THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1325: ROLE OF THE GHANA ARMED FORCES IN ENSURING FEMALE INCLUSION IN PEACE SUPPORT OPERATIONS

BY

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LEGON

AUGUST, 2016
DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this Dissertation is the result of an original research conducted by me under the supervision of Dr Peace Medie and that no part of it has been submitted anywhere else for any other purpose.

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FRANCISCA LANYO AHOLO
(STUDENT)

……………………..2016

INTEGRI PROCEDAMUS

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DR. PEACE MEDIE
(SUPERVISOR)

……………………..2016
DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to Jehovah, Almighty God.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I owe much gratitude to many people whose diverse efforts helped bring this thesis to being. My outmost thanks go to God for his direction, provision and protection throughout the whole course. My gratitude also goes to my supervisor Dr Peace Medie for her unfailing supervision and guidance through the various stages of writing this thesis. My sincere appreciation goes to my husband and friend whose invaluable support in diverse forms encouraged me to go through the course. In a similar measure I thank Major Augustine Awuku-Annie, a colleague whose encouragement and assistance has made it possible for me even to reach the stage of writing a thesis. I have not forgotten Lt Col Bashar of the Ghana Army HQ who gave me guidance on how to structure my questionnaires. In no less measure I express my deepest gratitude to Miss Matilda Banfro and Mabel Okai from the Women’s Department of the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection for the assistance they gave me in the course of the research. To all personnel of the GAF who answered the questionnaires and those who granted me reception for interviews I thank you so much. Thanks go to all of you mentioned above as well as those who fit but not mentioned. You have a share of any credits in this study.
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<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CO</td>
<td>Commanding Officer</td>
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<tr>
<td>Coy</td>
<td>Company</td>
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<td>CSO</td>
<td>Civil Society Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>CEDAW</td>
<td>Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women</td>
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<td>CSIP</td>
<td>Command and Staff Instruction Procedure</td>
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<td>DPET</td>
<td>Department of Policy Evaluation and Training Division</td>
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<td>DPKO</td>
<td>Department of Peace keeping Operations</td>
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<tr>
<td>ECOWAS</td>
<td>Economic Community of West African States</td>
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<td>GAF</td>
<td>Ghana Armed Forces</td>
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<td>GCC</td>
<td>Gold Coast Constabulary</td>
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<td>GAFCSC</td>
<td>Ghana Armed Forces Command and Staff College</td>
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<td>GHANBATT</td>
<td>Ghanaian Battalion</td>
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<td>GHANAP</td>
<td>Ghana National Action Plan</td>
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<td>GHQ</td>
<td>General Headquarters</td>
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<td>GHAV</td>
<td>Ghana Aviation</td>
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<tr>
<td>MDA</td>
<td>Ministries, Departments and Agencies</td>
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<td>MOD</td>
<td>Ministry of Defence</td>
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<td>MONUSCO</td>
<td>UN Organisations Stabilization Mission in DR Congo</td>
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<td>NAP</td>
<td>National Action Plan</td>
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<td>OC</td>
<td>Officer Commanding</td>
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<td>OMA</td>
<td>Office of Military Affairs</td>
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<tr>
<td>PKO</td>
<td>Peace keeping Operations</td>
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<td>PSO</td>
<td>Peace Support Operation</td>
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<td>Acronym</td>
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<tr>
<td>SANDF</td>
<td>South African National Defence</td>
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<td>TCC</td>
<td>Troop Contributing Country</td>
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<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>UNAMIR</td>
<td>United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda</td>
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<td>UNEF</td>
<td>UN Emergency Force in the Sinai Egypt</td>
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<td>UNIFIL</td>
<td>United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon</td>
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<td>UNOCI</td>
<td>United Nations Mission in Cote d'Ivoire</td>
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<td>UNOMIL</td>
<td>UN Observer Mission in Liberia</td>
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<td>UNSCR</td>
<td>UN Security Council Resolution</td>
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<td>UNTAC</td>
<td>UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia</td>
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<td>WAC</td>
<td>Women Auxiliary Corps</td>
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<td>WAFF</td>
<td>West African Frontier Force</td>
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<td>WILPE</td>
<td>Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom</td>
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ABSTRACT

The GAF has excelled in various UN Peace Support Operations. Following the launch of the UNSCR 1325 in 2010, the GAF has made efforts to ensure equality in the GAF by increasing the numbers of women on PSOs however women are not allowed in command and combat position. The provisions in the Ghana Armed Forces Command and Staff Instruction Procedure (CSIP) Volume 3 only allow women to be employed in support service roles and not in command and combat positions. Via an examination of the extent to which gender norms embedded in the CSIP Volume 3 have prevented the implementation of UNSCR 1325, this study attempts to determine why the GAF has not been able to implement the UNSCR 1325 despite the many accolades the GAF has received with regard to its achievements in Peace Support Operations (PSOs). The extent to which the GAF has ensured gender equality in PSOs was also examined. The study concludes that there are gender norms in the GAF which are expressed in the CSIP Volume 3. This has led to the exclusion of women from command and combat roles in UN PSOs. It also concludes that even though these gender norms exist, generally the GAF advocates for gender equality in all aspects of peacekeeping. Various challenges were identified to have hindered the implementation of the resolution. For the GAF to be able to fully implement the UNSCR 1325, there is the need to review the provisions in the CSIP Volume 3 on the employment of women in the GAF and to develop gender policies.
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Over the years, the world has seen wars, armed conflicts, and revolutions.¹ A number of these wars, such as World War I and World War II, were large enough to involve nearly the whole world causing the deaths of millions of people and shaping reactions to them by various groups including women.²

Historically, records have shown that women have been part of wars and adequately performed successfully.³ According to Joshua Goldstein, ancient historians have stated that Amazons once existed in Greece.⁴ These were fierce women warriors who lived in the north of the Black Sea about 700 years before the 5th century BC and participated in fighting and governance.⁵ The Dahomey Kingdom of West Africa in the 18th and 19th centuries also had an army wing with female combatants called the Amazon corps.⁶ They were excellent soldiers whose presence substantially increased the kingdom’s military power⁷ The Ashanti-British “War of the Golden Stool” in Ghana was led by Queen Mother Nana Yaa Asantewaa with an army of 5,000.⁸ Even though she was captured by the British later on, her bravery stirred a kingdom-wide movement for the return of Prempeh I and for the independence of the Ashanti Confederacy.⁹ In 2007, for the first time in the history of the United Nations (UN) peacekeeping, an all-female Formed Police Unit (FPU) arrived in Liberia to join the world body’s operation to strengthen the rule of law and maintain peace in the West African country.¹⁰ The Female Indian Formed Police assist in curbing crime and public disorders, which allows Liberians to get on with their lives in peace.¹¹ They also provide protection to pivotal installations in the country such as the Ministry
of Foreign Affairs, which houses the Office of the President; addressing emergency situations and crowd control; and they collaborate with the Liberian National Police and UN Police in carrying out effective night patrols. These cases demonstrate the possibility of effective women combatants.

Women have also contributed to resolving conflicts in their societies. The Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982 provoked movements among Israeli and Palestinian women who opposed the conflict. There have been women organisations which have continued to work together, trying to alleviate social, economic, and political problems suffered by both sides. In Liberia, women’s movements participated in the resolution of the first and second civil wars. Throughout the two conflicts, women have been involved in many demonstrations against the different fighting groups. The importance of women in the pursuance of peace in any society can therefore not be over emphasized. The UN, having realized the importance of women has made efforts to ensure their integration in its missions all over the world by promoting gender mainstreaming. The UN started addressing women and gender issues long before the end of the Cold War. It established the Commission on the Status of Women as early as 1946 and held the First Conference on Women in Mexico in 1975. During the 1990s, the UN began to include a commitment to the promotion of gender balance in all professions. The organisation started deploying its troops around the world in 1948 to establish and maintain peace in conflict zones. Troops’ main roles were patrolling borders, keeping conflicting armies apart and performing military functions. These roles and responsibilities have however shifted over the years as intra-state and inter-ethnic conflicts have replaced inter-state wars. This has led to new challenges confronting the international community generally including the peacekeeping community.
The mandate of the UN peacekeeping mission has, therefore, shifted from exclusively military operations to integrated peace support operations.\textsuperscript{23} The main priorities within this approach include restructuring state institutions, demobilizing and reintegrating former combatants, organizing and monitoring electoral processes, and helping women and children who are the most affected during conflicts.\textsuperscript{24} The UN has therefore sought to adopt a gendered approach to adequately respond to the needs of women, men, boys and girls who have been affected by armed conflicts. War has always impacted men and women in different ways. Although men and boys are victims of war, women and girls are the primary targets.\textsuperscript{25} In contemporary conflicts, as much as 90\% of casualties are among civilians, most of whom are women and children.\textsuperscript{26} Women are the first to be affected by infrastructure breakdown, as they struggle to keep families together and care for the wounded.\textsuperscript{27} Women may also be forced to turn to sexual exploitation in order to survive and support their families.\textsuperscript{28} The integration of women into peacekeeping missions has, therefore, taken the approaches of mainstreaming gender into the mandates, policies, and practices of peacekeeping missions and increasing the number of women.\textsuperscript{29}

To strengthen this position, the UN adopted UNSCR 1325 of October 2000 which calls for the incorporation of gender perspectives into peacekeeping operations (PKOs).\textsuperscript{30} Article 1 of the Resolution urges member states to ensure increased representation of women at all decision making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict.\textsuperscript{31} Article 2 encourages the Secretary-General to implement his strategic plan of action (A/49/587) calling for an increase in the participation of women at decision making levels in conflict resolution and peace processes.\textsuperscript{32} Article 4 further urges the Secretary-General to seek to expand the role and contribution of women in United
Nations field-based operations, and especially among military observers, civilian police, human rights and humanitarian personnel. The resolution is a landmark international legal framework that addresses not only the inordinate impact of war on women, but also the pivotal role women should and do play in conflict management, conflict resolution, and sustainable peace. The Resolution thus urges all actors to increase the participation of women and incorporate gender perspectives in all UN peace and security efforts. The implementation of the Resolution requires member states to empower women through active roles in peacekeeping and post-conflict reconstruction and peace building. Ghana as a member of the UN is, therefore, expected to implement this Resolution in all aspects of governance. One of the institutions where this Resolution is expected to be implemented is the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF) in all its activities including PSOs. Implementation of this resolution in the GAF therefore means mainstreaming gender in the policies and practices of the military.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

Over the years, GAF women who were deployed in UN operations have performed their roles creditably and proven that when given the chance they could be as professional as their male counterparts. Even though Ghana has won several accolades from the United Nations for its inclusion of women in peacekeeping missions, women are however employed only in support and administrative roles. Combat and command roles where strategic, operational and tactical decisions are taken are stereotypically reserved for their male counterparts because according to the Ghana Armed Forces Command and Staff Instruction Procedures (CSIP) Volume 3, women are to be employed in support and service roles only. The GAF, therefore, does not employ women in command and combat roles in peacekeeping missions.
Thus, women find themselves performing support roles not because they have been given the opportunity to perform in combat and command positions and failed but because they have not been given the opportunities to rise and compete equally with their male counterparts. Article 10.15 of the CSIP specifically states that “every officer must pass in both the practical and written examination before his/her due date for promotion”\(^{38}\) however, women have been exempted from taking part in these exams because it has been informally accepted that since they cannot become commanders, they are not allowed to write such examinations. For a male army officer to rise to become a battalion commander for example, he must have completed his Young Officers Course, passed promotion exams, which includes written and practical exams, done his Combat Team Commander’s Course in addition to the junior and senior staff courses at the Ghana Armed Forces Command and Staff College (GAFCSC).\(^{39}\) A female officer, on the other hand, only writes the written promotion exam and does the junior and senior staff courses and so cannot become a commander.\(^{40}\) Female officers in the Ghana Navy by convention are also not employed in the executive branch which is the command branch of the Navy. This is because the Ghana Navy Ships are designed without cabins suitable for women. Women in the Air Force are employed as helicopter and transport aircraft pilots but not as fighter pilots by convention. This is because it is accepted that flying the fighter aircraft is too complex for women to handle. Women are thus not given the opportunity with regard to recruitment and the necessary training and resources which will enable them compete equally with their male counterparts to rise to become commanders. They are, therefore, unable to be assigned such major assignments that can lead to career advancement.

Women in the GAF deserve to be given equal opportunities in both command and combat roles because the nature of warfare today has changed. Having the strongest force is no longer
by muscle alone. Wars today are fought by intelligence and modern technology and women are equally capable of applying both aspects of muscle and intelligence.

The GAF is deployed in a number of UN peacekeeping missions all over the world including UNMIL, UNIFL, MONUSCO, UNOCI, MINURSO among others. Ghana continues to be lauded for her continuous increase of female participants in these missions however the policies of the GAF do not allow women to be employed in command and combat roles in UN peacekeeping missions. Thus they continue to perform only support roles. This study therefore seeks to examine why women in the GAF are not employed in command and combat roles and why the GAF policies on gender equality continue to remain unchanged despite Ghana’s adoption of UNSCR 13025

1.3 Research Questions

a. Does the GAF have gender policies?

b. Why are women excluded from combat and command roles?

c. Is UNSCR 1325 being implemented in the GAF?

d. What are the challenges in implementing UN Resolution 1325?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the study will be:

a. To verify whether the GAF has gender policies.

b. To verify whether the GAF has policies on the employment of women in command and combat appointments during PSOs.

c. To identify why women are excluded from combat and command roles in the GAF.
d. To ascertain the degree to which UNSCR 1325 is being implemented by the GAF.

e. To identify the challenges of the GAF in implementing UNSC Resolution 1325

f. To make recommendations for a review of GAF policies on the role of women in PSOs.

1.5 Scope of the Study

The study focuses on the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and why it does not reflect in the roles of women in GAF PSOs. Women are very important players in the peacekeeping effort, therefore, giving them equal opportunities will enable them contribute their quota effectively in order to achieve success for the UN. The research focused on both male and female other ranks and officers in the Ghana Army, Navy and Air Force who have participated in UN PSOs. Fifty personnel made up of 25 male and 25 female personnel of the ranks of colonel, lieutenant colonel, major, warrant officer, sergeant and corporal who have served between 10 and 20 years in the GAF and between 5 to 10 years of PKOs were given questionnaires to answer. Twenty personnel from the Army were given questionnaire because it is the service with the most units deployed on UN peacekeeping missions while ten personnel each from the Navy and Air Force were also given questionnaires. Two civilians and 8 military officers were also interviewed. The two civilians were from the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection while the 8 comprised three colonels, three majors and 2 captains from the Army, Navy and Air Force Departments of Peacekeeping Operations.

1.6 Rationale of the Study

The UN adopted UNSCR 1325 not only to increase the participation of women but to give them equal opportunities with their male colleagues having identified their importance in
contributing to the peace effort. The Resolution noted the distinct roles that women can play in conflict prevention, peace building, and reconstruction yet this policy has yielded very marginal success in the GAF PSOs as gender equality has still not been achieved even though the GAF is hailed internationally for increasing the number of women in peacekeeping operations.\textsuperscript{44} The percentage of women in the GAF as at 2006 was 9\%.\textsuperscript{45} Currently as at 2015 this has increased to 11.5 percent\textsuperscript{46} indicating a steady increase of women. Despite this increase, women continue to remain in support roles. It is against this background that the study becomes important as it will examine why this resolution has not been implemented in the GAF. It will also serve as data for the GAF and for reference material for research.

1.7 Hypotheses of the Study

a. HA – Patriarchal Gender norms have prevented the GAF from implementing UNSC Resolution 1325.

b. HO – Patriarchal Gender norms have not prevented the GAF from implementing UNSCR 1325.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

The research is generally grounded in the theory of feminism. Apart from the two main theories of realism and liberalism, feminist theory also brings new perspectives to the international relations table. Feminism Theory is an outgrowth of the general movement to empower women worldwide.\textsuperscript{47} The goals of feminism are to demonstrate the importance of women, to reveal that women have been subordinate to men, and to bring about gender equality.\textsuperscript{48} Feminists fight for the equality of women and argue that women should share equally in society’s opportunities and resources.\textsuperscript{49} They seek to establish equal opportunities for women
in education and employment. Feminism focuses on the fact that all people are created equal and should not be denied equality of opportunities because of gender.\textsuperscript{50} There is a first wave feminism and a second wave feminism.\textsuperscript{51} While the first wave is usually positioned in the period from the 1860's to 1920's, the second wave is positioned in the late 1960's and extends to the present.\textsuperscript{52} What both movements have in common is the production of feminist knowledge.

There are different branches of feminist theories which are widely acknowledged and taught.\textsuperscript{53} Some of these branches are cultural feminism, ecofeminism, moderate feminism, radical feminism, amazon feminism, and feminist security theory.\textsuperscript{54} This dissertation is underpinned by the feminist security theory which analysis the roles women and gender play both during and after conflict, a discussion which is often absent in International Relations.\textsuperscript{55} According to Annick T.R Wibben, feminist security theory is “located at the intersection of security studies, feminist international relations and feminist theory more generally”.\textsuperscript{56} Feminist Security Studies draws on a variety of disciplines such as political science, anthropology, sociology, philosophy, psychology, and any subject that can help us understand the issues that are affecting women internationally during peace and war, in relation to conflict.\textsuperscript{57} It involves the inequality in the roles of women in peace support operations.\textsuperscript{58} It identifies women as a ‘significant group’ relevant to the security dynamic and uses gender identity to understand security, which requires breaking down rigid and fundamental structures that have been built around traditional notions of security, allowing for articulations of security as it is understood by individuals in general and by women in particular.\textsuperscript{59}

This theory does not go without criticism. Its greatest challenge is antifeminism which opposes women's entry into the public sphere, the re-organization of the private sphere, and women's rights generally.\textsuperscript{60} Antifeminists consider the traditional gender division of labour as
natural and inevitable, perhaps also divinely sanctioned. They oppose women's entry into the workforce, political office, and the voting process, as well as the lessening of male authority in families. Paul Gottfried, an anti-feminist, maintains that the change of women's roles has been a social disaster that continues to take its toll on the family. Jean Bethke Elshain explains how gender norms depict men as ‘Just Warriors’ and women as ‘Beautiful Souls’ who are ‘non-combatants’ while men are fighters. This gendered archetype portrays women as weak and vulnerable and serves to perpetuate gender subordination. Drawing from Elshtain, Laura Sjorberg adds that men and women are expected to conform to the inherited gender roles of men being combatants and women being passive victims of war. In other words, men fight wars in order to protect the innocent and vulnerable women. Antifeminists also frequently argue that feminism, despite espousing equality, ignores rights issues unique to males. Some believe that the feminist movement has achieved its aims and now seeks higher status for women than for men through special rights and exemptions.

The choice of Feminist Security Theory is in tune with the idea of ensuring gender equality in peacekeeping operations where women are given the necessary opportunities to contribute their quota to ensuring peace and security. This is because it is possible for the world to rely on women’s efforts as much as it relies on men to adopt mechanisms that could best address conflict issues in the world. The choice of this theory is by no means intended to recommend an all-female GAF where equality of women leads to the relegation of men to the background. It advocates an equal opportunity for women and men in the GAF. It understands that both men and women are important and equal players and must, therefore, have equal opportunities. Giving equal opportunities to women in UN PKOs would, therefore, ensure complimentary efforts by both men and women and ensure the success of UN missions.
1.9 Literature Review

The full integration of women occupies an important place in any attempt to ensure peace and security in any peacekeeping mission. A wealth of theoretical and applied research on gender mainstreaming and integration of women in UN peacekeeping missions has been generated since the UN started advocating for their inclusion. This research focuses on how the GAF could adjust to the UN requirement of gender equality or full involvement of women in all aspects of peacekeeping. The case of the Ghana Armed Forces depicts a situation where a fairly favourable environment for gender integration seems to be the norm however, women are still not fully integrated in performing key military duties in PKOs.

Ensuring gender equality in UN peacekeeping forces takes its roots in the idea of ensuring gender equality in all of the UN institutions.\textsuperscript{70} In November 2006, DPKO wrote a Policy Directive on Gender Equality in UN PKOs.\textsuperscript{71} Section D.3 is dedicated to “Recruitment and retention of high quality personnel” and it advocates for “the adoption of gender sensitive policies which support the increased recruitment and deployment of uniformed women to peacekeeping”.\textsuperscript{72} The policy directive also advocates for improvements in the hiring process, with a greater focus on gender equality in the vacancy announcements.\textsuperscript{73}

UNSCR 1325 also notes the distinct roles that women can play in conflict prevention, peace building and reconstruction processes and calls for the increased representation of women at all levels of peacekeeping.\textsuperscript{74} According to Sandra, while there has been considerable activity within the UN around women and gender throughout history, gender issues are not viewed as central within the larger UN system. Women are highly underrepresented within positions of decision making authority despite longstanding and repeated statements from the highest level promising commitments to gender balance.\textsuperscript{75} Where women are present in peace operations, they
are represented in administration, legal and civil affairs and human resources management. The problem of under-representation of women in PKP missions is primarily as a result of the failure of troop contributing countries to send women to occupy key positions. The reason for adopting the strategy called “mainstreaming” was to insist on the importance of incorporating attention to gender through all aspects of the UN’s work and to move away from a simple count of number of women within the UN however that is becoming difficult to achieve.

About 23 million soldiers serve in today’s uniformed standing armies of which about 97% are male. In only six of the world’s nearly 200 states do women make up more than 5% of the armed forces. Most of these women in military forces worldwide occupy traditional women’s roles such as typists and nurses. Designated combat forces in the armies today include several million soldiers of whom 99.9% are male. Combat forces today almost totally exclude women and the entire global military system has few women. However, in several cases, women have participated in combat although still minorities in mostly male armies. Some documented historical cases of substantial organized female combat units are the Dahomey Kingdom of West Africa in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Amazons of Greek Myth in the fifth century BC, and the Soviet Union in World War II. These cases prove that these women were capable in those tasks and eventually gaining the acceptance and admiration of their male counterparts who had been sceptical or hostile to them. These cases also prove that women can be organized into effective large scale military units. In both cases, there was no instance when women were in the majority. However in all the cases, the mobilization of a substantial minority of women soldiers increased the state’s military power. One female US Lieutenant Colonel who commanded a Military Police Battalion puts it this way; “if a woman thinks like a warrior, believes she is a warrior then she will do what it takes”. Just as women can be organized into
effective combat groups, they have also shown themselves as adept military leaders. A most famous case is Joan of Arc.\textsuperscript{88} Joan, a peasant girl, at age 16, convinced the French ruler in 1429 to provide her some troops and send her to Orleans where she rallied the demoralized army and personally led the attack on key English fortresses and prevailed.\textsuperscript{89} She was a good military tactician and was especially adept at riding a horse while wielding a lance, at setting up artillery and at organizing armies for battle.\textsuperscript{90}

There is another argument being made for why women should be included in warfare now even more than before. Some experts argue that though some may consider the size of a warrior as an advantage in winning a fight which women might be disadvantaged, the most important advantage for humans especially soldiers come from intelligence that is the use of the brain more than physical strength.\textsuperscript{91} Warfare is not mainly of hand-to-hand combat so the argument by some anti-feminist of the need for brute strength is less relevant.\textsuperscript{92} Studies have shown that females have physical abilities that are becoming more relevant to modern warfare.\textsuperscript{93} Modern warfare now relies on the speed and mobility of mechanized vehicles (tanks, fighter aircraft etc). This differs from ancient hand-to-hand combat. “Success and survival now depend much more on the ability to execute rapid sequences of small motions and much less on upper-body strength”.\textsuperscript{94} According to Eric M Blanchard, beliefs in the masculinity of war and the inherent aggressiveness of men are therefore undermined by contemporary warfare, which “seems to require much physical aggression, a tolerance of boredom or the ability to operate a computer under stress, characteristics that are neither distinctly ‘masculine’ nor heroic”.\textsuperscript{95}

A study produced by the Division for the Advancement of Women in 1995 outlined the ways women can “make a difference” in peacekeeping. The study argued that when a critical mass of women are present on peacekeeping missions they make a unique contribution and that
they are particularly successful in the diffusion of violence, are perceived to be compassionate, willing to listen and sometimes employ unorthodox techniques such as singing to diffuse potentially violent situations.\textsuperscript{96} The study also noted that civilian women peacekeepers worked effectively with both military and police personnel and contrary to some expectations, many women willingly accept the challenges of working in dangerous and isolated situations.\textsuperscript{97} In June 1999 the special advisor on gender issues called for further analysis and more detailed cases of women and peacekeeping from both past and ongoing missions. The studies were prepared on peace operations in Namibia, Cambodia, El Salvador, Bosnia Herzegovina, South Africa and Kosovo. The case study concluded that local women are more likely to confide in female peacekeepers; women negotiators were understand the implications of peace processes for women better than men do.\textsuperscript{98}

The above arguments show that when it comes to strength, capability, and intelligence which are needed in warfare, women have proven that they can be relied upon. However the GAF has not included women in command and combat positions in PSOs yet. There is, therefore, the need to include women in PSOs. However in the above arguments, what is lacking is a study on why the GAF has not met the requirements of UNSCR 1325 with regards to gender mainstreaming. There is no study on why GAF women are not employed in command and combat appointments despite the accolades Ghana has won with regard to increasing the number of women in UN PKOs such as United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL), United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) and the United Nations Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUSCO). The arguments and challenges made in the literatures are generic but there is no study on the GAF. The policies of the GAF on the role of women in PSOs to a large extent are still characterized by discrimination. The GAF continues to
recommend men for vacancies especially at command level because the CSIP Volume 3 requires women to be employed only in static units and therefore, they do not go through the required training which will enable them occupy such positions.\textsuperscript{99}

All efforts in the GAF aim at increasing the number of women participants in PKOs, however, achieving gender balance does not automatically translate into gender equality or gender mainstreaming.\textsuperscript{100} To increase the meaningful participation of women in PKOs, women need to be integrated into senior, decision-making, and leadership posts.\textsuperscript{101} The full integration of women in peacekeeping is not only in increased numbers. It includes both increasing the number of female uniformed personnel and integrating a gender perspective in missions.\textsuperscript{102} This is a multifaceted process, and much remains to be done by the GAF. As Margrethe Løj, the former Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the UN Mission in Liberia, remarked, “The presence of more women in peacekeeping conveys the message that peace building is the responsibility of both men and women not for the sake of numbers only, but for the purpose of projecting that women are also part of the society and the solution.”\textsuperscript{103} All the books and reports reviewed are relevant for women in the GAF to be employed in command and combat roles in UN peacekeeping operation. The research will suggest a way forward.

\subsection*{2.0 Sources of Data and Research Methodology}

Design is a logical task undertaken to ensure that the evidence collected enables us to answer questions or to test theories as unambiguously as possible.\textsuperscript{104} The function of a research design is to ensure that the evidence obtained enables us to answer the initial question as unambiguously as possible.\textsuperscript{105} There are two types of designs: quantitative and qualitative research. This research will employ the qualitative research because it is a non-numerical examination of observations which leads to the discovery of underlying meanings of patterns and
relationships\textsuperscript{106} which is appropriate for this research. In the ‘Handbook of Qualitative Research’ by Denzin and Lincoln qualitative research is described as involving “an interpretive naturalistic approach to the world”. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them.\textsuperscript{107} This research intends to understand why women in the GAF are excluded from combat and command roles even though the UNSCR 1325 advocates for their inclusion. The advantages of qualitative techniques are that, they are extremely useful when a subject is too complex to be answered by a simple yes or no hypothesis. These types of designs are much easier to plan and carry out and are also useful when budgetary decisions have to be taken into account. Qualitative research methods are not as dependent upon sample sizes as quantitative methods; a case study, for example, can generate meaningful results with a small sample group.\textsuperscript{108} The researcher took into consideration the limited time available to submit the dissertation before her deployment on PKO in UNMIL, the budgetary constraints and the complex nature of the subject before deciding to use the qualitative method which is easier to carry out.

Whilst not as time or resource consuming as quantitative experiments, the disadvantages of qualitative methods are that, they still require a lot of careful thought and planning, to ensure that the results obtained are as accurate as possible.\textsuperscript{109} Qualitative data cannot be mathematically analyzed in the same comprehensive way as quantitative results, so can only give a guide to general trends. It is a lot more open to personal opinion and judgment, and so can only give observations rather than results.\textsuperscript{110} 

My study finds a trend in the employment of women in the GAF only in support duties and not in command and combat duties and this is best answered with qualitative data. I assembled
qualitative data from primary and secondary sources including magazines, existing literature, interviews of male and female officers, both serving and retired of the GAF who have participated in UN PSOs, observations and documents. Most documents were obtained in hard copy, while others were downloaded from the internet. The qualitative method was designed to trace why women are not employed in command and combat duties within the context of the Ghana Armed Forces in relation to peacekeeping. The method was designed for respondents themselves to report on their experiences in peacekeeping since the researcher was interested in perceptions and views.\textsuperscript{111}

Security Council Resolution 1325(2000) suggests the full involvement of females in all peacekeeping duties.\textsuperscript{112} My interest is in why the GAF continuous to increase the number of women in PKP operations but does not employ them in command and combat duties as is suggested by UNSCR 1325.

2.1 Chapter Arrangement

The study is organized into four chapters. Chapter One is the introduction which outlines the research design. Chapter Two gives an overview of the implementation of UNSC Resolution 1325 and GAF PSOs. Chapter Three provides an examination of how gender norms in the GAF have prevented the implementation of UNSCR 1325. Chapter Four consists of the summary of findings, conclusions and recommendations.
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CHAPTER TWO

OVERVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF UNSC RESOLUTION 1325 AND GAF IN PSOs

2.1 Introduction

Experts say that United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 was the document that first recognised the need to improve women’s lives and women’s rights both in times of war and in times of peace.¹ In the area of women’s security, the UNSCR 1325 was the first step that would shape international discourse on gender issues.² An understanding of the background and dynamics that led to the formulation of UNSC Resolution 1325, its launch in Ghana and an overview of the GAF in PSOs will be established in this Chapter. This will enable a clear examination of the extent to which Resolution 1325 reflects in the participation of GAF women in PSOs in the next chapter.

2.2 Background to the Formulation of UNSC Resolution 1325

The UN Security Council has adopted three resolutions on women, peace and security apart from 1325, to enhance the role played by women in the maintenance of international peace and security.³ They include Resolution 1820 (2008), Resolution 1888 (2009), and Resolution 1889 (2009).⁴ These resolutions ensure women’s participation in post-conflict decision-making processes, prevent sexual violence, protect women and girls, increase the presence of female peacekeeping personnel and systematically train all peacekeepers to address gender issues in their work during peacekeeping missions.⁵
With the introduction of UNSCR 1325 on 8th March 2000, the impression of women as helpless victims is broken.\(^6\) In 2000, the Secretary-General tasked a high-level panel to carry out a thorough review of the United Nations peace and security activities.\(^7\) The review resulted in a report recognizing the need for the United Nations to have equitable gender representation in the leadership of its peacekeeping missions.\(^8\) The Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan of Action on Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Operations were therefore developed in June 2000 to ensure gender perspectives of multidimensional peacekeeping missions.\(^9\) The Windhoek Declaration was an important step which would later lead to the adoption of resolution 1325.\(^10\)

The Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) which was introduced in 1979 started the international gender discourse on women. It ensured that all forms of discrimination against women were discouraged and encouraged states to adopt measures that would allow women to be equal to men.\(^11\) The Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (DEVAW), which specifically targeted all forms of violence against women followed CEDAW in 1993.\(^12\)

UNSCR 1325 thus, provided the main international legal and political framework that acknowledged the impact of armed conflicts on women as well as the key role they play in peace building.\(^13\) It recognizes the importance of the participation of women and the need to include gender perspectives in peacekeeping operations, peace negotiations, humanitarian activities, post-conflict peace building, and governance.\(^14\) The resolution focuses first of all on peace and security and on the premise that in order to improve on attaining viable and sustainable peace, it is important to include women in the peace process and to allow their perspectives and contributions to peace talks.\(^15\) The Resolution has four main pillars. They include participation,
prevention, protection, and gender mainstreaming.\textsuperscript{16} Within these pillars, the resolution involves security sector reform, women’s participation in peace negotiations and peacekeeping, judicial and legal reform and protection from sexual violence in armed conflict.\textsuperscript{17} The resolution has eighteen articles which give opportunities to women and calls for the participation of women in various areas including\textsuperscript{18}:

a. National, regional and international institutions
b. the prevention, management and resolutions of conflicts
c. peace negotiations
d. peace operations as soldiers, police and civilians
e. the protection of women and girls from sexual and gender based violence during war and post-conflict situations
f. emergency and humanitarian situations such as in refugee camps.\textsuperscript{19}

UNSCR 1325 was started by the then Minister of Women's Affairs in Namibia, Netumbo Nandi-Ndaitwah, when the country chaired the UN Security Council.\textsuperscript{20} The resolution was adopted unanimously after dozens of women's organizations and the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) urged members to do so.\textsuperscript{21} All countries were called upon to increase women’s representation at all levels. The then UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, was asked to ensure an increase in women’s participation at decision-making levels in conflict resolution and peace process. He was requested to also appoint more women as Special Representatives of the Secretary General and envoys, and expand their role in peacekeeping operations, particularly among military observers, police, human rights, and humanitarian personnel.\textsuperscript{22} The Security Council thus expressed its readiness to incorporate a gender perspective into every aspect of peacekeeping operations.\textsuperscript{23}
This research focuses on Articles 1, 2 and 4 of UNSCR 1325. Article 1 urges Member States to increase representation of women at all decision making levels in national, regional and international Institutions.\textsuperscript{24} Article 2 entreats the Secretary-General to implement his strategic plan of action (A/49/587) which calls for an increase in women’s participation at decision making levels in conflict resolution and peace processes.\textsuperscript{25} Article 4 further urges the Secretary-General to expand the role and contribution of women in UN field operations especially among military observers, civilian police, human rights, and humanitarian personnel.\textsuperscript{26}

2.3 Monitoring the Implementation of UNSCR 1325

The UN, through the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) initiated PeaceWomen, a project, which monitors and provides information on UN member states and their implementation of Resolution 1325 and subsequent resolutions.\textsuperscript{27} PeaceWomen also monitors National Action Plans (NAPs) initiated by member states which are to further implement SCR 1325. Member states are to create action plans to provide an opportunity to initiate strategic actions, identify priorities and resources, and determine responsibilities and timeframes for the implementation of the resolution at the national level.\textsuperscript{28} Currently, there are more than 30 countries which have adopted the resolution.\textsuperscript{29} Sixteen of these countries have developed national action plans and strategic policies at the national level to implement the UNSCR 1325 in their countries.\textsuperscript{30} The process of developing a national action plan is meant to be participatory, multi-disciplinary, and to include stakeholders from a broad section of security actors and civil society.\textsuperscript{31}

2.4 UN Guidelines for integrating gender perspectives into military PKOs

Ten years after the UN Security Council adopted UNSCR 1325 on women, peace and security, the Office of Military Affairs (OMA) of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations
(DPKO) issued guidelines for Integrating a Gender Perspective into the Work of the military in UN Peacekeeping Operations. The guidelines were developed in partnership with the Gender Unit of the Policy, Evaluation and Training Division (DPET) of the DPKO. The UN saw significant changes in military peacekeeping activities during these ten years. The military in multidimensional peacekeeping missions were increasingly required to engage with the local populations. To work with the different groups in the local population required that the military adopted necessary strategies to ensure that the security concerns of women, men, girls, and boys were adequately addressed throughout all phases of a peacekeeping mission.

These guidelines are aimed at enhancing the operational effectiveness of military peacekeeping tasks and also to provide practical translation of existing mandates on women, peace and security in the performance of these tasks. They are intended to support military personnel working at the strategic, operational, and tactical levels to ensure that the security concerns at all levels of the local population inform the planning process as well as the operational activities of the military in its areas of operation. The guidelines were also to inform the content of training activities for military peacekeeping personnel. Thus, it was hoped that troop-contributing countries (TCCs) would embrace this tool and use it to guide their pre-deployment planning and training activities.

The guidelines were to assist TCCs and military components in field missions. They were to guide the military in force-generation goals which are to be in line with specific operational requirements that would ensure the selection and deployment of their male and female personnel, pre-deployment preparations and training. These guidelines were also to complement the existing ‘Gender Mainstreaming Information Package’ that DPKO provides to TCCs for pre-deployment training.
The guidelines are divided into three sections, corresponding to the three levels of military engagement in peacekeeping which are strategic, operational, and tactical levels of military command and operations.\(^{42}\) The strategic-level guidance is targeted at different offices or units within OMA at the UN Headquarters.\(^{43}\) At this level, the activities of UN military peacekeeping personnel include military planning, development of strategic military guidance, force generation, current operations, and the provision of support to TCCs.\(^{44}\) Military planning enhances conditions of service assess and meets the specific needs of male and female military personnel to be deployed. Strategic military guidance and policy comprises the relevant principles and objectives of women, peace and security mandates.\(^{45}\) Force-generation planning and activities focus on strategies to gradually improve the balance in the numbers of male and female military peacekeepers.\(^{46}\) Monitoring and reporting activities of military components in peacekeeping missions evaluate the progress of military efforts to implement mandates on women, peace and security.\(^{47}\)

Guidance at the operational-level is targeted at military components at force headquarters in peacekeeping missions.\(^{48}\) The tasks or activities require the translation of strategic guidance and direction from the military concept of operations into field-level duties in accordance with a mission’s mandate.\(^{49}\) Operational-level planning for military activities to protect civilians should include appropriate guidance that would enable tactical-level commanders to address specific protection challenges confronting women and girls in their areas of operation.\(^{50}\)

Tactical-level guidance is targeted at military personnel deployed in the field.\(^{51}\) At the tactical level, military activities involve the translation of concepts and guidance into tasks that can be implemented.\(^{52}\) These activities include the protection of civilians, patrolling, checkpoint duties, humanitarian assistance support, and assistance to national security forces.\(^{53}\) Contributions
of women enhance information operations during patrol duties which help to facilitate increased protection for women and girls. There are appropriate provisions for conducting searches on both women and men which involve gender- and culturally sensitive procedures during checkpoint and roadblock duties. Priority is given to the specific protection and concerns of women and girls. Local women and children are more likely to confide in female peacekeepers hence the need for the presence of female military personnel in these operations. This is particularly true for victims of sexual violence. The GAF is expected to be guided by these principles to ensure gender integration.

2.5 The Ghana National Action Plan for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325

A National Action Plan (NAP) is a “document that outlines a policy or course of action that a country plans to follow in order to fulfil objectives and reach goals pertaining to specific national or global matters”. Government institutions are responsible for the development of national action plans. They are required to initiate the drafting process and seek partners from across government sectors and civil society for future implementation. A NAP provides a framework for strategies, “recognizes priority areas, assigns roles, establishes timelines, constructs indicators, and determines a means of measurement and evaluation”. Multinational institutions, civil society, and academia, may play important roles in the development, implementation, and evaluation of a National Action Plan. A NAP details the actions or initiatives that a government will undertake within a given timeframe to meet the obligations in UNSCR 1325. The UNSC recognized that the national implementation of UNSCR 1325 and related resolutions is an important tool for furthering the women, peace and security agenda. A NAP reflects the government’s commitment as well as accountability in ensuring the security of women and girls during armed conflicts and in enhancing their active and direct participation in
conflict prevention and peace building as well as post-conflict efforts. All member states that have signed international agreements and protocols including resolutions on prevention and responding to violence against women both during times of peace, times of war and post-conflict situations are bound by them. Unfortunately, of the 192 member states of the United Nations, only 42 have developed and adopted NAPs.

Ghana is expected, as a member state, to develop a NAP for the implementation on UNSCR 1325 which will address peace and security issues as regards women and girls. Since 2008, Ghana, through the then Ministry of Women and Children’s Affairs; now Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection; began the process of developing a NAP on UNSCR 1325 in collaboration with other Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) as well as Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in 2012. The NAP consolidates all efforts to enhance women’s position and role as decision-makers in conflict prevention, crisis management, and peace building activities. The “Foreword” of the Action Plan was jointly signed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Defence, and the Ministry of Interior. The effective implementation of the NAP is dependent on the following factors:

a. Political commitment towards implementation of activities of Ghana at international, regional and sub-regional levels.

b. Specific activities to support women and girls in post-conflict regions.

c. Specific human resources management with the aim to increase the representation of women among deployed personnel as well as to consistently pursue a “zero-tolerance policy” on sexual abuse and commercial sex.

d. Specific recruitment policy/exercise to increase percentage of women in the military, police service and other security agencies.
e. Review of national security and defence sector policies to ensure alignment with global and national commitment.

f. Allocation of financial and material resources towards the implementation of the National Action Plan.  

The Ghanaian NAP was officially launched in December 2012. The implementation period was supposed to cover three years from 2012 to 2014 however that plan could not be put into effect for 2012 as a result of the time it took to formally adopt it.

2.6 Overview of Ghana National Action Plan Development Process

The Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection organized an Information and Sensitization Seminar on 14th August 2008 to educate stakeholders on the UNSC Resolution 1325 on Women Peace and Security. Personnel from the Security Services, Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs), Gender Desk Officers, NGOs, and other stakeholders participated in the seminar. Ministry further organized a Consultative Forum in 2009 to conclude the process towards the preparation of a Ghana National Action Plan (GHANAP). The Consultative Forum provided stakeholders including security sector services the opportunity to participate in the process and also to bring their inputs into the plan of action.

To enable the Ministry in partnership with key stakeholders to discuss the draft GHANAP, a Validation Workshop was organized on 11 February 2010. A “qualitative measurement was expected to lead to the attainment of a more accurate, more reliable and comprehensive measurement that will enhance a complete understanding of the impact of the implementation process”. Additionally, the workshop was to enable the Ministry to prepare a
budget for the effective implementation of the Plan of Action in consultation with key stakeholders. \(^7^8\)

The GHANAP 1325 was launched to cover a three-year implementation plan (2012-2014). It incorporates UNSCR 1325 and indigenous initiatives relating to women, peace, and security which Ghana has undertaken in the past. \(^7^9\) The GHANAP 1325 is based on three pillars. \(^8^0\) They are protection, participation, and prevention which the Government of Ghana and its stakeholders must address in order to ensure that UNSCR 1325 is fully and effectively implemented in a way that would bring about positive and transformative changes in the lives of Ghanaian women and girls in particular and the country in as a whole. \(^8^1\) The GHANAP 1325 also includes a specific focus on actions relating to its implementation vis-a-vis coordination, popularisation, dissemination, resource mobilisation, monitoring and evaluation, and reporting. \(^8^2\)

Each of the three pillars of the GHANAP 1325 includes strategies of intervention which require policy and law formulation and or review, networking and capacity building, sensitization, research, and monitoring and impact assessment. \(^8^3\) It also includes specific activities to be carried out, indicators (both qualitative and quantitative) for monitoring, partners and timeline. \(^8^4\) The Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection was identified as the primary stakeholder or lead agency for the implementation of the GHANAP. \(^8^5\)

2.7 Formation and Background of the Ghana Armed Forces

The history of the Ghana Armed Forces began with the Portuguese militia before the Dutch took over the administration of the Gold Coast, now Ghana, in 1637. \(^8^6\) The Gold Coast Constabulary (GCC) was the state military apparatus before Ghana gained independence from British rule on 6 March 1957. \(^8^7\) The military history of the Gold Coast reveals that a woman...
named Yaa Asantewaa, was the first to lead an armed uprising against the British colonial administration. The war that followed the uprising led to the formation of the West African Frontier Force (WAFF) in 1901 by the British Colonial Administration in (date). 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. The Ghana Military Force was formed from the Gold Coast Constabulary and was structured after British regular units.

When the Gold Coast attained independence in on 6 March 1957, the Ghana Military Force was tasked with maintaining internal security, defending the sovereign and territorial integrity of Ghana, and also to take part in regional and international peace operations in line with national objectives. These roles were extended in the 1992 Constitution of Ghana to include assistance in national development and the provision of disaster relief and humanitarian assistance during national disasters. The Ghana Army has six infantry units and four combat support units including Artillery, Armoured Regiment, 48 Engineer Regiment and Airborne Force. The Ghana Navy and the Ghana Air Force were established in May 1959 and June 1959 respectively as allied services to the Ghana Army. These together form the Ghana Armed Forces.

2.8 The Ghana Armed Forces and UN Peace Operations

The Gold Coast was under British Colonial Rule from 1867 to 1957 when Ghana became independent. In 1945, Dr Kwame Nkrumah, organized the Pan-African Conference in Manchester, England. Pan-Africanism was a movement which was meant to restore independence to all African States. There were series of events following this initiative one of which was Ghana becoming the first black African state to gain independence from colonial rule in 1957. Dr Kwame Nkrumah said in 1957 that “the independence of Ghana was meaningless
unless it led to the total liberation of the entire African continent”. According to historical accounts, this statement meant that Nkrumah had a plan to rule the entire African Continent and so he thought Ghana had the primary responsibility for peacekeeping on the African continent. This began a historical trend of extra commitment of the GAF to peacekeeping operations.

The GAF thus began participating in UN Peacekeeping operations in 1960 with units designated as Ghanaian Battalion (GHANBATT). From July 1960 to June 1964, a total of 8,800 Ghanaian troops were contributed to the UN Operations in the Congo. This number represented 44% of 19,928 troops contributed by over 35 countries. Ghana had already dispatched soldiers in an operation named ‘Operation Full Cock’ to begin peacekeeping in Congo before the UN began deploying troops to Congo in 1960. Ghana was represented again during the crises in the Sinai, Egypt under the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF II) from October 1973 to July 1979. UNEF II was a mission 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. General Erskine, was a Ghanaian who served as a force commander in UNEF II.

Since 1978, Ghana has been part of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) with General Erskine and Major General Seth K. Obeng who had commanding responsibilities. About 45,496 Ghanaian soldiers had served under UNIFIL by the year 2000. From 1990 to 1999, Ghana had contributed considerably to the ECOWAS Monitoring Group and the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL). Ghanaian soldiers in these operations were responsible for disarming militants, rescue and escorting operations and delivering humanitarian supplies. Ghana also contributed 3,359 soldiers and 283 police personnel to the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC 1992-
The mandate of this mission involved human rights, military and civil administration, policing, repatriation, electoral assistance and mine-clearing.\textsuperscript{115} Ghana contributed more than half of the total troops to the UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda, (UNAMIR) from 1993 to 1996.\textsuperscript{116} During the genocide in Rwanda, when most participating troops withdrew, Ghanaian troops were asked to continue the peacekeeping operation.\textsuperscript{117} They were left alone protecting the airport, treating the injured, doing mass burials, protecting the displaced, and delivering humanitarian assistance.\textsuperscript{118} They suffered casualties and had little resources but prevailed until calm was restored to Rwanda.\textsuperscript{119} For over four decades Ghana participated in other peacekeeping operations both in the sub-region and beyond.\textsuperscript{120} These peacekeeping experiences indicate that Ghanaian soldiers over the years have played several roles in peacekeeping including humanitarian services, border patrols, ceasefire monitoring, disarmaments, electoral assistance, command responsibilities and several other functions.\textsuperscript{121}

\section*{2.9 GAF Policies on female participation in UN peace keeping operations}

The GAF Policies on female participation in UN peace keeping operations stems from the GAF Policies on the employment of female officers and other ranks. This is outlined in the GAF Command and Staff Instructions Procedure (CSIP).\textsuperscript{122} In Articles 2.01 and 2.02 of the CSIP, female personnel are to be employed within the establishment of static units where the services of enlisted female personnel are needed.\textsuperscript{123} These static units include:

\begin{itemize}
  \item a. Ministry of Defence/General Headquarters
  \item b. Army, Navy and Air Force Headquarters
  \item c. HQ of Support Services Brigade
  \item d. Signal Regiment
  \item e. Ordinance Services
\end{itemize}
f. Supply and Transport Services  
g. Forces Pay Office  
h. Education Services  
i. Public Relations  
j. Medical and Nursing Services  
k. Provost  
l. Mechanical Transport units  
m. Defence Advisors Office Abroad  
n. Defence Intelligence  
o. Military Academy and Training Schools  
p. Ghana Armed Forces Command and Staff College  
q. Garrison Headquarters.  

These are static units because they are not deployed in the frontline where combat is expected to take place. They only support the combat forces. Even within these static units, women cannot become commanders because they are exempted from courses which will pave way for them to become commanders. The implementation of UNSCR 1325 thus becomes impossible once this policy is in existence. As a UN member state, Ghana will have to take a second look at this policy for a review to enable women to have equal opportunities in all aspects of PSOs according to the provisions in the UNSCR 1325.

3.0 Conclusion

The introduction of UNSCR 1325 changed the impression that women were helpless victims of war and gave them equal opportunities in PSOs. It recognized the importance of the participation of women and the inclusion of gender perspectives in PSOs. Ghana as a member
state in an effort to ensure the implementation of the resolution has developed a NAP through the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection. The NAP is to enhance women’s position and role as decision-makers in conflict prevention, crisis management and peace building activities.

Ghana began participating in UN peacekeeping operations in 1960 in Congo. The participation of GAF women in PSOs stems from the GAF policies on the employment of female officers and other ranks outlined in the CSIP Volume 3. Even though the 1992 Constitution of Ghana discusses about gender equality and all institutions are to be guided by it with regard to the rights and status of women, there is still discrimination against GAF women with regard to their employment in command and strategic decision-making roles.
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CHAPTER THREE

AN EXAMINATION OF HOW GENDER NORMS IN THE GHANA ARMED FORCES
HAVE PREVENTED THE IMPLEMENTATION OF UNSCR 1325

3.1 Introduction

The GAF has moved quite progressively towards gender balance in terms of the numerical involvement of female personnel in peace operations. Until January 1958, the GAF did not accept any women into the military. 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. The first woman to be appointed as commanding officer was Major Christine Debrah, when it was decided from 1963-65 to form the WAC. Major Constance Edjeani-Afenu was also appointed to command the Forces Pay Office from July –December 1998. It was only in 1984 that one woman was deployed for international peacekeeping. Accepting women in peacekeeping was stopped in 1984 and resumed in February 1994 with the United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR) Ghanaian Battalion (GHANBATT) 1 and in March with GHANBATT 40 in the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL). According one female officer who was interviewed, women were banned from PSO because they did not live up to expectation as they were involved in sexual relationships and misconducts with their male colleagues which led to petty squabbles among them causing indiscipline which were against the rules and regulations of the GAF and the UN as a whole. This is very discriminatory since these women were in these relationships with men however the men were not sanctioned
but only the women were. It was after the ban on women was lifted in 1994 that other female officers and soldiers were fully incorporated into the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) then subsequently into the UN.\(^8\) From then, the numerical representation of female personnel on peace missions began to increase.\(^9\) Currently female representation of Ghanaian Battalions in PSO missions range from 60 to 70.\(^10\) Despite this steady increase their roles have however remained in support and not in command roles.

It is noted that a prime aim of UNSCR 1325 is to achieve gender equality among peacekeepers.\(^11\) This implies that each peacekeeping institution including the military must comply with gender equality in peacekeeping operations not only in numerical representation but in appointment as well.\(^12\) Despite the launch of the Ghana Action Plan (GHANAP) in 2012 to ensure the implementation of the UNSCR 1325, the GAF has still not opened all military duties in peacekeeping to equal participation of male and female soldiers.\(^13\) Females are not assigned to combat-related or frontline duties in peacekeeping. A woman for example cannot be deployed as a commanding officer or to lead the military for peace operations.\(^14\) This is because women have been exempted from taking part in the necessary courses and examinations which will enable them become commanders. This deviates from the requirement of UNSCR 1325 that female military personnel be allowed to participate in all aspects of peace operations.\(^15\) In terms of basic training, both male and females undergo the same training to become officers or soldiers, however, once they enter the system, there is discrimination. The men undergo training that will lead them to become commanders while women are trained in support roles because of gender norms which are spelt out in the CSIP Volume 3 on the employment of women in the GAF.\(^16\)

Gender norms define what society considers male and female behaviour, and it leads to the formation of gender roles, which are the roles males and females are expected to take in
society. Gender norms in the GAF are embedded in the CSIP Volume 3 and are reflected in the policies on the employment of women in the GAF. This policy allows women in support roles only while men are employed in command and combat roles. This chapter seeks to answer the questions raised in chapter one. It will therefore discuss how gender norms in the GAF have prevented the implementation of UNSCR 1325 by examining the GAF gender policy, why GAF women are excluded from command and combat roles, the extent to which UNSCR 1325 is being implemented by the GAF and whether there are challenges in the implementation of UNSCR 1325. Fifty personnel made up of 25 men and 25 women both officers and other ranks were given questionnaires and two civilians and 8 military senior officers were interviewed to arrive at a conclusion.

3.2 The GAF and gender policy

Women in the GAF are not employed in combat and command roles in PSOs because the GAF CSIP Volume 3 allows women to be employed only in support units. Interviews conducted at the Ministry of Defence (MOD) and the General Headquarters (GHQ) of the GAF revealed that the GAF does not have a gender policy even though the Ghana National Action Plan (GHANAP) 1325 applies to all institutions. Even though personnel have been given the opportunity to partake in gender-related courses and seminars organised outside the military, and efforts have been made to balance the participation of both men and women in military activities, women continue to play support roles as directed in the CSIP Volume 3.

It was established during interviews conducted that the GAF is highly male-dominated. Feminine qualities are generally seen as weak and equated with defeat on the battlefield. As a result of this, women are discriminated against in the GAF when it comes to command and combat roles. The mentality of women being weaker and suitable for certain types of jobs is
therefore reflected in the roles they play according to the CSIP Volume 3. The interviews also indicated that women are not strong and are too emotional to handle tough situations on the battlefield hence the gender norms in the CSIP which do not allow them in command and combat roles. On the other hand most of the interviewees indicated that battles today are not fought with physical strength alone but from intelligence that is, the use of the brain more than physical strength.\textsuperscript{22} Warfare is not mainly of hand-to-hand combat so the argument by some interviewees of the need for brute strength is less relevant.

The combat units in the GAF include the infantry, the artillery, armoured reconnaissance, 48 Engineer Regiment and the Signal Regiment. Women are employed only in static establishments which means that they cannot be employed in any of these combat units. Even if they were employed in these units, they would play only support roles. The static units are medical, public relations and legal services among others which provide support services.\textsuperscript{23} These policies are thus reflected in the roles women play in UN peace keeping missions. Forty-five out of 50 male and female personnel interviewed however agreed that these policies hinder the implementation of the UNSCR 1325 and need to be reviewed.

Some interviewees also argued that the GAF women themselves are not willing to be in command and combat roles but others refuted this and explained that these women have been made to understand that they can never become commanders so they do not make any efforts to rise to that level. The argued that if these women were given the opportunity and encouraged, they could compete equally with their male counterparts in combat and command roles.

Female personnel in all the three services, army, navy and air force are bound by the CSIPs and are therefore not to be employed in any combat related duties during peace operations. Women in the army for example by convention cannot become commanders of their
units. This is because they are not allowed to do certain courses which will pave the way for them into such positions. These courses include Young Officers Course, practical promotion examination and Combat Team Commanders’ Course.\textsuperscript{24}

In the Navy, by convention, women cannot become captains of ships because the Ghana Navy Ships are not designed to carry women. The Air Force, however, has some exceptions. Even though they are also bound by the policy and therefore are not employed as fighter pilots, according to a female helicopter pilot interviewed, female helicopter pilots can be employed in combat when the need arises.\textsuperscript{25} They are not discriminated against when it comes to the necessary combat training that their male counterparts are made to go through. She said whiles serving in the UN Mission in La Cote d’Ivoire, (UNOCI) as part of the Ghana Aviation (GHAV) unit in 2010, she was deployed in combat duties with her male counterparts during the crises that erupted after the presidential elections in 2010 and she performed creditably well. She is currently the officer commanding the helicopter squadron at the Air Force Base in Accra. She indicated that female pilots can also rise to become base commanders once they do all the necessary courses.

It was revealed during the interviews that despite the GAF policies which prevent women from combat roles, some units have tried to incorporate women in infantry duties such as performing patrol duties, sentry duties and these women have performed very well and allayed the fears of their male colleagues. This exception to the rule indicates that women are capable of performing in combat roles if the CSIP is reviewed and the necessary gender policies are formulated.
3.3 An Examination of why women are excluded from command and combat roles

To answer the question as to why women in the GAF are excluded from command and combat roles, some personnel were interviewed. Fifteen out of 25 male personnel did not favour the idea of female leadership in peace operations. They were of the view that allowing women to be part of combat duties would not ensure performance effectiveness in the GAF. They added that the GAF does not train females for combat in peace operations and so they wonder how a female would lead a battalion deployed in peace operations without the necessary training. They mentioned that after the basic training in the military academy or recruit training school, the training provided to female soldiers in the GAF is no longer focused on combat situations since the CSIP does not allow them in such roles. Thus, it will be inappropriate to employ them in combat when they are not trained for it. A cross-examination of these respondents however revealed that they would be loyal to command, irrespective of gender, in all aspects of peacekeeping. Their responses also revealed that with comparable training, females would be fit for frontline operations and so should be allowed to go through the necessary courses as their male counterparts do.

Ten out of the 25 male personnel interviewed believed that women are biologically unfit to lead military operations in peacekeeping however 40 male and female personnel indicated that this cannot be an excuse because these same women were able to go through arduous training with their male counterparts so they are capable of leading. Thus, as far as they are concerned, if the roles of female peacekeepers were expanded to include combat duties, the military could still carry out peacekeeping operations effectively.

Twelve out of 50 personnel interviewed also referred to the Bible and Quran to claim that women are created weak. They said that women were not created to lead and cited women’s
physiological needs as a reason why women cannot be employed in combat and command roles. They believe that women are biologically unsuitable for combat and therefore disagreed with gender equality during PSOs. 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, explained that the forced menstruation did not obstruct the peacekeeping duties of the soldier. Though the respondent agreed that he had not seen such a situation in any other female soldiers he considered it a sign of weakness in female soldiers. An incidence involving one female soldier is however not sufficient grounds for excluding women from combat duties. Psychologists confirm that all humans are capable of showing physiological symptoms at frightening sights. Most of these respondents again 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. Thus even though there are gender norms in the GAF policies which do not allow for gender equality in combat and command roles, personnel of the GAF believe that with the necessary training, women will be able to take up command roles and should therefore be given the chance in these roles. The respondents were not able to identify significant inherent weaknesses in females that should justify their exclusion from combat and command roles.

In interviews with ten senior officers at the MOD and GHQ levels of decision making concerning the deployment of GAF personnel for peace operations, the issue of limiting the participation of females in frontline duties was discussed. Respondents dismissed 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. Thus any person confirmed as a soldier, male or female,
is capable of performing satisfactory frontline operations. One senior officer supporting the reason why women are exempted from command and combat roles in the CSIP Volume 3 noted that including many women in the frontline may spark attacks from rebels. The officer argued that military institutions do not include females in the battlefield because there was the fear that rebels may perceive a battalion with many women combatants as weak which could send the signal to rebels that the peacekeepers were easy targets. Such situations may put more pressure on the peacekeeping personnel to open fire, sometimes in violation of the rules of engagement. In other interviews, 40 personnel confirmed 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, comprised of many female combatants. In Liberia and Sierra Leone for example there were several female rebels involved in the civil wars. This trend therefore demands an expanded participation of females in peacekeeping operations so that female rebels could be handled ethically by female peacekeepers.

The participation or integration of females among the personnel of the Ghana Armed Forces combat roles is limited because there is gender stratification of roles, male-dominance where the rules and practices of the GAF have kept women in support and service roles while men play command and combat roles. An examination of the practical peacekeeping experiences of the GAF and responses from key informants suggest that to a large extent the problem is not necessarily due to concerns that a full integration of women may hinder operational effectiveness. Evidences from some GAF PSOs and interviews from personnel generally suggest that GHANBATT may still be able to carry out effective peacekeeping
operations even if the role of females were equitably expanded to include command and combat related duties.

3.4 An Examination of the extent to which the UNSCR 1325 is being implemented by the GAF

The UN Permanent Gender Advisor, Comfort Lamptey, has 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”. To answer the question as to the extent to which the UNSCR 1325 is being implemented in the GAF, it was found that at present, the number of women keep increasing in PSOs however, as a result of the gender norms in the CSIP Volume 3, there is an absence of women in combat related or frontline duties which pose a challenge to gender equality among members of the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF). Women in the 3 services are employed in static units and in support roles but not in combat and command roles, unlike females in other militaries like the South African National Defence Force (SANDF).

Boutros-Ghali 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 thus include operations likely to involve the firing of weapons. All personnel interviewed referred to such situations as ‘volatile’ or ‘hot spots’ Some operational duties which are usually volatile include patrols especially at 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. During basic training for recruits and officer cadets before joining the GAF, the Ghana Armed Forces does not discriminate among males and females since training for peacekeeping forms part of the general training of the Ghanaian
Soldier. However, after the basic training, women are exempted based on the provisions in the CSIP, from taking part in combat-related courses. Forty-seven out of 50 male and female personnel interviewed indicated that if women were trained at par with men they could equally be effective for combat duties. They cited Yaa Asantewaa as an example of the capabilities of women in combat and command roles. They added that it is the basic right of women to be allowed to do what they can do and would like to do. All the women interviewed indicated that they have the desire to be in combat and play command roles but they have not been given the chance to do that.

Though the GAF does not employ women in combat positions and therefore has not been able to implement the UNSCR 1325, there are evidences that a GHANBAT in UN PKO put females in frontline duties for peacekeeping operation in South Lebanon from October 2004 to May 2005. This was one instance when the participation of females in frontline operations was permitted because the unit needed more personnel to perform combat roles because the men available were not enough for the task. GHANBATT 61 deployed the largest number of females (52) in a single operation. 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 was considered ‘hot or volatile spots’. They were affectionately called Yaa Asantewaa and were nicknamed ‘German Soldiers’ by their male colleagues for excellent performance of frontline duties. Thirty-nine out of 50 personnel interviewed stated that women in the GAF need to raise issues concerning gender inequality when it comes to allowing them command and combat. One female senior officer revealed that women were not raising any issues about this inequality because they have been made to understand that the military is a male-dominated institution and that they (women) cannot perform certain tasks and even if they
performed well they will always remain in support roles. This has led to most women not bringing out the best in them when it comes to combat or command-related issues. A female officer from the Supply and Transport Unit of the Armed Forces confirmed this during an interview that, whiles on a course with other male participants, she and other female officers did not take subjects which were command or combat-related seriously because they knew these subjects would not take them far in their career. They only did their best to pass in subjects related to their fields. This attitude can only be changed once gender policies are formulated and the policies on the employment of women in the CSIPs are reviewed to give women equal opportunities. Another officer added that most militaries all over the world are traditionally male dominated and therefore find it difficult to employ women in certain positions which were traditionally reserved for men. This has led to the failure of GAF for example to allow women in command and combat position. He added that to make countries committed to reviewing their policies and thereby involving women in decision making positions, the UN can give a specific quota of women for troop contributing countries to be employed in PSOs and certain key appointments in such operations should be given to only women. This will compel the GAF to review its policies to give equal opportunities for women when it comes to command and combat duties.

The GAF has made efforts at balancing the number of men and women in peace operations however, this study indicates that it has not been able to implement 1325 by opening all military duties in peacekeeping to equal participation of male and female soldiers as a result of its policies. There remains much to be done in terms of assigning females to command and combat-related or frontline duties in peace keeping. Thus, there is a phenomenon of gender
stratification of roles or male dominance, which is reflected in command and combat related
duties.\textsuperscript{42}

3.5 An examination of the challenges encountered in the implementation of UNSCR 1325

Interviews conducted revealed that there are various challenges being encountered in the
implementation of the UNSCR 1325 both by the GAF and the Ministry of Gender, Children and
Social Protection.\textsuperscript{43} At the Ministry for Gender, Children and Social Protections, interviews
conducted indicated that Ghana launched a National Action Plan (NAP) in October 2012 and has
entrusted the implementation of 1325 to the Ministry.\textsuperscript{44} Various activities have been earmarked
and are expected to lead to the full implementation of the resolution in all ministries and
institutions concerned.\textsuperscript{45} Since the launch, there has been only one training session for
stakeholders including the military.\textsuperscript{46} According to the Acting Director of the Women’s
Department of the Ministry, ensuring the implementation of the resolution in the military has
been very difficult.\textsuperscript{47} This is because there is actually no relationship between her Ministry and
the GAF when it comes to gender issues because the military is regarded as a unique institution
which prefers to handle its own affairs without any interferences.\textsuperscript{48} The military, according to
her, is a male-dominated institution and also a special institution that would not allow easy
access to information for security reasons.\textsuperscript{49} She revealed that several researchers from her
ministry have made efforts to research gender issues in the military but have not been given
access.\textsuperscript{50} This has made things difficult for them to have a relationship with the GAF on gender
issues. She stated that, gender issues are supposed to cut across all sectors including the military
so the lack of relationship between her ministry and the GAF as regards gender issues is very
discouraging and makes it very difficult for the resolution to be implemented.\textsuperscript{51} For example she
said that, the ministry organizes various fora for women associations from various sectors including the security sector however the GAF has never been invited to take part because there is no women’s association in the GAF as in other institutions. It was also revealed that the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection is not aware that there is a policy that does not allow women in the GAF to be employed in combat and command roles but only in support role, which does not encourage the implementation of 1325. This clearly shows the lack of relationship between the Ministry and the GAF.

Peacekeeping impacts positively on the internal peace of Ghana and the GAF may not relent on enforcing gender equality in peacekeeping. However, reaching this goal means strengthening the logistics base of the GAF. The resources of the GAF to improve on the status of gender equality among peacekeeping personnel so as to fully come to terms with the requirements of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 thus become a problem. Officers interviewed at the GHQ stressed that the GAF as an institution generally faces financial constraints in the process of fully complying with gender equality in deploying personnel for peacekeeping. According to Boutros-Ghali “not all governments can provide their battalions with the equipment 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 definitely finds it difficult to ensure gender equality since it is not able to provide gender sensitive equipment. All officers interviewed for this study noted that the lack of enough funds and logistics reflects directly on efforts to include women in combat and command roles because women require special facilities which are different from those of their male counterparts. Thus it would be appropriate to employ them only in support roles which are not so challenging as compared to combat roles. They added that even if the policies on employment of women were reviewed,
without the necessary logistics and financial support, there would still be difficulty in the implementation of the resolution.

3.6 Conclusion

The purpose of gender mainstreaming in peace operations is to ensure that the needs of men and women in host societies are met adequately, and documents such as Resolution 1325 are important tools for international organizations and peacekeeping troops in this research. The success of mainstreaming, however, depends on how seriously international actors incorporate gender sensitivity into their policies and practices. The GAF which provides the peacekeeping troops, has been successful in increasing the number of women in PSOs however, it has not been able to integrate them in command and combat roles.

This chapter has 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. Even though there was a general view that women are generally not fit for combat roles, 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 factors that make it possible for male and female personnel to perform any duty in peacekeeping effectively. Thus the views about full integration of females in all aspects of peacekeeping is fairly favourable.

It was also found that there are gender norms in the GAF which prevent women from being employed in command roles. These norms are embedded in the provisions of the GAF CSIP Volume 3. Interviews conducted thus indicate that some personnel are not in favour of women in command and combat roles for fear of operational ineffectiveness though there are evidences of some selected women performing well in combat roles. A cross examination of
these personnel however revealed a contradiction in their responses as most of them advocated for women to be given equal opportunities in PSOs.

Perceptions among personnel of the GAF are significantly favourable for an expanded participation of females in all aspects of peace operations. It is perceived that both males and females could be assigned to any role and peacekeeping operations may still be effective. There are however some challenges which prevent the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in the GAF. There is a big gap between the GAF and the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection which is responsible for ensuring the implementation of the UNSCR 1325 when it comes to gender issues. This is because there is no gender policy in the GAF. There is also a financial constraints when it comes to ensuring gender equality.

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CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1 Summary

The hypothesis for this study is that gender norms in the GAF have prevented the implementation of UNSCR 1325. To this end, the study traced the background of UNSCR 1325, the launch of the GHANAP and the GAF in PSOs to provide an understanding of the extent to which the GAF is implementing the resolution. In meeting the objectives of the study, various theories on gender equality were examined in Chapter One. The Feminist Security theory argued for giving women equal opportunities in UN PSOs which is advocated in the UNSCR 1325. This is because it is possible for the UN to rely on both men and women to ensure peace prevails in conflicts areas. The policies of the GAF on the employment of women in PSOs which are outlined in the Command and Staff Instruction Procedures (CSIP) Volume 3 however do not give women equal opportunities. Even though the GAF has excelled in increasing the number of women on PSOs, women are not given equal opportunities in command and combat roles. They are only employed in support service roles. This is a deviation from the provisions in the resolution.

Chapter Two traced the background to the formulation of UNSCR 1325 and presented an overview of the GHANAP and of GAF policies on the employment of women in PSOs. The chapter established that the GAF policies on female participation in UN peace keeping operations stem from the GAF policies on the employment of female officers and other ranks which are outlined in the GAF CSIP. The chapter proved that the GAF has excelled in various
PSOs and women in the GAF have excelled in various command and combat roles however, the policies have prevented them from rising to such positions.

Chapter Three answered the questions raised in chapter one by examining how gender norms have prevented the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in the GAF. It also established that despite the launch of the Ghana Action Plan (GHANAP) 1325 in 2012 to ensure the implementation of the UNSCR 1325 in all ministries and institutions, the GAF has still not opened all military duties in peacekeeping to equal participation of male and female soldiers. It established that the exclusion of women from combat and command roles during PSOs is as a result of gender norms within the GAF. These norms are embedded in the CSIPs which reflect in the roles women play in UN peace keeping missions. Ironically even though the norms prevent women from being employed in command and combat roles, 40 out of 50 personnel interviewed ironically want equal opportunities for both men and women and argued that allowing women in command and combat roles would not lead to operational ineffectiveness. It was established that once the provisions on the employment of women in the CSIP Volume 3 are not reviewed, the UNSCR 1325 cannot be implemented. It was also established that the CSIP has not been reviewed because first of all there is no gender policy in the GAF. Secondly, there is no relationship between the GAF and the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection on issues related to gender. There is also a lack of commitment on the part of female officers themselves to advocate for a review of the policies and there is a lack of financial support from the Government to implement the GHANAP 1325.

Chapter Four summarizes the chapters and establishes that the GAF has not implemented UNSCR 1325 because the GAF policies on employment of women are discriminatory and have not been reviewed. In this regard, the GAF has failed to ensure full gender equality. It also
establishes that even though there are gender norms in the GAF policies and therefore some personnel are not in favour of women in command positions, majority of personnel ironically want both men and women to be given equal opportunities in PSOs. It also discussed the challenges encountered in the implementation of the resolution and steps that could be made to ensure that women are given equal opportunity.

4.2 Conclusion

More than a decade after the adoption of UNSCR 1325, GAF women’s participation in PSOs still remains minimal despite the adoption of the GHANAP 1325 in 2012. The perceptions in the GAF are generally in favour of women being employed in command and combat roles however gender norms in the CSIP Volume 3 have prevented the implementation of 1325. This study suggests that the UN’s quest for gender equality in all aspects of peacekeeping is applicable in the context of the GAF however, the CSIP needs to be reviewed to make room for gender sensitive policies. Interviewees generally indicate 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 GAF when it comes to opening up command and combat related duties in peacekeeping environments to equal participation of males and females.

4.3 Recommendations

The challenges identified in the study demands that certain measures be taken to improve upon the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in the GAF.
a. The GAF needs to start by getting a gender policy which will enable women to participate fully in PSOs according to the provisions in the UNSCR 1325.

b. The MOD, the GAF and the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection need to develop a stronger relationship as regards gender issues. This will ensure a mutual understanding between them and will create the environment for a policy review in the GAF as regards gender equality. Without a policy review, a general perception in favour of gender equality will not help.

c. Effective implementation of the resolution is hinged on the allocation of the requisite resources and the Government of Ghana needs to make good its commitment towards gender equality and women’s empowerment by supporting the implementation of the GHANAP 1325 through budgetary allocation in all the MDAs including the MOD. These allocations will assist in the policy reviews, workshops and training activities to change the perceptions of personnel in the GAF about women which lead to the creation of gender norms.

d. The Ministry of Gender needs to coordinate all implementation efforts in all institutions in an effective manner in order to ensure that these commitments become a reality for women in the GAF.

e. Gender norms in the CSIP Volume 3 which have led to the formation of gender roles in the GAF and made women to be employed in only support service roles should be reviewed. Women should be given equal opportunities to compete equally with their male counterparts.
f. Female personnel in the GAF need to stand up and raise the issue of the need for gender policies and the need to review the employment policy on females as stated in the CSIP Volume 3.

g. The UN should give a specific quota of women for troop contributing countries to be employed in PSOs and certain key appointments within the UN should be strictly reserved for women. This will compel the GAF to review its policies to give equal opportunities for women when it comes to command and combat duties.
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Sample Questionnaire on Implementation of UNSCR 1325 in the GAF

**Introduction**

This survey is purely for academic purposes. It seeks to find out whether there is gender mainstreaming in the Ghana Armed Forces. Any information provided will be considered highly confidential. Thank you for your cooperation.

**Section A**

This section covers your personal data. Please answer the question as clearly as possible.

Kindly tick as it applies to you or provide the answers where necessary.

Gender:  
- a) Male  
- b) Female

Rank/Position:

Institution:

Arm of Service:  
- a) Army  
- b) Navy  
- c) Air Force

Indicate the number of PSOs you have been on (list them, indicate the year, your role or appointments held in these tours):
Section B

This section seeks to find out how UN Resolution 1325 is being implemented in the GAF.

1. The Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection was designated the lead agency in monitoring the implementation of UNSCR 1325 through a National Action Plan. How does the Ministry monitor this implementation?

2. Does the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social protection have any role to play in ensuring the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in the GAF? If yes how?

8. What steps has the Ministry taken to ensure gender mainstreaming in the GAF?

9. Since Ghana adopted Resolution 1325 has there been any attempt to review policies in the GAF in order to ensure gender mainstreaming? If yes which policies are they?

10. How are women being empowered in the GAF?

11. Why are women in the GAF not employed in command and combat roles?

12. Are there any challenges associated with ensuring gender mainstreaming in the GAF? If yes what are they?

13. Does the Ghanaian culture which has men dominating more than women play any part in why women are employed in only support roles?

14. Why are female army officers excluded from writing practical promotion examinations (PROMEX)?

15. Do you think women should be included in these exams? Give reasons for your answers.

16. Why are female officers exempted from taking part in the Young Officers(YOs) and Combat Team Commanders’ courses?
17. Has any woman taken part in practical PROMEX, YOs and Combat Team Commanders course before? If yes why was it stopped?

18. Has any woman become a commanding officer in any unit before? If yes indicate who, when, how the person got to that position and whether women can still become commanders.

19. Should women be allowed to take part in the YOs and combat team courses or write practical PROMEX? Give reasons for your answer.

20. The UNSCR 1325 calls for gender mainstreaming with regards to the employment of women in decision-making and strategic roles. Why are GAF women still employed in only support and service roles and not in command or combat roles?


22. Are there female fighter pilots. If no state why not?


24. Are there females in the executive branch of the Ghana Navy? If no give reasons why not? If yes can they become commanders of ships?

25. What is the highest rank a female officer has ever attained in the GAF? How many females have attained this rank and what are the reasons for women not going beyond that rank?

26. Are women exempted from command and combat roles because of any particular reasons or perceptions within the GAF?

27. Does the Ghanaian culture which has men dominating more than women have any influence on why women are employed in only support roles?
28. Would you be comfortable to have a female commanding officer? Give reasons for your answer.

29. Does the GAF believe in gender mainstreaming? What efforts has it made in ensuring gender equality within the GAF?

30. Do you want gender equality in the GAF? (Give reasons for your answer)

Section C

This section seeks your suggestions on how to improve the role of women in PSOs

31. The CSIPs on employment of women should be reviewed. a) Agree b) Disagree

32. Women should be given equal opportunities with their male counterparts in all aspects of their career progression. a) Agree b) Disagree

33. The Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection should do more to advocate for proper gender mainstreaming in the GAF. a) Agree b) Disagree

34. What other ways do you suggest.

Sample Interview Guide

1. What is the relationship between the GAF and the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection on issues related to gender?

2. How is the UNSCR 1325 being implemented in the GAF?

3. Does the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection face any challenges in the implementation of the resolution? What are they?

4. Does the GAF face any challenges in the implementation of the resolution? What are they?
5. Would you suggest that the increased representation of females on peacekeeping activities could pose some special limitation to effective peacekeeping activities? Why?

6. Does the GAF have gender policies? What are they?

7. Would both men and women be ready to accept any duties and roles given to them at random in peacekeeping.

8. Would you welcome a policy that deployment into the various duties for peacekeeping should not be based on gender variations?

9. What is the general military policy on women in peacekeeping? When deploying peacekeepers?

10. Do you give equal training for women and men towards peacekeeping or there are gender variations in training?

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

12. 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?

13. 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?

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

15. 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?

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

17. How many women are leaders in these positions?

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

19. Looking at modern peacekeeping, do you consider physical strength as more important in active combat situations than intelligence, tactics and skills?

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