not be very effective as men in those positions? Why do you say so?

13. If it is suggested that women should be appointed at random as men to take leadership responsibilities, what would you have to say about that? Do you think such a move could pose some threats to peacekeeping? Could you foresee any special advantages these could bring to peacekeeping?

14. How would you evaluate the general effectiveness of women in leadership positions for peacekeeping?

15. Could you give a brief history of women involvement in international peacekeeping activities?

16. Are women normally deployed in volatile peacekeeping situations? What is the main reason why it is so? What is your impression about women in volatile situations? If women suggest that they could equally deploy in active volatile peacekeeping situations as men, would you have any special reservations on that?

17. Military peacekeeping now involves several areas where women are most needed. Could you give an overview of any such situations?

18. It is now being suggested that the number of women in military peacekeeping should be increased at par with that of men. What is your impression about that? Do you see it as something worth pursuing?

19. Our culture reserves some responsibilities to men? Do you have any such reservations in the military?

20. What has been the trend in the ratio of men to women deployed on peacekeeping operations?

21. Do you give equal training to women as men towards peacekeeping or there are gender variations in training?

22. What is the general military policy on women in peacekeeping? When deploying peacekeepers, do you put women in special categories or they could deploy randomly as men?

23. Would you welcome a policy that deployment into the various duties for peacekeeping should not be based on gender variations?
24. What advantages and disadvantages do you think that could bring?
25. Would both men and women be ready to accept any duties and roles given to them at random in peacekeeping?
26. If it is suggested that peacekeeping roles should be open to both men and women on equal terms, in which roles do you think this will be
    a) Very easy........b) slightly difficult.......c) Very difficult...........d) Impossible......
27. Do you have any special opportunities to learn from sister military institutions? 
    Briefly describe them.

Thank you.

*The End*