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THE CONTRIBUTION OF POLICE WOMEN TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLICING IN GHANA (1952-2000)

BY

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DECLARATION

I, Dorcas Adjei-Mensah, declare that except for references to work of other authors, who have been duly acknowledged, this dissertation is entirely the result of my research efforts. Dr. Victoria Ellen Smith and Prof. Akosua Perbi of the Department of History, University of Ghana, Legon, supervised this original piece of work.

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DEDICATION

This piece of work is dedicated to my mum, my ever-supportive husband, Paschal and the first twelve pioneer policewomen of the Ghana Police Service. These policewomen’s commitment to duty gave other women in the service, the needed recognition of the roles they are also capable of playing to advance the course of policing in the country.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writing of this dissertation has been one of the most significant academic challenges I have had to face. Without the support, patience and guidance of the following people, it may not have been possible.

I thank the almighty God for the many blessings bestowed on me during this period and what he continues to do in my life.

I extend my deepest gratitude to Dr. Victoria Ellen Smith and Prof. Akosua Perbi who were my supervisors. I appreciate their commitment to seeing me improve both academically and in my personal life.

I also thank all the staff of the History Department who have received me warmly and given me all the academic help I needed. Special thanks go to Dr. Amoah-Boampong, Prof Adjaye, and Dr. Ababio for their guidance and advice throughout my period of study in the institution.

I appreciate the support received from the Public Records and Archives Administration Department (PRAAD), International Peace Keeping Training Centre (KAIPTC), and the useful information received from Officials of the Ghana Police Service headquarters, and the Police Academy Library. Special thanks also go the students and teachers of Labone Senior High for their cooperation and understanding when I sometimes had to be absent from my duties as a teacher. I also wish to thank all friends and family members who gave me their unequivocal support throughout this research, as always, for which my mere expression of thanks does not suffice.
For any errors or inadequacies that may remain in this work, of course, the responsibility is entirely my own.
ABSTRACT

Policing as a profession from its inception in Ghana (formerly the Gold Coast) had been a profession reserved for men. This is because policing in all the former British colonies imitated the British style of policing which was base on the British Victorian Ideology. The purpose of this research is to investigate policewomen’s contributions to the development of the Ghana Police Force.

Drawing on both primary and secondary sources including archival documents from the Public Records and Archives Administration Department (PRAAD), and the Police Academy library, the research work covered three distinct Phases namely: the Independence Phase, the Military Regime Phase and the Democratic Phase.

Using the first twelve Ghanaian policewomen employed in 1952 as a case study, during the Independence Phase Policewomen began to make contributions to the Ghana Police Force as a result the assistance they enjoyed from Nkrumah, the First president of Ghana. The findings from the Military Regime Phase and the Democratic Phase show that though women in the Ghana Police Force faced a few challenges they were able to break the glass ceiling and made remarkable achievements due to some policies which were implemented in Britain particularly during the Military Regime Phase. Though these policies did not directly influence changes with regards to the roles policewomen could play as female Officers, they increased awareness of women’s contributions when given the opportunity. Other reasons which according to the research expanded the roles of policewomen into Command
Positions as their male counterparts in the Democratic Phase were Education, the 1992 constitution of Ghana and the role played by Jerry John Rawlings, president of the 4th Republic.

I investigated that as compared to policewomen who were recruited during the Independence and Millitary Regime Phases, policewomen who occupied Command Positions in the Democratic Regime Phase enjoyed respect and support from male Officers. This confirms that the Democratic Phase contributed significantly in marking a turning point in the roles women played in the Ghana Police Service.
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CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND AND INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

This study broadly explores the transition of the roles of Policewomen in the Ghana Police Force. It will examine changes in the roles of Policewomen from performing simple duties to making significant contributions to the Police Force. This study on the contribution of Policewomen to the development of policing in Ghana is divided into three distinct Phases: the Independence Phase, the Military Regime Phase and the Democratic Phase. The Independence Phase covers the period 1952 into the 1960s, the Military Regime Phase broadly spans from the 1970s to the 1980s, and the Democratic Phase covers 1992-2000. The Independence Phase, the Military Regime Phase and the Democratic Phase will be examined in the subsequent chapters of this thesis. The project work will also delve into challenges Policewomen faced in each Phase, which prevented their upward mobility as female Police Officers. The research will include views of both male and female Police Officers about the contribution of women to the Force. Biographies of a few policewomen who excelled in their duties will also be analyzed.

This introduction will offer a background to a better understanding of the research. It will focus on the emergence of policing in Britain and how Britain influenced the practise of policing in Ghana. It is important to understand how policing emerged in Britain since this knowledge will help to appreciate Britain’s contribution to the development of professional policing in
Ghana. To appreciate the importance of this study to academic knowledge, the graph below presents a pictorial representation of the number of Policemen and women in the Force during each of the three Phases.

![Graph showing the number of police men and women from 1950-2000](image)

Data showing the number of police men and women from 1950-2000, Ghana Police Headquarters, Establishment Division.

The graph shows that in each decade, there has been an unequal representation between the number of Policemen and women in the Ghana Police Service. The figures show that in each Phase the total number of men far outnumbered the number of women in the Police Service. This provides evidence that the Police profession was male dominated. There was a gradual inclusion of women in the Police Force from 1950 to the 1960s. A comparative analysis of the figures presented in the periods 1961 -1970 and from 1971-1980 show that there was a reduction in the total number of male Officers present in the Police in 1961-

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1 This data was provided by officer Ahadzi, Ghana Police Headquarters, Establishment Division, accessed on 18th May 2016.
1970 to enable an increase in the number of policewomen recruited during the 1971-1980s. Their numbers increased from the decades which followed and women began to perform significant responsibilities in the Service. Policewomen in the Ghana Police Service became active after various policies and practices were initiated to encourage them to make remarkable contributions and achievements as Police Officers. Further analysis of the graph will be incorporated into subsequent chapters.

Britain was very influential in the formation of professional policing in Ghana and other countries such as India, Hong Kong and Nigeria. Britain enjoys the recognition of being the first to practice professional policing in the world and also introduced policing in many countries. This chapter will explore how professional policing began in Britain, conditions which resulted in its practice and the extent of its impact on Ghana that will go on to influence independent Ghana. Focus will also be given to the methodology, the structure adopted for the research and some limitations encountered during the field work.

Policing in Britain is traced to the efforts of Henry Fielding in the mid 1800s. He was a London magistrate of the Bow Street Court in 1748, and has been credited with organizing a body of professional “thief takers” at the request of the government to reduce the rate of crime in the City.  

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Colquhone with the assistance of Master Mariner and John Harriott had also contributed to the development of policing in Britain when they formed the Marine Police to prevent theft and looting of ships on the pool of London in 1798. Colquhone’s achievement encouraged Robert Peel to also form the Bow Street Runners after three decades. The British had a system of law enforcement known as ‘Kin Police’ which required people to be responsible for members of their family.\(^5\) This practice of Kin Policing metamorphosed to involve groups of men who were appointed from their communities and charged with the responsibility of enforcing law in their communities.\(^6\) Colonial America also practiced a kin policing system which comprised of citizen volunteers who performed roles such as providing social services, keeping watch over members of the community and ensuring the welfare of children until the mid-19\(^{\text{th}}\) century.\(^7\)

Fielding appointed seven members whose names were kept a secret from his community until his death. The main duty of these men was to help apprehend criminals in the City.\(^8\) They formed the Bow Street Runners and were recognized by Patrick Pringle, according to Silvester Ankama, as the “ancestors of the Criminal Investigations Department” in England.\(^9\) Fielding’s effort marked the formation of the first British Force. After his death, John Fielding, his half-brother, implemented Henry Fielding’s plan by making a

\(^6\) Silvester Kwadwo Ankama, “Police History: Some Aspects in England and Ghana” (Britain: Silkan Books, 1983), 3-4
\(^8\) Dempsey and Forst. “An Introduction to Policing,”212.
public declaration of the presence of the Bow Street Runners also known as the 
Flying Squad.

The reputation of Bow Street Runners had also declined by the 1820s 
because their activities were made known to the public. John Fielding’s failure 
to pay attention to the activities of the Bow Street Runners like was done by his 
half-brother, Henry Fielding also contributed to its decline.\textsuperscript{10} As a result, the 
Bow Street Runners eventually lost credibility with the public.

In 1829, Sir Robert Peel introduced a Bill in parliament to improve the 
structure and skills of the police in and near the metropolis. This was owing to 
the incessant breakdown of law and order which resulted in an increased rate of 
pick pocketing, gambling, theft and other crimes.\textsuperscript{11} The Act resulted in the 
creation of a single authority responsible for policing within the city of London.
Peel’s efforts marked the creation of the London Metropolitan Police on 
September 1829.\textsuperscript{12} Because of this remarkable achievement, Robert Peel has 
been credited as the father of modern policing with its primary focus being 
crime prevention.

To ensure the effectiveness of the London Metropolitan Police, the 
Officers worked in coordinated and centralized areas of the city and were 
available to the public day and night.\textsuperscript{13} To ensure legitimacy of the Police in the 
eyes of the public, the Police Force was placed under government control. It had 
a military like organizational structure and a central headquarters located in an 
area easily accessible to the public. It was important to Peel that men wore 

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{10} Ankama, "Police History Aspects in England and Ghana," 5-7.
  \item \textsuperscript{11} Dempsey and Forst, “An Introduction to Policing,” 7-9.
  \item \textsuperscript{12} Dempsey and Forst, “An Introduction to Policing,” 8-10.
  \item \textsuperscript{13} Dempsey and Forst, “An Introduction to Policing,” 12.
\end{itemize}
appropriate uniforms displaying member and number badges to be easily recognized by citizens. They did not carry firearms but received appropriate training required for professional policing in order to be effective at their work.  

Peel’s plans also sort to differentiate between the responsibilities of the Police and other related institutions. For instance, the Police were entrusted with the responsibility of apprehending criminals who were suspects of criminal acts such as pick pocketing, gambling and theft. The Police also ensured the prosecution of suspects of these charges. The judiciary were then given the mandate to try, convict and issue punishment to people found guilty of the crimes they were charged with.  

It is important to note however that this plan initiated by Peel is still in practise throughout the world even in recent times. The British system of law enforcement was developed from the traditions, customs and native practices of England which became the basis of the practice of professional policing in India, Nigeria, Ghana, United States and other countries. This was as a result of Britain’s influence as a colonial power and having a territorial settlement in America. For instance, the American practice of policing depended heavily on the British practice. Policing in all former British colonies imitated the British style of policing which was dependent on British Victorian Ideology.  

It was based on a male-centric model which was patterned on the patriarchal ideology developed in Britain in the 18th century.

The ideology reserved power and privileges for men hence it celebrated men for their strength, courage and contribution to change. Professions that were developed during the 18th century such as the Police Force gave more recognition to men as the driving force for change and development. It may be argued that policing as a profession became more attractive to men due to the Victorian Ideology, which appealed to masculine characteristics such as strength and courage to apprehend criminals.

In Britain, women first made inroads into the Police Force in 1889 as matrons hired to deal with women and children. This has been confirmed by Salter, Watson and Stuart Norton who states that:

*In March 1889, fourteen women were employed to act formally as matrons in the British Police Force. Their duties hitherto undertaken largely by the wives of policemen were to supervise and search female and child offenders while in the police stations and in the courts.*

This shows that, before women were introduced in Britain’s Police Force, wives of policemen performed policing duties such as supervising and searching female and child offenders who were either in the police stations or the courts. Child offenders in this case may be the juveniles. The roles performed by the first batch of Britain’s fourteen Policewomen is significant to policing worldwide because these became the accepted roles of all policewomen who were recruited into the Police Force throughout Britain’s former colonies.

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Hence, because professional policing began in Britain any significant practice initiated in policing was adopted by its colonies. According to the first Policewoman to occupy the position of Deputy Commissioner of Police in the Ghana Police Force, Christine Jane Donkor, Policewomen who were recruited into the Ghana Police Force first acted as matrons solely responsible for women, juveniles and children.\(^\text{19}\) Donkor’s view about the duties of the first batch of Policewomen in the Ghana Police Force has been confirmed by the first policewoman of the Ghana Police Force, Rosemond Asiamah.\(^\text{20}\) The similarities between the roles performed by the first fourteen women recruited into the British Police Force as stated by Salter Watson and Staurt Norton also became the duties of the first batch of Policewomen in Ghana’s Police Force which confirm the influence the British Police Force had on its former colonies. A careful look at Young’s 1951 document, “A Report Upon The Gold Coast Police”, also shows that it was possible the responsibilities of the first batch of policewomen in the Gold Coast Police Force as matrons were influenced to a large extent by Britain. Similarly to Britain, the roles of Gold Coast Policewomen were performed by the wives of the Policemen who were not very efficient because they had no training in performing policing tasks.\(^\text{21}\)

Though the term “police” was foreign to the Gold Coast until the British influence in 1821, there is evidence that the practice of policing was not entirely

\(^{19}\) Interview with Christine Jane Donkor, first Policewoman to occupy the position of Deputy Commissioner of Police in the Ghana Police Force, February 10, 2016.

\(^{20}\) Interview with Rosemond Asiamah, first woman to be recruited into the Ghana Police Force, October 15, 2015.

\(^{21}\) Interview with J.B. Pokoo-Aikins, Police Researcher, October 15, 2015.
unknown as a means of ensuring justice and apprehending criminals.\textsuperscript{22} Policing in Gold Coast can be traced back to the traditional practice where able bodied men were chosen by the chiefs to promote peace and order in their communities.\textsuperscript{23} In the historic Akan societies of Gold Coast, policing tasks were performed by groups of men, members of the extended family, nhenkwaa (messengers) of the chiefs, and the linguists.\textsuperscript{24} These groups of men evolved to be the Asafo companies whose main aim was to ensure order in their communities. This emphasizes that policing in the Gold Coast before British colonial rule was a collective responsibility of all members of the community similar to the practice of the Kin Police. During the early 1800s before British influence over Gold Coast as its colony, communities did not use the prison; people who committed crimes were ostracized from their communities for a required period of time.\textsuperscript{25} Until such offenders were tried, they were chained to either the stem of a tree or a big log where he/she was required to eat and sleep. This practice of “Da dua” (liable to a tree) is similar to the function of the cells of the Police stations introduced by the British.\textsuperscript{26} Prior to the practice of professional policing, traditional policing was restricted to the Ahenfie (chief’s palace).\textsuperscript{27} For instance, among the Akan people of the Gold Coast when a person offended another the case was reported at the chief’s palace with the

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{23} Afari, Ghana Police Affairs: ... Reflection, 1-4.
\textsuperscript{24} Afari, Ghana Police Affairs: ....Reflections, 1-2.
\textsuperscript{26} Ankama , Police History: Some Aspects In England And Ghana, 21.
\textsuperscript{27} Afari, Ghana Police Affairs: … Reflections, 2-3.
\end{footnotesize}
chief and the elders acting as the arbitrators. Members of the offender’s family had the responsibility to assist the offender to pay the fines charged by the chief as an assurance that they will ensure their member improves his / her behaviour.

The chief or nana appointed the Asomafo (messenger) who performed the main policing task of arresting criminals. The Asomafo earned the titles ‘Ahenfie Nana’ or ‘Koti’. These titles represented his role in maintaining law and order in the Ahenfie. The Koti represented the warrant from the paramount chief to issue arrests. Such a warrant was symbolized by either the “mmena” or the “Afena”, which were chiefs apperels made from the dried tail of an elephant held by the Asomafo when requested by the chief to make an arrest. While the “mmena” was used in apprehending non chiefs, the “Afena” was used for the apprehension of chiefs. The Afena was decorated with different colours as compared to the mmena because of its importance. Before an individual was arrested for any crime he/she was accused of, the chiefs held a discussion with that individual’s Abusuapanyin (family head). The essence of this discussion was to formally inform him of the accusation levelled against his member. The Abusuapanyin was required by the chief to assist the Koti with any necessary information needed to identify that individual for arrest and investigation.

29 The Asomafo represented the messengers of the chief, the Nhenkwaa were attendants of the chiefs palace: they perform various responsibilities assign to them by the chief. During the absence of the Asomafo Nhenkwaa could be assign the roles of the Asomafo. Ahinkwaa is the singular form of Nhenkwaa. The two words are sometimes used interchangeably.
30 Afari, Ghana Police Affairs... Reflection, 1.
31 Ankama, Police History, 25.
32 Afari, Ghana Police Affairs: ... Reflection, 1.
The Portuguese were the first group of Europeans to establish trading relations with the people of the Gold Coast. The lucrative nature of the trade between the Portuguese traders and people of the Gold Coast encouraged the British, French, Dutch and other Europeans to also become active participants of the Trans-Atlantic trade.\(^33\) The traders from these countries challenged the Portuguese monopoly of the trade.\(^34\) Some built their own forts from 1598 and the Dutch captured Elmina castle from the Portuguese in 1637 as a way of posing a resistance to the influence which they enjoyed. The Portuguese traders were compelled to establish new trading ties with East Africa, India, the East Indies and Brazil after signing a treaty with Spain to recognise its new area of influence.\(^35\)

After the abolishing of the slave trade in 1807, Gold Coast was ushered into a period of legitimate trade with the countries it traded with. In 1821 the British government was determined to control the trade, the government began by directly controlling the forts and castles built on the Gold Coast. The British traders employed the services of the local militia whose task was to protect the British and their properties, as well as to guard and escort the British trading goods from the Coast to the Hinterlands.\(^36\) Training of the militia was carried out by discharged British soldiers who were employed by the merchants.

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\(^{35}\) Amenumey, *A Concise History from Pre-Colonial Times to the 20th Century*, 201.

Professional policing was introduced by Captain George Maclean in 1831 to equip the militia men as proper policemen who would be efficient in curbing serious rioting and civil disturbances in the Fante trading town of Cape Coast where the British had established their trading head quarters since the 17th century. Cape Coast became the seat of the British administration, which required the militia to be well trained and equipped to effectively maintain peace and ensure effective trade between the British and the people on the coast. Hence they were assigned to ensure trade security and protect the British as well as to patrol the trade routes to ensure peace and safety of other Europeans. Training in the 1830s was restricted to the use of batons and rifles. Maclean attempted to provide peace in the Gold Coast by using one hundred and twenty African militia men and nine Europeans identified as the queen’s messengers.

The roles played by the police in achieving peace have been confirmed by W.H. Gillispie in the following:

> It was however impossible to do without some Police able to undertake patrols, and five of the messengers were employed at the various towns, while the reminder acted as prison warders. The Constables were still regarded as Officers of the courts, serving summonses and occasionally under the direction of the magistrates, acting as detectives.

This means that the police became an important tool which was used to ensure the safety of the European traders and their items of trade. By undertaking patrol duties, employed at the various trading towns as detectives and been prison warders, the militia maintained peace in Cape Coast and the Gold Coast as well as protected the British traders. With this remarkable achievement

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38 Afari, Ghana Police Affairs: ... Reflections, 4-5
Maclean was able to ensure peace not only in the main British trading town but in a number of towns in the Gold Coast. He further established the court of Justice to help arbitrate cases of injustice between the European traders and the people of Cape Coast where he employed the constables as officers responsible for the courts. Maclean’s success in establishing Police stations in the main trading towns and creating courts where Police Constables performed various duties as officers to help apprehend criminals and maintain peace in the Gold Coast was similar to Robert Peel’s plan to differentiate between the responsibilities of the Police and other related institutions such as the judiciary when he sought to maintain peace in Britain. The importance of establishing these institutions in the Gold Coast was to provide peace in the main trading towns inhabited by the British traders, traders from Cape Coast and other parts of the Gold Coast. Towns such as Elmina, Kormantin and Komenda were inhabited both by European traders and other traders from some parts of the Gold Coast as a result of the Atlantic exchange.\(^{40}\)

In 1831, a year after Maclean assumed office, he concluded a “Tripartite Treaty” which was signed between himself as a representative of the British government and two representatives of the Asantehene together with a number of rulers from the Southern States such as Abora, Cape Coast, Anomabo, Denkyira, Twifo among others.\(^{41}\) The essence of this treaty was to end the war and some unwholesome practises such as panyarring which affected the peace between Asante and its allied southern states. The terms of this treaty requested

\(^{40}\) Amenumey, *A Concise History from Pre-Colonial Times to the 20\(^{th}\) Century*, 102.
that the Asante was to grant freedom to the people of Denkyera, Assin, Wassa, Fante states and Accra as well as the other southern states. It was during this period that the colonial style of policing was introduced into the Gold Coast by the then Lieutenant-Governor, Commander H.W Hill based on the recommendation of Maclean, his judicial Assessor. The ‘Tripartite Treaty’ and a Police Force were used as means to ensure an atmosphere of relative peace in the Gold Coast. The treaty increased the recognition of the duties of the Police. Thus, they were given power by the chiefs to investigate some cases in the court established by the British for the administration of Justice.

Hill also signed the ‘Bond of 1844’ with eight of the Coastal chiefs following the recommendation given by the Parliamentary Select Committee which emphasized the need to regularise British with the people of Southern Ghana. By signing the Bond, Hill assisted Maclean in establishing policing in the Gold Coast and affirmed the authority of Maclean as capable of establishing Police stations and the court to assist in investigating cases on behalf of the British administration. Prior to the signing of the Bond of 1844 between the chiefs and Commander Hill, the activities of the Police Force were restricted to within the walls and the immediate surroundings of Cape Coast Castle. Amenumey emphasizes that

The chiefs agreed that murder, robbery and other serious crimes were to be tried before the officers of the British government and the local chief … The Bond stipulated that

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42 Amenumey, *A Concise History from Pre-Colonial Times to the 20th Century*, 112.
43 Amenumey, *A Concise History from Pre-Colonial Times to the 20th Century*, 115.
only criminal cases were to be tried by the British officials, in cooperation with the chiefs.\textsuperscript{44}

With the bond, the chiefs resigned their powers of trying offences such as murder, and robbery and other serious offences such as human sacrifices in the court established by the British administration. These cases were tried in the court established in the Cape Coast castle. The chiefs shared some of their responsibilities with the British Officials who together with the local chiefs arbitrated cases in the court. With the authority granted to the British Officials by the chiefs, they established Police stations to implement decisions taken at the court as well as perform other responsibilities which were related to maintaining peace within the immediate surroundings of the Cape Coast castle. Hence, the signing of the bond ushered in a period of relative peace in Cape Coast since the Force began to exercise true Policing powers which eventually became a practice throughout the country.\textsuperscript{45} Thus peace was also achieved in Gold Coast.

By signing the bond, the chiefs also provided legitimacy to the presence of the British which gave them authority to be involved in the affairs of the people of the Gold Coast. The influence of the British in the affairs of the troops led the Police to be recognised as the ‘Gold Coast Militia’ and ‘Police’ by the people of Gold Coast. Though Maclean made attempts at establishing the Police Force, according to Colonel A.E. Young’s report, A Report Upon Gold Coast Police:

\textsuperscript{44} Amenuey, \textit{A Concise History from Pre-Colonial Times to the 20\textsuperscript{th} Century}, 115.
The history of the Gold Coast Police is traced to 1844 when a small body of men known as the Gold Coast Corps was described by the Lieutenant Governor as a ‘Moveable or Police Force’ used for garrison duties at the Coastal forts, the headquarters being at Cape Coast Castle.\textsuperscript{46}

This was a document published in November 1951 by a committee which was headed by A.E. Young to advice the British government on the formation and roles of the Police in the Gold Coast. It is worth noting that according to Young’s report, the decision to form the Police Force began in 1844. This means therefore that though Maclean introduced professional policing to the Gold Coast in 1831, the Police Force became recognised with the signing of the bond of 1844 when the Millitia was identified as the ‘Moveable Police’ or ‘Police Force’ by the Lieutenant Governor.\textsuperscript{47} The ‘Gold Coast Police Force’ was given varied names at different times. Having been identified in 1844 as the ‘Moveable Police or Police Force’, the Police Force was later known as the ‘Armed Gold Coast Force’ in 1876.\textsuperscript{48} These two terms have been used interchangeably to refer to the same Police Force however for the sake of this study I prefer to use the ‘Police Force’ to ensure consistency in my research work.

A careful assessment of the roles played by the Police Force as emphasized by the Young’s committee shows a transition in the duties of the Police from being used as a tool for political repression to being used for the maintenance of law and order, particularly in the cities of the Gold Coast where

\textsuperscript{46} PRADD: ADM5/84 -The Report Upon Gold Coast, November 1951, 12.
\textsuperscript{47} PRAAD: ADM5/84-The Report Upon Gold Coast, 14.
forts were built. Evidence of this is gathered from the roles played by the Police being employed by the British and used as a tool to ensure their security as well as enforce their control on the Gold Coast. This transformation of roles led Maclean to equip members of the Police Force to handle civil disturbances and serious riots which occurred in Cape Coast. It should be noted that the responsibility expected from the Police required the recruitment of males as Police Officers. According to Gillispie, training was gradually improved and the first group of Policemen one of which was Native Officer Ali were sent to England in 1863 for advanced instruction.\textsuperscript{49} Maclean also established the Court of Justice in Cape Coast; built Police stations in the main towns where the British traded; and encouraged both the British traders and the people of Cape Coast to bring their cases to the court for arbitration. Maclean’s Peace Treaty with the Asante was maintained from 1831-62 with the emergence of war occurring in 1863 when the Asante conquered the Southern State.\textsuperscript{50}

The training of the Police Force was still based on military skills in order to equip its members to effectively deal with wars and civil unrest. In 1871, the British assumed full control over the Gold Coast Police Force which was made up of ninety members, all being men whose selection were based on their physical strength.\textsuperscript{51} This was in reference to Maclean’s intention of equipping the Police Force to perform military roles. This has been confirmed by section 4 and 9 of the Draft Police Ordinance of 1867. According to the writer of the Draft Police Ordinance, section 4 stated that:

\textsuperscript{50}Buah, A History of Ghana, 78.
The Police Ordinance provides for the employment of the Police as a Military Force. Section 9 however extends this provision to the effect that in an event of war or emergency, at the discretion of the governor, the whole Police or any part of it may become a Military Force liable to be employed on military duties in defence of the Gold Coast.\(^\text{52}\)

This suggests that the training of the Police Force was aimed at ensuring its efficiency during emergencies such as war and other uprisings which were capable of distracting the British trade. However, there was an element of Police duties provided during the training. Further to this draft, another ordinance was passed in 1873 to provide better regulation and discipline in the Armed Gold Coast Police Force.\(^\text{53}\) These two ordinances resulted in the expansion of the duties of the Gold Coast Police as well as ensuring discipline among members of the Force.

The practice of civil policing in the Gold Coast began in 1894 with an ordinance passed to give the British authority to form a Civil Police Force. This ordinance resulted in the establishment of Police stations at different areas of the colony under British control and protection.\(^\text{54}\) Four hundred men were chosen from the Gold Coast Constabulary to form this Civil Police Force which according to Gillespie was also known as Fanti Police.\(^\text{55}\) Members who were not chosen for the Gold Coast Constabulary formed the Gold Coast Regiment which consisted of illiterate Hausa speaking Officers who were also once members of the Gold Coast Constabulary.\(^\text{56}\)


\(^{53}\) Afari, Ghana Police Affairs: ... Reflections, 5.


With the establishment of the Civil Police Force, Police duties were extended to include performing immigration and passport duties at the secretariat and in the Governor’s Office.\textsuperscript{57} In this same year, the British administration of the Gold Coast was based in Accra; therefore the Civil Police was stationed in the Usher Fort. However, training of recruits took place at Elmina Castle and was largely dependent on military skills with some training on how to curb riots. The recruits were also trained in the use of drills, special escorting duties, general guard duties, general office duties and book keeping.\textsuperscript{58} Retired British and Naval Officers who wished to serve in Her Majesty’s Oversea’s Forces constituted the leadership of the Force. There were few instances where ex-service men who were top Officers also occupied leadership positions in accordance with their expertise and experience in the military overseas. The payments of retired British and Naval Officers who were appointed as Sub-Assistant Commissioner or Assistant Commissioners were £200 and £300.\textsuperscript{59} These salaries were considered unattractive and became a disincentive for British Police Officers to apply. Therefore senior Officers who comprised of local personnel, natives of Nigeria, Sierra Leone and the British Caribbean colonies who were regarded as British subjects could become top Officers.\textsuperscript{60} Other institutions such as agriculture; railway and mines which were also established by Europeans offered more salaries and became attractive to local people. As a result, the Police Force became restricted to employing illiterate men who could not communicate in the English language. The bases of

\textsuperscript{57} Afari, \textit{Ghana Police Affairs: ... Reflections}, 6.  
\textsuperscript{58} Afari, \textit{Ghana Police Affairs: ... Reflections}, 6.  
\textsuperscript{59} Afari, \textit{Ghana Police Affairs: ... Reflections} 6.  
\textsuperscript{60} Afari, \textit{Ghana Police Affairs: ... Reflections}, 6.
selection were therefore dependent on their physical strength. A typical case for reference was in 1898 when the majority of recruits into the Gold Coast Police Force were illiterate and classified by European top Officials as uncivilized. During this period the Hausa became dominant members of the Police Force, which earned the Force the name Hausa Police. According to an official document initiated by Commonwealth to discuss policing in Ghana; Police Accountability in Ghana, the activities of the Force became synonymous with heavy handed, brutal policing particularly when repressing civil disorders against the colonial regime. The Police Force became known, as the “buga buga” which literally means “beat beat” in the Hausa Language. According to an interview I had with some Police officials such as Asiamah, and Pokoo-Aikins, this term was widely used by people of the Gold Coast to describe members of the Police Force.

The exploitation of mineral and natural resources in the Gold Coast rose between 1894 and 1901 and the demand for these resources heightened the need to recruit more policemen to perform escort duties in these mining, industrial and agricultural areas. The number of Policemen increased from one hundred and forty-six recruits in 1894 to one hundred and sixty-four recruits in 1897.

In 1901 there was an increase in the number of Police Officers as a result of the implementation of the Police Amendment Ordinance. This ordinance made provision for an additional 500 men across all ranks of the force.

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64 Afari, Ghana Police Affairs: ... Reflections, 7.
Police Force.\textsuperscript{65} The increase in numbers led to the creation of specialized bodies within the Force. The Police created the Escort, Marine and Railway divisions to perform specialized duties. The Escort Police, for instance, were to provide guard and escort duties in important mining areas.\textsuperscript{66} The majority of the recruits were slaves, runaways, and illiterate or semi-literate Hausa speaking Policemen.\textsuperscript{67} The composition of these recruits confirms that strength and brawn were counted as the basis of recruitment into the Police rather than education and intellectual skills. Recruits to these specialized institutions wore distinct kinds of uniforms.\textsuperscript{68} In 1902, the Police Force was also restructured into General, Escort, Mines and Railway Police.\textsuperscript{69} The 1904 Amendment Ordinance legally recognized the divisions of the Police Force which numbered six hundred and forty-one Policemen. Training during this period was still based on the acquisition of military skills by the recruits.\textsuperscript{70}

Other significant changes in the Police Force were recorded between 1916 and 1930. In 1916, the Marine Police was established in response to the growing responsibilities of the Police Force. The Marine Force was responsible for preventing smuggling, looting, and disorderly behaviours by boat crews on arrival of the steamers at the natural ports of the Gold Coast.\textsuperscript{71} This divisions of the Gold Coast Police Force performed similar responsibilities with the Marine Police formed in 1798 by Patrick Colquhone with the assistance of Master

\textsuperscript{65} Afari, \textit{Ghana Police Affairs: ... Reflections}, 7-8.
\textsuperscript{68} Afari, \textit{Ghana Police Affairs: ... Reflections},8.
\textsuperscript{69} Afari, \textit{Ghana Police Affairs: ... Reflections},7.
\textsuperscript{70} Afari, \textit{Ghana Police Affairs: ... Reflections},8.
Mariner John Harriott to prevent theft and looting of ships on the pool of London.\textsuperscript{72} The Policemen in the Gold Coast Marine Force were dressed in ‘Blue Jersey’s with shorts, cummerbunds, belts and sailor’s caps’.\textsuperscript{73} This was very distinct from the uniforms of the other members of the Police Force and hence differentiated the Policemen who represented the Marine Force from the Escort, Mines and Railway Police.

Within this same time frame, specifically 1916-1917, the Barracks, Police Headquarters and Offices were established at the corner of Rowe Road and Station Road junction in Accra.\textsuperscript{74} This was to separate the training institution from the administrative body of the Police Force.

During 1919-1920, other departments such as the Criminal Investigation Department (C.I.D) and the Prisons Department were created; each of these departments had its own specified responsibilities. For instance, the Prisons and Criminal Investigations Departments began their work as separate entities on 1\textsuperscript{st} January 1920.\textsuperscript{75} By 1930, the Police Depot at Tesano became the centre of administration. The Barracks Headquarters and offices established in Accra were relocated to Tesano in accordance with the recommendations made by a committee set up by E.V Collins which stated the importance of the Police training and its administrative body all be situated close to each other to ensure effectiveness. On 1\textsuperscript{st} March 1930, the staff, recruits, bandmaster and the band were also moved from the main barracks in Accra to the new Depot at Tesano.\textsuperscript{76} These arrangements were steps taken towards separating the Police Force from

\textsuperscript{72} Dempsey and Forst. “An Introduction to Policing,”215.
\textsuperscript{73} Afari, Ghana Police Affairs: ... Reflections,8.
\textsuperscript{74} Afari, Ghana Police Affairs: ... Reflections,8.
\textsuperscript{75} Afari, Ghana Police Affairs: ... Reflections,9.
\textsuperscript{76} Afari, Ghana Police Affairs: ... Reflections,9.
the other departments such as the Prisons and Criminal Investigation Departments.

The Police Force experienced other developments between 1947 and 1952. In 1947, the Gold Coast Police had an increase to two thousand and seven hundred out of a population of 4.1 million people. The essence of the increase was to mobilize the militia in the Gold Coast to participate in the Second World War.\textsuperscript{77} This figure is in contrast with Roger Gockings estimation of a number of sixty-five thousand people who participated in the Second World War.\textsuperscript{78} The difference in figure could be interpreted to mean that the two thousand and seven hundred Officers of the Gold Coast Police who took part in the war constituted the total number of sixty-five thousand Africans who were involved in the war.

In 1948, the Special Branch of the Police Force was established by the British government following the political agitations which had become common in the Gold Coast.\textsuperscript{79} These political agitations rose as a result of the increasing political consciousness and nationalist movements which had been gaining ground from the 1920s and resulted in the formation of some nationalist groups such as the Youth Conference Movement, West African Youth League, and the Gold Coast Youth Conference.\textsuperscript{80} By the later period of the 1920s therefore, there were a number of social groups and associations which had emerged in the major towns of Accra, Cape Coast, Sekondi, Kumasi, and

\textsuperscript{77} Afari, \textit{Ghana Police Affairs: ... Reflections}, 10.
\textsuperscript{78} Roger Gocking, \textit{The History Of Ghana}, Greenwood Press, 75.
\textsuperscript{79} Afari, \textit{Ghana Police Affairs: ... Reflections}, 10.
\textsuperscript{80} Amenumey, \textit{A Concise History from Pre –Colonial Times to the 20\textsuperscript{th} Century}, 193- 194.
The branch was formed to enable the British government to curb such political uprisings especially from spreading to the other towns of the Gold Coast. The Special Branch (also known as the Intelligence Unit of the Gold Coast Police) was formed to investigate the causes of some of these political agitations against the Gold Coast’s Colonial Government.

In 1949, the Wireless Division of the Police Force was established. The main duty of this Division was to disseminate important information to the other branches of the Police Force. The Accra Information Room was also established in 1950 to work in close partnership with the Police Information Room, which was responsible for collating the information from the Wireless Patrol cars that gathered criminal information from the city. The patrol cars assigned to patrol the city day and night were efficient in checking crimes and other motor traffic offences in the city. They provided information to be disseminated to the Wireless Division and the Accra Information Room for announcement to the people of Accra. Due to the improvement of communication in the Police Force with the exception of the Trans- Volta Togoland, all provincial and district headquarters were linked to the Force’s headquarters of Accra, Kumasi, Cape Coast, and Sekondi by wireless.

A retired Inspector –General of Police (IGP), sums up the public perception of the Gold Coast Police Force as follows:

The pioneers of the Ghana Police were drawn from the military sources without proper civil Police training; they were looked upon

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81 Amenumey, A Concise History from Pre–Colonial Times to the 20th Century, 194.
82 Afari, Ghana Police Affairs: ... Reflections,10
83 Afari, Ghana Police Affairs: ... Reflections,10.
as tyrants, bullies and outcast in society. They were held in such dread that children were frightened by the mere mention of the word ‘Police’. Any member of the public found in the company of a Policeman was considered to be involved in some trouble. The Police was tolerated in the society through fear thus in the minds of many, it was a symbol of imperial power.\textsuperscript{85}

The inspector General’s observation of the Police Force explains how the Force was perceived by the public. His narrative attributed the brutality, fear and tyranny evoked by the Police in society to their initial background as members of the militia. Thus the composition of the Police who were formed from the militia, illiterate or semi-literate Hausa men were recruited as Officers as earlier indicated in page 18. The absence of proper training in civil policing made the Officers exhibit such brutality when dealing with the people of Gold Coast. They became tolerated by citizens than being accepted and appreciated for their contribution to maintaining peace in the main trading towns.

In 1951, the Gold Coast began to make arrangements for the attainment of Independence from the British. Thus, the Governor of Gold Coast, Arden Clarke with his colonial administration set up a committee which constituted both British and Ghanaian Officials to make recommendations on the operations and activities of the Police Force after Independence.\textsuperscript{86} The committee set was headed by A. E. Young who was a Commissioner of Police from London. The committee presented its recommendations to the Government in a document titled “A Report Upon the Gold Coast Police: November 1951”. The idea of

\textsuperscript{85} Afari, \textit{Ghana Police Affairs: ... Reflections},9.  
\textsuperscript{86} Afari, \textit{Ghana Police Affairs.... Reflections},10-12.
including the Women’s branch into the Police Force was one of the reasons for setting up the committee.\textsuperscript{87} The report argues that

Financial provision has been made for the early inclusion of a section of women Police within the establishment of the Force. As an initial step the force intended to employ three N.C.O.’s and nine constables within the municipal area of Accra, to deal with juvenile delinquency and control of prostitution.\textsuperscript{88}

The major focus of this research on the “Contribution of Women to the Development of policing in Ghana: 1952-2000” was recommended by the Young’s Committee. This report presented by the committee shows that the past British government made provisions for the inclusion of women in the Police Force. It made preparations for the recruitment of three women as Non-Commissioned Officers who were responsible for supervising nine constables to ensure their effectiveness in dealing with issues of juvenile delinquency and prostitution in the municipal area of Accra. To ensure the effectiveness of the Non-Commissioned Officers, the recruits were required to be literates who could read and communicate clearly in the English language.\textsuperscript{89} This recommendation became the basis for the roles of the women’s branch of the Police after the first batch of twelve Policewomen were recruited in 1952.

**HISTORIOGRAPHICAL CONTEXT**

Limited amount of research has been done on policing in Ghana. Few of such researches include: Pokoo-Aikins research on “The Police in Ghana: 1939-2009” and Naa Sika Sakiokor’s undergraduate project work: “Evading the

\textsuperscript{87} PRAAD, A Report Upon The Gold Coast Police: November, 1951, 25.
\textsuperscript{88} PRAAD, A Report Upon The Gold Coast Police: November, 1951, 25.
\textsuperscript{89} Women Policing in the Gold Coast and Ghana – Golden Jubilee”, 7.
Ranks Of Men: Women in The Police Service” which was conducted in 1999, however, studies have also been conducted elsewhere on policing. Some examples of such works also include, The Metropolitan Police Act of 1829, a research conducted by J. L. Lymen, and An Introduction to Policing, a work done by John Dampsey and Linda S. Forst.\(^90\) In relation to women in policing, researches such as “Women Police In The Nigerian Security Sector” a work done by Tosin Akinjobi-Babatunde, Women Police Officers in Hong Kong, by Annie Hau-naug Chan and Lawrence Ka–Ki Ho, Women, Peace and Security, a study submitted by the Secretary- General in Pursuant to Security Council Resolution 1325, and Women, Peace and Security in Africa, a research conducted by Charyl Handricks have also contributed to literature which have informed this present work. My study draws on two different areas: firstly studying some theories which provide bases for understanding discrimination against women in the Police Force and secondly exploring gender issues related to women in the work force.

Some works on policing reflect the views of scholars who opine that the number of men in the Police Force outweighs the number of women in the Force mainly because the Police Force is considered a male dominated profession, therefore there are some discriminatory tendencies in the Force which have prevented policewomen from rising as Officers. This reflect why more female Police Officers occupy the lower ranks with very few of them holding senior positions. For instance, Jennifer Brown’s article “Aspects of Discriminatory Treatment of Women Police Officers Serving in the Force in

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England and Wales” (1998) examines the tasks, discrimination and opportunities available to Policewomen in Britain. Brown maintains that Policewomen are underrepresented in the higher ranks, while over represented in the lower ranks where they are required to perform supportive roles. She further attributes discrimination against women in male dominated professions to the ‘Sex Role Spillover Theory’. This theory emphasizes that women are required by society to perform some specific duties such as wives, mothers and caretakers as well as being assign to domestic responsibilities which project feminine sexuality rather than professional roles. Thus, in situations where women are found in male dominated professions they become victims of abuse as a result of gender and occupational role conflicts. Brown’s view portrays the reason for Policemen’s desire to protect the image of the profession as a male dominated one. The Sex Role Spillover Theory also may have an impact on the Police Force because policing as a profession was a male dominated one from inception and Britain which is a proponent of the theory is credited for her achievement in introducing professional policing to its former colonies. Therefore the colonies may have enforced Britain’s practise of restricting women in the Force to performing supportive roles.

In relation to policing in Africa and other countries, Cherly Hendricks (2015) article “Women, Peace and Security in Africa” argues that discrimination in the Police Force in Africa is attributed to the restructuring policing has gone through as an institution focused on crime prevention into an

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agency which also performs administrative duties. Hendricks argues further that:

The Police Force has become managerial, technocratic and overly concerned with numbers. This has entrenched patriarchal attitudes and violent masculinity in the Police Force rather than bringing about envisaged gender equality or increased security of women.\(^93\)

This emphasizes that the transition of the Police Force from being an institution noted for curbing riots and enforcing peace into an institution which performs administrative responsibilities has redirected the force towards being concerned with an increased number of male officers who occupy managerial positions due to its bureaucratic nature. The administrative responsibilities performed by the Police Force have resulted in making the Force more conducive for men instead of promoting gender equality where more women will also be involved in the managerial positions as Police Officers.\(^94\) Hendricks observation is relevant to this study because it offers a basis to better understand the reason why the Police Force is male dominated and more policemen are given administrative positions as Police Officers as compared to female Police Officers.

Lynda R. Dey’s article “Bottom Power: Theorizing Feminism and the Women’s Movement in Sierra Leone (1981-2007) also contributes to scholarly work done on black feminist theories and some practices which deny women the opportunity to progress in male dominated professions.\(^95\) Her study explores black feminist theories and its influence in bringing about social


transformation which benefits not only liberal models but individual rights in a market-based state system. Dey posits that, women’s movements are shaped by conceptions of women’s liberation and equality as perceived in the context of western ideas of gender and within the global context of a market place of ideas.\textsuperscript{96} The main thesis of Dey’s research argues that women who occupy high political positions collectively exercise legitimate power and often possess more powers than men of lesser titles, wealth or other markets of social status.\textsuperscript{97} Her research on women in Nigeria and Sierra Leone shows that women with adorable economic independence are capable of controlling their lives and the lives of the men around them. In the political sphere which is male dominated however, women face discriminations and need to push for equal pay for equal work as men and freedom from workplace sexual harassment. Well educated men who occupy high positions in Sierra Leone and Nigeria attribute women’s growing political influence to basic power inherent in women’s sexuality, no more no less. This was described as “Bottom Power”.\textsuperscript{98} The term was used to describe women’s political influence. “Bottom Power” developed out of the dislocation of African masculinities and gender identities which had become destabilized in the era of women’s overt political struggle for power. Dey’s work is significant to this study because she exposes discriminations which affect upward mobility of women in the work force which fits within the scope of this current research. By focusing on discriminations women in Nigeria and

Sierra Leone suffer in the work force, the study may have some resemblance with some practices which affect women in male dominated professions in Ghana since all three countries were former colonies of Britain. Dey’s theory of “Bottom Power” and Brown’s “Sex Role Spillover theory” forms a theoretical framework within which this current study on “Contributions of Women in the Ghana Police Force, 1952-2000” is situated.

Annie Hau-naug Chan and Lawrence Ka–Ki Ho’s 2015 publication “Women Police Officers in Hong Kong: Femininity and Policing in a Gendered Organization” also maintains that the perception of Police work as physically demanding, involving violence, danger and discipline contributes to emphasizing the superiority of men in the Police Force hence impeding women from making progress as police Officers in the Force.\(^99\) According to Chan and Ho, female Officers were defined largely with reference to their femininity and not their actual abilities in performing policing duties.\(^100\) This work is very relevant to my research because Hong Kong and Ghana were both colonised by Britain, therefore to ensure the safety of the British traders the British government introduced policing to both colonies and others such as India.

Mahajan (1982) in Syed Nasir’s “Understanding Women Police through a Socio – Historical Perspective” offers a study of policewomen in the Indian Police Force where he opines that though policewomen wore uniforms, are given ranks in the Police Force, enjoy full salary and other benefits, policewomen play quasi-roles in policing. As such, the women’s roles in


\(^{100}\) Chan and Ho, “Women Police Officers in Hong Kong: Femininity and Policing in a Gendered Organization,”491.
policing remain ambiguous. The research attributes the extent of ambiguity to organizational apathy, opposition from incumbents, societal negative reactions, lack of committed policewomen and the lack of opportunities made available to women to occupy position of authority in the Police organization. These findings are very significant to my research because my project work seeks to respond to broader issues for women in Policing in order to develop understanding of some causes of discrimination against female Police Officers which appear to be a common phenomenon. By studying the discrimination women go through in the Indian Police Force, Mahajan’s research aids understanding of the broader scope of the issue. The main thesis of the research states that the rise in female criminality, the greater awareness of equality and social justice, increase in juvenile delinquency and destitution, as well as the rise in atrocities on women, are some of the situations which not only make the presence of women in the Police profession desirable but, more importantly, leads to the inevitable inclusion of more policewomen in the future. This means therefore, that in many societies, women’s role in the Police Force is appreciated however Policewomen continue to be marginalized in the Force because traditionally it was and continues to be recognised as a male’s profession.

There has been wealth of literature on women regarding their denial by society of access to power. One of such literature is the research work, *Emancipation of women-An African Perspective*. In this research, Abena

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Dolphyne explores some issues which affected women particularly those in the third world countries. The thesis of her argument is that some of the causes of injustices against women are as result of age-old traditions and practices as well as the lack of will power of educated women to effectively fight for women’s cause.\textsuperscript{104} Dolphyne’s research into Africa’s cultural practices considers how they affect the emancipation of women and prevent them from performing similar responsibilities as men. She states that

\begin{quote}
\ldots Some African cultures have bearing on the issues of women’s emancipation. These are customs, traditions and beliefs which have over the years helped to keep women under subjugation and to make them feel generally inferior to men and incapable of operating at the same level as men in society.\textsuperscript{105}
\end{quote}

This emphasizes that some cultural practices in Africa impede the emancipation of women. These customs, beliefs and traditions have led to the subjugation of women which have resulted in women been perceived as inferior to men. Dolphyne’s work is very important to my research because Emancipation of Woman-An African Perspective, incorporates some African societies such as Ghana in the scope of study. Similarly, this research also explores some practices and customs of the Ghanaian society which impede the effectiveness of Policewomen.

These corpuses of scholarly research provide background to better understand the extent of discriminations against women in the work force and the Police Force to be precise and how women were able to break the ceiling

\footnotesize
\begin{enumerate}
\item Dolphyne, \textit{The Emancipation Of Women: An African Perspective}, 46-47.
\end{enumerate}
into making significant contributions to the Police Force. These works collectively link Britain to its former colonies in terms of assessing Britain’s influence in the introduction of professional policing to its former colonies. The literatures also expose some discrimination women suffer in the Police Force in different countries in general and the Ghana Police to be precise. This research seeks to build on Tosin Akinjobi–Babatunde’s work on “Women Police in the Nigerian Security Sector”. Akinjobi–Babatunde’s work represents one of very few projects conducted on women in law enforcement and thus serves as a very important secondary source in throwing light on the discriminations against women in the security sector from the period of their inclusion in Nigeria, which began from the early 1940s to 1955. Her work focuses on the extent of the expansion in roles played by Policewomen in the Force. Akinjobi–Babatunde’s main argument is that gender biases have impeded the incorporation of women into the Police Force.

My project which explores the contribution of Policewomen to the development of policing in Ghana from 1952 to 2000 also contributes literature to the few works done to investigate women’s contribution to the Police Force in Africa. It draws extensively on Pokoo-Aikins research on “The Police in Ghana: 1939-2009” which provides literature on the stages of development of the Policing in Ghana from the Second World War to 2009. My research contributes to academic knowledge because apart from Naa Sika Sakiokor’s undergraduate project work: “Evading the Ranks Of Men: Women in The Police

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OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

This study seeks to investigate the evolution of the roles of policewomen in the Ghana Police Force. This will be done under the identified three time Phases: the Independence Phase, Military Regime Phase and the Democratic Phase. In this regard, the roles of the first twelve women recruited in 1952 will hold a pivotal position in the beginning stages of this investigation. The Independence Phase explores the development of policing during the final years of British administration through to when policing became inherited and managed by the government of the Gold Coast after Independence. The Independence Phase will also investigate some benefits and challenges faced by the first twelve policewomen and the other first two batches of the women’s branch recruited into the Police Force. This Phase will further explore how some of the challenges were resolved. This Phase will deal with my first set of research questions.

The Military Regime Phase will further explore some policies initiated in Britain during the 1970s and 1980s. There will be an investigation into whether these policies contributed to an increase number of Policewomen on the global level during this period. In relation to the Ghana Police Force, some policies which were initiated in the Force during this Phase will be explored to

find out whether they contributed in any way to an increase contribution of women in the Police Force. The final Phase, the Democratic Phase offers a study of the political atmosphere of Ghana under the democratic regime, from the beginning of the fourth republic in 1992 to the end of the twentieth in 2000. The Democratic Phase will subsequently explore enabling conditions which propelled policewomen to perform national and international roles in the Police Service. The second and third sets of research questions will investigate the roles of women in the Police Service during the Military Regime Phase and the Democratic Phase respectively.

The main question propelling the study is: what were the significant changes in the roles of policewomen in the Ghana Police Service: how and why did these changes occur? Under the main question, specific questions will be investigated.

1. What was the political atmosphere of the Gold Coast during the Independence Phase of 1952-1960s? What role did this atmosphere play in influencing the inclusion of women in policing during the period?

2. How was the role of women in the Police perceived globally during the Military Regime Phase of the 1970s -1980s? How did this global perception impact the experience of women in the Ghana Police Service? Were there policies which increased participation of women in the Service, what were these policies and did they lead to an increase of women in the Ghana Police?

3. What were the enabling conditions that permitted opportunity for the expansion of the roles of women to the highest ranks in the Ghana Police

METHODOLOGY

This research project adopts a qualitative approach to thoroughly examine the contribution of Policewomen to the development of Policing in Ghana from 1952-2000. Data sources to be consulted will include both primary and secondary sources.

The primary sources will be obtained from the Public Records and Archives Administration Department (PRAAD). The use of these records will be significant because they contain reforms made in the Police Service as well as the decisions which were taken by the colonial government following the recommendations made by the committee formed under the chairmanship of Colonel Young. The archival sources include: ADM 5/84, a document from the Chief Secretary’s Office which bears the title “A Report Upon The Gold Coast Police, November 1951” and the ADM 6/85, which also contains the “Statements of the Gold Coast Government on the Report upon the Gold Coast Police presented by Colonel A. E. Young” printed in 1952.

Other useful files to be obtained from the Police archive will include Journals and newspapers printed during the periods the project covers and contain useful data to inform the research work. Photographs of the first batch
and that of other women who played influential roles in the Police will also constitute an important primary source obtained from the Police archive.

Base on the limited number of primary and secondary literature, oral history will be obtained from Policemen such as DSP Pokoo-Aikins who is a researcher in the Ghana Police Service and had been a librarian of the Police Training Academy from 1992 to 2012. Other primary sources to be used will include narratives from both retired and practicing policemen and women who have served in the Police Service during the different Phases of my study. These women will include Rosemond Asiamah, the first policewomen to be recruited in 1952; Jane Christie Donkor, the first female Commissioner of Police recruited to the Service in the 1970s; Maame Tiiwaa Addo-Danquah, a female Police Officer who was recruited in 1990 and now heads the Police Training School for Senior Police Officers; and Officer Prudence Ayensu, who was recruited into the Police Service in 1992 and is now the first female Officer in charge of the Drilling Unit. These female Police Officers each represent the three Phases this research work covers and will be required to provide useful data on events concerning policewomen in the Police Service. Some policemen who were also in the Police during the Phases will also serve as useful primary sources. Examples of these male Officers will include: Retired Commissioner Patrick Kwarteng Achampong, former Inspector General of Police (IGP) between the periods March 2005 to January 2009. Officer Philip Teku, the Police Chief of Staff at the time of the research. Oral history will be obtained through the assistance of POLAS which is the officially recognized Policewomen’s Group.
The study will also employ secondary sources from the Kofi Annan International Peace Keeping Training centre (KAIPTC), the Balme Library of the University of Ghana and the Police Training Academy Library.

STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

The research project is organized into five chapters. This introductory chapter provides the general background and introduction to the study. It focuses specifically on the practice of policing in Britain prior to 1952 and its influence in the establishment of policing in Ghana. The background discussion concludes with how women became incorporated into the Police Service. It also contains the objectives and methodology of the research, as well as the structure and limitations to the work.

Chapter Two of the study represents Phase One and bears the title: “The Political Atmosphere of the Gold Coast During the Attainment of Independence”. It will examine the changes which took place within the political spheres of the country and measures adopted to ensure the survival of some institutions such as the Police Force. This Phase will also explore the challenges the first group of policewomen faced as well as the ways these challenges were resolved. The opportunities these women had in this male dominated Force will also be explored.

Chapter Three, which is Phase Two of the research, covers the Military Regime Phase. It bears the title, “Effects of Policies Implemented in the British Police Force” It investigates the significance of some key policies which were implemented in Britain’s Police Force in addressing women’s Contribution to
the Police Force globally during the 1970s and 1980s. In relation to the Ghana Police, The Military Regime Phase will assess whether these policies increased the contribution of Policewomen. As part of its introduction, there will be a discussion of the views of some scholars such as Margery Povell, who argues that the contribution of women in professions such as the Police Force during the early 1970s was insignificant. Drawing on the contribution of women in the work force, she emphasized that women’s contribution as compared the men in the Police Force is anomalous.\textsuperscript{110} This is contrasted with Salomon Alcocer Guajardo, Jennifer Brown, Annie Hau Naug Chan and Lawrence Ho who posit that the 1970s and 1980s offered a turning point in the numbers and invariably the contribution of women recruited into policing.\textsuperscript{111}

Chapter four which covers Phase Three has the heading, “Contribution of Ghanaian Policewomen in Command Positions (1992-2000)”. It will delve into the scope of involvement of women in the Ghana Police Service and factors which contributed to the rise of policewomen into Command Positions. This chapter will therefore focus on the extent of women empowerment in Ghana Police Service. It also will explore the views of some policemen and women of the effectiveness of policewomen in Command Positions. Data gathered through interviews will be incorporated into the study of these policewomen and some challenges they faced in the roles they occupied.


The final chapter will provide conclusion to my research questions by drawing on case studies presented in each Phase. It will also present research findings which reflect the changes in the roles of some policewomen who were key figures and played influential roles in the Ghana Police. Examples of such women include Officers Rosemond Asiamah and Otilia Milne Dekowski who represent Phase One; Jane Christine Donkor and Gifty Anin-Botwe, who represent the Military Regime Phase and Deborah Addison Campbell, Prudence Ayensu and Maame Tiiwaa Addo-Danquah who speak for the Democratic Phase.

**SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY**

The focus of this study is to trace the historical development of women’s contribution to the Gold Coast / Ghana Police Service. My work intends to contribute to a worldwide dialogue on women’s empowerment, particularly regarding West Africa and more specifically Ghana. Owing to the limited amount of scholarly work done on women in policing in the region and particularly in Ghana, by examining the history of women’s contribution to policing, my research will contribute to institutional history and gender studies which hold relevance today.
LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The limited amount of scholarly research work done on women in policing will make it difficult to obtain data for my research, particularly secondary literature relevant to the topic of Policewomen in Ghana. The bureaucracy involved in the Ghana Police Service will also limit the extent to which I could access data for my research. With reference to the period my research covers there will be a limitation to assessing adequate relevant primary data to inform the research. Scanty written records provided by some Police researchers on important historical events of the Ghana Police will also pose as a barrier to an effective interpretation and analysis of facts, particularly on the Independence Phase which has very limited amount of primary data. The issue of different dates provided on the same or similar historical events will further affect the analysis and interpretation of data.
Figure 1: First Group of Women recruited to the Moveable Police Force. Source: Women Policing in the Gold Coast and Ghana, Golden Jubilee (1st September to 1st September 2002), IGIT printing Press.
Figure 2: policewomen performing policing duties. Source: Women Policing in the Gold Coast and Ghana, Golden Jubilee (1st September to 1st September 2002), IGIT printing Press.

It is worthy to note that this statement was what written under the above picture: A PW/SGT AND CONSTABLE QUESTIONING AN ESCORT POLICEMAN WHO HAS BROUGHT AN OFFENDER TO A CHARGE OFFICE.
Figure 3: policewomen questioning children found loitering on the street

Figure 4: policewomen assisting children and other pedestrians at the zebra crossing

Figure 5: policewoman escorting a culprit

Figure 6: Second Batch of Policewomen


It is important to note that PW14 has been identified as Christiana Bonaparte instead of Christian Bonaparte.
Figure 7: Other responsibilities performed by policewomen

Figure 8: Letter Permitting Marriage of the First Batch of Policewomen

Source: Rosemond Asiamah, assessed on October 15, 2015.

It is important to note also that Rosemond Asiamah and Rose Asiamah refers to the same person.
CHAPTER TWO

PHASE ONE: INDEPENDENCE PHASE

THE POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE OF THE GOLD COAST DURING THE ATTAINMENT OF INDEPENDENCE

The Independence Phase of Ghana’s history and of women in the Police forms the core of this chapter. Its main focus is to assess the political environment of the Gold Coast from 1952 until the 1960s and its influence on the Police Force.\footnote{It is important to note that during this period the Police Service was identified as the Police Force.} The main thesis of chapter two is that the experiences of the Second World War propelled the Police Force to seek changes from the British administration, which eventually led to the inclusion of women into the Force. Special emphasis will be placed on the roles of the first women’s branch of the Police Force, which was inaugurated in 1952. Some consideration will also be given to the second and third batches of Policewomen who were also inaugurated during the Independence Phase.

The research investigates both negative and positive practices, which hindered or promoted the effectiveness of women in the Police Force. For instance, Policewomen were neither permitted to get married nor have children. This is particularly significant as the majority of members of the first batch of Policewomen recruited were within the child bearing age range of twenty four years.
to thirty years according to Rosemond Asiamah, the first Policewoman to be recruited into the Police Force in 1952. Policewomen were also prevented from wearing earrings, which according to Asiamah defined their femininity. Though this policy was passed to probably protect the welfare of the policewomen in the Force; that is to prevent the earrings from being ripped from their ears in a tussle on duty, to the first batch of policewomen not been allowed to wear earrings denied them acceptance as women in the Police Force which was male dominated. In terms of the opportunity granted to the policewomen, some members of the first batch travelled to Britain to be further trained to gain more knowledge about policing. As will be discussed, this exposure was to equip the members of the first batch to effectively supervise the policewomen who were recruited in the later periods. A portion of this chapter also investigates some discrimination policewomen suffered in the Police Force from 1952 and the 1960s.

The Second World War was significant in propelling change in the country particularly, in the Police Force with relation to the inclusion of the first batch of policewomen in 1952. After the Second World War, the nationalists of the Gold Coast were motivated to seek independence from the colonial powers. D.E.K. Amenumey claims that,

> During the period before the Second World War, there had been strong attacks on the colonial system. However, these attacks all aimed at securing reforms within that system rather than its overthrow... After World War 11, the attack on the colonial system came to aim at the

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113 Interview with Asiamah, by author, Legon ,October 15, 2015.
complete overthrow of that system. The demand was now for Independence by all means.\textsuperscript{114} Amenumey’s quote seek to emphasize that, unlike the period before the Second World War where the nationalists attacked the colonial system with the aim of seeking changes within the system, the mean reason for the colonies attack on the colonial system after the war was to completely overthrow the system to pave way for attaining Independence. This shows that, after their experiences in the war, the nationalists became motivated to self-govern the country and its institutions. This agitation became heightened following the loss of prestige, initial respect and recognition enjoyed by the Europeans from their colonies which resulted in Britain’s lost of control and authority over its colonies.\textsuperscript{115} The European powers after the war endured disregard by the colonies following their witness of whites killing their fellow whites. Britain, in particular, became impoverished and exhausted by the war. Britain after the war for instance was left with an enormous dollar debt.\textsuperscript{116} This eventually altered the relation, which existed particularly between Britain and its colonies. India for instance, led a precedent by challenging the authority of the British rule which started a road map for other colonies in Africa to follow.\textsuperscript{117}

Through the experiences of the veterans who participated in the Second World War, the nationalists of Gold Coast were exposed to some injustices meted out to them during the war. Such discontentment therefore compelled the nationalists to engage in activities which led to 1948 and the years which

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{114} Amenumey, \textit{A Concise History from Pre-Colonial Times to the 20\textsuperscript{th} Century}, 198.
\item \textsuperscript{115} Amenumey, \textit{A Concise History from Pre-Colonial Times to the 20\textsuperscript{th} Century}, 201.
\item \textsuperscript{117} Shah, “Understanding Women Police Through a Socio-historical Perspective,”112.
\end{itemize}
followed until Ghana’s attainment of Independence being described as characterized by strikes, boycotts and demonstrations to seek changes.\textsuperscript{118} One of such riots was the 28\textsuperscript{th} February 1948 riot which resulted in the death of three ex-servicemen and the injury of others. A group of ex-servicemen marched from Accra to the seat of colonial power at Christianborg Castle where they presented a petition to the British governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Gold Coast, Sir General Creasy.\textsuperscript{119} The essence of the petition was that the governor should review the veterans conditions of living that involved paying more gratuities which the ex-servicemen described as a small amount considering the sacrifices they made during the Second World War.\textsuperscript{120} This encounter resulted in a shooting incident led by a British Superintendent responsible for the Accra districts, Mr. Colin Imray. The event occurred following the refusal of the ex-servicemen to present their petition to the colonial secretary in his office as they wished to be received by the governor.\textsuperscript{121} The veterans protested the directive by throwing stones, which resulted in the injury of Mr. Imray and another British officer Barry Lane.

This disturbance led to the creation of a Commission of Inquiry at the request of the anticolonial movements. The commission was entrusted with the responsibility of investigating and making recommendations based on the demands made by the ex-servicemen and the nationalists.\textsuperscript{122} One significant finding made by the commission with regards to the Police Force was that the

\textsuperscript{118} Amenumey, A Concise History from Pre-Colonial Times to the 20\textsuperscript{th} Century, 198.
\textsuperscript{119} Pokoo-Aikins, The Police In Ghana: 1939-2009, 8
\textsuperscript{120} Pokoo-Aikins, The Police In Ghana: 1939-2009, 8
\textsuperscript{121} Pokoo-Aikins, The Police In Ghana:1939-2009, 10
\textsuperscript{122} Amenumey, A Concise History from Pre-Colonial Times to the 20\textsuperscript{th} Century, 198.
riots exposed the extent of neglect the Police had suffered in terms of disregard by the governors who reigned after Captain Maclean and Commander Hill. The extent of the neglect endured by the Police has been affirm by Pooko-Aikins who states that the civil disturbances reveal the weaknesses of the Police as a result of years of neglect and failure by the British governors to appreciate the importance of an efficient police in helping preserve peace in the Gold Coast.\textsuperscript{123} This recommendation made it possible for the conditions of members of the Police Force to be improved.\textsuperscript{124}

Aside resulting in Ghana’s independence, one other positive effect of the February 1948 disturbance in relation to the Police was that, it led to Africanization of the Police Force which resulted first into the introduction of policewomen to the Force in 1952 and secondly the appointment of Erasmas Taf Madjitey as the first Ghanaian commissioner of Police in Ghana in 1958.\textsuperscript{125} This Africanization process specifically made way for an increase in the number of policemen.

One hundred and eight years after the formation of the Ghana Police Force by Captain Maclean, Dr Kwame Nkrumah while he was in charge of Government Business contributed to the development of the Police Force by encouraging the British government to accept Colonel Young’s recommendation in the 1951 Gold Coast Report to recruit women into the Police Force in 1952 which hitherto had been male dominated.\textsuperscript{126} A statement made by Young shows the

\textsuperscript{123} Pooko-Aikins, The Police In Ghana: 1939- 2009, 10
\textsuperscript{124} Pooko-Aikins, The Police In Ghana: 1939- 2009, 10
\textsuperscript{126} “Women Policing in the Gold Coast and Ghana – Golden Jubilee”, 3.
decision of the British government to include women in policing earlier during the formation the Gold Coast Police Force before its implementation in 1952. According to Colonel Young:

I have been interested to learn that financial provision has been made for the early inclusion of a section of women police with the establishment of the Force. As an initial step it is intended to employ three N.C.O. (Non Commissioned Officers) and nine constables within the municipal area of Accra, to deal with juvenile delinquency and the control of Prostitution.¹²⁷

These words give meaning to the intended role of the twelve women who constituted the first two batches of the women’s branch. In this case the first and second batches were made up of twelve policewomen who were recruited in separate turns with the first batch in 1952 and the second in 1954. Their employment was as a result of an initial decision taken by the British government to recruit policewomen whose services were based only in the municipal area of Accra prior to Ghana’s attainment of independence. As Young indicates, the early batches were to ensure the welfare of children, juveniles and women as well as control the practice of prostitution in Accra. The Women’s Branch was created to undertake social responsibilities in the society. The policewomen were expected to perform roles which complemented the duties performed by the policemen. While the policemen performed duties to ensuring the security of the British traders and maintaining peace in trading towns, the policewomen performed roles which were ensuring the welfare of

women, juveniles and children.\textsuperscript{128} The policewomen were given three months training to make them effective in performing their duties as policewomen. On 1\textsuperscript{st} September 1952, these policewomen were recruited from a total number of seventy applicants who were interviewed and short listed by members of the selection board.\textsuperscript{129} Because the British government was planning to exit from the Gold Coast following Gold Coast’s Independence, Nkrumah was delegated to set up a committee to scrutinize and select women with the appropriate pre requisite for been policewomen.\textsuperscript{130} According to Asimah, the basis of selection was a minimum requirement of been a form four leaver and above. They also should have the ability to read and write the English language intelligibly. The applicants were expected to be atleast 2.5 ft tall.\textsuperscript{131} The members of the first batch were: Rosemond Asiamah who was coded PW.1 representing Policewoman 1, Cecilia Mensah-Bonsu PW. 2, Margret Darkwah PW.3, Adelaide Tagoe PW.4, Otelia Milne Dekowski PW.5, Gladys Parker-French PW.6, Juliana Achampong PW.7, Grace Akoto PW.8, Juliana Attrams PW.9, Selina Oppong PW.10, Elizabeth Nana Lamptey PW.11 and Elizabeth Badu PW.12.\textsuperscript{132} Rosemond Asiamah became the first woman to be recruited into the Gold Coast Police Force as a result of the alphabetical order of the spelling of her surname. On the 6\textsuperscript{th} December 1952, the first batch of policewomen was officially commissioned at the National Police Depot in Accra.\textsuperscript{133}

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\textsuperscript{128} Refer to this role performed by policewomen on figure 2,3 and 4 of page 52and 53, “Women Policing in the Gold Coast and Ghana – Golden Jubilee”
\textsuperscript{130} Interview with Asiamah, by author, October 15, 2015.
\textsuperscript{131} Interview with Asiamah, by author, October 15, 2015.
\textsuperscript{132} Refer to this from figure 1 of page 51, “women Policing in the Gold Coast and Ghana”
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Colonel Young had emphasized that there was an urgent need to form the Women’s Branch to ensure the welfare of a growing number of women, children and juveniles. This was as a result of a growing population in the municipal areas of Accra.\textsuperscript{134} Aside the growing population, the Branch was also formed to ensure a good relationship between the Police and the society. Immediately after their training, the Policewomen were given a hostel near the Ring Road in Accra, and taught skills such as recording cases and ways of keeping the station diary at the hostel’s charge office.\textsuperscript{135} The hostel was supervised by male duty officers who ensured the safety of the policewomen in the hostel.\textsuperscript{136} For instance, the Officer in charge of Central Police station, Mr. Lloyd Jones, drove with an escort N.C.O to the areas the groups were assigned to, particularly in situations where they faced challenges such as their patrol vehicles breaking down or the Officers missing their way while executing their duties.\textsuperscript{137} This marked the commencement of the roles of women in the Gold Coast Police Force in performing simple feminine tasks which included secretarial duties as Police Officers as was a step forward from their Second World War roles as matrons, caterers and other care givers.

According to Supt Pokoo-Aikins’ research on policing, the principal responsibilities of the Women’s Branch, and the reason for its formation, was to prevent juvenile delinquency as well as control prostitution in the principal

\textsuperscript{135} Policewomen’s role in recording cases is found on figure 2 page 38,” Women Policing in the Gold Coast and Ghana: Golden Jubilee”
\textsuperscript{137} “Women Policing in the Gold Coast and Ghana – Golden Jubilee”
districts of Accra. This was mainly because of the transfer of the British seat of administration from Cape Coast to Accra which made it important to maintain peace and order in the principal towns of Accra. These duties were reserved for the women’s branch as has been confirm by Colonel Young in his Report. This was probably because of the natural feminine roles expected of women who were considered capable of caring for women and children as the vulnerable members of society. The roles women performed in the Gold Coast Police Force showed that they were used as means of ensuring social control.

After passing out within a few months, the policewomen were allowed to perform normal policing duties mostly associated with patrols for twelve months. According to Pokoo-Aikins, after they had passed out these policewomen were scheduled for street patrols as well as station orderly duties together with their male counterparts. The policewomen were sent on day patrols in pairs and on mobile patrols in two groups comprising four members. The groups had a male driver and male policeman who operated the wireless. The main responsibility of the wireless operator was to give periodic report of the movement of the groups to the Information Room. The main duty of these policewomen during patrols was to pay periodic visits to schools to educate students on the importance of police in society and the need for children to see the police as a friend instead of a symbol of tyranny and oppression. This responsibility was performed by policewomen because of society’s

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142 Interview with Donkor, by author, Legon, September 16th, 2015.
perception of women as care givers and the initiators of peace. Policewomen were used as a tool to breech the gap between the police and society as well as to correct the general perception by society about the police created by the Hausa Police. This role marked the first effort by the Ghana Police Force towards making Ghanaians to appreciate its activities in society. It was also to prepare the police into been more responsive to the needs of Ghanaians. As stated, the core responsibilities of the women’s branch were largely related towards the welfare of children, juveniles and women. For instance, it was the duty of these policewomen to ensure the security of children by questioning children who were found loitering on the streets. Lost children were assisted in locating their parents.\footnote{Evidence of the duty performed by policewomen is found on page 39, “Women Policing in the Gold Coast and Ghana – Golden Jubilee”.
144 Interview with Donkor, by author, Legon, October 15, 2015.
146 Pokoo-Aikins, \textit{The Police In Ghana: 1939- 2009},70} Children who were orphans were sent to the appropriate institution such as social welfare, to be provided with care.\footnote{Evidence of the duty performed by policewomen is found on page 39, “Women Policing in the Gold Coast and Ghana – Golden Jubilee”.
144 Interview with Donkor, by author, Legon, October 15, 2015.
146 Pokoo-Aikins, \textit{The Police In Ghana: 1939- 2009},70} The formation of the Department of Social Welfare in Osu on 1946 which existed before the formation of the Women’s Branch of the Ghana Police Force provides evidence which confirms Donkor’s view that the Social Welfare provided shelter and care to children who were orphans.\footnote{Interview with Donkor, by author, Legon, October 15, 2015.} Furthermore, Policewomen conducted basic community tasks such as assisting children and other pedestrians who were using the zebra crossing, educating juveniles who were reported by parents for their stubbornness as well as helping to find children who were reported by parents as missing.\footnote{Pokoo-Aikins, \textit{The Police In Ghana: 1939- 2009},70}
Significantly, the policewomen were made responsible for women in the judicial system. Hence they performed escort duties for women who were suspects of crimes, as well as women and juveniles who were prosecuted in either the juvenile or adult courts.\(^\text{147}\) The first batch of policewomen also undertook night patrol duties to restrict activities of prostitutes on the streets.\(^\text{148}\) They were required to devise acceptable measures such as counselling, arrest and other means to discourage the practice of prostitution in the major streets of Accra. The roles played by the first batch of policewomen means that, during the Independence Phase, policewomen were restricted in the roles they were allowed to perform, however they played diverse roles so far as they related to maintaining the security and welfare of women, children, and juveniles.

From 1953 onwards, policewomen began to perform responsibilities which extended beyond ensuring the welfare of only women, children and juveniles in the society. Policewomen also performed political functions. For instance, Asiamah (PW.1) and Lamptey (PW.11) had the opportunity to guard Dr Kwame Nkrumah during his visit to Liberia as guest of President Tubman.\(^\text{149}\) These policewomen were assigned specialized roles within the guards. As female guards, they were required to look after the first lady, Fatiah Nkrumah. Other female Police Officers were attached to the Special Branch which is now the Bureau of National Investigation and Criminal Investigation Division where they joined male officers in investigating crimes particularly those related to

\(^\text{147}\) Evidence of policewomen playing judicial role is found on page 41 of Women Policing in the Gold Coast and Ghana: Golden Jubilee.
\(^\text{148}\) Women Policing in the Gold Coast and Ghana: Golden Jubilee, 3
\(^\text{149}\) Women Policing in the Gold Coast and Ghana: Golden Jubilee, 3
women and children in the country.\textsuperscript{150} Furthermore, in 1954 Asiamah (PW. 1) and Dekowski (PW.5) were granted the opportunity to attend a three month course in the UK to acquire skills in policing duties and take an instructor’s course at the No 4 District Police Training Centre, Mill Meece, Staffordshire. The policewomen were required through their experience with the District Police Training Centre to gain knowledge of some duties of women in the UK Police Force to assist women in the Ghana Police Force to perform the duties effectively. Their stay was further extended for another three month to enable them to attend the inspector’s course.\textsuperscript{151} After completing this course they were appointed N.C.O’s. On September 1958, Juliana Achampong was also appointed an unofficial N.C.O.\textsuperscript{152} These three policewomen were appointed as N.C.O’s in accordance with the recommendation made by Colonel Young’s Committee Report of 1951 which stated that the former British Colonial government had made an initial arrangement to include the Women’s Branch which will constitute twelve women into the Gold Coast Police Force. They were given the authority to supervise the second and subsequent batches of policewomen who were recruited into the Gold Coast Police Force during the Independence Phase. Dekowski, further became the first policewoman to be made Police Inspectress in April 1961. One of the officers of the first batch, Margaret Darkwah (PW.3) also became a Cadet Officer of the Ghana Police College on 22\textsuperscript{nd} January, 1962 and later that year became the first female Senior Officer on 25\textsuperscript{th} July.\textsuperscript{153} Darkwah (PW.3) gradually rose through the ranks to

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\textsuperscript{150} Interview with Donkor, by author, Legon, October, 15, 2017.
\textsuperscript{151} Women Policing in the Gold Coast and Ghana: Golden Jubilee, 14.
\textsuperscript{152} Women Policing in the Gold Coast and Ghana: Golden Jubilee, 14.
\textsuperscript{153} Police Ladies Association, 20\textsuperscript{th} Anniversary journal
\end{flushleft}
become the first women to reach the rank of an Assistant Commissioner of Police and a Quarter mistress of the Police Force during this same period. These achievements were remarkable because it began a period where policewomen became recognised and their status began to improve in the Police Force. There was an expansion in their roles and recognition as females in the male dominated profession.

Another very important development which occurred in the 1960s was that during the later years of the Independence Phase, women became involved in prosecution at the magistrate and circuit courts. Dekwoski, after completing her six months recruit training and Instructor’s Course at Police Training Centre, Mill Meece Standford Shire, UK, had the opportunity to start prosecuting juveniles in the Magistrate courts. She further continued prosecuting at the Circuit Courts. She was entrusted with responsibilities over the Ejisu, Offinso, Suame and Asawasi Districts. An in-service training course on prosecution was also organised for other selected policewomen. According to Asiamah, Gladys Parker-French (PW.6) was the first policewoman to begin prosecution in the Ghana Police Force in 1970 at Koforidua Magistrate and Circuit Courts. Parker–French’s role as a prosecutor has been confirmed by Pokoo-Aikins’ research. These views provide evidence of the evolution of the duties of the first batch of policewomen from educating school children on the importance of the police and reducing the

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255 Women Policing in the Gold Coast and Ghana: Golden Jubilee, 12.
256 Women Policing in the Gold Coast and Ghana: Golden Jubilee, 12.
257 Interview with Asiamah. by author, Legon, November 12, 2015.
practice of prostitution in Accra to escorting women to the courts and prosecuting juveniles in the districts and circuits courts.

The development in the roles of the first batch of policewomen served as justification for the recruitment of the second batch of policewomen in December 1954 shortly after the inauguration of the Women’s Branch. The policewomen of the second batch were Edith Cooke (PW.13), Christiana Bonaparte (PW.14), Mercy Pippim (PW.15), Alice Amoake (PW.16), Hilda Dennin (PW.17), Mary Abdulai (PW.18), Albeta Appiah (PW.19), Janet Barkas (PW. 20), Esther Botchway (PW.21), Esther Akpakli (PW.22), Christiana Otutua (PW. 23) and Emeila Mensah (PW. 24).159 These policewomen were enlisted into the Gold Coast Police Force to complement the duties performed by the first batch of policewomen.160 According to Asiamah (PW.1), the second batch was given recognition during the period when Officers C.O. Lamptey and Gyekye-Darko were made supervisors of the Women’s Branch.161 They performed diverse non-policing activities such as supervising lotteries where they picked balls which decided the winning lottery numbers.162 As was indicated by Young’s Report, the three N.C.O.’s were appointed to directly supervise the activities of the Branch and were required to provide regular reports to Officers Lamptey and Gyekye-Darko on the achievements and challenges they may faced. Permitting policewomen to perform these roles was an indication that policewomen had become more visible in society. The policewomen were not only used as a tool in helping society to have a better

159 Police Ladies Association, 20th Anniversary journal
160 A pictorial representation of the policewomen of the second batch is presented in p42.
162 Women Policing in the Gold Coast and Ghana: Golden Jubilee
perception of the Police, they also performed social responsibilities which had direct impact on the society.\textsuperscript{163}

The duties of the Women’s Branch of the Ghana Police Force were expanded after the passing of the Police Service Instruction No. 171(3) which was passed in 1962, which states that, “No female prisoner shall be searched except by a female”.\textsuperscript{164} The law resulted in an increase number of Policewomen from one hundred and forty-seven (147) in 1962 to two hundred and forty-one (241) in 1964 with two policewomen promoted to Senior Police Officers, five becoming inspectors and two hundred and thirty-four policewomen ranked as N.C.O’s.\textsuperscript{165} This increase in number was enforced with the enactment of “The Criminal Procedure Code, Act 30, 1960 Section 8(3) which states that “All searches shall be done with strict decency and whenever it is necessary to cause a woman to be searched, the search shall be made by another woman”.\textsuperscript{166} With this in mind, the Women’s Branch was given further assistance by Nkrumah’s government to ensure its expansion. For instance some members of the first batch of policewomen such as Parker-French (PW.6), Elizabeth Lamptey (PW.11) were promoted to the ranks of Assistant Superintendent in 1961 and chief Inspector in 1967 respectively where they were attached to courts in Accra and Kumasi.\textsuperscript{167} In 1968 the number of policewomen which had increase to five hundred and eighty-three rose to six hundred and twenty-six in 1970.\textsuperscript{168} Policewomen were also given improve conditions of service to provide an incentive to encourage

\textsuperscript{163} Evidence of the duties performed by the second batch is seen in page 43.
\textsuperscript{167} Women Policing in the Gold Coast and Ghana: Golden Jubilee.13-18.
\textsuperscript{168} Evidence of this is presented graph work presented on P3
more educated women to join the Police Force. Conditions in the Police Force were improved to motivate more educated girls to find the Police Force a profession worth pursuing. This step was taken base on Colonel Young's committee report which stipulated that

Experience has shown that educated...can find in the ranks of the women police ample opportunities for the pursuit of true social welfare in addition to a splendid career. Better conditions of service in terms of salaries, allowances, and other remunerations were made available to women in the Police Force to ensure sustainability of the Women’s Branch. These conditions will encourage more educated girls who had the interest in providing services to join the Police Force.

During the 1952s and 1960s, some policewomen of the Police Force such as Asiamah (PW.1) faced discriminations which affected their effectiveness as Policewomen. She recounted her experience when she was promoted as Sergeant to the Police headquarters in 1957; a male Police Officer of a lower rank questioned her authority as a female to issue an instruction to him. In 1952 when the first batch of the Policewomen was recruited, they were denied the opportunity to marry or get pregnant while still in the Police Force even after their recruitment. Policewomen who insisted on marrying were to resign from the Force. This directive was reviewed in 1956 after a letter was written by Asiamah (PW.1) who requested from the headquarters to grant her permission to marry. Though her permission was granted, she was made to

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169 Women Policing in the Gold Coast and Ghana: Golden Jubilee, 17
170 PRAAD: ADM 5/84, Access on 23rd September 2014. 35.
171 Interview by Asiamah, assessed on 15th October 2015.
172 Women Policing in the Gold Coast and Ghana: Golden Jubilee, 21.
observe three main conditions. First, after marriage she should continue to reside within the municipal areas of Accra, Kumasi, Sekondi or Takoradi. Which were the only areas in which Policewomen were employed, so that she would be readily available for such duty as may be required of her. In an event of her becoming pregnant, she will be required to resign her appointment not less than four months before the expectant date of delivery of the child. Finally, her marriage will not preclude her performance of night duty.  

Until the early 1970s, Policewomen were also forbidden from the use of arms during their training and when performing policing duty. Due to the discriminatory policies on marriage and childbirth Asiamah (PW.1), Cecilia Mensah-Bonsu (PW.2), Margaret Darkwah (PW.3), Adelaide Tagoe (PW.4), Otelia Milne Dekowski (PW.5), Gladys Parker-French (PW.6), and Juliana Acheampong (PW.7) resigned from the Police Force. They were reinstated in 1956 after Asiamah (PW.1) had written to the seek permission from the headquarters to marry. Other reasons why these policewomen were reinstated were that; the administrators of the Force realised a possibility of losing all members of the women’s branch due to marriage. Furthermore, the women who resigned from the Force were serving as supervisors of the women’s branch, their resignation from the branch could lead to ineffective supervision of the branch, it became important therefore to review the practise and Rosemond Asiamah for instance became Rosemond Nkansa after marriage. This achievement is remarkable because by reviewing this directive more women got married and were permitted to get pregnant. However, as stipulated in the response Asiamah

\[173\] A sample of the response to Asiamah’s letter in presented on page 44.
\[174\] Police Ladies Association 20TH Anniversary journal
\[175\] Women Policing in the Gold Coast and Ghana: Golden Jubilee
received from the Police headquarters, policewomen were required to resign from their appointment as Police Officers not less than four months before the expectant date of delivery of their child.176

The success of the first batch of Policewomen who laid the grounds for the development of the women’s branch had its roots from the words of colonel Young. However, Nkrumah in his address during the inauguration and recruitment of the first batch encouraged the members of the batch to maintain a high reputation as Police Officers in order to ensure the growth of the Women’s Branch. Nkrumah stated that:

I am sure that when you leave this Training Depot to take up your duties in Accra you will maintain the high reputation of the Force to which you now belong. As the first women police, you have an even greater responsibility. You will be establishing a tradition, which will be followed by all your successors.177

Dr Kwame Nkrumah gave the first batch the needed exposure to policing in other countries both in Africa and the United States. This was to ensure that the women were empowered mentally and physically through the skills they acquired to maintain a standard of effectiveness as female Officers in the Force. It also laid grounds for the future success of policewomen in the Ghana Police Force. It is evident therefore that the first batch of Policewomen had a responsibility as Nkrumah told them as pioneers to maintain a reputation to be followed by future generations of Policewomen in the Force. Their contributions as pioneers encouraged the second batch of policewomen to also

176 A copy of the response from the Police headquarters is found on page44.
177 Women Policing in the Gold Coast and Ghana: Golden Jubilee ,3.
make immense strives towards the history of policing during the Military Regime and Democratic Phases.

In conclusion, chapter two argues that, though women became accepted into the Ghana Police Force during the Independence Phase, there were still policies and practices which prevented female Officers from making effective contributions to the Force. For instance, in 1968 policewomen who had married senior male Officers were made to resign from the Force until Asiamah’s letter arguing for the policy to be reviewed became accepted.\textsuperscript{178}

\textsuperscript{178} See page 44 for reference.
CHAPTER THREE

PHASE TWO: THE MILITARY REGIME PHASE

EFFECTS OF POLICIES IMPLEMENTED IN BRITIAN (1970s -1980s)

This chapter presents research into the reasons for increased participation of Policewomen globally during the 1970s and 1980s. Referring to this Phase as the Military Phase reflects a period of political instability in Ghana which was characterised by chaos and political upheavals where the military seized power and ruled the country on different counts. For instance, between 1966 when Kwame Nkrumah was overthrown to 1981 when J.J. Rawlings and other members of the AFRC removed the PNP administration from office through a coup d’etat, the country has recorded the administration of five military regimes with the first and second military governments who ruled in 1966 and 1972 respectively comprising of a military-police government.\textsuperscript{179} During the 1970s and 1980s Ghana’s political atmosphere of unrest led to changes in policies which affected some institutions such as the Police Force. For instance, June 4\textsuperscript{th} 1979’s coup led to indiscipline in the Ghana Police Force where the Junior Officers harassed Senior Officers who were described as corrupt. The name of the Force was also changed from the Ghana Police Force to the Police Service on 24\textsuperscript{th} September 1979.\textsuperscript{180} The name was changed twice by two successive

\textsuperscript{179} Buah, A History of Ghana, 193-211.
governments before it became identified as the Police Service.\textsuperscript{181} This name was a requirement by the constitution of the third Republic, which was drafted after the coup.\textsuperscript{182} The Police Force became known as a Service with the use of the Police Force (Amendment) Decree in 1974, which amended some portion of Act 350 and made the Police autonomous from control by the Public Services Commission.\textsuperscript{183} On the global front, the Military Regime Phase denotes policies made by Britain to give women equal opportunities to make contributions like the men. This was adopted by the British Force within the 1970s and 1980s to achieve changes such as involving more women in the Ghana Police Service. This Plan influenced the general perception of women in the 1970s as partners with men who should also be given opportunities for access to education, employment and healthcare. In 1975, for instance, the World’s First Conference was held in Mexico to discuss the issue of discrimination against women, which was then a global Phenomenon.\textsuperscript{184} This conference adopted a World Plan of Action, a document which was prepared by the UN General Assembly to achieve three main objectives one of which was to eliminate all discriminations against women.\textsuperscript{185} The awareness led to the observance of the period from 1976 to 1985 as the International Decade of women, which thrived on equality, development, peace and security.\textsuperscript{186} With relations to the Police Force, this

\textsuperscript{181} The Ghana Police Force was changed to Ghana Police Service after 1979, hence during this Phase the Force will be identified as the Ghana Police Service in order to reflect the change.
practice increased the roles of policewomen in peace issues instead of making them responsible for only women, juveniles and children. The conference further increased awareness of the need for many countries to consciously include more policewomen into the Force.\(^{187}\)

This study will consider Margery Povell’s article “Positive Action for Women in Britain”, which uses British women as a case study to posit that the contribution of women in professions such as the Police Force during the early 1970s was anomalous.\(^{188}\) This means that in terms of their efforts, women in the Police Force did not make any significant contributions as female Police Officers during the 1970s. Salomon Alcocer Guajardo, Annie Hau nung Chan and Lawrence Ho and Jenifer Brown’s research on the other hand also argue that the 1970s and 1980s presented a turning point in their contribution as policewomen in the Police Force.\(^{189}\) Alcocer for instance argues that, though the number of policewomen in the United Nations, increased significantly from the 1970s and very few of them rose to supervisory positions in the time, policewomen who occupied such supervisory positions made remarkable contributions as female Police Officers.\(^{190}\) In exploring these views, this chapter will assess whether the 1970s and 1980s made any global impact with regards to

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\(^{190}\) Salomon Alcocor Guajardo, “Women in Policing: A Longitudinal Assessment of Female officers in Supremacy Positions in the New York City Police Department”
the involvement of women in the Police Force. This is of importance because it will help clarify whether globally initiated policies particularly from Britain contributed to roles women played in the Ghana Police Service. Evidence from the arguments of these scholars with the contributions of the first batch of policewomen in the Independence Phase will enable this chapter to argue that policewomen began to make more significant contributions in the Military Regime Phase due to global policies, particularly in Britain which helped to increase awareness on the roles of policewomen in peace issues. By tracking global change, an assessment will be made of the impact of these policies on the participation of women in the Ghana Police Service during the Military Regime Phase.

Experiences of the first, second and subsequent batches of Policewomen recruited in Ghana before 1970, give an indication that there were restrictions to the levels to which policewomen could attain. For instance, Policewomen were restricted to the position of constables while their male counterparts rose to be Session Leaders, which is equivalent to Regional Commanders of the Police Service today. This shows that until the 1970s and 1980s, the Police Service was seen as an institution with limited opportunities for women. Outside of Ghana, countries such as United States, Britain, Canada and Australia took initiatives to ensure more women were recruited into higher ranks in the Police Service where they could make significant impact as female Officers. For example, relevant policies came into force in Canada in the early 1970s, Britain

\(^{191}\) It is important to note that during this Phase the Police became known as a Service instead of a Force.

\(^{192}\) Interview with Christine Donkor, by author, Legon, February 10th, 2016.
in 1975 and Australia in 1977. They compelled the aforementioned nations to ensure that women were given opportunities to pursue careers in the Police. This chapter further argues that these international changes had an impact on Ghana by increasing knowledge of the potential contributions of policewomen to the Ghana Police Service when given equal opportunities as male Police Officers.

By the early 1970’s policewomen had made very little impacts in the Police Force globally. For instance, during this period Policewomen played only supporting roles such as typists, canteen attendants, and other service providers to male Officers. As a result, female Officers faced significant challenges such as sexual harassment and disregard by male Police Officers which impeded their effectiveness as Policewomen. The Policewomen in Ghana, Hong Kong and Nigeria were restricted from wearing earrings, using makeup such as lipsticks and applying nail polish though these were characteristics peculiar to women. The essence of these denials was to enforce the characteristics of the male gender in them once they were in a male dominated profession.

As former colonies of Britain, practices in Nigeria, Hong Kong, and Ghana were in accordance with the British style of Policing though there were some differences particularly with regards to laws passed to regulate

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193 Heberfield and Sullivan, Encyclopedia of Law Enforcement, 1381.
194 Heberfield and Sullivan, Encyclopedia of Law Enforcement, 1382.
policewomen’s marriage in each country. For instance, in Hong Kong, female Police Officers with good disciplinary record were entitled to marriage allowance after serving as an officer for five years. She was given an amount of HK$3,000 as dowry allowance on condition that her suppose husband was a senior or junior Officer of the Force.\textsuperscript{197} In the Ghana Police Service, regulations made pertaining to marriage differed with regards to each Phase of the study. Thus, Ghanaian policewomen in the Millitary Regime Phase enjoyed some rights unlike policewomen of the Independence Phase, though the rights they could enjoy were still limited. For instance, by the 1970s, Ghanaian policewomen were allowed to marry after they had served for a period of five years as Police Officers.\textsuperscript{198} This had not been the case earlier. While there were no restriction on who a male Police Officer could marry, prospective husband of female Police Officers were interviewed to make sure they have not been married earlier. After the interview they were made to sign a bond to ensure good behaviour after the marriage. In a situation where a prospective husband of a female Officer was a civilian, the marriage was certified by the regional or the circuit commander.\textsuperscript{199} According to Donkor, some husbands of her colleagues who were civilians went through interviews and were made to sign a bond before they were given permission by the circuit commander to marry.\textsuperscript{200} Views gathered from both male and female Officers who served in the Ghana Police Service during this period, such as the Former IGP of the Ghana Police

\textsuperscript{198} Interview with Donkor, by author, Legon, February 10\textsuperscript{th} 2016.
\textsuperscript{199} Interview with Donkor, by athor,Legon, February 10\textsuperscript{th} 2016.
\textsuperscript{200} Interview granted by Christine Donkor on Feb 10\textsuperscript{th} 2016.
Service, from 2005-2009, Patrick Kwarteng Achampong who was then a Police Officer has proven that these practices were observed in order to uphold the standards of the Police profession.\textsuperscript{201} 

The later years of 1970s and 1980s were a pivotal period which saw the inclusion of more women who made significant contributions to the Police Force throughout the world.\textsuperscript{202} This period heightened global consciousness about issues pertaining to the dignity of women and their responsibilities in ensuring the welfare of children, juveniles and women. It became paramount therefore that more women became included into the Police Force to see to the welfare of women, juveniles and children. Women’s roles in providing services and ensuring the welfare of their societies became increased and most countries became interested in including more women into the labour force and importantly for this study into the Police Force. For instance, many of the former colonies of Britain took up the British practice of employing Alison Halford as the first policewoman to be Assistant Chief Constable on Merseyside in 1983.\textsuperscript{203} Thus though most of Britain’s former colonies had gain their independence by the 1970s, they maintained a system of enforcing Britain’s practice of recruiting women into positions such as constables where they could be unit heads in the Police Force.

Globally the 1970s and 1980s made a very significant impact on women in the police Force because important legislations were passed to equip

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{201 Interview with Patrick Kwarteng Achampong, retired IGP of the Police Force between 2005-2009, by author, Legon, June, 21\textsuperscript{st}, 2016.}
\footnote{202 Heberfield and Sullivan, Encyclopedia of Law Enforcement, 1382.}
\footnote{203 Salter, Watson and Staurt Norton, “British Association for Women in Policing 1883-2007: Timeline of Female Police Officers within the United Kingdom”\textsuperscript{6}, accessed on 17\textsuperscript{th} Feb 2016.www.bucks.ac.uk}
\end{footnotes}
policewomen to make more useful contributions to the Force and integrate them into the male dominated professions such as the Police Force. These policies were possible, in part, because the United Nation’s declared 1975-85 as ‘a decade for women’ at the international level in recognition of the Mexico Plan of Action passed in 1975 to also give recognition to women. This Plan emanated from the First World Conference of women. Africa responded to this declaration and adopted a Regional Instrument, the African Charter on Human and people’s Right in 1981. This Charter was adapted to distinctly deal with human rights in a unique African way. It recognized the unique values in both males and females. Based on this recognition, policies and actions taken from this period were directed towards empowering and preparing women for new opportunities in education or professions. Five of the policewomen interviewed stated that they have not heard about the Charter. This means that probably policewomen who were in the Service during this period had no knowledge of this Charter however these policewomen recalled that from the 1970s significant changes were initiated to upgrade the status of policewomen in the Service. Such changes included policewomen been allowed to pursue further studies through the study leave scholarship. According one such interviewee who was a typist in the Police Service during the period but was promoted to the rank of Assistant Commissioner of the Police during the Democratic Phase, Deborah Addison Campbell, she had a scholarship to attend

further studies during the 1980s after which she was promoted to the rank of a constable in the Ghana Police Service. According to Achampong, it was probable that this Charter was known by Police Officers who occupied administrative positions during the Phase. He recalled however that protecting the rights of all women at their work places and in schools became very important during this year.

Britain initiated policies from the 1970s to empower women in the Police Force to perform more challenging duties. As a beacon of policing in the world, these policies became influential in reforms made to protect female Police Officers throughout the world. The significance of the policies according to Salter Watson and Staurt Norton has led 1975 to being remembered as a year in which several key pieces of legislation were passed to ensure reforms in the Police Force particularly with regards to ensuring the protection of the rights of women as Police Officers. This part of the research will examine some beneficial policies which promoted the interest of Policewomen in the Force in order to assess the level of impact that various policies had on Policewomen in the Military Regime Phase.

The first significant Act of influence in protecting the interest of women in the Police Force was the British Sex Discrimination Act passed in 1975 by Britain. This Act stated that:

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207 Interview with Officer Deborah Addison Campbell, by author, Legon, October 17th, 2016.
208 Interview with Kwarteng Achampong, by author, Legon, June 21st, 2016.
The British Sex Discrimination Act came into force on 29th December 1975. This made it illegal to discriminate against women in education, recruitment and advertising.\textsuperscript{210} The British Sex Discrimination Act minimized the practice of gender exclusive professions. This policy also stipulated that equal pay, equal benefits and treatment were provided to both men and women in the Police Force. One significant impact of the British Sex Discrimination Act was that it led to the closure of the British policewomen’s section, which had existed as a specialized body to serve the interest of women. The section was absorbed into the general Police system by the mid 1970s.\textsuperscript{211} This marked a turning point in the history of policing, as the British Police Force became a unified institution with different departments. In the 1970s, the Ghana Police Service also gave more opportunities for women to occupy administrative positions as female Police Officers. Most of these women however were not Officers from the Police Service but members of the Special Branch. This was a division under the supervision of the Ministry of Interior with its core responsibility been to review the backgrounds of people who were to be appointed by the government to occupy sensitive political positions such as the Chief of Staff.\textsuperscript{212} Some women of this Branch who had distinguished themselves in performing their duties were transferred by the IGP of the Police Service, Nanfurey, to all departments of the Ghana Police Service. Few others such as Donkor were later appointed as administrative Officers responsible for the recruitment as well as ensuring the welfare and training of new recruits.\textsuperscript{213} Though interviews I conducted have

\textsuperscript{211} Salter and Norton, “British Association for Women in Policing 1883-2007, 49.
\textsuperscript{212} Interview with Donkor, by author, Legon, February 15th, 2016.
\textsuperscript{213} Interview with Donkor, by author, Legon, February 15th, 2016.
shown that, it is probable the Sex Discrimination Act may not have directly impacted the decision to appoint women into administrative positions in the Ghana Police Service, it is possible that, during this period there was an awareness among the former colonies of Britain of the need to give equal opportunities to both male and female Officers. As a result, the 1970s according to both male and female interviewees marked a period in the Ghana Police Service where more educated women were recruited as Police Officers. This means that there was a potential to increase the number of women who could reach higher ranks. Educated women such as Elizabeth Mills Robertson, Gifty Anim-Botwe and Christine Jane Donkor made remarkable achievements as Police Officer. For instance, Anim-Botwe and Donkor led the formation of POLAS to ensure the welfare of all female Police Officers in the 1980s. It is possible to conclude therefore that the changes which were made in the Women’s Branch of the British Force helped to increase awareness of the need to empower more women to take up higher responsibilities as Police Officers. The Ghana Police Service responded to this by giving Policewomen the opportunity to be promoted to the ranks of Deputy Superintendent of Police and Superintendent Commissioner of Police like their male counterparts during the Military Regime Phase.

Another significant policy which was implemented by Britain to increase women’s contribution in the Police Force globally was the Employment Act implemented in 1975. The Employment Act introduced statutory maternity
provision and made it illegal to sack a woman because she was pregnant.\textsuperscript{214} This Act was initiated to protect the rights of all women. However in relation to women in male dominated professions such as the Police Force, the Employment Act prevented female Officers from abuse and any unjust dismissal on bases such as pregnancy. This Act further made provisions for maternity leave for British policewomen to provide care for their newly born babies.\textsuperscript{215} Though the Employment Act had little impact on Britain’s former colonies, interviews I conducted with some policewomen such as Alice Aboagyewaa who was in the Ghana Police Service from 1975 to the 1980s prove that the rights of women in the Service became improved. Abogyewaa further argued that, during this period, their security as women in the Ghana Police Service was improved in a number of ways: firstly, it became difficult for a policewoman to be dismissed on grounds of being pregnant. Secondly, Policewomen were made to enjoy a period of three months leave of absence as maternity leave to provide care for their newly born babies.\textsuperscript{216}

The Amendment of the British Sex Discrimination Act which was passed in 1986 also empowered British female Police Officers to retire at the same time as male Officers. In the Ghana Police Service, There was a similar policy which was implemented in the mid 1980s to ensure that both male and female Officers had the same retiring ages. Female Police Officers were to retire from the Police Force at age fifty while male Police Officers were allowed to retire at age fifty-

\textsuperscript{214} Salter, Watson and Staurt Norton, “British Association for Women in Policing 1883-2007: Timeline of Female Police Officers within the United Kingdom”\textsuperscript{6} accessed on 17\textsuperscript{th} Feb 2016.\textsuperscript{www.bucks.ac.uk.}


\textsuperscript{216} Interview with Abogyewaa, by author, Legon, April 1\textsuperscript{st}, 2016.
five. Achampong argued that, the age required for policemen to retire differed from that of policewomen because men were naturally stronger than women and could perform their responsibilities even after fifty while women on the other hand were expected to be weak at fifty and not be fit enough to perform their responsibilities effectively as required by the Police Service which is dependent on strength and vigour. With the introduction of this policy however, both male and female Police Officers were allowed to retire at age sixty. This policy according to Donkor, Anim-Botwe, and Aboagyewaa who represent Policewomen of this Phase stated that, with the introduction of this policy, women in the Police Service were given more opportunities to make contributions to the service since most policewomen from the Military Regime Phase rose to occupy administrative Positions in the Police Service. For instance, in 1970, Glady’s Parker-French, PW.6, began prosecution for the first time which she continued until her retirement 28th October 1978. She was given the responsibility of prosecuting at the Koforidua Magistrate and Circuit courts.

It is important to note that, though most interviewees who represented female Police Officers of this Phase argued that, they could not prove the extent to which Britain’s policies influenced the Ghana Police Service, some policewomen also admitted that the 1970s and 1980s offered a period during which important policies were initiated in the Ghana Police Service to provide opportunity for more policewomen to make effective

217 Interview with Pooko- Aikins, by author, Legon, assessed on February 12, 2016.
218 Interview with Kwarteng Achampong, by author. Legon, June 21, 2016.
219 Women Policing in the Gold Coast and Ghana, Golden Jubilee, 3.
contributions as female Officers. A Police researcher, Pooko-Aikins, also stated that, during the 1980s women in the Ghana Police Service enjoyed a significant change in terms of the responsibilities they were required to perform. According to him, around the 1980s Policewomen were permitted to handle arms for the first time alongside their male counterparts.\footnote[220]{Interview with Pooko-Aikins, by author, Legon, February 12, 2016.} This shows to a large extent that, policewomen were given equal opportunities to thrive in the Police Service as women. Pokoo-Aikins evidence provides justification to show that senior Police Officers were probably influenced by the global change to also initiate policies and practices to project women in the Service.

It is worth noticing that, the Police Ladies Association (POLAS) was formed in July 1982. It gave (and continues to give) recognition to the needs and interest of Ghanaian Policewomen.\footnote[221]{Women Policing in the Gold Coast and Ghana, Golden Jubilee Magazine, 17.} Its core responsibility was to promote the welfare of Policewomen and give female Police Officers a voice in the profession.\footnote[222]{Women Policing in the Gold Coast and Ghana, Golden Jubilee Magazine, 19} According to Assistant Commissioner, Gifty Anim-Botwe, the first Lady of Ghana during the tenure of the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC), Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings, initiated the idea to form POLAS after her interaction with members of a similar Policewomen’s organisation in Sierra Leone.\footnote[223]{Interview with Gifty Anim-Botwe, by author, Legon, July 13\textsuperscript{th} 2016.} Rawlings after her return encouraged few policewomen who had risen to the position of constables such as Anim-Botwe, Christine Donkor and others to form the Organization. According to Donkor, they felt encouraged to lead the formation of POLAS because it was the first time Policewomen were rallied together and given a voice in a male dominated
profession such as the Police Service. POLAS as an organisation was used by the Women’s Branch to increase awareness of Policewomen’s contribution to the Service. According to some Policewomen who had served in the Police Force from the 1980s, with the formation of POLAS it became very difficult for male Police Officers to openly disrespect female Police Officers or engage them in acts, which undermined their welfare as Police Officers.

This chapter has argued that the 1970s and 1980s presented significant policies which were implemented to encourage policewomen in the British Police Force to make significant contributions. The effects of these policies prove that though policewomen in Ghana did not benefit directly, they created awareness of the contributions women could make when given the opportunity in the Police Service. Significant changes made in the British Police Force in particular encouraged policewomen in Ghana to also make significant contributions. Senior Police Officers initiated policies and practices to ensure that both male and female were treated equally. For instance, female Officers also retired at age sixty like male Officers, they also enjoyed other benefits such as equal pay and benefits. Policewomen enjoyed other privileges some of which were access to arms as male police Officer and Educated women been recruited into the Police Service. These opportunities encouraged more policewomen to make remarkable contributions to the Ghana Police Service during the Military Regime Phase. This gives meaning to Salomon Guajardo, Annie Hau nung Chan and Lawrence Ho, and Jennifer Brown’s research, which collectively

\footnote{Interview with Donkor, by author, Legon, February 15, 2016.}
emphasizes that these decades offered a turning point in the history of the
development of the role of women in Policing internationally.

Policewomen’s contribution in the Independence and Military Regime Phases provide evidences which confirm that policewomen in the Ghana Police Service, fought for acceptance and recognition of their contribution as women in a male dominated profession. For instance, policewomen began to make remarkable achievements during the 1970s and 1980s; such progress empowered more educated women to also contribute to the development of policing in Ghana. The opportunities given to policewomen encouraged them to make significant contributions as women in the Service. In this case, the extension of policewomen’s retirement to sixty years for instance, gave Gladys Parker-French, PW.6, one of the pioneer’s of the Women’s Branch, the opportunity to begin prosecution for the first time in 1970 at the Koforidua Magistrate and Circuit courts. The achievement laid bases for more women such as Mills Robertson, Anim-Botwe and Donkor to also make significant achievements as female Police Officers. This means that with the experiences and changes in the British Police Force, women in the Ghana Police Service also made achievements which led more women to be recruited into the Police. As a key case study, Policewomen’s achievements in the Ghana Police Service during the Independence and Military Regime Phases prove that their effective contribution made way for the inclusion of more female Officers who played very significant roles as decision makers in the following Democratic Phase.

The influence of some policies which were implemented in the British Police

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226 Refer to this from page 75.
Force show that these policies also impacted on the British colonies. Though indirect, the effect of the British policies on their policewomen increased awareness among the Ghanaian Police of the contributions policewomen were capable of making when permitted good working conditions. This research to some extent confirms that some of these policies were known to only the senior Officers who initiated measures in response to the global changes made to give women more opportunities in the Police Service. For example, Peter Nanfurey’s administration as IGP of the Police Service saw him transfer women who distinguished themselves in the Special Branch into the Police Service. As has been detailed in this chapter, policewomen rose to the ranks of Deputy Superintendent and Superintendent Commissioner of Police like their male counterparts.

In contrast, Rawling’s role in the formation of POLAS shows that some changes may not be as a result of policies passed by foreign Police Forces but were a response to the increased global acceptance of women’s capabilities throughout the world during the 1970s and 1980s. This enabled a transition in the duties policewomen performed in the Police Force. They were permitted to assume greater responsibilities than was made available to them when they assumed the officially mandated responsibilities of reducing prostitution, ensuring the welfare of women, juveniles and children. Women therefore transcended from performing these responsibilities to making steady progress in performing more involving responsibilities at the national level. Therefore, international, foreign and Ghanaian policies have both direct and indirect impact on policewomen in the Ghana Police Service. They ensured that overwhelming
progress was made by policewomen in all spheres of their professional responsibility and had impact that passed forward into the Democratic Phase as will be explored in the next Chapter.
Figure 9: President Jerry John Rawlings gave the approval for Women Police to be involved in Peacekeeping operations.


### REPRESENTATION OF POLICEWOMEN IN COMMAND POSITIONS AS AT 2015 AND THEIR CORRESPONDING PERCENTAGES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position of Category A</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Total Number</th>
<th>Number of women</th>
<th>Percentage of women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ACP</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DCOP</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>COP</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Position of Category B | ASP  | 692           | 111              | 18                  |
|                       | DSP  | 198           | 50               | 25                  |
|                       | SUPT | 199           | 28               | 14                  |
|                       | C/SUPT | 126       | 6                | 5                   |

CHAPTER FOUR

PHASE THREE: THE DEMOCRATIC PHASE

THE CONTRIBUTION OF GHANAIAN POLICEWOMEN IN COMMAND POSITIONS

Chapter Four offers a study on the factors which led policewomen to make remarkable achievements during the Democratic Phase. The Democratic Phase denotes a period where more policewomen rose to occupy Command Positions in the Ghana Police Service which qualified them to perform responsibilities both at the national and international levels. The aim is to assess the enabling conditions which permitted opportunities for the expansion of the roles of women to the highest ranks in the Ghana Police Service. To explore women’s contribution to the Police Service during this Phase, I will concentrate on women in the Service between 1992-2000. Interviews have been conducted with male and female Police Officers who were influential in the Service during the period of this study. The findings from these interviews are employed in assessing the reasons which propelled policewomen into Command Positions during the Democratic Phase as well as the challenges they may have encountered while performing their duties. Biographies are provided for some policewomen who occupied command positions at the time to access their contribution. The thesis of the chapter therefore is to argue that the Democratic
Phase offered a turning point in providing more opportunities for policewomen in the Ghana Police Service to make remarkable achievements.

Deborah Addison Campbell was an Assistant Commissioner of the Ghana Police Service during the Democratic Phase and is now in charge of the Police Training Depot. According to Campbell, ‘Command Position’ refers to a position which permits an individual in the Police to be responsible for a unit of the Service.\textsuperscript{227} This description was confirmed by three other members of the Police Service: Patrick Kwarteng Achampong, former Inspector General of Police (IGP) from March 2005 to January 2009, Philip Teku, the current Police Chief of Staff at the time of the research, and Prudence Ayensu, a female Officer who was recruited into the Police Service in 1992.\textsuperscript{228} The command position of the Police Service is in two categories: “A” and “B”. Category “A” covers high level positions which are occupied by regional commanders and members of the Management Board which is constituted by the Assistant Commissioner of Police (ACP), Deputy Commissioner of Police (DCOP), Commissioner of Police (COP) and the Inspector General of Police (IGP) who is the head of the Ghana Police Service.\textsuperscript{229} Category “B” on the other hand covers middle level positions held by district and divisional commanders. Officers who occupied the Category “B” include Assistant Superintendent of

\textsuperscript{227} Interview with Deborah Addison Campbell, by author, Legon, June 17th, 2016.
\textsuperscript{228} Interview with Prudence Ayensu, first female policewoman to head the drilling unit, by author, Legon, June 17\textsuperscript{th}, 2016.
\textsuperscript{229} Interview with Philip Teku, Police Chief of Staff, Police Headquarters, by author, Legon, August 22\textsuperscript{nd}, 2016.
Police (ASP), Deputy Superintendent of Police (DSP), Superintendent and Chief Superintendent.  

An assessment of the three Phases shows that different factors influenced steady progress of policewomen’s roles towards performing national and international duties. The Independence Phase has shown that Dr Kwame Nkrumah empowered the first batch of policewomen to contribute to the Ghana Police Force. Nkrumah, for instance, gave opportunity to Rosemond Asiamah (PW.1) and Elizabeth Lamptey (PW.11) to accompany him as presidential guards in Liberia. Asiamah, (PW.1) and Otelia Dekowski (PW.5) were given the opportunity to be the first policewoman to attend a six months course in the UK to be trained in police duties and Instructors course. The skills and experiences they acquired helped them to make useful contributions to the Gold Coast Police Service. These contributions laid the ground for the expansion of the Women’s Branch. The following Military Regime Phase shows that though policies were implemented to improve the status of women particularly in Britain, these policies did not directly contribute to changes in the roles policewomen played in the Ghana Police Service during the 1970s and 80s, however these policies created awareness of women’s contributions to policing when given the opportunity and made an indirect contribution to the change in policewomen’s roles. It is evident also that during the Military Regime Phase, senior members who occupied administrative positions in the Ghana Police Service did give policewomen the opportunities they required to be effective as Police Officers and their contribution laid the foundation for policewomen

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being able to break the glass ceiling into occupying command positions in a male dominated profession such as the Police Service during the Democratic Phase. Study of this final Phase will show that Nkrumah was not the only president who gave policewomen the opportunity during the Independence Phase to contribute to the Police Force, in the Military Regime Phase, the first lady of the president of the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) government, Konadu Agyeman Rawlings also encouraged policewomen to contribute to the development of policing when she initiated the formation of POLAS. The president of the National Democratic Congress (NDC), Jerry John Rawlings during his reign from 1993-2000, when he ended his tenure as the first elected President of Ghana also assisted policewomen to contribute to the development of policing during this Phase.

As was stated in the Military Regime Phase, policewomen faced such challenges as: not permitted to marry until they have served for a period of five years after their recruitment, prospective husbands of female Police Officers interviewed and made to sign a bond before allowing to marry and in some situations where a prospective husband was a civilian, the regional or circuit commander was required to certify the marriage. These challenges affected policewomen’s contribution as female Officers since some policewomen were forced to leave the Force, however few of these challenges were resolved leading to equal opportunities between both male and female Police Officers in the Service. The practice of equal opportunities in the Police Service enabled female Police Officers to perform more than just social services relating to women, juveniles and children as was the case of the Independence Phase. By
the Democratic Phase of the 1990s, the roles of policewomen were significantly expanded and policewomen who excelled in their duties could also attain the highest ranks in the Police Service.

An enabling condition which permitted the expansion of the responsibilities of Policewomen in the Democratic Phase was the 1992 Constitution that hailed in the Fourth Republic. The NDC government introduced the Constituent Assembly to draft the 1992 constitution. The core mandate of the assembly was to initiate policies which were geared towards the protection of human rights and freedom of all Ghanaians as the country transitioned into Democratic rule. One relevant clause was Article 12 (2) of Ghana’s 1992 constitution, which stated that

*Every person in Ghana, whatever creed, place of origin, political opinion, colour, religious creed or gender shall be entitled to the fundamental human rights and freedoms of the individual contained in this chapter but subject to respect of the rights and freedoms of others and for the public interest.*

This clause protected the interest of all Ghanaians irrespective of their gender and was especially beneficial to girls and women who were considered vulnerable in the country. The clause encouraged the government of the Fourth Republic to initiate structures to protect the rights of Ghanaians and prepare them to be free from exploitation, and gender discrimination.

One of the remarkable achievements of this clause was to encourage the practice of Participatory Democracy. According to Professor Mike Oquaye,


Participatory Democracy refers to a system where the ordinary man is equipped to take part in decision making. The practice marked the affirmation of all Ghanaians as one people who have equal rights. This knowledge of democracy was used by the NDC government to promote the practice of Rule of Law, Universal Adult Suffrage and the protection of the fundamental human rights of all Ghanaians with particular reference to the rights of women. In line with this, women from 1992 began to assume challenging positions which reflected their levels of education. More women were involved in politics and policing which were historically male dominated. This practice was in response to the concept of Democracy which was widespread in Ghana by the 1990s and required that women were equipped to make effective contributions to the country’s development. During the Fourth Republic under the reign of National Democratic Government (NDC), Ghanaians irrespective of their gender were permitted to criticize the policies of the government and participate in the country’s decision making process. The constitution provided opportunities for more women to be involved in administrative positions which earlier were reserved only for men. Hence it guaranteed the rights of men and women as equal by the rule of law. Women were permitted to take up more challenging tasks in their fields of endeavour particularly during the Democratic Phase.

According to Addo-Danquah, more policewomen started to occupy Command Positions in the Police Service during the Democratic Phase mainly because “the 1992 constitution ensured equality for all”. She recalled that Article 1:1 of

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233 Oquaye, Politics in Ghana, 57-59.
the 1992 constitution expanded the roles of women as integral agents of the country’s development. Other interviewees agreed that this article influenced the roles of women in the Police Service. They posited that discrimination of any kind against women in the Service was abolished under the Democratic Phase. A close examination of articles 1:1 and 12(2) show that the 1992 constitution resulted in the promotion of policewomen’s effectiveness in the Service since their roles as female Police Officers became expanded. Not only were the duties of policewomen reviewed but discrimination with regards to the inequalities of the number of men to women in the Police Service was also reduced to some extent. Though this could not be fully achieved because the ratio of men to women in the Police Service remained unequal, the constitution did ensure that more women were recruited into the Service during the Democratic Phase in comparison to the number of women during the Independence and the Military Regime Phases. Evidence of this is shown in the graph presented on the ratio of men against women in the Police Service.

The number of policewomen, as presented in the Democratic Phase shows that the number of female recruits significantly increased when compared to the previous decades. Comparatively, there was progress made in terms of the number of women recruited and the responsibilities entrusted to policewomen in the Police Service.

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236 Interview with Addo-Danquah, by author, Legon, May 17th, 2016.
237 I got this information from the interviews I conducted on the retired police officers at different times. To confirm what was earlier said by Addo-Danquah.
238 Refer to this from 3.
According to members of the Police Service, policewomen’s contribution up until the Democratic Phase became improved because of initiatives taken by individual IGPs depending on what he intended to achieve during their tenure. With the start of the new decade, on 1st of January 1990 there was a change in the leadership of the Police Service by the government from C.K. Dewornu to J.Y.A Kwofie who brought a new turn in the direction of the Police. Such changes significantly influenced the total number of women in the Service from 1991-2000. The roles performed by these policewomen also underwent significant improvement because with the practice of equality for all members of the Police Service, policewomen could begin to perform equal roles with their male counterparts. For instance, for the first time policewomen were permitted to participate in peacekeeping mission. This newspaper article shows that Kwofie intervened in giving policewomen the opportunity to break into the camp of their male counterparts. He did this, by successfully obtaining the president’s approval for policewomen to participate in peacekeeping mission. This shows the extent of Kwofie’s involvement in improving duties of policewomen in the Service from being responsible for women and juvenile convicts and ensuring the safety of children using the zebra crossing roads to performing joint policing duties at an international level with their male Police counterparts. The intervention at empowering policewomen to perform joint policing duties with male Officers justifies Achampong’s argument that the Democratic Phase offered a background for “policewomen to make significant

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239 Interview with Achampong, by author, Legon, June 21th, 2016.
241 Refer to this from fig 9, in page 85.
contributions to the Ghana Police Service”. This proves that some occurrences of the Democratic Phase provided an opportunity for women in the Police Service to make significant contributions both nationally and in international circles. For the first time, policewomen were given approval by the president to participate in overseas operations.\textsuperscript{242} Not only were policewomen permitted to do what society expected of them as females but, more importantly, they were encouraged to take up demanding responsibility which tested their femininity as women. Their success at performing such international duties provided opportunity for policewomen to be accepted as also capable of being appointed to Command Positions.

According to Achampong, women who were chosen to occupy Command Positions during the 1990s were not given the responsibilities because they had to be given a voice, but more importantly because their competencies were demanded to improve policing. As a result, it became easier for policewomen to head units irrespective of the demands of that unit.\textsuperscript{243} For instance, Prudence Ayensu, a Police Officer who was recruited in 1992, rose to be the first woman to head the drilling unit.\textsuperscript{244} The drilling unit was responsible for training all recruits of the Police Service hence it required some measure of tactfulness and discipline to effectively perform its responsibilities. According to Ayensu, from the time of inception in the Police Service, this unit was headed by male Officers because of its perceived demands and a lack of understanding

\textsuperscript{243} Interview with Achampong, by author, Legon, June 21st, 2016.
\textsuperscript{244} Interview with Ayensu, by author, Legon, June 17th, 2016.
about the competencies of women in the Service.\textsuperscript{245} This unit was headed only by male Officers therefore having a policewoman as a member who rose to head the unit was a phenomenal achievement particularly considering that Ayensu was a Deputy Commissioner and unlike Addo-Danquah and Addison-Campbell who occupied their positions with the ranks of Assistant Commissioners may not be considered as having the pre requisite rank to occupy her position as drilling Officer. Ayensu’s success at occupying this position exemplifies the progressive transition of the roles of women in the Police Service.

According to Addo-Danquah, the passage of the Resolution 1325 by the UN also contributed to an increased awareness of the roles of policewomen in the Police Force worldwide. The Resolution emphasized that women’s leadership and equality to men in the Police Force are key to achieving international peace and security.\textsuperscript{246} Mlambo-Ngcuka and Coomaraswamy are researchers for “Police Magazine”, an official publication of the international Association of Women Police who states that, women’s participation in leadership in the Police Force has increased the rate of peace agreement throughout the world.\textsuperscript{247} This shows policewomen’s contribution as leaders of the Force towards achieving peace. The Resolution made room for the global acceptance of the contribution of policewomen to the success of policing and this awareness led Ghanaian women in the Police Service to be permitted to

\textsuperscript{245} Interview by with Ayensu, by author, Legon, June 17th, 2016.
occupy positions which constituted the decision making body of the Ghana Police Service.

Addo-Danquah argues that the worldwide implementation of the UN Resolution motivated the Ghana Police to include women into leadership positions, even though their numbers were still low in comparison to the numbers of policemen in leadership positions.\textsuperscript{248} Other Officers of the Police Service such as Achampong, Pooko-Aikins though acknowledged they knew little about the influence of Resolution 1325 in exposing women as capable of effectively contributing to the development of the Ghana Police Service when given leadership positions. It may be probable that Addo-Danquah knew about this policy during her master’s degree and exposure as Officer who was responsible for the Senior Police Officers Training school. She for instance, posits that the transition in the roles performed by policewomen over the years has increased awareness of women’s capabilities when allowed to occupy leadership positions.\textsuperscript{249} This to some extent shows progress in the number of policewomen who gained the opportunity to occupy leadership positions during the Democratic Phase.

Campbell attributed education to the increasing number of policewomen in Command Positions during the Democratic Phase. According to her, women’s increased opportunity and ability to acquire higher education prepared them to gain a profession and earn a career.\textsuperscript{250} Using herself as case study, Campbell

\textsuperscript{248} Interview with Addo-Danquah, by author, Legon, May 17th, 2016.
\textsuperscript{249} Interview with Achampong, by author, Legon, June 21st 2016.
\textsuperscript{250} Interview with Addison Campbell, by author, Legon, June 17th, 2016.
stated that she was recruited into the Police Servicee as a typist and was promoted to head of the Cape Coast Division in 1992 after acquiring a degree. According to her, she also rose to the position of Head of the Police Training Depot after completing a master’s degree. This, to an extent, justifies the role of education in promoting policewomen into occupying Command Positions. Addo-Danquah and Achampong also confirm the significance of education in giving opportunity for policewomen to be appointed into Command Positions which permitted them to make remarkable contributions to the Service.

Addo-Danquah also confirms the significance of education in creating an opportunity for Policewomen into occupying Command Positions. She also stated that she became an Officer in charge of the Senior Police Officers Training School in Wenniba after completing her master’s education in the United States.

In terms of challenges, Policewomen such as Ayensu, Addison- Campbell, Addo- Danquah who occupied Command Positions states that as women who excel in a male dominated profession they were respected and in some cases they enjoyed support from both male and female Officers. Addo-Danquah, for instance, recalls the support she enjoyed from her deputy who was a male officer recruited to the Service long before she was recruited into the Ghana Police Service. However as women in a male dominated profession, they were required to exhibit equal competence and capabilities as male senior

251 Interview with Campbell, by author, Legon, June 17th, 2016.
252 Interview with Achampong and Addo- Danquah by author, Legon, May 17th, 2016.
Officers in managing the affairs of the unit they headed. According to her, women were expected to excel in the positions they occupied in order to be recognised and also gain the responsibility of creating more opportunities for other Policewomen who were also capable but may go unrecognised in the Police Service.\footnote{Interview with Addo-Danquah, by author, Legon, May 17\textsuperscript{th}, 2016.} Addo-Danquah shows that though the Democratic Phase presented Policewomen with opportunities to excel in the Service, an increment in the number of Policewomen in these Command Positions after the Democratic Phase depended on the pioneers’ ability not just to succeed but to excel in a male dominated profession such as the Police profession.

In conclusion this chapter has argued that the Democratic Phase was successful in incorporating more women into leadership positions where they made significant contributions as Policewomen. With the assistance of the UN Resolution 1325 in particular Policewomen in general and Ghanaian Policewomen in particular became internationally recognized as capable of being effective leaders who could contribute to their nations development. This served as a yardstick and promoted changes with the roles women were permitted to perform in order for the Ghana Police Service to also reach international standards. In the Ghana Police Service, however, the 1992 Constitution increased female education, the UN Resolution of 1325 and the support from the NDC President J.J Rawlings and the First lady contributed significantly to the upward mobility of policewomen into Command Positions.
during the 1990s when Ghana had achieved democratic rule under the Fourth Republic.

The chapter has further shown that during this Phase, there was a conscious effort to eradicate discrimination against women in the Police Service. Interviews with Police Officers in the Police Service both during the Democratic Phase and more currently have confirmed that discrimination between the male and female Officers has been reduced drastically. The Democratic Phase had indeed contributed significantly in marking a turning point in the roles women played in the Ghana Police Service.
CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF RESEARCH FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

This research project has investigated the evolution of policewomen’s contributions to the Ghana Police Service. Using the first twelve policewomen who were recruited in 1952 as a starting point, this study places emphasis on the transition of the roles policewomen played under the three different Phases namely the Independence Phase, Military Regime Phase and the Democratic Phase. Dividing this study into these Phases was very useful in helping to better understand the extent of involvement and contribution of women in the Ghana Police Service.

The study builds upon Tosin Akinjobi – Babatunde’s research, which investigates Policewomen in the Nigerian Security Sector; and Ho and Hau-nung Chan’s work, ‘Women Police Officers in Hong Kong: Femininity and Policing in a Gendered Organization’. All three studies have argued to some extent that though gender biases impeded the involvement of women in the Police Force, after being recruited their roles evolved over time and women began to make significant contributions to the development of Policing in general.

To carry out the study effectively, I depended on both primary and secondary sources. The archival documents contain in ADM 5 and 6 from PRAAD were particularly useful in providing data on the extent of involvement
of colonial administration in the recruitment of women to the Gold Coast Police Force. These archival materials revealed the decisions of the British government on the organization of the Women’s Branch of the Police Force before its implementation in 1952. Two documents from the Chief Secretary’s office which bore the titles “A Report Upon The Gold Coast Police, November 1951” and “Statement Of The Gold Coast Government on the Report Upon the Gold Coast Police printed in 1952” were particularly useful in revealing some of the responsibilities of the first twelve pioneer policewomen. From these documents it was evident that, recommendations given by Colonel Young’s committee became the foundation of the roles expected by the Women’s Branch of the Ghana Police Service.

The Oral testimonies that I gathered from male and female Officers were also very significant primary data for the study. Narratives from Asiamah (P.W.1) the first policewoman of the Gold Coast Police Force represented the Independence Phase. Aboagywaa, a female Police Officers who also served in the Ghana Police Service with Anim-Botwe, and Donkor’s who played instrumental roles during the formation of POLAS gave accounts of their experiences as Police Officers which provided very useful records to help in the study of the Millitary Regime Phase. Finally, Addison-Campbell, a female Police Officer who rose from been a typist of the Police Service to heading the Police Training Academy, Ayensu, the first Policewoman to head the Drilling unit and Addo-Danquah’s views and experiences as female Police Officers who performed remarkably in the Ghana Police Service reflected experiences of

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policewomen during the Democratic Phase. Male Officers such as Achampong, Pooko-Aikins and Teku were useful as they recounted the contribution of Policewomen from male Officers perspective. According to these male Police Officers, the Ghana Police Service was reluctant to recruit women into the Service because its operations demanded strength and vigour which in their opinions policewomen were incapable of exhibiting because of their femininity. However when women were eventually employed and given opportunities both by some administrators of the Police Service and leaders of the country such as Kwofie, Nkrumah and Rawlings respectfully, Policewomen began to make remarkable contributions to the Police Service. It was consistently important to prioritise the views of policewomen, because women were needed to give reflections on their own contributions to the Ghana Police Service instead of male Officers recounting women’s contributions on their behalf. The accounts presented by both male and female interviewees show that though the Service aimed at employing male Officers once women became recruited they made remarkable contributions which complemented the roles prescribed to male Officers in the Service. This they recounted could be as a result of education, policies which protected policewomen from discrimination and harassment in the Service as well the ability of female Police Officers to form an organise group such as POLAS to protect their interest as women in a male dominated profession. Policewomen particularly those who represented the Democratic Phase testified that, once they were able to perform the roles they were assigned to been in Command Position they earned the respect of their male Counterparts.
I faced a few challenges with the use of oral history, however, as a significant number of my potential informants particularly those who belonged to the Independence Phase and the Military Regime Phase have died, while others have relocated to the United States or European countries after their retirement. As a result, it became imperative to obtain adequate primary data from a few women, such as Christine Jane Donkor, who also made remarkable achievements as a policewoman who played an instrumental role in the formation of POLAS and as a result became their first president. The bureaucratic nature of the Police Service also made it difficult to locate some retired Police Officers for interview. POLAS, as an official organization of the Women’s Branch was however very helpful in providing me with contact addresses of Anim-Botwe, Addison-Campbell and Ayensu for interview.

Secondary literature which included scholarly articles written on policing in Britain, Hong Kong and Nigeria, all played very useful roles in presenting a broader perspective on the discriminations that policewomen suffer in a male dominated profession such as the Police Force. Considering that very little scholarly work has been disseminated on women in the Ghana Police Service, all available researches enable a broader understanding of women’s contribution to the Police Service to be gained. The Kofi Annan International Peace Keeping Training Centre (KAIPTC), the Balme Library of the University Of Ghana, and the Police Academy Library played very instrumental roles in providing these scholarly articles which impacted significantly on the research work. Individual Police Officers such as Pooko-Aikins also provided data on his study which bears the title “The Police in Ghana 1939 -2009” to enhance this
project. However, unavailable secondary data on women in Ghana Police served as a major limitation to the research work.

Aside from the background and introduction to this study which explored policing in Britain and Britain’s colonial influence in the practice of policing in the Gold Coast (now Ghana), this research was effectively structured over three main Phases: the Independence Phase, the Military Regime Phase and the Democratic Phase. An assessment of the three Phases shows that different factors influenced the steady progress of Policewomen’s roles towards performing national and international duties which gave them equal opportunities as their male colleagues.

Though Gold Coast attained Independence status in 1957, the Independence Phase of this study spanned from 1952-1960s. It is important to note however that, the period 1952-57 served as a period of preparation for significant changes to occur in Ghana’s history particularly from the 1960s. This Phase, also known as ‘Phase One’ bore the heading “Gold Coast’s Political Atmosphere During its Attainment of Independence”. This heading was to demonstrate that from 1952 to the 1960s the country experienced significant changes which affected institutions such as the Police Force. For instance, in 1952 women were included in the Gold Coast Police Force. The main thesis of the Independence Phases states that, the experiences of the Second World War propelled the nationalists to seek changes from the British administration following the lost of Britain’s prestige, respect and recognition.

as a colonial power. The nationalists of the Gold Coast were motivated by the injustices meted out to the veterans and the people of the Gold Coast in general to seek Independence from the British colonial power where they will be entitled to govern their institutions.\textsuperscript{257} The desire to seek independence from British led them to engage in activities which made the final colonial decade being characterised by strikes, boycotts, and riots to seek changes.\textsuperscript{258} For instance, the nationalists employed the 28\textsuperscript{th} February 1948 riot to report their displeasure to the British governor and commander-in-chief of the Gold Coast, Sir General Creasy.\textsuperscript{259} The governor was required by the nationalists to review the veterans conditions of living that involved paying more gratuities which the ex-servicemen described as a small amount considering the sacrifices they made during the Second World War. The riot however resulted in the death of three ex-servicemen and the injury of others. The riot also led to the creation of a Commission of Inquiry at the request of the anticolonial movement to investigate and make recommendations on the demands made by the ex-service men and the nationalists.\textsuperscript{260} Aside the Independence of Ghana, the positive effect of the 1948 disturbance in relation to Police Force was that it led to the inclusion of women into the Force in 1952.\textsuperscript{261}

Dr Kwame Nkrumah was very instrumental in the inclusion of the Women’s Branch to the Gold Coast Police Force. Before Ghana’s independence from the British colonial power, Nkrumah encouraged the British government to implement the Young Commission’s recommendation

\textsuperscript{257}Amenumey, A Concise History from Pre-Colonial Times to the 20\textsuperscript{th} Century 198.
\textsuperscript{258} Amenumey, A Concise History from Pre-Colonial Times to the 20\textsuperscript{th} Century 198`.
\textsuperscript{259} Amenumey, A Concise History from Pre-Colonial Times to the 20\textsuperscript{th} Century 198.
\textsuperscript{260} Amenumey, A Concise History from Pre-Colonial Times to the 20\textsuperscript{th} Century 198-199.
on the inclusion of women to the Police Force. The committee recommended to the British Government, the number of policewomen who should constitute the Women’s Branch of the Gold Coast Police Force and the responsibilities of the Branch. After the inclusion of the Women’s Branch to the Gold Coast Police, Nkrumah during his tenure as Ghana’s first President implemented Young’s recommendations by inaugurating the first Women’s Branch to the Gold Coast Police Force. He also empowered some policewomen of the first twelve pioneers of the Branch to make outstanding contributions to the Ghana Police Force. For instance, Nkrumah gave Rosemond Asiamah (PW.1) and Elizabeth Lamptey (PW.11) opportunities to accompany him as presidential guards in Liberia. Asiamah, (PW.1) and Otelia Dekowski (PW.5) were also given the opportunity to be the first policewomen to attend a six months course in the UK to be trained in Police duties and to take an Instructors course. The skills and experiences they acquired helped them to make useful contributions to the Gold Coast Police Force as female Officers.

The growing population of women, juveniles and children in the municipal area of Accra was the main motivation for the creation of the Women’s Branch. Their roles included educating school children about the responsibilities of the Police in the society and the need for the Police to be appreciated as friends by members of the society instead of being seen as a symbol of tyranny and oppression. The policewomen performed basic community task such as helping children and other pedestrians to use the zebra crossings, providing counselling services to juveniles who were reported by

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262 Refer to the details of the names of first batch of policewomen from page 48 of chapter two.
their parents for their stubbornness, as well as helping to find children who were reported missing by their parents.\textsuperscript{263} Other duties of policewomen during the Independence Phase included being responsible for women in the judicial system. They performed escort duties for women who were suspects of crimes as well as women and juveniles who were prosecuted in either the juvenile or adult courts.\textsuperscript{264} These roles, as performed by the first batch of policewomen, show that policewomen were restricted to ensuring the welfare of women, children and juveniles. However, from 1953 onwards, policewomen were permitted to perform responsibilities which extended beyond the welfare of women, children and juveniles in the society.

Women in the Police Force during the period of the 1\textsuperscript{st} Republic, the later years of the Independence Phase for instance became involved in prosecution at the magistrate and circuit courts. Dekowski, (PW.5) after completing her six months recruit training and Instructor’s Course at Police Training Centre, in UK began prosecuting juveniles in the magistrate courts. She further continued prosecuting at the circuit courts.\textsuperscript{265}

The change in duties of the pioneers of the Women’s Branch presents a picture which does not only show an evolution of the roles policewomen played as female Police Officers but more importantly the extent of recognition given to policewomen in a profession perceived from its inception as male dominated. Therefore given the opportunity to educate school children on the importance of the Police and reducing the practice of prostitution in Accra

\textsuperscript{263} Women Policing in the Gold Coast and Ghana, Golden Jubilee,23

\textsuperscript{264} Women Policing in the Gold Coast and Ghana, Golden Jubilee,23.

through to performing roles in the judicial system which required that in addition to escorting women who were suspect of crimes to the courts, the Policewomen’s also began prosecuting juveniles in the magistrate and circuit courts proved the extent of recognition they enjoyed. The expansion of the responsibilities of the first batch of policewomen no doubt resulted in the recruitment of the second batch in December 1954 after the inauguration of the Women’s Branch.

Another significant finding I made during my research of the Independence Phase was that women in the Ghana Police Force were not allowed to marry and have children until the first female Police Officer, Asiamah’s (PW.1) letter seeking permission from the Police headquarters to marry was granted in 1956.266 The acceptance of her request gave opportunity for other Policewomen in the Force and those who later joined the Force to marry and freely perform their female role as mothers. It is important to note however that, though her request was permitted, she observed some conditions after marriage which was in accordance with rules stipulated by the Police headquarters. Asiamah (PW.1) for instance was expected to reside within the municipal areas of Accra, Kumasi, Sekondi or Takoradi, which were the only areas where Policewomen were employed, in order to be readily available for such duties as may be required of her as a policewoman. Another condition required that, in an event of pregnancy, she would have been required to resign her appointment not less than four months before the expectant date of her

266 Refer to a copy of Asiamah’s letter from page 55 of chapter two.
delivery. This may have given the police administration at the headquarters adequate time to appoint another female Officer in her stead.

Phase Two, the Military Regime Phase which had the title “Effects of Policies Implemented in the Britain” espoused some beneficial policies initiated by Britain during the 1970s and 1980s and their impact on the Women’s Branch of the Ghana Police Service. These policies confirm Salter Watson and Staurt Norton view that has led 1975 as being remembered as a year in which several key pieces of legislation were passed in Britain to ensure reforms in the Police Force particularly with regards to ensuring the protection of the rights of women as Police Officers.267 The main question which informed the study of this Phase was which policies increased policewomen’s contribution globally during the 1970s and 1980s. This Phase further investigated whether policies such as The British Sex Discrimination Act passed in 1975, the Employment Act implemented in 1975, and the Amendment of the British Sex Discrimination Act which was also passed in 1986 contributed to an increase number of policewomen who made significant contributions on the global level during this period.

The British Sex Discrimination Act passed in 1975 by Britain. This Act made it illegal to discriminate against women in terms of education, recruitment and in advertising. The British Sex Discrimination Act in general terms minimized the practice of gender exclusive professions. The policy also stipulated that equal pay, equal benefits and treatment were provided to both

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men and women in the Police Force. The British Sex Discrimination Act resulted in the closure of the British policewomen’s section which was formed to serve the interest of only women in the Police Force. The section was absorbed by the general Police System by the mid 1970s. Though Interviews I conducted to assess the impact of the British Sex Discrimination Act on the Ghana Police Service have shown that, it is probable this Act may not have directly impacted the Women’s Branch of the Police Service, been an act enforced by the British Police Force it may be possible that, during this period there was awareness among the former colonies of Britain of the need to give equal opportunities to both male and female Officers following Britain’s influence in policing among its colonies. As a result, the 1970s, according to both male and female interviewees, marked a period in the Ghana Police Service where more educated women were recruited as Police Officers in order to prepare female Officers to make significant contributions to the Police Service. Few of these women who distinguished themselves were given opportunities women to occupy administrative positions as female Police Officers. Educated women such as Elizabeth Mills Robertson, Gifty Anim-Botwe and Christine Jane Donkor had the opportunity to make remarkable contributions to ensuring the welfare of female Police Officers. For instance, Anim-Botwe and Donkor led the formation of POLAS to ensure the welfare of all female Police Officers in the 1980s.\textsuperscript{268} Policewomen also had the opportunity to be promoted to the ranks of Deputy Superintendent of Police and Superintendent Commissioner of Police like their male counterparts during the

\textsuperscript{268} Refer to this from page 55.
Military Regime Phase. These by extension mean that the Sex discrimination Act increased the potential of the number of women who could reach higher ranks in the Police Service.

Another significant Act implemented by Britain during the Military Regime Phase to increase women’s contribution in the Police Force globally was the Employment Act implemented in 1975. This Act was initiated to protect the rights of all women against abuse. The Employment Act introduced statutory maternity provision and made it illegal to sack a woman on the bases of pregnancy.\(^\text{269}\) In relation to women in the British Police Force, the Employment Act prevented female Officers from abuse and any form of unjust dismissal such as pregnancy. The Employment Act further made provisions for maternity leave for British policewomen to enable them to care for their newly born babies.\(^\text{270}\) Investigations I conducted on the influence of the Employment Act indicate that the Act had no direct impact on Britain’s former colonies. However, interviews conducted with some policewomen, such as Alice Aboagyewaa who represents women in the Ghana Police Service during this Phase, have suggested that though there was an indirect impact, the rights of women in the Service became improved during this Phase. Abogyewaa further argued that, during this period, their security as women in the Ghana Police Service was improved in two main ways: firstly, it became difficult for a policewoman to be dismissed on grounds of being pregnant. Secondly, Policewomen were made to enjoy a period of three months leave of absence as

\(^{269}\) Salter, Watson and Staurt Norton, “British Association for Women in Policing 1883-2007: Timeline of Female Police Officers within the United Kingdom”6 accessed on 17\(^{th}\) Feb 2016.www.bucks.ac.uk.-

maternity leave to provide care for their newly born babies. As such the connection to changes in laws can be seen. This suggests an influence of British policies on their former colonies.

Another important policy I discovered relating to this Phase is The Amendment of the British Sex Discrimination Act which was passed in 1986. It empowered British female Police Officers to retire at the same time as male Officers. There was a similar policy implemented in the Ghana Police Service by the mid 1980s to ensure that both male and female Officers had the same retiring ages. Female Police Officers were to retire from the Police Service at fifty while male Police Officers were allowed to retire at fifty-five. However with the introduction of this policy, both male and female Police Officers were allowed to retire at the age of sixty. Patrick Kwarteng Achampong, former Inspector General of Police (IGP) from March 2005 to January 2009, argued that the age required for policemen to retire differed from that of policewomen because men were considered as naturally stronger than women and could perform their responsibilities even after fifty while women on the other hand were expected to be weak at fifty and not fit enough to perform their responsibilities effectively as required of the Police Service which is dependent on strength and vigour. On the other hand, Anim-Botwe, Donkor, and Aboagyewaa who represent Policewomen of this Phase argued that, with the introduction of equal retiring ages of both male and female Police Officers,

272 Interview with Donkor, by author, Legon, February 15th, 2016.
273 Interview with Achampong, by author, Legon, June 21st, 2016.
women in the Ghana Police Service were given more opportunities to make contributions to the Service since most policewomen from the Military Regime Phase rose to occupy administrative Positions in their careers. For instance, in 1970, Glady’s Parker-French, (PW.6), began prosecution for the first time which she continued until her retirement on 28th October 1978.

Based on these findings, it has not been clear the extent to which the policies passed by Britain influenced changes in the Ghana Police Service. However, the views gathered from the policewomen who provided primary evidences for my research work show that in the 1970s and 1980s important policies were initiated in the Ghana Police Service to give more opportunities for more policewomen to make effective contributions to the Service as Female Officers. This means therefore that, though foreign policies passed in Britain did not directly contribute to changes in the roles policewomen could play during the Military Regime Period, the policies however may have contributed in increasing awareness of the contributions women were capable of making as female officers when granted the opportunity. Therefore, it is worth concluding that international, foreign and Ghanaian policies may have both direct and indirect impact on policewomen in the Ghana Police Service.

It is evident also from the Military Regime Phase that, senior Officers who occupied administrative positions in the Ghana Police Service gave policewomen the opportunities they required to be effective as female Police Officers. Furthermore, their contribution laid the foundation for policewomen to be able to break the glass ceiling into occupying Command Positions in a
male dominated profession such as the Police Service during the following Democratic Phase.

Phase Three which is also known as the Democratic Phase, had the heading; “Contribution of Ghanaian Policewomen in Command Positions (1992-2000)”. This period signified the era of the 4th republic after Ghana’s Independence. This phase delved into the scope of involvement of women in the Ghana Police Service from 1992-2000 to consider factors which contributed to the rise of policewomen into Command Positions. This chapter broadly focuses on the extent of female empowerment in the Ghana Police Service and the conditions which resulted in the expansion of policewomen’s roles. It also explores the views of some policemen and women on the effectiveness of policewomen in the Command Positions. Policewomen who occupy these positions during the third phase were also consulted on the challenges they faced. The Democratic Phase broadly reflects on a period where more policewomen rose to occupy Command Positions in the Ghana Police Service, which enables them to perform responsibilities both at the national and the international levels. Command Positions refer to positions in the Police Service which qualify an Officer to be made responsible for a unit in the Service. The Command Positions were in two categories: category “A” and “B”. Category “A” covers high level positions while Category “B” reflects the mid-level positions.\(^{274}\) Achievements of policewomen in these positions have enabled my argument that the Democratic Phase offered a turning point in providing more

\(^{274}\) Refer to this from page 93 of chapter four for more details.
opportunities for women in the Police Service to make remarkable achievements.

Jerry John Rawlings was president of the National Democratic Congress (NDC) throughout the study of the Democratic Phase from 1993-2000. He assisted policewomen in contributing to the development of policing during this Phase by initiating the formation of the Constituent Assembly to draft the 1992 constitution. The core mandate of the assembly was to initiate policies which were geared towards the protection of human rights and freedom of all Ghanaians as the country transitioned into Democratic rule.\footnote{Refer to this from page 97 of chapter four.} A study of this Phase has shown that the assembly recommended Article 12 (2) of Ghana’s 1992 constitution which protected the interest of all Ghanaians irrespective of their gender. This clause was especially beneficial to girls and women who were considered vulnerable in the country.\footnote{Bonsu and Darkwa, \textit{The Evolution of Parliament in Ghana, 1999}, 71-72.} The clause also encouraged the government of the Fourth Republic to initiate structures to protect the rights of all Ghanaians as well as empowered them to be free from exploitation, and gender discrimination. One remarkable achievement of this clause was that it promoted the practice of Participatory Democracy which, Mike Oquaye refers, to a system where the ordinary man was equipped to participate in decision making. With this, all Ghanaians were legally affirmed as one people who have equal rights.\footnote{Oquaye, \textit{Politics in Ghana}, 57-59.} By the end of the 1990s, roles of the female Police Officers had significantly expanded and policewomen who excelled in their responsibilities were permitted to also attain the highest ranks as the male Officers.
Policewomen such as Deborah Addison-Campbell, Maame Tiwaa Addo-Danquah, and Prudence Ayensu exemplify women who made remarkable achievements during the Democratic Phase. For instance, Addison Campbell was recruited into the Police Service during the Military Regime Phase then during the Democratic Phase she rose to the rank of Assistant Commissioner of the Ghana Police Service and is now in charge of the Police Training Depot. \(^{278}\)

Also during the Democratic Phase, Ayensu became to the first woman to head the drilling unit. The unit was entrusted the responsibility for training all recruits for the Police Service. The drilling unit, according to Ayensu, was headed by male Officers because of its demands and the perceived lack of competencies of women in the Service. \(^{279}\) Being appointed to Head the drilling unit was a remarkable achievement because Ayensu’s success at occupying this position exemplifies the progressive transition of the role of women in the Police Service, particularly considering that Ayensu unlike Addo-Danquah and Addison-Campbell who were Assistant Commissioners before been promoted to Deputy Commissioners of Police, had attained the rank of Deputy Commissioner at the time when she occupied the position.

Study of Phase Three has revealed that another reason for the expanded responsibility of policewomen to Command Positions was that, individual IGP’s took the initiative to empower policewomen to make significant contributions to Ghana’s Police Service. With emphasis to J.Y.A. Kwofie’s role as IGP from 1\(^{st}\) January 1990, there was a turn in policing which resulted in a significant

\(^{278}\) Refer to reference from page 94 of chapter 4.
\(^{279}\) Interview with Ayensu, by author, Legon, June 17\(^{th}\), 2016.
increase in the total number of women in the Police Service during the Democratic Phase. Equally, Policewomen began to perform equal roles as male Police Officers. For example through the intervention of Kwofie, policewomen were permitted by Rawlings to participate in peacekeeping missions for the first time.\textsuperscript{280} Policewomen’s success in performing such international duties paved the way for them to be considered as capable of undertaking Command Positions. Addison-Campbell emphasized that education played an important role in exposing the skills and competencies of policewomen as capable of contributing to the development of policing at the Command Positions. Using Campbell’s promotion to the position as head of the Cape Coast division in 1992 after acquiring a degree as case study justifies statement made by Campbell.

In conclusion, I also realized the Resolution 1325 also contributed significantly in exposing the abilities of policewomen as leaders in the Police Service. The Resolution 1325 emphasized that women’s leadership and equality to men in the Police Force are key to achieving international peace and security.\textsuperscript{281} This view espoused by the Resolution 1325 together with in Mlambo-Ngcuka and Coomaraswamy’s research for “Police Magazine” which also stated that, women’s participation in leadership in the Police Force has increased the rate of peace agreement throughout the world, made policewomen’s contribution to the success of policing globally accepted.\textsuperscript{282}

\textsuperscript{280} Daily Graphic: Saturday, June 18, 1994.
\textsuperscript{281} Women Police: The Official Publication Of Women Police, Simon Townsley, Nov 15-Jan 16 2016. 6-7
\textsuperscript{282} Women Police: The Official Publication Of Women Police, Simon Townsley, Nov 15-Jan 16 2016. 7
Policewomen began to assuming leadership positions from this period. The Ghana Police Service also began to include women into leadership positions though their numbers as compared to the number of men in the Service was still low.

In terms of the challenges, I also discovered in my research on Phase Three that as compared to policewomen who were recruited during the Independence and Millitary Regime Phases, policewomen who occupied Command Positions in the Democratic Regime Phase enjoyed respect and support from male Officers, some of who were subordinates. The extent of respect accorded to policewomen who occupied Command Positions was due to the conscious effort to eradicate discrimination against women in the Police Service which according to female Officers of both the Democratic Phase and more currently have been reduced drastically.

The findings from this chapter has further shown that, The Democratic Phase had indeed contributed significantly in marking a turning point in the roles women played in the Ghana Police Service. However, future studies on gender and the Police as an institution can consider researching into the following areas:

b. Influence of the British Police Force on its former British colonies before or after independence. Using Hong Kong, Nigeria, and India as a case study.

c. Contribution of international bodies to the empowerment of women in the Ghana Police Service. (1952-2009)

It is evidenced from the recent “State Of The Nation’s Address” given by the current president of Ghana, Nana Addo-Danquah Akuffo Addo which stated that the government is committed to improving the standard of the Ghana Police Service not only to meet the UN standard of 1 ratio of Police Officers to 500 civilians but more importantly to achieve gender equality. This shows that achieving gender equality which include improving the standards of female Police Officers to make useful contributions to the country like their male counterparts is still of interest to the government. As was done by the British government, Nkrumah during the Independence Phase, the Individual IGP’s who headed the Ghana Police Service at different times and Rawlings in the Democratic phase.

283 Message on the State of the Nation by the President of the Republic, Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, on the Occasion of the State Opening of Parliament on Tuesday, February 21, 2017.
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